Vol. II
E – K

THE

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLĀM

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 1^{a}, *Bibliography* art. ÉCIJA, l. 3, read: "ii. 1. p. 58" for "i. 58"; ibid., l. 4, read: "Nahr Sūs (l. Shōsh = Guadajoz)" for "a Nahr Sūs"; ibid., l. 6, add: *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif*, iii. 679 *sqq.* (Oshbūna [Lisbon] l. Oshūna = Osuna).

P. 30^{a}, *Bibliography* of the art. ERITREA, add: Quirino Maio, *La Colonia Eritrea*, Torino 1891; Nicoletti Altimari, *Da Assab a Cassala*, Rome 1899; Anonymus, *Tre Anni in Eritrea*, Milano 1901; Penne, *Per l'Italia africana*, Rome 1906.

P. 33^{b}, l. 27, add: New edition by L. Cheikho, *Corpus scriptorum orientalium, Scriptores arabici*, Beirut 1906—1909, Ser. iii., vol. vi. and vii.; ibid., l. 36 at the end of the article, add: published by P. Chébli, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris 1907, iii. 125—242.

P. 102^{a}, l. 28, add: Cf. Evaristo Carusi, *Sui Rapporti fra Diritto romano e Diritto musulmano* (Estratto degli *Atti della Società italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze*, Siena 1913, vii., Riunione), Rome 1913.

P. 104^{a}, l. 42, read: "three" instead of "two"; l. 43, add: the edition of the *Risāla* forming the introduction of the *Kitāb al-Umm*, ed. Būlāķ 1312.

P. 116^{a}, Art. FITRA, *Bibliography*, add: Ibn Ķutaiba, *Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Cairo, p. 158 *sqq.*

P. 141^{a}, Art. GHARB, l. 24, add: Cf. Michaux-Bellaire, *Le Gharb*, Paris 1913.

P. 158^{a}, Art. GHAZNAWIDS, *Bibliography*, add: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i. 390—410; al-Bondārī, ed. Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii., see Index.

P. 189^{b}, Art. AL-ḤĀDIRA, *Bibliography*, l. 3, add: [for other MSS. cf. *Cat. Cod. Arab.*, Leiden, i. 353 *sqq.*; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lxviii. 380, Nº. 1597].

P. 191^{a}, l. 1, read: "reliable" instead of "reliable".

P. 192^{b}, l. 31, l. 7 a. f., read: "known" instead of "know".

P. 210^{a}, Art. ḤADRAMAWT, *Bibliography*, add: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Enkele zegswijzen en een raadsel der Hadhramieten*, in *Feestbundel M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden 1891; do., *L'interdit séculier (rifgeh) en H'adhramôt*, in *Revue africaine*, 1905, p. 92—99; do., *Zur Dichtkunst der Bā 'Atwah in Ḥadhramôt* in *Orient. Stud.*, *Th. Nöldeke ..... gewidmet*, p. 97—107; do., *Sa'd es-Suwēnī ein seltsamer Walī in Ḥadhramôt*, in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, xxvi. 221—239; do., *Arabië en Oost-Indië*, Leiden 1907, p. 19 *sq.*, French transl. in *Revue de l'Hist. des Rel.*, 1908, lvii., p. 74 *sq.*; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leiden 1901—1903; do., *Arabica*, Leyde 1895—1898, iii.—v., passim; W. Hein, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik Südarabiens* in *Mitt. d. Geogr. Gesellsch.*, Vienna, xlvi. 216—264; do., *Mehri- und Ḥadrami-Texte gesammelt im J. 1902 in Gischin*, ed. by D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Expedition*, vol. ix.; cf. also the Ḥadrami texts in vol. vii.; D. C. Phillott and R. F. Azoo, *Some Arab Folk Tales from Hazramaut* in *Journ. and Proc. of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, 1906, vol. ii., 339 *sqq.* See further the Bibliographies in Fr. Hommel, *Südarab. Chrestom.*, and O. Weber, *Stud. z. Südarab. Altertumsk.*, iii., *Mitt. der Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1907. (ED.)

P. 211^{a}, l. 11 a. f., read: "fol. 153^{v}" instead of "fol. 135^{v}".

P. 211^{b}, l. 20, read: "1553" instead of "1559"; l. 21, read: "1736" instead of "1876"; ult., read: "792" instead of "733".

P. 222^{b}, Art. ḤAIYA, *Bibliography*, add: Cf. also al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kit. al-Ḥayawān*, iv. 38 *sqq.*; Th. Nöldeke, *Die Schlange nach arab. Volksglauben* in *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychol. und Sprachwissensch.*, i. 412 *sq.*; J. J. Modi, *The Persian Mâr-nâmeh or The Book for taking Omens from Snakes*, Bombay 1893. (ED.)

P. 258^{a}, Art. ḤAMDŪS, l. 7, read: "*Ḥamdūsiya*" instead of "*Ḥamdūsiya*"; l. 21, read: "*Berbères*" instead of "*Berberes*".

P. 260^{b}, l. 15, 25, 28, 30, 36, read: "Musailima" instead of "Musailama"; l. 23, 35, read: "al-Raḥḥāl b. 'Unfuwa" instead of "Raḥḥāl b. Unfuwa".

P. 262b, l. 20, read: "Note 1" instead of "Note 19".

P. 264b, Art. Harar, *Bibliography*, add: R. Basset, *Chronologie des rois de Harar*, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1914, p. 245 *sqq*.

P. 265a, l. 8, read: "ḳā'immaḳām" instead of "ḳa'immaḳām"; l. 33 a. f., read: "Maḳrami" instead of "Makrami".

P. 266a, Art. Harba, *Bibliography*, add: Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, see Index.

P. 267a, l. 18, read: "Bārghāl" instead of "Barghāl".

P. 269b, l. 5, read: "125, 1" instead of "125 9".

P. 279a, l. 4, read: "d'Alcaudete" instead of "d'Alcaudète".

P. 281b, *Bibliography*, l. 14, read: "*d'Alcaudete*" instead of "*d'Alcaudète*"; add: Berbrugger, *Les époques militaires de la grande Kabylie*, Alger 1857, p. 79 *sqq*.

P. 282b, l. 17, add: Vaudal, *Le pacha Bonneval*, Paris 1885, p. 52—60.

P. 286b, l. 19, read: "MANĀF" instead of "AL-MANĀF".

P. 288b, l. 29, read: "Tabarca" instead of "Tabacco".

P. 290a, l. 15 a. f., add: (cf. R. Basset, *Notes sur les Mille et une Nuits*, iii., *Rev. des Traditions populaires*, 1897, p. 146—152).

P. 290b, l. 7, add: The romance was published in Tatar Kazan 1867; l. 15, add: Three chapters of a Malay adaptation of this romance have been edited (without indication of MSS.) and translated by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga (*Tjeritra deri pada oorang bernama Hatim Tayi* in *Uittreksels uit Maleische Geschiedenissen*, p. ب—ا, appendix to his *Maleisch en Nederduitsch Woordenboek*, Batavia 1824—1825; Dutch transl., in *De Oosterling*, 1835, i. 352 *sqq*.; cf. also J. J. de Hollander, *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische taal- en letterkunde*, Breda 1893, 6th ed., p. ۱۱۳—۱۲۴. A MS. of the Malay version is found in Paris (A. Cabaton, *Catal. somm. des MSS. . . . indo-polynésiens*, p. 227, Nº. 61, ii.); l. 28, add: cf. also R. Basset, *Bibliogr. des auteurs arabes*, extr. des *Annales universit. de l'Algérie*, sept.–déc. 1913, p. 2.

P. 295b, l. 5—6, read: "*Muṣṭalaḥ*" instead of "*Muṣṭalaḥ*".

P. 299a, Art. Herāt, l. 6—7, read: "Muṣallā" instead of "Maṣallā".

P. 299b, l. 6, read: "Ḳādjār" instead of "Kādjār".

P. 307a, l. 17 a. f., add: G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, Constantine 1913, 1re partie, Ch. i.

P. 312a, l. 20, add: de Sacy, *Mémoire sur divers événements de l'histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, Paris 1785; Price, *Essay towards the History of Arabia*, London 1824; l. 35, add: R. Basset, *La Qasîdah himyarite*, Alger 1914; l. 58, add: cf. Glaser, *Mitteil. über einige sabäische Inschr.*, Prague 1886.

P. 313a, l. 7 a. f., add: Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la littér. hindouie et hindoustanie*², Paris 1807, vol. i., Introd.

P. 314a, l. 16—17, read: "Mohan Lal" instead of "Mohanlal".

P. 320a, l. 15, add: see also Max van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1915, p. 135 *sqq*.

P. 320b, l. 6 and 27, read: "Wellsted" instead of "Wellstedt"; ult., read: "Ortoḳids" instead of "Urtuḳids".

P. 385b, l. 26, after "iv. 87—178", add: (iv. 92—94 in Friedlaender, *op. cit.*); l. 17 a. f., add: cf. also Goldziher, *Stellung der alten islam. Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften*, in *Abh. der Kg. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1915, phil.-hist. Kl., Nº. 8, p. 27—29.

P. 391b, l. 21, add: R. Basset, *Rech. bibliogr. sur les sources de la Salouat al-Anfâs*, Algiers 1905, p. 21.

P. 396b, l. 39, add: Besides the works quoted in the article: Bargès, *Complément de l'histoire des Beni Zeiyan*, Paris 1887, p. 205—217.

P. 397a, l. 21, add: R. Basset, *Notice sommaire des mss. orientaux de deux bibliothèques de Lisbonne*, Lissabon 1894, p. 4—6.

P. 399b, l. 27 a. f., read: "35" instead of "55"; ult., add: in part translated in Gayangos, *The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, i., App. E, ii., App. A.

P. 400a, l. 3, add: cf. also Dozy, *Recherches*³, i. 21—40.

P. 401b, l. 3, add: Franck, *Moïse Maimonide, sa vie et sa doctrine* (*Études orientales*, Paris 1861, p. 317—360).

P. 410b, l. 6, add: al-ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-Tanṣīṣ*¹, p. 51—57; Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Kashkūl*, p. 58; MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nº. 3594, f. 77 *sqq*.

P. 411a, l. 9, add: cf. J. Tkač, *Über den arab. Kommentar des Averroes zur Poetik des Aristoteles*, in *Wiener Studien*, xxiv. 70 *sqq*.

P. 414b, l. 25 a. f., add: R. Basset, *Mélanges africains et orientaux*, Paris 1915, Ch. vii.

P. 417[b], l. 24, read: "xvii." instead of "xviii.".

P. 424[a], l. 29, add: On Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, cf. also the observation by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī in the Persian introduction to his edition of Djuwainī's *Ta'rīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, i. (*G. M. S.*, xvi.), 34 *sq.* (see also *Kit. 'Umdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318, p. 159 *sq.*). According to the same author, *ibid.*, p. 14, the proper title of the *Kitāb al-Fakhrī* is *Munyat al-Fuḍalā' fī Tawārīkh al-Khulafā'* of which the history of the 'Abbāsids by Hindūshāh b. Sandjar, entitled: *Kitāb Tadjārib al-Salaf*, is an enlarged Persian translation. The Bibl. Nat. of Paris possesses a defective manuscript of the latter work (N[o]. 373 in Blochet, *Catal. des Mss. persans*, i. 251), but several copies exist in Ṭehrān.

P. 426[a], l. 10, read: "*Asafū*" instead of "*Asifū*".

P. 435[b], l. 13 a. f., add: Jouannin, *La Turquie*, p. 243—252; La Jonquière, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, p. 311—313.

P. 436[a], l. 33, add: Barbier de Meynard, *Ibrahim fils de Mahdi*, in *Journ. Asiat.*, 1896, Ser. 6, xiii., p. 201—342; Humbert, *Arabica analecta inedita*, Paris 1838, p. 60—72; al-Indjī, *I'lām al-Nās*, Cairo 1297, p. 144—148.

P. 447[a], l. 18 a. f., read: "Abu 'l-Nadjm" instead of "Abū Nadjm".

P. 491[b], l. 10 a. f., read: "*al-Ālamgīriya*" instead of "*al-Alamgiri*".

P. 560[b], l. 30 a. f.: The equation is to be read as follows:

$$2.97 \times 6 + 2 \times \frac{2.97}{6} = 18.81 = 4.72 \times 4 = 18.81$$

P. 565[a], l. 18 a. f., read: "*ittiḥād*" instead of "*ittiḥad*".

P. 566[b], l. 8 a. f., read: "329 *sq.*" instead of "322".

P. 590[b], l. 24 a. f., read: "*ma'mūr*" instead of "*ma'mūr*".

P. 592[a], l. 17, add: Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923.

P. 594[b], l. 24 a. f., add: E. Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques au Caucase*, Lyon 1885—1887.

P. 601[a], l. 5, read: "*amghār*" instead of "*amrar*".

P. 602[a], l. 3 a. f., add: H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Alger 1920.

P. 613[a], l. 8 a. f., read: "162 *sq.*" instead of "1623".

P. 617[b], l. 29 a. f., read: "*des*" instead of "*der*"; l. 2 a. f., read: "*südlichen*" instead of "*südliche*".

P. 618[a], l. 20 a. f., read: "*Drewnostil*" instead of "*Drewnestei*"; l. 9 a. f., read: "Winogradow, *Feodosiya*" instead of "Minogradow, *Feodosiva*".

P. 796[b], Art. Kāmil, l. 18, read: "vowel" instead of "consonant".

P. 730[b], Art. Ḳara Deniz, l. 26 *sq.*, read: "ed. Société géographique de Paris, 1839, mare Ponti quod vulgariter Mare Majus appellant".

P. 787[b], l. 27 ab infra, read: "*maf'ūlun*" instead of "*maf'ūlātun*".

P. 884[a], l. 21—22, read: "In November 1922 Turkey abolished the Sultanate and on October 30, 1923, declared itself a Republic".

P. 885[b], fin., add: *Oriente Moderno*, Rome 1922 *sq.*

P. 1059[b], l. 18, read: "Köprülü", instead of "Köprülüya".

Vol. i., 1071[b], l. 7 *sqq.*, read: "Dō'an (Daw'an)" instead of "Dō'ān (Daw'ān)"; l. 28—30, drop "Hamdānī mentions, etc."; l. 36—37, read: "p. 86, 21, 24, 87, 18, 21" instead of "178, 25 and 181, 18"; l. 38, add: Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, §§ 254—256, 310, 439; van den Berg, *Le Hadhramout*, p. 13, 23 *sqq.*, 42; de Goeje, *Revue Colon. Internat.*, 1886, i. 106 *sq.*; Landberg, *Ḥaḍramût*, see Index.

THE

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLĀM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

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E.

EBU, the Ottoman-Turkish pronunciation of Abū [q. v., i. 73[b] *et seq.*].

ÉCIJA, the capital of a district in the eastern province of Seville in Spain with 25,000 inhabitants, is picturesquely situated on the left bank of the lower course of the Genil, which is navigable below it, in a torrid valley, — whence it is called el Sarten de España "the bakehouse of Spain"; its streets are narrow and its church towers (formerly minarets) covered with azulejos. It is the ancient Iberian Astigi of which the Arabs made *Istidja*, *Estidja* (rarely *Esudja* in this period) whence is derived the Spanish Écija (st > ç, z, as in Basti, Baza, Baza; Caesaraugusta, Sarakosta, Zaragoza; Musta'rab, Mozárab etc., cf. Gröber, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, i², p. 520). After the battle of Laguna de la Janda in 711, the Roman Colonia Julia Augusta Firma, one of the four *conventus juridici* of the Provincia Baetica and the Gothic see of Astigi was forced to conditional surrender by Ṭāriḳ after a siege of a month; in the history of the Arab period it played an important part, particularly as the north-western stronghold of the renegade 'Omar Ibn Ḥafṣūn [q. v. and the article BOBASTRO, i. 736[b]] in his long rebellion, till the town was taken in 891 by Emīr 'Abd Allāh of Córdoba (cf. the article CARMONA, i. 829[a]). It had always a large Mozarab community, was taken in 1240 by Ferdinand III of Castile, and repopulated with Christians in 1263 by Alfonso X the Wise after the expulsion of the Moriscoes. In 1402 it was made a city (*ciudad*) by Henry III and throughout the history of the kingdom of Granada it plays an important part as one of the frontier fortresses of Castile as it did at a later period again in the war of the Spanish Succession and the Peninsular war.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, i. 242; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, iv. 98; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Geography* (French translation), i. 38 (wrongly speaks of a Nahr Sūs, on which Écija lies, although shortly before he had mentioned the Shenīl = Genil as flowing past Granada); Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico*, vii. 438; Eduardo Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los Árabes en España*, p. 77; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 285—290; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, Index 935; Varela y Martel, *Bosquejo histórico de la Ciudad de Écija* (Écija 1892), p. 352.

(C. F. SEYBOLD.)

EDESSA. [See RUHA.]

EDFU (Uotf, Atbō), a town on the west bank of the Nile, the Apollonopolis Magna of the Greeks and Romans, about half-way between Thebes and Assuan, the capital of the district of Edfu in the province of Nubia. The name goes back to the Egyptian Tbōt, Coptic Atbō. The place is chiefly celebrated for its temple of Horus built in the Ptolemaic period but this, which in course of time became buried in ruins, is rarely mentioned in Muhammadan literature. An archaeological note is given by Maḳrīzī, who says that in the viii[th] century a female figure of stone was dug up there; she was represented as sitting on a chair with legs crossed and wore a kind of net; on the back was a tablet the inscription on which is described as Greek. — The Arab geographers often extol Edfu for its wealth in palms and describe it as a flourishing city to which numerous villages, estates and islands belong. About the year 1400 A. D. it comprised 24,762 *feddān*, its taxes amounted to 17,000 dinars, according to other authorities 20,000. The character of the inhabitants is also highly praised. In the modern period the chief industry is its potteries. The inhabitants, the great majority Muhammadans, with a few Copts, number (according to Boinet Bey) 4700, including the suburbs 14,261.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 168; Dimishḳī (ed. Mehren), p. 35, 232 *et seq.*; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, v. 29; Ibn al-Djī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa al-saniya*, p. 191; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 237; d'Anville, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte ancienne et moderne*, p. 209; Quatremère, *Mémoires*, i. 44; 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, viii. 44 *et seq.*; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*; Boinet Bey, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte*; Maspero, *Ägyptische Kunstgeschichte* (German edition of Steindorff); Baedeker, *Ägypten*[7], p. 330.

(E. GRAEFE.)

EDIRNE (Gr. Ἀδριανούπολις, Engl. ADRIANOPLE, Fr. ANDRINOPLE, in Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, ii. 383 (ادرنبول)) was taken from the Byzantines in 763 = 1362 with the surrounding country by the Ottomans under Murād I. The Turkish sources give 761, 762 and 763 A. H. as the date of its capture and the statements of western writers on the point are equally divergent and indefinite; Jireček in his *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 328, decided on 1363 but Murād I's letter on his victory of the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 763 = end of August 1362 in Ferīdūn, *Munsha'āt Selāṭīn*, i. 91 *et seq.*, suggests 763 = 1362 as the date; cf. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, i. 163 *et seq.*; Zinkeisen, i. 218—221; Gibbon (ed. Bury), vii. 31.

The city picturesquely situated on an elevation at the confluence of the Maritza, Arda and Tundja in the centre of a fertile depression, had been strongly fortified against Bulgar invasion in the later years of the Byzantine Empire; Murād I made it the European residence (*makarr*) of the

Sulṭāns — 768 A. H. is the year given. During the wars of succession between the sons of Bāyazīd I, Mīr Sulaimān Čelebi and, after his death, Mūsā Čelebi continued to use it as such. Even after the conquest of Constantinople (1453) it continued to be the second residence while Brusa fell completely into the background. The Sulṭāns stayed there regularly for longer or shorter periods with the whole court and government, notably before the campaigns against Austria and Poland but also for the sake of the hunting there. From Aḥmed I's reign (beginning of the xviith century) Adrianople became the favourite residence of the Sulṭāns: Meḥemmed IV (1648—1687) spent the greater part of his reign in Adrianople; in Muṣṭafā II's reign (1695—1703) the Sulṭān's lengthened stay in Adrianople led to a revolt of the Janissaries and to his deposition. Henceforth Adrianople was only visited occasionally by the Sulṭāns and in the course of the xviiith century it was gradually abandoned as a royal residence. During the Russo-Turkish wars of the xixth century, Adrianople was twice occupied by the Russians, in 1829 from the 20th August—20th November and in 1878 from the 20th January to the end of March. The government of Adrianople was in earlier times (till 1826) in the hands of the Bostāndji-bashi [q. v., i. 766]. Justice was administered by a Mulla Ḳāḍī of high rank. After the administrative reforms Adrianople became the capital of the wilāyet of the same name and in 1911 the headquarters of the Fourth army corps (*üd ordu*). On the 25th March 1913 the town was captured by the Bulgarians after a siege of five months.

Adrianople was for long of great importance under Turkish rule not only as a royal residence and military centre but also as a commercial town; in the xvth century the original Greek population was joined by numerous Jewish emigrants from Spain, Armenians, Ragusans and other foreigners who carried on trade with the west.

The city grew considerably; the old Byzantine fortified town (the so-called *warosh*) remained to the Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Franks while the Turks settled outside the walls. In 1850 there were over 30,000 hearths, i. e. about 150,000 inhabitants; with the retirement of the Sulṭāns from Adrianople began the gradual decline of the city; about the time of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829 the population was estimated at 80,000—90,000 of whom 50% were Turks, 33% Greeks and Bulgars, and the remainder Jews, Armenians and Franks. The number has since risen to somewhat over 100,000.

From the time of the sons of Bāyazīd to the reign of Murād IV (the middle of the xviith century) and for a brief period again under Muṣṭafā II (1695—1703), Adrianople was one of the mints of the Ottoman Empire.

The splendid monuments of architecture in the city date from its period of greatest prosperity in the xvth and xvith centuries. Of Byzantine buildings there have survived the ruins of a church called Aya Sofia. The ancient quadrangular fortress had four huge round towers at the corners and twelve square towers in each wall. Nine gates are mentioned, viz.: *Ḳule Ḳapusi*, *Taş K.*, *Kafes* (*Kafesli*) *K.*, also called *Mīhal K.*, *Kināgīler* or *Kazangīlar K.*, *Oghrin* (*Egri*) *K.*, *Manios K.*, *Tamk K.*, *Imāḥīler* or *Stambul K.*, *Orta K.* (according to *Enīs al-Musāmirīn*; cf. Niebuhr, *Reisen*, iii. 164). The number of gates and their names in Ewliyā, iii. 428 and v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. R.*, vi. 700 differ from these. The *Porte Triomphale* illustrated in Sayger-Desarnod is probably identical with the *Gerud K.* in Djewrī, p. 6 *et seq.*

The New Imperial Palace on an island formed by the Tundja was built by Meḥemmed II in 1452 and Selīm I (1512—1520); later Sulṭāns added individual kiosks and other buildings. By the beginning of the xixth century it had begun to fall into decay; in 1829 the peace with Russia was signed there; on the 17th January 1878 the Turkish troops retreating before the Russians blew up the main buildings. The outlook tower dating from the xviith century still remains. We infer from the accounts of European travellers of the xviith and beginning of the xviiith centuries, that the Serai was similarly planned to the Old Serai of Topkapu in Constantinople, cf. the last account in v. Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, 6th ed., p. 150. According to Ewliyā the New Serai occupied the hunting-ground of the Greek emperors: as a matter of fact the site does seem identical with the "meadows of Comnena" on the Tundja where in 1337 the wedding of the Bulgar Crown-Prince Michael to a Byzantine princess was celebrated (Kantakuzen, *Hist.*, i. 508). — The Old Serai lay near the Selīmiye on the "planetree square" (*Kawaḳ Meidānı*) and is said to have been built by Murād I in 767 A. H. (according to others in 820 A. H. by Meḥemmed I); it was afterwards — according to Ewliyā in the reign of Sulaimān I — adopted as barracks for the ʿAdjemoghlans, like similar buildings elsewhere (the Galata Serai, the Serai in Brusa, etc.) and is known to have been used as such to the end of the xviith century.

The Mosques. The old churches were apparently left to the Christians at the conquest with the exception of the Čelebi Djāmiʿ, which is considered the oldest mosque; another mosque, the *Kilise Djāmiʿ*, situated like the preceding within the walls, with an ancient consecrated fountain, was turned into a mosque by Meḥemmed II. Gerlach in 1578 counted 15 Greek churches.

The oldest mosque is that of Bāyazīd Yildirim also called Kupeli Djāmiʿ, near the Mīhal bridge on the Maritza; 792 is given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm*, as the date of its erection while the author of the *Enīs al-Musāmirīn* gives 802 A. H.; Ewliyā says it was completed by Meḥemmed Čelebi.

The second oldest mosque is the "Old Djāmiʿ" (Eski Djāmiʿ, formerly also called Ulu Djāmiʿ), begun by Mīr Sulaimān Čelebi, continued by his brother Mūsā and completed by Meḥemmed I, though some authorities say it was only finished by Murād II; it was burned down on the 14th Redjeb 1159 (30th July 1746) and restored the following year.

Murād II built three mosques, the largest of which was the Üč Sherefeli, so called from the three balconies on two of its four minarets; it took ten years (841—851 A. H.) to build (*Enīs al-Musāmirīn*). The same Sulṭān built the Dār al-Ḥadīth Djāmiʿ (in 838 A. H.), in the forecourt of which is the mausoleum of the two princes Ḥasan and Orkhān, sons of Murād II, and a year later (839) the Murādiye, originally a Mewlewī monastery.

From this earlier period the following mosques also date:

1. Eshe (ʿĀʾisha) Kadin Djāmiʿ, on the

road to Stambul, built in 823 by ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān, daughter of Meḥemmed I.; 2. Khōdja Elyās at the gate Kafeskapu, dating from 825 H.; 3. the mosque of Mikhalbeg on the Tundja, with hospital and poor-kitchen dating from 825 H.; 4. the Beilerbei Djāmiʿ, dating from 832 H., as well as the mosque of Ṣarūdja Pasha, which is well-known because the head of the Grand Vizier Kara Muṣṭafā who was executed after the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683, is buried there.

In the reign of Meḥemmed II. there were built: the Selim Čelebi Djāmiʿ (in 867, or 873 A. H.), the Sulṭān Djāmiʿ, founded by Sitti Sulṭān, wife of the Sulṭān, in 877 H., the mosque at the Zāwiye of Ṣādiḳdede (882 A. H.), and the mosque of Djezeri Ḳāsim Pasha (883 H.)

Bāyazīd II. built the mosque, which bears his name, on the bank of the Tundja during the years 889—893 (1484—1488); it was particularly celebrated for its splendid philanthropic endowments (medrese, hospital and asylum, poor-kitchen) and is therefore sometimes also called Yeñi ʿImāret Djāmiʿ. His Vizier Suleimān Pasha founded another mosque near the "New Bridge". In the reign of Selīm I, Lari Čelebi built a mosque in 920 A. H.; Suleimān I built the mosque attached to the Zāwiya of Shudjāʿ and the Taḥt-lū Djāmiʿ, the latter being one of the famous Sinān's works.

The most celebrated building in Adrianople, the Selīmiye mosque was built for Selīm II in 976—982 (1568—1574) by the architect Sinān, who describes it as his greatest masterpiece by which he surpassed even Aya Sofia. Situated on the highest part of the town with a large cupola and four slender pillarlike minarets each with 3 balconies and as many staircases, and a spacious forecourt, and splendidly equipped in the interior, it became the court-mosque of the city. In Adrianople Sinān also built the mosque of Khāṣṣeki Sulṭān at the New Bridge and the mosque of Defterdār Muṣṭafā Pasha.

40 large and small mosques in all are mentioned besides a number of medreses, schools of Tradition (*Dār al-Ḥadīth*), Dervish monasteries and Zāwiyas. The Selīmiye is further said to have had a library containing 5000 volumes.

The bezestins (warehouses), čarshi (bazaars) and khāns (fondachi) of this city are equally celebrated. The "Old Bezestin", a *waḳf* of the Dār al-Ḥadīth Djāmiʿ was built by Murād II, the other, a *waḳf* of the "Old mosque" by Sulṭān Meḥemmed I. These are surpassed by ʿAlī Pasha's Bazaar (967 = 1559-1560) built by Sinān for Semiz ʿAlī Pasha, and the Shoemakers' Bazaar (*Kawwāflar Čarshusi*, also called *Uzun Čarshi*), built by Murād III as a *Waḳf* of the Selīmiye mosque. Among the 18 larger khāns may be mentioned: the Khān Rustem Pasha, built by Sinān, that of Muṣṭafā Pasha (*Iki Ḳapulu*) and the largest of all, the Khān ʿĀʾisha Ḳadin, near the mosque of the same name, built in 1018 (1609-1610) by Ekmekdjizāde Aḥmed Pasha.

The Serais of the Viziers and Pashas (detailed in Ewliyā, iii. 458 *et seq.*) were also very numerous; they were, like the Imperial Palace, left to fall to pieces after Adrianople lost its importance as the second royal residence.

The stone bridges over the Maritza and Tundja, which in part date from the Byzantine period, deserve special mention. The following are given: 1. the bridge at the Serrādj-khāne, built in 855 (A. H.) by Shihāb al-Dīn Pasha, collapsed at the beginning of the xviith century and was rebuilt; 2. The bridge of Bāyazīd II over the Tundja, with 6 arches; 3. the bridge near the mosque of Bāyazīd I, dating from the Byzantine period and repaired by Suleimān I in 951 A. H.; 4. a bridge of the year 1010 A. H. at the tomb of the saint Seiyidjān; 5. the Mikhal bridge, of the Byzantine period, repaired in 823 by Meḥemmed I and in 1050 A. H. by Kemankesh Muṣṭafā Pasha; 6. the New Bridge of Ekmekdjizāde Aḥmed Pasha of the year 1027 A. H.

The aqueducts were built by Suleimān I and restored in the beginning of the xviiith century (v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, vii. 66).

Bibliography: The detailed monograph on Adrianople compiled by Khiḍri ʿAbd al-Raḥmān of Adrianople in 1046 (1636-1637) under the title *Enīs al-Musāmirīn* (Royal Library of Vienna 1052) is extracted in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's *Rumili und Bosna*, transl. by v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 1—15 and in Djewrī's *Chronicle* (Stambul 1291) cf. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reichs*, x. 691 *et seq.*; besides the long section in Ewliyā Čelebi, vol. iii., we may quote the descriptions by European travellers in the xviith and xviiith centuries (John Covel in the *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* by Th. Bent, London 1893; Antoine Galland, *Journal*, ed. by Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881; E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey*, London 1747; *Letters of Lady Montague*, letters 25—34). The decay of the city in the beginning of the xixth century is described by George Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balcans* (London 1831), i., and Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, 6th ed., p. 150 *et seq.*; Nicolas de Nicolay, *Navigations* etc. gives types of the inhabitants in the xvith century. Views and plans of the mosques and other buildings are given by C. Sayger et A. Desarnod, *Album d'un voyage en Turquie en 1829-1830* (Paris n. d. fol.), Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, *Constantinople*, vol. ii. 73 and 77, and notably by C. Gurlitt, *Die Bauten Adrianopels* in *Orientalisches Archiv*, v. i. p. 1 and ii. (cp. with Jacob in *Der Islam*, vol. iii. 358—368).

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

EDJNEBI, the Turkish pronunciation of the Arabic *Adjnabī*, "stranger" [q. v., i. 141ᵇ].

EDREMID, the capital of a Ḳaẓā of the Sandjaḳ of Karasi in the Wilāyet of Brusa, with a population of Turks and Greeks (c. 8000 souls in all of whom 2000 are Greeks, in 1883 houses), is situated 5-6 miles inland from the port of Akčai in the uppermost corner of the Gulf of Edremid. The ruins of the ancient Adramyttion (Ἀτραμύτ(τ)ιον, Ἀδραμύττιον in the Byzantine authors, أدرميتو in Idrīsī) are at Ḳaratash on the sea near the Skala of Kemer-Edremid. Atramyttion was destroyed by the Turcoman Tzachas who had established himself in Smyrna since 1090, and after it had been rebuilt the town again suffered at the hands of another Turk Monolykos in 1113 (*Alexias*, ii. 224, 245, ed. Reifferscheid). To defend it against such attacks Manuel I fortified the town (about 1160; Niketas, p. 195). Early in the xivth century Edremid fell into the hands of the Karasioghlu of Bergama, after the Genoese

of Phocaea had undertaken the defence of the town against the Turks (Pachymeres, ii. 337 *et seq.*). When Sulṭān Orkhān dispossessed the Karasioghlu about 1345, Edremid passed with the other lands of this dynasty under Ottoman rule. In 1403 Tīmūrlank's troops on their return march from Brusa to Magnesia made a raid on Adramyttion, Assos and Pergamon from Balikesri (Ducas, p. 72, compared with Sheref al-Dīn). It is not known when the town was transferred from the sea-coast to the interior.

Bibliography: Tomaschek in the *Sitz.-Ber. der K. Akad. Wien*, vol. 124, viii. 25 *et seq.*; *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1889, p. 290 *et seq.*; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv. 273 *et seq.*; A. Philippson, *Reisen u. Forschungen im Westl. Kleinasien*, i. 30 *et seq.*

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

EDRĪS. [See IDRĪS.]

EFENDI, an Ottoman-Turkish word borrowed from the Byzantine Greek ἀφέντης (Du Cange), derived from the ancient Greek αὐθέντης: "sir, master", a legal term (used by Phrynicus, Polybius and even Euripides with this meaning). This name is given to men who have had a liberal education; ordinary people and subordinate officers are called *Agha* (*Aa* by elision of the velar) they receive the title *Efendi* when they have completed their literary education. *Efendim* (abbreviated familiarly and jokingly to *Efem*), "Sir", "madam". The Ḳāḍī of Constantinople is also called *Istambol Efendisi*. The *Re'is-Efendi* (for *Ra'is al-Kuttāb* = "chief of the scribes") was before the reforms the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Sulṭān also holds but not exclusively the title *Efendimiz* = "our Lord"; the Arabs of Egypt apply the analogous expression *Efendīnā* to the Khedive. This term is purely Turkish and has penetrated everywhere that Ottoman influence has made itself felt.

Bibliography: J. Psichari, *Efendi*, in the *Mélanges Havet*, p. 387—427; A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, i. 41; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, i. 42-43.

(CL. HUART.)

EGERDIR, the capital of a Ḳaḍā of the Sandjaḳ of Ḥamīdābād in the Wilāyet of Ḳōnya, situated on a tongue of land at the south end of the lake of Egerdir, with a few thousand inhabitants, all Muhammadans; on the adjacent island of Nisi (*Nesi*), Turkish Nisie, Nisadasi with a monastery live about 1000 Turkish-speaking Greeks. The town presumably fell into the hands of the Saldjūḳs at the same time as the district of Isparta, which Ḳilidj Arslān III conquered (600-601 A. H.) (see Houtsma, *Recueil* etc., iii. 62); its citadel which is now destroyed is said to have been built by Kaiḳubād I. After the break-up of the Saldjūḳ empire, Egerdir became the capital of the Turkoman Ḥamīdoghlu: one of the first rulers of this dynasty, Felek al-Dīn (beginning of the xivth century) gave it the name Felekābār, or Felekābād (Abu 'l-Fidā, *Geography*, transl. by Reinaud, ii. 2, 134). In 783 or 784 A. H. the last Ḥamīdoghlu sold his kingdom to Murād I and Egerdir thus passed under Ottoman rule. Tīmūrlank conquered the town and the fortified island of Nisadasi on the 17th Shaʿbān 805 = 11th March 1403 (Saʿd al-Dīn, according to Sheref al-Dīn on the 17th Radjab) on his march through Anatolia and gave them to the Karamanoghlu whom he restored; the latter had to return them to the Ottomans in 1425 with the district of Ḥamīdeli. The town has no less than 30 large and 18 small mosques and also a small library with 218 manuscripts; the name was originally pronounced Egridūr (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 267; Ibn Faḍl Allāh in *Not. et Extr.*, xiii. 360, 384).

Bibliography: Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 211 *et seq.*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 640; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 142 *et seq.*, cf. the article ḤAMĪDOGHLU.

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

EGIN, the capital of a Ḳaḍā containing about 60,000 people in the Sandjaḳ of Kharput in the Wilāyet of Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz, occupies a picturesque site about 3000 feet above sea-level in a wooded hollow, where the river widens, on the right bank of the Ḳara Ṣu or western Euphrates, N. E. of ʿArab-kir surrounded by a crescent of hills 1200 feet high, down whose sides fall numerous streams. The town is believed to have been founded in the xith century by Armenians from Waspurakān (see St. Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i. 189). So recent a writer as Von Moltke still describes it as a stronghold of the Armenians, who leave it in their youth for Constantinople and return with the wealth they have amassed. More recently the population estimated by Cuinet at 19,000, by Yorke at 15,000, is composed one half of Armenians the other of Turks. In 1895-1896 there were massacres of Armenians in the town.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā* (Constantinopel 1145), p. 624; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 790—792; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände . . . in der Türkei*[6], p. 378 *et seq.*; V. W. Yorke in the *Geogr. Journ.*, viii. (1896, ii.), p. 333 *et seq.*

(R. HARTMANN.)

EGRI, German Erlau, archbishopric and the political centre of the Heves comitate in Hungary, was in Turkish hands from 1596 to 1687. It is particularly celebrated for its heroic and successful defence under Stephan Dobo from the 9th Sept. to the 18th Oct. 1552 against overwhelming forces under the Vizier Aḥmed (Von Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, iii. 307 *et seq.*; Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, iii. 243). It was not till 1596 that the Turks, in the reign of Meḥemed III, succeeded in taking it (v. Hammer, *op. cit.* iv. 262 *et seq.*; Jorga, *op. cit.* iii. 321 *et seq.*). In 1687 the town surrendered to General Caraffa on the death of the commander of its garrison, ʿOthmān Rustem Agha (v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, vi. 507; Jorga, *op. cit.*, iv. 229).

EGRI-DAGH. [See ARARAT i. 420b.]

EGYPT.

The name Egypt — the etymology is more correctly preserved in the German form Ägypten — is derived from the Greek Αἴγυπτος of which only the abbreviation *Ḳibṭ* survived into the Muhammadan period as the name of the inhabitants of the country. The land itself is known by the old Semitic name the Arabic form of which is Miṣr; from this the colloquial language has made Maṣr. The Muslim conquest began at the end of the year 18 = 639. From that year to the present day Egypt has been one of the centres of the political, cultural and religious development of Islām. Nowhere else has Islām come into such active contact with modern Europe as in the land of the Nile. It is a very difficult task to give a survey of the multifarious aspects of Egyptian life in the purely Muslim period but with this modern development it becomes well nigh impossible. If in

spite of this an attempt is here made to give a comprehensive survey, it is only possible by making an essential distinction between mediaeval and modern Egypt. The modern period in Egypt begins with the French expedition of 1798 and with Muḥammad ʿAlī. There are many connecting links between the old and the new period but it is nevertheless an entirely new Egypt with entirely new aspects which must be treated in quite a different fashion in such an article as this, that arises in the nineteenth century. The invasion of the Nile valley by European civilisation has been for the latter of immensely greater moment than even the rise of Hellenism was. An entirely new period begins with the Khedives in contrast to which perhaps the whole history of Egypt and certainly the Muslim period forms a distinct unity. The subject has been divided with reference to this distinction. Here we shall only discuss mediaeval Muḥammadan Egypt (639—1798) and refer the reader to the article KHEDIVES for Egypt under European influence.

1. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

As all the dynasties and important men are dealt with in separate articles, the object of this article is only to give a general survey and detail the historical aspects and events which cannot or ought not to be given in the separate articles.

A. H.	Survey of the rulers of Egypt.	A. D.
18—21	Conquest by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ	639—641
21—38	Governors for the Orthodox Caliphs . . .	641—658
38—132	Governors for the Umaiyads	658—750
132—254	Governors for the ʿAbbāsids	750—868
254—292	Dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids	868—905
292—323	Governors for the ʿAbbāsids	905—935
323—358	Ikhshīdid dynasty . . .	935—969
358—567	Fāṭimid Caliphs . . .	969—1171
567—648	Aiyūbid dynasty . . .	1171—1250
648—792	Baḥrī Mamlūks . . .	1250—1390
792—923	Burdjī Mamlūks . . .	1390—1517
923—1212	Ottoman Pashas and Mamlūks	1517—1798
1212	Napoleon's Expedition, Beginning of the modern period	1798

The great conquests in Syria and the ʿIrāḳ displaced the capital Medina to the outskirts of the new empire. Byzantine Egypt constantly threatened the young empire and even Medina itself lay perilously near the Byzantine naval harbour of Klysma (Ḳulzum, Suez). Egypt with its rich corn-supplies must also have appeared a much more desirable acquisition to the central government than the more distant Syria or ʿIrāḳ, at least a regular traffic in corn to the Ḥidjāz began immediately after the conquest. It is most improbable therefore that there is any historical foundation for the Arab story that Egypt was conquered against the wish of the Caliph. By the year 18 (639) the raiding policy of the early years of the conquest had already been abandoned for one of permanent occupation. The state of affairs in Egypt at that time invited the Arab conquest. The ten years of Persian rule had been followed by a strong Byzantine reaction after the victories of Heraclius. The latter hoped by his *ἔκθεσις* to terminate the endless strife between Monophysites and Dyophysites and at the same time give the resuscitated empire an united church. But it was too late, the Monophysite Egyptians, who apparently never grasped the Monothelitic proposals for compromise, believed that the hated creed of Chalcedon was to be forced upon them. As at the same time the financial claims of the empire on Egypt were very great and the administration of church and finance were in the same hands, it may be imagined that the attachment of the Egyptians to Byzantium was not overgreat. In 631 the emperor Heraclius had sent Cyrus, previously Bishop of Phasis in the Caucasus, to Alexandria as Patriarch and at the same time head of the civil administration. For ten years this man sought by every means in his power to persuade the Coptic church to adopt the *ἔκθεσις* and at the same time to increase the revenues of the treasury. The portrait of Cyrus is painted blacker and blacker by later Coptic tradition; for not only did he indirectly pave the way for the Arabs but he was the governor of Egypt who concluded the most important treaties with the Arabs. It is from Cyrus that the essential features of the half-legendary character of the Muḳawḳis [q. v.] of Arab tradition are derived. The conqueror of Egypt was ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [q. v., i. p. 334ᵇ *et seq.*]. He had already distinguished himself in Syria and now appeared unexpectedly in December 18 (639) on the eastern frontier of Egypt from which the troops had been withdrawn and about a month later (Muḥarram 19 = January 640) captured Pelusium with only 3000—4000 men. ʿAmr could not risk a decisive battle till he had been reinforced by about 5000 men under the leadership of Zubair, the celebrated companion of the Prophet. With these he defeated the Byzantines under the Augustalis Theodoros in the battle of Heliopolis (Radjab 19 = July 640), which was immediately followed up by the occupation of one of the suburbs of Babylon [q. v., i. 550]. The citadel of the town held out for some time longer. Cyrus who was within its walls entered into negotiations with ʿAmr in spite of considerable opposition in his own camp and then left Egypt to have the treaty proposed with ʿAmr ratified by the Emperor. Heraclius was exceedingly enraged, Cyrus was accused of treason and banished; soon afterwards Heraclius died (23rd Ṣafar 20 = 11th February 641). As his death seemed to destroy all hope of relief, the citadel of Babylon capitulated on the 21st Rabīʿ II = 9th April 641. The eastern Delta and, as Babylon was the key to the upper Nile valley, Upper Egypt also thus fell into ʿAmr's hands. He now crossed the Nile and following its western arm, slowly advanced on Alexandria via Nikiu, the see of a bishop, which surrendered on the 26th Djumādā I = 13th May. Here he met with a vigorous resistance and, although able to occupy the surrounding country temporarily, saw for the time being no hope of actually capturing the strongly fortified seaport. We are not very well informed as to the gradual expansion of his power in the rest of Egypt. Meanwhile affairs had taken a sudden turn in Constantinople. Cyrus was sent back to Egypt to get the most favourable terms

possible from 'Amr. Cyrus returned to Alexandria on the 2nd Shawwāl 20 (14th Sept. 641). His further course of action is not quite clear. In contrast to his previous attitude he now assiduously courted the support of the Copts and it is not improbable that he wanted to establish an Egyptian primacy under Arab suzerainty. In autumn he concluded, unknown to the Alexandrines, the final treaty of surrender with 'Amr by which the city was to be vacated by the Greeks by the 16th Shawwāl 21 (17th Sept. 642). On payment of a certain tribute the inhabitants were guaranteed liberty of life and property as well as the free exercise of their religion. At first they were very indignant at this treaty but ultimately bowed to necessity. The Greeks abandoned the city and it was surrendered to the Arabs at the expiry of the appointed period. Cyrus died before the surrender took place. To protect his rear, 'Amr undertook an expedition in the following winter (22 = 642-643) against the neighbouring Pentapolis (Barḳa) and thus concluded the conquest of the land. It was not Alexandria but Fusṭāṭ, the city which had grown out of the camp before Babylon, that was chosen as the capital of the country [see the article CAIRO, i. p. 816 *et seq.*]. Once again the Byzantines were stirred to activity. In 25-26 (645) a Byzantine fleet under Manuel suddenly appeared in the roadsteads of Alexandria and the city rose in rebellion and welcomed the Byzantines. At this time 'Amr was no longer at the head of affairs in Egypt but he had to be summoned there, as his successor was not able to cope with this unexpected development. His military genius once more triumphed; in a short time he drove the Byzantines out of the country and conquered Alexandria for a second and last time — on this occasion by force of arms — in 25 (646).

The last step in the conquest was to render secure the southern frontier. Egypt has on the whole natural boundaries, the sea in the north, the Lybian desert in the east and the Arabian desert and the Red sea in the west. It was only the southern frontier that was undefined. It was defined by an expedition under 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd who had replaced 'Amr as governor for a time before the second occupation of Alexandria and filled the post a second time till shortly before the murder of 'Othmān. In 31 = 651-652 he advanced against the Christian kingdom of Nubia, south of Aswān, reached Dongola (Dunḳula in al-Kindī, ed. Guest, p. 12 and 13) and in Ramaḍān of the same year concluded a treaty with the ruler of the Nubians which has been preserved (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 200, 12 *et seq.*; cf. *Zeitschr. für Assyr.* xxiii. 141 *et seq.*). By its terms an official exchange of commodities with Nubia was instituted. This agreement was called *baḳt* [q. v., i. 608' *et seq.*] which — it may be added here — is probably derived from the Latin *pactum*. Down to the Mamlūk period Philae (Bilāḳ) formed the southern boundary of Egypt. The most northerly point in the Nubian kingdom was called al-Ḳaṣr.

When in the reign of the Caliph 'Othmān quarrels everywhere broke out between the Imāms and the Arab troops, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd had to leave Egypt and it was from Egypt that the assassins of 'Othmān went to Medina (35 = 656). Egypt was next under 'Alī's rule till it was taken from him by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, the Anti-caliph Mu'āwiya's general (38 = 658). Henceforth it remained in the possession of the Umaiyads except for the brief period of the nominal sovereignty of the Anti-caliph 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair, who held Egypt from 64-65 (683-684). Of the governors of this period 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Merwān [q. v., i. 36b], the brother of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, was of special importance for the country; he ruled the land practically independently from his headquarters in Ḥalwān. It was he who gave the administration the character it long maintained. The later governors of this period are of more importance for economic than purely political history. When the dynasty was overthrown, Egypt was the last refuge of the unhappy Merwān II, who met his end here. This event made such an impression on the Coptic Christians that it has found a place in the Coptic Apocalypse of Daniel where Merwān appears as the seventeenth king with the number 666 (M+ι+ζ+c+υ+α+ν = 666). Severus of Ashmūnain gives a very remarkable account at great length of his end from the mouth of an alleged eyewitness which presents a marked contrast to the brief statements in the Muḥammadan chroniclers (ed. Evetts, p. 119 *et seq.*; ed. Seybold, 173 *et seq.*; Hamburg text of Severus, ed. Seybold, p. 165 *et seq.*). The 'Abbāsids here appear as "Turks" and in the Apocalypse of Daniel the conqueror of Merwān as Pitourgos. It is important to note these Christian echoes of the tragedy because the passing of the Caliphate from the Umaiyads to the 'Abbāsids seems from the Muḥammadan historians to have made no particular impression on the Egyptians. From the point of view of economic history also this transition was of importance.

Under the 'Abbāsids the country was ruled by governors, who till the year 242 = 856 were usually Arabs. In this year the last Arab governor left the country which was henceforth to be governed by Turks only till Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn founded the first Turkish dynasty. Ma'mūn was the only Caliph to visit the Nile valley and even the feudal vassals appointed by Ma'mūn and his successors between the Caliph and the governors rarely visited Egypt. The most important historical movement which, though in the main completed in the pre-Fāṭimid period, went on down to the Mamlūk period, was the spread of Arab culture and the Muslim religion in Egypt. These were not identical developments; for the Egyptians who remained Christians soon began to adopt the language of the ruling classes also and by the fourth = tenth century we find that the Coptic ecclesiastic has to write Arabic if he wishes to be understood. Arab culture was spread by various causes. The town-dwelling Arabs, who were concentrated in the capital Fusṭāṭ, the Arabs who held the higher offices in the Coptic speaking provinces contributed very little to the propagation of Arab influence in the provinces. The introduction of the Arabic language in the government offices said to have taken place in 87 (705-706) — in reality both Greek and Arabic were used down to the beginning of the second century — did not affect 1⁰/₀ of the population. The chief factor in the spread of Arab culture which gave it so much greater effect than the preceding Hellenism, was the gradual settlement of the country districts by Arab nomads. Unlike the Greeks who were town-dwellers and built up civic communities of great importance in the history of civilisation the Arabs had not from

the first been dwellers in cities. The men of Mecca and Medina like the Arabs of Syria of course quickly adapted themselves to the environment of a large city, but they required pastures to be maintained for them, they wanted their *rabīʿ wa-laban*, and out of such a country life permanent settlements frequently grew up in the provinces. The numerous Bedouin tribes on the other hand who came to Egypt in the train of the picked troops of the regular army or were deliberately transported thither as in the case of the Ḳais in 107 = 725 or lastly gradually migrated casually and without any settled plan led a very nomadic life. These tribes and clans gradually advanced southwards on the borders of the cultivated country on both sides of the Nile valley. Their cattle-rearing was of benefit to the agrarian population who supplied them with corn. Their relations however were frequently less peaceful particularly as the turbulence of the Bedouins added to the extortions of the treasury became a continual source of affliction to the Copts. Sections or even whole tribes gradually succumbed to the advantages of a settled life and thus a strong vein of Arab blood was constantly being added to the Coptic people of the Nile valley. This process of assimilation is still going on and the government of the Khedives has done much to make these always unruly Bedouins of the frontiers adopt a settled life. From the authorities, rare for the early period but copious later (cf. El-Macrizi's *Abhandlung über die in Ägypten eingewanderten Stämme*, ed. Wüstenfeld) it would appear that quite a considerable migration took place which even sent offshoots as far as the Sūdān. How far direct immigration of tribes and individuals (traders) across the Red Sea into Upper Egypt also played a part has not yet been investigated, but Strabo's description of Coptos in Upper Egypt as a half Arab town is suggestive. The traffic on ancient trade-routes was certainly doubled after Arabia and Egypt had become parts of one and the same empire. These wandering Arabs were of course never great carriers of civilization but the ancient civilization of the Nile valley assimilated them and only the Arabic language remained. The mixing process must have been greater than the anthropological and moral similarity of the modern fellah with the peasant of the period of the Pharaohs would lead one to suppose. The power of assimilation possessed by the climate of the Nile valley which has been observed in animals, must certainly have done its work, but without a great deal of mixing it is inexplicable that the Coptic peasant in the country with his essentially conservative nature should have adopted another language. Not only did the Arabs become niloticised but the Copts must have been arabicised to a greater extent.

Side by side with this adoption of Arab culture, the spread of Islām usually went hand in hand but the latter also followed other laws. In religion the Arabs brought the Copts freedom from the Byzantine yoke but the latter were not the less hostilely disposed to Islām. At the time of the conquest there were two ecclesiastical communities opposed to one another, the Jacobites i.e. the Coptic church and the Malkites i.e. the orthodox Byzantine church represented by Cyrus. As was their custom the Arabs supported the heterodox movement, and the Jacobites attained unrestricted power, they annexed quite a number of Malkite churches and monasteries and took advantage of their good relations with the Arab rulers to win as many Malkites as possible over to their side. For example they succeeded in getting a double poll-tax levied on Malkites which caused many to become Jacobites. This method was afterwards used by Islām against Christians of both sects. As the Arabs were at first hailed by the Copts as their deliverers from the Byzantine yoke, it naturally followed that even in the early years after the conquest numerous conversions to Islām took place, but on the whole active proselytising was hardly noticeable in the early decades after the conquest. The Arab government even regularly appointed a patriarch and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and others allowed the building of new Christian churches which was quite contrary to the later practice and the Sharīʿa. We get the impression from Christian Arabic sources of the time that the Arabs were only concerned about the money they extorted from the Christians but there were of course at the same time occasional attacks on their religion also; thus, for example, al-Aṣbagh, the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz forced the Christians to take part in the *ṣalāt*. The Arab government also found itself forced on economic grounds to take steps against the monastic system which deprived the land of the best of its youthful vigour and it was natural that the Christians had to pay a very considerable tribute, which ceased when they adopted Islām. In spite of official recognition the Christians were sometimes badly treated by the Muhammadan populace. All these reasons explain the rather rapid progress of Islām in Egypt and make it seem remarkable that as late as the viiith = xivth century there should have been popular risings on account of the number of Christian officials in the Dīwān (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 512 *et seq.*). This war on Christian officials lasts throughout the whole history of Egypt. At the end of the first century A. H. we still find Christians in the highest offices in the civil administration. ʿOmar II's attempt to replace the lower officials also by Muslims (*Der Islam*, ii. 365) was predestined to failure. In the course of centuries Christians were gradually replaced by Muslims throughout the public offices but the mechanism of administration was so complicated that its management remained for centuries a privilege of the Christian Copts. As late as the Fāṭimid period we still find Christians and Jews, who at most only formally professed Islām, even in the office of wazīr. That the dīwāns at this time were full of Christian officials is clear from al-Ṣairafī's polemic in his account of the *Dīwān al-inshāʾ* (*Ḳānūn Dīwān al-Rasāʾil*, p. 94 *et seq.*). The similar state of affairs in the Mamlūk period has already been discussed. In all cases one can see that the government for the time being protected Christians — probably for fiscal reasons — but it had occasionally to make concessions to the fanaticism of the mob. Individual rulers also as, for example, the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim had sometimes the same views as the mob. We can thus observe that in course of time the demands of the Sharīʿa gradually won greater influence in everyday life, for example the prescription of a distinctive dress for Christians and Jews, the interdiction of riding on horseback, of building new churches etc., but even in times of great excitement these orders were only put into execution for a brief period; for otherwise popular anger against their neglect would not have con-

stantly broken out again. Makrīzī who deals with these matters in several passages of his *Khiṭaṭ* marks two important dates in the progress of Islām in Egypt. The first of these is the period following the great Copt rising in the reign of Ma'mūn. The gradually increasing pressure of taxation had goaded the Copts to several risings, which were ruthlessly put down by Ma'mūn and his generals (see Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 129 *et seq.*). From that time on the Copts began to adopt Islām and the Arabs gained power in the country districts. At a much later period we find the Copts causing a crisis not only in the capital but throughout the country in the reign of Naṣr b. Ḳalā'ūn in 720 *et seq.* = 1320 *et seq.* Churches were destroyed, Christians tortured and in one of the smaller towns such as Ḳalyūb 450 Christians became converts to Islām in one day (Wüstenfeld, Macrizi's *Geschichte der Kopten*, p. 81); this place may be taken as typical of the rest of the country. The last resistance of the Christians seems thereby to have been broken and the advance of Islām reached the stage at which we now see it. It is only in Old Cairo and certain districts of Upper Egypt that Coptic communities of any size have survived. According to a calculation, in Becker's *Beiträge*, p. 113 based on the yield of the djizya, the proportion of Muslims seems by Saladin's time to correspond to what it is to day. But this is probably not correct; for the average assessment of djizya is now known from papyri recently discovered to be much lower than the amount there taken on the authority of the Sharī'a so that the number of Christians in Saladin's reign is to be placed at a much higher figure. It is not till the later Mamlūk period that we can say that the process of conversion to Islām is concluded although it had made great progress as early as the beginning of the Ṭūlūnid period.

The history of Muhammadan Egypt as an independent state begins with the Ṭūlūnids [q. v.]. Their accession had been preceded by a period of decline in the economic prosperity of the land as its resources had been recklessly exhausted by the government (cf. *Beiträge*, p. 136 *et seq.*). The governors or the often independent finance-administrators were simply tax-farmers. The revenues of the country went partly to Baghdād and partly into the pockets of successive governors without the country itself benefitting in the slightest therefrom. This state of affairs was changed on the foundation of an independent dynasty. The money now remained in the country. When independent of the central government, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [q. v.] no longer made a point of plundering the country but rather tried to make it yield a permanent revenue and increase the glory of his dynasty. From being a dependency Egypt developed into the centre of a great empire, the government improved, and general prosperity increased as at all times when the country has had a strong government. For the first time for centuries Syria was again ruled from Egypt and the whole history of antiquity as of the later Muhammadan period shows that the destinies of these two countries are closely bound up. In this direction lies the natural expansion of an independent Egyptian kingdom. In one point, however, the Ṭūlūnids showed themselves true parvenus. While the contemporary Persian dynasties were creating a national civilisation, the Ṭūlūnids were content to be imitators. Just as at one period the German rulers had each to have their little Versailles, the capital of Egypt was modelled on Samarra and Baghdād. This fact has been much exaggerated and Fusṭāṭ-Cairo denied any genuine development in art or culture (E. Richmond, *The Significance of Cairo*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1913, p. 23 *et seq.*). What is undoubtedly true in this, is that a new period in the history of Egypt begins with the Ṭūlūnids and that Egypt did not escape the general development of Muslim civilisation.

In tracing the history of Egyptian civilisation from 18—1212 = 639—1798 the period may be divided into four very distinct periods, the Arabic, the Arabo-Persian, the Perso-Turkish and the pure Turkish, throughout which it must never be forgotten that the backbone of the populace was Arabicised Copts. The pre-Ṭūlūnid period may be described as the Arabic. The Arabo-Persian period covers the rule of Ṭūlūnids, Ikhshīdids and Fāṭimids. The influence of Persian culture becomes gradually more and more marked. In spite of their Shī'ite creed the Fāṭimids make no break in the development of culture. A new stage only begins at the end of the Fāṭimid period with Saladin and the Aiyūbids. They brought the spirit and culture of the great Saldjūḳ empire to Africa also. In art and industry, in political and intellectual life, indeed even in calligraphy the dawn of a new era may be observed which we shall discuss in detail below. This second Perso-Turkish period covers the whole Mamlūk period as the Mamlūks regarded themselves in everything as the successors of the Aiyūbids, whose political ambitions and even the titles of their court officials they inherited and maintained. The fourth and last period is that of Ottoman rule in which Egypt is a Turkish province. The successors of the Mamlūks created nothing of value to civilisation.

From the point of view of political history we get quite another picture. The epochs 18—254 = 639—868 and 923—1212 = 1517—1798 serve as prelude and epilude to the great period of Egyptian independence. The latter falls into three periods of which the Fāṭimid is the middle one. The pre-Fāṭimid period is characterised by the struggle of the Turkish governors for independence from the central government of the Caliphate. The independence of the Ṭūlūnids became possible by the great slave rising after the suppression of which the brief glory of the dynasty was soon at an end. Ikhshīd and his successors had to deal with less resistance, the Ikhshīdid kingdom being a parallel to the Ḥamdānid and Būyid kingdoms, political entities which only became possible on the dissolution of the 'Abbāsid empire. This is the period of the struggle for the right to exercise suzerainty over the Caliph. The two Egyptian dynasties only lasted into the fourth century A. H. They had neither a national nor a religious footing in the country. They were based on the ability of their founders whose kingdom was held together for some time longer after their death by the community of interest of those who had assisted them. They are ideal examples of the wonderful chances in a soldier's career in those days, their rulers were promoted generals and yet something different from the Praetorial rulers of the Mamlūk period. The idea of rightful

succession had not yet been quite obscured by license and opportunism. Beside the soldiers we have a further important factor in the financier. A phenomenon like the Madhara'iyūn family, whose members without the slightest military power at times unofficially ruled Egypt purely by their economic superiority, is a characteristic of the period. The bureaucracy and the tax-farmer, those inheritances from the ancient world, had not yet lost their power before the all-destroying militarism of the Mamlūk period. The pre-Fāṭimid period differs markedly from the post-Fāṭimid in its internal structure as well as in its political attitude although the two have many features in common.

The character of the Fāṭimid period itself is quite different. For the first time Egypt had a dynasty full of vitality founded on a religious basis. Egypt itself was, however, not Shī'ite and the easy manner, in which Saladin restored orthodoxy, shows that the creed which had been forced upon the country had only been formally adopted. But the prestige of religion was of inestimable value for the preservation of the dynasty and controlling the ambition of the generals which could only find an outlet by becoming at most mayors of the palace. Mu'izz had not come, like the Ṭūlūnid and Ikhshīd, as the representative and envoy of a legitimate ruler to the country but as the autocratic ruler of a powerful kingdom for whom the way had been prepared by his generals. The first Egyptian Fāṭimid had thus not to gain his position gradually by force of arms but came with all the prestige of a ruler of North Africa and surrounded by the halo of religion and the regal splendour of an Imām and Caliph. The Fāṭimid kingdom was organised on the model of the 'Abbāsid or rather after still older Persian prototypes. They had nothing to learn when they arrived in Egypt but understood perfectly how to reconcile the ancient administrative system of the country with their assumptions of hierarchy. Not only were they themselves in part excellent rulers but they took care to surround themselves with statesmen of great ability. Their authority offered an almost insurmountable barrier to the encroachments of the military. In the long run the fate of the 'Abbāsids naturally overtook them also and the Mamlūk system arose out of their troops, but it was only through Saladin and his successors, more particularly through the military fiefs and the abolition of the bureaucracy intermediary between the rulers and the people that the Mamlūks became an all-supreme power and a scourge to the citizens.

The contemporary political problems of the Fāṭimid period also were quite different from those of the preceding epoch. It is true that there again was a struggle for Syria — even in the reign of the conqueror of Egypt — it was no longer however a war against a powerful Caliphate but against the Būyids and Saldjūks. Between the latter and the Fāṭimid kingdom lay a number of small, independent kingdoms some of which sided with the East and some with the West. It was a war between 'Abbāsids and Fāṭimids for mention in the *khuṭba*. It was an insignificant episode from the point of view of the history of the world but to the Fāṭimids it was the fulfilment of their highest ambition when the *khuṭba* was pronounced for them and their "holy fathers" for a brief period (449-450 = 1058) even in Baghdād, the capital of the 'Abbāsids, by the ephemeral usurper Basāsīrī. At its zenith the Fāṭimid empire was the only great Muhammadan power in the eastern Mediterranean. Here we have the historical antagonism of two great powers, — which extended as far as Sicily and South Italy — namely that of Byzantium and Egypt. They created the pre-eminence of Egypt, which was still further increased by Saladin and survived into the Mamlūk period. This golden period in Egypt's history lasted from al-Mu'izz to al-Mustanṣir and has been described for us in glowing colours by the Persian Nāṣir-i Khusraw, shortly before its economic and political collapse in the reign of the last-named Caliph. No other land in Islām could then compare with Egypt. It was only under the great Saldjūk Sulṭāns that the 'Irāḳ regained its premier position. Syria was lost to the Fāṭimids before the Saldjūk invasion. Had it still been held by Egypt, Syria might have been able to make a powerful defence against the inroads of the Crusaders which were shortly to break in upon it, but an enfeebled Egypt and the small Atābeg states could not do this successfully.

Fāṭimid power began to decline rapidly everywhere after the famine and rebellions in the reign of al-Mustanṣir. Badr al-Djamālī [q. v., i. p. 560] and his son al-Afḍal [q. v., i. p. 146] could only temporarily check its decline. The praetorian government ruined the country; another factor was the invasion of the Crusaders and Amalrich stood at the gates of Cairo when the star of the Fāṭimids was about to set. This period of retrogression takes us to the third period of Egypt's prosperity under the Aiyūbids [q. v., i. p. 221[b] *et seq.*] and the Mamlūks [q. v.].

Saladin restored the glory of Egypt anew. The features of the new epoch outlined above are only the expression of a new period in the political history. The well-nigh inexhaustible natural wealth of Egypt enabled every new ruler to devote himself to foreign politics on a large scale, if only he knew how to bring order into domestic affairs. The tasks, which wrecked the declining power of the Fāṭimids, the suppression of rebellions at home and the repulse of the Crusaders, were successfully accomplished by the Aiyūbids and their successors. The struggle between East and West now centres round Egypt and the name Damietta [q. v., i. p. 910[b] *et seq.*] recalls many important events in the history of the later Crusaders. Relying for support on the religious reaction of the Saldjūk period, the Aiyūbids were the true Shahīds, who recognised the purpose of their dynasty in war against the enemies of Islām. They reunited Syria to Egypt and held it for a long period. But this glorious dynasty unfortunately lacked any cohesion among the members of the family; split up into numerous lines, the main object of the dynasty seemed to be exterminate itself in internecine warfare. Whoever held Egypt had the advantage, as it was the centre of the kingdom. Saladin, al-'Ādil and al-Kāmil were essentially Egyptian rulers. The power of the Aiyūbids lay in the Ghuzz [q. v.]; here lay the possibility of an ethnic basis for the dynasty but it was destroyed by the rivalries of the individual lines. Unity no longer lay in the ruling family but in the ethnic relationship of the troops of the kingdom consisting almost entirely of slaves (Mamlūks). While those who fought under the Aiyūbid flag were not all Turks but included Slavs and Greeks, the Turkish element consider-

ably predominated. As they were constantly at war with one another, the various members of the dynasty became more and more dependent on the good will of their generals and ultimately became mere playthings in the hands of ambitious commanders. It thus created no great stir when in the end the rulers, whose power had now become purely nominal, disappeared from the scene and those who had for long had the real control of the government now openly assumed responsibility for their actions.

The idea of a dynasty slowly disappeared. Although associations with the Aiyūbids remained throughout the whole political system and although Ḳalāʾūn, among the Baḥrī Mamlūks, was able to found a kind of dynasty, with the Circassian Mamlūks the government was a military oligarchy not only in principle, but in practice. The development of the military fiefs gave an entirely military character to the government. It was a feudal state, based not on the possession of land but on rent, relying for its defence not on freeborn yeomen with a permanent interest in the soil, but on purchased slaves who were afterwards set free. The Mamlūk aristocracy was a kind of stratum above the Egyptian people proper, which was at times plundered in the most shameless fashion. Constantly quarrelling with one another, ruling the country as they pleased, ethnically a body of foreigners, numerically in no proportion to the native Egyptians, their survival for several centuries, particularly their energetic bearing, and their great architectural activity, which required enormous financial resources, appears at first sight a puzzle. It should never be forgotten that it was the Mamlūks, who under Baibars formed the barrier which checked the advancing tide of Mongol invasion. The battle of ʿAin Djālūt was no chance success, for Ḳalāʾūn and other Sulṭāns again and again repulsed the Mongols (Īlkhāns). This is the great debt that the world owes to these slave Sulṭāns, for they saved Egypt from the fate of ʿIrāḳ and it is due to them that the Nile valley has had a continuity of development in culture and political institutions unlike any other Muslim country. Beside this great feat the final expulsion of the Crusaders seems an insignificant and easy success. The subjection of Nubia also was of less importance for the history of Egypt than for that of the Sūdān. On all sides the same great power of expansion can be traced. The Egyptian government stood at the centre of international interest as a powerful organism. Its relations with the Golden Horde arose out of their common opposition to the Īlkhāns, but Byzantium and other European kingdoms also sought the friendship of the powerful Mamlūk Sulṭāns. During the same period one splendid building arose after another in Cairo in spite of the fact that the constant wars were consuming immense treasure. The old buildings which at the present day still give Cairo its characteristic appearance are almost all Mamlūk. Whence came the power and the money to do all this in a state with such a precarious constitution? It was probably in the first place the unusual ability of a series of great rulers like Baibars, Ḳalāʾūn, Nāṣir, Barḳūḳ, Ḳāʾit-Bey, that brought the land this prosperity. In a state organised like that of the Mamlūks where every one carried a marshall's baton in his knapsack, it was only men of unusual ability that came to the top; there was a kind of survival of the fittest in the system. In spite of their fondness for quarrelling with one another at home, they developed a strong esprit-de-corps in face of danger from abroad. The Mamlūks, moreover, were mainly Turks or Circassians, that is to say, unusually powerful members of naturally warlike peoples, selected for the slave-market. The rivalry among the individual amīrs further provided an excellent military training. It was a clever move of Baibars to offer a home in Cairo to the ʿAbbāsids, driven out of Baghdād by the Mongols. The claims of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns to the throne which were by no means sound, were raised above all suspicion by this step. This clever coup raised their prestige in a way which can hardly be understood at the present day. The great Mamlūks by no means lacked the qualities of rulers. From time to time something was done to improve the state of the country, canals were made, or reforms undertaken. The Arab Bedouin element had become very strong in the country alongside of the Fallāḥīn and energetic steps had to be taken against it from time to time so that agriculture again suffered. The splendid culture of this period could not possibly have been maintained out of the income from the land alone, although the rural population was very heavily burdened. The great source of the government's revenue was the Indian trade which passed through Egypt as will be discussed below. When it ceased, the dominion of the Mamlūks came to an end. When the Portuguese obtained a footing in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea and diverted trade with India round the Cape, a blow was struck at the very heart of Egypt's prosperity. Fortune had willed that in the same decades the might of the Ottomans began to threaten the Nile valley like some inexorable fate. Egypt thus became a Turkish province and its golden age was over. The whole eastern Mediterranean began to sink into the background by the transfer of the world's trade to different routes and the discovery of America. The focus of civilization had shifted. The period 1517—1798 is for Egypt one of stagnation; the great events in the world's history had their scene elsewhere.

Selim I entered Cairo on the last day of Rabīʿ I of the year 923 (22nd April 1517). The last Mamlūk ruler Ṭūmān Bey had previously been hanged at the Bāb Zuwaila. Selīm and his successor Sulaimān organised the constitution of the country with great caution. The holder of the new Pashalik was not to become too powerful nor was the Mamlūk constitution of the military upper stratum to be completely suppressed. The Pasha and six bodies of troops under Beys with two Dīwāns or supreme councils were to hold the balance. The Mamlūk system thus found new scope for its energies. For about a century the Pashas had some real authority and initiative but after a few unfortunate experiences the Porte began to change its representatives every few years thereby making it impossible for them to have any permanent influence. An endless series of Pashas files before our eyes, whose authority gradually becomes weaker before the power of the Beys; mutiny, deposition or assassination became daily events and ultimately the Porte was forced to send only Pashas, who were acceptable to the Mamlūks and who soon sank to be mere figureheads. The *Shaikh al-Balad*, the governor of the

city, became the most important figure and next to him the second great official was the *Amīr al-Ḥādjdj*. The prosperity of Egypt continued steadily to decline. But the yearly tribute, which at first had yielded 600,000 piastres, also began to decrease until it finally ceased altogether. The history of these times has been little investigated as the monotonous sameness of a provincial history with its chronicle of petty quarrels between Beys and Pashas is hardly an inviting task. The best account is still that of Marcel in the great work produced by the French expedition. Egyptian troops occasionally took part in the Persian, Syrian and Arab wars of Turkey but the fact that these wars have no importance for the history of Egypt best shows how the times had changed. We find accounts of epidemics and bad harvests, each of which was worse than they had ever been before, appearing in the annals with equal monotony from time to time. Once again, for the last time, we have a movement of some importance emerging from the general turmoil. This was ʿAlī Bey's [q. v., i. p. 291ᵇ *et seq.*] rising during the Russo-Turkish war in 1182 (1768). Syria once more became a dependency of Egypt and only an evil fate prevented a development of affairs under ʿAlī Bey such as Egypt later experienced under Muḥammad ʿAlī. But ʿAlī Bey, as early as 1187 (1773), succumbed to the treachery of a faithless friend. The Porte tried to quell the disorder that arose by sending an army under the Ḳapudān Pasha Ḥasan in 1200 (1786) — it was its first energetic interference in the affairs of Egypt since the conquest — but the attempt failed; the ringleaders retired to Upper Egypt and complications with Russia made strenuous action impossible. The ringleaders were soon afterwards able to return to Cairo. These were Ibrāhīm Bey and Murād Bey who now filled the position of Shaikh al-Balad one after the other. Their common interest in exploiting the population had led these two rivals to throw in their lot with one another. They were the opponents of Napoleon. The Mamlūk system had destroyed itself. When Egypt yielded to Turkey the great part it had played in history and when the fertilising stream of international trade ceased to flow, the Mamlūk system inevitably collapsed bringing with it the ruin of Egypt.

To this brief sketch of the history of Muḥammadan Egypt before the intervention of European influence we might add that the Muslim historians are acquainted with a pre-Muḥammadan history of Egypt in which legend and history are hopelessly intermixed. Egypt had from the beginning had a peculiar interest for the Muslim because it is several times mentioned in the Ḳorʾān. The celebrated Miryam al-Ḳibṭiyya, one of the wives of the Prophet, also belonged to Egypt. Jesus' stay in Egypt was well known to Muslim Tradition and even the ancient Ḥadīth has a chapter on the *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* which are very much expanded in the Egyptian historians. Their histories did not stop there but give a whole system of pre-Muslim dynasties in which Coptic tradition and Gnostic speculation are mixed in an extraordinary fashion. (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 134 *et seq.*; Ḳalḳashandī, transl. by Wüstenfeld, p. 117 *et seq.* and the same scholar's article *Die älteste ägyptische Geschichte nach den Zauber- und Wundererzählungen der Araber* in *Orient und Occident*, i. (1862), p. 326 *et seq.*) Blochet has recently made the first attempt to investigate more closely the constituent elements of these cycles of legends (*Riv. degli Studi Orientali*, ii. (1909), p. 717 *et seq.*; iii. (1910), p. 177 *et seq.*; iv. (1911), p. 47 *et seq.* and p. 267 *et seq.*). All accounts of cities and monuments are full of such tales whose existence only can be mentioned here.

2. Constitution and Government.

a. Political Divisions.

In the Arabic geographers and historians we find the administrative unit in the older period the *kūra*, a district taking its name from its principal town, and in the post-Fāṭimid period the province (*ʿamal* or more usually plural *aʿmāl*). In the modern period the *aʿmāl* have been given the name *mudīriya*. The comparison in Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 216 makes it appear that the most important administrative districts of a higher and lower class have remained unaltered from Roman times to Muḥammad ʿAlī, but closer investigation shows that the similarities between ancient and modern times are quite accidental. The political configuration of the country has undergone considerable alterations in the course of centuries. The ancient division into nomes was followed in the Roman period by that into pagi and pagarchies, which in their turn under the Byzantines became entirely remodelled in a more complicated fashion with the increasing influence of the great landlords. The best account of the conditions in this period is to be found in Mathias Gelzer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (*Leipziger Hist. Abhandlungen*, xiii.). Islām developed the Byzantine system as it found it. The first accurate information is given by the Aphrodito papyri of the end of the first (beginning of the eighth) century. They yield the following picture. Egypt was at this time a province of the Caliph's empire governed by a συμβουλος = amīr. Upper and Lower Egypt were separate administrative divisions but not, as might perhaps be expected, so that all subdivisions fall into one or other of these two. The heads of *kūras*, which appear as real administrative units and corresponded to the Byzantine pagarchies, were all directly under the governor general. The ancient nomos was now purely a geographical term. The villages (*ḳarya*) into which the *kūras* were divided, were ruled by πρωτοκωμῆται, Copt. *Lashane*, Arab. *Māzūt*, plur. *Mawāzīt* (for further details and bibliography see *Der Islam*, ii. 361 *et seq.*) who were under the government of the *kūra*. We have no detailed account of the further development of this system and the few notices that exist have not yet been systematically studied. The division into *kūras* remained the basis of the administrative system down to the Fāṭimid period. We do however find larger areas containing a number of *kūras* referred to under a single name, such as *Asfal al-Arḍ*, Lower Egypt, which is sometimes also called *al-Rīf*. *Asfal al-Arḍ* was divided into *Baṭn al-Rīf* (the land between the two Nile arms) and *al-Ḥawf al-Gharbī*, the fertile Delta land west of the Rosetta arm and *al-Ḥawf al-Sharḳī* east of the Damietta arm. Upper Egypt, *al-Ṣaʿīd*, was divided into Hither and Further. But all these names are those of geographical rather than political divisions; and their denotation varied. The *kūras* themselves were by no means inflexible in their boundaries. They were sometimes broken

up or combined with others. Their identification has further been rendered much more difficult especially in the Delta by the considerable shifting that has taken place in the course of the Nile. Valuable preliminary work in this direction has been done by A. R. Guest, *The Delta in the Middle Ages* in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1912, p. 941 *et seq.* The number of *kūras* is variously given and certainly varied from time to time. According to Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 73.20) there were 25—38 in Lower Egypt, 31—37 according to Guest's investigations. The figures for Upper Egypt vary between 28 and 30. Lists are given in Maḳrīzī, i. 72 *et seq.*; ed. Wiet, i. 306 *et seq.*; *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, v. 73; vi. 81; vii. 331; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv. 128; v. 42; Ḳalḳashandī, transl. Wüstenfeld, p. 92 *et seq.*; Yāḳūt, iv. 549. To these must be added the so-called *kūras* of the *ḥibla* on the Red Sea and the Sinai peninsula (Ḳalḳashandī, l. c., 100 *et seq.*). The oases [see BAḤRIYE, i. p. 587[b] *et seq.*, DĀKHILE, i. p. 899[b] *et seq.*, and KHĀRGE] and Barḳa had a separate government. In Maḳrīzī, whose authority is al-Ḳuḍāʿī, the number of *ḳaryas* in each *kūra* is given. According to a statement of the year 345 (956) the number of *ḳaryas* in the whole of Egypt was 2395 of which 1439 were in Lower and 956 in Upper Egypt (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 73.15; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v. 43). There were said to have still been over 10,000 flourishing *ḳaryas* a century after the Arab conquest but this statement seems to be an exaggeration (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 312). The number is said to have afterwards diminished rapidly.

It is obviously in the steady decline of Egypt's prosperity that we find the reason for the gradual alteration in the political division of the country. The administrative units were gradually increased in size because the decline in revenues and the decrease in population led to the combination of districts each of which in a period of more intensive cultivation required separate arrangements for its administration. At the end of the Fāṭimid period the old *kūras* were replaced by *aʿmāl*. As Musabbiḥī still knew the old arrangement and we possess a list of the new *aʿmāl* of the end of the reign of Mustanṣir (Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. Evetts, fol. 7[a], 8[a]), the new arrangement probably dates from Badr al-Djamālī, the reorganiser of the Fāṭimid kingdom after its collapse. It is improbable that there was any thorough reorganisation of the political divisions of the country at one time, but after the catastrophe under Mustanṣir the great setback the land had received made its effects apparent with startling suddenness in the administrative practice of the country also. The *ʿamal*, which is occasionally used as a synonym of *kūra*, was not a wider denomination than the *kūra* but its equivalent. In place of the 50—70 *kūras* we suddenly find 26 *aʿmāl* into which Egypt was divided. (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 72, 26 *et seq.*) Ten of these were in Upper and sixteen in Lower Egypt. But the process did not then come to an end, the land continued to decline and the administrative units increased in extent but decreased in number. The celebrated cadastral survey of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn, the so-called *Rōk Nāṣiri* of 715 = 1315 mentions only 15 provinces, 9 of which were in Upper Egypt (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 74.5; ed. Wiet, i. 312), and when Egypt's prosperity was at its lowest ebb under the Ottomans, the number had sunk as low as 12 (v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osman. Reiches*, ii. 653) or 14 (de Sacy, *Institut Royal de France*, i. 91), at the time of the French expedition there were 16 including Damietta and Rosetta. The variation in the number of provinces is not of course always directly connected with the prosperity of the country; for in Lower Egypt we find partitions or combinations made quite arbitrarily — for example Ibn Duḳmāḳ counts 8 divisions there and Ibn Djīʿān as many as 12, or 13 with Djīza which he counts in Upper Egypt, although he is writing after the composition of the *Rōk Nāṣiri*, — but the main reason for the replacement of the numerous *kūras* by a few provinces was undoubtedly the economic decline and desolation of the country. A parallel is offered by the history of the political administration of Egypt in the xix[th] century. Writing in the 60's Alfred von Kremer (*Ägypten*, ii. 8) mentions the combination of several provinces called Mudīriyas since the beginning of the Khedival period, into one "from motives of economy". It is only in quite recent times that these provinces have come to mean more than the ancient *kūras*; for their subdivisions called *markaz* correspond to the ancient *kūras* and the modern *nāḥiyas* are simply the ancient *ḳaryas*. To make a general survey possible, we have chosen from the numerous lists of provinces, that of the *Rōk Nāṣiri*, that of the Napoleonic period and that of the present day but it should not be forgotten that in the intervals considerable variations have taken place. The large cities of Alexandria and Cairo and several fortified towns on the frontiers have always occupied a separate position as can only be briefly indicated here. At the present day the following gouvernements (*muḥāfaẓa*) still exist: Cairo, Alexandria, Suez Canal and Suez under the Ministry of the Interior and al-ʿArīsh i. e. the Sinai Peninsula under the Ministry of War (from the *Djoghrāfiya Miṣr wal-Sūdān*, published by the Egyptian Ministry of Public Instruction, 2[nd] ed., 112 *et seq.*). At an earlier period Burullus, Rosetta, Damietta and the seaports on the Red Sea occupied a similar position.

Rōk Nāṣiri 715 = 1315	Description de l'Egypte 1212 = 1798	Present day 1913
1. Ḳūṣ	1. Thèbes (Province de)	1. Aswān (Nubia)
		2. Ḳenā
2. Akhmīm	2. Girgeh (P. d.)	3. Girgā
3. Asyūṭ		
4. Manfalūṭ	3. Syout	4. Asyūṭ
5. Ashmūnain	4. Minyeh	5. Minyā
6. Bahnasā	5. Beny Soueyf	6. Benī Suef
7. Faiyūm	6. Fayoum	7. Faiyūm
8. Atfīḥ	7. Atfyeh	8. Djīza
9. Djīza	8. Gyzeh	
10. Ḳalyūb	9. Qelyoub	9. Kalyubiya
11. Sharkīya	10. Charqyeh	10. Sharkīya
12. Ushmūm Tanāḥ with Daḳahlīya and other dependencies	11. Mansourah	11. Daḳahlīya
	12. Damiette	
13. Gharbīya	13. Gharbyeh	12. Gharbīya
14. Manūfīya	14. Menouf	13. Manūfīya
	15. Rosette	
15. Buḥaira	16. Bahyreh	14. Buḥaira

8. Administration and Finance.

A history of Egyptian administration cannot yet be written but a few indications may stimulate further work on the subject. For no period do we have an absolutely clear picture and the Arab period is particularly obscure. The organisation of finance formed the centre of the whole administration, for punctual and abundant revenue from taxation was the main object for which the country was governed. With the money thus obtained the army and the officials were paid and authority maintained. The financial system was from the very first exceedingly complicated and its administration in detail was only understood by Coptic officials who throughout the centuries of the history of Muslim Egypt were regarded by the fellāḥīn as blood-suckers and by the ruling military classes as swindlers. In addition to this most important class of officials, we find in the period of prosperity under Caliphs and Sulṭāns a whole series of court and high central administrative offices about which we are much better informed than about the actual mechanism of the machinery of government.

In the early centuries of Arab rule two political functions were sharply distinguished, the governorship and the treasury. The governor, *Amīr*, had control over the military and police only — the latter under a *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* — and was appointed *ʿalā ʾl-ṣalāt wa ʾl-maʿūna*. Alongside of him was the head of the treasury the *ʿĀmil* who was appointed *ʿalā ʾl-kharādj*. These two officials had to keep a strict watch on one another. As head of the military and executive the *ʿAmīr* was the first, but they were equal in rank and the administrator of the treasury even had the greater influence as an anecdote in al-Kindī, ed. Guest, p. 109 clearly shows. The two offices were only occasionally combined (cf. *Beiträge*, ii. 154). Ibn Ṭūlūn did not become master of the situation until he had obtained control of the taxes also. This division of authority extended throughout the financial system. Under the Arab *ʿĀmil* there were, down to the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period, two Copt chief secretaries to the treasury, *chartularii*, who did not, however, for example, control the dīwāns of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively but administered both jointly. At the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period we still find two officials at the head of the treasury but it seems that they administered the two divisions of the country separately (Severus of Ashmūnain, Hamburg text, ed. Seybold, 196, 11; the vulgate text of Severus has a different reading). The receipts for corn delivered to the state granaries also were signed by two officials (*Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, xx. 101). This system taken over from the Byzantines survived for centuries. Even in the Fāṭimid period and later we still find in addition to the chief of the treasury or to a *Mushārif* a *Nāẓir*, a comptroller, who had to countersign all documents (Ibn Mammātī, p. 7; an example is given in *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 82, 21). In the first century A. H. the old eparchy with its *dux* at its head was still retained for financial purposes; below the *dux* were ζυγοστάται, who remitted payments to Fusṭāṭ. Their duties are not quite clear. In particular it is uncertain what relation the *dux* had to the pagarch, *Ṣāḥib al-Kūra* or διοικητής. We find the governor writing to him and demanding the taxes. He had to appear from time to time at the seat of the government to render accounts and had a representative (ἀποκρισιάριος) permanently there. The *mushārif* (see above) and the clerks were local officials. The collectors of revenues in kind were called *ḍabbāṭ* (*Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 45); they were chosen by the community. The Aphrodito papyri (*Papyri Schott Reinhardt I*; *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. iv.; *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, xx. 68; *Der Islam*, ii. 245) contain information about the taxes at the end of the first century and at the same time of the oldest period also. The government expected two kinds of taxes from the *Ṣāḥib al-Kūra*, the δημόσια and the ἐκστραόρδινα. Both were levied on the subdivisions of the *kūra* by the central authority in accordance with returns prepared and sent in beforehand, and were communicated to them directly in a document (ἐντάγιον), which had, however, to pass through the hands of the *Ṣāḥib al-Kūra*. The δημόσια, i. e. the regular principal taxes were divided into 1) χρυσικὰ δημόσια = *djizya*, a tax paid in money only and 2) σιτικὰ δημόσια = *ḍarībat al-ṭaʿām*, a tax paid in kind, wheat or barley. The amount of each tax was fixed by the central authority. The system of taxation was therefore a collective one throughout and it was the business of the local officials to distribute these assessments. The χρυσικά were provided for out of *a*) a land-tax (δημόσια γῆς), *b*) a poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός, διάγραφον) *c*) local rates (δαπάνη). Artisans etc. who did not possess land contributed to the land-tax also. The poll-tax was not at first a general one but it is not yet quite clear on what basis it was levied. Besides these taxes in money there was the embola, which was, however, occasionally paid in money also (ἐξαργυρισμός = *thaman*). A portion of it was to be applied to local purposes in the form of provisions (δαπάνη) and the remainder sent to the storehouses in Babylon or Alexandria. The "extraordinary" taxes were quite as regular as the δημόσια. Materials for shipbuilding, tools, or skilled workmen and sailors and their pay were demanded from the *kūra*. The *kūra* had to prepare and provide these and ultimately even to buy them. Substitution by the payment of an equivalent in money was not desired but probably the individual members of the community paid their share in money. All these taxes come under the heading of liturgy. The state of affairs as depicted in the papyri does not agree at all well with the statements of the Arab jurists on *djizya* [q. v., i. 1051 *et seq.*] and *kharādj*; the points that arise out of this are discussed in these articles. In contrast to the interpretations of the jurists an old historian quoted by Maḳrīzī *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 77, 5 *et seq.*; ed. Wiet, i. 323 *et seq.*) gives an excellent account of the system, which well illustrates the collective character of the taxation and is quite reconcilable with the evidence of the papyri. At a later period Muḳaddasī, (ed. de Goeje, 2nd ed., p. 212, 12) tells us that there really was no proper *kharādj* in Egypt, but that the soil belonged to the government and the peasant only tilled it; the rent was taken in kind by the officials after the harvest and the remainder was the peasant's share. Although the word *kharādj* regularly appears in Egyptian documents of the ʿAbbāsid period with the double meaning of tax in general and land-tax in particular, Muḳaddasī's statements are substantially correct because *kharādj* and rent were combined in Egypt (*Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, xxi. 312).

To understand the whole agrarian system of Arab Egypt it must be remembered that at the time when the Arabs assumed authority in Egypt, the government was nowhere directly in touch with the actual tax-payers, the peasants, but owing to the Byzantine system of *patrocinium* an intermediary class of powerful *patroni* had come into existence guaranteeing the taxes and these were recognised as land-owners. The peasants themselves were bound to the soil and could only change their abode after obtaining permission. Throughout the early period of Islām we find the struggle to keep these colonists (*fellāḥūn*, γεωργοί) on the land. It is not yet quite clear if and in how far these great land-owners were replaced by regular officials or if they — and this is more probable — remained in existence as private tax-farmers and guarantors till they were gradually replaced by Arabs. In any case the administrative practice of the Fāṭimid period — and probably we here have the survival of a much older system — recognises three classes of tax-collectors (Ibn Mammātī, 8, 1): 1. *bi'l-amāna*, i. e. people who are absolutely trusted to deliver the taxes without guarantee; 2. *bi'l-ziyāda* i. e. those who claim to be able to bring in more than their predecessors and who are pledged to pay the amount yielded by their predecessors as a minimum; 3. *bi'l-ḍamān*, i. e. those who pledge themselves to pay a fixed sum and must make up that amount. The latter class, probably the most common, had its analogue in the public bestowal of estates (*ḳaṭā'i'*) which were granted to private individuals by public auction (*tazāyud*) on a certain sum being guaranteed as rent and taxes, which was practically *ḍamān* or *taḳabbul* and technically known as *iḳṭā'*. These *ḳaṭā'i'* originally comprised probably only the government estates and the *arḍ dāthira* (*mawāt*), but, as far as can be seen, more valuable estates were gradually added to them in the long run. It is still doubtful if the farming out of the *ḳaṭā'i'* was separated from the administration of other taxes. In any case the difference between an official tax-farmer and a private individual, who under the protection of the state guarantees taxes on the land he rents from the state, was not very great especially as the *ḳaṭā'i'* included not simply the soil but the men who lived on it also and even whole villages. At a later period all the land became *iḳṭā'āt* and *iḳṭā'* received the meaning of military fief. This process which has already been investigated by Silvestre de Sacy (cf. his still important work *Sur la Nature et les Révolutions du Droit de Propriété territoriale en Égypte*, *Institut Royal de France*, i., v., vii.), shows several stages. Under the 'Abbāsids and the dynasties of independent governors the letting of the estates took place annually by a kind of public auction in the 'Amr and afterwards in the Ṭūlūnid Mosque. The allotment was for a period of four years to make up for failure of harvest and other contingencies. This rent was the *kharādj*. Sums expended in improvements, maintenance of canals etc. were allowed to be deducted. The remainder, often very considerable, was the profit of the lessee. What the relations of the latter with the local authorities were is not known. Every 30 years a new survey was made (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 82). At the beginning of the Fāṭimid period this system remained unaltered, and any one could still be a candidate, but by the later Fāṭimid period the military formed the great majority. We read of *iḳṭā' 'ammāra* which yielded good return, and of soldiers' estates which yielded a poor return (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 83, 1). The tenants were called *muḳṭa'*. The leases were for 30 years. These conditions the existence of which in Egypt can be dated 501 = 1107-1108, can be shown to have existed in 'Irāḳ two centuries previously (v. Kremer, *Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden-Reiches*, p. 17). In 'Irāḳ as in Egypt the persons of influence — and these were in the long run the soldiers — gradually paid less and less in taxes and thus these estates in time became appanages or military fiefs while the tax or rent due on the land came to be looked on as reward for service. According to Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 95, 11) Niẓām al-Mulk took the decisive step in this direction (cf. also Bondari, ed. Houtsma, p. 58) and from the year 480 = 1087 on his example was generally followed. He probably only legalised the actual practice. A great period of prosperity is thus said to have been brought to these estates. This may be true for the districts held in fief by the Emirs but for the countless small fiefs this step spelled ruin. For it was not merely a question of a rent which the state had confiscated but the individual villages and districts passed into the possession of the fief-holders who took the place of the treasury in the districts concerned. This practice was probably first brought to Egypt by Saladin or one of his successors. In 515 = 1121 one could still trace a clear distinction between tax-farming and military fief (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 83, 10). As the troops did not pay, an immense debt (*bawāḳī*) had grown up which was remitted in that year. These very *bawāḳī* show it was not yet a question of real military fiefs, which soon afterwards became quite usual. Of course a large share of these estates or their yield still remained at the disposal of the government, for the ruling power for the time could not entirely give up the great rents derived from agriculture. An interesting register of distribution is given in the *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 87 for the Aiyūbid period after Saladin. From time to time new conditions of allotment arose out of new surveys. Thus we read in the Mamlūk period of an arrangement by which 4 twenty-fourths (*ḳīrāṭ*) of the land to be allotted were reserved for the Sulṭān, 10 for the Emirs and 10 for the soldiers. We are best informed about the so-called *Rōk Nāṣirī*, the survey of Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn of the year 715 = 1315 (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 87 et seq.). Here the proportion was 10 to the Sulṭān and 14 to the appanages. The poll-taxes (*djawālī*) in the country were included for the first time in the *iḳṭā'* but a in the large towns they were alloted separately. The *muḳṭa'* became more and more absolute master of his fief. Ibn Dji'ān's book gives a much later system of division from the end of the Mamlūk period. In the Ottoman period the *multazim* developed from the *muḳṭa'* and he then appears as the direct owner, for which see de Sacy, *op. cit.* The charters granting fiefs were called *sidjill* in the early period and in later times *mithāl*.

In Maḳrīzī's time all Egypt was divided into the following seven classes of lands (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 97, 14): 1. those which belonged to the privy purse, *Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ* (this dīwān replaced the viziriate in the reign of Ibn Ḳalā'ūn, Ḳalḳashandī-Wüstenfeld, p. 157) and appertained to the *Dīwān Mufrad* (instituted by Barḳūḳ, *ibid.*, p. 158); 2. fiefs of the

emirs and soldiers; 3. waḳfs of the most varied description; fiefs could also be made waḳf but they often ceased to be so (on this point see *Der Islām*, i. 95 *et seq.*); 4. *Aḥbās* (a particular kind of waḳf; to be identified with *rizaḳ*), cf. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, 250 sub N°. 8; 5. *Amlāk*, estates purchased from the treasury which had become private property (the rent from them again became a fief; cf. Ḳalḳashandī-Wüstenfeld, 158, 19, where the Arabic text of the manuscript has *amlāk* for „treasury of the crown-lands"; cf. also de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i. 86 *et seq.*); 6 and 7 desert or unirrigated land. This division survived with many inner changes down to the French period, but it cannot be discussed here in all its details. Those interested may be referred to de Sacy's work already quoted several times and to Lancret, *Mémoire sur le système d'imposition territoriale et sur l'administration des provinces de l'Egypte dans les dernières années du gouvernement des Mamlouks* (*Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, 2nd ed., xi. 461 *et seq.*); Le Comte Estève, *Mémoire sur les finances de l'Egypte depuis sa conquête par le Sultan Sélim Ier jusqu'à celle du général en chef Bonaparte* (ib., xii. 41 *et seq.*); Tallien, *Mémoire sur l'administration de l'Egypte à l'époque de l'arrivée des Français* (*Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, iii. 190).

After this survey of its agrarian policy we will return to the organization of the state itself. The primitive arrangements of the early centuries continued with the occasional institution of new dīwāns through the period of the Ṭūlūnids and Ikhshīdids also; only with this distinction that in this period the chief authority centred in the person of the ruler himself. It is said of Ibn Ṭūlūn that he introduced a constitution which was not Arab, that he was the first to have a vizier — in deed but not yet in name —; Ikhshīd, we are told, first introduced the *rawātib*, allowances (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 99, 19); we do not know very much about these institutions however. It is not till the Fāṭimid period that we have a good account of the constitution. According to Maḳrīzī, (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 91, 27) the normal division of the *dīwān* is threefold: 1. *Kitābat al-Djaish*; 2. *Kitābat al-Kharādj* and 3. *Kitābat al-Inshā' wal-Mukātabāt*. We find this threefold division actually in use under the Fāṭimid Wazirate. Our knowledge of the *Dīwān al-Inshā'* is particularly accurate; for besides *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 224 *et seq.* and Ḳalḳashandī (ed. Wüstenfeld), 188 there is a special work by al-Ṣairafī on the *Ḳānūn Dīwān al-Rasā'il* (ed. 'Alī Bahgat, Cairo 1905), an invaluable contemporary document, which was copied by Ḳalḳashandī in his great work *L'Art du Style*, without its title being given and post-dated. For further information see Becker, *Beiträge*, iii. The *Dīwān al-Djaish* was of the greatest importance even in the pre-Fāṭimid period. In it lay the genesis of the Dīwān system at least as far as the Arabs were concerned. The military Dīwān was reorganised four times in the early period, but it was not till the rise of the Turkish guards and the Berber and negro troops of the Fāṭimids that it was placed upon an entirely new basis. Maḳrīzī's account of this development (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 94) is most instructive. The troops originally received pay (*'aṭā*) and this went on till the system of military fiefs arose; at all periods, however, salaries in cash and *iḳṭā'āt* existed side by side in the military Dīwān (Ḳalḳashandī-Wüstenfeld, 190 *et seq.*). Herein lay the connection between the military Dīwān and the *Dawāwīn al-Amwāl*, or finance offices, which are detailed on p. 191 *et seq. op. cit.* The revenues of the state are lawful or unlawful with reference to the *Sharī'a*. On the lawful cf. the article BAIT AL-MĀL. The unlawful were mainly the civic *mukūs* i. e. a vast amount of small taxes and all sorts of monopolies. The list of the *mukūs* abolished by Saladin in *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 104, 1 gives a good idea of their nature in the Fāṭimid period; it is said that Ibn Ṭūlūn abolished the *mukūs* (*ibid.*, ii. 267, 21) but even Ibn Ḳalā'ūn had to abolish most oppressive abuses of this kind (*ibid.*, i. 87, 33). The abolition of the *mukūs* was a favourite move by powerful rulers who wished to be assured of popular favour (*Der Islam*, i. 99). These taxes were called *hilālī* in opposition to the *kharādjī* taxes; the former were reckoned by the lunar and the latter by the solar year. Ibn Mudabbir, the greater antagonist of the Ṭūlūnids is said to have been the first to introduce this kind of tax into Egypt (cf. *Beiträge*, ii. 144 *et seq.*). Accounts of the monopolies and other unlawful sources of revenue in the Fāṭimid period are given in *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 107—111; Ibn Mammātī, 10—26; Ḳalḳashandī-Wüstenfeld, 159—171. The warehouses (of books, weapons, clothes etc.), which are detailed in Ḳalḳ.-Wüst., 175 and *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 408, formed an important part of the Fāṭimid *Dawāwīn al-Amwāl*.

But these offices in the Dīwāns formed only a part of the hierarchy of officials in the Fāṭimid period. The latter may be subdivided as follows: A. Military Officers (*Arbāb al-Suyūf*): 1. Officers in the army such as vizier, chamberlain (*Ṣāḥib al-Bāb*), field-marshall (*Isfahsalār*) etc. 2. the household with numerous officers in more immediate attendance on the Caliph. B. civil officers (*Arbāb al-Aḳlām*: 1. the ecclesiastical officers (chief ḳāḍī, chief dā'ī, muḥtasib, the head of Bait al-Māl, al-Nā'ib, and the Ḳor'ān-readers; 2. the offices in the Dīwāns in the threefold division described above with numerous subdivisions; 3. the physicians; 4. the court-poets. All these officials lived in the court. Other classes were outside like the governors. Here we have followed Ḳalḳ.-Wüst., 181 *et seq.* For other officers in the provinces see Ibn Mammātī, 7 *et seq.*

The Fāṭimid system of state and court officials developed into the complicated system of Mamlūk period which differed in details. Our sources for the latter are excellent (cf. *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 204—229 and passim; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, 234—269; transl. Wüstenfeld, 157 *et seq.* and passim; 'Omarī's chancery-manual, *al-Ta'rīf bil-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*; Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*; Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*; van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*; Blochet, *Histoire de l'Egypte de Maḳrīzī*). It is quite impossible here to give a detailed account of the elaborate organisation of the Mamlūk state. We can only mention a few characteristic differences between the Mamlūk and the Fāṭimid systems. Development proceeded along three lines. Persian influence became very strong, the number of offices was considerably increased and they became more and more the prerogatives of the military classes. In place of the *Dār* or *Khizānat al-Sharāb* we find the *Sharābkhānāh*, the *Khizānat al-Firāsh* becomes the *Firāshkhānāh*, the *Khizānat al-Surūdj* the *Rikāb-*

khâna and so throughout. The *Ṣâḥib al-Inshâ'* becomes *Dîwândâr*, the *Ṣâḥib Bait al-Mâl* the *Khâzindâr* and so on. But the offices also became more numerous. In place of the ecclesiastical offices of the Fâṭimid period fully detailed above we find the following ten in the Mamlûk period: Chief Ḳâḍî, Military Ḳâḍî, Muftî Dâr al-ʿAdl, Wakîl Bait al-Mâl — who had only to deal with purchases and sales by the treasury — Muḥtasib, Naḳîb al-ashrâf, Nâẓir al-bîmâristân, Nâẓir al-aḥbâs, Shaikh al-shuyûkh, Nâẓir al-awḳâf. A few of these offices still exist and it is interesting to note that they first arose in the post-Fâṭimid period. A similar multiplication in the number of offices in the army and government must also have taken place. The way in which all offices gradually become the prerogatives of the army is also remarkable. The most important was the office of Nâ'ib or Vice-Sulṭân: the holder is called *Sulṭân mukhtaṣar* in *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, 248. — The representative of the Sulṭân was an ecclesiastic in the Fâṭimid period; the Nâ'ib was at the same time the introducer of ambassadors and thus performed the duties of the later *Mihmandâr*. It was quite in keeping with the changes in the constitutional principles when under the soldier Sulṭâns only a military man could act as representative of the Sulṭân. The *Nâ'ib Kâfil* — there were also subordinate *Nâ'ibs* — was the highest official in the state but subordinate to the Vizier when there was one. The Vizier had become purely an administrative official and, being a civilian, had the title *Ṣâḥib* which is explained in *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 223. — Even in the Fâṭimid period, however, the number of posts held by military officers was very considerable; we have for example already seen that the court consisted almost entirely of officers in the army. It strikes one as strange for example that such an official as the *Ḥâmil al-Dawât*, the "Bearer of the Inkpot", the later *Dawâtdâr* [q. v., i. 931] should have been a soldier. But the alteration in the significance of this office clearly shows the new spirit that had entered all the old forms. Many offices with similar titles changed their character at different periods. All these interesting questions are still quite uninvestigated. — Nothing shows more clearly how military the constitution of the state had become in the Mamlûk period than its organisation in the Ottoman period, the most important features of which have already been pointed out. On this subject, besides Marcel, the reader may be referred to de Sacy's work where important sections of the Egyptian *Ḳânûn-Nâma* are published.

3. Agriculture, Industry and Commerce.

Egypt is dependent on geographical conditions for its economic prosperity. The Nile with its regular rise makes it possible in this desert subtropic land with a scanty rainfall to support a large agricultural population which, when strengthened by union into one state, need only fear disturbance from foreign influence in the north and south. The river at the same time forms an incomparable natural means of communication whereby products can be exchanged and trade and industry thus secured. In the second place there is the favourable situation of Egypt in relation to the commerce of the world. Egypt was from the earliest times the natural market for the exchange of goods between Africa, Asia and Europe. The land thus not only gained the profits of this through-trade but had a splendid opportunity for realising its own raw produce and the products of its industry. The importance of these geographical factors was much more apparent in the middle ages than at the present day with the levelling influence of intercourse with foreign countries and the progress of invention. In the middle ages the annual rise of the Nile affected the whole life of the country as may be seen from the example quoted in *Beiträge*, i. 47 *et seq.* The amount of revenue from taxation depended on the Nile and the price of flour and bread varied from day to day with its level. In Assuan the rise of the Nile is first noticed in the last week of June and in Cairo in the beginning of July. The flood has half reached its height in Cairo about the 15th August and is at its height at the end of September. After fourteen days it begins to fall, has half sunk by the middle of November and reaches its lowest level at the end of May. At the present day the difference between the highest and lowest level is 23 feet in Assuan and in Cairo 16 feet (Baedeker, *Egypt*[6], p. xlvi). In the middle ages the level of the Nile was measured by Nilometers (*miḳyâs*) in ells (*dhirâʿ*) and fingerlengths. The Arabs built Nilometers in Aswân, Dendera, Anṣinâ, Ḥulwân and lastly the best known one on the island of Rôḍa (see i. p. 821). In the early centuries of Islâm 16 ells was the height desired while 12 and 18 were the critical points below and above; for it was possible to have too much even of a blessing; in the later middle ages from the ixth — xvth century the level of the land had so risen that 16 ells were no longer sufficient but 17-18 ells were the normal and floods rose occasionally as high as 20 ells (Ḳalḳashandî-Wüstenfeld, 22 *et seq.*). When it rose the river did not simply overflow its frequently very high banks, but was also led by an extensive system of canals which changed considerably in the course of centuries into the land behind. The canals were closed till the Nile had reached a certain height. The opening of the Khalîdj at Cairo was one of the greatest festivals of the year and was celebrated with old-time ceremonial and splendour, like all the Nile festivals which were taken over practically unaltered by Islâm (ib. 209 *et seq.*; Ibn Taghrîbirdî, ii. 480 *et seq.*; *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 470 *et seq.*). The greatest and most important of these canals have been described in detail by the writers (Ḳalḳ.-Wüst., 23 *et seq.*; *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 70 *et seq.*). After the fertilising water had spread over the whole land it was allowed to stand on the fields for some time — in a system of tanks — to deposit its fertilising elements and then run off again. Seed was then rolled into the still moist earth in the most primitive fashion. The harvest was ripened in a few months and the land lay fallow and dry till the next flood. This utilisation of the flooded land once a year was called the winter crop (*al-ṣaifî al-shitawiyya*). Its principal products were wheat, barley broad beans (*fûl*), peas, chick-peas, lentils, flax, clover, onions, garlic, lupines. The winter crop is to be distinguished from the summer crop (*ṣaifiyya*) on land permanently irrigable; the latter's products were, sugarcane, melons, lubia, sesame, cotton, colocasia, aubergs, indigo, radishes, turnips, lettuce, cauliflower (from *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 101 *et seq.*; Ibn Mammâtî, 20 *et seq.*, cf. also Ḳalḳashandî-Wüstenfeld, 33 *et seq.*; von Kremer, *Ägypten*, i.

197 *et seq.*). Vines, date palms and a few other fruit-trees also flourished. In certain places with a plentiful water-supply, such as the Faiyūm, rice was also grown. Durra was cultivated in Upper Egypt. On permanently watered land as many as three crops might be obtained in a year by following a certain rotation. The Egyptian agricultural and revenue year was the Coptic solar year. It began with the month Tūt. In Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 270 *et seq.* (transl. Casanova, 54 *et seq.*) and Ibn Mammātī, p. 26 *et seq.* there is an instructive list shewing what agricultural duties and what taxes etc. fall in each month. For comparison with modern conditions we may here recommend the reader to the *Textbook of Egyptian Agriculture*, by G. P. Fouden and F. Fletcher, 2 vols., Cairo 1908—1910, published by the Ministry of Education. As the land yielded its harvest by the solar year and taxes were paid by the Arab lunar year a whole year had to be dropped after 33 lunar years as 32 solar years corresponded approximately to 33 lunar years. This equation by which no one lost or gained anything as it only existed on paper, was called *taḥwīl al-sana* (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 273 *et seq.*; Casanova, p. 66 *et seq.*). The quality of the soil and with it its rent and tax-paying capacity varied considerably. While in the modern period a distinction is only made between *raiy*, the land reached by the flood, and *sharāḳī*, the land not affected by it (von Kremer, *Ägypten*, i. 179), the middle ages distinguished a whole series of grades of lands, which are detailed by Ibn Mammātī, p. 28 *et seq.*; *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 100; Ḳalḳashandī-Wüstenfeld, p. 152. The unit of agricultural land was the *feddān* (= acre), which was divided into 400 square ḳaṣabas of Ḥākim (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 103, 18); 1 square ḳaṣaba at the present day = 16 square yards; 1 linear ḳaṣaba = 4 yards. The ell, *dhirā'* was smaller (at the present day = 2 feet). On the manner of measuring cf. Ibn Mammātī, p. 32 *et seq.* The most important cubic measure was the *irdabb*, the ancient Artabe = 198 litres of 6 *waibas* (1 waiba = 33 litres), but there were Artabes of different sizes. The standard weight was the *ḳinṭār* (44.9 kg) of 100 *riṭl*. One riṭl is therefore a little less than 1 ℔. A distinction was made between *Laithī* and *Djarawī* ḳinṭārs (Ḳalḳ.-Wüst., p. 224).

Egypt is usually regarded as the typical agricultural country but Mommsen has pointed out that in ancient Egypt a large section of the population lived by industry. The industries of Egypt were naturally all dependent on agriculture for their raw material, for example the textile industry, the manufacture of oil and ointments, which were also exported. Only a few industries depended on imported raw material such as the unimportant iron manufactures of the seaport of Tinnīs and Dimyāṭ in Central Egypt. The silk which was frequently employed in the textile industries was also imported (probably from Syria). The imports of leather were limited to the hides of rare animals as the leather trade of Central Egypt had its materials supplied by the land itself. Weaving was by far the most important industry. It was only carried on on a large scale in the towns which we know to have been centres of the Christian population: Tinnīs, Damietta, Bahnasā, Ashmūnain, Asyūṭ and Akhmīm. The Arabs themselves had no manufactures. A distinction may be made between the manufacture of woollen, cotton and linen goods. Lower Egypt was the centre of the linen industry, and to some extent Central Egypt also while the manufacture of wool and cotton seems to have been confined to Central and Upper Egypt. Wool was manufactured into veils, garments and carpets in numerous factories between Bahnasā and Akhmīm. Besides the celebrated veils 30 ells long which were sold in pairs, imitations of the red woollen goods of Armenia were manufactured. The wool of goats was used for the manufacture of camelotto-like stuffs. The woollen goods made in Upper Egypt were exported in large quantities and were famous as far as Persia. Cotton which at the present day is the dominant factor in Egyptian agriculture, was also grown and manufactured in the Arab period and even earlier. Bahnasā was the main centre of this industry. In the oases garments were made of the cotton grown there but here the industry was only prosecuted to supply the local demand and nothing seems to have been exported.

By far the most important branch of the Egyptian textile industry was the weaving of linen, the great centre of which lay in the northeast and northwest corners of the Delta, in Damietta and Tinnīs in the east and Alexandria in the west. Its products were carried throughout Europe and Asia (Ali Bahgat, *Les Manufactures d'Étoffes en Égypte au Moyen Age, Institut Égyptien*, 6th April 1903). We possess very full details of the looms of the east. Around Damietta and Tinnīs there were a number of smaller places in and around the modern Lake Menzaleh each of which produced its local specialities. Common to them all was the manufacture of a fine linen cloth, called *sharb* of which a single piece cost as much as 100 dinars. In Damietta it was manufactured only in white and in Tinnīs only in colours. In addition the manufacture of brocades and silk appliqué work flourished in all these places. Tinnīs alone had 5000 looms. The men and not the women wove as was the case even in the time of Herodotos. This industry was therefore not organised in the womens' apartments but in a way peculiar to itself which can be reconstructed by a careful examination of the sources. It has been thought that the whole industry was a state monopoly. This is incorrect. We can distinguish clearly between state and private enterprises. To understand the gigantic scale of some of these state factories it must be remembered that the robes produced there were officially given away as presents in large quantities; the whole court received new garments twice a year; besides, in those days robes were bestowed as orders are at the present day, perhaps even oftener and more indiscriminately. Besides a large wardrobe was a form of investment not to be despised in a period when the hoarding of objects of value was a securer way of saving money than investing capital in industry. Such products of the royal looms as came into the market came from the wardrobes thus formed by disgraced nobles. When the robes were finished in their place of manufacture they were sent to Cairo where those destined for the Caliph were fitted in one of the womens' apartments of the palace, where 30 girls worked under the supervision of a manageress. This is the only trace we find of the Byzantine gynaeceum. The private factories were organised on quite different lines. Outside Damietta on the river bank lay

large buildings in the upper stories of which were workrooms which the weavers could hire. It was here that the valuable stuffs were prepared. Unfortunately we do not know who let these rooms, whether it was the state or rich private individuals. All sales were conducted by brokers licensed by the state. They were the only authorised middlemen. But it was probably they also who supplied the workers with material. They kept accurate note that each worker actually used up the material supplied him for the manufacture of a certain garment. What he saved in material was deducted from the price paid him. When the garments had been woven their further treatment was a highly specialised branch of industry. The first man folded them, the second wrapped them up, the third laid them in baskets and boxes and the fourth tied them; each required to be paid and made his sign on the box. They were then loaded on ships and sent away to be sold.

The other industries can only be briefly detailed. Egypt did not have the olive tree; it was only grown here and there as a garden tree. All olive oil had therefore to be imported and a cheap substitute to be found for lamp-oil. The Egyptians prepared the latter even in ancient times by pressing certain seeds which contain oil. The following were cultivated for this purpose: radish, rape, lettuce, sesame, saffron, mustard, flax and hemp. The manufacture of oil probably never exceeded the demands of local requirements. The remains of the crushed seeds were used as cattle food. The only industrial use of oil was in the soap factories which must have been especially numerous in Keptos. Soap was made in various colours and was a popular article of commerce. The manufacture of sugar from the sugarcane was rather more important. Sugar-cane must have been, as at the present day, very often eaten raw but more usually pressed to obtain the sugar which was considered such a delicacy. We have only to read the accounts of various writers of the castles and figures in sugar which were made in thousands and sent by the Caliph to all the officials, to understand that this was a most important industry. Sugar was also exported. Although we know nothing of the organisation of these sugar mills, the actual technical processes are well known. — In addition to these the most important industries there were smaller ones like the manufacture of papyrus which disappeared with the introduction of paper in the ivth (xth) century. We cannot here go into the great number of smaller industries. The individual traders were under Shaikhs and organised into guilds.

Great activity in agriculture and industry presuppose the development of trade. We are unfortunately not well informed about the corn trade. Like all trade in the produce of the soil it was under strict state control but it was probably not entirely a state monopoly. The revenues of the state in kind were however again sold by the state; cf. for example the state traffic called *[illegible]* [q. v., i. 638]. Corn was exported to Arabia and Syria and flour also to the former. We know almost nothing of private commerce. We only read frequently of rises in prices produced by private speculation. But the state also speculated as it usually had exactly the same interests as the organiser of a private enterprise. *Flax* played a certain part as an article of commerce next to wheat. The centre of the flax trade lay above the Faiyūm in the Nile valley, the Faiyūm itself only produced an inferior quality of flax. The corn trade of Upper Egypt had its centre farther south at Manfalūṭ near Asyūṭ. Corn, flax and cotton were exported abroad and even to Italy. Foreign trade in general may be divided into three well marked fields: *a.* trade to Nubia and the Sūdān via Aswān and Asyūṭ; *b.* the through trade in Indian goods via the harbours of the Red Sea and lastly; *c.* the Mediterranean trade.

Arab gold and silver coins were current up to the second cataract and above it the trade was carried on entirely by barter. Nubia chiefly exported slaves, which after the foundation of black regiments (*'abīd*) by Ibn Ṭūlūn were required in large numbers. There were also considerable exports of gold from the 'Allāḳī gold washings. The gold coined at the state mint was obtained chiefly from Takrūr i. e. the Sūdān. We do not know how it came to Egypt, possibly via Aswān and Asyūṭ. Egypt exported to the Sūdān in return, corn and textiles and also glass beads, combs and corals (cf. aswān, i. p. 492-493). In the early centuries of Islām Aswān was by far the most important town in Upper Egypt. In the Fāṭimid period Ḳūṣ gradually rose to importance and ultimately supplanted it, which was probably due to the prosperity of trade with India. (cf. the article aidhāb, i. 210a). The development of Indian trade was a result of the commercial activity of the Egyptian nobles. In the pre-Fāṭimid period the renting of land and the usurious trade in corn connected with it formed the usual outlet for the investment of private capital. At all periods shops, baths and inns formed a favourite outlet for private enterprise. But under the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks Indian trade became the favourite form of investment. It lay in the hands of a company who called themselves Kārimīs and had their headquarters in Ḳūṣ and Cairo. The etymology of the word is uncertain. The Kārimīs had a bank which conducted international business on a large scale. An attempt was made on one occasion under the Mamlūks to oust them from their position as intermediaries in the spice (particularly pepper and cinnamon) trade, but it failed. They had at all times to suffer from the encroachments of the state. All goods passing through Egypt were liable to the *zakāt*, which in Saladin's time was levied at 5-6 places at the rate of $2^1/_2$% each time. This made a total customs duty of 15% of the value. In the last year of Fāṭimid rule spices to the value of 500,000 dīnārs passed through Cairo. This probably did not increase in the later period. As long as Baghdād flourished, Indian trade went via that city; the Jewish "Rādhānites", who at that time traded between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea did not touch the Nile valley at all. It was only with the decline of Baghdād and especially after its fall that Egypt became the great centre of exchange until this trade lost its importance with the discovery of the sea-route to the East and of America.

We have abundant material for the study of the Mediterranean trade of Egypt in western sources and in the commercial treaties published by Amari (*Diplomi Arabi*). There are two excellent works covering the whole field. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels* and Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeer-*

gebieten. De Goeje has recently published a short study entitled, *Internationaal Handelsverkeer in de Middeleeuwen* (*K. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 4de Reeks, Deel ix.). We further propose to give here a few notes on the tariff policy of Egypt and the state trade with its monopolies carried on through the customhouses of which a clear picture is given by Arabic sources hitherto neglected. It is only for the Fāṭimid and post-Fāṭimid period that we have fairly detailed information, naturally enough as intercourse with Europe only began with the Crusades. Commerce with the Italian cities must have been more important than the trade with Byzantium and the west in the pre-Fāṭimid period. Customs duties were levied in proportion to the value of the goods. In the early period the basis of the tax was one tenth, in Saladin's time a fifth of the value, but it varied between 10% or less and 35% or more according to the nature and place of origin of the goods. The tenth became the favourite levy; for example Pisa paid it on wood, iron and pitch i.e. entirely on articles which Egypt required to import. Precious metals were for brief periods duty-free but as a rule the tax on them was $2^1/_2$—10%. The policy of the Egyptian tariff system was to attract to the country certain raw products which it could not do without and were not produced in it. These were principally wood and iron and all the articles required for shipbuilding and the munitions of war. Wood, iron and pitch recur continually in all commercial treaties; the Egyptians did everything they could to encourage such imports. On the other hand Europeans knew that Egypt required these articles to maintain its military efficiency. The Popes of the Crusading period therefore repeatedly declared these to be contraband of war. The re-export of these articles was also forbidden; for the dogana i.e. the dīwān, the government customhouses, bought them up at the current price. We thus find the state acting not only as an intermediary but as the purchaser and the process was as follows: when a merchant imported a number of goods, including wood or iron, he had first of all to pay the duties on his whole cargo in wood and iron. If he had still a fair quantity of the latter left then the government bought it from him. But he did not receive the whole price in gold but only a third while he had to take two thirds in alum. Side by side with the buying up of all imported wood all forests were government property, and on them we have full details (Alī Bahgat, *Les Forêts en Égypte*, *Institut Égyptien* 1900, p. 141 *et seq.*). Wood, iron, pitch, oakum etc. were state monopolies because they were not produced in the country and were necessities. To keep the price as low as possible the government had also a monopoly of such valuable native products as were much desired by foreign countries, notably alum, natron and emeralds, to use them for exchange. Alum was dug up in the Libyan desert and the oases by Beduins and brought to certain harbours on the Nile notably Ḳūṣ, Akhmīm, Asyūṭ and Bahnasā. The government purchased it at these places at 30 dirhems the cwt., or even cheaper. Private trade was forbidden and strictly punished. The average amount exported by the state through the dogana was 5000 cwts; it sometimes rose to 13,000 cwts. The market price varied from 4—6 dīnārs per cwt. Only a small proportion of the alum remained in the country, the chief purchasers being the dyers as alum is used for red dye; but the total disposed of in Cairo was only 80 cwts. The Egyptians had to pay a higher price than foreigners, viz. $6^1/_2$-$7^1/_3$ dīnārs a cwt. The natron was obtained in Wādī Naṭrūn, on the western borders of the Delta. Here the Beduins only acted as carriers. The large industry itself was in the hands of a staff of officials and workmen appointed by the state. A cwt. cost the state about 2 dirhems at the mines and was sold in Cairo and Alexandria for 70 dirhems, which showed a considerable profit in spite of the high cost of transport. The latter was not exorbitant as the Arabs had to carry one third of every consignment free. In the working of the emerald mines of the Arabian desert the state again appears as a monopolist. The deposits were in cavities which were entered with lights and ropes. While private enterprise was allowed a free hand in the gold washing industry of the Bodja country, the state maintained full control over the emerald mines. The workers were paid by the government, which also supplied them with tools. The workers were only allowed to leave the mines naked so that they could not conceal any stones. The stones obtained went to the Sulṭān's treasury. On the whole monopolies were a characteristic of the later period. In the Mamlūk period the state claimed first right to everything. This practice, which was however known previously, was called *ṭarḥ*; i.e. the state claimed for itself exclusively the part of middleman. This subject has as yet been but little investigated. M. Sobernheim's *Das Zuckermonopol unter Sultan Barsbey* (*Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, xxvii, 75 *et seq.*) is an excellent study of one branch of it.

The above material will shortly appear in an extended form with full references and illustrative passages in *Beiträge*, iii. Preliminary articles are to be found in *Klio*, ix. 2, p. 1 *et seq.* and *Der Islam*, i. 93 *et seq.* Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, iii. gives an unrivalled account of the details of trade and industry. With the exception of the works of the French expedition no preliminary work has been done on the economic conditions of the Ottoman period.

4. Intellectual Activity and Art.

It is quite impossible to give a full appreciation of the intellectual activities of Egypt in the Muslim period in the space at our disposal here. We can only emphasise the fact that in Egypt we have an unbroken literary development from the beginnings of Islām to the present day. The bearers of famous names, who held appointments in mosques and madrasas, libraries and hospitals as well as in the dīwāns are innumerable, not to speak of popular intellectual movements, the popular romances, and the shadow plays. The architects and artists to whom the golden age of Egypt owed its splendid edifices are mostly nameless and it is as yet hardly possible to comprehend their influence and inter-connection. Certain it is that we have here a vast amount of mental energy to which the whole of mediaeval Egypt owes its soul. With this wealth of material all that can be investigated here is what are the essential and what the special features of the intellectual culture of Muslim Egypt. Egypt was in the first place the cradle of important schools of Shāfiʿī and Mālikī Law. Secondly Ṣūfism as elsewhere here

left its special character on external forms of organisation. In the third place a love for the Nile valley and the splendour of its ancient history had created a historical tradition, which was unequalled by that of any other Muslim country and lastly Egypt was the home of the Oriental popular tale.

The beginnings of intellectual activity in Egypt are quite obscure. It is clear that the inhabitants of the Nile valley played no part in the decisive controversies of the earliest days of Islām; Egypt was only a province and occupied with other affairs. Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 332) tells us that the various camps followed the teachings of the "Companions" and Tābi'ūn among them. Thus the *Egyptians* attached themselves to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, the son of the conqueror and in a later generation to Laith b. Sa'd. 'Abd Allāh is said to have expounded decisions of the Prophet and eschatology. Now there has actually survived on papyrus a *Ṣaḥīfa* of 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr passing under the name of Ibn Lahī'a, with traditions which deal with the last judgment (*Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 9). This Ibn Lahī'a is one of the best known traditionists of Egypt of the first half of the second century. He and Laith are the principal authorities of the period. Al-Kindī, ed. Guest, provides us with an excellent means of studying how the great religious wars of the East, the development of ritual and of the Fiḳh have left their traces in Egyptian practice also. A certain Mawlā, Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, in the time of 'Omar II, appears to have been the first actual teacher of Fiḳh, who discussed *ḥarām* and *ḥalāl*. The Mawlā's on the whole played a considerable part in Egypt. The Mālikī *madhhab* attained importance at a very early period. It is said to have been first introduced by Mawlā 'Abd al-Raḥīm (died 163 = 779). The Mālikī ritual reigned supreme till in 198 = 813 al-Shāfi'ī came to Egypt and soon attracted a large following. He worked here till his death in 204 = 820 and his tomb is revered to this day. The *Ḥanafī* rite was occasionally represented by a Ḥanafī judge sent from Baghdād, but its first representative at once met with a vigorous opposition, led by Laith b. Sa'd, because he wished to abolish the *aḥbās* (al-Kindī, 371 *et seq.*; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 334; cf. also ib. ii. 294 *et seq.*). The Mālikī and Shāfi'ī schools thus remained predominant till the coming of the Fāṭimids, who organised everything after the Shī'ite-Ismā'īlī fashion. It is not generally known that the Shī'ite creed was not something new or unheard of in Egypt; in *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 334 *et seq.* we have not only a history of the beginnings of the Shī'a but a more particular account of its development in Egypt. Even before the Fāṭimid period there were sanguinary street-riots and the fanatical orthodox negro militia used to ask the people for their creed: "*man khāluka?*" Whereupon they had to answer "Mu'āwiya" (ib. 340) — a proceeding which can only be explained by the presence of a strong Shī'ite opposition. The greater part of the population was, nevertheless, always orthodox and therefore felt it deeply when with the Fāṭimids the Shī'a of Ismā'īlī type was declared the only valid *madhhab*. The well-known addition was at once made to the *adhān*, the *ṣalāt* was pronounced over 'Alī, Fāṭima and their children, the *basmala* had to be uttered aloud, certain prescriptions of the *farā'iḍ* were altered, the *ru'ya* and the *tarāwīḥ* abolished in *Ramaḍān*, the sale of *mulūkhiyya*, Mu'āwiya's favourite vegetable, forbidden and many other changes made. Under Ḥākim they even went so far as to introduce the public execration of the orthodox Caliphs but popular opinion protested against this and other Shī'a prescriptions also were from time to time replaced by orthodox. During the brief interregnum in 425-426 = 1033-1034, during which the khuṭba was read for the Imām Mustanṣir, there were 4 Ḳāḍīs: an Imāmī, an Ismā'īlī, a Shāfi'ī and a Mālikī. The old principal orthodox rituals had thus survived and at once developed considerably when at length Saladin restored the orthodox creed to the land which so desired it.

Even under the Fāṭimids intellectual pursuits flourished. The vizier Ibn Killis gathered jurists and dogmaticians, poets and grammarians around him and made great efforts to propagate an Ismā'īlī Fiḳh in Egypt. The Banu 'l-Nu'mān, a celebrated family of ḳāḍīs during the golden age of the Fāṭimids, worked with similar aims. (R. Gottheil in the *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, xxvii. 217—290). Endowments began to be set aside for scholars, the *Dār al-Ḥikma*, the first Muslim university was founded (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 342, 1), and Ḳor'ān-readers, jurists, grammarians and physicians appointed to it. When it was closed, the *Dār al-'Ilm al-Djadīda* was opened (ib. i. 445, 11). A staff of 35 lecturers was maintained at the Azhar Mosque (q. v.; i. 532 *et seq.*) (ib. ii. 341, 14). The libraries of the Fāṭimid Caliphs (ibid., i. 407 *et seq.*) testify to their active interest in intellectual pursuits. This activity did not, however, really reach its zenith till the Saldjūḳ religious reaction entered Egypt with Saladin. It is a peculiar feature of these warlike times that not only the Aiyūbids but also the great Mamlūks, who were all simple soldiers, took the greatest pleasure in and richly endowed intellectual pursuits, more particularly those connected with religion. Madrasas and Khānḳās sprang up like mushrooms. The material foundations were now prepared on which the study of the Fiḳh and Ṣūfism could flourish. Naturally madrasas were at first built only for the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs. But even by this period Abū Ḥanīfa's school had entered Egypt. The number of Ḥanafī madrasas was disproportionately great. This is explained by the fact that Nūr al-Dīn was an enthusiastic Ḥanafī (ib. ii. 343, 7). The appointment of ḳāḍīs for the three principal rituals also dates from this period; Baibars al-Bunduḳdārī was the first to add the Ḥanbalī as a fourth but this ritual never attained great influence in Egypt (Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i. 274). The internal arrangements of the madrasas presented features peculiar to Egypt. Each ritual seems originally to have had its own madrasa; Saladin for example, founded madrasas for the three principal rituals. It soon became common for two rituals to unite in one madrasa and in no particular combination. There were frequently separate chairs for Ḥadīth and Ḳor'ān reading in addition to the Fiḳh. But by 641 = 1243 we also find all 4 madhhabs combined in one madrasa (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 374, 1); in large madrasas medicine was also taught, being the sole secular subject (ib. ii. 380, 1). It appears particularly remarkable to any one acquainted with the later relation of the Fiḳh to Ṣūfism that, from the viiith = xivth century on, a Fiḳh and a Ṣūfī school were frequently conducted

alongside of one another in the same madrasa and sometimes even the same Shaikh had charge of both (ib. ii. 392,11; 394,16; 398,9; 399,1). It can readily be understood how after Saladin the teachings of Ash'arī in dogmatics were regarded as indispensable by all these teachers. This showed itself in the rejection of Ibn Taimiya. With the decline of the madrasas and the mismanagement of the late Mamlūk and Ottoman periods the Azhar has more and more become the focus of the intellectual life of Egypt.

In spite of the official patronage of the Ḥanafī school, it was the old established schools of Mālik and Shāfi'ī that made the most remarkable development. Even in the early period of Islām we find here among the Shāfi'is al-Muzanī and al-Nasā'ī, one of the six canonical traditionists, who spent a long time in Egypt; of the later period we may mention the Subkīs, Bulḳīnī, Zakariyā al-Anṣārī, Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī, Suyūṭī down to Sharbīnī and Shabrāmallisī. The most important of the Shāfi'is, however, were the two great Shāfi'ī authorities al-Ramlī (*Nihāya*) and Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haithamī (*Tuḥfa*), of whom the first was an Egyptian, while the second at least began his career there. The *Fihrist* gives quite a long list of names of Egyptian Mālikī scholars of the early period. It was from Egypt that the whole of North Africa and Spain was won for the Mālikī school. For the later period special mention should be made of Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, the author of the *Madkhal*, and later still Laḳānī, Udjhūrī, and Zarḳānī. While all later writers were merely copyists of older authorities it was nevertheless they who kept alive intellectual interests before the coming of European influence. Their activities were chiefly directed to the Fatwā, through which alone a certain development was possible. Nevertheless a gradual deadening of the intellectual life was going on always.

No preparatory studies have as yet been made for the history of Ṣūfism in Egypt; nevertheless it has always played an important part from the time of the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks to the present day. One of the earliest mystics, Dhu 'l-Nūn [q. v., i. 963b *et seq.*] was an Egyptian; Ibn al-Fāriḍ, perhaps the greatest Arab mystic poet, belonged to the Nile valley and it was from here also that Būṣīrī's *Burda* set forth on its triumphant career throughout the whole Muslim world. The Ṣūfiya as an organised body is first mentioned in 200 = 815; a brotherhood played a certain part in some political troubles (al-Kindī, ed. Guest, p. 162). The brotherhood system reached its zenith under Saladin and his successors, to which the long list of Khānḳāhs and Zāwiyas in Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 414 *et seq.* bears eloquent testimony. The first Khānḳāh was a *Dār Sa'īd al-Su'adā* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 415) which was used for other purposes in the Fāṭimid period but made a waḳf by Saladin (569 = 1173). It was originally destined for Ṣūfīs from abroad but soon became the centre of Egyptian Ṣūfism. Its Shaikh bore the title *Shaikh al-Shuyūkh*, which was afterwards given to all heads of Khānḳāhs. These Ṣūfīs in the Aiyūbid period took a prominent part in the public ritual of the chief mosque. The Shaikh appeared under a baldachin and went in ceremonial procession with his adepts on Fridays to the mosque where they read certain lessons before and after the Ṣalāt al-Djum'a. There were Ṣūfī settlements of this kind not only for men but also for women (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 428,1), which succoured divorced women for example and offered them shelter. Only a few of these seem to have been reserved for definite brotherhoods (e. g. ib., ii. 432 ; 435,24-25 — for example the 'Adawiya, the order of Shaikh 'Adī had a settlement here —, they were usually called after a Shaikh or the founder. The names of orders so well known in Egypt later are entirely lacking in this period; Maḳrīzī however (ixth = xvth century) already mentions al-Fuḳarā' al-Aḥmadiya al-Rifā'iya (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 428,15). The history of the individual *ṭarīḳas* has not yet been written. The development leads in any case to the conclusion that the following were considered the four great Ḳuṭbs: 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī, Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī, Aḥmad al-Badawī, the saint of Ṭanṭā and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī. Of these "pole stars" Badawī and Dasūḳī were Egyptians and Rifā'ī also is said to have died in Cairo (ib., ii. 428,17). The communities called after these saints are the Ḳādiriya, which has no subdivisions in Egypt, the Rifā'iya, which is divided into 3 *bayt* but is governed by *one* Shaikh (Baziya, Malkiya, Ḥabībiya), the Aḥmadiya, the most popular order in Egypt, which is divided into 16 subdivisions each with its own Shaikh (*furū'*) of which the Baiyūmiya and the Shinnāwiya are the best known and lastly the Burhāmīya, the two independent branches of which are called Shahāwiya and Sharānīya. This scheme which like the next is taken from 'Alī Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ djadīda*, iii. 129) is of course not a product of last century but has gradually arisen within the period discussed in this article. Besides these four communities attaching themselves to the four Ḳuṭbs, the Shādhilīs had settled in Egypt at quite an early period and they even had an Egyptian eponym. From the list of Egyptian mystics in Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (Cairo 1299), i. 292 *et seq.* it might be assumed that they were predominant in the earlier period. 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ djadīda*, iii. 129, gives 13 *furū'*. He also mentions the Sa'diya, the Naḳshibandiya, the Khalwatiya with 4 *furū'* and lastly the Mirghaniya, which was most popular among the Berbers. The latter is a comparatively modern foundation. At the present day all the brotherhoods are under the Shaikh al-Bakrī, in whose family the blood of the Wafā'ī sharīfs and the descendants of Abū Bakr, the Ṣiddīḳīs, is mingled. For centuries the Bakrīs have played a prominent part in the spiritual and more particularly the mystic life of Egypt. The public appearances of the dervishes are now limited to accompanying the Kiswa and the Maḥmal and to the feasts of the various Mawlids, particularly Mawlid al-Nabī, which was formerly celebrated with great splendour in the Ezbekiya and now in the 'Abbāsiya. It seems as if reforms were to be introduced under the present Bakrī.

The most important intellectual contribution made by Egypt is its historical literature. There is no country in the world which through its historical monuments has such a stimulus to the study of history as Egypt. Nevertheless the Muslims never succeeded in getting beyond fables as regards the pre-Muhammadan history of the country. The fullest survey of this literature (cf. above p. 11a infra) is given by Ibn Waṣīf Shāh. At a very early period, however, an interest in the Muslim period itself arose which followed three lines: political

history, biography of scholars and studies in topography and archaeology, the so-called Khiṭaṭ literature. The same author frequently cultivated all three fields. The origins are very obscure. A. R. Guest has collected all that is to be known about the early history of the historical literature that has survived in the brilliant introduction to his edition of al-Kindī. In Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (died 257 = 871), the oldest author that has survived to us, the later subdivision into the above three branches is not yet found. In al-Kindī (d. 350 = 961), however, we find them treated in separate sections. In the field of the history of scholarship it was most difficult to preserve local character. Here two interests combined, that of the criticism of tradition and the biographies necessary for it and that of pride in local celebrities, among whom were easily reckoned scholars who had made but a temperorary sojourn in Egypt. From al-Kindī to Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, from Ibn Yūnus to Suyūṭī and Maḳrīzī's *Muḳaffā* there ran unbroken series. Although Egyptian ḳāḍīs or Egyptian scholars in general may be discussed, the principle of selection is the connection with Egypt. We are likewise only referring here to those who specialise on Egypt among writers of political history; for people like Subkī for the history of scholars and Nuwairī for the historical encyclopaedia belong to another field. What delightful collections of details we owe to the gossipy Ibn al-Dāya for the Ṭūlūnid period, the versatile Ibn Zūlāḳ, and the diffuse chronicler Musabbiḥī for the Fāṭimid period. An appreciation of the whole work of the Fāṭimid historians is given in *Beiträge*, i. A characteristic distinction from the earlier period, which becomes gradually more marked from the Fāṭimid period on, is the preponderance of officials who were historians. Musabbiḥī gives a wealth of official documents and this becomes the rule with Ibn al-Maʾmūn and Ḳāḍī Fāḍil. The very minute descriptions of etiquette at the Fāṭimid court in Ibn Ṭuwair seem to be copied from a book of court ceremonial. Ibn Mammātī gives from personal knowledge rules for the Dīwāns and later al-ʿOmarī a chancery-manual, the most perfect work on the latter's model being Ḳalḳashandī's. In his *Taʾrīkh al-Faiyūm* al-Nābulusī publishes an official memorial and in his *Lumaʿ* a thinly veiled petition for reinstatement in office. Finally writers like Ibn Duḳmāḳ and Ibn Djīʿān use or reproduce bodily records of official surveys. Of course concurrently with this we have the discussion of history proper; we need only mention the Iyās and the numerous authors in Syria who at that time embraced both Egypt and Syria in their histories of the Empire. There is no Muslim country that can point to so perfect a historical tradition — on its political institutions also — as Egypt.

Lastly the Khiṭaṭ literature is quite unique. In other countries the rudiments of it may, it is true, be found but nowhere has this style of literature attained such a development as in Egypt. Although some of these al-Kindī's and al-Ḳuḍāʿī's was a Pausanias, yet according to Oriental ideas they maintained a high level of accuracy. An unbroken chain runs from the above mentioned fathers of this literature through Ibn Abī ʾl-Barakāt, Djawwānī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir and Ibn al-Mutawwadj down to Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, an invaluable work in spite of all its faults. It is true that Maḳrīzī merits relatively little of the credit; for the book is really the work of centuries. If it be taken with the same author's *Muḳaffā* and the *Sulūk*, we get a fairly good idea of the pre-Ottoman period's contribution to the history of Egypt.

Our sketch of the intellectual life of Egypt would be incomplete without a brief reference to the popular literature, whose home was in Egypt or which at least received its final form here. For the tales of the 1001 Nights the reader may be referred to the article ALF LAILA WA-LAILA (i. 252[b] *et seq.*). The great romances of Antar, Ẓāhir Baibars, Saif b. Dhī Yazan and the Banū Hilāl have been much less studied (*Bibliography* in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Lit.*, ii. 62; on the significance of the Saif romance, cf. *Der Islām*, i. 172 *et seq.*). The character of the eccentric Fāṭimid Ḥākim early became the subject of a romance (De Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, i.). Of a more burlesque nature is the Egyptian shadow-theatre, on the earliest representative of which, Ibn Dāniyāl, G. Jacob has published numerous studies (*Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, p. 36 *et seq.*; extracts from Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭaif al-ḫajāl*). Of great importance for the stratum of culture depicted in these pieces is G. Jacob's *Ein ägyptischer Jahrmarkt im XIII. Jahrhundert* (*Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.*, *Sitz. Ber.*, 1910, 10).

However difficult it may be to draw a distinction between what is common to Islām in general and what is peculiar to Egypt in the fields of literature and science, in art it is almost impossible, for the development of art and culture in Egypt is indissolubly connected with that of the whole Eastern Mediterranean and the buildings of Cairo are only so often quoted as examples because they are easy of access and so well preserved owing to favourable historical circumstances. As mentioned above, some critics have gone so far as to deny any Egyptian character to the art of Cairo. Art and science are international possessions in Islām. But in spite of all international influences Egyptian art and architecture retained a certain indigenous character; it is quite as much at home there as the doctrines of a Mālik or a Shāfiʿī. In the beginnings of Islām Coptic architecture enjoyed a great reputation, for in many foreign buildings we find *Ḳibṭ* appearing as masons provided by leiturgia (cf. *Der Islam*, iii. 403). The earliest buildings of Islām in Egypt must therefore have had a Coptic character although even in the oldest mosques the tradition which the Arabs had brought with them decided their general plan and disposition. We know very little about these early centuries. The history of Muslim art in Egypt begins with the Ṭūlūnid Mosque, on the ornamentation and architectural principles of which very lively differences of opinion exist (cf. the articles by Herzfeld and Strzygowski in *Der Islam*, i. ii. and ii. ii. 396, with the literature given there; more recently Herzfeld, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, Berlin 1912). Are the ornaments, is the principle of pillar and arch construction, is the peculiar form of minaret indigenous or imported from Samarra? These are the questions the settlement of which must be left to the historians of art. The general character of the Ṭūlūnid culture is in favour of the theory of importation but it is also quite possible that only the external and obvious elements were brought from the east

and thus imitated in native architecture and art. We meet with similar questions in the Fāṭimid period with its new and strange but pleasing art, whose Persian character cannot be denied (pointed arches, innumerable patterns, exuberant Kūfic). Here also Herzfeld sees in the ornamentation continuations from the Ṭūlūnid period, while S. Flury combats this development (*Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Azhar Moschee*, 1912). Van Berchem was the first to discuss Fāṭimid art in the *Journ. As.*, 1891, p. 411 *et seq.* and Strzygowski has more recently dealt with it in *Mshatta* and *Amida*. The most important architectural monuments are detailed in the article CAIRO, i. p. 822 *et seq.* A new period begins with Saladin. It is in keeping with the reactionary character of his epoch that the art of the period also shows a new spirit, which finds an external expression in the substitution of Naskhī as an decorative script in architecture in place of the previous exuberant Kūfic. With the new requirements of the period, new kinds of buildings like the madrasa, or the khānḳāh arose, which continue to develop under the Mamlūks. The cupola style of building which existed under the Fāṭimids, gradually becomes prevalent and assumes more and more markedly eastern forms and we have already seen that the whole Mamlūk period was characterised by Persian influence. The use of stalactites as a means of transition from the quadrangular base to the springing of the dome, underwent a constant and richer development. Another borrowing from the East is probably the accentuation of the façade, unknown at an earlier period, which we first find in the Aḳmar Mosque of the late Fāṭimid period and attains its artistic zenith in the grandiose gates of the Sulṭān Ḥasan-Mosque. For further details cf. the articles CAIRO, ARABESQUE, MASDJID as well as the literature given there and the following works, Franz Pascha, *Cairo*; Saladin-Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*; Herz Bey, *Le Musée national de l'Art arabe* (Catalogue); Gayet, *L'Art arabe*; Fouquet, *Contribution à l'Étude de la Céramique orientale* (*Institut Égyptien*, 1900); Artin Jacoub, *Contribution à l'Étude du Blason en Orient*. The really scientific study of Egyptian architecture and decorative art is still in its infancy, it has not yet even been satisfactorily explained what is peculiarly Egyptian in it.

A civilisation, which excludes foreign influence, is as a rule the result of the establishment of political boundaries. Egypt as a state has only from time to time been limited to the valley of the Nile. Egypt was at first a province of the Caliphate and then the centre of an empire including Syria and other countries. There are further to be considered the cosmopolitanism of Muslim civilisation and the migratory tendency of Muslim sciences, to be brief the picture given above is, at least in the fields of intellectual life and art not exclusively Egyptian but is characteristic of the Muslim civilisation of the whole of the Nearer Asia. Egypt, as we have seen, certainly has indigenous characteristics but it owes its intellectual productive power mainly to the continual immigration of powerful intellects, who were attracted by the splendours of Cairo, the city of the Caliphs and Sulṭāns. Mediaeval Egypt offers a brilliant picture but the Muslim military constitution already contained the seeds of decay. It was an exhausted, impoverished and depopulated land that the French expedition found on its arrival. The new Egypt is a work of the Khedives and of Europe. As to how a modern advancing Egypt has been developed from the mediaeval anarchy of the Mamlūks, cf. the articles devoted to the Khedives, Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors.

Bibliography: The most important works have been given in the text. Cf. also the articles on separate dynasties and rulers. A comprehensive survey of the ground covered here has not yet been written. Our best authorities are S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* and J. Marcel's history in the *Description de l'Égypte*; Else Reitemeyer has written a systematic though not historical *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter* (Leipzig 1903).

(C. H. BECKER.)

EIYŪB. [See AIYŪB, i. 1220 *et seq.*]

EKREM-BEY, MAḤMŪD, one of the most important of modern Turkish lyric poets, wrote ballads and romances after French models and, by introducing these new forms, improved the poetry of his native land. His collections of poems *Naghme-i Seḥer* ("Morning Lays"), *Zemzeme* ("Whisperings") and *Gendjlik* ("Youth") enjoy a great popularity. He also wrote several plays; of these the most original is the *Waṣlat* (1874), the history of a slave who falls in love with the youthful son of the house and is thereupon sold by her mistress. The poet was still alive in 1902.

Bibliography: P. Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, p. 37. (CL. HUART.)

ELIAS. [See ILYĀS.]

ELISA. [See ALISA', i. p. 300ᵇ.]

ELIXIR, Arab. *al-iksīr*, also *iksīr al-falāsifa*, the secret means by which the alchemists believed base metals could be transmuted into silver and gold; synonymous with "the philosopher's stone". Although it has not yet been found in the older Greek alchemical works, it can hardly be doubted that the word is derived from the Greek ξήριον "powder for wounds". It is frequently mentioned in the writings of Djābir b. Ḥaiyān edited by Berthelot. It enters the metals and permeates them like poison in a body; a small quantity will transmute a million times its weight in metal to gold. It can only be kept in vessels of gold, silver or rock-crystal as it attacks glass. According to the definition in the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* the *iksīr* is the drug which transforms molten metal into gold or silver when it is boiled with it. In less credulous circles, however, it was also called *maghūr al-ism, ma'dūm al-djism*, famous in name but of unknown composition. The word alexir, elixir reached the scholastic philosophers through the chemical works of the Arabs, notably Ibn Sīnā ("Avicenna in *Libro de Anima*"); among the earliest may be mentioned Roger Bacon (*Opus Minus*, *Speculum Alchemiae* etc.) and Albertus Magnus in the xiiith century; in the works ascribed to Raymundus Lullus, the properties attributed to it are vastly increased. Even in Roger Bacon and probably in his Arabic sources also we find the elixir also considered a means of prolonging life; for since it can make perfect the baser metals and heals their "diseases", it surely could remove the imperfections of the body, keep it sound and prolong life. Such "elixirs of life" were prepared for centuries and are still made out of all sorts of ingredients.

Bibliography: H. Kopp, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie* (Braunschweig 1869), particularly p. 209 (*Ξηρίον*), p. 450 *et seq.* (Elixir); do., *Die Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit* (Heidelberg 1886); Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, Vol. iii.; van Vloten, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 265; Roger Bacon, *Opus minus* (ed. Brewer); E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Naturw.*, ii. and xxiv.; Gildemeister, *Alchymia*, in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, Vol. 30 (1876), p. 534 *et seq.* (J. Ruska.)

ELKĀṢṢ MĪRZĀ, the younger brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I., who appointed him governor of Shīrwān after the conquest of this province. Elkāṣṣ soon afterwards rebelled against Ṭahmāsp and after the defeat of his troops fled to Constantinople through the Crimea (954 = 1547). Sulṭān Sulaimān eagerly seized this opportunity for a new campaign against Persia, gave Elkāṣṣ a splendid reception and then sent him to the Persian frontier under the command of the Ulāma-Pasha. On Elkāṣṣ's advice the army marched against Tabrīz. He took part in the capture of this town and the conquest of Vān and advanced as far as Iṣfahān, Ḳumm and Kāshān at the head of a body of adventurers, but quarrelled with Sulaimān when the latter summoned him to rejoin him. He sought refuge with the Kurds (956 = 1549), but was taken prisoner by the Kurd prince Suhrāb and handed over to Ṭahmāsp, who imprisoned him in the fortress of Ḳahḳaha (Alamūt) where he died in 987 = 1579. According to another account he was able to return to Meshhed on Ṭahmāsp's death. He wrote several poems.

Bibliography: Pebewī, p. 267 *et seq.*; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, i. 328, 331; Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, vi. 7 *et seq.*; P. Horn, *Denkwürdigkeiten Schâh Ṭahmâsp des I.*, p. 38, 64 *et seq.*, 134; Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii. 88 *et seq.*; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, i. 10. (Cl. Huart.)

ELMALU (Turk. "Appletown"), a market-town in Asia Minor, the capital of a Ḳaẓā of the Sandjaḳ of Tekke in the Wilāyet of Ḳonya, S.W. of Adalia, between this town and Deñizli, at the east end of Lake Wallān, with about 6000 inhabitants, mostly Muslim peasants (the Christians are merchants and artisans), twenty mosques, three Greek and one Armenian church and five Turkish baths. The climate is healthy and the temperature low. The Ḳaẓā has about 20,000 inhabitants of whom several thousand are nomads and includes 75 villages and two Nāḥiya, Fenike and Egerdir-Ḳānlī. Fenike, the name of which reminds one of the Phoenicians, 40 miles south of Elmalu, is a small seaport with 3000 inhabitants mainly Greek Orthodox; near it are Lycian tombs and a Phoenician inscription. The country is mountainous and rich in forests and pasture, corn, olives, oranges and building-wood.

There are also three villages of this name in Asiatic Turkey, of which one is in the Ḳaẓā of Urdū in the Wilāyet of Trapezunt, the second is on the shore of Lake Vān, and the third is in the Sandjaḳ of Malaṭya, in the Wilāyet of Maʿmūret ʾl-ʿAzīz.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djewād, *Djoghrāfyā Lughāti*, p. 118; *Sālnāme* 1325, p. 784; Sāmī-Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii. 1025; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 864; iii. 377. (Cl. Huart.)

ELUL, Arabic AILŪL, the name of the twelfth month in the Syrian Calendar; see TAʾRĪKH.

ELVIRA, from the Arabic ILBĪRA (rarely LEBĪRA and YELBĪRA; this should be read in Yāḳūt, i. 348 with Fleischer, v. 40 instead of *Bilbīra*) from old Iberian *Ili(l)iberi*, *Iliberri*, also *Eliberi*, *Eliberri* etc. = New Town: *ili* town *berri* new (Municipium Florentinum Iliberritanum of the Romans) was in the later period of the Arab conquest and under the Umaiyads the name of the province afterwards called Granada, whose Arab capital was at that time *Ḳasṭīliya* or *Madīnat Ilbīra*, only incorrectly called *Ilbīra* alone, and lay 1¼ miles N. W. of Granada, N. of the Genil between the modern Atarf (Arab. *al-Ṭarf*) and Pinos Puente at the foot of the southern slopes of the Sierra de Elvira which still bears its name: the name once so celebrated is still preserved in the Pozos de Elvira, the "Well of Elvira" and in Granada in the Puerta and Calle de Elvira in the N. W. like the ancient Castilia in the farmplace *cortijo*, Castilia, Ḳasṭīliya. — Madīnat Ilbīra was once the rich and flourishing capital of the province of the Arabs from Syria who settled here; but it began to decline steadily in 400 = 1009-1010, when as a result of the great Berber rebellion in Cordoba and the provinces the inhabitants migrated to the adjoining town of Granada so that the town in time fell completely into ruins. Its ruins were still considerable in the xivth century when they were visited by Ibn al-Khaṭīb [q. v.]. The question whether the ancient Iberian and Roman Iliber(r)i (cf. the first known Spanish Council at Elvira in 304 or 305) and the Gothic see lay on the site of the modern Granada [q. v.] or on the site now occupied by the ruins of the Arab Elvira, is probably to be decided in favour of Granada. The Arabs then, following their usual aversion to the capitals of their predecessors, must have in this case also moved the site of the capital of the province and at first retained the old name for the province only: *Kūrat Ilbīra* with the capital *Madīnat Ilbīra* = *Ḳasṭīliya*.

Bibliography: the most important work is, Dozy, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-Âge*³, i. 327—335: "Castilia, Ilbira, Elvira" and p. 335—340 "Iliberi, Grenade" (but on p. 328 Yelbīra should be read for Balbīra, see above; and the reference to Muḳaddasī, p. 236 l. 1 should be deleted, as Ṭabīra should be read there for Lībīra); Yāḳūt, i. 348; iv. 97 (*Ḳasṭīliya*); iii. 788 (*Ḳāḳarnāṭa*); *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, iv. 138; Idrīsī, p. 175, 203 (Arab.); Ḳazwīnī, ii. 337; Abu ʾl-Fidā, p. 167; trad., ii. 238; Simonet, *Descripción del Reino de Granada*² (1872); do., *Historia de los Mozárabes*, Indice s. Elvira; Eguilaz, *Del lugar donde fue Iliberis*; do., *Origen de las ciudades Garnata ó Illiberri y de la Alhambra* in *Homenaje á Codera* Zaragoza 1904), p. 333—338; Oliver y Hurtado, *Iliberi y Granada* (Madrid 1870); Gómez-Moreno, *De Iliberri á Granada*: *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 46 (1905, i.), p. 44—61. (C. F. Seybold.)

ELWEND, ARWAND in the Arab authors and grecised as ORONTES by classical writers (Achaemenid inscription, Semiramis legend), still called ERWEND or NĀRWEND in the district, a lofty granite mountain mass, about 17,560 feet high, a spur of the Zagros system, S. W. of Hamadhān,

which owes the fertility of its gardens to its wealth in water and snow. The scanty accounts of the Arab geographers are mainly confined to in part fantastic stories of a well on the top of the mountain, which Muslim tradition describes as one of the wells of Paradise no doubt with reference to older religious ideas which clung to the spot, cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 146, 170—173.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i. 225 *et seq.*; Kazwīnī (transl. by Ethé), p. 312; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1902, p. 246 and 748; G. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 195; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 79—93; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, i. 143 *et seq.*; *Mitteilungen der k. k. Geogr. Ges. Wien*, 1883, p. 72 *et seq.*

(R. Hartmann.)

EMĪN. [See amīn, i. 343.]

EMĪN PASHA, a distinguished German explorer and coloniser of Africa. Emin whose real name was Eduard Schnitzer was born in Oppeln (Schlesia) on the 28th March 1840. From 1858—1864 he studied medicine and science in Breslau, Berlin and Königsberg, taking his Dr. Med. degree in March 1863. In autumn 1864 he went to Antivari which at that time was still a Turkish possession. Here he began to practise medicine privately but in the following summer he was appointed quarantine and medical officer for the district. Schnitzer became a particular favourite of Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī Pasha, the governor of northern Albania, who resided in Scutari and his wife, a native of Transylvania. After Ismā'īl's death in 1873 he lived for two years with his widow, whom he left towards the end of 1875 to go to Kharṭūm. In the middle of April Gordon, then governor of the Equatorial Provinces appointed him government medical officer in Ladò. Schnitzer took up his duties here on the 7th May 1876 and adopted the name Emin Efendi, professing to be a Turk educated in Germany. On the 3rd June he was sent as Gordon's diplomatic agent to king Mtesa of Uganda and in 1877-1878 to Kabrega of Unyoro and a second time to Mtesa. At the end of June 1878 Gordon, who had meanwhile become Governor-general of the Sūdān, appointed Emin governor of the Equatorial Province on the suggestion of the Russo-German explorer Junker. Emin, who now received the title Bey, and later Pasha, displayed a wonderful activity in the advancement of civilization in his new office. He controlled the Danāḳil (a kind of irregular soldiery) who were always inclined to raiding, furthered trade, agriculture and civilisation in general and extended his territory. When he took over the government, the province showed a deficit of £ 30,000 annually, but after three years a surplus of £ 1200 (cf. G. Schweitzer, *Emin Pascha*, p. 220 *et seq.*) which at a later period when Emin was cut off by the Mahdists from Egypt was stored in the form of ivory. When Gordon left the province the number of stations in it was 15; Emin raised it to 50. At the beginning of the Mahdī's rising (1881-1882) Emin's territory stretched 400 miles from E. to W. and 300 from N. to S. From the middle of April 1883, Emin in consequence of the Mahdist rising was cut off for years from any connection with the Egyptian government. In the spring of 1884 Karam Allāh, the leader of the Mahdist army which had conquered the province of Baḥr al-Ghazāl, demanded his submission. He refused to surrender and gradually his position became more difficult. He therefore left Ladò at the end of April 1885 and transferred his headquarters farther south to Wadelai. On the 2nd January 1886, Junker who had been with Emin since January 1884, set out for the east coast of Africa, which he reached on the 14th December 1886. Another explorer, the Italian Casati remained with Emin from January 1885 till he was relieved. Early in 1887 Ladò, where a garrison had up till then been maintained, had to be entirely abandoned. Emin took up his quarters for a brief while in 1886 and for a long period in 1887 at Kibiro, his station on the east shore of the Albert Nyanza. Meanwhile at the instigation of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society a committee of Scottish commercial gentlemen, perhaps attracted also by the possibilities of the country had equipped an expedition to relieve Emin. Stanley was appointed to lead it. He reached Emin (but not the Equatorial Province proper) in the spring of 1888. Stanley's caravan had suffered so much on the route that its arrival was more of embarrassment than use to Emin; nor was the attitude of Stanley calculated to strengthen Emin's position. When Emin announced to his officers the orders of the Egyptian government that they should retire with Stanley (to the east coast) they mutinied and kept Emin a prisoner in Dufilé from the middle of August to the middle of November 1888. On the 17th February 1889 Emin, who had resolved to depart, joined Stanley on the western shore of the Albert Nyanza. Their joint expedition reached the coast at Bagamoyo in the beginning of December 1889. Here Emin was received with the greatest honour but owing to an unfortunate accident was confined to bed for three months. On his recovery Emin (at first provisionally) entered the foreign service of the German Empire. On the 26th April he left the east coast with two officers (Stuhlmann and Langheld), 3 sergeants, 100 soldiers and 592 bearers. His object was to secure for Germany the lands south of the Victoria Nyanza. The most important events of the expedition were the hoisting of the German flag in Tabora and the foundation of the station of Bukoba on the west coast of the Victoria Nyanza. Both these measures were contrary to the will of von Wissmann the governor of German East Africa, but approved by Karl Peters who had been sent by a German committee to relieve Emin but did not meet him till June 1890 in Mpwapwa. Throughout this expedition Emin showed himself a bitter enemy to the Arabs, not only in his letters to Wissmann, but also in the measures he took to suppress the slave-trade. — In the second half of March 1891 vague rumours reached Emin of fighting between the people he had left in the equatorial province and the surrounding negroes. Although forbidden by Wissmann he now crossed the northern boundary of the German protectorate to attract his old officers and soldiers to his side and march with them wherever possible westwards via Monbuttu and occupy the hinterlands of Kamerun. This plan proved quite impracticable. On the 28th September the retreat was begun from Andelahi (on the upper course of the Ituri or Aruwimi). An epidemic of smallpox reduced the expedition to a very sad state. On the 7th December, Emin sent Stuhlmann with the sound men on to Bukoba, while he remained behind with the invalids. In the absence of any

other possible route of retreat he decided to march westwards; he began his journey on the 8th March 1892, first to Ipoto near Kilunga-longa on the Aruwimi. He next went up the Aruwimi, then in a southwesterly direction right across the primeval forest with the object of reaching Kibonge, a station on the upper Congo; but 100 miles from his goal, in Kinena, Emin was treacherously murdered on the 23rd October 1892 by command of the prince of Kibonge. The Belgian Captain Dhanis found one half of Emin's last diary on entering Nyangwe, the capital of the land of Manyuema, in February 1893 and the other half after the taking of Kassongo, the capital of the notorious slave-trader Tippu Tipp, on the 22nd April 1893. Kibonge, the instigator of Emin's murder, was courtmartialled and shot on the 9th January 1894.

Whilst yet in Turkey Emin had completely adopted the externals at least of a Muslim and Turk and retained this attitude after he had entered the service of Egypt also (G. Schweitzer, *Emin Pasha*, i. 21). This is the only explanation of the fact that he was so long able to maintain his authority in the Equatorial Province. We have already seen that he was not therefore the less an enemy to the slave-traders. Although he tolerated slavery in his own province, it was only because he could do nothing without slave-labour. At a later period, when in German service, he pleaded for a complete separation of the land of the negroes from the Arab territory and for the expulsion of all Arabs without a fixed abode. He thought most highly of Roman Catholic among Christian missionaries (although himself a Protestant!) because they alone laid out pretty stations and made the negroes useful as labourers (Schweitzer, ii. 109). Emin was on the whole rather pessimistic about the possibility of cultivating the negro mind also (Schweitzer, i. 124). As an administrator Emin was a skilful organiser but hardly a conqueror — a man who made the most of his opportunities but took no risks. In science he achieved a reputation more particularly in ornithology and ethnography; he was also a brilliant linguist.

Bibliography: G. Schweitzer, *Emin Pasha, his Life and Work*, 2 vols., London 1898; P. Reichard, *Emin Pascha*; Vita Hassân, *Die Wahrheit über Emin Pascha*; G. Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha*, (London 1891); F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*; C. Peters, *Die deutsche Emin Pascha-Expedition*; Emin-Pasha, *Eine Sammlung von Reisebriefen u. s. w.*, ed. by G. Schweinfurth and F. Ratzel; *Emin Pasha in East Africa* (London 1898); H. M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa* (London 1890).

(A. Schaade.)

EMÎR. [See amîr, i. 330b.]

EMÎR SULṬÂN, i. e. Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad b. ʿAlî al-Ḥusainî al-Bukhârî, also called Saiyid Muḥammed Bukhârî, Saiyid Emîr Sulṭân, Emîr Saiyid (ʿÂshikpashazâde, p. 148, Hanivaldt's chronicle in Leuncl., *Hist. Mus.*, p. 541, 543, whence *Mirsaites* in Kananos), the great patron saint of Brusa, born about 770 A. H., migrated to Asia Minor from Bukhârâ and settled in Brusa where he died of the plague in the odour of sanctity in 833 A. H. According to tradition Emîr Sulṭân was held in high esteem by Bâyezîd I. Yilderim, whose daughter, Khûndî Sulṭân, he married; when the Sulṭân took the field, he had his sword girded on by him and the saint's admonitions persuaded him to give up the drinking of wine (cf. the anecdote in Ewliyâ, *Travels* etc., ii. 25 = *Taʾrîkh-i Sîyâḥ*, i. 32 *et seq.*); when Bâyezîd wished to slay Tîmûr's envoys, Emîr Sulṭân successfully opposed this breach of international law (ʿÂlî, *Künh*, v. 83 *et seq.*). On the capture of Brusa by an advance party of Tîmûr's army in 805 he was taken prisoner and brought to Tîmûr's camp; Tîmûr set him free and wanted him to come to Samarḳand; but Emîr Sulṭân preferred to return to Brusa (Saʿd al-Dîn, i. 188 *et seq.*; Sheref al-Dîn, l. v, c. 51). Legend, however, knows nothing of this but says that the saint brought about the withdrawal of Tîmûr's troops from Brusa by a miracle (Saʿd al-Dîn, ii. 427; Ewliyâ, ii. 48). When Murâd II. succeeded to the throne in 824 A. H., he had his sword girded on by Emîr Sulṭân and the saint is said to have hastened by his prayers the defeat of the false Muṣṭafâ, who challenged Murâd II's claim to the throne (ʿÂlî, l. c., p. 195 *et seq.*; Leuncl., *Hist.*, p. 493 *et seq.*). In the following year he took part in the siege of Constantinople with a train of 500 dervishes but the fall of the city prophesied by him did not take place. The Byzantine chronicler Kananos who was present at the siege gives us a full and vivid description of Mirsaiyid the "Patriarch of the Turks" as he calls Emîr Sulṭân (p. 466 *et seq.*, 477 *et seq.*, ed. Bonn), while the Ottoman historians say not a word about this mishap.

After his death a splendid mausoleum was erected over his grave which became one of the most popular places of pilgrimage of Islâm (Ṭashköprüzâde, i. 76, 377; Saʿd al-Dîn, i. 188; Leuncl., *Hist.*, p. 571 and 816; v. Hammer, *Umblick* etc., p. 58 *et seq.*), and legend began to tell of the miracles (*Manâḳib*) of the saint.

Bibliography: Ṭashköprüzâde, i. 76 *et seq.*; Saʿd al-Dîn, ii. 425—427; ʿÂlî, *Künh*, v. 112; *Güldeste riyâḍ-i ʿirfân*, p. 69—79.

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

ENIF, i. e. al-Anf "the nose", is the name of star ε of second to third magnitude in Pegasus, or as it is called by the Arabs the larger Horse. Ḳazwînî and Ulugh Beg call this star *Fam al-Faras* (= the horse's mouth), the latter also calls it *Djaḥfalat al-Faras* (= the horse's lip). Al-Battânî has no special name for it, he calls it "the star which is in its (i. e. the horse's) mouth". The name Enif probably passed from the works of western Arab astronomers into the Latin translations of the middle ages.

Bibliography: al-Battânî, *Opus astronomicum* (ed. Nallino), ii 154; iii. 251; al-Ḳazwînî, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 34—35; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung u. die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p. 117.

(H. Suter.)

ENNAYER (usually ينّير in Arabic texts, Berber *Innâyer*), the name of the first month of the Julian calendar, among the natives of North Africa who reckon by solar years and have retained the Latin names of the months (cf. awrâs, i. 521a), also the name of the New Year festival celebrated at the beginning of that month by Christians and Muslims in North Africa, for the Muslims there as a rule take part in different Christian feasts, for example, the feast of the summer solstice or the *Anṣara* feast [see anṣara,

I. p. 358] which falls on the 24th June of the Julian calendar and corresponds to our feast of St. John, and the feast of the winter solstice or the *mawlid ʿAïsa* (ʿĪsā), celebrated on the 24th December of the Julian calendar, a feast obviously closely connected with our Christmas. In the Awras it is said to be celebrated a week before the Ennayer festival under the name of *Bu Ini* or *Bun Ini*. In Tlemcen a masked *ṭālib* makes a collection for the Ennayer feast just as at one time was done in Cairo for the Mawlid ʿIsā; this Ṭālib is called *Bu Mnani* or *Bu Bnāni*, which is undoubtedly to be derived from the Latin *bonus annus*. The ceremonies which accompany the feast of the New Year seem to have been amalgamated with those of the winter solstice; in the same way we find the Ennayer customs of one district transferred to other feasts in other districts such as the ʿAshūrāʾ or Spring festival or to the feasts of Ramaḍān etc.

The feast of Ennayer falls on the New Year's day of the Julian calendar (11th January of the Gregorian) and lasts two, three or four days according to the local custom.

The day preceding the feast, i.e. the last day of the year has often the character of a day of mourning. The fare for this day is therefore a special one. As a rule the housewife avoids attaching the *keskas* to the pot with a piece of cloth and is rather content with closing the space between the two vessels with some dough. The common custom is to give up *kuskus* for a day or two and replace it by the *berkūkes*, a coarse *kuskus*, cooked not with steam but in a meat juice, or by pastry (*mḥammṣa*), which is eaten with raisins, honey etc. In various places milk only is drunk or dry vegetables such as wheat, beans or chick-peas (*shershem*; in Zwāwa: *ṭiram*), cooked in water eaten. Supper, as used to be the case at the Mawlid ʿAïsa feast, sometimes consists of a thick gruel of coarse meal prepared with butter or oil which is also mixed with honey (ʿ*aṣīda*). In western Tunisia starch flour is often added to this preparation and in Kabilia roots of arum. The former mixture is called *ḥsūm ʿauṣiḏa*, the latter *abūzin ibdeʿdḏ* and is a dish for women.

In Blida the natives two days before Ennayer eat a dish called *ṭlīkho*, consisting of various vegetables and legumes (cock's combs, spinach, green beans, peas and parsley); the pith of the dwarf palm (*djommār*) is eaten with it. Other noteworthy dishes are: egg rolls, egg cakes, the Tlemcen *ṭarīra*, apple fritters, pancakes and all kinds of tarts.

In the towns the head of the family buys all kinds of fruits (raisins, dried figs, nuts, dates, sweet acorns, and chestnuts), which are mixed with the pith of the dwarf palm or confectionery. This mixture is called *trāz* or *ḳrḳūsha* etc. and is divided among the members of the family. The children put a little of it in a small basket which is placed beside the hearth. In the night a fairy the „old woman of Ennayer" comes and puts a silver coin, a penholder, a piece of paper, or a piece of sheep's wool in the boys' baskets. The objects show that the small owner of the basket will, when he grows up, become rich or learned or the possessor of flocks of sheep. The fairy places pieces of silk, needles etc. in the girls' baskets.

A portion of the meal prepared the night before the Ennayer festival is kept under a dish.

In some districts it is the custom to strew green twigs on the flat roofs of the houses, on the stables and on the floors of the tents, on the day before Ennayer, so that the new year may be "green", i.e. lucky. In Laghuat and Géryville and among many Berber tribes, the ashes are swept from the hearth, new stones placed in it and sometimes a new *kanūn* is dug in another place in the room; it is further the custom to replace an old article of furniture by a new one and put it in another position.

People in disguises collect offerings, such as the "figures" and the *ṣaiḏ* at Nedroma, the *Bū Bennāni* at Tlemcen and the *Bū Redjūḥ* in west Tunisia; a lion (*ḥef-ḍīd aṣīra* in western Tunisia), a camel etc. are among the disguises adopted.

The day following, the first of January, is a day of rejoicing: it is then the custom, in the towns of Morocco, to eat the *sebʿa ḳhḍārī* (seven vegetables). It is an almost universal custom to kill a fowl; rich people kill a young goat or a sheep; in Kabylia, it is sometimes the occasion of a *timshreṭ*; in some places sheeps'-heads are eaten instead of fowls.

The condition in which a man is at the Ennayer festival, decides his condition for the whole year. On this day one ought to be happy, amiable, generous and rich. People meeting wish one another good luck; parents, engaged couples, landlords and tenants, Muslims and Jews exchange presents and show little attentions to one another. Alms and presents are given and guests entertained. No borrowed articles are allowed in the house and any that have been lent are asked back so that there may be as much good fortune in the house as possible. The house is not swept throughout the whole length of the festival nor are clothes or linen changed nor the finger-nails trimmed; in Kabylia, however, this is the day chosen for shaving off the first growth of hair on boys.

The country people examine the corn of the *berkūkes* left over at the meal or the blood of the fowls killed for the feast to find out what sort of weather will prevail during the early months of the year.

Just as used to be the custom in France at Christmas time the Kabils at the Ennayer festival talk to their oxen and goats.

The housewife places a scorpion below the vessel in which the milk is to curdle in order to obtain as much butter as possible. To be able to see clearly they smear the edges of the eye-lids with collyrium.

During the festival all work ceases and no journeys are undertaken; mats, carpets or burnuses in process of manufacture are wound round the beams of the loom or put out of the way during the festival.

Orthodox Muslims naturally try to restrain their co-religionists from the celebration of this festival as much as possible and the teachers in the Koran schools for the same reason do not grant their pupils holidays for Ennayer. Among the Muslim population of the Senegal and Upper Niger, whose conversion to Islām is comparatively recent and who take great pride in their orthodoxy, festivals like the Ennayer and Anṣara are unknown.

Bibliography: Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris

1905) and my article *Ennayer* in the *Revue Africaine*, n°. 256, 1st quarter, 1905 (Algiers).
(E. DESTAING.)

ENOCH. [See IDRĪS.]

ENWERĪ, AL-ḤĀDJDJ SA'DULLĀH, Efendi, a native of Trebizond, entered the higher Turkish civil service as Khodja (superintendent of a dīwān) and successively filled the office of Teshrīfātdji (1184—1187), Djebedjiler Kātibi (1187—1190), Teshrīfātdji (1190—1196), Mewḳūfātdji (1196—1199), Büyük Teskeredji (1197) and from 1200 to his death with several breaks that of an Anadolu Muḥāsebedjisi. At the end of 1182 he was also given the post of Historiographer Royal (*Waḳ'a Nuwīs*), which he held till the end of 1197 with an interval of 18 months (4th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1188—1190), during which the post was filled by Behdjet and Suleimān Mollā (cf. Djewdet, ii. 135); in 1202, however, when his successor Wāṣif Efendi went as ambassador to Spain, he was again given the office of official historian and attached to the army in the field during the war with Austria and Russia, while Edīb Efendi remained in the capital in the same capacity (Djewdet, iii. 426, 438; iv. 2 *et seq.*), and still retained the office after his return to the capital in 1206. He died on the 11th or 13th Rabī' I 1209 (6th or 8th October 1794) when over 60 years of age.

Enwerī left a history of the country in 5 parts of which he presented the first three to the sulṭān in 1194 (Djewdet i. 212); they cover the years 1183—1193, and the following parts cover the period to 1200. The first two volumes of Enwerī's chronicle (1183—1188) were recast by Wāṣif Efendi as the second part of his history (cf. *Wāṣif Ta'rīkhi*, i. 315 and ii. 3, ed. Constantinople 1219 A. H.); Ismā'īl Raḥmī (cf. Pertsch, *Verz. d. Türk. Hdschr. zu Berlin*, n°. 208) undertook a second recension. Enwerī's original work, which is considered rare, is to be found complete in the Imperial Library in Vienna (n°. 1117—1119 of Flügel's Catalogue); the Egyptian printed edition of Enwerī's chronicle referred to by Reinaud (and following him, Zenker, n°. 940) does not exist.

Bibliography: v. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Die Osm. Geschichtschreiber der neueren Zeit*, p. 3 *et seq.*; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, ix. 209 *et seq.*; Flügel, *Handschr. d. Hofbibliothek Wien*, ii. 299 *et seq.*; Djemāl al-Dīn, *Āinā-i Ẓurefā* (ed. Constantinople 1314), p. 17, 37; Djewdet, vi. 137 *et seq.*; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, i. 440 *et seq.* (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ENZELI, the harbour of Resht, the capital of Gīlān in Persia. Enzeli lies on a narrow tongue of land, which has been cut by a channel, between the Caspian Sea and a freshwater lake called *Murdāb*. From Enzeli one goes by boat to Pīr-i Bāzār on the south side of the Murdāb, thence by land to Resht, whence the high road runs via Ḳazwīn to Teherān. In the Russian wars with Persia Enzeli played a considerable part. In 1722 Russian troops landed in Pīr-i Bāzār. A Russian demonstration at Enzeli in 1804 failed completely on account of the impossibility of penetrating the hinterland. In spite of its unsheltered roadstead Enzeli is the most important harbour in the Caspian provinces of Persia (1908-1909: 497, 1909-1910: 620 steamships). The town only seems to have attained particular importance in the latter half of the xixth century. While it had only 300—400 houses in the early decades of last century according to contemporary accounts, the latest English Consular reports estimate its population at 9000.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 652 *et seq.*; Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres* (Leipzig 1868), p. 278 *et seq.*; Stahl in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitt.*, Erg.-H. 118, p. 1; *Diplomatic and Consular Reports*, n°. 4828 (1912). (R. HARTMANN.)

ERBIL, the ancient Arbela, celebrated for Alexander's battle there (See Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 407 and vii. 861 *et seq.*), situated between the two Zāb on the road from Mōṣul to Baghdād at the place where it is joined by two roads from the Iranian highlands (cf. Hüsing, *Der Zagros*, p. 38 *et seq.*), the capital of a Ḳaḍā in the Sandjaḳ of Shehr-i Zōr in the Wilāyet of Mōṣul. In the earlier Arab geographers the town is described as a *ṭassūdj* of the *asṭān* of Ḥulwān in the Sawād (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vi. 6 and 235). Erbil attained its greatest prosperity about 600 = 1200 as the capital of the Begtegīnids [q. v., i. 688b *et seq.*] and is described as having a high, strong citadel below which lay an extensive town which was the great market for the surrounding country. Yāḳūt says that in the population of the district Kurds predominated. In the second half of the xiiith century under the Mongols we find Erbil in the possession of Kurd Emīrs of the tribe of Māzendjānī (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii. 311 *et seq.*). Even down to the most recent times the affairs of the town were more often managed by the Kurds of the adjoining mountains than by Turkish officials. Although Erbil was still able to offer considerable resistance to Nādir Shāh in 1732, it has had no importance of its own for a long time and is now a small country town with 3757 inhabitants (Cuinet).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i. 186 *et seq.*; Abu 'l-Fidā, p. 412 *et seq.*; Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren), p. 190; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-Numā* (Constantinople 1145), p. 446; G. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 92; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 691 *et seq.*; Černik in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen*, Erg.-H. 45, p. 1 *et seq.*; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 856 *et seq.*; Sachau, *Am Euphrat u. Tigris*, p. 112 *et seq.* (R. HARTMANN.)

ERDEL, Hungarian ERDÉLY, the old Turkish name for Transylvania or Siebenbürgen. After the battle of Mohács (1526) the woiwods of this country became to a certain extent vassals of Turkey until by the Peace of Carlowitz (1699), Siebenbürgen passed to Austria.

EREGLI, τὰ Ἡρακλέως Κάστρα das (Theophanes, i. 482, de Boor; ἡ τοῦ Ἡρακλέως Κυβιστρα of Michael Attaliata, p. 136 (ed. Bonn); Ἡράκλεια or Χώρα τοῦ Ἡρακλέως in the epic of Digenis Acritas; the Hiraḳla of the Arabs ارقلية ed. Houtsma, *Recueil* etc. iii. 11; iv. 5, 249, 260, Turk. ارگلى and occasionally archaised هرقلة, هرقلية, the *Racle*, *Eracléa* of the Crusaders (Tomaschek, *Zur histor. Topographie von Kleinasien*, p. 84, 88, 92), *Araclie* in Bertrandon de la Broquière, p. 104 *et seq.*, ed. Ch. Schefer, was a fortress on the Byzantine frontier on the road from Cilicia to Iconium and was repeatedly taken by the Arabs, notably by Hārūn in September 806 (Tabari, iii. 709 *et seq.* = Theophanes, l. c.), but remained a Byzantine possession till it was taken from them

by the Saldjūḳs of Ḳōniya (in 484 = 1091, according to Ewliyā, iii. 28). At a later period it belonged to the kingdom of the Karamanoghlu and with the rest of territory passed to the Ottomans in 1466. The population (about 5000) is almost exclusively Muslim; there is a small Armenian community. 50 years ago there were 10 large and 11 small mosques. Among the larger mosques there is one which according to the *Djihānnumā* was founded by the Karamanoghlu Ibrāhīmbeg (according to the *Menāsik al-Hadjdj* by Ḳilidj Arslān): the caravanserai built by the architect Sinān in the xvith century for Rustem Pasha is also mentioned. Legend says that the springs at Banarbashi were miraculously produced by the Prophet, on which account the tithes of the district were a waḳf of Medina (*Djihānnumā*, Ewliyā, cf. Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 516). Eregli was formerly a station on the route followed by pilgrims and since 1908 it has been an important station on the Baghdād railway from Ḳōniya; the town is the capital of a ḳaḍā in the sandjaḳ of Ḳōniya.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 616 *et seq.*; Ewliyā, iii. 28 *et seq.*, *Menāsik al-Hadjdj*, p. 37 *et seq.*; Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. 268. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ERITREA. The population of the Italian colony of Eritrea may be divided into nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled tribes. In certain cases one section of a tribe leads a nomadic life, a second is semi-nomadic and the third settled. According to a tradition generally believed the earliest settlers in Eritrea were eight tribes who came one after the other; but any definite, reliable reference to their origin or order is quite wanting. This tradition certainly shows that the population of Eritrea has always been numerous and undergoing radical transformation, passing from a nomadic to a settled and from a pastoral to an agricultural life. This was the case in times of peace; in time of war, however, the divisions among the people which resulted thereby, lead to confusion which lasted for centuries, new centres gradually arose in other sites out of the ruins and step by step became linked up with the more or less permanent settlements.

The present population of Eritrea is for the most part of the Hamitic type, which probably showed pure features, in many parts of the area now forming the Italian colony, in the period of Egyptian civilisation, but which suffered many changes for the reasons above mentioned. In any case the traditional number, eight, of the peoples in it has now been raised by its learned men to ten or fifteen, or even more. At the present day there are certainly very marked differences in language and customs among the inhabitants of Eritrea whether they are descended from a common ancestor or not.

The Abyssinians, who inhabit the plateau and are quite identical with the Tigrina on the other side of frontier in the Ethiopian kingdom preponderate. The Abyssinians of the colony number not quite 110,000 and show traces of a culture well organised on a patriarchal system. They all, herdsmen as well as agriculturists, form settled communities and live in villages, which usually adjoin one another and are therefore small; this is due to the poverty of the districts inhabited by them. The average number of people in each Abyssinian settlement is about 125. Dainelli and Marinelli point out that, although small and very small villages preponderate, some have quite a considerable population, apart from those whose development is due to the Italian occupation. At the most, however, it is improbable that any one has more than 1000 inhabitants. A similar state of affairs probably exists in the Abyssinian provinces, which border on the colony of Eritrea.

Two other settled agricultural peoples, who live in villages, are the Cunama (somewhat over 13,000) and the Baria (about 7000). Tradition says that these belonged to Hamitic stocks and are among the oldest in the colony. They mix to some extent with the Sūdānese. While the Abyssinians are Christians, the Cunama and Baria are heathen.

The other peoples in Eritrea are for the most part nomadic and pastoral tribes and the majority profess Islām. Among the most noteworthy are the Bani 'Amer, who have arisen through the fusion and superposition of other peoples; they live by cattle-rearing and alternate their abode between the mountains and the sea. As a rule they speak Bedawye [cf. the art. BEDJA] and form a community of about 40,000 souls. Next come the Habab and other allied tribes who live between the Bani 'Amer and the sea numbering about 24,000 in all; they are wandering herdsmen and speak Tigre: next come the Mensa, the Mária or Marea, the Sabderat, the Torha, the Hasa, the Danākil, the Dahalaki, Eagana etc., all very ancient peoples, originally coming from the highlands of Ethiopia but interspersed with Egyptian and Greek colonists who made their way inland from the sea. The Bilani, in the valley of Cheren, form an interesting section of this group; they are divided into Copts, Roman Catholics, and Muslims and do not lead quite such a nomadic life as the preceding.

The Bet Takue (4000), the Begina (1000) and the Mensa are neighbours of the Bilani. The Assaorta (9000), the Minifere (5000) and the Hazo (1500) are nomads who rear cattle and devote some attention to agriculture; they profess Islām.

The inhabitants of the Danākil district belong to the Afar type and number about 13,000 in Italian territory. In all probability they are tribes who are mixed with Greek and Egyptian colonists; the majority are nomads and practically all are Muslims.

The islands are only partially inhabited; their total population is about 2500 of various origins, who live chiefly by fishing and pearl trade. About 10,000 people of Semitic origin live on the coast of Massawa in imposing villages.

According to the census of 1905, the Italian colony of Eritrea has a total population of 274,944, of whom 152,177 are Muslims, 102,853 Copts, 12,362 pagans, 7255 Roman Catholics and 297 Protestants. These figures do not include the white population or the Danākil groups who live within the boundaries defined in 1908. If these be included, we get a total of 282,000 and not 300,000 or more as has been given in certain unofficial works compiled before the census.

The religions represented in the colony are in the order of importance and number of followers: Islām (in the four sects of the Ḥanafīs, Shāfi'īs, Mālikīs, Ḥanbalīs) Coptic Christianity, Roman Catholic, Evangelical and Greek Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism. Islām is spreading most rapidly and is the most attractive.

The authority of the government is inforced on

the natives by commissioners and residents. For this purpose the colony is divided into five commissionerships to which the central area belongs and five residencies in the border districts.

As regards the administration of justice the canon of criminal law is that established by royal decree on the 14th May 1908. Until the publication of the code of civil law, any one was considered a subject of the colony, as regards the administration of justice, who not being an Italian or citizen of a recognised foreign state, was born in the colony or belonged to a tribe or race of the colony. Any member of an African or other nation of the Red Sea, who regularly fulfils or has fulfilled his obligations to the authorities, or lastly has lived for two years continuously in the colony, is also considered a subject of the colony. A foreigner who belongs to a people that does not possess a civilisation similar to the European, is regarded in the same light.

Among the natives justice is administered in the first instance by their princes, the assemblies of elders and nobles, the chiefs of provinces and tribes, the Ḳāḍīs and the commissioners and residents, who in cases of appeal deal with the decisions of the Ḳāḍīs, heads of provinces, tribes and the princes, with the exception of those that come within the jurisdiction of the courts. The government of the colony is always endeavouring to extend further the authority of the ordinary officials of the colony on the basis of a rational regard for the ethnic and religious distinctions among the various coloured peoples who live in the colony. Italian statutes are applied to the colony with such modifications and alterations as are rendered necessary by the economic conditions, law, everyday life, customs and requirements of the land. Italian law recognises with limitations the most important and fundamental customs of coloured people in the matter of religion also. In the case of the Muslims, as far as is compatible with the spirit of Italian legislation, they approximate to the traditional law as contained in the Ḳur'ān and expounded by the authorities recognised by each tribe. Italian law is administered in criminal cases and customary law in civil, but particularly in the case of the Muslims and more especially in matrimonial cases, in *ḥaḳ*, *ḥaḍāna* and *'ida*. The exercise of the Muslim religion is freely allowed.

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ERIWAN, Armenian Hrazdan, the capital of a gouvernement in Russian Transcaucasia, in 40° 14' N. Lat. and 44° 38' E. Long. (Greenw.), about 3000 feet above sea-level on the left bank of the Zanga, a tributary of the Araxes with a population of about (1897) 30,000, according to other authorities 15,000, has a history dating back to remote antiquity according to the Armenian sources (see St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, I, 116). It is only since the beginning of the Turkish period that the town, written Rewān by the authorities, has obtained any considerable importance in the history of Islām. The tradition given by Ewliyā places the foundation of Eriwan as late as the ixth = xvth century and that of the citadel about 100 years later under Shāh Ismā'īl. In the reign of Murād III, Eriwan which at first belonged to the Ṣafawids, was won for the Turks by Ferhād Pasha and fortified. Shāh Abbās I regained it in 1604. After a series of battles with varying results it was taken by Murād IV in 1635, but soon afterwards fell again into the hands of the Persians. A brief survey of the history of the town may be gained from the article armenia i. 442. In 1827 it was taken by the Russian general Paskewitch, who received the title Eriwanski in honour of its capture. Since the peace of 1828 Eriwan has belonged to Russia. The mosques, celebrated for their faïence and other important buildings, date from the viiith century.

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ERMENEK (Armanāk), the capital of a ḳaḍā in the sandjaḳ of Iç Ili in the wilāyet of Adana with 6430 inhabitants (Cuinet), built at the junction of the two streams that form the Gök-Ṣū (Calycadnus), is probably the ancient Germanicopolis in Isauria (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 1258). The Oriental writers of the middle ages locate Ermenek two days' journey south of Lārenda and three from the port of 'Alā'iyya. A grotto there with a spring was particularly famous. In the viith-viiith (xiiith-xivth) century Ermenek was one of the principal strongholds and for a time the capital of the Ḳaramān dynasty [q. v.] until it was taken by the Turks in 1472.

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ERTOGHRUL, 1. Son of Sulaimānshāh and father of 'Othmān I, the founder of the dynasty and empire of the Ottomans. According to the oldest tradition, which is preserved in 'Āshiḳpashazāde, he migrated with 400 nomadic Turkoman families from Pasin Owa and Sürmeli Čuḳur to Asia Minor where the Saldjūḳ 'Alā al-Dīn allotted him the district of Söğüd between Karadjahiṣār and Biledjik as winter pastures (*ḳishla*) and the hills of Ermenibeli and Domaniç as summer pastures (*yaila*). Karadjahiṣār and Biledjik still belonged to the Byzantines but they paid tribute to 'Alā' al-Dīn; 'Alishir, the father of Germian, ruled the adjoining district of Afiun Karahiṣār. Ertoghrul settled in Söğüd and was buried there; he never engaged in a war. He had three sons, 'Othmān, Gündüz, and Saruyati (also called Ṣaruḍāti or Sawdji), of whom 'Othmān succeeded him. According to Neshrī (*Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* xiii, 188—196) Ertoghrul im-

migrated in the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaiḳubād I (616—634 A. H. = 1219—1236 A. D.), repeatedly fought on the latter's side against the Tatars, conquered Ḳaradja-ḥiṣār and Kūtahia and was still alive in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaiḳubād II 's reign (end of the seventh century A. H.). The later historians credit him with further conquests (cf. e. g. the chronicles transl. by Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, p. 97 *et seq.*; Chalkokondyles, p. 12 *et seq.*; Phrantzes, p. 68—77, but they take their statements regarding Ὀρθογρούλης, Ἐρτογρούλης from Turkish sources). Saʿd al-Dīn (i. 15, cf. p. 65) says that he died in 680 A. H. (1281-1282) over ninety years of age, Leuncl. (*Ann.*, p. 3., *Hist.*, iii.) makes him die in 687 A. H. at the age of 93 while Phrantzes gives anno 6773 mundi = 1264-1265 A. H. and his age 77. We may consider the following elements in the traditions to be historical facts viz. that Ertoghrul had settled with his Turkoman clan (*boy*) in Sögüd as one of the frontier beys (*Üdj begleri*) of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns of Ḳōniya, that he took part in the wars of his overlord against the Tatars and occasionally undertook raids into Byzantine territory on his account.

2. The eldest son of Bāyazīd I. born 778 A. H. = 1376-1377 (Ismāʿīl Beligh, *Güldeste*, p. 40), was appointed governor of the combined districts of Saruhān and Karasi by his father (Neshrī, *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.*, XV, 335); Leuncl., *Hist. Mus.*, p. 317, 336 *et seq.* cf. 337 *et seq.*, according to Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 178, of Aidineli) and died about 708 A. H. (cf. Leuncl. l. c.), certainly before the war with Timurlank; he was buried in the mosque built by him in Brusa (Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 125; *Güldeste*, l. c.). Leuncl., *op. cit.*, p. 371, cf. 347, gives a story that he fell in the war against Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn of Siwās. According to Chalkokondyles, p. 145—147 he was taken prisoner by Timur at the capture of Siwās in 1396 and afterwards put to death. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ERZERUM, the capital of a wilāyet in Turkish Armenia, in the plateau about 6000 feet above sea-level in which rises the Ḳara Ṣū or Western Euphrates, the only natural gateway to northern Asia Minor (Siwās) from Russian Transcaucasia (Kars) and Persia (Tabrīz), is at the same time connected by a good road with the Black Sea (Trebizond) in the north and Lake Van in the South. Even in ancient times there was an important town, the Theodosiopolis of the Byzantines, (see Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 361) at this point so important strategically and commercially, the capital of the Armenian district of Karin, Karnoi Kałak, which survived in the name given to the town and district by the Arabs, Ḳāliḳalā (on this point cf. Andreas in M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, p. 144 *et seq.*; Hübschmann in *Indogerm. Forsch.* xvi, 287 *et seq.* Ḳāliḳalā was taken by Ḥabīb b. Maslama in 645-646, according to the Arab historians, but according to Armenian sources not till after 653 (see Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arab. Herrschaft*, p. 19, 33 *et seq.*, 73). On the wars of the Byzantines and the Arabs with one another and the Armenians, which filled the following centuries, in the course of which Ḳāliḳalā often changed hands, cf. ARMENIA i. 437[b] *et seq.*

The town has only borne its modern name since the xith century. In 1049 the Saldjūḳs destroyed the town of Arzan, not far east of Karin, and its population moved to Theodosiopolis = Ḳāliḳalā and gave this town the name of Arzān al-Rūm "Arzan of the Romans" which became corrupted to Arz al-Rūm and Arḍ al-Rūm "land of the Romans". Shortly afterwards, the Saldjūḳs finally destroyed Byzantine rule in Armenia. From 588—627 (1192—1230) Arzan al-Rūm formed an independent Saldjūḳ kingdom (cf. TOGHRULSHĀH). In 1241 Erzerum was swept by the Mongol invasion. Mustawfī (in the first half of the xivth century) speaks of the numerous churches in the town: it must therefore have been for the most part inhabited by Armenians. On the other hand Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found Turkoman tribes preponderating and their doings brought about the ruin of the town. The district of Erzerum from this time on was one of the strongholds of the Aḳ-Ḳuyūnlū; after the wars with the Ḳara-Ḳuyūnlū that followed Timūrs' invasion, Uzun Ḥasan, the greatest of the Aḳ-Ḳuyūnlū, built the citadel of Erzerum, but lost it before his death to the Ottoman Meḥemmed II after the disastrous battle of Terdjān in 878 = 1473. Erzerum then became the centre of one of the most important pashaliks in the Ottoman dominions, an outpost whose possession was often disputed by their Persian rivals, but which was always successfully retained by the Turks. In the domestic history of Turkey it is celebrated for the rebellion of Abāza Pasha [q. v. i. 6], which was put down in 1627. Since the xixth century the fortress has had to defend, with little success it must be confessed, the Turkish frontier against Russia. After the battle of Dewe Boyūn (q. v. i. 951[b] *et seq.*) in 1878 Erzerum was irretrievably lost, but was only surrendered to the Russians after the truce.

If we may believe the various estimates, the population of Erzerum has considerably declined in the last century. Although the lack of any railway or of a good system of roads militates against the importance of Erzerum, the town, which Cuinet credits with 38,906 inhabitants, is still of importance on strategic grounds as it is a border fortress with modern, if hardly strong enough forts, and on commercial grounds as the centre of trade for the wilāyet (annual exports about £ 100 000 — mainly products of cattle-rearing; imports £ 400 000 — £ 450 000) and its hinterland and as a centre for trade with Persia.

Bibliography: St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i. 66—69; Yāḳūt, i. 206; Abu 'l-Fidā (ed. Reinaud), p. 384 *et seq.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 294; Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren), p. 189 *et seq.*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-Numā* (Constantinople 1145), p. 422; Ewliya Efendi, *Travels* (transl. von Hammer), ii. 104 *et seq.*; G. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 117 *et seq.*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 757—768; Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, p. 258 *et seq.*; *Diplomatic and Consular Reports*, n°. 4734 (1911); Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 183 *et seq.* (R. HARTMANN.)

ERZINDJĀN, the capital of a sandjaḳ, with about 23,000 inhabitants in the wilāyet of Erzerum, lying in a fertile plain on the north bank of the Ḳara-Ṣū between Erzerum and Siwās, is said by the Armenian sources to date back to pre-Christian times. We first obtain definite facts about the town in the Saldjūḳ period [cf. the article MANGÜDJAK]. According to Yāḳūt it was inhabited mainly by Armenians. In 627 (1230) the Khwārizm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn (q. v., i. 1004) was defeated here by the Saldjūḳ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kai-

Kubād I and the Aiyūbid al-Ashraf. Mustawfi (Le Strange, *op. cit.*), says that the walls of Erzindjān were restored by Kai-Kubād. In 640 (1243) the power of the Saldjūks fell before the Mongols, who entered Asia Minor via Erzerum. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time the majority of the population was Armenian, but he also found a number of Turkish speaking Muslims. The city, which was always a stronghold of the Turkomans, recognised Ottoman suzerainty for a brief period in the reign of Bāyezid I. In Tīmūr's time it was in the hands of Ḳarā Yūsuf of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu, and then passed to Uzūn Ḥasan of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. This period, probably that of its greatest prosperity, ended with Meḥemmed II's victory over Uzūn Ḥasan at Terdjān. Under Ottoman rule it has formed a part of the pashalik of Erzerum down to the present day. Though several times destroyed by earthquake (notably in 1784) the town has always been able to recover, thanks to the fertility of the surrounding country. Its chief exports are fruits and vegetables. As a military station it is one of the main defences of the Turkish eastern frontiers.

Bibliography: St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i. 71 *et seq.*; Yāḳūt, i. 205; Abu 'l-Fidā (ed. Reinaud), p. 392 *et seq.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 293 *et seq.*; Dimashḳī, p. 228; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-Numā* (Constantinople 1145), p. 424; Ewliyā Efendi, *Travels* (transl. von Hammer), ii. 202 *et seq.*; G. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 118; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 770—774; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 211. (R. HARTMANN.)

ES'AD EFENDI, AḤMED, a Turkish official and learned jurist, son of Shaikh al-Islām Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, was Ḳāḍī-'asker of Anatolia in 1205 (1790-1791), of Rūmili in 1208 (1793-1794), became Shaikh al-Islām in 1218 (1805) and held this office for three years and five months. During his tenure of this office he issued a *fatwā*, sanctioning the new organisation of the army, known as *niẓām-i djedīd*, proposed by Sulṭān Selīm III. But the revolution of the Janissaries brought about his deposition and it was with difficulty that he escaped with his life in this troubled period. On the accession of Maḥmūd II in 1223 = 1808 he again became Shaikh al-Islām but was again driven out of his office by the revolutionaries three months later. He died in 1230 = 1815.

Bibliography: Sāmī-Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, ii. 909; Shānī-Zāde, *Ta'rīkh*, i. 45. (CL. HUART.)

ES'AD EFENDI, MUḤAMMAD, a Turkish official and poet, son of the historian Sa'd al-Dīn, born in 978 (1570), became Ḳāḍī of Adrianople, and in 1004 (1595-1596) Ḳāḍī-'asker of Anatolia, in 1012 (1603-1604) of Rūmili, made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1023 (1614) and after his return succeeded his brother Čelebi Muḥammad Efendi, who had just died, as Shaikh al-Islām. He filled this high office for seven years under Sulṭāns Aḥmad I, Muṣṭafā I and Othmān II; the latter gave him his daughter in marriage. He soon afterwards left office because of the troubles that had broken out, but in 1032 (1623) he was called upon by Murād IV to resume the post, which he retained till his death in 1034 (1625). His tomb is at Eiyūb. He left a *Dīwān* of poems in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Bibliography: 'Aṭā'ī, *Dhail al-Shaḳā'iḳ*, p. 690; Na'īmā, *Ta'rīkh*, i. 141, 234, 264. (CL. HUART.)

ES'AD EFENDI, MUḤAMMAD, a Turkish official and historian, son of Muftī Abū Isḥāḳ Ismā'īl, born in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1096 (Oct. 1685), filled several judicial offices in the lifetime of his father, accompanied the Turkish army to Belgrade in 1152 (1739), became Ḳāḍī-'asker of Rūmili in Muḥarram 1157 (Febr. 1744) and succeeded Muftī Aḳ-Maḥmūd-Zāde in office on the 24th Radjab 1161 (20th July 1748). He was the author of a *Lahdjet al-Lugha* (Arabic-Persian Dictionary, printed in Constantinople 1211 = 1795), a *Bulbul-nāme* ("Book of the Nightingale") a *Tedhkire-i Khwānendegān* ("collection of biographies of singers"), and Arabic and Turkish poems; he also wrote a *Takhmīs* to four celebrated poems in praise of the Prophet (*Burda*, *Ḥamzīya*, *Dimyāṭīya* and *Muḍarīya*) and a metrical translation of Zamakhsharī's *Aṭwāḳ al-Dhahab*. He was a good musician and founded several schools and medreses.

After being deprived of his office for no reason on the accusation of 'Abd Allāh Pasha, Sulṭān Maḥmūd I's grand vizier, in Sha'bān 1162 (July 1749) he went to Gallipoli and then to Indjir-Köi, near Constantinople, where he died on the 10th Shawwāl 1166 (22th Aug. 1753).

Bibliography: Wāṣif, *Maḥāsin al-Āthār*, i. 11; J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, xv. 176, 198, 261; *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Index; do., *Gesch. der osm. Dichtkunst*, iv. 171; Sāmī-bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, ii. 908. (CL. HUART.)

ES'AD EFENDI, MUḤAMMED, nicknamed HINDĪ-MOLLA, a Turkish official, son of Shaikh al-Islām 'Abd Allāh Waṣṣāf, born in 1119 (1707), was imprisoned in Brusa with his father in 1168 (1754-1755), became Ḳāḍī-'asker of Anatolia in 1182 (1768-1769), of Rūmili in 1186 (1772) and 1190 (1776) Shaikh al-Islām, but was deposed eight months later and died in 1192 (1778).

Bibliography: Sāmī-Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, ii. 908. (CL. HUART.)

ES'AD EFENDI, SAIYID MUḤAMMED, called SAḤḤĀF-ZĀDE ("son of the bookseller"), a Turkish official and historian, son of al-Ḥādjdj Aḥmad, who was Mudarris and at the same time a bookseller and later Ḳāḍī of Jerusalem and Cairo, born in Constantinople near the Āyā Ṣōfia on the 18th Rabī' I 1204 (6th Dec. 1790), adopted his father's profession and received the position of a judge in Adrianople and Scutari in Albania without actually filling the offices. On the death of Shānī-Zāde in 1241 (1825) he was appointed Historiographer Royal. He held this office for thirteen years, and in addition in 1247 (1831) was appointed editor of an official gazette, the *Taḳwīm-i Weḳā'i*. In 1250 (1834) he was sent to Persia to congratulate Muḥammad Shāh, son of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh, on his accession to the throne. He died in 1263 (1847) while holding the office of President of the Upper Council of Public Instruction.

He composed numerous chronograms (*Ta'rīkh*) on various events and wrote a brief account of the dissolution of the corps of Janissaries by Sulṭān Maḥmūd II, entitled *Uss-i Ẓafer* ("foundation of victory") which has been translated into French by Caussin de Perceval (Paris 1833).

Bibliography: v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Osman. Dichtkunst*, iv. 463; Sāmī-Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, ii. 909. (CL. HUART.)

ESKI (T.) "old"; frequent in place-names like Eski Shehr "Old-town" (q. v.), Eski Hiṣār "Old-citadel", a name borne by the ancient Dakibyza (see Tomaschek in *Sitz.-Ber. der Wiener Akad.*, 1881, viii. 6) and Laodicea ad Lycum (see DENIZLI, i. 939) amongst others. Following a very common custom the Turks usually call ancient ruined sites by the name of some adjacent large town with the prefix *Eski*, e. g. *Eski Shām* "Old Damascus", Boṣrā (q. v., i. 765), *Eski Mōṣul*, the ancient Balad (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 99); on Eski Baghdād, see i. 564ᵃ and 920ᵇ.

ESKISHEHIR, on the Pursak-čai, the capital of the ḳaẓā of the same name in the sandjaḳ of Kutahia, in the province of Brusa, with about 25,000 inhabitants, chiefly Muslims, is celebrated for its hot springs and the meerschaum pits near it (see Reinhardt in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1911, ii. 251 *et seq.*) and has very recently attained considerable importance as a junction on the Constantinople-Ḳōniya and Constantinople-Angora railways; of the 11 mosques one dates from the Saldjūḳ period, and another was built by Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha. Eskishehr is the successor of the Byzantine Dorylaeon (the دورليه of the Arabs) while the ancient town of that name was two miles to the north at the modern Shār-Üyük. In the Byzantine period the Emperor's armies assembled in the plain of Dorylaeum before the eastern campaign against the Arabs and Saldjūḳs (cf. Ibn Khordādhbeh, ed. de Goeje, p. 109). In 89 = 708 al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd conquered Dorylaeum (Ṭabarī, ii. 1197; cf. Theophanes, i. 376, ed. de Boor) and Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba advanced as far as this town in 162 = 178 (Ṭabarī, iii. 493; Theophanes, i. 452). The Emperor Manuel Komnenos in 1175 again fortified the town which had been destroyed by the Saldjūḳs and drove out the Yürüks who led a nomadic life in the neighbourhood (Kinnamos, p. 294, 297; Niketas, p. 236 *et seq.*, 248), but by the next year after the unsuccessful war against Ḳilidj Arslān I, he had to agree to destroy the fortifications and a short time afterwards the town must have been definitely occupied by the Saldjūḳs. In the xiiiᵗʰ century Ertoghrul settled near Eskishehir in the district of Sulṭān öyügi (Sulṭān önü), Neshrī, *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.*, xiii. 198); in the apocryphal letter of investiture (*menshūr*) of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Farāmarz of the beginning of Shawwāl 688 for Othmān I (Ferīdūn, i. 56 of the second edition) the district of Eskishehr is granted to Othmān as a sandjaḳ (cf. Leuncl. *Hist. Mus.*, p. 125, 126 *et seq.*); at a later period it was the residence of the Sandjaḳbeg of Inönü and a station on the pilgrims' route.

Bibliography: Ewliyā, iii. 12; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 632; [Meḥemmed Edīb], *Menāsik al-Ḥadjdj*, p. 28 *et seq.*; *Sālnāme* of the wilāyet Brusa, 1302 A. H., p. 447 *et seq.*; Oberhummer u. Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien u. Kleinasien*, p. 375 *et seq.*; Monograph by Radet in the *Nouv. Archives des Miss. Scientif.*, vi. 491—513; cf. p. 428 *et seq.*

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ESNE (Egyptian Te-snet, Coptic Sne, Arabic Isnā, Greek Latopolis from the fish Latos worshipped there) a town in Upper Egypt, lying on the left bank of the Nile halfway between Luxor and Edfu. It was for a time the capital of a Mudīriye, now Markaz in the Mudīriye of Ḳenā, with 19,103 inhabitants, celebrated for the ruins of the temple of the God Chnum, which dates from the Ptolemaic period, in which a number of Roman emperors are depicted in the garb of the Pharaohs. In the Muslim period Esne was a flourishing provincial town. According to Idrīsī quoted by Maḳrīzī the town had 10,000 houses and produced annually 40,000 irdabb of dates and 10,000 irdabb of ṣabīb.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i. 265 *et seq.*; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 237; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, 172; A. Boinet Bey, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte* (Cairo 1899), p. 183. The most detailed account and one which takes account of economic conditions also is: ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ Djedīde*, viii. 59; Baedeker, *Egypt*⁸. (H. RITTER.)

EUPHRATES. [See AL-FURĀT.]

EUTYCHIUS, Patriarch of Alexandria 321—328 (933—939) known in Arabic as SAʿĪD B. AL-BIṬRĪḲ, born at Fusṭāṭ in 263 (876) was the author of several medical and historical works. The best known is his Arabic chronicle, *Naẓm al-Djawhar*, published by Pococke at Oxford in 1658-1659, which was afterwards continued by Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī (cf. i. 359ᵃ). The fragment of a history of Sicily contained in a famous Cambridge manuscript (cf. Browne, *Hand-list of Muham. Mss.*, p. 27, Nᵒ. 170) used to be wrongly ascribed to Eutychius (on this point cf. Vasiliew, *Vizantia i Arabi*, iᵇ, 79 *et seq.* and the works cited by him). In the same library at Cambridge (Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 281, Nᵒ. 1317) there is also a theological pamphlet against Eutychius written by Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa (ed. Müller), ii. 86; Leclerc, *Hist. de la Médecine Arabe*, i. 405; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, i. 148.

EWLIYĀ ČELEBI, or as he repeatedly calls himself, EWLIYĀ MEḤEMMED ظلّی b. DERWĪSH, the "globe-trotter" *Saiyāḥ-i ʿĀlem*) was born in Constantinople in 1020 (1611-1612) and died soon after 1090 (1679); in the course of forty years he made a series of long journeys within the Turkish empire and took part in the campaigns against Crete, Hungary, Austria etc. under Ibrāhīm and Meḥemmed IV and published his observations and experiences in war and peace under the title *Taʾrīkh-i Saiyāḥ*, the 'Traveller's Chronicle' (Vienna Mss., Flügel, Nᵒ. 1281; the Stambul printed edition has *Siyāḥat-nāme*), an elaborate work in ten parts. For information about himself and his life we are limited to his own statements. According to them his father Derwīsh Meḥemmed ظلّی (i. 218; iii. 442, 443 of the Stambul ed., cf. i. 244) had gone with Sulṭān Suleimān I to Belgrade, Rhodes, Budapest, Stuhlweissenburg and Szigeth (i. 106, iii. 444); had been present at the siege of Cyprus (iii. 443) and taken part in Meḥemmed III's campaign against Erlau (iii. 444); he was also "court-jeweller" (*Zergeri dergāhi ʿālī*, or *Ḳuyumdjubashi*) and had served ten Sulṭāns from Suleimān I to Ibrāhīm (iii. 442; i. 258); he died in 1058 A. H. (ii. 458), at the age of 117 (iii. 444). His paternal grandfather, Demirdji Oghlu Ḳara Aḥmedbeg, Meḥemmed II's standard-bearer, had taken part in the capture of Constantinople and attained the age of 147 (iii. 444); his maternal grand-father, Yawuz

Özbeg had also been standard-bearer to the conqueror (i. 94); his mother was a sister of Melek Aḥmed Pasha, who was Grand Vizier from Shaʿbān 1060 to Ramaḍān 1061 and died in 1073. Ewliyā decided to devote himself to scholarship and made a beginning in Ramaḍān 1045 as *ḥāfiẓ* in Aya Sofia; while here he attracted the attention of Sulṭān Murād IV, who gave him a post as *Muṣāḥib* at the palace, which he left however two years afterwards as a regular Sipāhī (ii. 244—258). Henceforth he gave himself up to his love of travel and we find him on long journeys in the provinces or on campaigns, sometimes independently sometimes in the train of some high official, notably his uncle Melek Aḥmed Pasha, till he settled down about 1083 (1672-1673). Details are given in the following survey of his travels. Part I. contains the description of the capital and its environs which he explored in 1041 and the years following; Part II. Journey to Brusa (Moḥarram 1050 = April—May 1640). — Excursion to Nikomedia. — Journey to Batum, Trebizond, Abkhazia (Djumādā I. 1050—Shaʿbān 1054 = Aug. 1640—Oct. 1644). — Campaign against Crete (1055 = 1645). — Journey to Erzerūm, Ādharbaidjān, Georgia etc. (Radjab 1056—end of Djumādā II. 1058 = Aug. 1646—end of May 1648); Part III: Journey to Damascus, Syria, Palestine, Urumiya, Siwas, Kurdistan, Armenia etc. (Shaʿbān 1058—middle of Radjab 1060 = Sept. 1648—July 1650; in 1059 the author performed the pilgrimage (cf. i. 288) which he describes in a separate part). — Journey to Rumelia (Bulgaria, Dobrūdja etc.) 1061-1062 (1651-1652); Part IV: Journey to Wān, Tebrīz, Baghdād, Baṣra etc. in the years 1065-1066 (1655-1656); Part V: Conclusion of the journey to Wān-Baṣra. — Journey to Oczakow, campaign against Rakoczy, raid into Russia, 1266—1268 (1656—1658). — Campaign against the rebels in Anatolia; return from Brusa via the Dardanelles to Adrianople, Radjab 1069—beginning of Ṣafar 1070 (March—October 1659). — Mission to the Moldau, in the same year. — Campaign against Transylvania, mission to Bosnia; Campaign against Dalmatia, return to Sofia, from the middle of Shaʿbān 1070—Rabīʿ I. 1071 (April—November 1660); Part VI: Campaign against Transylvania, mission to Albania, return to Constantinople. Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1071—Radjab 1072 (July 1661—Febr. 1662). — Campaign against Hungary, siege of Uiwār (Neuhäusel), raid made by the author through Austria, Germany and Holland to the North Sea with 40,000 Tatars(!!), conquest of Uiwār and other fortresses, return to winter-quarters in Belgrade, Shaʿbān 1073—end of Ramaḍān 1074 (March 1663—March 1664). Mission to Herzegovina, journey to Ragusa, campaign against Montenegro, Kānīzha, Croatia. — The contents of the other parts can only be surmised from the casual statements on p. vi. of the preface to the first volume of the new Stambul edition; according to these Part VII deals with Austria, the Crimea, the lands of the Caucasus and Astrakhān; Part VIII with the Crimea, Crete, Salonika and Rumelia, Part IX with the pilgrimage and X with Egypt. In part VII Ewliyā presumably describes his journey to Vienna and Central Europe on which he went as far as Dunkirk (cf. *Travels*, i. 1, 42 *et seq.*); he probably accompanied Ḳara Meḥemmed Pasha, the ambassador of the Porte (in 1075 = end of 1664), and then continued his journey alone from Vienna and after travelling for $3^1/_2$ years returned to the Crimea, via Sweden, Poland and Russia (i. 300): in 1080 (1669) he accompanied the campaign against Crete and the later one against the Mainotes; part VIII deals with this. Part IX and part X deal specially with his pilgrimage in 1059 and Egypt respectively (cf. i. 288 and 507). The last date that appears in the parts of the *Taʾrīkh-i Seiyāḥ* as yet known is the year 1089 (1678-1679), see i. 301.

Ewliyā Čelebi was an imaginative writer with a decided fancy for the marvellous and adventurous; he prefers legend to dry historical facts, delights in exaggeration and does not hesitate at times to draw the long bow. Apart from this, his work is a perfect treasure-house of information on points of social life, folklore and geography, whose value is still further increased by simple and unaffected style in which they are vividly described. He rarely quotes from literary sources although a few are referred to (e. g. the chronicles of Muḥyi 'l-Dīn and Djewrī); he himself has been much used by later writers; unfortunately — as e. g. by von Hammer — usually without any attempt at criticism.

Only the first six parts of Ewliyā's works have yet been printed, Stambul 1316—1318; the *Muntakhabāt Ewliyā Čelebi* (Constantinople 1259 A. H. = 1843) contain extracts from Part I; v. Hammer translated Parts I—III under the title: *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa by Evliya Efendi* (London 1846—1850, Vol. I and II); after giving in the second volume of his *Des Osm. Reichs Staatsverfassung etc.*, p. 455—470 a detailed account of the contents of the first four parts. The only manuscripts of the *Taʾrīkh-i Seiyāḥ* in Europe are in Vienna and in the British Museum. (J. H. Mordtmann.)

EWRENOS, the descendants of Ewrenos (اورنوس, in Āshiḳpashazāde and Neshri اورنوز, Ἀβρανέζης in Dukas, Βρανέζης in Manuel Palaeol., *Chron. breve* and *Chron. Epir.*, Βρενέζης in Chalkokondyles and Phrantzes, Avranes in Barletius) form with the Mīkhaloghlu, Malkodjoghlu and the sons of Turakhān the four ancient families of the Ottoman nobility. (Ramberti, *Cose de Turchi*, Bl. 13¹ f., ed. 1543; cf. Leund., *Pand.*, c. 27).

Tradition mentions Ghāzī Ewrenosbeg among the begs of the Karasioghlu who on the dispossession of this dynasty by Sulṭān Orkhān in 735 A. H. entered the service of Suleimān Pasha, son of Orkhān. He crossed the Hellespont with Suleimān Pasha (in 759? or 760?) and was installed by Murād I as *udjbegi* (frontier-beg) in the Rumelian territory. In this capacity he conquered Keshan, Ipsala, Gumuldjina (763) Fere (774), Pori, Xanthi, Maronea (775), Serres (784 or 787), Monastir, Yenidje Wardar and laid the foundations of Ottoman power in western Thrace and Macedonia. After making the pilgrimage he took part in the battle of Kossova (June 1389), conquered Kitros and Wodena, and repeatedly led Turkish armies against Albania (1398 and beginning of 1396) and the Morea (1391 and 1395). He then fought in the battle of Nikopolis (Sept. 1396) against the Hungarians and accompanied Bāyazīd I on his raid into Wallachia. Finally he fought in the battle of Angora in the war against Timūr. Under Mīr Suleimān he took part in the war against the Karamanoghlu and besieged the

latter in Aḳserai. He afterwards went over to Mūsā Čelebi (in 813 A. H.) and finally in 816 A. H. to Meḥemmed I and fought on the latter's side in the battle of Čamurli. He seems to have died soon afterwards (according to *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī* in 819 or 820 A. H.). If, as the Ottoman historians say, Ewrenos had been a beg under the last Karasioghlu, he must have been over 100 when he died; there is apparently a confusion between two different persons. Even in Murād I 's reign Ewrenos was one of the richest vassals, and his estates were so large that tradition relates that the Sulṭān had granted him as much land as a swift steed would carry him round in 24 hours (ʿĀlī *Kunh*, V. 75; Beaujour, *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce*, i. 111 *et seq.*). He expended a great part of his riches in pious endowments which are still controlled by his descendants and to the present day are free from state inspection by special privilege (*Dustur*, iv. 400).

On the death of Meḥemmed I in 824 A. H. the sons of G̲h̲āzī Ewrenos took the side of the false Muṣṭafa, who even had his headquarters for a period in Yenid̲j̲e before advancing against Murād II, and remained faithful to the pretender after his other followers had forsaken him; they afterwards went over to Murād II. Among them ʿAlībeg and ʿĪsābeg were particularly distinguished as brave and skilful generals; they led the Rumelian sipāhīs and akind̲j̲is (irregulars) in Murād II's campaigns against Albania, the Morea, and notably against Hungary. ʿAlībeg was, according to Ducas, executed by Meḥemmed II on his accession in 1451 A. D. after strangling the Sulṭān's younger brother by his orders; according to another story (in Beaujour, *l. c.*) he had run against Murād II in the game of *d̲j̲erīd* and the Sulṭān enraged ordered the aged Ewrenos to put his son to death with his own hands. Of the other sons of G̲h̲āzī Ewrenos Baraḳbeg (Βάρακος, Βαρβύνης in Chalkokondyles) and Aḥmedbeg are mentioned; the latter took part in the Wallachian campaign of 1462 A. D. and in the siege of S̲h̲kodra in 1478. The two Ewrenosoghlu, ʿĪsā and Sulaimān, who fell in battle against the Egyptians in 1488, must have been grandsons of Ewrenos. Henceforth the Ewrenosoghlu begin to lose their important position, although we still find them from time to time acting as provincial governors for the Porte. Nevertheless they remained the most prominent family in the land chiefly on account of their extensive estates, while the descendants of the other three ancient G̲h̲āzī families have retained nothing of the glory of their ancestors except their name.

The celebrated firmān, which Murād I is said to have granted to G̲h̲āzī Ewrenos (published by v. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* i. 101—132 and in Feridūn's *Mund̲j̲ās̲h̲ Salāṭīn*, i. 87 *et seq.* in the second edition) has been doubted as apocryphal by v. Hammer, but is acknowledged by the Porte as genuine. Beaujour (*loc. cit.*) saw a manuscript history of the Ewrenosoghlu and gave several stories from it. The biographies of G̲h̲āzī Ewrenos and his son ʿAlībeg in the collection *Mes̲h̲āhīr-i Islām* (Constantinople, 1301 A. H.) contain valuable material. Von Hammer's account of the Ewrenosoghlu in his *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Vol. i. and ii., is only to be used with great caution. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

EZEKIEL. [See ḤIZḲIL.]

EZELĪ. The name given to those Bābī's [q. v. i. 548 *et seq.*] who followed Mīrzā Yaḥyā, called Ṣubḥ-i Ezel [q. v.], after the death of the Bāb.

EZRA. [See ʿUZAIR.]

F.

FĀʾ, the twentieth letter of the Arabic alphabet (numerical value 80; cf. the article ABD̲J̲AD i. 68[a] *et seq.*). On the evolution of the character see the article ARABIA, ARABIC LANGUAGE, i. 383[b]. Fāʾ is pronounced at the present day as it was in old Arabic, viz. as a voiceless labio-dental aspirate. Cf. A. Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre*, Index. (A. SCHAADE.)

FADAK (Demin. FUDAIK), a town in Arabia not far from K̲h̲aibar [q. v.] and like the latter inhabited by Jews. In the year 6 = 627 Muḥammed sent ʿAlī, afterwards Caliph, against Fadak as he had learned that the people of the latter town were going to support the Jews in K̲h̲aibar. When K̲h̲aibar was taken in the following year, the Jews of Fadak also submitted and agreed to give up half of their possessions. Muḥaiyiṣa b. Masʿūd conducted the negotiations between the Prophet and the people of Fadak and was rewarded by Muḥammad for his services. On the death of the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima demanded that K̲h̲aibar and Fadak should be given her as her father's inheritance. But Abū Bakr refused to give up these towns and referred her to the words of the Prophet: "No one shall be my heir; what I leave behind me belongs to the poor".

Bibliography: al-Bekrī, *Geographisches Wörterbuch* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 8, 144, 333, 814; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 823; iii. 308, 855—858; Balād̲h̲urī (ed. de Goeje), p. 30 *et seq.*; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 1556, 1583, 1589; iii. 1342; Ibn His̲h̲ām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 764, 775, 776; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 59, 61—62; xiii. 402; Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (London 1858), iv. 73, 291—292, 338; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme* (Paris 1847-1848), iii. 201, 338—339 and Index s. v. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-**FAḌĀLĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. S̲H̲ĀFIʿĪ AL-S̲H̲ĀFIʿĪ, a Cairene S̲h̲aik̲h̲ born at Munyat Faḍāla near Samannūd in the Delta (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ d̲j̲adīda*, ix. p. 2; xvi. p. 80; Bād̲j̲ūrī, *Taḥḳīḳ al-maḳām ʿalā kifāyat al-ʿawāmm*, p. 9 of ed. of Cairo, 1315) who died in A. H. 1236 (*Cat. of K̲h̲ediv. Library*, ii. p. 39) = A. D. 1821. He appears to be known only as the author of the *Kifāyat al-ʿawāmm min ʿilm al-kalām* and the teacher of the more fertile Bād̲j̲ūrī [q. v.] who added the gloss, mentioned above, to his master's work. Text and *ḥās̲h̲iya* seem always to go together in the Mss. and editions. A translation of the text is given in D. B. Macdonald's *Development of Muslim Theology etc.*, p. 315—351.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, ii. p. 480; Ahlwardt's Berlin Cat., iv. p. 459, N°. 5148; Ellis, *Cat. of Ar. Printed Books in British Mu-*

sunan, under *Muḥammad ibn Shāfi'ī al-Faḍḍālī*; but the *nisba* according to the *Khiṭ. djad.* is as above. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

FADDĀN (A.), an Arabic word derived from the Aramaic (cf. Fraenkel, *Die Aram. Fremdwörter*, p. 129), properly a yoke of oxen for ploughing a piece of ground, an Egyptian measure of area, varying in size with time and place. According to Lane the faddān a few years before his stay in Egypt (1833—1835) measured about 1.1 acres, while during his stay there it was less than an acre. It was divided into 24 *ḳīrāṭ* and contained 333 ⅓ square *ḳaṣaba*, the ḳaṣaba (reed) being first reckoned at 24 and later at 22 *ḳabḍa*. In the time of the French expedition there were three different faddān in use: the faddān in use on the banks of the Nile (1.336 arpents), that in use away from the Nile (2.375 arpents) and the faddān of Damietta (2.012 arpents); Upper Egypt (1670 arpents = 5724 sq. metres) and the Copts (5253 sq. metres) had each their own faddān besides.

Decourdemanche estimates the ancient faddān of 400 square ḳaṣaba (the ḳaṣaba being reckoned at the length fixed by al-Ḥākim bi-amrillāh of 6 long Ḥākimite or Babylonian ells), at 5883.5 square metres and the modern faddān of 333⅓ ḳaṣaba at 4200.83 square metres.

In Syria *faddān* also means a single ox; as a measure of area it is 333 square ḳaṣaba.

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*⁵, ii. 377; S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abdallatif*, p. 90; J. A. Decourdemanche, *Poids et Mesures des Peuples anciens et des Arabes* (Paris, 1909), p. 90, H. Sauvaire, *Métrologie Musulmane* (*Journ. As.*, Ser. VIII, Vol. VIII, 1886), p. 316 *et seq.* (CL. HUART.)

FADHLAKA (A.) "sum, total" from *fadhālika* "and this makes", at the end of an addition.

FĀḌIL. [See FĀẒIL.]

FADJR (A.) "Daybreak", the title of Sūra LXXXIX.

AL-**FAḌL** B. AL-RABĪ', al-Amīn's vizier. A descendant of a Syrian slave manumitted by the Caliph 'Othmān, al-Faḍl proved himself thoroughly Arab in his attitude and constantly championed the Arab spirit in opposition to the numerous Iranian elements in the 'Abbāsid empire. His father al-Rabī' b. Yūnus had played a part in history as vizier to the two Caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. When Hārūn on his accession gave the Barmecides preferment, al-Faḍl felt himself slighted and became filled with hatred and jealousy of them. On Khaizurān's death in 173 (789-790) he was appointed vizier by Hārūn and filled this office till 178 (794-795) when Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī became the real ruler. Al-Faḍl thus did his best to bring about the fall of the Barmecides and succeeded in once more obtaining the vizierate which he retained under Hārūn's son and successor al-Amīn. Just as his namesake al-Faḍl b. Sahl ruled al-Amīn's brother, afterwards Caliph al-Ma'mūn, almost absolutely, al-Faḍl exercised an extraordinary influence over al-Amīn. When Hārūn died suddenly in Khorāsān in Djumādā II, 193 (March 809), while on a campaign against the rebel Rāfi' b. Laith, al-Faḍl ordered the whole army destined for Khorāsān back to Baghdād, by command of al-Amīn but in direct violation of the dead Caliph's last wish, a proceeding which al-Ma'mūn, who was then governor of Khorāsān and at once paid homage to his brother, could not prevent. As al-Faḍl feared al-Ma'mūn's vengeance, if the latter should ever become Caliph, he exerted all his influence to incite al-Amīn against his brother. As early as the year 194 (809-810) at the instigation of al-Faḍl and 'Alī b. 'Īsā, a former governor of Khorāsān, the Caliph had his son Mūsā mentioned in public prayer which was clear evidence of his intention to declare him his successor. In consequence al-Ma'mūn broke off all relations with his brother; in Radjab 196 (March—April 812) the latter was taken prisoner and declared deposed, and, although he was soon set free and raised to the throne again, al-Faḍl thought it advisable to retire.

In 201 (816-817) he came forth again from his retirement. The troops in the capital rose against al-Ma'mūn's governor, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. The commander there, Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid, was successful at first; but when he quarrelled with al-Ma'mūn's other generals, he went over to the rebels himself. Al-Faḍl now took Muḥammad's side; the latter attacked Ḥasan b. Sahl but was defeated and died of his wounds. Al-Faḍl then lived in retirement till his death. On the intercession of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, governor of Khorāsān he was pardoned by al-Ma'mūn. He died in Rabī' II. or in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 208 (823-824).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), iii., Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vi. 35—274; Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 491 *et seq.*; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), n°. 539 (de Slane's transl. ii. 468 *et seq.*); Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 135 *et seq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* (3rd ed.), p. 489 *et seq.* (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

AL-**FAḌL** B. SAHL, al-Ma'mūn's vizier. Al-Faḍl was a native of Persia and did not adopt Islām till 190 (805-806). His family had been strongly recommended to Hārūn by the Barmecides and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', their implacable opponent, therefore became a personal enemy of Ibn Sahl. As the former was of Arab origin, the latter was also opposed to him as the representative of the Iranian element, and just as Ibn al-Rabī' controlled the one brother, al-Amīn, the other, al-Ma'mūn, was simply a tool in the hands of Ibn Sahl. The struggle that arose between the two sons of Hārūn was thus also a struggle between their viziers or between Arab and Persian culture. As al-Faḍl b. al-Sahl feared that al-Amīn would on Hārūn's death disregard the arrangements for the succession made by the latter, he persuaded al-Ma'mūn to try to accompany Hārūn to Khorāsān in 192 (808). In the following year the Caliph died and when al-Amīn recalled the army sent against Khorāsān and al-Ma'mūn was thinking of hurrying after the troops and reminding them of their duty, Ibn Sahl persuaded him against this. Instead of al-Ma'mūn an envoy was sent to the army; but he could do nothing with them and was received with insults and the army continued its march to Baghdād. In the period following, al-Faḍl remained the prince's faithful friend and adviser and constantly urged him in all things to insist on his own rights against his brother. It was due to the cunning intrigues of Ibn Sahl that al-Amīn allowed himself to be led into trusting the command of the army, which he was sending against al-Ma'mūn in 195 (811) to the incapable 'Alī b. 'Īsā. 'Alī was defeated by Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain; he

himself fell in the battle and his troops were scattered in flight. After this success al-Ma'mūn gave Ibn Sahl the government of the eastern provinces and at the same time gave him the title *Dhu 'l-Riyāsatain* ("lord of the two highest offices" i. e. of vizier and commander in chief). When the aged general Harthama b. A'yan, who had rendered such services to Hārūn, was appointed governor of Arabia and Syria, he decided to go to al-Ma'mūn in Merv to give him an account of the condition of various parts of the empire. The Caliph commanded him to go to Damascus; but when Harthama in spite of this appeared in Khorāsān, he was represented by Ibn Sahl as a rebel. The Caliph therefore had him thrown into prison where he was put to death a few days later by Ibn Sahl. Al-Ma'mūn, however, finally found out that the latter did not always tell him the truth and therefore had his former favourite murdered in the bath in Sarakhs in 202 (818) or 203 (819).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), iii., see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vi. 134—324; Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 531 *et seq.*; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), n°. 540 (de Slane's transl. ii. 472 *et seq.*); Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 140 *et seq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* (3rd ed.), p. 489 *et seq.* (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

AL-FAḌL B. YAḤYĀ, a Barmakid, born in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 148 (February 766), governor of Djurdjān, Ṭabaristān, al-Raiy etc. 176—180 (792—796-797) and of Khorāsān 178-179 (794-795—795-796). On the fall of the Barmakids in 187 (803) he was thrown into prison. He died in confinement in al-Raḳḳa in Ramaḍān 192 or Muḥarram 193 (808). For further details see above i. 665a (article BARMAKIDS). (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

FAḌL ALLĀH, a family of officials in Cairo under the Mamlūks who traced their descent from the Caliph 'Omar I. so that the individual members are also known by the *nisba* al-'Omarī. The founder of the family was Faḍl Allāh Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ma'āthir b. 'Izz al-Dīn; one of his sons, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (died 717 = 1317), was private secretary under Ḳalāwūn, another son, Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Yaḥyā (died 738 = 1337), was likewise private secretary under al-Nāṣir in Damascus, but moved to Cairo in 733 (1332-1333). The latter had a son, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmed (born 700 = 1301), who first became ḳāḍī, then secretary of state, but is best known for his literary works. He compiled a comprehensive, encyclopaedic work entitled *Masālik al-Abṣār fi Mamālik al-Amṣār*, as well as an official letter-writer *al-Ta'rīf bi 'l-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*, which however contains much other valuable material and was printed in Cairo in 1312 (1894-1895). Other works by the same author are detailed by Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, ii. 141. Shihāb al-Dīn, or as he is usually called, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, died of the plague in Damascus in 748 (1348).

Bibliography: in Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, to which may be added that Tiesenhausen gives extracts from both the above works in his *Recueil de Matériaux rel. à l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p. 204—251. Cf. also Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 56 *et seq.*

FAḌL ALLĀH, surnamed Ḥurūfī, founder of the Ḥurūfī sect, born in Astarābād in 740 (1339), was a dervish who shared the religious opinions of the Ḳarmaṭians. He actually seems to have borrowed the system, which develops a whole theology out of the calculation of the numerical value of the Arabic letters, to which he added the four additional letters of the Persian alphabet [cf. BEKTĀSH, i. 691 *et seq.*] from the Ismā'īlīs. He was executed in Shirwān in 796 (1393) by Mīrānshāh, son of Tīmūr. One of his pupils, 'Alī al-A'lā, went to Asia Minor, was received into a Bektāshī monastery and began to preach Faḍl Allāh's doctrines, which he gave out to be the teaching of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh. Faḍl Allāh considered himself an incarnation of the Deity and impressed this belief on his pupils; [on his teaching cf. the article ḤURŪFIYA]. He is the author of *Djāwidān-i Kabīr*, composed half in Persian and half in the dialect of Astarābād, also of a religious poem, which was probably called *Iskandar-nāma*, of another poem called *'Arsh-nāma* "book of the throne" and of a treatise called *Maḥabbat-nāma* "book of love".

Bibliography: Edw. G. Browne, *Journ. of the Royal As. Soc.*, 1898 and 1907; *Catalogue of Pers. Mss. Cambridge*, p. 69—86; *Hand-list*, p. 56; G. Jacob, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis*, p. 41, n. 1; do., *Die Bektaschijje im Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen* (Munich, 1909); Isḥāḳ Efendi, *Kāshif al-Asrār*, p. 15; Cl. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfîs* (Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. IX), p. xiii; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, p. 252. (CL. HUART.)

FAḌL ALLĀH. [See RASHĪD AL-DĪN.]

FAḌLĪ (FOḌLI, FUTHALI), the dynastic name of a group of tribes in South Arabia. Besides this name we also find 'Othmānī ('Uthmānī), as the founder of the dynasty, Faḍl, is said to have been of Turkish origin. They are a branch of the Yāfi' and formerly bore their name also.

The land of the Faḍlī lies between 45° 10' and 46° 30' E. Lat. (Greenw.) and has an breadth of 20—30 miles. It is bounded on the south by the Arabian Sea, in the west by Laḥedj, in the north by Yāfi' and in the east by the land of the 'Awdhilla and Dathīna. In the west there is the large valley of Abyan, with the Wādīs Bona (Banā, Bena) and Ḥasan, both of fair size, which are filled with water during the summer rains. The Djebel Nakhū'i with the W. Sala' may be mentioned among the hills in the east. The soil is fertile only in the west (district of Abyan); its chief product here is cotton. The east is mainly steppe-country. The capital of the country and residence of the Sulṭān is the town of Seriya, five miles from the coast, with about 400 inhabitants, a large mosque and the fortresslike palace of the Sulṭān. The only seaport or commercial town is Shugra (Shakra), with about 100 inhabitants and a palace of the Sulṭān, who lives here two months of the year. Jews live here only during the trading season, which lasts only a few months in the year. Among the towns in Abyan we may mention: 'Aṣala, with about 500 inhabitants (a fifth of whom are Jews, who have a large synagogue here), at one time a flourishing seaport, now much declined, Ma'r on the W. Ḥasan with about 300 inhabitants (including many Jews), a large mosque and a hereditary governor of the 'Uthmānī dynasty, and Na'ab with about 300 inhabitants (including many families of Jews) and a hereditary governor, who bears the title "Sulṭān".

The people of the Faḍlī country are Shāfi'is

and devout Muslims. They strictly observe fasting in Ramaḍān, the prescribed prayers, the prohibition of wine and other prescriptions of the Ḳor'ān. The Murāḳisha and Ahl 'Elah are the most important of the tribes who inhabit the country. They are as a rule free and independent (*ḳabā'il*). The people of Abyan and the Jews are on the other hand subject to the Sulṭān (*ra'īye*); he levies taxes on them at will and administers justice. If a ra'īye commits a murder he is stabbed to death with the knives of the Sulṭān's soldiers at the murdered man's grave. When a thief is caught, for a first offence he is beaten before the Sulṭān and forced to give back the stolen article, on a second offence his hand is cut off; if he commits the offence again he is thrown into the sea in a loaded sack. Religious transgressions such as the breaking of a fast are punished by imprisonment in chains. Adultery is held equal to murder. If a murderer cannot be found, the so-called "test by fire" is tried (ordeal). This is carried out in the presence of the Sulṭān by the "fire-judge" who places a red-hot knife on the tongue of the suspect. The decision then rests with the fire-judge.

The Faḍli at one time belonged to the Yāfi' and passed with them under the rule of the Imāms of Yemen from whom they afterwards made themselves independent. They later became enemies of the Yāfi' and in the fourth decade of last century took from them the fertile district of Abyan. They live at hereditary enmity with the 'Abadil of Laḥedj and the 'Awāliḳ, to which latter their district of Dathīna became tributary. On the other hand they are on friendly terms with the Wāḥidi, Raṣṣāṣ, and 'Aḳarib. Their relations with England down to 1865 were strained. In this year England made war on them and inflicted a severe defeat on them at 'Asala, whereupon they made peace. Since that time they have been on friendly relations with England.

The dynasty of Faḍl is of great physiological interest because of its possession of six fingers. The Sulṭān as well as his nearest relatives have a fingerlike gristly growth beside the little finger of each hand and the little toe of each foot, which is regarded as a sign of extraordinary strength among the Southern Arabians as among the Semites generally.

Bibliography: Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien* (Braunschweig 1873), p. 252—268; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. p. 659—662; Bent, *Exploration in the Yafii and Fadhli Countries* in *Geogr. Journ.*, xii. (London 1898), p. 41—63.
(J. SCHLEIFER.)

FAGHFŪR (avestan *bagha-puthra* "son of God") an expression brought to Persia through Farghāna (P. Horn, *Asadī's Lughat-i Furs*, p. 56) is the designation of the Emperor of China and the translation of the chinese *tien-tsi* "Son of heaven" (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 221, ult.). The Arabs have preserved the form *baghbūr*, which is more a western form, but *faghfūr* is also found notably in the Arabic inscription in the cemetery at Zaitūn (Ts'uan-chou), of the year 723 (1323) which has been discussed by M. van Berchem; in Marco Polo (ed. Yule and Cordier, ii. 145) the name is applied to the last Sung Emperor; and as the Mongol Emperors bore the title *ḳā'ān* (*khāḳān*) it is probable that the title *faghfūr* refers to Chinese sovereigns of native dynasties before the conquest of the country by foreigners.

Bibliography: E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols* (*Gibb Memorial Series*, Vol. XII), p. 76, n. 1; Greg. Arnaiz and Max van Berchem, *Mémoire sur les Antiquités Musulmanes de Ts'iuan-tcheou* in *T'oung-Pao*, Vol. XII, p. 724; Ibn Khordādhbih (ed. de Goeje), p. 16; H. Cordier, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, p. 434; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 100; Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé des Merveilles*, p. 118; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 306.
(CL. HUART.)

FAḤL or FIḤL, among the Jews Piḥl, called Pella by the Greeks in allusion to the name of the Macedonian town, at the present day the ruins of Faḥil on the western slopes of the land east of Jordan. It belonged to the Decapolis and is particularly celebrated because the Christians went thither on leaving Jerusalem before its destruction; it afterwards belonged to Palaestina Secunda and was the see of a bishop. About six months after the battle of Adjnādain in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da of the year 13 (January 635) the Muslims attacked the Byzantines who had assembled in the land east of Jordan, at Faḥl. The Byzantines had broken the dams at Baisān and turned the plain into a marsh but the Arabs crossed the Jordan without mishap and put the enemy to flight whereupon the town surrendered. The battle is also called "the Day of the Swamps".

The geographers mention Faḥl among the towns of the province of Urdunn. According to Ya'ḳūbī the population as usual in this part of the world was half Arab and half Greek.

Bibliography: Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, 274; Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*[4], ii. 173—176; Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), 115; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 2146, 2155; de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*, 55 *et seq.*; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 58 *et seq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii. 187—219; Ibn al-Faḳīh in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, v. 116; Ibn al-Khurdādhbih, ibid., vi. 78; Ya'ḳūbī, ibid., vii. 327; Yāḳūt, *al-Mu'djam*, iii. 855; Robinson, *Neuere biblische Forschungen*, p. 420—426; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 288 *et seq.*; Schumacher, *Pella* in *Pal. Explor. Fund*, 1888.
(FR. BUHL.)

FAI'. By this word Muslim scholars in general understand all things which may be taken from the unbelievers "without fighting" and further very often the lands in conquered territories. The name *fai'* is explained from the peculiar expression in the Ḳor'ān, lix, verses 6 and 7. "What God has allowed to return to his apostle" (*mā afā'a 'llāhu 'alā rasūlihi*). The possessions of the unbelievers which are "returned" to the Muslims form the *fai'*.

Verses lix, 6, 8 and 10 of the Ḳor'ān were revealed, according to Muslim tradition, when Muḥammad had resolved not to divide the fields and orchards left by the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, who had been driven out of the country, as booty of war among those who had taken part in the siege, but to give them to the Muhādjirs exclusively. He justified this action by arguing that these were really obtained not by fighting but in a peaceful fashion, by surrender.

After the conquest of Khaibar and Fadak also the lands of the Jews there were not wholly divided among the troops as booty but in part placed at the Prophet's disposal. It was probably on this occasion that Ḳor'ān lix. 7 was revealed;

"What God hath granted his apostle as *fai'* from the people of the towns, belongs to God — to his apostle, to his family, to the orphan, to the poor and to the traveller —; what the apostle of God gives you, accept, but what he forbids you, abstain from!" What could not properly be regarded as booty, was to be managed by the Prophet himself as state property and the proceeds therefrom as well as the fifth of the *Ghanīma* [q. v.] were to be applied to the general good.

At a later period 'Umar I in consonance with the view of his advisers of the *Ṣaḥāba* thought that this principle should be applied to the newly conquered territories also. He ordered that only movable property captured should be divided among the Arab conquerors but not the land. The land was to be applied not for the advantage of the generation then living but as *fai'* belonging for all time to the whole community for the benefit of all future generations of Muslims also. It was also feared at that time that if the Arabs devoted themselves to agriculture they would become less capable fighters. As a rule therefore, only the native population was to till the ground and deliver a certain portion of the yield as tribute to the Muslim treasury. This payment (*kharādj*) was to be bound up with the possession of the land for all time. It was therefore decreed that the inhabitants who cultivated *fai'* estates, even if they adopted Islām, should continue to be bound to pay the *kharādj*. As the payment of *kharādj* was regarded as a sign of subjection, the Arabs at first felt themselves prevented from acquiring land from an estate that was *fai'*; for they would thus have put themselves in a position where they would have to pay *kharādj* themselves. The only exception was those districts, whose inhabitants had voluntarily surrendered on the approach of the Arab army on condition that they were allowed to retain possession of their lands. In such districts (the so-called *Dār al-Ṣulḥ* q. v., i. 919) the land did not belong to the *fai'*.

When in the course of the first century, the people of the conquered lands adopted Islām, they began, in spite of all measures of the Muslim authorities, to avoid the payment of *kharādj* and only gave the *'ushr* of the yield of their fields like the Arab Muslims. The land in the conquered provinces thus gradually ceased to be regarded as *fai'*.

The views of later Muslim scholars on this point differ; the lands and estates in recently conquered provinces are, according to the Shāfi'īs, always to be divided among the conquerors as *ghanīma*, according to the Mālikīs on the other hand, they are to be considered the property of all Muslims, i. e. as *fai'*, while the Ḥanafīs would place them at the *imām's* disposal so that he may administer them either as *fai'* for the common good or divide them as *ghanīma* among the troops according as the cause of Islām may be best advanced.

Besides the land, the *kharādj*, the *djizya* and all other tribute to be paid by unbelievers, as for example the duties they have to pay on their goods in order to be allowed to trade in Muslim countries, are included in *fai'*. According to Shāfi'ī teaching a fifth part of the *fai'* must be set aside and applied in five equal portions to the same five purposes as the fifth part of the *ghanīma*; the other four fifths of the *fai'* are, according to the same school, to be used for the payment of the regular troops, the maintenance of mosques, roads and bridges and for other objects of general utility to Muslims. On the other hand the other Fiḳh schools hold that the *Imām* should always apply the *fai'* in its entirety for the good of the Muslim community as circumstances require it.

Bibliography: In addition to the chapter on *djihād* in the *fiḳh*-books: the works on *kharādj* by Abū Yūsuf and Yaḥyā Ibn Ādam; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya* (ed. M. Enger, Bonn 1853), p. 217 *et seq.*, 237 *et seq.*, 293 *et seq.*; Dimishḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fī Ikhtilāf al-A'imma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 151 *et seq.*; and the literature cited in the *Handbuch des islām. Gesetzes* by the author of this article (Leiden 1910), p. 344 *et seq.* (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

FĀ'IL (A. properly "agent"), a technical term in Arabic grammar = the subject of the verbal sentence, but only of the active verb (like *Zaidun* in the sentence *djā'a Zaidun* = Zaid came), while that of the passive (like *Zaidun* in *ḍuriba Zaidun* = Z. was beaten) is called *al-maf'ūl alladhī lam yusamma fā'iluhu*, = the "patient" whose agent is not mentioned" (in Sībawaihi, Ch. 8 *et seq.* other expressions are also given).

The *fā'il* can be a word only, not a sentence (this is given as a teaching of Sībawaihi's in al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i. 289, 13—14). It must follow its *fi'l* (verb) and is placed by it in the nominative.

In the older grammarians, as, for example, several times in Sībawaihi and *Kāmil* (i. 634, 7) *fā'il* also means the active participle, which is later called *ism al-fā'il*.

Bibliography: al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, p. 10 *et seq.*; Muḥammad A'lā, *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger etc.), ii. 1148 *et seq.*; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i. 80. (A. SCHAADE.)

FAILASŪF, philosopher; he who studies falsafa [q. v. p. 48 *et seq.*]; thence frequently used as an epithet for deep thinkers. The Arab philologists know the literal meaning of this word as *muḥibb al-ḥikma* (lover of wisdom). Al-Kindī [q. v.] was preferably known as the *failasūf al-'Arab* (philosopher of the Arabs); presumably because he was a philosopher of genuine Arab origin in contrast to most Muslim philosophers who belonged to non-Arab nations. (Cf. the correct explanation of this name given to al-Kindī by T. J. de Boer in the *Archiv. für Gesch. der Philos.* [1899], xiii. 154 *et seq.*) al-Djāḥiẓ in quoting a wise saying of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib describes him as *Failasūf al-'Arab* (in Māwardī, *Manthūr al-Ḥikam*, ms. Landberg, now in the Yale University, fol. 45b; Djāḥiẓ's work from which the quotation is taken is not named). This is quite in keeping with the character which his devotees give 'Alī in philosophical (or rather *bāṭin*) matters (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, liii. 382). The accuracy of Māwardī's quotation is rendered suspicious because in it Djāḥiẓ speaks of himself as keeper of Hārūn al-Rashīd's library.

In modern times the Turks have given the name *Failasūf Riḍā* to the contemporary Stambul scholar Riḍā Tewfīk who has published a study of the Ḥurūfī Sect (*Gibb Memorial Series*, Vol. ix.), on account of his work on philosophical literature. In popular language *failasūf* is applied to

an uncomplimentary sense to free thinkers or unbelievers. Even the Jewish king Jeroboam is called *failasūf* in this sense (*Revue des Études Juives*, xxx, 25 ult.). An idea of contempt is associated with the forms *failafūs*, *fulfūs* (also *falafsūn*, Syr.), plur. *falāfis*, current in the popular language; this is applied to frivolous, imprudent people, good-for-nothings and charlatans (examples in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxviii. 681); Vollers, (ibid. li. 300, 2) gives *fulfūs*. — The verbal form *yufalfis* (*Bāsim le forgeron*, ed. Landberg, 38, 7) is also connected with this: "he could not wriggle out".

(I. GOLDZIHER.)

FAIṢĀL. [See IBN SA'ŪD.]

AL-**FAIYŪM.** The district of Faiyūm is a depression on the eastern borders of the Libyan desert in the form of an irregular triangle with the apex to the south. It measures about 35 miles from N. to S. and about 40 from E. to W. The depression slopes from S. to N. and N. W., at first gradually to the railway line from Abuksa to Sanūres (30 feet above sea-level), then very rapidly to the Birket Ḳārūn (140 feet below sea-level).

This hollow was formed in the Tertiary period through collapses in the earth's crust (as did the Nile valley also). Traces of human activity in the pre-historic period, such as have been found in the diluvial strata of the Nile valley, have not been discovered in the Faiyūm, although neolithic flint workings have been unearthed on the northern margin.

In the diluvial period, when the Nile first appeared in its bed, an arm branched off from it in the neighbourhood of Asyūṭ, the modern Baḥr Yūsuf, which entered the Faiyūm basin after a course of 272 miles along the western border of the valley through a breach which it possibly made itself in the edge of the Libyan plateau. In course of time it filled the basin so that a great freshwater lake arose which in the north and West of the Faiyūm stretched farther than the present cultivated land. Pharaoh Amenemhat and his successors of the xii[th] dynasty, built a dam or sluice at the place where the arm of the Nile entered the Faiyūm with a view to stopping further influx of water and gaining arable land. The shallower stretches in the S. and S. E. were laid bare through the great evaporation and secured by dykes. A small strip of land which ran out to the middle of this area, with the modern towns of Medīna, 'Agamiyīn and Ebshawāi formed the "lake-province", *tešc*, later *phiōm* of the ancient Egyptians, whose capital was Shetet, the Crocodilopolis of the Greeks.

The dams and sluices at Illahūn, which in course of time were made more and more efficient, made it possible for the lake (Egypt. *mer-wer*, whence the Μοῖρις of the Greeks) to be dammed when the Nile was in flood and afterwards run off; the lake thus became of great importance for the irrigation of the Nile valley. There can be no shadow of doubt that the Lake Moiris of the Greeks must have been the lake covering the whole of the Faiyūm with the exception of the strip already mentioned. It used to be located in the southern extremity of the district where near the village of Shedmū strong walls several miles long are still standing, which can only have been the embankment of an immense reservoir.

When in later centuries the influx of water to the lake began to diminish for unknown reasons and with the increasing desiccation its shore retreated farther to the north, it had finally to cease to act as a regulator of the water-supply. When this took place has not yet been ascertained, possibly in the Persian or perhaps not till the beginning of the Ptolemaic period (Flinders Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoë*). At this period the dry land had extended as far as the railway line from Abuksa to Sanūres. A further contraction in the lake took place in the Greek period under Ptolemy Philadelphus in the middle of the third century B. C. Whether it reached its present dimensions as early as this must be doubted, for in the deepest parts (140 feet below sealevel) no traces of buildings of the Greek period are found: Ḳaṣr Ḳārūn is at a depth of only 65 feet.

It is not absolutely impossible that the deepest parts at least did not emerge from the water till after the beginning of the Christian era; an investigation of the tombs on the south side of the island in the lake might possibly throw light on this point. It was not till then that the lake assumed the form and dimensions that it has at present, a length of 25 miles with a maximum breadth of about 6 miles and an area of 100 square miles. Its greatest known depth which is in the centre is barely 16 feet but there are said to be deeper places in the western part. Its transformation from a freshwater lake to a salt has likewise most probably only taken place in the last period of its formation. In spite of the strong and in recent years increased influx of water no permanent rise in the level may be noticed although there is a slight fluctuation. The great evaporation of the surface on account of its low-lying position is, however, not sufficient to explain the disappearance of such vast quantities of water. It is not improbable the water escapes by one or more subterranean passages, naturally to the N. and not to the S. into the Wādī Raiyān. The currents which are sometimes apparent in it would be thus explained. Besides, this has been suggested before: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i. 249, suggests that the lake was drained underground to Sīwa (Santarīye). The great wealth in fishes, notably in the two kinds *bulṭī* and *ḳiṣḳ* with eels and large sheat-fish in smaller numbers, which the lake possessed in ancient times, still remains, although it will soon diminish with the vast amount of fishing in which some hundreds of boats are engaged.

When the channel that fed the Faiyūm ceased to act as an aqueduct when Lake Moiris ceased to be a reservoir, it was divided into a number (8) of canals at its end near the capital Crocodilopolis, which spread over the country principally to the N. W., after three had been led off to the N. and two to the S. before it reached the capital. In addition three other canals were led off from the aqueduct immediately after its entrance into the Faiyūm, probably even in ancient times, one to the S. to irrigate the basin of Gharak (al-Sulṭānī) and two to the north, that of Sāla (or Sīla, written *siyāla* or *sayala* or *sala* in Arabic) and that of al-Baṭs (originally perhaps Baṭāḥ); the latter, which is cut through the limestone for a considerable stretch in rising ground about 100 yards broad and 40 feet deep, shows the scientific skill of the engineers of those days.

The superfluous water not required for irrigation, from these canals flowed into the lake. It was this irrigation of the ancient lake-bed, which of course was not equally productive all over, which gained the Faiyūm the prosperity for which it was at all times celebrated, which, combined with the climate, made the district the most valuable province in Egypt.

The waterworks of the Faiyūm were at quite an early period ascribed by Muslim tradition, probably under Jewish influence, to the Joseph of the Bible but only at a later period called after him. When vizier of king Raiyān he caused the channel which brought the water to the Faiyūm to be dug; the Faiyūm which had previously been called al-Djauba, was a basin into which were drained the superfluous waters of the Nile from Upper Egypt. Throughout the whole mediaeval period the stream was called *al-Baḥr al-manhī* (not *manhī*); it is only in modern times (first in Djabartī?) that the name Baḥr Yūsuf appears. The sluices of Illāhūn, which tradition also credits to him, were called *al-Ḥadjar al-Lahūnī* in the middle ages, and only towards their close do we find the name *al-Ḥadjar al-Yūsufī*. Smaller sluices were called *Abwāb Yūsufīya*, canals *Maḳāsim ḳadīma Yūsufīya* (Maḳrīzī). He also dug the canals of Wardān and Ḳhurrāḳ and finally, founded the town of Faiyūm in which there was a Djāmiʿ Yūsufī in the viith century A. H.

A further personage in the Ḳorʾān, the fabulously wealthy Ḳārūn (Sūra xxviii. 76) was likewise immortalised by tradition in the Faiyūm and held to be the builder of the temple in the late Greek town of Dionysias at the western end of the lake. As early as the xiiith century century these ruins were called Ḳaṣr Ḳārūn and were highly esteemed by treasure-seekers (*Kitāb al-durr al-maknūn* by Aḥmed Kamāl p. ١٣٢—١٣٦). The name Ḳārūn was only transferred from them to the lake in recent times, for as late as the end of the middle ages it was still called simply *al-Birka* or *al-Birka al-ʿUẓmā* (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 249).

The Faiyūm has never played any great rôle in the political history of Egypt. The transition from the old Oriental rule, Egyptian or Persian, to the European of the Greeks and Romans brought the land the greatest material and intellectual prosperity that it ever attained in antiquity. The capital of the district had then over 100,000 inhabitants, the modern town has nothing like half that number. In 639 followed the Muslim invasion and a decline set in, which lasted over a thousand years and reached its lowest level under Turkish rule. The causes of this decline are on the whole the same as in other Muslim lands, notably in the very similar country of Babylonia. It is true that the Faiyūm was less afflicted by the civil wars that ruined Babylonia, but the religious fanaticism of the new rulers which increased as time went on and the oppression of the Christian populace, of which the papyri give a detailed account for the early centuries and which is testified to by the wholesale destruction of Christian churches and monasteries by the Muḥammadan mob for the later period (viith—viiith centuries A. H.) — there were still 35 monasteries in the Faiyūm in 1210 (Abū Ṣāliḥ p. 53), and only 13 in 1244 (ʿOthmān, *Faiyūm*, p. 22) — were always worse in Egypt than in other countries. But particularly it was the incapability of all the Muslim dynasties to manage the internal affairs of the country in an orderly fashion, notably the finance, or where attempts were made in this direction the incapability of maintaining good government for any length of time. Lastly as in Babylonia there was the immigration of Bedouin tribes, a plague which the rulers of Egypt had been striving to ward off for thousands of years, but to which the gates were now opened. The entrance and passage through of Arab, afterwards also of Berber tribes and the fighting with them lasted down to the Fāṭimid period (al-Kindī, *K. al-Wulāt wa 'l-Ḳuḍāt*, ed. Guest), which favoured the immigration of the Berbers. One Berber tribe, the Lawāta, settled in the Faiyūm. In the viith—xiiith century its population was predominantly Bedouin; the remnants of the ancient agricultural population had to place themselves under the protection of the immigrants. According to the account of Emīr ʿOthmān (p. 12—14) these Bedouins belonged to three great tribes:

1. The largest in numbers of genuine Arab descent the "sons of the dog", Banū Kilāb, held the largest portion of the land, the north-west and centre to Ṭuṭūn (also written Ṭaṭūn, the Greek Tepṭunis) in the south.

2. The Banū ʿEdjlān, likewise Arabs, inhabited the eastern part as far as Sanūres; the modern place-name Hawāret ʿEdjlān near Illāhūn shows that they settled there also.

3. The Berber Lawāta in the S. E. as far as the province of Bahnasā (Maḳrīzī).

These Bedouin tribes in course of time became settled and have amalgamated with the remnants of the ancient population. But to the present day the inhabitants of many villages still call themselves Bedouins although they may have been peasants or fishermen for generations, possibly only to escape military service.

The decline of the Faiyūm in the Muslim period may be best illustrated by the rapid diminution in the yield from taxation. It seems that the land was still tolerably prosperous in the ʿUmaiyad and early ʿAbbāsid period in spite of the maladministration which began in the second century A. H., although we have no definite figures at our disposal. Our earliest figures date from the ivth century A. H., in the time of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī (355 Abū Ṣāliḥ, 356 Maḳrīzī, following Ibn Zūlāḳ): Ibn Ṭarkhān who was governor then was still able to raise 620,000 dīnārs in taxes. Under the Fāṭimids, however, probably especially in the reign of al-Mustanṣir which unfortunately for the country lasted half a century, it must have rapidly declined. At the end of the Fāṭimid period the revenue had sunk to 145,162 dīnārs in the year 576 (Abū Ṣāliḥ); for 585 152,703 is given (Maḳrīzī, following Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil's *K. Mutadjaddidāt al-Ḥawādith*). Saladin's granting of the villages of the Faiyūm in fief to his Turkish and Kurdish officers scarcely contributed to the prosperity of the district. How the administration of the provinces was conducted under him may be judged from the following example: When the Emīr Ṣārim al-Dīn Khuṭlubogha was sent as governor to the Faiyūm in 577, he could find nothing better to do than confiscate all the harvest of the country. He was then recalled and the Faiyūm placed under the Minister of Marine [*Dīwān al-Usṭūl*] (Maḳrīzī, *Histoire de l'Égypte*

ed. Blochet, p. 142, 144, where *Khowtloubegha* should be read for *Khouthoubâ*. Two years later Saladin granted the Faiyūm with Būsh and al-ʿAyāṭ (not ʿAnāṭ : Blochet) to his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar Shāhānshāh, who usually resided in Ḥamā. In the last quarter of this century severe famine raged several times on account of the lowness of the Nile, and in each of these there was great loss of life; one lasted for three years, 596—598.

We have a touching lament on the decline of the land in the ʿAiyūbid period in the book of Emir ʿOthmān, who was appointed governor in 641 A. H. In consequence of the silting up of the Baḥr al-Manhā water could only flow into the Faiyūm during four months of the year when the Nile was at its height. The smaller canals in the country were also neglected so that parts of it became swamps and infested with miasma. The population was indolent without any intellectual interest; even the upper classes had dubious notions of cleanliness.

But its condition was to become much worse. As long as Egypt had rulers, who lived in the country itself, they still took some interest in the maintenance of the irrigation works. Thus we are told of al-Malik al-Nāṣir in 741 that he built a *Gisr* (dam or sluices). Maḳrīzī is able even in his time (beginning of the ixth = xvth century) to give a detailed account of the canals and their work in the different months of the agricultural year. Sulṭān Ḳāit Bāī (end of this century) visited the Faiyūm no less than three times and built a mosque in the capital; in his reign the revenues even rose a trifle, to 164,050 dīnārs (Ibn Djīʿān, *Tuḥfa*, p. 5) but many places had fallen into ruins or become swamps (*ibid.* p. 150—158). His successor al-Nāṣir Muḥammed in 903 built a mosque (Ibn Iyās, III, 342). Sulṭān Tūmān Bāī found time during the few months he reigned to take a personal interest in the restoration of a *gisr* destroyed by the flood and to complete the work in spite of the great expense (30,000 dīnārs) (*ibid.* iv. 6, 9, 13, 14, 32, 37).

But with the fall of the Mamlūks and the transition to Turkish rule the fortunes of the Faiyūm sank to their lowest ebb. As the Ottoman governors were changed on principle almost every year and their powers were very limited, they could do nothing themselves even with the best intentions; their activities were mainly confined to extorting as much as possible out of the more and more impoverished land; as a matter of fact it was no longer "much". An account of the year 1634 (*Mémorial de l'Estat d'Egypte* in *Revue d'Egypte*, ed. Gaillardot Bey, iii 1896) tells us that the Faiyūm could at that time still yield 200 purses to the Sulṭān and 30 (in all about 12,000 dīnārs) to his representatives in Cairo. By the beginning of the xviiith century the whole tribute of Egypt to the Porte had sunk to 1200 purses = about 300,000 dīnārs). In September 1806 the town of Faiyūm was occupied and destroyed by the Mamlūk Bey Yāsīn and its inhabitants almost all massacred as they had taken Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's side; the latter was not able to regain the town till July 1810 (Djabartī).

The Faiyūm was long in sharing the revival of Egypt's prosperity in the xixth century. It is true that under Muḥammad ʿAlī the Baḥr Yūsuf, the life-giving artery of the land, was cleaned out and the ancient sluices of Illahūn pulled down and rebuilt by French engineers. But modern means of transit did not come to open up the land until quite late for it was only in 1874 that the railway reached it. In the same year the area of the province was estimated at 235,908 feddān and the number of inhabitants at 146,588 (Muḥammad Amīn Fikrī, *Geogr. von Ägypten*, 1290 A. H., p. 117). It was only under English rule that a steady revival in prosperity became marked. The irrigation works were first of all put into good order and then good roads and railways were made. To the lines to Abuksa and Sanūres already in existence there have been added since 1902 a series of private light railways, which radiate from the capital across the country in all directions. It is only with the introduction of this means of transport that it has been possible to extend the cultivation of cotton, which has brought the land its present great prosperity. The modern province of Faiyūm comprises 412,982 feddān (and is the third largest in Upper-Egypt; Minye has 463,379 Asyūṭ 473,864) or roughly 7000 square miles, of which 800 are under cultivation (Beadnell, *The Topography ... of the Fayum Province*, p. 11). In spite of the advance made by agriculture in the last 20 years, however, the area under cultivation is not yet as large as in the Greek and Roman periods. Large stretches of land in the west and notably in the north are still covered with sand but it is only a question of time till they are regained for the plough.

According to the last census (1907), not very reliable it must be confessed, the population was 371,000; the capital had 33,069 inhabitants but has probably 40,000 by now, among them the Greek element is beginning to play an important part. There were 85 towns and large villages and 1031 small villages (*kufūr* and *ʿezab*).

Very few memorials, and least of all buildings, have survived from the long history of the Faiyūm. The most celebrated work of antiquity, which however lay only on the edge of the district, the Labyrinth, has utterly disappeared. From the ancient Egyptian period there have only survived a small pyramid in the S. E., a round „obelisk" of Bedjīdj (in the middle ages Babīdj) 45 feet long, and the pedestals, now also demolished, of the two colossal statues of Amenemhat at Biahum, which were still in existence with their inscriptions in the xiiith century. From the Greek period there have survived the ruins of the towns and temples on the borders of the district, Ḳaṣr Ḳārūn, Dimē, Ḳaṣr al-Ṣāgha etc., but nothing in the lowlying parts. Practically nothing has survived from the Arab period. The mosque of Ḳāit Bāī in Medīne which dates from the end of the middle ages has been absolutely rebuilt in the usual process of conservation. The few churches and monasteries that survive have not yet been investigated; it is hoped that valuable finds, particularly of manuscripts may be found in them; but many have unfortunately been destroyed for ever with the increase in the area under agriculture.

Manuscript records of the past have, however, come to light in much greater quantities with the finds of papyri, which were first made in the winter of 1877-1878 and next from 1884 on in the ruined mounds several miles wide of the ancient capital, and later in other parts of the country. As these cover a period of almost 3000 years

and are written in about ten different alphabets and almost as many languages, they form a handsome compensation to the study of antiquity for the monuments that have disappeared. The Arabic papyri, which have come principally to Vienna but also to Heidelberg and Cairo, are especially valuable because a considerable number of them date from the period of the Arab conquest and these, apart from their historical value, are the oldest documents of the Arabic language and alphabet. It is safe to suppose that these treasures are not yet by any means exhausted and further finds may be expected with certainty.

Bibliography: Beadnell, *The Topography and Geology of the Fayum Province*; Blanckenhorn, *Geologie Ägyptens*, IV Teile; Brown, *The Fayum and Lake Moeris*; Grenfell and Hunt, *The Disposition of the Lake Moeris* in *Arch. Report, Egypt. Explor. Fund*; Schweinfurth, *Reise in das Depressionsgebiet im Umkreise des Fayûm* in the *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1886; of Arabic works, those quoted in the text by Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn Djīʿān, Ibn Iyās, Ibn Daḳmāḳ (where the section on the Faiyūm has not survived), Djabartī, al-Kindī, Maḳrīzī, Emīr ʿOthmān, Taghrībardī. (B. MORITZ.)

FAIZABAD, properly FAIḌĀBĀD, the name of two modern towns in Central Asia; on Faizabad in Bukhārā cf. the article AMŪ-DARYĀ, i. 340ᵃ, and on Faizabad in Badakhshān see this article i. 552ᵇ *et seq.* (where it is erroneously called Faiḍhābād). Faizabad in Bukhārā, lying in a fertile valley with green pastures throughout the year, is now a town with about 3000 inhabitants, the residence of the tax-collector (*amlākdār*) of the Beg of Ḥiṣār; the citadel is in ruins. Faizabad in Badakhshān lies on the right bank of the Kokča, which is here crossed by a wooden bridge; the town is a mile or two long and only a quarter of mile broad. Cf. L. Kostenko, *Turkestanskij krai*, ii. 149, 204 *et seq.*; D. Logofet, *Bukharskoe khanstvo*, i. 186 and 248; J. Minajew, *Swjedjenija o stranakh po werkhowjam Amu-Daryi* (St. Petersburg 1879), index. Faizabad is also the name of a village near Bukhārā, at the tomb of Khodja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband.

(W. BARTHOLD.)

FAIZĀBĀD (FYZABAD), a town, division and district in Oudh (British India). The town of Faizābād lies on the left bank of the river Gogra near Ayodhyā, the ancient capital of Oudh, and with this town has a population of 75,085 of whom 17,674 are Muslims (1901). The town was founded by Saʿādat Khān and first received its name Faizābād in the reign of Ṣafdar Djang; but the early Nawwābs only rarely resided in the capital; Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, son of Ṣafdar Djang (1753—1775), was the first to make it his headquarters after his defeat by the English at Buxar in 1764 and erected a number of buildings there. His tomb still stands there as well as the larger and more beautiful one of his widow Bahū Begam. The division of Faizābād comprises the districts of Faizābād, Bahraich, Gondā, Sulṭānpūr Partābgarh, and Bara Banki and has an area of 12,113 square miles and a population of 6,855,991 inhabitants of whom 14% are Muhammadans.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer* XII, 108 *et seq.*

AL-**FĀʾIZ** BI NAṢR ALLĀH, a Fāṭimid Caliph. Born in 544 (1149), he was the son of the Caliph al-Ẓāfir and his real name was Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿIsā. After the assassination of his father (30ᵗʰ Muḥarram 549 = 16ᵗʰ April 1154) he was carried by the vizier ʿAbbās out on his shoulders and placed on the throne, being then only five years old. The gruesome scenes of those days, particularly the sight of his uncles Yūsuf and Djibrīl slain by the orders of ʿAbbās, are said to have so worked on the mind of the unfortunate boy that he was constantly afflicted with fits till his early death. During the six years of his Caliphate the government was in the hands of Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk [q. v.]. Within this period fall the death of ʿAbbās and the execution of his son Naṣr, the actual assassin of al-Ẓāfir, and the visitation of Damietta, Tinnis, Rosetta and Alexandria by a Sicilian fleet (Djumādā II 550 = August 1155). Al-Fāʾiz died on the 17ᵗʰ Radjab 555 = 23ʳᵈ July 1160 at the age of $11\frac{1}{2}$.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 127 *et seq.*, 168; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 214, 357; ii. 30; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimidenchalifen*, p. 321 *et seq.*; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 172 *et seq.* (E. GRAEFE.)

FAIḌĪ SHAIKH. His original name was Abu 'l-Faiḍ, and he was the son of Mubārak Shaikh, and the elder brother of Abu 'l-Faḍl the historian. He was born at Agra in 1547, during the reign of Selīm Shāh. He was a poet, and Akbar gave him the title of "King of Poets". He was ambitious of rivalling Niẓāmī, and wrote five epics in imitation of his Quintet. He appears to have known Sanskrit, as well as Arabic, and he translated the *Līlāvati*, a work on Indian arithmetic, and also the *Mahābhārata*. He likewise wrote a commentary on the Ḳorʾān, in which he affected to use no dotted letters. (Badāʾūnī, Lowe's translation, p. 407). In 1579 he was appointed tutor to Akbar's second son Prince Murād. In his verses inserted in the *Akbarnāma*, (*Bib. Ind.*, ed. ii. 311), Faiḍī describes himself as having been tutor to all the three princes. See translation, p. 459. In the same poem he refers to his having become one of Akbar's disciples, that is, a member of the "Divine Faith" body. In 1591 he went as ambassador to the Dakhan, and returned in the following year. He was a kind and charitable man and less set upon self-advancement than his younger brother. He however was also a flatterer, and was accused by the Muḥammadans of having seduced Akbar from the true Faith. When Badāʾūnī was ill and in disgrace, Faiḍī wrote a very kind letter about him to Akbar. This letter has been preserved by Badāʾūnī, *Bib. Ind.* ed., iii. 603, and in the same work will be found a very able, but very caustic criticism of Faiḍī's character and genius. Badāʾūnī says, Faiḍī's technique is admirable, but his poetry wants grit and of his many thousand lines, none is cherished in the memory. This criticism seems correct. His verses are full of conceits and strained expressions, and it is only occasionally, as in his elegy on his friend Fatḥ Allāh that he shows real feeling. (See Blochmann's translation of the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, p. 33, note and p. 490 and 548). According to Badāʾūnī he composed a palinode in the year before his death in which he uttered praises of Muḥammad. In the same poem, l. c. 397, he explains why he changed his pen-name from Faiḍī to Faiyāḍī. He died of asthma in Agra on 5ᵗʰ October 1595. (Badāʾūnī,

Lowe's translation, p. 420). There is a long notice of him in the *Darbār-i Akbarī*, (Lahore 1898), p. 359, and another in the *Ma'āthir-i Umarā*, ii. 584. He was a voluminous writer and is said to have written 101 books. He formed an extensive library which was taken possession of by Akbar.

Bibliography: Faiẓī's Letters are in MS. in the British Museum: Rieu, *Cat.*, pp. 792 and 984. His version of Bhāskara, *Līlāvatī* was published at Calcutta in 1828, where also the Sanskrit original was published in 1832. An English translation of the Sanskrit was published at Bombay in 1816 by John Taylor. There is also one by Colebrooke. (One of these translations is quoted by Longfellow in his *Kavanagh*). Faiẓī's best known poem, the *Nal Daman*, was published at Calcutta in 1831, and there is a later edition by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow. For notices of Faiẓī's poems, see Hammer, *Redekünste*, Vienna, 1818; Ouseley, *Biograph. Notices*; Blochmann, *Āīn-i Akbarī*; Āga Aḥmad, *Haft Āsmān* (Calcutta 1873, the Markaz Adwār only); Beale, *Or. Dict.* and the Catalogues of Rieu and Ethé. (BEVERIDGE.)

FAIẒULLĀH EFENDI (AL-SAIYID MEḤEMMED), son of Shaikh Meḥemmed, Mufti of Erzerūm, came to Constantinople on the completion of his theological studies, where he married a daughter of the celebrated Shaikh al-Islām Wānī Efendi. Introduced by his father-in-law to the court of Sulṭān Meḥemmed IV. he was appointed tutor to Prince Muṣṭafā in 1080 and to Prince Aḥmed in 1089 and filled this office till 1097. On the deposition of Meḥemmed IV he became Shaikh al-Islām under his successor Suleimān II, on the 12th Rabī' I. 1099 (16th January 1688) but was deposed on the 28th Djumādā II. (30th April) and banished to Erzerūm. When Muṣṭafā II. came to the throne he recalled his former tutor from exile and appointed him Shaikh al-Islām on the 11th Shawwāl 1106 (15th May 1695); in this capacity he completely ruled the weak Sulṭān, and amongst other things saw to it that the offices of Naḳīb al-Ashrāf and the Ḳāḍī'asker of Rumelia and of Anatolia were given to his sons and further that the eldest of them was designated his successor. He became universally hated for his love of power and as a *ḳizilbash* — he traced his descent from Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī — and finally fell a victim to the rising against the Sulṭān in 1115 A. H. (1703 A. D.); he was deposed on the 13th Rabī' I. (27th July) and afterwards handed over to the rebels who tortured him for several days before putting him to death (10th Rabī' II. = 23rd Aug.), his corpse was dragged through the streets of Adrianople, where these events took place, and thrown into the Tundja; a Greek priest was forced to officiate in full canonicals as part of the proceedings.

Bibliography: Mustaḳīmzāde, *Tuḥfat al-Khaṭṭāṭīn*, p. 74 *et seq.*; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, vi. 33 *et seq.*; on the death of F.: de la Motraye, *Voy.*, i. 332 *et seq.*; Kantemir, p. 736 *et seq.*; Na'īmā (ed. 1147 H.), ii. at the end; Rāshid, ii. 191 *et seq.*; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, vii. 89; Chishull, *Travels*, p. 69 *et seq.* (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

FAKHKH, the name of a wādī not far from Mecca, where Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan with many other 'Alids met their death on the 8th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 169 (11th June 786), wherefore the day of Fakhkh, like that of Kerbelā was observed by the Shī'a as a day of mourning and it was the custom among them to talk of the martyrs of Fakhkh. Ḥusain had homage paid to him a short time before in Medina, collected a few followers and set out for Mecca. In Fakhkh he met the 'Abbāsid troops, who scattered his little body of followers and slew him. The place where he and his men fell and were buried, now called al-Shuhadā, is regarded as sacred by the people of Mecca, who hold an annual festival there on the 14th Ṣafar. Among those who escaped the massacre was the 'Alid Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan, who fled to the Maghrib and became the ancestor of the Idrisids.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 854; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), iii. 552 *et seq.*; al-Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 488; Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, iii. 212; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 41; ii. 35 *et seq.*

FAKHR (A.) "glory", a frequent component of titles of honour: *Fakhr al-Dawla* "glory of the dynasty", the name of a Būyid (see below) and of Ibn Djahīr [q. v.]; *Fakhr al-Dīn* "glory of the faith", a name of al-Rāzī [q. v.] and of the Druze chief mentioned below; *Fakhr al-Mulk* "glory of the kingdom", a name of Ibn 'Ammār [q. v.], of Muḥammad b. 'Alī [q. v.] and of Tutush's vizier (see below p. 45b).

FAKHR AL-DAWLA ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. RUKN AL-DAWLA, a Būyid governor. After the death of his father in Muḥarram 366 (September 976), Fakhr al-Dawla, who was then about 25 years old, received the governorship of Media under the suzerainty of his elder brother 'Aḍud al-Dawla with the exception of Iṣfahān and all that went with it, which went to a third brother Mu'aiyid al-Dawla. But while the latter was following out terms of his father's will, Fakhr al-Dawla wanted to set himself up as an independent ruler and allowed himself to be tempted by his cousin Bakhtiyār b. Mu'izz to intrigue against 'Aḍud al-Dawla. Bakhtiyār was slain however and in 369 (979-980) 'Aḍud al-Dawla sent several bodies of troops against his brother. When they entered Hamadhān, the latter had to take to flight and seek help in Djurdjān from his father-in-law Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr, while the whole of his province fell into the hands of Mu'aiyid al-Dawla. The latter was appointed governor of them and prosecuted the war with great success. In 371 (981-982) he defeated Ḳābūs at Astarābād, whereupon Ḳābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla fled to Ḥusām al-Dawla, the Sāmānid governor of Khorāsān. An expedition against Djurdjān, undertaken by the Khorāsānians under Ḥusām al-Dawla, Ḳābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla, was unsuccessful. Mu'aiyid al-Dawla was, it is true, surrounded; but when he had fought a way through the enemy, one section of the Khorāsān army, which he had previously won over to his side, took to flight and the allies had to return to Khorāsān without accomplishing their object. On the death of Mu'aiyid al-Dawla in 373 (983-984) Fakhr al-Dawla was recalled from Nīsābūr and remained in possession of the provinces of Media, Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān till his death. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had died in 372 (983) and after his death hostilities broke out among his sons. From the war that ensued Bahā al-Dawla b. 'Aḍud al-Dawla emerged victorious; but when in 379 (989-990) he was recognised as Amīr al-Umarā',

his uncle Fakhr al-Dawla attempted to seize the whole of the ʿIrāḳ and with this object in view made an alliance with the Kurdish chief Badr b. Ḥasanawaih. The allies advanced on Baghdād by different routes; but when Bahāʾ al-Dawla sent an army against them and Fakhr al-Dawla's troops were disheartened by an inundation, the plan had to be given up. According to the usual statement Fakhr al-Dawla died in Shaʿbān 387 (August 997); according to others he died earlier, in 385 (995).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii., ix.; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv. 454 *et seq.*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (ed. Browne), i. 417—426; Wilken, *Gesch. der Sultane aus d. Geschl. Bujeh nach Mirchond*, Kap. VIII; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 30 *et seq.* (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN).

FAKHR AL-DĪN b. ḲORḲMAS, the chief of the Druzes, called Facardin, Fekkerdin, Fechrdin, Ficardin etc., by European authors, of the tribe of Banū Maʿn [q. v.], born in 980 (1572), was recognised by the Sublime Porte as Emīr of the Druzes on the death of his father in 994 (1586). In the beginning of his reign the management of affairs was in the hands of his uncle Yūsuf and his mother, called Set nesab (Sitt Nasība?) by Mariti, who as long as she lived — till 1633 — exercised a great influence over her son. As soon as he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, he devoted his energies to strengthening his power, collected a numerous corps of Sagbān around him and rebuilt and fortified Bairūt, the former residence of his father, which had suffered considerably in the wars with Ibrāhīm Pasha. He particularly endeavoured to attract European merchants thither and through them to enter into alliances with the Christian rulers of Europe who could be of use to him in the struggle with the Turkish government. At first he remained quiet, paid the tribute demanded by the Porte regularly and meanwhile was gradually extending his authority over all the lands from Bairūt to Mount Carmel. But his ambition soared higher; he hoped with the support of the Christians in Syria and Palestine to found an independent dynasty and therefore made an alliance in 1017 (1608) with Ferdinand I., Grand Duke of Tuscany.

When the growing power of the Druze Emīr began to arouse the Porte's suspicions, Aḥmed Pasha Ḥāfiẓ, governor of Damascus, was ordered to bring him to terms. The latter could do little in these almost inaccessible mountains with their numerous fortresses but, when in 1022 (1613) a Turkish fleet appeared of the Syrian coast, Fakhr al-Dīn escaped to Livorno in a ship and was received by the Grand Duke Cosimo II with great honour. But his hope of soon returning reinforced by Christian troops and putting an end to Turkish rule in Syria was not fulfilled. Not even his claim that the Druzes were descended from a Christian Comte de Dreux and that he himself was a descendant of Godfrey de Bouillon, moved the Christians to a new Crusade. In the meanwhile Fakhr al-Dīn's son, ʿAlī, whom he had left as his representative in Syria and the other members of his family had been successfully forced by Aḥmed Pasha to submit to the Porte and it was not till 1027 (1618), when Aḥmed Pasha was recalled from Damascus, that Fakhr al-Dīn dared return to Syria. But he did not return as Emīr, for this rank had passed to ʿAlī, but managed the government business for the latter, notably military affairs. He fought fierce wars with the Banū Sēfā (Saifā), governors of Tripolis; his followers captured Muṣṭafā Pasha, then governor of Damascus, but he was soon set free again by Fakhr al-Dīn as he did not wish to bring about an open breach with the Porte; on the contrary he endeavoured to influence the government in his favour by bribing influential Turks. He did this successfully for a period but finally the eyes of the Turkish authorities were opened and they sent Kučuk Aḥmed Pasha with numerous troops to Damascus to put an end to the power of Fakhr al-Dīn. ʿAlī met his death soon after in 1043 (1633) in an encounter at Ṣafed and Fakhr al-Dīn after some unsuccessful fighting in the neighbourhood of Joppa had to take to flight. He went first to Ṣaidā, thence to Bairūt, but he could not remain there owing to the presence of a Turkish fleet. He therefore retired to the mountains, but was captured in Djezzin (Casale di Gezin), and brought to Constantinople in chains. There he died in 1635 by the hand of the executioner. His sons and his brother Yūnus were taken prisoners and put to death with the exception of a son of Fakhr al-Dīn and a son of Yūnus, who escaped by flight. The latter, named Melḥem, afterwards became Emīr of the Druzes.

Bibliography: al-Khālidī, *Taʾrīkh Fakhr al-Dīn b. Maʿn* (Cod. München 427); al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, iii. 266 *et seq.*; based on these, Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-dîn der Drusenfürst und seine Zeitgenossen* in *Abhandlung. Göttingen*, xxxiii. (1886); G. Mariti, *Istoria di Faccardino Grand-Emir dei Drusi* (Livorno 1787, Gotha 1790); F. E. Roger, *La terre sainte* etc. (Paris 1646, 1664); G. T. Minadoi, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi e Persiani* (Roma 1587) (important for the previous history).

FAKHR AL-MULK ABU 'L-MUẒAFFAR ʿALĪ b. NIẒĀM AL-MULK, a vizier. Fakhr al-Mulk was the eldest son of the celebrated vizier Niẓām al-Mulk who was assassinated in Ramaḍān 485 (October 1092). After the death of Sulṭān Malik Shāh in the same year his son Barkiyāruḳ was proclaimed Sulṭān but had to defend his throne and kingdom against his rebellious uncles. Fakhr al-Mulk was then in Khorāsān; but when he tried to go to Barkiyāruḳ to offer him his services, he was attacked by the followers of the latter's younger brother, Maḥmūd b. Malikshāh, who was also set up as a claimant to the throne, and had to flee to Hamadhān, which in the meanwhile was occupied by Barkiyāruḳ's uncle Tutush. The latter was about to slay him but on the intercession of Yāghī Basān spared his life and even made him his vizier. After a short time Fakhr al-Mulk was thrown into prison and only released after Barkiyāruḳ's victory, in which Tutush was slain, in Ṣafar 488 (February 1095). In the same year Barkiyāruḳ dismissed Muʾaiyid al-Mulk, Fakhr al-Mulk's brother, and appointed Fakhr al-Mulk his vizier. But Fakhr al-Mulk soon afterwards left Barkiyāruḳ and went to his brother Sandjar, who as governor of Khorāsān lived in Nīsābūr, and was taken into his service. Here he was murdered in 500 (1106) at the age of 66 by an Assassin.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), x. 79—289; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī,

Ta'rikh-i Guzida (ed. Browne), i. 451, 456; Vullers, *Mirchondi Historia Seldschukidarum*, p. 153; Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. 86, 265.

(K. V. Zettersteen.)

al-FAKHRĪ, the title of an Arabic historical work, composed by Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳa [q. v.].

FAKHRĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, a Persian philologist. His great work the 4th part of which was published in 1887 by C. Salemann (*Shams i Fachrii Ispahanensis lexicon Persicum id est libri Mi'yār i Ǧamālī pars quarta quam — edidit C. Salemann, Fasc. prior textum et indices continens*, Casani 1887) is entitled *Mi'yār al-Djamālī*, because it was dedicated to the last ruler of the Indjū dynasty [q. v.], Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammed Shāh, who ruled in Fars and 'Irāḳ from 742—754 (1341—1353). According to Salemann he is also the author of a mystic poem *Marghūb-i Ḳulūb*. Nothing else is known of him.

FAKHRĪ a native of Brusa, the most celebrated silhouette-cutter in Turkey. This art was brought from Persia to Turkey in the xvith century and to the west in the xviith century, where at first, as in the east, light paper on a dark ground was always used. There are specimens of Bursewī Fakhrī's work — he cut principally specimens of calligraphy, flowers and gardens — in the album prepared for Murād III, now in the Vienna Hofbibliothek; for Aḥmed I he cut out a Gulistān which did not however survive his criticism; Murād IV on the other hand thought very highly of the artist. He died about 1618 and is buried in Constantinople near the Adrianople gate. Cf. Beliḳ, *Güldeste* (Brusa 1135 H.), p. 532—534; Ḥabīb, *Khaṭṭ u-Khaṭṭāṭān* (Constantinople 1305), p. 261; J. von Karabacek, *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde*, iv. p. 46 *et seq.*, in *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, Bd. 172; G. Jacob, *Die Herkunft der Silhouettenkunst aus Persien* (Berlin 1913).

(G. Jacob.)

FAḲĪH. A *faḳīh* is, in the first instance, one who possesses knowledge of or understanding about a thing (syn. *'ālim*, *fāhim*). Then as *fiḳh* [q. v.] passed from being synonymous with *'ilm* (as in *fiḳh al-lugha*) and became limited to religious knowledge (*'ilm al-dīn*) then to the religious law *al-shar'a*) and finally to the derivative details of the last (*al-furū'*), so *faḳīh* passed from meaning an intelligent, understanding person to meaning a theologian, then a canon lawyer and finally a casuist (*Lisān*, vol. xvii. p. 418). The book ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-fiḳh al-akbar* ("The Greater Fiḳh", i. e. *'Ilm al-Kalām*) is on the border line of the development, and in it (ed. Allāhābād, p. 2) *faḳīh* is used in a purely general sense. This restriction of meaning was gradually brought about by the employment of the word to translate the (*juris*) *prudens* of Roman law (cf. Fiḳh and Goldziher in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. 3, p. 102). On the distinction between *faḳīh* and *mudjtahid* see the latter and *Dict. of tech. terms*, p. 30 *et seq.*, 198 *et seq.*, 1157. In Egypt the word, in the corrupted form *fiḳī*, has come to mean a schoolmaster or a professional reciter of the Ḳur'ān, just as *khaṭīb* in Syria now means a schoolmaster (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. ii.).

Bibliography: under Fiḳh.

(D. B. Macdonald.)

al-FĀKIHĪ. 1. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammed b. Isḥāḳ b. al-'Abbās, an Arab historian, wrote at Mecca in 272 = 885 a chronicle of the city, extracts from which are given by Wüstenfeld in the second volume of his *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig 1859).

2. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmed al-Makkī al-Shāfi'ī al-Naḥwī, born in 899 = 1492, died 972 = 1564, wrote the *Ḥudūd al-Naḥw*, printed s. l. & a. l. (Jos. Baer, *Bibl. As.*, Frankfurt a/M. 1907, ii. 3094).

(C. Brockelmann.)

FAḲĪR. One who is in need, either physical or spiritual. Thus opposed to *ghanī*, one who is independent, rich; and commonly contrasted with *miskīn*, one who is in a miserable state. A beggar is *sā'il*, an asker. Thus in Ḳur. xxxv. 16. "Ye are the needers (*fuḳarā'*) of Allāh; but Allāh is the Self-sufficient (*ghanī*)". Faḳīr has in consequence come to indicate need in relation to Allāh and dependence (*tawakkul*) of every kind upon Allāh, and is used in Arabic-speaking countries for a mendicant derwish (q. v.; cf. also Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 154). The saying ascribed to Muḥammed, *al-faḳr fakhrī*, "Poverty is my pride", has assisted this. In western languages the term has been extended to cover Indian ascetics and yogis. The coincidence with the English *fa'ker* is curious and sometimes misleading. See *New English Dictionary* and *Century Dictionary*.

(D. B. Macdonald.)

FAḲĪR, the *takhalluṣ* of Muḥammed Khān Bahādur, an Indian scholar who composed an Urdū translation of the *Anwār-i Suhailī* (lith. Lakhnow 1261 = 1845). Cf. the article Kalila wa Dimna. This translation was entitled *Bustān-i Ḥikmat*.

Bibliography: Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Litt. Hindouie et Hindoust.*, second ed. i. 443.

FA'L (omen) is not mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, perhaps by accident; there the root ṬYR takes its place. Its derivation and original meaning are obscure, as also is its relationship to the root FYL, e. g. in *mufāyil* in Ṭarafa's *Mu'allaḳa*, v. 5 (*Lisān* xiv. p. 51; C. J. Lyall's *Ten Poems* (Tibrīzī's commentary), p. 31; Seligsohn's *Diwān de Ṭarafa* (A'lam's commentary), p. ٧; contrast *faḳḳāḥ* under FA'L). But in apparently authentic traditions from Muḥammad *fa'l* and *ṭiyara* both occur, meaning "omen", although somewhat contradictorily. It is plain that Muḥammad believed in omens and was on the watch for them. He drew one from the unsheathing of a sword on an expedition (*Aghānī*, xiv. 14, 23) and on another occasion avoided a route because of evil-omened names connected with it (Ibn Hishām, p. 434). But he naturally preferred good omens and advised his followers to pay attention to these only. The word *fa'l* he retained for such a good omen, and explained it as any good word which one hears accidentally. It should be accepted. But he rejected *ṭiyāra*, bird-augury, possibly for heathen associations. Other traditions, however, represent him as bringing *fa'l* under the genus *ṭiyāra*. This was later explained as advice to cultivate always a spirit of hope and confidence in Allāh, which may easily be a true explanation (Ḳasṭallānī's *sharḥ* on *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ed. of 1305, vol. viii. p. 396—398). The result is that while bird-augury is formally denied and forbidden, all other ways of seeking and accepting omens are

open to Muslims, *Fa'l*, in consequence, has good associations, though it may be used of an evil omen, while *ṭiyara* is always bad (*Lisān*, xiv, p. 27 *et seq.*; *Dict. of tech. terms*, p. 907). But modern usage is confused. Thus Marçais (*Nöldeke Festschrift*, i. p. 432) gives the usage in the Maghrib and Redhouse (*Turkish Lexicon*) in Turkish, as of a happy presage; but Wetzstein (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxii. 154) of the Syrian Desert, and Spiro (*Arabic-English Lexicon*) of Egypt, as the opposite. Further, *fa'l* has developed from meaning an omen which comes of itself unsought, to cover the custom of seeking the omen in various artificial ways. Even the most pious Muslims approve of the custom of shutting the eyes, opening the Ḳur'ān, counting seven pages back and then reading the first passage on which the eyes fall (Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, introduction; Lane, *Arabian Nights*, note 15 to chap. i.). Or, among Persians, a copy of the Dīwān of Ḥāfiẓ may be used. There are other more elaborate devices by means of tables to which the term has come to be applied. An undated Cairene lithograph of 54 pages, *Ḳur'at al-ṭuyūr wa-kaifiyat istikhrādj al-fa'l minhā*, mixes *ṭair* (but not in the original sense) and *fa'l* and *ḳur'a* as synonymous. Such tables form an appendix to every calendar. Finally, al-Ghazzālī uses the word as equivalent to *tabarruk*. The last *kitāb* of the *Iḥyā'*, on the mercy of Allāh, he begins with a statement that he so closes his book that it may be an omen of a happy close to our lives from Allāh.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 203—205 and references there; *Fihrist*, p. 314, ll. 12 *et seq.*; Rat's transl. of al-Abshīhī, ii. p. 183; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iḳd*, i. 170; Ahlwardt, *Berlin Cat.*, vol. iii. p. 562—570; Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 363 *et seq.*

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

FALAK (A.) „Daybreak", the title of Sūra CXIII.

FALAKA. [See FELEKE.]

AL-**FALAKĪ**, MAḤMŪD PASHA, an Egyptian geographer, born in 1220 in the province of al-Gharbiya, attended school in Alexandria, then went to the polytechnic (Muhandis Khāne) founded by Muḥammad 'Alī and was next (1851) sent to Paris, where he continued his studies for nine years. His principal work is a map of Egypt, prepared by order of the Khedive Sa'īd Pasha. Other works in Arabic and French are detailed by G. Zaidān (see *Bibl.*). He represented the Egyptian government at the Geographical Congresses in Paris and Venice. He afterwards received the office of vizier, but lost his office during the troubled times of 'Arābī Pasha; he again received office, however, as Minister of Public Instruction (*al-Ma'ārif al-'Umūmīya*). Maḥmūd Pasha died on the 30th Nov. 1885.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arab. Litt.*, ii. 490 (with further bibliography); G. Zaidān, *Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, ii. 132 *et seq.*

FALS (pl. FULŪS), the copper coin of early Islām. The name is derived from the late Greek φόλλις (which in its turn comes from the latin *follis*), the name of the Byzantine copper coin of 40 nummia in the coinage as organised by the Emperor Anastasius I (491—518 A.D.). The Byzantine follis therefore bore the mark of value **M** = 40 on its reverse. Its weight was originally to have been an ounce (about 30 grammes) but it decreased rapidly; by the time of the conquest of Syria by the Arabs it had sunk to 6 grammes; the smaller Byzantine copper coins marked **K** (= 20), **I** (= 10) and **Є** (= 5 nummia) were in a state of absolute confusion in the viith century A.D. and were not adopted by the Arabs.

After the conquest of Syria the Arabs continued to strike the Byzantine follis but with the weight considerably reduced. While before the conquest the copper money for the whole of Syria was struck in the one mint of Antioch, the Arabs established numerous mints. Baalbek, Ḥalab, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, al-Ruhā, Ṭabarīya, 'Ammān, Manbidj, Iliyā-Filisṭīn, Ḳinnisrīn and many others. The earliest fals were at first quite of the Byzantine type, with figures of the Emperor Heraclius I, Constans II and later they bore the figure of the Caliph on the obverse, on the reverse at first the mark of value **M**, later the cross with steps while Arab legends became more and more common.

The oldest Muhammadan copper coin which is also the oldest dated coin of Islām, is a fals of Damascus with the date Anno xvii (= 638). 'Abd al-Malik's mint reforms (completed in 77 = 696) do not seem to have been concerned with the fals but only to have made the use of the Arabic language on the copper coins also compulsory. The fals was not considered by the Arabs as a standard coin but only as a token currency; its coinage was not a prerogative of the sovereign but was left entirely to the discretion of governors and local authorities. The fals thus varies between great extremes from town to town in weight and value and also in type, and could not therefore like the dīnār and dirhem be current throughout the caliphate.

It seems that no legal relationship between silver and copper coins ever existed although there are some grounds for thinking that 48 fulūs were to be current to a legal dirhem; the relationship between the two metals must have been to be re-adjusted from time to time. The Egyptian glass weights for copper coins clearly show that the fals could be any conceivable size; we have glass weights of 1, 2, 3, 4 up to 30 *kharrūba* (*ḳīrāṭ*) and above, which were used for weighing a certain number of Fulūs.

The fals underwent a peculiar development in in Persia; since the beginning of the xth century A.H. the striking of copper coins has been a privilege of the larger towns; these so-called autonomous coins usually have on the obverse a figure (an animal, a plant or an astrological sign), on the reverse the name of the town but not that of the ruler. These civic coins circulated down to quite recent times in Transcaucasia, Persia, Afghānistān, Balūčistān and in the Pandjāb. (Cf. R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887; W. H. Valentine, *Copper coins of Modern Muhammadan States*, London 1911).

Bibliography: S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum* (London 1891); P. Casanova, *Catalogue des Pièces de Verre de la Collection Fouquet* in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique au Caire* (Paris 1897); Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London 1908); J. Sabatier, *Description Générale des Monnaies Byzantines* (Paris 1862) and the authors quoted in the article DĪNĀR.

(E. v. ZAMBAUR.)

FALSAFA. *Falsafa* is the term applied to the Muslim philosophy as developed under Greek influence. In addition to it other tendencies have to be considered, which construct a conception of the universe according to the views on scientific methods prevailing in their time or at least concern themselves with general views of the universe and therefore must be considered as philosophical. This is primarily true of the current of speculative theology. Its aim is to raise to a higher intellectual level the dogmas of Islām (which present a naive puerile view of him), and bring them into agreement with the demands of contemporary knowledge. The latter are naturally broadminded as regards new ideas, i.e. adopt them in a liberal fashion, the former narrow-minded, rejecting them, the orthodox. The former hastily adopt at random and without thorough mental training the new i.e. Greek, Persian, Indian and even Christian and Jewish doctrines, so that they frequently throw aside their Islāmic premises almost entirely. Naẓẓām c. 845 (*Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxiii. 774 *et seq.*) constructs for himself a very mixed system which in the main recalls Anaxagoras. Muʿammar c. 850 (*Archiv f. Systematische Philos.*, xv. 469 *et seq.*) follows Indian ideas. Abū Hāshim, died 933 (*Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxiii., 303 *et seq.*) develops his theory of modes, possibly likewise after Indian ideas (cf. *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftl. Philos.*, xxxiv. 310 *et seq.*). The Sumaniya (*Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.*, xxiv. 141 *et seq.*) spread the knowledge of Indian speculations and of Indian scepticism in Persia. The channel of heterodox doctrines was imperceptibly followed until about 900, when the apostasy of Rāwandī (died 915) threw a glaring light on the situation, like a flash of lightning from a cloudless sky. The cry now was: "Back to Orthodoxy!" Ashʿarī (died 935) dissociated himself from the already more prudent Djubbāʾī. He again assumed real qualities in addition to being in God, and further a direct activity and creation by God in regard to all that is not God (denial of natural causation as it limits the power of God), even human action (predestination, denial of human freedom). A creature can effect nothing real (occasionalism). This tendency, still too liberal in the eyes of the old orthodox school, became in course of time identified with orthodoxy. It produced Bāḳillānī (died 1012), Isfarāʾīnī (died 1027), Djuwainī (died 1085) and Ghazālī. Later scholars like Īdjī (died 1355), Djurdjānī etc. considered that they belonged to it. — Baṣra defended the homogeneity of things (Horten, *Die Philosophie des Abu Rashid* and *Die Erkenntnistheorie des Abu Rashid* in the *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos.*, xxiv. 433 *et seq.*) against Baghdād, where Kaʿbī taught the diversity of things, an Indian thesis. The influences of these schools were at work for a considerable time after (Goldziher in *Der Islam*, iii. 213 *et seq.*; Horten, *Die Philosophischen Probleme*, 1910; do., *Die Philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, 1912).

To appreciate the importance of Muslim philosophy we must set out from the defects of the Aristotelian system. The Stagirite is unequalled in the precision of his concepts. But he did not succeed in giving a comprehensive view of the whole universe under some monistic concept. The universe is not traced to a single origin. Matter is eternal and opposed to God in a dualistic system. There are attempts at a critical theory of knowledge, which are, however, interpenetrated by strong realistic tendencies and put forward in a lame fashion. Whence do forms come? God is pure intelligence. He has no voluntary activity. He moves the whole universe as an object of love, not as *causa efficiens*. He further takes no notice of individual things — an unphilosophical deism. It is here that Muslim philosophy begins, following the Neo-platonic model. The great notion of contingency brings into a unity the total of the actual. It is the light that explains the individual problems and allows them to be examined under the widest points of view. In the things of the world being and existence are quite different. The two are not internally and necessarily connected. Existence must thus be imparted to things by a self-existent Being and must be permanently maintained in them. The universe is a stream of being which, emanating from an inexhaustible source extends to all that is not God. This idea, which runs through the whole history of Muslim philosophy down to modern times, is again and again formulated anew more clearly and developed. Only one has not understood it: Averroes.

Another aspect of Muslim philosophy is given by the religious beliefs of its representatives. These are stubbornly convinced that Islām is the most perfect revelation of God. The Prophet in supernatural enlightenment and vision perceives divine truths unattainable by the natural intelligence (mysteries) and communicates them to man. The philosopher recognises a part of these truths with his weak natural intelligence and does so in perfect harmony with the Ḳurʾānic revelation. Philosophers thus appear as apologists of Islām.

The way for Greek influence within Muslim philosophy was prepared by the translators of the original authorities in question (notably Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ and his son Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunain c. 870—910) and a beginning was made by al-Kindī (died c. 873) and Fārābī (died 950). Both represent an encyclopaedic knowledge but are mainly celebrated as logicians. In Fārābī we already find the main lines on which Avicenna (died 1037) afterwards built up his great system. The fundamental conception which runs through the whole of Muslim philosophy and suggests the reduction of the totality of the actual under one all-embracing idea, is the notion of contingency i. e. in all things which are not God, being is substantially distinct from existence (*distinctio realis inter essentiam et existentiam*; cf. Horten, *Ringsteine Farabis*, 1906, p. 10 *et passim*). If they are thus to attain to being they must receive existence, in reality and that too from such an agent as possesses it by reason of his very being (*per se et a se*). God is thus the self-existent and necessary being, the source of being for the universe, from which the empirical world flows like a stream of being. How important this conception was may be seen from the fact that mystic intuition was developed from it. It conceives the whole reality of the world in pantheistic exaggeration as modifications of the one substantial being, God. (Horten, *Mystische Texte aus dem Islām*, Bonn 1912, p. 5). The doctrine of the momentariness of accidental being (the accidents lose their existence each moment to receive it at once again from God, the source of being) which originated under Indian influence and dominates the whole of Muslim theology

and of the "restorability" or "non-restorability" (an idea in liberal theology) of beings, is further connected with this. These form in the second case an independent magnitude, which receives existence from the source of being. Throughout the whole universe there runs a law of causation which dominates every thing and has no exceptions; it determines every potency when it becomes an actuality, including the so-called free will of man. Everything is thus necessary, the divine *a se*, the contingent or created *ab alio*. The human mind develops from a purely material to a *habitus primorum principiorum*, actually thinking and possessing knowledge (*intellectus acquisitus*), which receives notions from the *per se* active mind, which controls the spheres of the moon. In this there is already contained the doctrine of the *universale ante rem* (in the heavenly world), *in re* (in things of sense) and *post rem* (in our mind) which Avicenna further developed. The human mind attains the level of the prophet's mind, which is unattainable by natural faculties, through a special divine inspiration and connection with the higher world of the angels and the book of fate. The prophet's mind perceives mysteries which surpass the intelligence of man and recognises them, being free from error, although he communicates them to men in the Ḳor'ān in forms intelligible to the senses. The Ḳor'ān thus contains the highest infallible wisdom in a material form. The domains of the natural are not only distinct in degree but in their essence, and according to the order of being. Faith and reason are in the most perfect harmony, while fallible human knowledge is subordinate to the divine knowledge contained in the Ḳor'ān (*philosophia est ancilla theologiae*). — The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' of Baṣra (c. 970) form a school of popular philosophy which deviates in many points from these lines in favour of Pythagorean speculations.

After Avicenna had placed the sum total of Greek wisdom at the disposal of the educated Muslim world in a readily intelligible fashion with his own ingenious developments of it, it was possible to go on to develop and elaborate or modify this system in details and to make it as a whole capable of being incorporated into Islām. To understand this further development we must keep in mind the faults of Avicenna's system viz.: 1. There is a lack of clearness in the most essential fundamental idea in it. The contingency of things is conceived as something substantial, distinct from being and existence. Existence is said to advance to being "from outside". But being without existence is not real and thus cannot serve as the bearer or basal principle of a real. These speculations which create clearness here and bridge over the dualism without dropping the idea of contingency must be regarded as essential developments of the system as they are concerned with the very heart of it. (Suhrawardī, Shīrāzī, died 1640). 2. The God of Avicenna works with almost physical necessity and without freedom. The God of the Ḳor'ān on the other hand creates with unlimited freedom and indeed arbitrarily. A serious collision might thus be expected between the two systems. Averroes also took a serious step backwards. He frequently describes God as possessing free choice but without attributing to him any of the imperfections of human choice. If a philosopher could succeed in defending God's free will in unassailable logic, he would have made an important advance in the philosophic conception of the universe. This task was reserved for Ghazālī and later theologians. 3. The theory of spheres shows many assailable points, and was probably regarded even by Avicenna himself as not proved. 4. There was a serious gap in the theory of knowledge. He did not succeed in reconciling Aristotelian abstraction with Platonic intuition and emanation. A content, which we have already obtained from the active intellect by the emanation of the form of knowledge, is to be again acquired by abstraction. The middle course, that the abstraction prepared the mind for the reception of the forms, is rather impracticable. There is still another great problem, — how properly to fit together the functions of secondary causes in the all-embracing activity of the primary (God) and so avoid the occasionalism of Ash'arī on the one hand and the excessive independence of the powers of nature in reference to God, i. e. Deism and Naturalism, on the other (as in Avicenna).

The attacks of the opponents of the system, in the first place Ghazālī (died 1111) gave the natural stimulus to the further development of the problems still to be settled. — In his youth he had gone through the school of the philosophers and adopted their teachings in the form given by Averroes. Such a view of the universe, however, could only satisfy an intellectualist. But Ghazālī was a voluntarist and sentimentalist. The struggle that was thus aroused within him gave him no rest. It drove him to attack his former friends, the philosophers, and ultimately to seek peace in mysticism. He propounded twenty theses against the philosophers; some seek to prove that the teachings of philosophy are wrong — here we have an attempt at a further development — others to show that the correct teachings belong to the domain of faith, i. e. as mysteries, which cannot penetrate the natural intelligence. The former are mainly concerned with 1. the eternal creatibility of the world, which is denied. 2. God's knowledge which cannot be called universal, otherwise the knowledge of individual things on God's part cannot be understood; 3. the description of God as a prime cause operating through necessity — God's free will must be recognised; 4. the resurrection of the body — a purely spiritual recompense in the next world does not satisfy the words in the Ḳor'ān; 5. the law of causation: this should not be understood as a combination of creative powers and acts, as internally necessary and independent of God. Such a combination cannot be proved to exist on critical investigation. Empiricism points only to the contemporaneity of a series of facts. But no essential dependence of the one on the other can be deduced (cf. Hume). Averroes gives way to Ghazālī in these points with the exception of the last, and, with regard to the fourth, goes so far as to teach that it is a very acceptable doctrine that man receives a transfigured body after death.

The Spanish branch of philosophy became specially well known to the Christian philosophers of the middle ages and for this reason is emphasised in European works as being particularly important, although it remained without influence on the development of philosophy within Islām. Ibn Bādjdja (died 1138) teaches that the gradual perfection of the human spirit to union with the

divine is the object of philosophy. Ibn Tufail's (died 1185) "*Philosophus autodidactus*" became a world-classic. He shows that the knowledge obtained by natural means is in the most perfect harmony with the supernatural revelation of the Ḳor'ān. This conviction is formulated even more energetically by Averroes (died 1198). He had a critical mind, with an insight for details, and was therefore pre-eminently qualified to be a commentator on Aristotle. He lacked the great gift of speculation and the ability to think constructively bearing all aspects of the question in mind. His cry is "back to Aristotle", a demand as reactionary as if some one were to say at the present day "back to Kant". Averroes himself fortunately did not follow this strictly, although by reason of it he rejects the idea of an absolute contingency of things; he can only imagine a relative one (cf. Horten, *Die Hauptlehren des Averroes*, p. 67 etc.). In order to fit in with this, he maintains the idea of a creation in the sense that God transfers the world from a pure potentiality, non-being, to existence. This notion of actualisation provides Averroes with a monistic principle of the universe (cf. Horten, *Die Metaphysik des Av.*, preface). In every category of being there exists a *per se*, which actually possesses the content of that category and can therefore communicate it to all other things, which only possess it potentially and *per accidens*. — God perceives all individual things in himself. He is the totality of things *eminentiori modo*. Pantheistic ideas are more than once acquiesced in. — The substance of soul is one for all men. Recompense in the next world is not thereby made impossible. It is a spiritual recompense in that substance.

Averroes tried above all to mitigate certain crudities in Avicenna's teaching. 1. In the thesis of the eternity of the world he points out to the theologians that he is at bottom in agreement with them: God created the world out of nothing. He is the all-knowing and all-powerful lord of creation. Whether this creative activity had a beginning in time (theological thesis) or not (philosophic doctrine) is a matter of indifference for the Muslim faith. Besides there was no real time before the world. 2. God does not work with physical necessity nor with man's imperfect kind of freedom, which can also do evil. God can only do what is best (optimism, cf. Leibnitz), and this "must" is not an imperfection, for the capability of evil is not a virtue. God's action is above the designation of free or not free. 3. God perceives all individual things as the common teaching of the philosophers shows. Nevertheless His perception cannot be called universal (Avicenna); for the idea of an imperfection might be associated with this. His knowledge, which guides all worldly things in unison with the divine will in the wisest providence, is raised above the predicates of the universal and particular. 4. The philosophical principle *ex uno non fit nisi unum*, which makes untenable a direct creation of the plurality of things by God the One (doctrine of creation through the intermediary of the spirits of the spheres) is dropped by Averroes: God directly creates the plurality of things. — The exaggeration of the importance of Averroes, who was called the "most important" philosopher of Islām, and the erroneous opinion that he was an enemy of religion is a fabrication of the European middle ages and is probably based in part at least on errors in translation in the Latin versions of his works and on the circumstance that the other philosophers of Islām were not known. Averroes is of no importance for the further development of philosophic thought in the East.

The fruitful stimulus to speculation given by Ghazālī was eagerly followed up in the period following him. The great stream of philosophic activity begins after Ghazālī and is due to him, as he made philosophy palatable to Islām and the orthodox school of theologians. It was no longer possible for any one to discuss science and even speculative theology, who had not had a thorough education in Greek philosophy. The two great protagonists were Rāzī (died 1209) and Ṭūsī (died 1273). The former moves entirely in a world of Greek ideas, which he developed principally in his "mystic investigations" (*al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriḳīya*, *ishrāḳ* here means Platonic intuition and thus is a hit at Avicenna) with vigorous attacks on separate Aristotelian doctrines. Greek logic is developed by him in an elaborate fashion and almost becomes a model. This is particularly apparent in the technical use of objection — he was known as al-Mushakkik, the "objector". Ṭūsī followed up the questions posed by Rāzī, to which were added those of Ibn Kammūna (died 1277). The struggle centred round the theses (*Ishārāt*) of Avicenna and lasted down to the xivth century; Tustarī (c. 1300), Iṣfahānī (died 1348) and Rāzī (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, died 1364) joined in it defending the doctrines of Avicenna and going more deeply into them. Ṭūsī victoriously warded off an unimportant attack by Shahrastānī 1153 ("the slayer of the Greek philosophers", *al-Muṣāri'* in his "The slayer of the slayer", *Muṣāri' al-Muṣāri'*).

Under the invigorating influence of such attacks and discussions, philosophy was able to develop to a greater height. Ibn Malka (Abu 'l-Barakāt, died 1155) wrote his oft-quoted and highly esteemed work: "The worthy of consideration" (*al-Mu'tabar*). Zamakhsharī (died 1143) was at the same time discussing many questions of philosophy with great acuteness. Suhrawardī (died 1191) builds up an entirely new system and forms an independent focus for later developments. His development begins where Avicenna had left off at questions of great difficulty. Being cannot advance to existence from outside, but is identical with it. The dualism, which according to Avicenna divides the innermost state of things, is thus overcome. Things are units of reality, in conscious allusion to the ancient Persian doctrine of light: different forms of the light, which on emanating from God lose their perfection and approach matter of darkness. Light is identical with spiritual substance. In the theory of knowledge also he does away with the well-known dilemma in Avicenna. Knowledge is, as Plato teaches, a perception, in which the true essences of things, which exist for themselves in the heavenly world, illuminate our understanding. He therefore called his philosophy, the philosophy of illumination (cf. Horten, *Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardi*, Halle 1912). The best known of the later philosophers were also inspired by these ideas and wrote commentaries on Suhrawardī's teaching, e. g. Shahrazūrī (c. 1250), Shīrāzī (c. 1311), Harawī (Niẓām al-Dīn, c. 1300), Ibn Kammūna (died 1277), Dawwānī (died 1501) and Shīrāzī (died 1640).

A very important work in philosophy is Āmidī's (died 1233), "First-fruits of Thoughts" (*Abkār al-Afkār*). It was an authority of the first rank in Īdjī's circle (died 1355). After Avicenna's great works on logic men became eager to compress the total of this knowledge in compendiums, not without developing it in various directions. Zarnūdjī's handbook of logic, c. 1203, Khuwandjī's (died 1248) compendium, Abharī's *Isagoge* (died 1264) — he also compiled an encyclopaedia of philosophy which became celebrated under the title "The Guide to Wisdom" — Kātibī's logic 1276 (*Shamsīya*) — it survived to see over a score of commentaries from the pens of philosophers of the first rank —, the "Rising-places of Luminaries", a work by Urmawī (died 1283), Nasafī's (died 1288) Dialectics and Samarḳandī's (died 1291) authoritative work, which was very frequently commented on, may be mentioned here. The "Leaves" of Samarḳandī and "The Philosophy of the Individual" of Kātibī and his commentary on Rāzī, the epitome *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* exercised a great influence.

Ṭūsī (died 1273) forms an important centre for further development. In his dogmatic (*Tadjrīd*) he brought Greek philosophy into the theological speculations of Islām. The fundamental questions of philosophy were lucidly discussed by him. The problem of being and existence was further developed and acutely discussed particularly by his numerous commentators. With Ḥillī (died 1326), Iṣfahānī (died 1348) we may here give Kushdjī (died 1474) the place of honour; he discussed the most fundamental questions of philosophy in the most thorough fashion and advanced the problems connected with Avicenna's teachings. It is clear from his exceedingly well developed terminology that the systematic study of philosophy was in a flourishing condition in his time. The scruples once raised by Ghazālī against philosophers have for him been long overcome and become negligible. He is particularly attached to Avicenna but quotes also the liberal theologians from 'Allāf (died 849) to 'Abd al-Djabbār (died 1024) and also Khaiyāmī (died 1121) ("The Philosophy of Being" *Ḥikmat al-Kawn*), Suhrawardī, Īdjī, etc. He attempts to utilise the most divergent views for his conception of the universe.

Apart from the works of Maḥbūbī (died 1346) and Bukhārī (c. 1350) (commentary on Kātibī), those of Īdjī (died 1355), especially his "Stations" (*Mawāḳif*) and his Dialectic form a new and important centre of philosophical discussion. In the former work Īdjī intended to write a speculative theology and the result was an encyclopaedia of philosophy. So thoroughly had Greek science penetrated the ideas of educated Muslims that they had imperceptibly identified it with theology. We do not mean to say that they approved all the doctrines of Avicenna. It was rather the development after Avicenna's time that was made most use of, but his teachings were universally defended against his opponents notably Rāzī. Ghazālī sank into unimportance in the background. Īdjī's concise and acute formulations stimulated great activity among the commentators — in the same way as Ṭūsī's *Dogmatic*. The problems discussed range from logic to the fundamental questions of metaphysics, touching natural sciences on the way. Djurdjānī (died 1413) was the most important at this period. Besides problems of philosophy he discussed the theological questions of the school of 'Ash'arī, of which he professed himself a member. In the meanwhile Taftāzānī (died 1389) had appeared and vigorously criticised Avicenna's system in his commentary on Ghazālī "The Intentions of the Philosophers". Īdjī's circle took up the cudgels on behalf of the old master. We thus find Īdjī's commentators thoroughly discussing Taftāzānī's objections and deriving advantage from them, e. g. Abharī (Saif al-Dīn, c. 1400), Fanārī (died 1481), Ṭūsī (died 1482) and notably the extremely well-read Siyālkūtī (died 1659). He is well acquainted with the vast philosophical literature of the Muslims, quotes from hundreds of works, is perfectly at home and gives an independent judgment in all philosophical questions.

Rāzī (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, died 1364) displayed a great literary activity which considerably advanced the development of philosophy. Although he belonged to none of the above mentioned groups he is quoted by them and regarded as an authority of the first rank. The form which literary activity took was frequently that of commentaries. It must not be inferred from the form of a commentary, which was attached to some standard work, that the thoughts expressed in it are not quite original. Entirely new ideas are frequently developed in these commentaries and acute criticism exercised; this is true for example of Djurdjānī's numerous works, of which the glosses on Ṭūsī's *Dogmatic* at once became a centre of new development. In Logic Taftāzānī's work "The Elaboration of Logic" built up a great school with which the greatest names in philosophy are associated. We have now come down to the time of Dawwānī, the "glory of the true investigators", (died 1501); he approached this school from the most diverse directions while he wrote commentaries on the original works. His commentary on Suhrawardī, "The Temple of Light" is as highly esteemed as the numerous glosses on Ṭūsī in which he discusses and develops philosophical problems with the greatest acuteness. His peculiar position may be compared with that of his contemporary Caietanus among scholastics. Fārānī, the commentator on Fārābī (cf. Horten, *Das Buch der Ringsteine Farabis*, 1906) was one of his pupils. Ibn Khaldūn (died 1406) propounded questions of the theory of knowledge in a critical fashion. Sanūsī (died 1486), Sha'rānī (1565) left their mark particularly in the field of logic, Akhḍarī (died 1534) attained fame through his "Stepladder" which had commentaries frequently written on it down to last century.

Shīrāzī (Ṣadr al-Dīn, died 1523) seems to have been an outstanding thinker of this period. He is quoted by later writers as the "great scholar". Ghiyāth al-Dīn Shīrāzī (died 1542) is also mentioned along with him as an authority; like the preceding he wrote a commentary on Ṭūsī. Tashköprizāde (died 1554) was a comprehensive writer on philosophical subjects. Shīrāzī (Ṣadr al-Dīn) (died 1640) developed quite a new theory of the universe. Stimulated by Suhrawardī he explained the notion of contingency not as a dualism between being and existence but as a participation in being. Individual things are monistic individua of being, which develop step by step to more and more perfect beings. His proof of the existence of God is a combination of the proof of contingency with the Platonic from the stages

of perfection (Horten, *Die Gottesbeweise bei Shîrâzî*). Lāhīdjī (c. 1670) likewise is entirely under the influence of Greek thought (cf. *Der Islam*, iii. 91—131). Harawī (1605), Munāwī (died 1622), Dāmād (died c. 1659) were also regarded as great teachers. (Ḥusainī) Bihārī, died 1705, composed the "Stepladder of the Sciences", which was frequently annotated. Fārūḳī (died 1745) incorporated a vast amount of philosophical knowledge in his terminological dictionary. Sāčaklīzāde (died 1737) was an encyclopaedist.

Bibliography: The literature, which has now grown to an enormous extent, has been in part collected in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar-Berlin 1898—1902); Überweg-Heinze, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*[9] (Berlin 1905), p. 236 *et seq.*, *Archiv f. Geschichte der Philosophie*, iv. 519 *et seq.*; xix. 288 *et seq.*, 426—446; xx. 236—272, 403—426; xxii. 267—287, 383—428, 554—563 (in continuation). Good surveys of separate periods are given in T. J. de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam* (Stuttgart 1901, Engl. ed., London 1903); Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne* (Paris 1900); do., *Gazali* (Paris 1902), cf. *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos.*, xxii. 166—177; *Die Religion in Geschichte u. Gegenwart*, under *Islamische Philosophie*; *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, ed. by Hinneberg, Teil I, Abteilung V, p. 45 *et seq.* The relations to the scholastic philosophy are discussed in Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas* (Halle 1907); Santur, *Avicennas Bearbeitung der aristotelischen Metaphysik* (cf. also *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxvi. 751—757). (M. Horten.)

FANĀ' (A.), an important technical term of Ṣūfism, meaning "annihilation, dissolution". The Ṣūfī who attains perfection must be in a kind of state of annihilation.

The authors of treatises on Muslim mysticism have often compared the "annihilation" of Ṣūfism with the Buddhist nirvāna; but this comparison is not a particularly fitting one. We now know that the Muslim writers had only a very slight knowledge of Indian philosophy and could not comprehend the notion of nirvāna which presumes a fairly intimate acquaintance with that philosophy. Besides, the Buddhist idea of annihilation is independent of the idea of God and includes the idea of the transmigration of souls, to which nirvāna puts an end. To attain this, the desire for existence must be suppressed in the individual; it is only after this desire has been extinguished that one no longer has to return to the cycle of existence. In Muslim mysticism on the other hand there is no question of metempsychosis and the notion of a personal and all-present God is throughout predominant.

The origin of the Muslim conception of *fanā'* has rather to be sought in Christianity from which it seems to be borrowed. This conception simply means the annihilation of the individual human will before the will of God, an idea which forms the centre of all Christian mysticism. The conception thus belongs to the domain of ethics and not in the slightest degree to that of metaphysics like the nirvāna of the Hindū.

The oldest systematic exposition of pantheistic Ṣūfism, the *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* ("Revelation of concealed Matters") gives all the explanation that could be desired of *fanā'*.

The virtue of poverty understood in the mystic sense consists "in averting the gaze from all created things, and, in complete annihilation, seeing only the All-One, he hastens towards the fullness of eternal life" (p. 20). — Mystic poverty, we are further told, consists in the annihilation of the human attribute (*ṣifāt*), which dwells in the Ego, so that one is now only rich in God and through God. — "The Ṣūfī is he that has nothing in his possession nor is himself possessed by anything. This denotes the essence of annihilation (*fanā'*)". — When this feeling has attained its perfection it is called *fanā'-i muṭlaḳ* "absolute annihilation".

The expression *fanā'* is often interchanged with *ṣafā'* "purity"; this word means that the Ṣūfī should keep his soul pure from all attachment to any creature. *Fanā'* is further often associated with *baḳā'* "subsistence": the man, who has destroyed his own will, henceforth lives in God; the human will is transitory while God's will is eternal.

The author of the *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* expressly states (p. 243) that *fanā'* does not mean loss of essence and destruction of personality as some ignorant Ṣūfīs think. It is not the essence but the human attributes, which are a danger to the perfection of being, that are destroyed (p. 28). "In India", says the author, "I had a dispute with a man who claimed to be versed in Ḳor'ānic exegesis and theology. When I examined his pretensions, I found that he knew nothing of annihilation..." (p. 243); i.e. he had understood the word *fanā'* in a metaphysical sense.

Bibliography: *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb* by *'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī* (transl. by Nicholson, London 1911); Carra de Vaux, *Gazali* (Paris 1902), s. Index s. v. "anéantissement"; cf. also the *Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt* of Djurdjānī etc. (B. Carra de Vaux.)

FANAM, a South Indian coin. [See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*[2], p. 348].

FANĀR, the name of the Greek quarter of Stambul in which the Oecumenical Patriarch took up his residence after the conquest of the town by Meḥemmed II. Down to 1587 the patriarchate was in the ancient Byzantine church of the Pammakaristos; when this was transformed into a mosque (Fetḥiye) in that year, the Patriarch moved his see to the little church of St. George. At quite an early period there settled round the see, in addition to the ecclesiastical and secular officials of the patriarchate, the few old Byzantine families that had remained in Constantinople and other distinguished and prosperous members of the community (the so-called ἄρχοντες). In the Patriarchal school (ἡ μεγάλη τοῦ γένους σχολή) conducted by the clergy, which is still flourishing, the ancient classical studies were cultivated and the Fanariots exalted their claim to be in this respect also the noblest of the nation. It was from their circles that the Porte used to choose its Christian officials (Dragomans of the Sublime Porte, and of the Arsenal, Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, contractors for the supply of furs and meat to the Serai, etc.). The better known families are the Kantakuzen, Sharlato, Maurogordato, Ghika, Karadja, Sutzo, Handjeri, Maurojeni, Ypsilanti, Murusi, Kallimachi, Mussuro, Aristarchi etc. In the second half of the xviii[th] century many Fanariots went to Kuru-Česhme on the Bosporus. Since the beginning of the Greek War of Liberation the old Fanariot families have been gradually disappearing from public life; many of them migrated

to Greece. According to tradition Meḥemmed II. granted the Fanariots a number of privileges, but the Greek noble families have never enjoyed any special privileges as such.

Bibliography: Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 91, 497; de la Croix, *État présent de la Nation et de l'Église grecque*, p. 3 *et seq.*; Eton, *Survey* etc., p. 331 *et seq.*; Dallaway, *Constantinople ancient and modern*, p. 98 *et seq.*; *Livre d'or de la Noblesse Phanariote en Grèce, en Roumanie, en Russie et en Turquie*, par un Phanariote (Athens 1892). (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

FĀNŪS (φανός), a folding lantern, made of wire rings surrounded by waxed cloth with the upper and lower ends of tinned copper. It is carried by night in the hand to light the way for a body of men on the march, a wedding procession or a personage of high rank in the dark streets.

Bibliography: Lane, *Modern Egyptians*[5], i. 207 (picture on p. 208). (CL. HUART.)

FĀO, a telegraph station and Turkish fortress at the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab on the right bank. The place, which is not mentioned by Niebuhr, is the capital of a nāḥiye which contains about 22 villages with 4000—5000 inhabitants.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djawād, *Djughrāfiya Lughāti* etc., 566; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 268 *et seq.*; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum pers. Golf*, ii. 309.

FAR. [See FURĀT.]

FĀRĀB, also written BĀRĀB (e.g. in Iṣṭakhrī, Muḳaddasī and most Persian authorities) and Pārāb (e.g. in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, cod. Tumanskij, f. 9b; the latter seems to be the original pronunciation), a district (in Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal *nāḥiya*, in Muḳaddasī *rustāḳ*, in Yāḳūt *wilāya*) in the valley of the Sir-Daryā, lying on both sides of the main stream, which here receives the waters of the Aris on its right bank. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 391) the district measured less than a day's journey in length and breadth; the soil was in places marshy and contained salt. According to Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, p. 66) a stretch of land more than 30 farsakh broad was inundated by the Sir-Daryā in Fārāb and adjoining districts annually (in the beginning of January, *Kānūn al-thānī*; as a matter of fact the river at this season is usually covered with ice); at such times intercourse between the villages and farms all of which were on little hills was only possible by boat. The capital (*ḳaṣaba*) was called Kadar and according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 346) lay east of the Sir-Daryā half a farsakh from the river; it is therefore to be located to the west of the ruins of the later Otrār; the distance between the ruins and the river is about 7 miles on the Russian maps and according to the *Ẓafar-Nāmah* also (Indian ed., ii. 668) it was two farsakh from Otrār to the Sir-Daryā. On the western bank of the Sir-Daryā, a farsakh below Kadar, lay Wasīdj which Ibn Ḥawḳal says was the native town of the philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī [q. v.]. According to Muḳaddasī (p. 273) the capital bore the same name as the district; this town of Fārāb is described as a large town with a male population of about 70,000, a Friday-Mosque, a citadel and a market; only a few booths of the latter were within the walls of the town, the majority being in the suburbs (*rabaḍ*). Muḳaddasī says that Wasīdj was a small fortified town where a "powerful Emīr" lived, with a chief mosque on the market-place, Kadar a recently founded town with an able-bodied population, where Shāfiʿīs predominated; it was only after "wars" (probably after the suppression of opposition by the capital) that a minbar was erected. There is probably an error here and Fārāb, which is not mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, is to be regarded as the new and Kadar the old town; the later Otrār also is constantly identified with the town of Fārāb (mentioned by Samʿānī also, MS. of the Asiatic Museum, 543b, f. 314a) and not with Kadar.

In the historians Fārāb is seldom mentioned, only once in Ṭabarī (ii. 1694 at the foot) for example: in 121 (739) the ruler of Shāsh (Tashkent) at the command of the governor Naṣr b. Saiyār had to expel Ḥārith b. Suraidj who had sought refuge at his court and send him to Fārāb. Islām was apparently only brought to Fārāb for the first time in the Sāmānid period, after the subjection of Asbīdjāb (or Isfīdjāb) by Nūḥ b. Asad in 225 = 839-840 (cf. Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 422; Samʿānī in Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 58 below). Wasīdj is again mentioned by Samʿānī as a fortress (in Barthold, *op. cit.*, i. 69); Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Saiyid b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī surnamed Saʿd al-Mulk died there in exile "in the land of the Turks" in Muḥarram 514 = April 1120. For the later history of the district cf. the article OTRĀR.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, ii. 177 *et seq.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 484 *et seq.* (W. BARTHOLD.)

AL-FĀRĀBĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ṬARKHĀN ABŪ NAṢR, the greatest philosopher of Islām before Avicenna, was born in a Turkish family towards the end of the 14th century A. H. at Wasīdj, a small fortified town in the district of Fārāb (Otrār) in Transoxiana. His father is said to have been a general. He studied in Baghdād under the Christian physician Yoḥannā b. Hailān and also worked with Abū Bishr Mattā, a Nestorian Christian, celebrated as a translator of Greek works. He then went to Ḥalab to the court of the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla, under whose protection he lived the life of a Ṣūfī. He died in 339 (950) at the age of about 80, in Damascus, whither he had accompanied his king on a campaign.

Fārābī is particularly celebrated as a commentator on Aristotle. His works on this field have won him the name *al-muʿallim al-thānī*, "the second teacher" i. e. successor to the first teacher, Aristotle. He commented on the *Categories*, *Hermeneutics*, the *First* and *Second Analytics*, the *Sophistics*, *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* i. e. the whole group of treatises which form branches of logic in the widest sense. To this collection or the *Organon* he prefaced a commentary on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry.

He wrote commentaries on the following Greek works on ethics, psychology and science, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Alexander of Aphrodisias *On the Soul*, Aristotle's *Physics*, *Meteorology* and his writings on the *Heavens* and the *Universe* and lastly on the *Almagesta* of Ptolemy.

His literary activity was by no means confined to the exposition of Greek texts; on the contrary he wrote a large number of original works. Among the latter are his psychological and metaphysical treatises, on the *Intelligence* (ʿ*akl*) and the *Intelligible*, on the *Soul* (*nafs*); the *Faculties of the*

Soul, the *One and the Unity*, *Substance*, *Time*, *Empty Space*, *Space and Measure*.

Fārābī professed the view, which now seems strange and even absurd, but which is explained by the leaning of Oriental philosophers towards syncretism, that ancient philosophy must form a unity, at least that its two great representatives Plato and Aristotle should not contradict one another; their systems ought not to be more than different forms of expressions of one truth. According to this conception the great philosophers of antiquity appear as real prophets and are given the title *imām* like religious teachers, and their teaching is a kind of revelation which ought not to contain any contradiction or error. Fārābī wrote several treatises on the basis of this view: *The Agreement between Plato and Aristotle*, *The Intermediary between Aristotle and Galenus* (*Kitāb al-djam' baina ra'yai al-ḥakīmain Aflāṭūn al-ilāhī wa Arisṭūṭalīs*), *The Intentions of Plato and Aristotle*. It should be noted that our philosopher believed in the authenticity of the work entitled the *Theology of Aristotle* (*Uthūlūdjīa Arisṭāṭālīs*), an apocryphal neo-Platonic treatise based on the *Enneades* of Plotinus. This error was such as to falsify in a remarkable fashion the idea that was formed of the Peripatetic system.

Dieterici has edited nine small treatises by Fārābī of which the most celebrated is the epistle entitled *The Gems of the Sciences* (*Kitāb fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*); this work, which contains many ideas in a very concise form, passed into use in all the schools of the East; there is a commentary on it by Ismā'īl al-Ḥusainī al-Fārānī, a writer of the xvth century which has been printed at the al-'Āmira press (1291 A. H.) and made the subject of a study by M. Horten.

Besides this group of treatises, Dieterici has published Fārābī's "*Model City*" (*Risāla fī ārā' ahl al-Madīna al-fāḍila*) an important work in 34 chapters in which the Muslim philosopher, inspired by Plato, explains his conception of the organisation of the perfect city. It should be governed by its wise men; its aim should be to imitate here below the perfection of the heavenly city and to prepare its members to obtain felicity in the latter. This theory is of little practical interest, but is of some importance for metaphysics.

Fārābī's intention like that of the other philosophers of the same school was to embrace the whole cycle of the sciences. He seems to have been quite a good mathematician and a fair physician; he wrote on occult sciences and was also a distinguished musician; it is to his pen that we owe the most important treatise on the theory of Oriental music. He was himself a virtuoso and composer; his talent excited the admiration of Saif al-Dawla and the Mawlawī dervishes still use ancient chants that are attributed to him.

Fārābī's system is that of the school of Philosophers in the proper sense of the word (*falāsifa*) i. e. Muslim Neo-Platonic philosophy. It is the system which al-Kindī had begun to organise before him and which after him found the most complete expression in the works of Avicenna (*q. v.* and IBN SĪNĀ). It is fairly probable that Fārābī differs from al-Kindī and Avicenna on some points; but it is difficult to define these points and it is better to be reserved, if not sceptical, in interpreting the details of his system. Indeed we do not possess his work in its entirety; we are only acquainted with a small part of it; Fārābī's style also is somewhat obscure; several of the treatises that have survived are composed in the form of very brief aphorisms placed one after the other in no sort of order. Lastly it is impossible to be certain that there is no contradiction in a work so vast, in which the influence of Plato, Aristotle or Plotinus alternately predominates. The root idea of the system, which is to make a synthesis on one side of Aristotle and Plato and on the other hand of the syncretic philosophy thus obtained with the religious faith of Islām, cannot but be somewhat contradictory in itself.

T. J. de Boer believes he can see a very marked opposition between Fārābī and the other members of the school of "*Philosophers*" notably the celebrated Rāzī (Rhazes); Fārābī sometimes polemicises against Rāzī who was his contemporary. According to de Boer this opposition consists in that, while Fārābī's system is deductive, rational and built up entirely on abstract logic, Rāzī's philosophy is experimental, inductive and is more especially concerned with the concrete. But I do not think that there are really two systems opposed to one another; they are two sides or two aspects of a more general system. Rāzī, who was a physician and distinguished naturalist, emphasises the concrete aspects of the system while Fārābī, who had a more inclination for logic, mathematics and mystic speculation, presents the abstract side of it. In Avicenna we find the two aspects reunited.

I have pointed to a difference between Fārābī and Avicenna as regards the position of Mysticism: in Avicenna mysticism appears only at the end of the system to crown his work, as it were; it is quite distinct from the other parts of it and Avicenna treats mysticism — and very artistically — as a chapter in philosophy which he would study in an objective fashion. On the contrary in Fārābī mysticism penetrates everything; the terms of Ṣūfism are scattered throughout his works and one clearly feels that with him mysticism is not a theory but rather a subjective state. This point of view further contributes to make his system somewhat obscure.

It has been said that Avicenna is clearer, better arranged and more methodical than Fārābī: Muslim scholasticism has clearly a more finished form in Avicenna. On one important point, the question of the personal immortality of the soul, this difference in lucidity between the two philosophers makes itself felt. The rational soul or reason, illuminated by the world of the mind, the world of ideas, or active intellect, is the real man; it is also what remains of man after death. But does the reason of the individual man lose itself in the active intellect or does it preserve its own consciousness and individuality? Certain passages in Fārābī are written in such a way as to make it credible that he admits the first view. There is, however, no room for doubt that Fārābī believed in the personal immortality of the soul; in his treatise on the *Model City* there is a passage, where he shows the good souls arriving in the celestial city and each of them enjoying a pleasure as great as the number of the souls. Ibn Ṭufail, who seems to have had no love for Fārābī, also says that he had doubts on the personal immortality of the soul (see S. Munk, article FARABI in the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosophiques*); this charge must refer to passages, the language of which is obscure or which are incomplete.

T. J. de Boer has also pointed out as a difference between Fārābī and the other philosophers of his school that Avicenna does not, like him, derive matter from God. According to this writer, Fārābī conceived matter as having emanated from God by passing through several spiritual intermediaries. I do not think that this statement is quite correct. It is in the treatise on "the principles of beings" of which we possess a Hebrew translation by Moses ibn Tibbon (התחלות הנמצאות, ed. by Philippowski in the annual ספר האסיף, Leipzig 1850-1851) that Fārābī gives the chain of principles in a way which makes it resemble an emanation: the primary intelligence or first cause comes from God; from it come in their order the intelligences of the spheres; the last is the active intelligence; above it are placed the universal soul, then form and lastly matter. Avicenna's metaphysics are really quite comparable to this system.

The matter which is in question here is the substratum of the world which contains its possibility. The world is produced by coming from this matter, not created directly from nothing. The celestial spheres, animated by their respective souls, are put into motion by the prime mover, the latter is not God himself but rather the primary intelligence which emanates from him.

Fārābī attempts to reconcile Aristotle and Plato on the question of the eternity of the world. In his treatise on the *Agreement of the Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*, he claims that Aristotle did not believe in an eternal world. The creator made it spring into existence at once without time, the prime mover then put it into motion and from the motion of the spheres time was produced. In other words time is logically posterior to the actual creation of the world. The school of the philosophers has however admitted the possibility of the infinite series retreating into the past: according to Avicenna a real infinite series is impossible but an infinite series, the terms of which do not actually exist together, is possible. It may be admitted that the celestial spheres have accomplished an infinite number of revolutions in the past and that time accordingly is eternal. One difficulty against this view arises from the fact that the souls of men who have lived in the past continue to exist in reality as they are immortal; there would thus be an infinite number of souls actually co-existing. In his treatise on the "Model City" Fārābī however speaks of the souls in the other world as if they were finite in number. We cannot really be quite certain that these philosophers do not sometimes contradict one another; they comment with equal confidence on teachers whose doctrines often disagree and there necessarily results a certain amount of hesitation and uncertainty in their systems.

Bibliography: M. Horten, *Das Buch der Ringsteine Farabis mit dem Kommentar des Emir Ismâ'îl el-Hoseini el-Farani übersetzt und erläutert* in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Vol. v. (Münster 1906; with a bibliography of Fārābī, p. viii—xxviii); M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi des arabischen Philosophen Leben und Schriften* in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Vol. xiii. N°. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1869); Dieterici, *Alfārābīs Philosophische Abhandlungen* (Leiden 1890; Arab. text of nine smaller works); do., *Alfārābīs Abhandlung "der Musterstaat"* (Leiden 1895; Arab. text); Brönnle, *Alfārābī, Die Staatsleitung* (Leiden 1904); T. J. de Boer, *Gesch. der Philosophie im Islam* (Stuttgart 1901; Engl. ed. London 1903), s. Index; Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne* (Paris 1900), p. 91—116; M. Worms, *Die Lehre von der Anfangslosigkeit der Welt*, in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Vol. iii. (Münster 1900); Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Litt.*, i. 210—213; for the Hebrew translations see the article AL-FARABI in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. i. (New York 1901), p. 374 *et seq.* (B. CARRA DE VAUX.)

FARADJ, AL-MALIK AN-NĀṢIR NĀṢIR AL-DĪN, was the son of Sulṭān Barḳūḳ [q. v., i. 662 *et seq.*]. In Shawwāl 801 = June 1399 Barḳūḳ on his death-bed had homage paid to his thirteen year old son Faradj, appointed the Emir Itmish Atabek and guardian, and the Emir Taghribardi his adviser and the father of the celebrated historian Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf [q. v.] the chief weapon-bearer. Itmish lived with the Sulṭān in the citadel and thereby aroused the jealousy of the other great Emirs who incited Faradj after a few months to declare himself of age. Itmish thereupon left the citadel against Taghribardi's advice, the two then attempted to seize the citadel, were defeated and fled to Damascus where they made an alliance with Tenem, the governor there, and the other Syrian governors. The Sulṭān went to Syria to overthrow the rebels. Tenem declined the favourable conditions of peace offered by the Sulṭān but contrary to all expectation was defeated in battle. Tenem and Itmish were executed, Taghribardi pardoned on account of his relationship to the Sulṭān and exiled to Jerusalem without an office. The Mongol ruler Tīmūr was threatening great danger to the Mamlūks. He demanded that his relative Atilmish should be released from captivity and his suzerainty recognised. Various views prevailed among the Emirs but the war party gained the upper hand. Atilmish was not released; Tīmūr's envoy was executed by order of Sūdūn, governor of Damascus, so that further negotiations for peace were out of the question. Tīmūr took Aleppo and gave it over to plunder by his troops for three days. Many mosques and schools were destroyed [cf. the article ḤALAB], and were never rebuilt. Tīmūr took Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and Ba'albek. Faradj finally decided to offer resistance, set out with his army for Ghazza, and appointed Taghribardi governor of Damascus. The latter proposed to fortify Damascus, leave the army with the Sulṭān in Ghazza and thus shut Tīmūr in between two fires. The Emirs declared against this sagacious proposal out of mistrust of Taghribardi. When the Sulṭān approached Damascus, Tīmūr went into camp in the neighbourhood. After fruitless negotiations for peace, Tīmūr broke camp; the Egyptians attacked him and were defeated with heavy loss. When several Emirs went off to Egypt with the secret intention of choosing a new Sulṭān, his partisans forced Faradj to leave the army and pursue the fugitives. They were overtaken and made the best excuses they could. The Sulṭān, who feared trouble from their fellow-conspirators in Cairo, hurried back to Egypt. The army broke up, one section fled to Damascus, the others tried to escape through the desert to Cairo but were cut down by the Mongols or marauding Beduins. The road to Damascus now lay open to Tīmūr,

the town surrendered and was given over to plunder by the soldiers; the citadel, however, only fell after a siege of a month. Tīmūr left Damascus in the spring of 804 = 1402 to make war on the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd. — The remainder of Faradj's reign is occupied with the struggles of the Emirs for influence with the Sulṭān. The Emirs, who were overthrown in the course of these feuds, were usually imprisoned in Alexandria and executed if they did not succeed in escaping to Syria and collect new followers there. In 808 = 1405 the discontent among the Mamlūks reached such a height that Faradj abdicated the throne and went into retirement for a period. The Emirs raised his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz to the throne under the name al-Malik al-Manṣūr. A few months later, however, Faradj won back the citadel of Cairo, threw his brother into prison and ascended the throne again. Although his position in Egypt was now secure, he never again exercised authority in Syria for any length of time. Djakam, the governor of Aleppo, proclaimed himself Sulṭān there under the name al-Malik al-'Ādil, fortified Aleppo and defended Syria against foreign foes. He went to war with Ḳarā Yelek, the chief of the white Sheep Turkomans, and fell in battle. The most faithful adherent of the Sulṭān was the above-mentioned Emir Taghrībardī, his bitterest opponent, Shaikh al-Maḥmūdī [q. v.], who afterwards became Sulṭān under the name al-Malik al-Mu'aiyad. The war dragged on in Syria with varying success until in 815 A. H. Faradj went there for the seventh time. Against the advice of the dying Emir Taghrībardī, governor of Damascus, he went to meet the foe, regardless of the exhausted condition of his troops. He was defeated and retired to Damascus. As the Emirs there gave him a hostile reception, the Sulṭān had to submit; he was dethroned, imprisoned and put to death in prison. His lands had been terribly devastated during his reign by Tīmūr's invasions and the constant civil wars, while famine and plague ravaged the country. He constantly required vast sums for his extravagant and luxurious mode of life and these he extorted from his subjects in Cairo.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 72—105 and 108—125; his biography is given in detail in the *Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, Cairo MS. 1113, Part iii. (M. SOBERNHEIM.)

AL-**FARĀFRA** (AL-FARĀFIRA), an oasis in the Lybian desert, belonging to the Egyptian province of Minyā. It lies between the Wāḥāt Baḥriye and the Wāḥāt Kīldiye [see the article BAḤRĪYE, i. 586[b] *et seq.*] and is about 8 days journey by camel from Minyā. Among the earlier Arab geographers the name *al-Farfarūn* appears, for example in al-Bakrī, who mentions its great wealth in date-palms and the numerous villages inhabited by Christian Copts; he also knows of the alum and vitriol found there and mentions the hot springs of the oasis. We have no other direct notices of al-Farāfra, probably because it was usually reckoned with Dākhle [q. v., i. 899[a] *et seq.*] as is clear from Ya'ḳūbī (p. 332), for example. It was not till Cailliaud and Letorzec's journey in 1820 that new light was thrown on the oasis and later by G. Rohlfs' expedition in 1873-1874. Farāfra was then only very loosely connected with Egypt; the only bond was the annual tribute of 10,000 piastres. The land was exceedingly fertile and rich in palms, olives, fruits of all kinds, vegetables and cereals; there was also some cotton, but only oil and dates were exported. Nevertheless the inhabitants were in great poverty as they lost the greater portion of their harvests, as in ancient times, through the constant raids of the Egyptian and Barḳa Bedouins as well as of the Arabs of the Nile valley. Besides this the finest estates were in the possession of members of the Sanūsīya, who sent the produce to Djaghabūb, which was then their headquarters. They had been acquiring a firm footing in the oasis since 1860 and it is to their influence that the great fanaticism of the population is ascribed. The number of inhabitants was still small at that date but it has been continually increasing since then; Boinet-Bey estimates the population at 542 and the latest figures at 632. The only village is Ḳaṣr Farāfra.

Bibliography: Ya'ḳūbī (ed. de Goeje), p. 332; al-Bakrī (transl. de Slane), p. 39; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. p. 234; 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ djadīda*, xvii. 30; Rohlfs, *Drei Monate in der Libyschen Wüste*, p. 75 *et seq.*; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*; Boinet-Bey, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte*; Baedeker, *Egypt*[7]. (E. GRAEFE.)

FARĀH, a town of Afghānistān in the Herāt province situated on the bank of the Farāh-rūd river which flows in a south-westerly direction into the Sīstān Hāmūn. Farāh, although decayed, is still a place of some importance, and is the meeting place of several caravan routes and the centre of a fertile district. It was formerly the capital of Drangiana, and was included in the mediaeval province of Sidjistān, but is not included in modern Sīstān. It has never quite recovered from its devastation by the Mongols under Čingiz Khān.

The Farāh-rūd is one of the rivers mentioned in the *Vendidād* (Fradatha) and is the Ὀφράδος of Pliny, and the town is the Prophthasia of Alexander's historians and Strabo (Prophthasia being a Greek rendering of 'fradatha' or 'progress') also no doubt the Phra of Isidore of Charax. Alexander here detected the plot of Philotas, and from here, Holdich considers, he made his way up the valley of the Farāh-rūd to the Bāmiyān pass. In modern times it has been described by Ferrier and Holdich.

Bibliography: A. Stein in *The Academy*, May 16[th] 1885; Holdich, *The Gates of India*, (London 1910); Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, (London 1857), Ch. 26; Strabo, Book xv. Ch. 2, 8. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

FARĀHĪ, ABŪ NAṢR MAS'ŪD B. ABĪ BAKR B. ḤUSAIN B. DJA'FAR, born at Farāh in Sidjistān, a Persian philologist, who flourished in the beginning of the vii[th] century A. H. He is the author of a versified Arabic-Persian glossary, called *Niṣāb al-Ṣibyān*, which was much used in the east and is found in almost every library in Europe in several copies. Commentaries have frequently been written on this little book. Cf. *Cat. Berl.* (Pertsch), N°. 156, 157 (1); Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, p. 504[a]; Ethé, *Cat. Oxford*, col. 980—983.

He also versified in Arabic in 617 the celebrated compendium of law *al-Djāmi' al-Ṣaghīr*, written by al-Shaibānī [q. v.]. Cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii. 559.

FARĀ'IḌ is the name given to the expressly called fixed shares in an estate ($^1/_2$, $^1/_4$, $^1/_8$,

$^2/_3$, $^1/_3$ and $^1/_6$) in the verses dealing with the law of inheritance in the Ḳorʾān (iv. 12—15 and 175) which fall to the twelve so-called "people of fixed inheritance" (*dhawu 'l-farāʾiḍ* or *aṣḥāb al-farāʾiḍ*). As the accurate knowledge of these fixed legacies was the most important part of the law of inheritance, the latter was called *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ*.

Although the Ḳorʾān only recognises fixed portions for the daughter, the two parents, the husband and wife, and the brothers and sisters, Muslim scholars have extended the laws applicable to the daughters of a deceased person to the daughters of his son and in the same way those applicable to his parents to the grand-parents; a distinction has further been made in sisters between full and half-sister on the father's side and on the mother's. The total number of these so-called "Ḳorʾānic" heirs has thus been raised to twelve, viz., in descending order: 1. the daughters of the deceased and those of his sons; 2. in ascending order: father, mother and grandfather on the father's side, grandmother on both sides (and further all other female relatives of the deceased, in ascending line, in so far as they are not related to him through a male relative in ascending line who is not legally qualified to inherit); 3. in the collateral line: the full sister, the half-sister on the father's side and the half-brother and half-sister on the mother's side; 4. widower and widow.

The daughter of the deceased is entitled to half his estate; if there are two or more daughters, they receive together $^2/_3$ of the estate. The son's daughters, full sisters and half-sisters on the father's side are subject to the same rules (Ḳorʾān, iv. 12 and 175). Each of the heirs in ascending line may claim $^1/_6$ of the estate; the mother, however, only receives this share if there are children, son's children, or two or more brother's and sisters of the deceased; otherwise she gets $^1/_3$ of the estate (Ḳorʾān, iv. 12). Each of the half-sisters and half-brothers on the mother's side also gets $^1/_6$ of the estate; if two or more inherit together, they receive $^1/_3$ in all (Ḳorʾān, iv. 15). The widower receives $^1/_2$ of the estate except when a child or son's child inherits with him in which case his share is only $^1/_4$ (Ḳorʾān, iv. 13). The widow has (Ḳorʾān, iv. 14) only a claim to half of what a widower would receive in the same circumstances, i. e. $^1/_4$ or $^1/_8$ of the estate, according as she inherits with children (or son's children) or not.

If there are several *dhawu 'l-farāʾiḍ* either together or with other relatives of the deceased, they are in many cases excluded from their fixed shares. They then according to circumstances either receive nothing at all or the residue of the estate, after the other heirs have received what they are entitled to. The *dhawu 'l-farāʾiḍ* can never all inherit at the same time. On the diminution of the fixed inheritances in some cases in which several *dhawu 'l-farāʾiḍ* inherit at the same time, cf. the article ʿAWL [i. 517ᵇ *et seq.*].

(*Bibliography*: Besides the chapter on inheritance in the collections on Tradition and the Fiḳh books, the literature quoted in the author of this article's *Handbuch des Islāmischen Gesetzes* (Leiden, 1910), p. 237 and 336 *et seq.*; E. Sachau in the *Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1894, i. 159—210; L. W. C. van den Berg in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl.-Indië*, Serie 5, vii. 500 *et seq.*

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

FARĀʾIḌĪ SECT. This sect was founded in Eastern Bengal about the year 1804 by Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh, born of obscure parents, who resided in a village, Bahādurpūr, in the district of Farīdpūr. When eighteen years of age he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but instead of returning, as usual, he remained a disciple of al-Shaikh Ṭāhir al-Sombal al-Makkī, the head of the Shāfiʿī sect there in those days. About 1802, after an absence of twenty years, he came back to India, a skilful disputer, and a good Arabic scholar. On his way home he fell into the hands of Dacoits (banded robbers) who plundered him of everything, including many relics of his residence in Arabia. Finding life insupportable without books or relics, he joined the gang, and shared their many wanderings. The simplicity of his character and the sincerity of his religious convictions struck these wicked men, who ultimately became his most zealous followers. Such is the story told at the present day of the first step taken towards proselytism by this remarkable man. For several years Sharīʿat Allāh quietly promulgated his newly framed doctrines in the villages of his native districts, encountering much opposition and abuse, but attracting a band of devoted adherents, he by degrees acquired the reputation of a holy man.

The chief innovation introduced by him was the non-observance of the Friday prayers and of the two great ʿĪds, on the ground that India under British rule was *Dār al-Ḥarb* [q. v.]. He also ordered that the titles of *ustādh* (teacher) and *shāgird* (pupil), terms which did not imply complete submission, should in future be used in the place of *pīr* (priest) and *murīd* (disciple), which had for ages been the respective designations of the religious preceptor and his pupil. He further prohibited the usual ceremony of joining hands, which was customary at the initiation of a disciple, but required from every one of his would-be disciples *tawba*, or repentance for past sins, and a solemn determination to lead a more righteous and godly life in future. It is a curious fact that none of these ideas excited much opposition, but on his promulgating a dogma that to allow a mid-wife to cut the navel cord of a new born babe was a deadly sin borrowed from the Hindus, and his insisting that it was the duty of the father to do this, he roused a spirit of opposition which caused many of his adherents to fall away. The zamindārs (landlords) were alarmed at the spread of the new creed, which bound the Muhammadan peasantry together as one man. Disputes and quarrels soon arose, and Sharīʿat Allāh was driven away from Nayābārī, in the Dhākā district, where he had settled, and was compelled to return to his birthplace. There he resumed his holy office as a minister of the faith, and in a short time enlisted the sympathies and support of a vast majority of the uneducated and the most excitable classes of the Muhammadan population. His influence became unbounded, and no one hesitated to carry out his orders. He acted with great prudence and caution, rarely assuming any other character than that of a religious reformer. The movement set on foot by this man attracted little attention during his lifetime, and his name is rarely met with in the annals of those days. On

looking back, however, at his career there is much which amply repays an inquiry. That he came of obscure parentage amid the swamps of Eastern Bengal, and should be the first preacher to denounce the superstitions and corrupt beliefs, which long contact with Hindu polytheism had developed, is remarkable enough; but that the apathetic and careless Bengali peasant should be roused into enthusiasm is still more so. To effect this required a sincere and sympathetic preacher, and no one ever appealed more strongly to the sympathies of a people than Sharīʿat Allāh whose blameless and exemplary life was admired by his countrymen, who venerated him as a father able to advise them in times of adversity, and give consolation in cases of affliction.

He is described as a man of middle height, of fair complexion, and with a long, shapely beard.

A very different person was his son, Muhammad Muḥsin, better known as Dūdhū Miyān, who, though of ordinary abilities, exerted an influence far surpassing that of his father. His name is a household word throughout the districts of Farīdpūr, Pabna, Bākirganj, Dhākā and Noākhālī, and the number of his followers at the present day testifies to the thoroughness of the method with which he and his father fulfilled their mission.

Dūdhū Miyān was born in 1819, and, while still young, visited Mecca, where, as he asserted and made his followers believe, visions and revelations of a nature tending to his future greatness, were vouchsafed to him. On his return he devoted himself to the spread of his father's doctrines, as well as many more which he himself introduced afresh. For instance, he insisted upon his disciples eating the common grasshopper (*phanga*) which they detested, because the locust (*djarād*) was used as food in Arabia, and vigorously contended that there was no greater difference between the two insects than between a goat of their villages and one from the banks of the Djumna.

The most remarkable advance made during Dūdhū Miyān's lifetime was the organisation of the society. Following the example of the *Vaishnavas*, he divided Eastern Bengal into circles, and appointed a khalīfa, or agent, to each, with power to collect contributions for the furtherance of the objects of the central association. They further kept Dūdhū Miyān, usually styled the Pīr, or simply Mawlawi, acquainted with everything occurring within their jurisdiction, and whenever a zamindār tried to enforce his legal rights against any one member of the sect, funds were provided to sue him in the court, or, if it could be safely done, men with clubs were sent to plunder his property and to thrash his servants. During his father's lifetime the sect was never opposed to, nor collided with, the law of the land; but the measures adopted by the son united the zamindārs and the indigo planters against him. He tried to make all Muhammadan ryots join his sect, and on refusal caused them to be beaten, and excommunicated from the society of the faithful, and destroyed their crops. The zamindārs once more endeavoured to prevent their tenants from joining, and, it is said, often punished and tortured the disobedient. A mode of torture intensely painful, which left no marks to implicate any one, is said to have been adopted on both sides. The beards of recalcitrant ryots were tied together and red chili powder given as snuff. Coercion, however, failed, and the landholders did little to check the further spread of a similar disturbance.

It was among the cultivators and village workmen that Dūdhū Miyān made the largest number of converts. He asserted the equality of mankind, and taught that the welfare of the lowly and poor was as much an object of interest as that of the high and the rich. When a brother fell in distress it was, he taught, the duty of his neighbours to assist him, and nothing, he affirmed, was criminal, or unjustifiable, which might be used as a means to that end. Their enemies, however, alleged, that witnesses were paid for out of the funds of the association.

Dūdhū Miyān and the Ḥādjdjīs, as his followers were originally called, became objects of dread to the Hindu, old Muhammadan, and European landholders. Evidence to convict a prisoner could not be got. It was, however, against the levying of illegal cesses by landlords that Dūdhū Miyān made his most determined stand. That a Muhammadan ryot should be obliged to contribute towards the decoration of the image of Durgā, or towards the support of any of the rites of his Hindu landlord, were regarded as intolerable acts of oppression. In this he was certainly right, as the only apology for their continuance was their antiquity, and adaptation to the feelings of the people. But, he advanced a step further when he proclaimed that the earth is God's, and that no one has a right to occupy it as an inheritance, or levy taxes upon it. The peasantry were, therefore, persuaded to settle on Khāṣṣ Maḥall lands, managed directly by the Government, and thus escape the payment of any taxes, but that of the land revenue, claimed by the State. His rapid success, however excited the jealousy of the contemporary landlords and many false suits were brought against him. In 1838 he was charged with abetting the plunder of several houses; in 1841 he was committed to the sessions on a charge of murder but was acquitted; in 1844 he was tried for trespass and forming an unlawful assembly; and in 1846 for abduction and plunder. The riot of 1838 assumed at one time a very threatening aspect, and a detachment of Sepoys was sent from Dhākā to check any disturbance. It was, however, impossible to induce witnesses to give evidence, and on each occasion he was acquitted. At Bahādurpūr, where he generally resided, every Muhammadan stranger was fed, while Eastern Bengal was frequented by his spies, and the interests of the whole neighbourhood were in his keeping. He settled disputes, administered summary justice, and punished any Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian who without first referring matters to him dared to bring suits, as for recovery of debt, in the adjoining munsif's court. Emissaries carried his orders to distant villages, and his letters, signed *Aḥmad ism nā maʿlūm*, (Aḥmad of unknown name) often had the ordinary Hindu superscription to allay suspicion. He taught that there was no sin in persecuting those who refused to embrace his doctrines, or who appealed to Government courts against the orders of the society and its acknowledged leaders. Dūdhū Miyān is described as having been a tall handsome man, with a dark flowing beard, and a large turban wound round his head. He died at Bahādurpūr 24th September, 1860, and was buried there, but

the Arial Khān river has, within the last few years, washed away every trace of his house and tomb.

Three sons survive, of whom none have as yet exhibited any of the energy, or abilities, of their father and hence the sect is consequently diminishing in number.

The sect of which he was the leader is generally known as the Farā'iḍi Sect; and those who profess his doctrines have been enjoined to say the Ẓuhr (mid-day) Farḍ (compulsory) prayer on Fridays instead of the usual Djum'a or Friday prayer, which is customary with the majority of the Muḥammadans. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

AL-**FARAS**, the horse, whether stallion (*faḥl*) or mare; as a collective *al-khail*. The horse is considered the most beautiful and noblest creature next to man. The fine proportions of its limbs, the purity of its colour, its swiftness, its obedience to the rider, whether in battle, in pursuit or in flight, its courage and strength, its intelligence and standard of good manners are renowned. A sign of the latter is the fact that a well-bred horse discharges neither urine or excrement while its rider is on its back. It knows its rider so well that no one else is allowed to mount it. It watches beside him when he is asleep, and wakens him with its foot when danger threatens from the enemy or wild beasts. The horses used in the game of polo (*djawkānī* from the Pers. *čawgānī*), watch the ball with the eye and follow it without the rider's needing to guide them. One of the most noteworthy habits of the horse is that it will only drink turbid water; it is afraid of its reflection in clear still water and makes it turbid and frothy with its hoofs.

The following story is told of the creation of the horse: When God wished to create the horse, he said to the south wind: I will make a living being out of thee, collect thyself! He then caused Gabriel to take a handful of wind and from this he created a reddish brown (*kumait*) horse. God said to it: I have created thee the horse and made thee for the Arabs and distinguished thee above all other beasts by swiftness for the gaining of food and booty: thou shalt be ridden on the back and may fortune be attached to thy forehead. Thereupon he dismissed it and it neighed. Then God said: Blessed be thy neighing; terrify the worshippers of idols, fill their ears and make their feet tremble. He then marked it with spots on the forehead and legs. After the creation of Adam it was led before him and preferred by him to Burāḳ [q. v., i. 793b].

According to another tradition the first to ride a horse was Ismā'īl, the son of Abraham. Others again say that the Arab horses are descended from those of Solomon. The latter inherited 1000 horses from David; when they were being led before him, he forgot the afternoon prayer, enraged at this omission he had them all hamstrung except a few that he spared because they had not yet been brought before him. When after this people of the tribe of 'Azd came to visit Solomon and asked for a present on taking leave of him, he gave them one of the steeds to which they gave the name *zād al-rākib*; from it are descended all the Arab horses.

The wealth of manuscript literature on the horse (cf. e.g. the Catalogues of Berlin and Vienna) has as yet hardly been touched, apart from Perron's work cited below. Von Hammer-Purgstall gave a preliminary survey of the material in his essay, *Das Pferd bei den Arabern* (Bibliography, philology: names of horses, references in the Ḳor'ān, ḥadīths, proverbs, poems, notably the description of the horse by Khalaf b. Ḥalyān al-Māzinī). Mas'ūdī's *Murūdj al-Dhahab* contains a great deal of information about horse-racing and there are many notices in Ibn al-Mundhir [q. v.]. Valuable observations are made by the modern travellers quoted below.

The name *al-Faras al-A'ẓam*, the great horse, is given to constellation Pegasus, *Kiṭ'at al-Faras* to the constellation of the foal, *al-Faras al-Tāmm* or "complete horse" to a group of stars near Pegasus. "It is not quite clear how the Arab astronomers, who have elsewhere retained the Greek constellations so completely, . . . have come to add a third and complete one to the two incomplete horses" (Ideler, *Sternnamen*, p. 199).

Bibliography: Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (ed. Bombay), ii. 145; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. B. de Meynard), iii. 59; iv. 23 *et seq.*; viii. 359 etc.; Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 375; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, ii. 168; i. 259; Comte M. Rzewusky, *Notice sur les Chevaux Arabes*, in *Fundgr. d. Orients*, v. 49. 333; v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Das Pferd bei den Arabern*, in *Denkschr. d. K. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, vi. (1855); M. Perron, *Le Nâcéri. La perfection des deux arts ou traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie arabes. trad. de l'arabe d'Abou Bekr ibn Bedr*, i. 1852; ii. 1859; iii. 1860; G. Jacob, *Studien in arab. Dichtern*, iii. (1895), 73 *et seq.*; J. L. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen und Wahaby* (1831), p. 343—357; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, ii. 104—115; W. G. Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, ii[5]. 92; Ch. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. ii. (1888); Lady A. Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i. (1896), 197 *et seq.*; L. Ideler, *Unters. über d. Sternnamen*, p. 111 *et seq.*, 128; Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, i. 34. (J. RUSKA.)

FARASĀN (FARSĀN), a group of islands in the S. W. of Cape Djīzān, opposite the harbour of Abū 'Arīsh in Tihāma. The largest of these islands are Farasān Kabīr with the harbour of Khōr Fummān and Farasān Ṣaghīr. Muharrak and Seyed are other places worthy of mention besides Khōr. The inhabitants fish for pearls and catch turtles, which brings them great wealth. Ehrenberg, who discovered the islands, saw many date-groves and fields growing *durra* and melons, Arab antelopes, numerous gazelles and goats there.

Hamdānī was acquainted with these islands. Their inhabitants, who take their name from the island, are, according to him descended from the great North Arabian tribe of Taghlib [q. v.]. Like the latter they were once Christians and had many churches on their islands, which had already been destroyed by Hamdānī's time. They carried on a busy trade with the Abyssinians. According to South Arabian genealogists they are Ḥimyaris.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra* (ed. D. H. Müller), p. 47, 25. 52, 16. 53, 21—22. 74, 22. 75, 12. 98, 14—20. 119, 12; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 874, 1021—1025. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-**FARAZDAḲ** (the "lump of dough": *Aghānī*, xix. 2), whose real name was Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, was one of the three greatest Arab satirists of the Arab period [cf. DJARĪR and AL-AKHṬAL]. He belonged to the Tamīmī Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim. He was probably born about the year 20 (640-641) (cf. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, p. xviii.). We know nothing certain about his early life. It may, however, be true that his father sent him to ʿAlī after the "Battle of the Camel" (*Aghānī*, xix. 6, 48), although tradition gives this incident an exaggerated importance in the life of the poet (cf. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, op. cit., in opposition to Hell, *Farazdaḳ's Lobgedicht* etc., Munich dissertation, 1900, p. 7 *et seq.*). There is more foundation for the statement that he (presumably when about 30 years of age) induced the Caliph Muʿāwiya by threatening poems to deliver up the inheritance of Ḥutāt, a fellow tribesman of Farazdaḳ, which he had illegally confiscated (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, p. 608, 11—609, 12; further references are given there notably to Ṭabarī, ii. 96—108). This incident is said to have provoked the enmity of Ziyād, Muʿāwiya's extremely energetic half-brother, against him. Ziyād was governor in the ʿIrāḳ from 45 to 53 (665—673) and spent six months of each year in Baṣra where Farazdaḳ lived. The latter made himself so unpopular with this firm ruler, that he had to fly from Baṣra about 50 (670). After many adventures he found an asylum with Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī, who had been appointed governor of Medina in 49 (669) (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, Nº. 63, commentary on verse 46; p. 608 *et seq.*). He did not stand in such high favour with Saʿīd's successor, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who ultimately banished him from the city (*Aghānī*, xix. 21, 43 *et seq.*). But Ziyād's death soon allowed him to return to his native city of Baṣra as his son ʿUbaid Allāh was well disposed towards him. It is possible that Ziyād's threats against Farazdaḳ were really not to be taken very seriously (cf. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, p. 611, 617). In any case the poet was in mortal terror. This is clear not only from the numerous laudatory verses on tribes and persons who had supported him in his exile but notably also from his verses of jubilation on the death of the dreaded Ziyād (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, p. 619) and the subsequent lampoons on him.

Farazdaḳ's further life was in part occupied with his feuds with Djarīr [q. v.] and al-Akhṭal [q. v.], and by his unfortunate marriage with his cousin al-Nawār, whom he won as his wife by a stratagem but had ultimately to set free again (for details see Hell, op. cit., and Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i. 53 *et seq.*). The exploits of al-Farazdaḳ and Djarīr under the Zubairid governor al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh are narrated in the article DJARĪR. The rule of the Omaiyad prince Bishr b. Marwān was favourable to al-Farazdaḳ's activity but fortunately did not last long. He had to keep fairly quiet under the firm rule of al-Ḥadjdjādj. Driven by necessity, he dedicated to him and his brother-in-law al-Ḥakam b. Aiyūb (*Dīwān*, ed. Boucher, Nº. 91) a number of panegyrics; he even dared to offer consolation to Ḥadjdjādj when he learned of the death of his brother and his son in one day (*Kāmil*, ed. Wright, i. 291 *et seq.*). On the death of this powerful governor (in 95 = 714) he composed an official lament (Boucher, Nº. 225); but in reality he rejoiced at heart and after Sulaimān, Ḥadjdjādj's enemy, had become Caliph (96 = 715) he was able to give unrestrained expression to his joy.

Even before his acquaintance with al-Ḥadjdjādj al-Farazdaḳ had begun to irritate another of the great men of the period, Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [q. v.]. He jeered at the latter as an Azdite and a descendant of fire-worshippers (Boucher, Nº. 73). Muhallab's son Yazīd had also to put up with all sorts of insults during his first governorship in Khorāsān (82—85 = 701—704). But when Yazīd and his brothers escaped from Ḥadjdjādj to prince Sulaimān, he began to moderate his language and after some hesitation went completely over to Yazīd's side when the latter became governor of Khorāsān for the second time (end of 97 = 716). This did not, however, prevent him from again lampooning the Muhallabids after their tragic end and singing the praises of their victors, notably Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, governor of ʿIrāḳ. Maslama's successor in the ʿIrāḳ, ʿOmar b. Hubaira imprisoned Farazdaḳ on one occasion (*Aghānī*, xviii. 141 *et seq.*; Hell, *Farazdaḳ's Lobgedicht*, p. 31 *et seq.*) and was lampooned by him as long as he remained governor. But when ʿOmar was relieved of office in favour of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī and badly treated, the poet dedicated laudatory verses to him (*Aghānī*, xix. 17). Al-Farazdaḳ is said to have already been on bad terms with Khālid owing to a previous incident (*Aghānī*, xix. 60 *et seq.* He satirised him as a South Arabian and son of a Christian woman and ridiculed also all his administrative measures. How this affected him has already been told in the article DJARĪR.

Al-Farazdaḳ's relations with the Umaiyads were, as we have seen, not good at first. The first Caliph on whom he wrote panegyrics was ʿAbd al-Malik. It was not till Sulaimān's reign (Boucher, Nº. 21), that he came to court and he seems to have been in particular favour with the latter. He also dedicated laudatory verses to the other Caliphs from ʿAbd al-Malik to Yazīd II, as far as opportunity arose. This was no longer the case with ʿOmar II. (for details see Hell, *Farazdaḳ's Lobgedicht*, p. 29). He hurled most bitter lampoons against Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, the last Caliph, whom he lived to see, and jeered at him for his avarice and also for his physical infirmities (Boucher, Nº. 63 and 113; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, p. 984, commentary on verse 20); quite a number of panegyrics on Hishām have, however, also survived from al-Farazdaḳ's pen.

Al-Farazdaḳ seems to have died in 114 (732-733) of pleurisy, and was buried in Baṣra in the cemetery of the Tamīm (*Aghānī*, xix. 44 *et seq.*; cf. the article DJARĪR].

After what has been said above there is little need to add much on the character of Farazdaḳ. His most prominent qualities were unbridled lewdness, cowardice, cruelty and ostentation. The latter seems towards the end of his life to have overcome even his cowardice; cf. his provocative attitude against Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Allāh al-Ḳasrī (*Aghānī*, xix. 29 *et seq.*). Apparently chivalrous actions also such as his intercession on behalf of a widow (*Aghānī*, xix. 36, 50) or the numerous cases in which he took the blood guilt of a stranger upon himself are really to be explained from his unbounded vanity. His cruelty was proved at the massacre of Greek prisoners

which Sulaimān once ordered in Medina [cf. 194a18]. Some of the stories of his cowardice are most scathing (*Aghānī*, xix. 25 and particularly 29) as well as those of his lasciviousness. He plays a rôle in obscene stories in Arab literature similar to that of Abū Nuwās at a later period. *Aghānī*, xix. 35 *et seq.* is peculiarly characteristic of his lack of scruple in sexual matters. This defect in his character gave his rival Djarīr many an opportunity for well-merited scorn (*Naḳā'iḍ*, p. 394 *et seq.*). In his favour it has been urged that he was all his life a faithful supporter of the house of ʿAlī. But he really only showed this on one occasion, with regard to the then prince Hishām (for details see *Aghānī*, xix. 78 and Brockelmann, *op. cit.*). He was usually content with showing his sympathy in a rather non-committal fashion (*Aghānī*, xix. 34, 47 *et seq.*; Ibn Khallikān, iii. 620). Nor must it be forgotten that on other occasions he shows sympathies which seem to be Khāridjī (cf. Hell in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lix. 593), and which certainly can hardly be reconciled with real attachment to the ʿAlīd cause. How deeply he really was still sunk in Bedouin paganism may be seen from the fact that he hurls at Muhallab the reproach that his ancestors had never worshipped Yaghūth and other Arab pagan gods but only the Persian pagan fire (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lix. 600). Similarly he had little hesitation in weaving passages from the Ḳor'ān into an obscene passage (cf. Boucher, N°. 188, p. 339 = text, p. 180, from below). — The only verses that really came from his heart are those in which he expresses his terror of Ziyād. In *Aghānī*, xix. 12 *et seq.*, he gives a touching elegy on the death of one of his sons and afterwards says that the deceased was not worth his *ʿAlāya*. That he appropriated verses by other poets (*Aghānī*, xix. 22) without hesitation may be excused from the practice of the times. — The Arabs make him die a kind of Antichrist (*Aghānī*, xix. 44), although he had fits of piety towards the end of his life and expressed lively fear of the next world in certain verses (*Kāmil*, p. 79, 6—10).

Although al-Farazdaḳ particularly cultivated the satire and its opposite the panegyric and begging-poem, other kinds of poem are also found from his pen: *Kāmil*, p. 208 and Boucher, N°. 119 as well as Hell (*Dīwān*), N°. 306 = (Ṭabarī, ii. 103, 11—16) are epic fragments while Boucher, N°. 47 is a song on wine; the verses given in *Aghānī*, xix. 5 from below are simply obscene without personal reference; his laments have already been mentioned.

Al-Farazdaḳ was particularly fond of making short poems as these were more effective and more readily preserved (*Aghānī*, xix. 33).

We may further add as regards the appreciation of Farazdaḳ's poems by the Arabs that he was particularly esteemed by the Tamīm, while the Ḳais preferred Djarīr. His opponents do not seem to have ever seriously attempted his life, although they often treated him badly. Philologists in later times esteemed him on account of his immense vocabulary (*Aghānī*, xix. 48, 7 from below). A large number of his verses have become proverbial (*Aghānī*, xix. 13 *et seq.*).

Bibliography: al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān* (1. half ed. by Boucher, Paris 1870—1875; 2. half by Hell, Munich 1900-1901); *Naḳā'iḍ* of Djarīr and Farazdaḳ (ed. Bevan, 1905—1909); *Aghānī*, especially xix. 1—61; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 788; transl. de Slane, iii. 612—628; *Kāmil* (ed. Wright), s. Index; Ibn Ḳotaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr* (ed. de Goeje), p. 289—301; Hell, *Farazdaḳ's Lobgedicht auf al-Walīd ibn Jazīd* etc. (Munich Dissertation, 1900); do., in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lix. 589—621, lx. 1—35; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litter.*, i. 53—56; Goldziher, *Abh. z. arab. Philol.*, i. s. Ind.; do., *Muh. Stud.*, i. s. Ind. (A. SCHAADE.)

FARD (A.; plur. *afrād*) = single, unique, without an equal etc. The word is a technical term in various branches of knowledge.

In theology it designates God as the One, whom there is none like. In the Ḳor'ān and in the sayings of Muḥammad that have been transmitted in tradition *al-fard* does not appear as an attribute of God. Al-Azharī on this account disapproves of the application of the word to Allāh. But it is possibly simply a paraphrase of the Ḳor'ānic (*huwa Allāhu*) *aḥad*, which has the meaning "unique" in this passage only if at all.

In poetry *fard* means an isolated verse.

In Tradition *fard* is synonymous with *gharīb muṭlaḳ*. This is the term applied to a tradition, whose chain of transmitters is represented in the second link only by one of the Tābiʿūn (members of the first generation after Muḥammad).

In Arabic grammar *fard* (with *mufrad* and *wāḥid*) is a name for singular.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Aʿlā, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ii. 1087, 1107; Lane, s. v.

(A. SCHAADE.)

FARḌ means that which is strictly prescribed and obligatory, the omission of which will be punished while the execution will be rewarded. According to the Ḥanafī school *farḍ* means that which is regarded as duty on the basis of cogent arguments; *wādjib* (i. e. necessary) on the other hand is that which is considered a duty by the faḳīhs on grounds of probability only. According to the Shāfiʿīs and other *Fiḳh*-schools *farḍ* and *wādjib* are synonyms. The law distinguishes *farḍ al-ʿain*, to which every one is bound and *farḍ al-kifāya* (or: *ʿala 'l-kifāya*), in which it is only demanded that a sufficient number of Muslims should fulfil the religious duties concerned (as, for example, the performance of the common *ṣalāt* in the mosque and the waging of the holy war). Cf. also the article FIḲH.

Bibliography: *A Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musulmans*, edit. by Mawlawies Mohammad Wajih, Abd al-Hakk and Gholam Kadir, p. 1105 *et seq.*; E. W. Lane's *Arab.-Engl. Lexicon* s. v.; I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten* (Leipzig, 1884, p. 66).

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

FARGHĀNA, Russ. *Ferganskaya oblast'*, a territory in Russian Turkestan, in the valley of the Sir-Daryā. The name strictly is only applicable to the valley itself, bounded in the north by the Čotkal range, in the east by the mountains of Farghāna, in the south by the Alai range; in the west the boundary is less sharply defined by the approach of the mountain chains to the river bank, which causes the river to alter its course, which in Farghāna is predominantly southwesterly, first to a western then to a north-

western direction. Between the mountains and the stream there is here, particularly on the south bank, an open space. It is only on this side that the Farghāna valley is connected by a natural road with other lands, and therefore, as Bābur notes, only accessible to hostile attacks all the year round at this point. On the sources of the river and their junction in Farghāna cf. the article SIR-DARYA. Under Russian rule, the mountain valleys of the north, northeast and south, inhabited almost exclusively by nomads, have been united with the Farghāna valley to form one administrative district, just as in the ivth = xth century when the Arab geographers reckoned the Čotkal valley (Arab. Djidghil) as belonging to Farghāna. The administrative district of Farghāna has an area of 40,500 square miles of which only 10,200 belong to the valley proper and of these again only 4000 belong to the land irrigated by the river. In 1897, the population was 1,525,136 (now nearly two million) of whom by far the greater number live on the land irrigated by the river. Unlike all other lands of Russian Central Asia, Farghāna suffers on this account from want of land and over-population; there are only about 1.8 acres of irrigated land to each inhabitant and about 10 acres to each landowner.

Our oldest notices of Farghāna are due to the Chinese envoy Čang-k'ien (c. 128 B.C.). In these and the other early Chinese accounts the country is usually called *Ta-yüan*; the name Farghāna (the oldest Chinese transliteration is *P'o-lo-na*, later *Pa-han-na*, *P'o-han* and *Fei-han*), only appears in the fifth century A. D. Even the Chinese found an agricultural population here; it numbered only about 60,000 families (about 300,000 people): there were 70 "towns" (apparently villages). The Chinese claim to have brought their iron industry, as well as the art of making articles of gold and silver, to Farghāna; as Hirth suggests, the *sericum ferrum* mentioned by Pliny was possibly exported from Farghāna. On the other hand the Chinese first became acquainted with the vine and the lucerne (as horse-fodder) in Farghāna. It has been suggested by several Sinologists, including Hirth, that the cultivation of the vine was first introduced into Central Asia by the Greeks and that the Chinese *p'u-t'ao* is derived from the Greek βότρυς. The name, however, could only have reached China through the intermediary of Persia, which seems out of the question, as no similar Irānian word has yet been shown to exist and besides Strabo (Chap. 73) expressly says that the Greeks had found the vine cultivated everywhere in Central Asia from Hyrcania eastwards. Farghāna was little affected by Graeco-Bactrian culture, which is evident from the fact that the use of coins was still unknown there in the second century B.C.; whether a different state of affairs existed later and whether coins were struck at all in Farghāna in the pre-Muhammadan period as they were in Samarḳand, Bukhārā and Khwārizm, is not yet definitely known. Central Asia owed to the Graeco-Roman West, apart from the undeniable influence of Greek art, its glass industry which was still fairly important in the early centuries of the Hidjra; the progress of this industry from the west through Irān and Central Asia may also be traced in the language (Greek βήρυλλος; Pers. *billūr* and *bulūr*, Chin. *pi-liu-li* and *po-li*); no mention is made of the development of this industry in Farghāna in the authorities, but its products at least were common in Farghāna also at a later period as the excavations conducted in Akhsīkath in 1885 have shown. Farghāna is not mentioned by the classical geographers; very little of what they tell us about the upper course of the Jaxartes can be reconciled with the later and more accurate accounts of the Arabs; the name Aristeis of the people mentioned by Ptolemy seems, for example, to correspond to the name of the river and district of Urast in Osh (cf. below) (W. Tomaschek, *Sogdiana*, p. 48).

As early as 104 and 101 B.C. the Chinese undertook campaigns against Farghāna but it is only the history of the centuries immediately preceding Islām that is known with some certainty from Chinese sources. According to the *Pei-shi*, the statements in which refer mainly to the viith century A. D., the capital of the country had a circumference of only 4 *li* (about a mile); the king's throne was in the shape of a golden ram; his army was several thousands strong. According to the *T'ang-shu* (which comes down to 754 A. D.) there were 6 large and about 100 small "towns" in the country; the same authority says that the same dynasty had ruled the country without interruption from the third to the viith century A. D. The king of the country was slain between 627 and 649 in a battle with the Turks whereupon a Turkish dynasty seized Farghāna; a brother of the late king was only able to hold out in a portion of the country. The town of Kāsān (Chin. *K'o-sai*) is mentioned as the residence of the Turkish ruler; the native ruler lived in the town of Hu-Men(?). When after the collapse of the great Western Turkish empire (658) the country was organised as a Chinese province for a brief period, Kāsān was the capital of the whole country; at a later period the native dynasty seems to have been utterly uprooted by the Turks, for a Turkish ruler (Arslan Tarkhān) is mentioned in 739 as ruler of all Farghāna. The native dynasty seems to have lost its importance long before this for in 630 Hüan-Čuang found no single ruler of Farghāna but several who were fighting with one another; the land had been for some decades previously in the condition in which this traveller found it. In the latest Chinese source, the *T'ang-Shu*, Akhsīkath (Chin. *Si-K'ien*) appears as the capital of Farghāna as in Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje, p. 420); on the other hand the majority of the accounts of the Arab campaigns of conquest regard Kāsān as the capital (Ya'ḳūbī, *Geogr.*, p. 294; do., *Hist.*, ii. 478; Ṭabarī, ii. 1257, 11). At the present day the name Kāsān is borne by two towns adjacent to one another, Yukari-Kāsān (Upper Kāsān) with about 4700 inhabitants and Karaso-Kāsān with about 8000; somewhat to the north of Yukari-Kāsān lie the ruins of an old fortress (only about 6½ acres in area) which are called Mugh-Ḳurghan ("the fortress of the fire-worshippers") by the natives (on these ruins cf. A. Brianov in the *Protok. Turk. kruzhka Ljub. arkheologii*, iv. 142 *et seq.*).

The Arabs found practically the same conditions existing in Farghāna as in the other parts of Mā warā' al-Nahr. The landowners or knights (*dihḳān*, Arab. plur. *dahāḳīn*) formed the ruling class; the king was no more than the first knight in his country and was called like them *dihḳān* (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Cod. Tumanskij, f. 23b); he also bore the Irānian regal title *ikhshīd* (cf. particularly Ṭabarī, ii. 1442, N. 8).

The rulers of Farghāna offered a stubborn resistance to the Arab conquerors; more than a century was to pass between the first campaign under Ḳutaiba b. Muslim (94 = 712-713) and the final subjection of the country. In the year 96 = 715 Ḳutaiba rebelled in Farghāna against the Caliph Sulaimān and was slain by his own soldiers; according to Narshakhī (ed. Schefer, p. 57) his tomb was in the village of Kākh, according to Djamāl al-Ḳarshī (in Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 148) in the village of Kākh; (the two names seem to be identical and the difference to be due to corruption in the manuscripts). At the present day the tomb of the "Imām Shaikh Ḳutaiba" is still pointed out in Djalāl-Ḳuduḳ, a community (*mahal*) now belonging to the circle of Andidjān, and formerly to that of Ōsh (*Protokoll Turk. Kruzka* etc., iii. 4); but as far as is known it has never been described or reproduced. According to the opinion of the Arabs this district was "in China" (cf. the verses by the poet Ibn Djumāna al-Bāhilī in Balādhurī, p. 204).

Ḳutaiba had (probably in 94 A.H.) left ʿIṣām b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bāhilī behind in Farghāna (Ṭabarī, ii. 1440, 2); a ravine was called after this ʿIṣām; it lay on the road from Farghāna to Kāshghar (Ṭabarī, ii. 1276, 3) or in the district (*rustāḳ*) of Isfara (Ṭabarī, ii. 1440, 11). After Ḳutaiba's death the Arabs seem to have been driven out of Farghāna, for the ruler of Farghāna was able in 103 = 722 to offer the "ravine of ʿIṣām" to immigrants from Soghd (Ṭabarī, ii. 1440); but no mention is made in the historians of the defeat and expulsion of the Arabs. According to a later story (first given by al-Ḳarashī, in Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 148) Muḥammad b. Djarīr fell at the head of 2700 "companions and their followers" (*ṣaḥāba wa tābiʿūn*) in battle against the unbelievers at Safīd-Bulān or Isfīd-Bulān in Farghāna (in the neighbourhood of Kāsān) under the Caliph ʿOthmān; the same story is told with some alterations in a work popular throughout Central Asia, presumably translated from the Arabic into Persian and thence into Turkish (*Protokoll Turk.* etc., iv. 149 *et seq.*).

Naṣr b. Saiyār was the first to be able to send a governor to Farghāna again (121 = 739, cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 1694, 2); but on this occasion again Arab rule did not last long. From Yaʿḳūbī (ii. 465) it may be assumed that the ruler of Farghāna had retired to Kāshghar; but even there he was defeated in the reign of Manṣūr (136—158 = 754—775), had to sue for peace and pay a large sum. His envoy was thrown into prison for his first refusal to adopt Islām and only released in the reign of al-Mahdī (158—169 = 775—785). An army was sent by al-Mahdī against Farghāna under Aḥmad b. Asad; Kāsān is again mentioned in connection with this expedition as the residence of the king, who apparently had won back his country in the interval (Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 478). In the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, during the governorship of Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭā (175-176 = 792-793), ʿAmr b. Djamīl was ordered to drive the army of the Djabghū (probably the king of the Turkish Karluḳ) out of Farghāna (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., ii. 207). Under al-Maʾmūn (198—218 = 813—833) an army had once more to be sent against the rebellious inhabitants of Farghāna; at the command of this Caliph the administration of certain parts of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, including Farghāna, was entrusted by the governor Ghassān b. ʿAbbād (203—205 = 819—821) to the Sāmānid family. The Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Asad (died 227 = 842) was the last governor under whom parts of Farghāna (Kāsān and Urast) had to be reconquered on account of the apostasy of their inhabitants from Islām (Balādhurī, p. 420). When the native dynasty was finally overthrown is not related. In the reign of Muʿtaṣim (218—227 = 833—842) there were men from Farghāna (*Farāghina*) in the Caliph's bodyguard (Balādhurī, p. 431). In 224 = 838-839 Farghāna was visited by a severe earthquake (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 3).

The Farghāna of the Sāmānid period is described in great detail by the Arab geographers. The focus of the industrial and commercial life of the country seems at this time to have been transferred to the lands south of the Sir-Daryā. The oldest Arab geographers, like Ibn Khurdādhbih (ed. de Goeje, p. 30), make the high road from Western Asia to the eastern boundaries of the Caliph's dominions cross the Sir-Daryā at Khodjand, thence follow the right bank as far as Akhsīkath, thence on across the river to Ḳubā, Ōsh and Uzgand. On the other hand Iṣṭakhrī regards the road through the lands lying south of the Sir-Daryā as the main road; on this route lay Kand (in Bābur, ed. Beveridge, f. 4a, Kand-i Bādām, the modern Kān-i Bādām), Sōkh (the modern Sari-Kurghān; Sōkh is now the name of a mountain village on the same river but considerably farther south); Rishtān (still bears the same name), Zandarāmish and Ḳubā (the modern Ḳuwā). There was only a bye-road from Sōkh via Khōḳand (the later capital) to Akhsīkath. Akhsīkath was still considered the capital (*ḳaṣaba*), Ḳubā only the second town (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 333); but Muḳaddasī (p. 272), says that Ḳubā is larger and more beautiful than Akhsīkath and ought really to be considered the capital. The third town in importance was Ōsh on the frontier; there was a large *ribāṭ* (fortified military station) there, into which warriors of the faith poured from all sides (Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*); the movements of the Turks were watched from the hill near Ōsh. Uzgand was about ⅔ smaller than Ōsh; it is called the "town of the Dihḳān Djūr-Tegin" (this is the proper reading) by Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 30) and Ḳudāma (p. 208), so that it was probably the residence of a Turkish prince; Čūr-Tegin is the modern name of a district east of the Yasi pass (Petrowskī in *Zapiski vost. otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, viii. 357). The towns of Bikand and Salāt were also regarded as "gateways to the Turks" by which one came through the district of Miyān-Rūdhān (between the Narin and the Ḳara-Daryā; the modern Iki-su-arasi); the district was called Haft-Dih ("seven villages") and had, as Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 396) says, been taken from the Turks only a short time before; it is apparently the same district as was later called Yitikand (or Djitikand) (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 180).

The land was divided into several districts (*kūra*, pl. *kuwar*); besides Miyān-Rūdhān, Bikand and Salāt, Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 395 *et seq.*) mentions the following districts, Upper Nasyā with Sōkh, Khōḳand and Rishtān, Lower Nasyā (to the east) with Marghīnān, Zandarāmish and Andukān (the modern Andidjān), Asbara (Isfara) in the plain and in the mountains, Naḳād in the mountains, with the town of Miskān (7 farsakh from Ḳubā),

Djighil (in the valley of Čotḳal, with the town of Ardlānkath) and Ūzast (near 'Ōsh); several smaller districts are also mentioned. Muḳaddasī, who uses the word *kūra* in another sense and makes the whole of Farghāna one *kūra*, divides the country into three parts, viz., the land between the Narin and the Ḳara-Daryā, the land south of the Sir-Daryā and the land to the north of the latter river; it is apparently on this that the division of all the towns of Farghāna into Miyānrūdhīya, Nasā'īya (from Nasyā) and Wāghizīya is based, although some towns south of the Sir-Daryā are erroneously reckoned by Muḳaddasī among the Miyānrūdhīya (e.g. Zandaramīsh) or among the Wāghizīya (e.g. Awwāl and Miskān). Khailām (in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, f. 9ᵇ, Khatlam, in Muḳaddasī, Khairalām) was the chief town in Miyān Rūdhān; it lay on the Narin (the river itself is called Rūdh-i Khatlām in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*), and was the birthplace of the Sāmānid Abu 'l-Ḥasan Naṣr, the eldest son of Aḥmad b. Asad (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 334); according to Muḳaddasī (p. 271) "a king", probably the same Aḥmad b. Asad built the town of Naṣrābādh in this district for his son Naṣr. Of the larger towns of the present day only Marghīnān (in Muḳaddasī, p. 272) is mentioned as a small town; nothing more than the names of Khōḳand and Andakān are given. According to Muḳaddasī there were in all 40 places in Farghāna with Friday mosques. As Iṣṭakhrī (p. 333) notes the villages in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr were nowhere so large as in Farghāna; it sometimes happened that a village stretched for a whole day's journey on account of the number of its inhabitants and the extent of their fields and pastures.

The mountains of Farghāna yielded gold, silver, mercury (according to Muḳaddasī, p. 326, 11 at Kuhā), petroleum, turquoises (at Khōdjand, cf. Muhammad Bakrān in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 81), iron, copper, lead and sal-ammoniac (at Ūzgand, cf. *ibid.*). Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 395, 1) mentions tarragon as a special feature of Farghāna, the seed of which was exported to all countries and an article called *kulkha* or *kilkhā* (cf. *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iv. 344; according to the passage there quoted from Vullers' *Lexicon* it was a black wood, which was used as a remedy for certain diseases, notably worms in the intestines). There were deposits of coal at Isfara; the price of coal which even in those days was used as fuel, was (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 334) 1 dirhem for three assloads (*wiḳr*, plur. *awḳār*); as an assload contained at least 60 kg., this was very cheap; at the time of the Russian conquest one pud (16,38 kg.) was being sold at 32 kopecks (about 1¹/₄ dirhems) and even today the price of coal is immeasurably higher than in the Sāmānid period. The manufacture of iron, which had been introduced by the Chinese, no longer existed; according to Muḳaddasī (p. 325, 11) Turkish slaves, white clothstuffs, cuirasses and swords, copper and iron were exported from Farghāna and Isfīdjāb; the last four articles must refer not to Isfīdjāb but to Farghāna only. Under Sāmānid rule the land developed considerably; according to Ibn Khordādhbih (p. 38, 12) the revenue from taxes in Farghāna was only 280,000 dirhems, in Ibn Ḥawḳal's (p. 343, 5) time it had risen to a million. Islām seems by this time to have held undisputed sway; whether there were Christians, Manichaeans and fire-worshippers here, as in Samarḳand, at this time is not related. As everywhere in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr Ḥanafīs predominated; there were also monasteries (*khānaḳāh*) of the Karrāmīya (Muḳaddasī, p. 323, 12). A few Biblical legends had been located as early as this time in Farghāna; the "tomb of Job" was shown (Muḳaddasī, p. 46, 14); this apparently refers to the medicinal spring (about 55 miles east of Andidjān) still known by the name Ḥaḍrat-Aiyūb.

No buildings of the Sāmānid period seem to have survived; N. Wesselowski however discovered an Arabic inscription of the year 329 = 940-941 at Ōsh in 1885 (*Otčet Imperatorskoi Arkheologičeskoi Kommissii za 1882—1888 godï*, p. lxxiii.).

Like all other parts of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, Farghāna was conquered towards the end of the ivᵗʰ = xᵗʰ century by the Turkish Ilak-Khāns or Karakhānids. Rulers of this dynasty struck coins in Ūzgand (particularly common), Akhsīkath, Haftdih, Kāsān and Marghīnān; the land (Farghāna) is frequently mentioned on the coins in place of the mint-town, as was also the case with the Sāmānid coins. In the historical sources of this period Ūzgand is mentioned with particular frequency, first as the residence of the king of all Mā warāʾ al-Nahr (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 282 *et seq.*) and later as the residence of a local chief. As the coins show, Farghāna during this period, when it had no king of its own, belonged sometimes to Mā warāʾ al-Nahr and sometimes to Kāshghar. In the years 482 = 1089 and 483 = 1090 Sulṭān Malik-Shāh penetrated to Ūzgand. After the battle of 536 = 1141 Farghāna, like the other lands of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, had to submit to the Gūrkhān of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāi, but following their usual custom these conquerors left the earlier dynasty and institutions unchanged. In the second half of the viᵗʰ = xiiᵗʰ century Samarkand seems to have been conquered by a king of Ūzgand; coins of Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusain were struck in Ūzgand from 560 = 1165 but in Samarḳand only after 574 = 1178-1179. After the death of this ruler his son ʿOthmān ruled in Samarḳand only; Ūzgand belonged to another ruler Djalāl al-Dīn Ḳadr-Khān. Soon after 609 = 1212 the southern part of Farghāna was conquered by Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh with the other parts of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr; the northern part with Kāsān and Akhsīkath had to be left by the Khwārizmshāh for his rival Küčlük, king of the Naiman. In the Chinese annals Ho-si-mai-li (probably = Ismāʿīl) is mentioned as the king of Akhsīkath and Kāsān, who submitted to the Mongols in 1218. During Mongol supremacy Farghāna was one of the possessions of the house of Čaghatāi [q. v., i. 813ᵇ *et seq.*], but, like many other districts in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, had also a local dynasty which, like its predecessors, had its capital in Ūzgand; this town had been granted by the Great Khān Möngke to Arslān-Khān, king of the Ḳarluḳ (Djuwainī in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 108). Djamāl al-Ḳurashī (*ibid.*, p. 149) mentions Ilīā-Malik as Wālī of Farghāna; the tomb of his son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Satilmish Malik Shāh, who died in 665 = 1266, still stands in Ūzgand. In spite of its local dynasty Ūzgand was of some importance to the central government under the Ḳarā-Khiṭāi and Mongols; Djuwainī says that the treasures (*khazāʾin*) of the Gūrkhān were there; according to Waṣṣāf (Indian edition, p. 67 at the foot) it was there also that Burāḳ-Khān [q. v., i. 794ᵇ *et seq.*] ascended the throne and

appropriated the treasures (*khazāyin*) of Alghū and Ughnāna (cf. CAGHATAI, i. 812ᵇ *et seq.*).

Several buildings, in addition to a considerable number of tombstones have survived in Uzgand from the period viᵗʰ—viiiᵗʰ = xiiᵗʰ—xivᵗʰ centuries; among them is the gateway of a beautiful sepulchral mosque with an inscription where the date of the death of the individual buried there is given as 588 = 1192; beside it there is a second mausoleum and a minaret about 60 feet high; legends only have survived among the present day inhabitants regarding the origin of these tombs; according to some the saint Burhān al-Dīn Kilidj is buried here with his parents (this story is also mentioned by Djamāl al-Ḳurashī in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 149) others say these are the tombs of "two brothers", the kings Ilik-i Māḍī and Sandjar-i Māḍī; in reality the latter's (died 552 = 1157) tomb is in Merw; "Ilik-i Māḍī" was Naṣr b. ʿAlī (died 403 = 1012-1013) the conqueror of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr who according to the historians was actually buried in Uzgand, although his tomb has not survived.

Ḳubā is not mentioned after the ivᵗʰ = xᵗʰ century; why the prosperity of the town was of such short duration is not known; the story of the "five brothers of Ḳubā" and their fight with Maḥmūd of Ghazna, given by Dawlat-Shāh (ed. Browne, p. 174 *et seq.*) with reference to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī is certainly legendary. Besides Uzgand, Marghīnān had attained considerable importance by this time: to Yāḳūt (iv. 500, from Samʿānī) Marghīnān is "one of the most famous of cities"; Rishtān, which was of incomparably greater importance in the ivᵗʰ = xᵗʰ century, now appears as a mere village in the district of Marghīnān (Yāḳūt, ii. 781); the author of the *Hidāya*, for example, (died 593 = 1197) called himself *Marghīnānī* although he really was born in Rishtān. Towards the end of the viiᵗʰ = xiiiᵗʰ century Farghāna was given a new capital, Andidjān founded by Ḳaidū and Duwā (cf. i. 814ᵃ), which corresponds to the Andukān of the Arab geographers; the new form appears first in Djamāl al-Ḳurashī (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 149 *et seq.*), although the old is still found in the *Ẓafar-Nāma*, (Ind. ed., i. 263 *et seq.*); in Sulṭān ʿOmar Shaikh's Uighur document of the year 873 = 1469 (published by Melioranski in the *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshl.*, xvi. 01 *et seq.*) the town is called Andagan.

An Arabic inscription of the Ḳarākhānid period dated 29ᵗʰ December 1041 in three eras, the Muhammadan, Sāsānian of Persia and the Greek (*Rūmī*), i. e. Syriac-Christian, still exists in the southern part of Farghāna in the ravine of Wārukh (south of Isfara) (*Protokol Turk. Kruzhka Ljub. Arkh.*, viii. 46 *et seq.*).

Tīmūr and the Tīmūrids had often to fight for the possession of Farghāna with the rulers of the modern Chinese Turkestan; it is evidence of the close connection between Farghāna and Chinese Turkestan that amongst other things in both countries the smallest division for purposes of taxation (which as communities corresponded roughly to the *rustāḳ* of the older period) was called *ūrčīn* (*Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, f. 131ᵇ), while in the other parts of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr the word *tūmān* was used as in Persia. ʿOmar Shaikh, a descendant of Tīmūr, ruled Farghāna as an independent kingdom from 873—899 = 1469—1494. On his successor and the conquest of Farghāna by the Uzbegs cf. BĀBUR (i. 547ᵇ *et seq.*).

In Bābur's time there were eight cities in Farghāna (exclusive of Khodjand, which Bābur also includes in Farghāna); of these two (Akhsī — the form Akhsīkath was only known to Bābur from books — and Kāsān) north of the Sir-Daryā and six to the south of it; of the latter he describes Andidjān, Ōsh, Marghīnān and Isfara; Khoḳand is nowhere mentioned by Bābur as a town although Djamāl al-Ḳurashī (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 148 *et seq.*) says that the tomb of a Muslim saint, the Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, a brother of the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, was there. The name itself is written Khūḳān by Bābur (l. c., f. 25ᵃ and 103ᵇ) as the name of a district (*ūrčīn*); in the xviiiᵗʰ century (e.g. in the *Tuḥfat al-Khānī* of Muḥammad Wafāʾī Karminegī, MS. of the Asiatic Museum *c* 581ᵇ, f. 50ᵃ) the form Ḳūḳān appears and in the older Russian notices Kokan; the form Khoḳand, Russian Kokand was only restored in the xixᵗʰ century through literary tradition. In the capital Andidjān the Turkī language was already predominant in Bābur's time; there was no one in the city or in the marketplace who did not understand it; Bābur even says that the dialect of Andidjān was identical with the Eastern Turkī literary language created by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī. On the other hand "Sartish" was still spoken in Marghīnān, i. e., according to the idiom of the time, Persian. Of the products of Farghāna Bābur particularly esteems various kinds of fruits; besides orchards there were flower gardens, which stretched along both sides of the river from Andidjān up to Ōsh. The Takht-i Sulaimān mountain at Ōsh is mentioned by Djamāl al-Ḳurashī under the name Barāka, by Bābur (f. 2ᵇ) as Barākūh; Bābur makes no mention of the localisation here of Solomonic legends (he only mentions that there were many *ḥadīth*s on the advantages of Ōsh), but this localisation must have taken place by his time, for Djamāl al-Ḳurashī says that the tomb of the vizier Āṣaf b. Barakhyā [q. v., i. 476ᵇ] was not far from the mountain. During the last years of the reign of ʿOmar Shaikh a rock of a red and white colour was discovered on this mountain, from which knife-handles and other articles were made; a tree called *ūbālghā* (*Spiraea crenata*) also grew in the mountains which Bābur (f. 5ᵃ) thought was found nowhere else (in reality it also grows in South Russia), the wood of which was used for making bird-cages, quivers etc. As to the mines and mining we are only told that turquoises and iron are found in the mountains; no mention is now made of the manufacture of arms nor of the coal-mines. The revenue of the country "with good government" was sufficient to maintain an army of 3000—4000 men.

Farghāna from the xᵗʰ = xviᵗʰ century belonged to the Uzbeg kingdom. Andidjān is sometimes mentioned as the residence of one of the many minor rulers of the Shaibānid dynasty; in the xiᵗʰ = xviiᵗʰ century the land was for the most part in the possession of Kirghiz Sulṭāns. "Farghāna" had even been replaced by "Andidjān" as the name of the country; in the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (Cod. India Office, 575, f. 102ᵇ) the following note is made on the word Farghāna, *ki alyawm ba Andidjān mashhūr ast*. Towards the end of this century, after the collapse

of the Uzbeg kingdom, authority in Farghāna, as in Chinese Turkestan and at a later period in Tashkent, passed to a number of Khōdjas who lived in Čādak north of the Sir-Daryā; this place is mentioned as early as the ivth = xth century (Muḳaddasī, p. 262, 1, where Čārak must be a mistake for Čādak). The power of these Khōdjas was destroyed by Shāhrukh Bī who succeeded in founding an independent Uzbeg kingdom in Farghāna with Khōḳand as capital; according to Mullā Niyāz Muḥammad (*Taʾrīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusow, p. 21) this took place in 1121 = 1709-1710. On this kingdom, which lasted till its overthrow by the Russians in 1876, cf. the article KHŌḲAND. During this period also the name "Farghāna" seems only to have been known to people with a literary education; ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schefer, p. 43 *et seq.*) for example says that the kingdom of Khōḳand in earlier times (*dar awwal*) was called "Farghāna". The same historian mentions "Farghāna and Takht-i Sulaimān" as the seventh town in the kingdom (after Khōḳand, Tashkent, Khodjand, Andidjān, Namangān and Marghilān (Marghinān) which shows that the name Farghāna was chiefly applied to the town of Ūsh.

Since the establishment of Russian rule a complete transformation in the economic conditions has been effected in Farghāna, particularly through the rapid development of the cultivation of cotton. Previously the land was only able to export a very small quantity of raw material after supplying its own wants; since the introduction of American varieties this article has become of importance for the Russian market; about 115 million kg. are annually exported, which supply one third of the amount required by the Russian cotton mills. The cultivation of cotton now brings the country an income of about 40 million roubles; this influx of money was naturally followed by a rise in all prices and a severe economic crisis, which has not been without evil results to the *morals* of the people; the rising in 1898 was unmistakably influenced by this crisis. The silk-trade is next in importance; it is not mentioned by the geographers of the middle ages and seems only to have developed in Farghāna in the xviiith century under the influence of China, as in Samarḳand under the influence of Persia. In 1889 about 245,000 kg. of raw silk were exported, valued at 3 million roubles; the amount produced is now about 424,400 kg., but prices have sunk so that this industry now yields only about 2 million roubles. The growth of cereals has declined with the development of cotton so that the country can now only meet its requirements by imports from the district of Samarḳand. Little has yet been done to develop other branches of industry or the mines and the deposits of coal. Means of communication are still very unsatisfactory, although since 1899 the country has been traversed by a railway as far as Andidjān; in 1912 a branch line from Khōḳand to Namangān was also opened; there is an almost entire lack of good roads and strong bridges are particularly wanted. The former capital Khōḳand still forms the focus of the industrial and commercial life of the country; it is now a city with about 113,000 inhabitants; Namangān, first mentioned as a village in the xviith century, is now the second town in the country with over 70,000 inhabitants. The town of "New Margelan" now called Skobelew, founded by the Russians, the residence of the military governor, has a population of only 12,000. This relatively thickly populated territory is of less consideration for purposes of colonisation than the other parts of Russian Turkestan; 17 Russian villages of which six are in the Farghāna valley proper, have been founded in Farghāna.

Bibliography: Chinese accounts: Jakinf, *Sobranie svedenij o narodakh, obitavshikh v Srednei Azii v drevnija vremena* (St. Petersburg 1852); Fr. Hirth, *Zur Kulturgeschichte der Chinesen* (Munich 1898; reprint from the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, N°. 147 and 148); E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg 1903), p. 148 *et seq.*; Hiouen-Thsang, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, traduits par Stan. Julien, i. 16 *et seq.* — Arab accounts: W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestvija*, ii. 155 *et seq.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 477 *et seq.* — On the coins of the Ḳarakhānids: A. Markow, *Inventarnij katalog musulmanskikh monet Imperatorskago Ermitazha* (St. Petersburg 1896), p. 168 *et seq.* — On the ruins of buildings in Uzgand (with illustrations) and epitaphs there: *Protokoly Zasedanija Turkestanskago Kruzhka ljubitelei arkheologii 11 dekabrja 1897 goda*. — On modern conditions, the publications of the statistical committee of the Farghāna territory, including three volumes of an annual (*Ezhegodnik Ferganskoi oblasti*, 1902—1904; in the first volume a very full anonymous article on the silk trade); on the same subject cf. also N. F. Petrowskij, *Shelkovodstvo i shelkomotanie v Srednei Azii*, St. Petersburg 1874); *Materiali dlja statisticheskago opisanija Ferganskoi oblasti* (5 parts, 1897—1910); *Spisok naselennikh mest Ferganskoi oblasti* (Skobelew 1909). A lecture by Prof. A. Wojejkow to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society on the 15th = 28th November and 27th November = 10th December 1912. (W. BARTHOLD.)

al-**FARGHĀNĪ** is the astronomer Alfraganus of the middle ages. His full name was ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. KATHĪR AL-FARGHĀNĪ, i. e. born in Farghāna in Transoxania but there is no general agreement as to his name. The *Fihrist* has only Muḥammad b. Kathīr, Abu 'l-Faradj only Aḥmad b. Kathīr, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī distinguishes two persons, Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, father and son, but it is very probable that all refer to one and the same individual, an astronomer who lived in the reign of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn (died 833) and was still alive at the death of al-Mutawakkil in 861, for Abu 'l-Maḥāsin and Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa mention an Aḥmad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī who was sent to Fusṭāṭ by the Caliph Mutawakkil in 247 (861) to superintend the erection of a nilometer. His *magnum opus* which exists in Arabic in Oxford, Paris, Cairo and in the library of the Princetown University, bears various titles: *Djawāmiʿ ʿilm al-nudjūm wa 'l-ḥarakāt al-samāwīya*, *Uṣūl ʿilm al-nudjūm*, *al-Madkhal ilā ʿilm haiʾat al-aflāk* and *Kitāb al-fuṣūl al-thalāthīn*. It was translated into Latin by John Hispalensis and Gerard of Cremona. There is also a Hebrew translation by Jacob Anatoli (according to Steinschneider) which exists in Berlin, Oxford, Munich, Vienna etc. John Hispalensis's Latin translation was prin-

ted at Ferrara in 1493, Nürnberg 1537 and Paris 1546. Jakob Christmann made a Latin translation from Anatoli's Hebrew version, which was published at Frankfurt a/M. in 1590. Jacobus Golius published the Arabic text with a Latin translation and a full commentary in 1669 at Amsterdam under the title: *Muhammedis fil. Ketiri Ferganensis, qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa astronomica, Arabice et Latine.* Besides this work, which attained a greater circulation in the west before Regiomontanus than that of any other Arab astronomer because it was fairly short and in a form readily intelligible, al-Farghānī wrote two works on the astrolabe, *al-Kāmil fi 'l-asṭorlāb* and *fi ṣan'at al-asṭorlāb*, which still exist in Arabic in Berlin and Paris.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i. 279; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (ed. Lippert), p. 78 and 286; Abu 'l-Faradj (ed. Ṣālḥānī), p. 236; Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a (ed. A. Müller), i. 207; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin (ed. Juynboll), i. 742; M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des XVII. Jahrh.* (in *Sitzungsber. der K. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien*, *philol.-histor. Klasse*, Vol. 149, p. 22 and 44); Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, i. 221; Suter, *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der mathemat. Wissensch.*, x. 18 and xiv. 160. (H. SUTER.)

FARHĀD U SHĪRĪN, a celebrated pair of Persian lovers, and hence the title of a romantic poem; several poets (cf. Ethé, *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 246 *et seq.*) have written poems with this title. Farhād the architect was the unfortunate rival of Khusraw — there are also several poems called *Khusraw u Shīrīn*; Niẓāmī [q. v.] was the first to write on this latter subject —, who had almost bored through the mountain Bisutūn to win the hand of his beloved, when he fell dead on being falsely told that Shīrīn was dead. Turkish poets, notably Mīr 'Alī Shīr have also dealt with the same subject.

Bibliography: Ethé, *op. cit.*; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 321 *et seq.* and elsewhere (see Index).

FARHANG, FARHENG (Pehl. *frahang* "education, instruction") the name given by the Persians to dictionaries of their language. The four principal ones are the *Farhang-i Djahāngīrī* begun in 1005 (1597) by order of Akbar by Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Indjū, an 'Alid of Shīrāz, and finished in 1017 (1608) in the reign of Djahāngīr; the *Farhang-i Rashīdī* of 'Abd al-Rashīd, an 'Alid of Tatta, who was still alive in 1069 (1618); the *Farhang-i Shu'ūrī*, printed at Constantinople in 1155 = 1742; the *Farhang-i Nāṣirī* (*Andjuman-ārā*) of Riḍā Ḳulī Khān lithographed at Teherān in 1288 = 1871. — Farhang is also the name of a recent Persian poet, Mīrzā-i Farhang (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim) who lived at Shīrāz and died about 1862; he was the fourth son of Wiṣāl (Mīrzā Kūčak) and was 31 years old in 1295 (1878). He was made poet-laureate to Mu'aiyid al-Dawla Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, governor of Fārs.

Bibliography: P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, p. 37, 45; H. Blochmann, *Contributions to Persian Lexicography*, p. 65; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 119, 297; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣaḥā'*, ii. 384. (CL. HUART.)

FARĪD AL-DĪN, an epithet of 'Aṭṭār [q. v., i. 513b *et seq.*] and of Shakar Gandj [q. v.]

FARĪḌA (A.), Plur. FARĀ'IḌ, q. v., p. 56b *et seq.* and also the article FARḌ.

FARĪDKŌT, A town and state in the Pandjāb surrounded almost entirely by the British district of Fērōzpūr. The town was founded about 600 years ago and is named after the saint Bābā Farīd Shakargandj, whose shrine is at Pākpattan near by. He died in 664 (1265). A state was founded here by a Sidhū Djaṭ family in Akbar's time, and the Rādjās adopted the Sikh religion, which is now predominant among the cultivating classes. The Muhammadan population mainly Rādjpūts, Djaṭs and Arains, is about one fourth of the whole. Area 642 sq. m. Population 124,912 in 1901. The state was saved from absorption by Randjīt Singh through the advance of the British power in the early xixth century, and it has since been maintained as a feudatory area. The present Rādjā is a minor.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

FARĪDPŪR district of India in Eastern Bengal, lying in the delta of the Ganges. Pop. (1911) 2,121,914, of whom 62 % are Muhammadans. Here was the birthplace of Ḥādjdjī Sharī'at Allāh, the founder of the reforming sect of Farā'iḍiya [q. v.] or Farāẓī and of his son Dudū Miyān, who caused some trouble to the British Government in the middle of the 19th cent. The sect is still numerous in Farīdpūr. The town (pop. 11, 649) takes its name from a saint, Farīd Shāh, who is buried there.

Bibliography: Wise, *The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal*, in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. 63, Part iii. (1894). (J. S. COTTON.)

FARĪḲ, in Arabic, a "large body of men" also a "section of a caravan"; thence in Turkish, since the reforms (*Tanẓīmāt*), the general of a division in the army and vice-admiral in the fleet. This rank corresponds to that of *Istanbol-ḳāḍīsi* in the hierarchy of the 'Ulemā', *Rutbe-i ūlā* (*Ṣinf-i ewwel*) in the civil service and beylerbey of Rūmili in the ancient administrative organisation; there are also *Birindji Farīḳ* (of the first class), whose rank is equal to that of the *Bālā* (civil). The latter have the right to be called *'Oṭūfetlü* (gracious) while the former have to be content with the title *Sa'ādetlü* (fortunate); both titles are followed by the expression *Ḥaẓretleri* which is translated "His Excellency" in the Turkish diplomatic service. (CL. HUART.)

FĀRIS AL-SHIDYĀḲ AḤMAD B. YŪSUF, an Arabic journalist and author, born in Bairūt of Maronite parents, was educated at a Maronite school in Cairo and then for some time collaborated with Shihāb al-Dīn on the Egyptian official gazette *al-Waḳā'i' al-Miṣriya*. He next settled in Malta where he worked as a teacher of Arabic. While here he composed a Ḳaṣīda in praise of the Bey of Tunis (see *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, v. 249 *et seq.*; Goldziher, *Abh. Zur Arab. Phil.*, i. 172 *et seq.*) and wrote his *Kitāb al-Muḥāwara*, *Arabic and English grammatical exercises and familiar Dialogues* (Malta 1840). He gave an account of his experiences in Malta and his first contact with the results of European civilisation there in his *Kitāb al-Riḥla al-Mawsūma bi 'l-Wāsiṭa ilā Ma'rifat Mālṭa wa Kashf al-Mukhabbā' 'an Funūn Urūbā*, which was first published in Tunis in 1283 = 1866 and in a second edition at Stambul 1299 = 1881. In the beginning of the fifties he made a journey to

Paris where he composed his *Grammaire française à l'Usage des Arabes de l'Algérie, de l'Égypte et de la Syrie* (Paris 1854) with G. Dugat, and to London. He gave an account of his journey, which suggested to him many critical observations on the Arabs and other peoples, in his *Kitâb al-Sâk 'ala 'l-Sâk fîmâ huwa 'l-Fâryâk 'an Aiyâm wa Shuhûr wa A'wâm fî 'Udjm al-'Arab wa 'l-A'djam*, Paris 1855. His *Practical Arabic Grammar* (2nd ed. by H. G. Williams, London 1866) appeared at the same time. From London he went to Stambul and there became a convert to Islâm. At the end of July 1860 he founded the Arabic weekly *al-Djawâ'ib* there, which, subsidised by the Turkish government, took up the cause of Islâm but also gave Muslims a knowledge of Europe. At the beginning of the eighties his paper enjoyed the greatest prestige throughout the whole Muslim world, but his son Salîm, who undertook the editorship on the death of his father in 1305 = 1884, was unable to maintain the same level. He published selections from this newspaper in seven volumes (Stambul 1288—1298) entitled *Kanz al-Raghâ'ib fî Muntakhabât al-Djawâ'ib*, containing essays on literary subjects, a history of the Franco-German war, poems by and panegyrics on himself and in the last three volumes a history of the Ottoman Empire to 1298. He also found time for serious philological studies. Besides an Arabic primer he published studies in Arabic etymology entitled *Sirr al-Layâl fi 'l-Kalb wa 'l-Ibdâl*, Stambul 1284; a grammar, *Ghunyat al-Tâlib wa Munyat al-Râghib fi 'l-Naḥw wa 'l-Ṣarf wa Ḥurûf al-Ma'ânî*, Stambul 1288, 1300; a Pers.-Turk.-Arab. Dictionary, *Kanz al-Lughât*, Bairût 1876 and critical contributions to Arabic lexicography *al-Djâsûs 'ala 'l-Kâmûs*, Stambul 1299.

Bibliography: *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, v. 249 *et seq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Lit.*, ii. 505; see also i. p. 1063ᵃ.

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

FÂRIS B. MUḤAMMAD ḤUSÂM AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-SHAWK, as he is usually called, lord of Ḥolwân and other places in the neighbourhood 401—437 (1010—1046). He inherited his power from his father, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. 'Annâz, who had held sway for about twenty years in Daḳûḳâ', Ḥolwân, etc. Abu 'l-Shawk was at war during almost the whole period of his rule with neighbouring rulers and with his own family. His first fight was with al-Mazyadî of al-Ḥilla, but it ended in peace by a marriage between Dubais son of al-Mazyadî and a sister (or daughter) of Abu 'l-Shawk. His next quarrel, with Ṭâhir b. Hilâl, a descendant of Badr b. Ḥasanwaih [q. v.] was at first less auspicious, as his brother Sa'dî was slain by Ṭâhir and he himself had to take to flight in spite of the help given him by al-Mazyadî, who was now his ally, but it also ended with a marriage. When peace had actually been concluded, Abu 'l-Shawk killed Ṭâhir to revenge his brother (406 = 1015-1016). In 421 (1030) he regained possession of Daḳûḳâ' which had been held in the interval by the 'Uḳailid Mâlik b. Badrân; he won Ḳarmîsîn and Khulandjân in 430 = 1039. In the following year, however, a war broke out between his son Abu 'l-Fatḥ, who governed Dînawar for him, and his brother Muhalhil, to whom he had ceded Shahrazûr. The uncle was victorious and took his nephew prisoner and gave him a sound thrashing. Abu 'l-Shawk felt himself thereby forced to besiege his brother in Shahrazûr but did not attain his object because Muhalhil incited 'Alâ' al-Dawla b. Kâkûya (see the article MUḤAMMAD B. DUSHMANZIYÂR) against him and another brother called Surkhâb also seized the opportunity to take the field against Abu 'l-Shawk. Although he succeeded in forcing 'Alâ' al-Dawla to retreat, he had to cede Dînawar to him. He did not dispose of his brother so readily; it was only when a much more dangerous enemy, the Saldjûk Ibrâhîm Inâl, appeared against him, soon deprived him of a considerable portion of his territory and even plundered and burned the capital Ḥolwân in 437 (1046), that he made peace with his brother, the more readily as his son had in the meanwhile died in prison. But his day was done, for he died a few weeks later. His brother Muhalhil took possession of Ḳarmîsîn and Dînawar and his son Sa'dî, whom the Kurds treacherously left in the lurch, sought and found refuge with Ibrâhîm Inâl. The conflict with Muhalhil thereupon broke out again but, although even the measures of the Saldjûk Toghrulbeg (442 = 1050) brought no lasting peace, the further course of this family feud is not of sufficient historical interest to be detailed here.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athîr (ed. Tornberg), ix. 158 *et seq.*

AL-FARḲADÂNI (dual of *farḳad*) "the two calves", is the name given by the Arabs to the two brighter stars β and γ in the quadrilateral of the Little Bear (cf. the article AL-DUBB, i. 1078ᵃ); β is called *Anwar al-Farḳadain* (the brighter of the two calves) and γ = *Akhfâ al-Farḳadain* (the darker of the two calves).

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwînî, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 29; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung u. die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p. 3 and 12.

(H. SUTER.)

FARḲÎN. [See MAIYÂFÂRIḲÎN.]

FARMÂN. [See FERMÂN.]

FARMÛL, a mountainous district in Afghânistân lying to the west of Kâbul, inhabited by a race of Tâdjîk origin known as Farmûlî.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

FARRUKHÂBÂD, the name of a district and town in the United Provinces of British India. It is one of the districts of the Allâhâbâd division and is situated in the Eastern part of the Duâb between the Ganges and Djamnâ between 26° 46′ and 27° 43′ N. and 78° 8′ and 80° 1′ E. The area is 1685 sq. m. and the population (in 1901) 925,812. The proportion of Muḥammadans is larger than in most of the neighbouring districts, chiefly owing to the extensive Afghân immigration in the xviith and xviiith centuries. The principal town is Farrukhâbâd which is joined as a municipality with the civil and military station at Fatḥgarh close by. Pop. 67,338. Another important town is Ḳanaudj. Pop. 18,552.

There are several ancient sites of importance in the district the principal of which are Sankîsa, which is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang, Kampila the capital of the kingdom of Pañcâla, and Kanaudj which plays a great part in early Indian history. It was Harsha Vardhana's capital in the viith cent. A. D., and afterwards the centre of the powerful empire of the Pratihâra Râdjpûts. It was plundered by Maḥmûd Ghaznawî, but endured till Muḥammad b. Sâm's invasion.

in 589 (1193). The conqueror himself struck coins there in the Indian style, and it was afterwards a temporary capital of Muḥammad III b. Tughluḳ. In the xviiith century a semi-independent state was founded by Muḥammad Khān Bangash, a member of the Afghān colony which had settled in the neighbourhood during the reign of Awrangzēb. He founded a new town on the banks of the Ganges which he named Farrukhābād after the Emperor Farrukh-siyar in 1126 (1714), and it soon attained great prosperity, and became an Imperial mint. Muḥammad Khān died in 1156 (1743) and was succeeded by his son Ḳā'im Khān who was killed in 1161 (1748) in a battle against the Rohilas. A large part of the territories of the Nawwābs of Farrukhābād was lost, and the state seemed to have come to an end, the Emperor (Aḥmad Shāh) being hostile to the Bangash family. But its fortunes were revived by Aḥmad Khān, a younger brother of Ḳā'im Khān, who defeated the Wazīr Ṣafdar Djang and recovered Farrukhābād 1163 (1750). From him the town derived its second name of Aḥmadnagar Farrukhābād, which appears on the coins of 'Ālamgīr II., Shāh Djahān III. and Shāh 'Ālam II. the earliest being dated 1170. After many vicissitudes and the temporary loss of his dominions Aḥmad Khān finally succeeded in recovering a great part of them and lived till 1185 (1771); the state however remained subordinate to Oudh. The first British occupation of Farrukhābād took place in 1777 when a body of troops and a Resident were posted there by Warren Hastings, but the Nawwābs continued to hold it till 1802 when it was incorporated in the British Dominions, Nāṣir Djang being then Nawwāb. In 1804 the Mahrattas were defeated close to Farrukhābād in 1804 by Lord Lake. The Nawwābs retained their private estates, but the last of them, Tafaḍḍul Ḥusain, joined the mutinous Bengal army in 1857 and obtained possession of Farrukhābād which he held till Jan. 1858. He was exiled and went to Mecca in 1859.

After the British occupation Farrukhābād, which had been one of Shāh 'Ālam's principal mints, became a mint of the East India Company who continued to issue coins bearing the name of Shāh 'Ālam and the regnal year 45 up to 1835, although Shāh 'Ālam had died in 1221 (1806). These rupees were in Persian and followed Shāh 'Ālam's inscriptions. They were known as the Farrukhābādī Sicca rupee, from the word 'sikka' with which the Persian legend commences.

Bibliography: Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, (London 1877), Vol. viii.; W. Irvine, *The Bangash Nawwābs of Farrukhābād*: *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1878-1879; *Imp. Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series*, (Calcutta 1908), i. 418 *et seq.*; H. N. Wright, *Catalogue, Coins of Indian Museum*, (Oxford 1908), Vol. iii. p. xlvi; W. Crooke, *N. W. Provinces of India*, (London 1897), p. 116, 122; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Moghul Coins in the British Museum*.

(M. Longworth Dames.)

FARRUKHĀN Gīl-i-Gīlān-Shāh, an Ispahbed of Ṭabaristān (709—722) called the Great (*buzurg*) and the Virtuous (*dhu 'l-manāḳib*), son of Dābūya, conquered Māzandarān and restored peace to the frontiers of his kingdom. Defeated by the rebel Dailamites he fled to Āmul, entrenched himself in Fīrūzābād and finally rid himself of the besiegers by causing them to believe that he had enormous supplies of bread. He gave asylum to the Khāridjīs persecuted by al-Ḥadjdjādj, but afterwards made war on them and executed their chiefs, when Sufyān b. Abi 'l-Abrad al-Kalbī advanced against him with an army. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of Khurāsān under Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik (96—99 = 715—717), unsuccessfully attempted to conquer Ṭabaristān but deemed himself lucky to be able to get out of the country on payment of compensation for the devastation he had wrought. Farrukhān died in 722; he was the maternal grandfather of al-Manṣūr, son of the Caliph al-Mahdī. His capital was Sārī, which he had rebuilt and improved; he was succeeded by his son Dād-burz-mihr.

Bibliography: Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān* (transl. by Browne), p. 99 *et seq.*; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Ta'rīkh Ṭabaristān* (ed. by Dorn), p. 45 *et seq.*; Mordtmann in the *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, xxx. 494; P. Horn in the *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii. 548 and note 2.

(Cl. Huart.)

FARRUKHĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Djūlūgh, a Persian poet born in Sīstān, a pupil of 'Unṣurī. Rashīd Waṭwāṭ has compared him with the Arabic poet Mutanabbī, on account of the simplicity of his style combined with the originality of his genius. He was the panegyrist of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna and of the Emir Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. Naṣr Čaghānī, governor of Balkh. He wrote a treatise on the art of poetry entitled *Tardjumān al-Balāgha*. The *Dīwān* of his poems enjoyed a certain fame in Transoxiana but he was forgotten in Khorāsān. He died in 429 (1038). His *Dīwān* was lithographed in Teherān in 1301-1302.

Bibliography: Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarkandī, *Čahār Maḳāla* (Gibb Memorial Series, xi.), p. 36 (transl. by Browne, p. 58); Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'* (ed. Browne), p. 55; Muḥammad 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ed. Browne), ii. p. 47; Riḍā-Ḳulī-Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣaḥā'*, i. 439 (with many extracts from the *Dīwān*); v. Hammer, *Redekünste Persiens*, p. 47; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii. 242—252 (Pers. text with notes); H. Ethé in the *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 224 *et seq.*

(Cl. Huart.)

FARRUKHSIYAR, Muḥammad, fourteenth emperor of Dihlī of the house of Tīmūr, was born in 1686-1687, and was the second son of Muḥammad 'Aẓīm ('Aẓīm al-Sha'n), third son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. His early life was spent in Bengal, where his father was governor, but when Djahāndār ascended the throne he was summoned to Dihlī, doubtless in order that he might share the fate of his father and elder brother. He fled from Dhāka and took refuge in Patna and owing to the general disgust excited by Djahāndār's misconduct, found little difficulty in persuading the two Saiyid brothers of Bārha, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, governor of Bihār, and 'Abd-allāh Khān, governor of Ilāhābād, to espouse his cause. Having proclaimed Farrukhsiyar emperor they marched with him towards Dihlī, defeating Djahāndār at Samūgarh, near Āgra. Djahāndār was strangled and his son was blinded, and on Febr. 10, 1713, Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne in Dihlī. Quarrels broke out almost at once between the emperor and the two Saiyids. There were faults on both sides. The Saiyids were ambitious grasping, and overbearing, and Farrukhsiyar was weak, treacherous, and cowardly, and the history

of his reign is largely a record of his abortive plots against the brothers. In 1719 Ḥusain 'Alī Khān hastened from the Dakhan, his viceroyalty, to support his brother at court and on March 1 the emperor was dragged from the womens' apartments of his palace where he had taken refuge, and thrown into prison, the Saiyids raising to the throne, under the title of Rafī' al-Daradjāt, a puppet prince, cousin to Farrukhsiyar who was murdered or committed suicide in prison two months later. His reign is memorable in the annals of British India for the famous *farmān*, exempting the English Company, on payment of a fixed sum annually, from customs duties throughout the empire. This was obtained by the influence of a Scottish surgeon named Hamilton, who had accompanied a mission to Dihlī and earned Farrukhsiyar's gratitude by curing him of an obstinate disease.

Bibliography: *Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirīn*.

(T. W. HAIG.)

FĀRS (arabicised from the Old Persian *Pārsa* [Achaemenid inscriptions]), the ancient Persis or Persia in the narrowest sense, the ancestral home of the Persians, a province of Persia in the S.E. of the modern Īrān with its capital Shīrāz, bounded in the N. by 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī, in the S. by the Persian Gulf, in the E. by Kirmān and in the W. by Khūzistān. It was divided into five districts in the middle ages: Iṣṭakhr, Ardashīr-Khurra, Dārābdjird, Sābūr and Fannā-Khusraw besides five *rams* or camps of Kurds. — In the caliphate of 'Omar, al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, governor of Baḥrain, made an attempt to conquer the land by sending 'Arfadja b. Harthama al-Bāriḳī thither by water; but the latter was recalled soon after his arrival. On the death of al-'Alā' his successor 'Othmān b. Abi 'l-'Āṣ renewed the attempt by sending to Fārs his brother al-Ḥakam, who seized two islands and the town of Tawwadj. It was only under 'Othmān that the complete subjection of the province was attained; the Marzbān Shahrak conducted the defence against the Muslim invaders but he was defeated and slain in the sanguinary conflict at Rēshahr near Tawwadj (664; Balādhurī, p. 386). Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who had set out with an army from Baṣra, invaded Fārs from the west at the same time. After joining forces 'Othmān and Abū Mūsā captured Shīrāz and Sīnīz; 'Othmān alone took Dārābdjird, Fasā and Sābūr. Soon afterwards 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir, who had been appointed commander-in-chief by the Caliph 'Othmān forced Iṣṭakhr, which was defended by Māhak to surrender (28 = 648) and in the following year he took Djūr (Fīrūz-ābād). — The *Kharādj* was fixed at 33 million dirhams and raised to 35 millions under Mutawakkil; the *Djizya* yielded 18 millions. — The country was covered with fortresses; the best known are the three citadels, which were built on the three peaks above Iṣṭakhr and notably that of Ushkunwān, the castle of al-Djiṣṣ, where a knowledge of Iranian tradition and its archives was preserved (Inostrancew, *Études Sassanides*, p. 8; Iṣṭakhrī, p. 118, 2—4).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, p. 386 *et seq.*; Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, i. 214; Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāī, *Fārs-Nāme* (lith. Teherān 1313); Barbier de Meynard, *Diction. géogr. de la Perse*, p. 410—415; G. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 248 *et seq.*; do., *Description of the Province of Fārs* (xii. Iṣṭakh.), from the MS. of Ibn al-Balkhī in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, January 1912; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, i.—iii.

(CL. HUART.)

FARSAKH, an Arabic loanword derived from a North Iranian form (proved by the Armen. *hrasakh* and the Syr. *parsakhā*), modern Persian *farsang* (Pehl. *frasang*, Old Persian in Herodotos and Xenophon παρασάγγης), a Persian measure of length, equivalent to the distance covered in an hour by a horse walking. This *farsakh* contains 6000 trade-ells (*dhirā' or dhar'-i rasmī*) of 1.0387 metres each = 6232.2 metres. The Arab *farsakh* was three Arab miles or 12000 ells = 5762.8 metres.

Bibliography: P. Horn in the *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 2, p. 127; J. A. Decourdemanche, *Traité pratique des poids et mesures*, p. 89; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 88 and 126, Note; Keyzer, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane*, p. 73; H. Sauvaire, *Numismatique et métrologie musulmane* (*Journ. As.*, 8th Series, viii. 520); A. Meillet in the *Mémoires de la Soc. de Linguistique*, xvii. (1911), 247.

(CL. HUART.)

FĀRSISTĀN. [See PERSIA.]

AL-**FĀRŪḲ.** [See 'OMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB.]

AL-**FĀRŪḲĪ** 'ABD AL-BĀḲĪ, an Arab poet, born at al-Mawṣil in 1204 (1790), took pride in being a descendant of the Caliph 'Omar I, and therefore bore the *nisba*'s al-Fārūḳī and al-'Omarī. Little is known of his life; we only know that he accompanied his cousin, Ḳāsim Pasha, when the latter was sent by the Sublime Porte to Baghdād to destroy the power of the Mamlūks there, and when this expedition was unsuccessful he went with the next expedition for the same purpose under 'Alī Riḍā Pasha. The latter succeeded in putting an end to the rule of Dā'ūd Pasha and the Mamlūks, and al-Fārūḳī remained with him in Baghdād as *ketkhoda* of the wilayet till his death in 1278 (1862). 'Othmān al-Mawṣilī published in Cairo in 1316 (1896) *al-Tiryāḳ al-Fārūḳī min Munsha'āt al-Fārūḳī* of his poetry. Besides this *Dīwān* he composed another entitled *Akillat al-Afkār fī Maghānī 'l-Ibtikār* and a biographical work *Nuzhat al-Dahr fī Taradjim Fuḍalā' al-Aṣr*.

Bibliography: G. Zaidān, *Mashāhir al-Sharḳ*, ii. 193 *et seq.*

AL-**FĀRŪḲĪ**, MULLĀ MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD was born 993 = 1585 at Djawnpūr. He received his early education from his grandfather and Ustādh al-Mulk Muḥammad Afḍal al-Djawnpūrī and after completing his course at the age of 17, began to deliver lectures to the students who then thronged in Djawnpūr from all parts of India. His literary fame and scholarly attainments soon became known to the Emperor Shāh Djahān who asked the Mullā to adorn his court. He accepted the invitation. When he came near Dihlī, Sa'd Allāh Khān, the minister, was sent to receive him and he was brought into Dihlī with all the honours due to him. The Emperor gave him an appointment in the *Manṣab* (office) of *Sih Ṣadī* (three hundred per month) and showered royal favours upon him. He was one of the most eminent 'ulamā, not only in India, but in the whole Islamic world of his time. When he went with the Emperor to Lāhore and visited Shāh Mīr Lāhorī, the saint reproached him for being too much engaged in worldly affairs and advised him to abandon the Emperor's

service. Accordingly he resigned the royal service and went to his native land where he passed his last days in delivering lectures to Muslim students and writing books. As a scholar in philosophy and rhetoric, it may be said that Maḥmūd was one of the most distinguished scholars in the Islamic world and his works on these two subjects have been adopted in the final courses in all the Indian Universities, and certificates of competency are awarded only to those students who are found proficient in his works. He died 1062 = 1651.

He is the author of the following works:

I. *Ḥāshiya ʿala 'l-Ādāb al-Bāḳiya*, a super-commentary on ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Ṣiddīḳī's Commentary on the treatise on Dialectics entitled *al-Risāla al-Sharīfiya fi ʿIlm Ādāb al-Munāẓara* by Saiyid Sharīf al-Djurdjānī (D. 816 = 1413). *Farangī Maḥall Library*, f. 37.

II. *Al-Farāʾid fī Sharḥ al-Fawāʾid*, a commentary on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Idjī's work on rhetoric entitled *al-Fawāʾid al-Ghiyāthiya*, Printed, Cawnpore.

III. *Risāla fī Ithbāt al-Hayūlā*, a treatise on the first matter (Hayūlā); *Ind. Off.* 561.

IV. *Al-Shams al-Bāzigha*, a work on philosophy, being a commentary on his own work entitled *al-Ḥikmat al-Bāligha*, lithographed at ʿAlawī Press A. H. 1278, Ludhiana 1280 and Lucknow 1288. Glosses: (a) By Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 1161 = 1748), *Farangī Maḥall Library*, f. 26. (b) By Ḥamd Allāh b. Shukr Allāh al-Sandīlī (d. 1160 = 1747), *Ind. Off.*, 562. (c) By Mullā Ḥasan b. Ḳāḍī Ghulām Muṣṭafā al-Lakhnawī, *Rāmpur Library*, 386; *Farangī Maḥall Library*, p. 20.

Bibliography: Āzād al-Bilgirāmī, *Subḥat al-Mardjān*, p. 53; Zaidī, *Shigraf Bayān*, p. 48; Faḳīr Muḥammad al-Lāhorī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiya*, p. 413; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan al-Ḳannūdjī, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, p. 901; and Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litter.*, Vol. ii. p. 420.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

FĀRŪḲĪ DYNASTY. This dynasty was founded by Malik Rādja, son of Khāndjahān Fārūḳī, who claimed descent from the second *Khalīfa*, ʿUmar al-Fārūḳ ('the Discriminator') and was one of the *amīrs* of ʿAlā al-Dīn Khildjī and Muḥammad b. Taghlaḳ. Fīrūz Taghlaḳ gave Malik Rādja a *djāgīr* in Khāndesh and afterwards made him governor of that province. On the disruption of the empire after the death of Fīrūz in 1388 he became virtually independent and his eldest son Naṣīr Khān, who succeeded him on his death (April 9, 1399), formally proclaimed his independence. Having established his authority throughout his small principality by capturing Asīrgaṛh from a Hindū chieftain he gave to his dominions the name of Khāndesh, derived from his own title of Khān, and founded, as his capital, the city of Burhānpūr. In 1436-1437 Naṣīr Khān invaded the dominions of his son-in-law, ʿAlā al-Dīn Aḥmad II (Bahmanī) of the Dakhan, but was defeated, and Khāndesh was laid waste. He died on Oct. 1, 1437, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mīrān ʿĀdil Khān I. who was murdered on April 30, 1441, and was succeeded by his son Mīrān Mubārak Khān I. who died, after a peaceful reign, on June 5, 1457. His son, Malik ʿAinā (or Ghanī) entitled ʿĀdil II., was one of the most powerful of the Fārūḳī princes and attempted to free his state from its condition of semi-dependence on Gudjarāt, but was compelled by Maḥmūd I to purchase peace by payment of arrears of tribute. He died on Jan. 15, 1492, and was succeeded by his brother, Dāʾūd Khān, who died on Aug. 28, 1508. After a civil war Dāʾūd's cousin, ʿĀdil Khān III, was placed on the throne (April 1, 1509) by his maternal grandfather, Maḥmūd I. of Gudjarāt. ʿĀdil Khān III. died on Aug. 24, 1520, and was succeeded by Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, his son by a princess of Gudjarāt. After an eventful reign in Khāndesh Mīrān Muḥammad was raised to the throne of Gudjarāt on the death of his maternal uncle, Bahādur Shāh, but died (May 4, 1539) before he could reach Aḥmadābād, and was succeeded in Khāndesh by his brother, Mīrān Mubārak Shāh. On Dec. 10, 1566, Mubārak died and was succeeded by his elder son Mīrān Muḥammad II. on whose death in 1576 his infant son Ḥasan was proclaimed Shāh, but Muḥammad's younger brother Rādja ʿAlī, who had entered Akbar's service, hastened from Agra to Khāndesh, deposed his nephew, and ascended the throne as Akbar's vassal, eschewing the title of Shāh, which had been in use since the elevation of Muḥammad I to the throne of Gudjarāt. His policy of preventing, by means of conciliation, imperial intervention in the Dakhan was frustrated by the dissensions in Aḥmadnagar, and the appeal of one party to Dihlī. He resisted Akbar's first act of aggression but was compelled to support the emperor in the campaign which ended in the annexation of Berar and lost his life in the battle of Sonpat (1596) fighting on the imperial side against the eunuch Suhail Khān, who was attempting to recover Berar for Aḥmadnagar. His son and successor Bahādur Khān, a dissolute and feeble ruler, reversed his father's wise policy and measured his strength with that of the emperor. Asīrgaṛh fell (1599-1600) after a siege of ten months, Khāndesh was annexed and Bahādur died, a state prisoner in Lāhor, in 1623-1624.

Khāndesh never enjoyed complete independence under the Fārūḳī dynasty but was always tributary either to Gudjarāt or Mālwa, usually to the former, and owed its existence as a separate state to the mutual jealousy of these two Kingdoms and their common fear of the Kingdom of the Dakhan.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta*, ii.

(T. W. HAIG.)

FARWĀN or PARWĀN, a small town on the Pandjshīr River north of Kābul and south of a pass bearing the same name which crosses the Hindū-Kush range into Afghān Turkistān at a height of 12,300 ft.

Farwān was a mint of the Ghaznawids, coins having been struck there by Alptigīn, Sabuktigīn, Ismāʿīl and Maḥmūd. It seems to have been in Alptigīn's possession as early as 365 when he struck coins in the name of Manṣūr b. Nūḥ his Sāmānī suzerain. It is mentioned also by Idrīsī (as Karwān), Iṣṭakhrī and Abu 'l-Fidā. Bābur calls it by its modern name of Parwān, which is used by all recent travellers such as Lord, Masson and Holdich. In 618 Djalāl al-Dīn Mangbarnī Khwārizm Shāh inflicted a defeat at Barwān or Parwān on the Mongol forces.

Bibliography: E. Thomas, *The Coins of the Kings of Ghazni*, (London 1848); *B. M. Cat. Oriental Coins*, Vol. ii. p. 128; *Géographie d'Edrisi*, (Paris 1836), p. 476; Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*, (London 1826), p. 139; Raverty, *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 288; Holdich, *Gates*

of India, (London 1910), p. 276, 414; *Masson's Travels*, (London 1844), Vol. iii, p. 166.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

FARWARDĪN (P.) the first month of the Persian solar year, also the name of the 19th day of each month which was observed as a feast.

FĀS (*Fez* from the old Spanish spelling) a town in Morocco and one of the residences of the Sulṭān, situated in 4° 54′ 30″ Long. W. of Greenwich and 34° 6′ 20″ N. Lat.; it has about 100,000 inhabitants (Erckmann 50,000, Gaillard 90,000, Lamartinière 100,000, Budgett Meakin 120,000).

Fās lies at a height of 1155 feet above sea level in the centre of the plain of Saïs, in part on a plateau which lies in front of the outer spurs of the Djebel Zalagh and in part in the hollow through which the waters of the Wādī Fās run to the Sebū which flows about 5 miles to the east of the city. The latter is about 150 miles S.E. of Tangier, 40 N.E. of Meknes, 105 E. of Rbāṭ, 250 N.E. of Marrākush. Its geographical situation is a most fortunate one; "Fez" writes A. Bernard "lies almost in the centre of the depression which separates the mountains of the coast from the Atlas and is on the natural road which runs along the base of the Atlas so that the two great and historical roads in Morocco cross one another there. It commands the road from Morocco and Tāfīlelt by the Innawen the road from the Atlantic by the Sebū, the largest river of Barbary" (A. Bernard, *Les Capitales de la Berbérie, Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publié par l'École des Lettres d'Alger*, Algiers 1905, p. 137). We may add that the development of the city has been facilitated by the abundant supplies of water and by the existence in its neighbourhood of building materials (lime and stone, clay etc.).

Fās really consists of two towns differing considerably in situation and population: *Fās al-Djadīd*, the new town and *Fās al-Bālī*, the old town.

Fās al-Djadīd is built on the east on a spur of the plateau which bounds the plain of Saïs and dominates the old town. It is surrounded by walls flanked on the south by two small forts called Burdj Twīl and Burdj Sīdī bū Nafa, which command the valley, at the bottom of which runs the southern arm of the Wādī Fās. In the north rises the Ḳaṣba of the Sherarda, a broad rectangular enclosure the interior of which is covered by huts of clay and reeds, the silos containing the grain supplies of the Makhzen or the enclosures for the sheep. The suburb of Bū Djelūd lies in the northeast: it is waste land where the troops and caravans encamp. The walls built in the reign of Mūlāy Ḥasan have transformed it into a kind of passage connecting the old town with the new. It includes the palace and grounds of Bū Djelūd as well as the Ḳaṣba of the same name. In the northeast, at some distance from the walls, is the *muṣallā* where on feast-days the Sulṭān says prayer in the presence of representatives of the tribes.

Fās al-Djadīd is a city of government offices. The Dār al-Makhzen alone occupies more than half of it. This is an assemblage of buildings and courtyards where the government of Morocco has its headquarters. It includes the old Meshwar, the Dār al-Makhzen in the narrower sense, including the beniḳa [q. v., i. 695b] or offices of the vizirs, a pavilion for the Sulṭān etc., the palaces which form the Sulṭān's private residence recognisable by their roofs of green tiles, the pavilion reserved for the reception of foreign envoys, the imperial menagerie, the Arsenal, the new Meshwar, the gardens of Lalla Amina and Aguedal. The town itself which is traversed from N. to S. by a street of shops, is rather wretched in appearance. The houses often half in ruins are, as a rule, only of one story and their interiors lack the luxurious adornment which characterises the houses of Fās al-Bālī. Several mosques rise from among the hovels; the most notable are the "Great Mosque", the "Red Mosque" and the "Green Mosque" so called from the colour of their minarets, all three built by the Marīnids, and lastly the mosque of Mūlāy 'Abd Allāh built in the xviiith century by the ruler of this name which is used as a mausoleum for the Sharīfs of the ruling family. The population (numbering 6000—7000) consists for the most part of soldiers who live in the town with their families in the intervals of military expeditions so that Fās al-Djadīd is half empty when the Sulṭān and the Makhzen are absent. Finally, separated from the Muslim town and adjoining the palace there is the Jewish quarter or "Mellāḥ" the population of which, numbering perhaps a third more than that of the Muslim town, is crowded together in narrow streets with houses several stories high and forms a striking contrast by its animation to the quiet of the Moorish quarters.

Fās al-Djadīd is really only an annexe of Fās al-Bālī, which the inhabitants call "Medīna" ("the city"). Its site is much more irregular and picturesque than that of the new town. The difference in level between highest and lowest points is 600 feet. The town lies along the narrow valley of the Wādī Fās; its houses, mosques and gardens rise up the steep slopes of the hills that enclose the Wādī from its bed to the walls that crown the ridges. A wall, of which the oldest parts date from the Almohad period, completely surrounds the town; it is flanked at some distance to the north and south by two stone bastions, called Burdj al-Gīsa and Burdj Futūḥ from the names of the adjoining gates. Built in 990 (1582) by Aḥmad al-Manṣūr on the model of European fortifications by Christian slaves, these forts command the whole town. In spite of the dilapidated condition of these defences they suffice to protect the inhabitants from the attacks of the Berbers of the neighbourhood, of which they live in constant fear; they have even on many occasions enabled them to resist the Sulṭān himself. Access to the town is obtained through the gates let into the massive walls. These are in the north, Bāb al-Gīsa, in the N.E., Bāb al-Maḥrūḳ (the "Gate of the Burnt Man") so called in memory of a Berber chief whose body was burned there when the building was completed, and where since then the heads of rebels slain in course of the Sulṭān's expeditions are exposed; in the S. E. Bāb al-Futūḥ, in the S. Bāb al-Djadīd below which runs the main arm of the river, in the S. E. Bāb al-Ḥadīd.

The space marked out by the walls is divided into three quarters (*ḥawma* or *firḳa*): al-Lemṭiyīn, al-Andalus and 'Adwa. The quarter of the Lemṭiyīn takes its name from the Lemṭa Berber tribe of the neighbourhood who peopled it originally.

It occupies the southern part of Fās and corresponds to the *'Adwat al-Ḳarawiyyīn* of the Idrīsid period. In it is the Ḳaṣba of the Filāla, a fortress built by the Almohad Amīr Muḥammad al-Nāṣir and allotted by Mūlāy al-Rashīd in the xviith century to his compatriots from Tafilelt as a residence. The whole of this quarter, which is principally inhabited by members of tribes who have settled in Fās, is well provided with gardens. The Andalus quarter comprises the part of the town that adjoins the river and a zone of gardens stretching between Bāb al-Djadīd and Bāb al-Ḥadīd. It is the heart of the city and contains the principal mosques (Ḳarawiyīn, Mūlāy Idrīs); it includes the network of alleys of the Ḳaisāriya bazaar, occupied by all kinds of merchants and tradesmen, noisy and animated during the day but deserted and silent at night and the *funduḳs* or warehouses of the merchants. Lastly the 'Adwa quarter which corresponds to the *'Adwat al-Andalus* of the Idrīsids lies all along the right bank of the Wādī Fās. It is a quiet and thinly populated district. "Marabouts, Zāwiyas and old and peaceful mosques abound" writes Gaillard. "Its quiet and picturesque streets are sought out by "tolba" and pious believers who give themselves up to their devout meditations sheltered from the bustle of the age". The streets of the different quarters are as a rule very narrow and shut in by houses which almost meet overhead and shut out the sun. The majority are on slopes and, as they are not paved, after rain become regular sewers. Still narrower alleys branch off from each street.

The abundance of running water is one of the features of Fās. The Wādī Fās never dries up even in summer and the situation of the city enables its water to be used for all domestic purposes. The Wādī, which rises half a day's journey to the west, flows undiminished into Fās al-Djadīd; it then sends off on the right a number of arms which fall in cascades into the Wādī al-Zitūn to reunite again, flow into Fās al-Bālī under the name Wādī al-Kabīr and feed an artificial channel called the Maṣmūda. The Wādī Fās itself, on leaving Fās al-Djadīd, divides into two streams which in their turn break up into an infinite number of brooks which after flowing through the various quarters reunite beyond the walls. Special conduits supply the inhabitants with drinking water; others irrigate the gardens, drive the mills, flush the sewers and clean the streets. This last is a very ancient practice for it is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal: "In summer water from the river is allowed to run through the city to clean the ground and refresh the air" (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique*, 1842, p. 286). The richness of Fās in running water is one of the themes on which the Arab authors delight to dwell; they even claim that the water of the Wādī has marvellous properties. According to the author of the *Ḳirṭās* it cures of stone in the bladder and dispels foul odours; it softens the skin and destroys insects; it makes the pleasures of the senses more agreeable, etc.

Fās is celebrated throughout the Maghrib not only for the beauty of its site but also for the number and importance of its religious monuments. The various dynasties that have succeeded one another there, have devoted great attention to enriching it with monuments of this kind so that there are no less than 850 religious edifices of all orders and of all sizes in the city, mosques, madrasas, oratories, and zāwiyas or chapels built on the tomb of some holy person. The mosques all present the same general arrangement; an outer court with a fountain for ablutions, opening on to a central court surrounded by arcades forming one or more naves. They differ in size, in the form of the minarets which flank them and in the details of the ornamentation. The type of minaret, for example, has sensibly changed in the course of centuries. At first squat and without ornament, such as may be seen in the mosque of the Ḳarawiyīn, it becomes more elegant in the Almoravid period. In imitation of the Moorish minarets of Spain, it affects a quadrangular form and terminates in a lantern. The sides have majolica borders and the panels are decorated with designs in relief forming trellises. This type was retained under the Almohads and Marinids. From the xviith century on, the trellises in relief disappear; the borders of faience of many colours give place to others in green faience; sometimes even the panels are inlaid entirely with enamelled bricks of one colour. At the same time the porches of carved wood which sheltered the doors were abandoned and replaced by plaster mouldings which could be more easily worked. Nevertheless the main principles of architecture (arcades, arches etc.), the processes of construction and decoration which were handed down from generation to generation remained the same as in the middle ages.

The chief mosques in Fās al-Bālī are the mosque of the Madrasa Bū 'Ināniya, the mosque of the Ḳaṣba of the Filāla, those of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Shāwī, Sīdī Aḥmad al-Faḳīh, of Bāb al-Gīsa and lastly in the Keddān quarter, the Djāmi' al-Nuwār, the most ancient sanctuary in Fās, also called the mosque of the Sharīfs and built near the well where tradition says that Mūlāy Idrīs used to come and sit with his Shaikhs to watch the building of the city. Three mosques are much more celebrated than any of the others, viz. the mosques of the Andalusians, of Ḳarawiyīn and the greatest of all that of Mūlāy Idrīs. At first a simple oratory in the time of the Idrīsids the mosque of the Andalusians was made a *Khuṭba* mosque in 321 A. H. (933 A. D.) by the Zenāta Emīr Aḥmad al-Hamdānī, provided with a minaret by the Emīr Aḥmad b. Bū Bakr, then enlarged by the Almohad al-Nāṣir to its present dimensions. The Mosque of al-Ḳarawiyīn (of the people of Kairawān) dates like the preceding from the Idrīsid period. Begun in 245 A. H. (861-862) it was enlarged by the Emīr Aḥmad b. Bū Bakr, who built its minaret and finally greatly altered in the reign of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. The author of the *Ḳirṭās* says that at that time it covered a whole quarter of the city and contained 270 pillars forming 16 naves. Al-Ḳarawiyīn is the largest mosque in the whole of the Maghrib. It is also the official mosque, in which the people are summoned to hear the Sulṭān's proclamations. But if al-Ḳarawiyīn is the most important mosque in Fās, the Zāwiya of Mūlāy Idrīs is certainly the most venerated, for it is built on the tomb of the founder of Fās. As the original sanctuary had fallen into ruins, it was rebuilt in 1308 A. H. on the same site and restored in 1720 by Mūlāy Ismā'īl. Finally in 1820 Mūlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān built a new mosque beside the old one. The Zāwiya of Mūlāy Idrīs thus comprises the *Ḳubba* or tomb of the saint, two mosques, with various

buildings attached to them; among them one to lodge persons who seek refuge within the bounds of the Zāwiya. Like the majority of the religious edifices of Fās, the Zāwiya of Mūlāy Idrīs and even the quarter surrounding it are *ḥaram* or sacred and access to them is forbidden to unbelievers. The Zāwiya is besides an inviolable sanctuary where individuals pursued by the Makhzen, debtors fleeing from their creditors find a safe asylum. Mūlāy Idrīs has a position apart, among all the saints of Fās. As the patron saint of the city, *mawlā al-bilād*, he is the object of a veritable cult on the part of its inhabitants. "He is" says Michaux-Bellaire "the very genius of Fās, the supernatural power which makes it a city unique in the world and its inhabitants superior to all other men". This cult is relatively modern; it hardly dates from the Marīnid period and seems to have been particularly developed by the descendants of the Jews who became converts to Islām at that time. The reputation of the tomb of Idrīs attracts pilgrims thither from all parts of Morocco and enriches the Idrīsid *Sharfā* who share amongst themselves the gifts in money and kind brought by the faithful. The Zāwiya possesses in addition considerable *ḥabūs*, the revenues from which are exclusively used for the up-keep of the sanctuary. Other saints also invite the piety of the faithful, who come to visit their sanctuaries on fixed days and often purchase very dearly the privilege of being interred near their tombs. Their Zāwiyas are scattered up and down the city or in the cemeteries of Bāb al-Maḥrūḳ, Bāb Futūḥ and Bāb al-Gīsa. These saints or "Saiyid" are the glory of Fās. Their number is so considerable that entire works like the *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās* of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī (xvith century A. D.) and in our days the *Salwat al-Anfās* of Sharīf Muḥammad al-Kattānī are consecrated to recording their names and virtues. Among the most celebrated may be mentioned, Abū Bakr al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī (died 543 A. H.), Sīdī Masʿūd al-Filālī, Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh al-Tawdī, Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (died 595 A. H.), Sīdī Bughaleb (Bū Ghālib), a native of Andalusia (died 518 A. H.) whose tomb is visited by women and sick persons; Sīdī Ḥarāzim (Ḥerzihum), a famous professor in his day whose "*baraka*" drives evil spirits away; Sīdī Aḥmad al-Shāwī, Sīdī ibn Djida, Sīdī Aḥmad al-Barnūsī etc. etc., whose tombs are a valuable asset to the Sharīfī families.

The population of Fās forms, as regards its natives, a typical *ḥaḍarīya*, i. e. a settled city-population, comprising merchants, scholars, officials, which has long ago attained a fairly advanced level of civilisation. It is composed of various elements which in the long run have mingled with one another to form a new type, the Fāsī. In the first place from its geographical situation and secondly by its fame as a city of culture and sanctity, Fās has at all times been a centre of attraction for the Muslims of Morocco and the adjoining countries. "Since its foundation" says the *Ḳirṭās*, "Fās has always been kindly to the strangers who have settled in it". The companions of its founder were joined by the Berbers of the neighbourhood (Gharāwa, Luwāta, Awraba and Maṣmūda) whose descendants in time have mingled with those of families who came originally from Cordova and Ḳairawān. For centuries political, economic and intellectual relations were maintained between the north of Morocco and Spain and contributed to introduce and maintain the civilization of Andalus at Fās. After the fall of Grenada numbers of Muslims came to settle in the Moroccan capital where they soon attained a prominent position. It was the same with the Jews, who were converted in the time of Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, whose descendants, the Benī Shakrun, the Cohens, the Bennīs etc. are numbered among the richest citizens at the present day. In the xixth century the outrages by the Turks followed by the French occupation forced numbers of Algerians to move to Fās. The Tlemcenians, for example, form a body of 2500 in Fās at the present day. To these diverse elements must still be added isolated individuals who have come from all parts of Morocco, Filāla, Berber, Djebala etc., who form the population of certain suburbs. Finally in a class by themselves are the *Sharfā*; some belong to various branches of the Idrīsid family, others came with the present dynasty from Tafilelt (ʿAlawī Shorfā) and others again came from other countries long ago, like the Ṣiḳillī and the ʿIrāḳī, the former hailing from Sicily originally and the latter from Mesopotamia. These Shorfā are organised in corporations each of which is governed by a chief or *mizwār*. There is nothing to distinguish them from the other inhabitants except the appellation Sīdī or Mūlāy that is usually given them. They may practice all manner of trades but not fill any public offices except those of *ʿadūl* (notaries) or secretaries to the makhzen. In addition to the gifts which they are assured of from the piety of the faithful or the generosity of the Sulṭān, they enjoy certain privileges of which the chief is exemption from all taxation — even from the market dues on the produce of their lands — when they possess property or estates.

The Fāsī are celebrated throughout the Maghrib for their piety and also for their fondness for a life of elegance and self-indulgence. Their religious feelings express themselves not only in the rigorous observance of the ordinances of the Ḳurʾān but also in countless acts such as visiting the tombs of saints and joining religious orders. Ordinary people prefer to join the ʿAisāwa or Ḥamādsha; the comfortable middle classes rather adopt the rule of the Derḳāwa, Ṭaibīyīn, Tidjānīya or Ḳādirīya. These religious pre-occupations do not, however, make them neglect more worldly pleasures. The Fāsī are fond of luxury in dress and at table, receptions or *nzāha* enlivened by recitations of poetry or songs by celebrated artists, known as *shaikh* or *shaikha*. The houses of rich citizens are remarkable for the sumptuousness of their interior decorations, their pavements of enamelled bricks, their panels of plaster moulded in arabesques, their ceilings of carved and gilded wood, their marble fountains sometimes inlaid with mosaics. The houses of merchant princes or of certain officials of the makhzen have thus, the appearance of veritable palaces. A much appreciated luxury is that of gardens, planted with orange, citron or banana trees. These gardens are very numerous in the higher parts of the city and sometimes enclose pavilions in which the owner takes up his abode for the summer. In politics the people of Fās frequently show themselves rebels and hostile to authority; the history of their city since the xvith century is a series of rebellions. Public opinion, very often inspired by the Sharfā or the ʿUlamāʾ,

is a power with which the Sulṭāns have had to learn to reckon, often at their cost.

The administration of Fās al-Bālī is distinct from that of Fās al-Djadīd. It differs in certain respects also from that of other towns in Morocco. The Sulṭāns, perhaps to propitiate the inhabitants, have left the Fāsī a semi-autonomy. The three *firḳa* which we have already mentioned are themselves subdivided into 18 *ḥūmāt* or quarters, each administered by a chief of a quarter (*muḳaddam al-ḥūma*), elected by the inhabitants and approved by the makhzen. This personage has numerous functions; he sees to the maintenance of order, the opening and closing of the gates which close the streets, controls the water-supply, has jurisdiction over women of loose living and finally presides, with four prominent citizens, at recruiting and the levying of taxes. The Sulṭān's authority is represented by a pasha or governor; two ḳāḍīs, supreme officers of justice, and a *muḥtasib* whose duty is to supervise the markets, fix the market price of food and be the final judge in commercial suits. The multiplicity of his duties enables him to interfere at any moment in the lives of those under him, whence the name *al-fuḍūlī*, the intruder, given him by the people. He is all the more feared as he possesses the right of imprisoning those in his jurisdiction and because, as he receives no salary, he is naturally tempted to enrich himself by his exactions. As to the administrative authority in Fās al-Djadīd, it consists of two pashas (of Fās al-Djadīd and of Sharāḳa), a muḥtasib and a ḳāḍī.

The Jews form quite a considerable body beside the Muslim population (8000 according to Aubin, 10,000 according to the statistics of the Alliance Israélite), but less important than those of Mogador and Marrākush. The origin of this colony of Jews dates back to the foundation of Fās. It was diminished in numbers under the Marīnids by the conversion of a large number of its members to Islām but was reinforced in the xvi[th] and xvii[th] centuries by the arrival of Jews fleeing or expelled from Spain, whose descendants form at the present day so great a majority of the Jewish population that there is no longer a synagogue of the native ritual in the city. As in all the towns of Morocco, the Jews live in a particular quarter or *mellāḥ*, which has now become too small for them and is periodically ravaged by epidemics. They are obliged to wear a distinctive dress and are subject to various restrictions from which their co-religionists on the coast are beginning to free themselves. The majority are merchants or artisans but, although a number of well-to-do people are to be found among them, large fortunes are rare. They are under the authority of the Pasha of Sharāḳa; but the effective authority is in the hands of the *Shaikh al-Yahūd* appointed by the *Ma'amad* or assembly of prominent citizens. This council also possesses the right to fix the taxes imposed on the Jews, in particular the abattoir tax, the proceeds of which are devoted to public purposes and the maintenance of schools. Justice, as far as personal statutes are concerned, is administered by the rabbis. The people are on the whole ignorant and fanatical. The instruction given in the *Talmūd Tōrā* is exclusively religious and the efforts made by the Alliance Israélite to introduce a modern system of education into the Mellāḥ have been received with the greatest suspicion. There are two schools, however, founded by this association which have about 300 pupils.

As to Europeans, they have long been banished from Fās by the fanaticism of the Muslim populace. According to Chenier (*Recherches sur les Maures*, Vol. iii. p. 61), it still required in his time the express permission of the Sulṭān before they were allowed to enter the city. In the course of the last fifty years several Europeans, diplomatists or merchants have made stays of some length in Fās. Some even took up their abode there. American and English religious missions were established there in 1887 and in 1896 but without exercising any influence on the inhabitants. Vice-consulships filled by Europeans were created there by England in 1892, France in 1893, and by Germany in 1902; French and English military instructors were placed at the disposal of the makhzen and a number of Italians commissioned to organise an arsenal. In the reign of 'Abd al-'Azīz, the European colony comprised about thirty individuals (officers, diplomats, doctors and merchants). The establishment of the French protectorate will probably soon alter this state of affairs.

Fās is not only a holy city, it is also a commercial city where trade is held in no less honour than piety. Goods manufactured in Europe or in Fās itself are here exchanged for the products of the south notably the hides and dates of Tafīlelt. The trade with Europe is carried on via Tangier and the harbours of the Atlantic coast, with Algeria by the road through Tāza and Udjda, at least when communication is not cut off by rebel tribes. This traffic is in the hands of Muslims and not of Jews as is the case in the towns of the coast. The merchants of Fās are energetic, prudent and enterprising men; they have put themselves in direct communication with Europe; they have offices in Manchester for the purchase of cotton goods; others have founded establishments at Genoa and Marseilles. They are to be found in Orania, Algiers, Tunisia and even on the Senegal. Some are bankers as well as merchants, like the Christian merchants of the middle ages. Some of them make large fortunes and as soon as they do this, hasten to build themselves luxurious houses. This commercial middle class enjoys great influence and forms with the 'Ulamā' the controlling class in the state. Local industries also are quite prosperous; besides the articles of every day requirements they furnish several things famous throughout Morocco, which are even exported beyond the limits of the Sharīfī empire. The most flourishing industries are the manufacture of pottery, of the enamelled squares used in the interior decoration of houses, the weaving of silk and wool, dying, leather-working (dressing of skins, tanning and shoemaking), which occupies over 2800 work people and lastly the mills, which use the waters of the Wād Fās and its various branches as motive power. The mills which belong to the *ḥabūs* but are let to private individuals number 160. This industry is very old and Gaillard is wrong in attributing its introduction to the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn; as a matter of fact it is already mentioned in Ibn Ḥawḳal's description of the city in the x[th] century A. D.

A city of sanctity and commerce, Fās is also a city of learning. Its reputation on this score is very old. "Since its foundation" we read in the *Kirṭās*, "Fās has been a great centre where sages,

larists, literary men, physicians and other scholars meet in large numbers". Although scholars of repute had taught in Fās under the Almohads, it was only under the Marinids that the university was constituted, which still exists, although it has fallen from the splendid position it once occupied. It retains the organisation which it had in the middle ages but the instruction given in it, instead of embracing all human knowledge as it did then, is now reduced to strictly religious subjects (*ʿilm*). Out of the 20 chairs in the university 10 only are filled at the present day (ḥadīth, jurisprudence, law, theology, grammar, rhetoric, logic, prosody, practice of law and belles-lettres). No attempt has been made, as has been done in Egypt, either to introduce modern sciences alongside of the ancient studies or to bring the latter themselves up to date. Sīdī Khalīl's treatise and the works of his commentators still form the basis of the teaching of law, as in the past, and the *Adjurrūmiyya* and *Alfiyya* in literature. Their aids to study are also defective. The libraries were, however, at one time famous. That of the Madrasa al-Ṣaffārīn once included the Arabic works sent as tribute to the Marinid Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ by Sancho, king of Castile. These afterwards went to swell the library of the Mosque of al-Ḳarawiyīn. In the xviith century A. D. European scholars used to come to Fās in the hope of finding ancient works there. But even in the beginning of the xixth century, ʿAlī Bey (*Voyages*, Vol. i, Ch. viii.) mentions the confusion in which this library was and now it hardly seems to contain more than 2000 volumes. Some scholars, it is true, possess quite well equipped libraries. A certain number of works, on the other hand, have been lithographed in Fās itself and thus made accessible to European scholars. The lectures of the professors still form the main elements in the instruction. They succeed one another daily from morning till evening in the arcades of the al-Ḳarawiyīn mosque. The students (*ṭolba*) begin to attend them on the completion of their elementary studies, i. e. after having obtained the title *ḥāfiẓ*, showing that they can read, write and recite the whole of the Ḳorʾān. After several years' study, a number of *ṭolba* succeed in gathering hearers around them and thus acquire the title *faḳīh* or savant. It is from the latter that the professors (*mudarris*) are chosen. The latter were at one time exclusively appointed by the ḳāḍīs, but, since the reign of Mūlāy Ḥasan, their nomination is subject to the approval of the Makhzen. They are divided into five classes and receive fixed salaries paid out of the revenues of the *ḥubus* as well as presents in money or kind given on certain occasions by the Makhzen. The professors of the first class are the only ones who actually have chairs.

Scholars, whether professors or simple *faḳīh*, *ʿulamāʾ*, preachers in the mosques and Zāwiyas play a preponderating part in the life of Fās in spite of their scanty means. The majority of the secretaries to the Makhzen and officers of justice have studied under them and are under their influence. They also form a kind of religious council of the empire. "It is to them" says Gaillard "that the Makhzen applies to know if such and such a government measure or manner of levying taxes is contrary to religion or the good of the Muslim community .... It is they who after the death of the sovereign ratify the choice of his successor .... They should not hesitate, if occasion demands it, to give their views or just protestations". The moral influence of this small body of some seven or eight hundred scholars, for the most part members of Moorish families in Fās, is thus considerable and sufficient to form a check on the Sulṭān's authority.

The students live in "madrasas", buildings erected to house the *ṭolba*, somewhat analogous to the colleges of the mediaeval universities. Originally certain courses of instruction were sometimes given in them but this practice has almost entirely disappeared. The poor *ṭolba* receive a daily allowance of bread furnished by the *ḥubus* and also benefit from presents sent by persons of importance or pious individuals; if necessary they solicit the charity of the public. The period of their stay in the madrasas, which was at one time ten years, is now reduced to three. The oldest madrasas were built by the Marinids; others were built by Sharīfī rulers. The madrasas which are still inhabited number 9, viz., al-Ṣaffārīn (built in 723 = 1323), by Abū Saʿīd ʿOthmān, al-ʿAṭṭārīn built by the same ruler, al-Miṣbāḥiyya, built by Abu 'l-Ḥasan (731—752 A. H.) for a professor called Abu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ Miṣbāḥ, al-Ṣahrīdj (built in 721 = 1321), Bū ʿAnāniyya (built by Abū ʿAinān in 752 = 1351 A. D.), al-Sabaʿīn; Mūlāy ʿAbd Allāh, built in Fās al-Djadīd in the reign of Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdj al-Dilāʾī (1051—1070 A. H.), al-Sharrāṭīn, built by Mūlāy al-Rashīd (1081 A. H.) and Bāb al-Gīsa, built by Mūlāy Muḥammad (1171—1205 = 1757—1790). According to the most recent reports they house 350—400 students (Budgett Meakin's figure of 1500 *ṭolba* seems therefore too high). Boisterous distractions break the monotony of study. Every year in the spring the students celebrate a festival in the course of which one of them is proclaimed "Sulṭān of the *ṭolba*" and for a week enjoys the honours due to a sovereign. This custom dates back to the reign of Mūlāy Rashīd. It commemorates, we are told, the capture of Tāza, which was taken from its possessor, the Jew Ibn Mashʿal, by 40 *ṭolba*, partisans of the Sharīf. They succeeded in smuggling themselves into the fortress, hidden in chests, slew Mashʿal and handed the place over to Mūlāy al-Rashīd who, as a reward for this service, resolved that they should have a sulṭān of the *ṭolba* once a year.

The foundation of Fās coincided with the establishment of the Idrīsid dynasty in Morocco. Abandoning the Berber town of Walīlī, situated on the S. W. flank of the Djebel Zarhūn, where his father Idrīs I. had settled, Idrīs II. resolved to build a capital. After having examined several sites in the neighbourhood of the Wādī Sebū with the help of his vizier ʿOmair, he finally settled on a valley watered by abundant streams and overhung on the north by the Djebel Zalāgh. This territory belonged to two Berber tribes, the Zuwāgha and Banū Yarghish, from whom Idrīs purchased the land on which the city was to be built. According to tradition, 3500 dirhams were paid to the former and 1500 to the latter. According to the *Ḳirṭās*, on the first Thursday of Rabīʿ I. 192 (3rd Febr. 808 A. D.) Idrīs himself, it is said, traced out the line of the city walls and decided on the position of the gates. He built the Mosque of the Shaikhs in the high part and the Mosque of the Shorfāʾ nearer the Wādī

at a spot called Karmūda; he was buried in the latter. The new town received the name of Fās, the origin of which is still very uncertain, in spite of the explanations which Arab writers have attempted to give. Some say the word is derived from *fa's*, a pick, in allusion to the instrument used by Idrīs to trace the line of the walls; others say that it is the name of an older town Sāf inverted, the ruins of which then existed in the neighbourhood. Another story is that the city took its name from the first person met by Idrīs. He was called *Faras*, a word which, in consequence of a defect in his speech, was understood as *Fās*.

In any case, Fās was peopled rapidly. The Arab companions of Idrīs were joined by Berbers from the neighbouring tribes, Awraba, Huwwāra and Lwāta and immigrants came from Spain and Ifrīḳiya. For example, 300 families from Cordova settled there, as a result of the suppression of a revolt against the Caliph al-Ḥakam b. Hishām. Three hundred families of Kairawān who had left their native land for similar reasons also settled there. The first of these groups took up its abode on the right bank of the Wādī Fās, which then took the name of *ʿAdwat al-Andalus* (bank, or district of the Andalusians) and the second on the left bank which was henceforth called *ʿAdwat al-Ḳarawīyīn*. Each of these quarters was endowed with a mosque by Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, grandson of Idrīs II.

The history of Fās during the early centuries of its existence was a very troubled one. On the death of Idrīs, Fās fell to Muḥammad his eldest son; then its possession was disputed among the descendants of this prince and the representatives of other Idrīsid families. At the beginning of the third century A. H. we find the inhabitants of the quarter of the Andalusians expelling Yaḥyā II. and placing ʿAlī b. Idrīs b. ʿOmar, ruler of the Rīf, in his stead, while the people of ʿAdwat al-Ḳarawīyīn proclaimed Yaḥyā b. Ḳāsim b. Idrīs who in the end was victorious. In the next century Fās suffered much from the rivalry of the Idrīsids and Fāṭimids. In 308 = 920 Yaḥyā b. Idrīs b. ʿOmar, successor of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḳāsim, besieged by Messāla, chief of the Miknāsa, found himself forced to recognise the suzerainty of ʿUbaid Allāh al-Mahdī; in 309 = 921, Fās was definitely occupied by the Fāṭimid army, Yaḥyā exiled to Arzila and a Kitāmī governor placed on his throne. The people of the Andalusian quarter, however, remained faithful to the Idrīsids. One of them, al-Ḥasan, regained (313 = 925) possession of this part of the town for a period and remained there till 314 = 926, when an ally of the Fāṭimids, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya, succeeded in taking it. Mūsā's revolt in favour of the Omaiyads brought the Kitāmī armies to Fās once more; Mūsā was expelled and authority in the city again passed to an Idrīsid; this ruler having then recognised the suzerainty of the Omaiyad Caliph, a Spanish governor was set over the city (338 = 949). Ten years later the Fāṭimids took the offensive; their general Djawhar seized Fās (347 = 958) and sent the Omaiyad governor prisoner to Kairawān. The triumph of the Fāṭimids was not of long duration, for in 362 = 973, Fās was replaced under Omaiyad rule by Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the Caliph al-Ḥakam's II general. Two Spanish officers were appointed to rule the town, one to each quarter.

The rivalry between the Omaiyads and Fāṭimids was followed by a struggle between the Omaiyads and the Zenāta. Zīrī b. ʿAṭiya, chief of the Maghrawa, governor of Fās on behalf of the Omaiyads (since 381 = 991) rose against the regent al-Manṣūr but was defeated at Tangier by the latter's son, ʿAbd al-Malik, in 388 (998) and driven from Fās; Zīrī's son al-Muʿizz was however given the governorship of Fās by ʿAbd al-Malik in 397 (1006) and bequeathed it to his son Ḥammāma in 416 (1025). Soon afterwards the Maghrāwa had to defend themselves against another Berber tribe, the Banū Ifren, whose chief Tamīm seized Fās (1033 A. D.). He plundered the town and wrought particular devastation in the Jewish quarter. He was expelled in turn by Ḥammāma (1038). Zīrī b. ʿAṭiya's descendants held out in Fās till the Almoravid invasion, in spite of the brief occupation of the town by the Ḥammādid Bulukkīn (1063). After a first attempt in 445 = 1053, which failed, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn succeeded in taking Fās in 462 (1069-1070). The city was sacked by the conquerors. The Maghrāwa, Banū Ifran and Zenāta were massacred; 3000 persons were, we are told, slaughtered in the mosque of the Andalusians and in that of al-Ḳarawīyīn.

In spite of these troubled times, Fās developed rapidly under the Idrīsids and Zenāta. At the end of the ivth (xth) century Ibn Ḥawḳal says that "in the abundance of its fruits, vegetables and provisions .... in the quantity of merchandise and other articles to be found there and in the considerable revenue, which it yields to the sovereign, Fās surpasses all other towns of the land of al-Hatm". Al-Bakrī, a century later, mentions that it contains 300 mills, which presupposes a considerable population. "The Jews", he adds, "are more numerous there than in any town of the Maghrib". The two quarters of the Andalusians and the Ḳairawānīs formed at that time two separate towns each surrounded by a wall; their inhabitants were often at daggers drawn with one another. On the death of the Zenāta prince Dunās we find, for example, the Andalusians proclaiming one of his sons, al-Futūḥ, Sulṭān, while another son al-ʿAdjīsa reigned over ʿAdwat al-Ḳarawīyīn. The people of the two towns moreover had different customs and occupations. The people of ʿAdwat al-Andalus, writes the author of the *Ḳirṭās*, were very brave and for the most part engaged in various trades and agriculture, those of ʿAdwat al-Ḳarawīyīn, on the contrary, loved luxury and ostentation in their houses, in their dress and at table; they were occupied only with commerce and the arts.

Under the Almoravids, the aspect of Fās began to be modified. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn built the walls which separate the two ʿAdwa (462 = 1070) and the space between gradually became filled up with buildings. The mosque al-Ḳarawīyīn was enlarged and a fortress built on the site of the present ḳaṣba of Bū Djelūd. This transformation continued under the Almohads whose leader ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had captured Fās after a very arduous siege (540 = 1145-1146). To overcome the resistance of the inhabitants he was forced to build a dam across the Wādī Fās which enabled him to deflect the waters and flood the town. When master of the town, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's first task was to destroy the ḳaṣba of the Almoravids as well as a portion of the ramparts. Fās could not, however, remain without defences; Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr ordered the walls which his grandfather had destroyed to be

rebuilt, a work which was finished in the reign of his son al-Nāṣir b. al-Manṣūr in 600 = 1204. Al-Nāṣir also rebuilt the citadel. The period of the Almohads seems on the whole to have been a prosperous one for Fās. According to the *Ḳirṭās* there were at that time 785 mosques or chapels, 93 public baths and 472 mills in the city. In the reign of al-Nāṣir there were 89,236 houses, 9082 shops, 2 bazaars and 3064 workshops. Houses covered a portion of the streams and gardens disappeared to make room for buildings. Industries flourished, copper and leather were the chief manufactures, and paper was also made. The population probably numbered more than it does at the present day.

The succession of the Marīnids to the Almohads made no alteration in this state of affairs. It was in 646 = 1248 that the Marīnid Abū Yaḥyā took possession of Fās and received the oath of fealty from its inhabitants. The latter, however, were not long in rising against him and were so successful that he had to lay siege to the town for seven months before he could enter it again. The execution of six Shaikhs who had been the instigators of this rebellion cured the people of Fās of any desire to offer further resistance to their new master. For the three centuries that the Marīnid dynasty lasted, Fās had a less troubled history than in the previous period. Fās was for a few days in 1309 however in the power of the Christian militia whose chief Gonsalves rose against the Sulṭān; in 1316 Abū 'Alī won it for a time from his father Abū Sa'īd. Later, after the death of Abū 'Inān, the pretender al-Manṣūr succeeded in taking Fās al-Bālī and shut al-Sa'īd b. Abū 'Inān and the regent al-Ḥasan closely up in Fās al-Djadīd. They were able to hold out long enough for Abū Sālim, brother of the late Sulṭān, to come and relieve them. In 1374 the pretender Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad with the help of the king of Granada occupied Fās. He was driven out of it in 1384 by another pretender, Mūsā, but entered into permanent possession of it again in 1387.

The period of the Marīnids is none the less the most brilliant in history of Fās. The city then regained the position of capital, which it had lost under the Almohads and Almoravids in favour of Marrākush. It was further embellished with new buildings of all kinds, which have perpetuated among the people the memory of the rulers who built them. They built a new town, Fās al-Djadīd to house their soldiers and government officials. The first stone was laid on the 3rd Shawwāl 674 = 1276 by Ya'ḳūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ. He built a mosque there, a palace, mint and an aqueduct; he allotted a special quarter to the Jews who were forced to leave the ancient city where they had hitherto lived unless they would become Muslims. The new town, was first called Madīnat al-Baiḍā, the "white city", because of the colour of its buildings, but afterwards received the name of Fās al-Djadīd in opposition to Fās al-Bālī. The ancient town was not, however, neglected by the Marīnids, who delighted in endowing it with religious buildings. Six of the madrasas at present existing date from this period and five of them are in Fās al-Bālī. The immigration of Andalusian Moors also helped to increase the prosperity of Fās.

We may obtain a good idea of it from the description given in the beginning of the xvith century by Leo Africanus. According to him the population was 125,000 including 10,000 Jews. Among the sights of the city were "700 temples or churches, of which 50 were very beautifully built, ornamented with columns of marble and fountains in mosaic", 600 public fountains, 100 baths, 200 schools for children, 200 hostelries, of which many were disorderly houses, an asylum for lunatics which is still carried on practically as Leo describes it. Private houses attracted attention by their decoration of "mosaics and bricks of ancient type diapered and variegated in colours". Commerce and industry flourished if we may judge by the interminable lists of workshops and shops which filled the fifteen sections of the Kaiṣariya and the environs of the mosque of al-Ḳarawiyīn. Industry on a large scale was represented by the textile factories, employing 10,000 hands, the tanneries, bleaching works for the spun wool, mills etc. Among the merchants frequenting the city of Fās, there must certainly have been Christians; Marmol says a special quarter was reserved for them in Fās al-Djadīd. Around the city were suburbs that have now disappeared, such as al-Mīristān, not far from the Bāb al-Gīsa, near grottos in which lepers used to be interned by order of 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ; such were in the west the suburb of Bū Djalūd, of Mars 'l-Ḳdīm and of al-Qulīān, peopled by potters. In the north, on the spur now called Ḳolla, rose the Ḳaṣr or castle of the Banū Merīn, of which traces still remain with the tombs of four princes of this dynasty, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī 'l-Ḥasan (died 794 = 1392), Abū 'l-'Abbās b. Abī Sālim (796 = 1394), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī 'l-'Abbās (799 = 1397) and 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Abī Sa'īd. Gardens, where the rich people spent the summer from April to September, occupied large areas in the south of the town and beyond the walls stretched other orchards which formed a public park for the citizens. Whatever Leo Africanus may have exaggerated, Fās none the less appears to have been in the xvith century the metropolis of western Islām and the heir to the civilisation of the Moors of Spain.

Decadence set in with the coming of the Sa'dī Sharīfs. In 1550 Muḥammad al-Mahdī took Fās from the Marīnids. The city had been valiantly defended by Bū Ḥassūn, brother of Sulṭān Aḥmad; but a section of the Shaikhs were won over by the Sharīf by bribery and persuaded the inhabitants to capitulate. Bū Ḥassūn having succeeded in interesting the Turks of Algeria in his cause, attempted to regain Fās. Ṣalāḥ Ra'īs's army defeated Muḥammad al-Mahdī at Tāzā on the banks of the Sebū and again under the very walls of Fās. On the 6th January 1554 Bū Ḥassūn re-entered Fās which the Sharīf did not even attempt to defend. The Turks sacked the city and then withdrew leaving Bū Ḥassūn with his own troops only. The Marīnid restoration was thus of short duration. On the 25th August 1554, Muḥammad al-Mahdī regained possession of Fās after a battle in which the Marīnid prince was slain. The Sharīf rid himself of the partisans of Bū Ḥassūn by wholesale executions, then abandoned the city, contenting himself with leaving his son Mūlāy 'Abd Allāh as governor there.

The people of Fās bore this change of government with a bad grace and their discontent found vent in their participation in the disorders which in the first half of the xviith century ruined the

Sa'dī power. We find them alternately proclaiming and disowning Zidān, next recognising him, then fighting against his son al-Ma'mūn. Two competitors Sīmūn and Sulaiḥ al-Marbūḥ disputed the power until Sīmūn was assassinated by his rival. In the meanwhile 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ma'mūn had entrenched himself in Fās al-Djadīd and was blockading Fās al-Bālī. In the end the Fāsī opened their gates to 'Abd Allāh. Al-Marbūḥ, who with the help of his fellow tribesmen, the Lemṭa, had tried to foment renewed disorder, was put to death. 'Abd Allāh, however, could not long hold out in Fās al-Bālī; he was driven from it but held Fās al-Djadīd till his death in 1624. In the same year, 'Abd al-Mālik, another son of Zidān, set himself up in Fās al-Bālī but was dislodged by his brother Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad.

Soon Fās itself passed completely from the Sa'dīs. Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdj, the marabout of Dilā', succeeded in making himself master of it and placed a governor in it in his name. Humiliated by this situation, the Fāsī revolted (1649) and called to the help of Mūlāy Muḥammad, Sharīf of Sūs. But the latter was defeated by Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdj and had to evacuate Fās, the inhabitants of which found themselves again forced to recognise the authority of Dilā'. On re-entering Fās, Muḥammad ordered his soldiers to sack the Zāwiya of Mūlāy Idrīs and scatter the remains of the Sa'dī Sharīfs who were buried in the tombs of the Idrīsids. He remained master of the town undisturbed till 1662, when a certain Draidī succeeded in taking it for a time. Victorious over this rival, Muḥammad was however forced soon after to retire to Fās al-Djadīd, while Fās al-Bālī acknowledged B. Ṣalāḥ, chief of the Andalusian quarter and B. Ṣaghīr, chief of the Lemṭa quarter.

The occupation of Fās by Mūlāy al-Rashīd put an end to these disorders. He had previously tried in 1666 to gain the city, but it was not till 1667 that after two months' siege he took Fās al-Djadīd. The two chiefs of Fās al-Bālī fled; the people opened the gates to the Sharīf and swore fealty to him. Al-Rashīd built the Ḳaṣba of Khemīs (now the Ḳaṣba al-Sherarda) for his troops. To him also the city owes the Madrasa al-Sherrāṭīn and the bridge over the Sebū, which facilitates access to Fās to caravans coming from the Tāzā district. The inhabitants did not yet resign themselves to submit to the rule of the 'Alawī Sharīfs and never missed an opportunity to show their discontent. Thus, on the death of al-Rashīd, they refused to recognise Mūlāy Ismā'īl as his successor and proclaimed his nephew Aḥmad b. Mahrez. Ismā'īl was forced to undertake a regular siege. The operations, conducted by the Spanish renegade Pinto, lasted a year. At the end of their resources, the Fāsī opened their gates while the pretender fled to the south. Mūlāy Ismā'īl retained a grudge to the end of his life against the Fāsī for their hostile attitude and, while adorning his favourite residence Meknes with magnificent buildings, all that he did in Fās was to restore the Zāwiya of Mūlāy Idrīs. Restrained in the path of duty by the energy of the Sulṭān, the Fāsī lost no time after his death in satisfying their instincts for independence and opposition. They refused obedience to Aḥmad al-Dhahabī and recognised as chief another son of the late Sulṭān, 'Abd al-Malik, as their sovereign. Aḥmad was only able to force an entrance to Fās after five months' bombardment (1728). Aḥmad's successor, Mūlāy 'Abd Allāh, was not more fortunate and had to entrust Ripperda with the task of besieging Fās from May to October 1729. While these operations were going on, he established his camp at a place called Dār Dubaibagh ("the house of the little tanner"). He afterwards built a palace surrounded by gardens here and made it his usual residence till his death there in 1757. The rebellion of Fās was severely punished; the fortifications were dismantled and the citizens suffered a great deal from the extortions and cruelties of the governors appointed by the Sulṭān. Many of them emigrated to Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt and even to the Sūdān. It is therefore not surprising that they rose again in 1735 and that in 1736 they proclaimed a brother of the Sulṭān, Muḥammad b. Arība, at the tomb of Idrīs but soon dropped him in favour of another son of Mūlāy Ismā'īl al-Mustaḍī'. Tired of the latter they drove him out and restored Mūlāy 'Abd Allāh. Al-Mustaḍī' in revenge laid siege to Fās at the head of an army furnished by the Berber tribes of the neighbourhood and was repulsed in 1746. As to 'Abd Allāh, the people of Fās al-Bālī refused to receive him and even supported his son, Mūlāy Muḥammad against him, who had rebelled against his father with the support of the 'Abīd. The reconciliation of father and son brought peace to Fās again. Mūlāy Muḥammad restored order by expelling the Udāya, who had made themselves notorious by their turbulence and replaced them by the 'Abīd.

Mūlāy Muḥammad's reign was peaceful but renewed troubles broke out in the reign of Mūlāy Sulaimān. In 1234 A. H., the people rose in rebellion to obtain the dismissal of the governor; in 1235 the Udāya took advantage of the absence of the Sulṭān in Marrākush to rise and sack the Mellāḥ; in 1236, dissatisfied with the recall of the Muftī, the Fāsī took up arms once more and proclaimed two pretenders in succession. Mūlāy Sulaimān was forced to besiege Fās al-Bālī for ten months before he could reduce them. The beginning of the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān (cf. this article i. 54b et seq.) was marked by the rebellion of the Udāya who held Fās al-Djadīd for ten months (1247 = 1831). In the second half of the xixth century a rebellion not less serious broke out on the accession of Mūlāy Ḥasan (1290 = 1873). The people of Fās al-Bālī led by the 'Ulamā' and the prophecies of a blind Sharīf refused to take the oath of obedience to the new Sulṭān and closed the city gates against him. Old Fās was once more besieged but Mūlāy Ḥasan did not dare to proceed to bombard the capital for fear of injuring the mosque of Mūlāy Idrīs and thus rousing the fanaticism of the citizens to boiling-point. The blockade dragged on till the imperial troops succeeded in making a breach in the Ḳaṣba of the Filāla and thus entering the town. After Mūlāy Ḥasan had regained his capital he carried out considerable improvements there (erection of the palaces of Dār Djāmi' and Lalla Amīna and the new Meshwār, connection of New with Old Fās etc.: cf. ii. p. 72).

The improvements attempted by Mūlāy Ḥasan's successor, 'Abd al-'Azīz, aroused great excitement among the people of Fās. In December 1907 troubles again broke out while the Sulṭān was away to Rabāṭ on a journey. As Mūlāy Ḥāfiẓ

had risen in rebellion against his brother soon afterwards, the Fāsī at once decided to take his side. On the 4th January 1908 the 'Ulamā' and notables declared that 'Abd al-'Azīz had forfeited his authority by selling himself to the unbelievers who had led him astray; they then proclaimed Mūlāy Ḥāfiẓ who, after the defeat of 'Abd al-'Azīz at Sīdī Raḥal on the 19th August 1908, became undisputed ruler of the kingdom. But the triumph of Ḥāfiẓ was to have quite unforeseen results. The extortions of the ministers and agents of the new Sulṭān provoked a general rising of the tribes around Fās in February 1911. The Berbers of the neighbourhood (Banī Mṭīr, Aīt Yūsī, Banī Warāīn etc.) laid siege to the town in March and the Sharīfī Maḥalla was unable to raise it. At the end of his resources the Sulṭān called in the help of France, whose troops had occupied the Shāwiya district since 1907 [cf. dār al-baiḍā, i. 915]. A column under General Moinier reached Fās on 21st May 1911 after two fierce encounters on the 5th and 11th May and scattered the rebels. Thus the holy city of Mūlāy Idrīs was entered by Christian troops for the first time.

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FASĀ, known in earlier times as Basā-Sīr, a town in Fārs, 4 days' journey S. E. of Shīrāz, was the most important town in the district of Dārābdjird (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 97, 127); it was a well built town, with houses of clay and cypress wood, surrounded by a wall outside which lay a suburb in which the markets were. In the centre of the town was a mound formed of the ruins of an ancient tower of unbaked bricks, the moat of which still exists. It had at one time flourishing industries (the manufacture of various clothstuffs which were exported in large quantities, notably brocades, *firāsh al-washy* and *al-sha'ar* and *rītān-djird* for the use of kings, Iṣṭakhrī, p. 153, Muḳaddasī, p. 442). In Muḳaddasī's time it was attached to Shīrāz (p. 52) and had a chief mosque of brick built after the plan of that in Baghdād (p. 431). It was taken by 'Othmān b. Abī 'l-'Āṣ under the same circumstances as Dārābdjird in 23 (644). It was laid waste by the Shabānkāra and rebuilt by the Atābeg Khānil.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wörterb.*, iii. 891; Karabacek, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird*, p. 107; Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāī, *Fārs-Nāme* (lith., 1313 Teheran), ii. 228 *et seq.*; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr. de la Perse*, p. 422-423; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii. 97 *et seq.*; Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 290, 293, 294. (Cl. Huart.)

FAṢĀḤA (a.), properly "clarity, purity", abstract noun from *faṣīḥ*, clear, pure. In Arabic rhetoric *faṣīḥ* means: 1. a single word, when it is not difficult to pronounce, is not a foreign or rare word and its form is not an exception to the usual; 2. a whole sentence, when it does not contain an objectionable construction, a discord, an obscurity (through a confusion in the arrangement of the words) or a metaphor too far fetched and therefore incomprehensible. The first kind of *faṣāḥa* is called *faṣāḥat al-mufrad*, the latter *faṣāḥat al-kalām*. There is also a *faṣāḥat al-mutakallim*. This is peculiar to a person whose style conforms to the above conditions.

The adjective *faṣīḥ* denotes a word or a sentence only when free from objection in itself and is distinguished from *balīgh*, which also implies

that expression is relevant in the passage in question.

Bibliography: Muḥammad A'lā, *Dictionary of Tech. Terms* (ed. Sprenger etc.), ii. 1105 *et seq.*; Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, p. 15—18. (A. SCHAADE.)

FĀSHŌDA, the former name of a large province and its capital on the west bank of the White Nile in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān, in 32° 30' E. Long and 10° N. Lat., 469 miles from Kharṭūm.

The district of Fāshōda had been reached as early as the third decade of last century by Sūdān expeditions of the Khedive Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha but it is only since the period of the great explorers of the Nile, from about 1860 onwards, that our more accurate knowledge of it dates.

Fāshōda was then, as it still is, the centre of the great Shilluk people, who inhabit the banks of the White Nile for a stretch of 200 miles from Kaka in the N. to the mouth of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Sobat in the S.; their territory measures 5—6 hours' journey in breadth. Their subjection to Egyptian rule took place in the "sixties" but although it cost no battles of importance could hardly be said to be completed till 1871. The number of their villages was estimated at 3000 with a population of 1,200,000. To secure the possession of the conquered territory the fortified station of Fāshōda was built at the time of Th. v. Heuglin's visit in March 1864 and made the administrative centre of the newly constituted province (*mudīrīye*). The name Fāshōda is believed to have been given by the Arabs while the Shilluk called the new town Denāb after their last king. The new province was divided into four large districts 1. Dūdāi, N. of Fāshōda with 14 nāḥiyes, 2. Fāshōda itself with 31, 3. Bīūdūr, in the south on both banks of the Nile, with 15, 4. al-Danka on the east bank of the river with 5 nāḥiyes.

After the expansion of Egyptian power southwards, the importance of Fāshōda lay mainly in its position, as it formed the only connecting link between the Sūdān proper and its capital Kharṭūm with the Equatorial Province and Baḥr al-Ghazāl. When Fāshōda fell into the hands of the Mahdists in 1884 these two provinces were cut off from Egypt and lost. In the Mahdist period Fāshōda was of great importance for the provisioning of Omdurman (Ummdirmān) as the agricultural population was almost entirely exterminated in other parts of the Sūdān; it was, however, only in 1891 that the Mahdists succeeded in completely subjugating the Shilluk.

After Egypt had officially and formally given up all claim to the Sūdān provinces, Fāshōda was occupied as *res nullius* on the 10th July 1898 by a French expedition which had reached it from the west under Major Marchand; a number of attempts by the Mahdists to dislodge them were easily repulsed. On the 19th September Kitchener appeared before Fāshōda after his victory over the Mahdists. The ultimate possession of the place was only decided after long diplomatic negotiations in Europe; on the 11th December 1898 the French had to vacate Fāshōda which now became a province again, this time of the new Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān. After Kitchener had left the Sūdān and the *entente* had been concluded between England and France, the name of the town of Fāshōda was changed to Kodak which had previously been the name of a group of Shilluk villages in the north. Since 1904 the name Fāshōda, officially at least, has ceased to exist.

The modern town lies about 100 yards from the Nile; its chief building is the Mudīrīya. A bazaar has been built in the Egyptian fortress, which was restored by Major Marchand. The town is hardly destined to a great future, on account of its low situation within the area of high water. On the other hand, when agriculture has been further developed, the province may attain considerable prosperity, if the Shilluk can be persuaded to work regularly; but this has not been brought about by the order to wear clothes.

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al-**FĀSĪ.** [See IBN ABĪ ZAR'.]

al-**FĀSĪ,** MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ ABU 'L-ṬAIYIB TAḲĪ AL-DĪN AL-MAKKĪ AL-MĀLIKĪ AL-ḤASANĪ, an Arab historian born on the 10th Rabī' I 775 = 31st August 1373 at Mecca, where his early life, with the exception of six years in Madīna, was spent. In 797 = 1395, he began to travel for purposes of study and visited Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Yemen. In 807 = 1405 he became ḳāḍī of Mecca and in 814 = 1412 received a Mālikī chair in addition. He was twice deprived of these offices for brief periods in 817 = 1414 and 819 = 1417 and had to resign the judicial office in 828 = 1425 through blindness, but the Mālikī Muftī in Cairo at his personal request granted him a certificate that he was capable of exercising his judicial duties. Nevertheless, two years later he was deposed and died on Wednesday 3rd Shawwāl 832 = 7th July 1429. His literary activity was almost entirely devoted to the history of his native city. His first work on this subject was the *Kitāb al-'Iḳd al-Thamīn fī Ta'rīkh al-Balad al-Amīn* with special reference to topography and biography, printed Mecca, 1314 A. H.; on the margin is his *Kitāb al-Kifā wa 'l-Kamāl fī Faḍā'il al-Madīna wa Ziyārat al-Rasūl*. He made two epitomes of it. Of the second edition of the second epitome entitled *Shifā' al-Gharām bi Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām* several chapters are given by Wüstenfeld in his *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ii. 55 *et seq.* He made five further abridgments of the *Shifā'*.

Bibliography: al-No'mānī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-'Āṭir*, cod. Wetzstein I, Nr. 289 (Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, Nr. 9886), fol. 215r; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, xxiv. 6; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 473; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Ar. Litt.*, ii. 172. (C. BROCKELMANN.)

FĀSIḲ (i. e. sinner) means not only one who has committed a great sin but also one who has been guilty of everyday trifling offences against the law. In the latter respect, in the unanimous opinion of the *faḳīhs* almost every Muslim is to be considered a *fāsiḳ*.

The testimony of a *fāsiḳ* has no legal weight; only the irreproachable Muslim (*'adl*) is a credible witness. This is the origin of the custom of having certain persons of good reputation to act as professional witnesses at the conclusion of all contracts (of marriage also). Such persons are often called *'adl* or *shāhid*; cf. the literature quoted by

Dozy, *Supplément aux Dict. Arab.*, s. v. *ʿadl*; E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Chap. IV (government); Ph. Vassel, *Über Marokkanische Prozesspraxis* (*Mittheil. des Seminars für Orient. Sprachen*, v., part 2, p. 170 *et seq.*).

Marriage is also invalid, according to the Shāfiʿīs (and some Ḥanbalīs), if the nearest relative (*walī*), who gives the bride in marriage, is *fāsiḳ* at the conclusion of the marriage contract; it is therefore the custom in some Shāfiʿī districts to precede the conclusion of the contract by the "conversion" of a *walī*; for one who is converted from his sins to a better way of life is again considered *ʿadl*. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje in *De Indische Gids*, 1884, i. 779. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

FĀṢILA (A.), "interval", a term in prosody, applied to a group of three or four vocalised consonants followed by a quiescent consonant. There are two kinds of *fāṣila*, the *kubrā*, the greater and *ṣughrā*, the lesser. The former is composed of five consonants, four of which are vocalised and the fifth quiescent e.g. *samakatun* (a fish), *biḳalamin* (with a quill), *kharadja Aḥmadu min baladihi* (Aḥmad went out of his town). The latter consists of four consonants, of which the three first are vocalised and the fourth is quiescent, e.g. *Kuratun ḍuribat bi-ṣawādjilatin* (a ball was thrown with bent sticks).

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

FASKH means in general the annulling of a contract, e.g. of sale on the ground of hidden defects which the buyer discovers in the article, after he has bought it, or of a political treaty which is declared void by one or both parties. In the first case one speaks of *faskh*, in the second of *mufāsakha*. Cf. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿOmarī, *al-Taʿrīf bi ʾl-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*, p. 170 *et seq.* A marriage contract in particular can be declared null and void, if after the completion of the ceremony it transpires that one or other of the parties does not fulfil certain conditions. Legal grounds for *faskh* in the latter case are, e.g. by Shāfiʿī law the inability of the man to keep his wife in fitting fashion or to pay her the *mahr*; according to most *madhhabs* certain diseases and physical defects also are valid grounds. The views of the *fiḳh* schools on various questions of detail of *faskh* differ in many respects.

As a rule the grounds which justify the annulling of a marriage are not numerous and are besides mostly difficult of proof. A married woman can thus seldom obtain a dissolution of her marriage by *faskh* and therewith the possibility of entering into a new marriage if she is neglected or ill-treated by her husband. Thence arises the custom in some countries (notably in a large part of the Dutch East Indies) which makes the man pronounce a certain *ṭalāḳ* (repudiation) over his wife immediately after the marriage contract is signed. He must, for example, say: "if I do not maintain my wife" (or "if I beat her" etc.) "she is repudiated by me".

Bibliography: Besides the chapters on marriage in the collections on Tradition and the Fiḳh books: Dimishḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fi ʾkhtilāf al-Aʾimma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 108; N. von Tornauw, *Das Moslemische Recht* (Leipzig 1855), p. 77 *et seq.*; A. Querry, *Droit musulman* (Paris 1871), i. 708 *et seq.*; M. Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence musulm.* par Khalīl Ibn Isḥāḳ, trad. de l'Arabe (*Exploration scientif. de l'Algérie*, Paris 1849), ii. 404 *et seq.* (*de l'option en fait de mariage*); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers* (Batavia, 1893), i. 381 *et seq.*, 403 *et seq.* (= *The Achehnese*, i. 349 *et seq.*, 367) and the *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes* by the author of this article (Leiden, 1910), p. 226 *et seq.*, 233 *et seq.* (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

FATḤ (A.), literally "opening", a term in Arabic grammar for the pronunciation of a consonant with the vowel *a*; the sign is therefore called *fatḥa*. In Sībawaihi (e.g. ed. Derenbourg, ii. 281, ₂) *fatḥ* is still occasionally applied to the pronunciation of the *fatḥa* without "Umlaut", i. e. the opposite of *imāla* [q. v.]. — In Arithmetic *fatḥ* means the square of a number. — There are other technical uses of the word for which see Muḥammad Aʿlā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger etc., ii. 1104 *et seq.* s. v. (A. SCHAADE.)

AL-**FATḤ** (A.), "victory", title of Sūra xlviii. and one of the titles of Sūra cx. usually called *al-Naṣr*.

AL-**FATḤ**, ABŪ NAṢR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUBAID ALLĀH B. KHAḲĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḲAISĪ, better known as AL-FATḤ IBN KHAḲĀN, for the biographers do not agree as to his genealogy, was born at Ṣakhrat al-Walad, a village near Alcalá la Real (Ḳalʿat Yaḥṣub), a district in Granada.

Among his teachers are mentioned Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Sarrādj, Abū ʾl-Ṭaiyib b. Zarḳūn, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūn, Ibn Duraid al-Kātib, the celebrated scholar Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, etc.

In his youth he was a shameless vagabond, almost always half tipsy till he obtained a position as secretary to the governor of Granada, Abū Yūsuf Tāshifīn b. ʿAlī. He went to Marrākush and was assassinated there in a funduḳ on the 29th Ramaḍān 528 (24th July 1134) or Sunday 22nd Moḥarram 529 = 13th November 1134 or according to others again, in 535 (17th August 1140—11th August 1141) by order, it seems, of Sulṭān Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, brother of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, to whom he had dedicated his "*Necklaces*". He was buried in the cemetery of Bāb al-Dabbāghīn. He composed the following works: 1. *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān wa* (or *fī*) *Maḥāsin al-Aʿyān*, a kind of biographical anthology of those who had lived some time before him and particularly of his contemporaries who had sheltered him or who had quarrelled with him (notably Ibn Bādja whom he placed at the end of the work), divided into four parts: *a.* kings and princes, *b.* viziers, *c.* ḳāḍīs and scholars, *d.* men of letters and poets (publ. at Paris in 1277 by Sulaimān al-Ḥarāʾirī in the journal *al-Birdjīs*, at Būlāḳ in 1283, 1284. A commentary was written on the *Ḳalāʾid* by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim Ibn Zākūr (died 20th Muḥarram 1120) entitled *Tazyīn Ḳalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān bi Farāʾid al-Tibyān* (there is a copy in a private library in Algiers); the French translation announced by l'Abbé E. Bourgade in 1865 has never appeared, in spite of the statements by Derenbourg, Brockelmann and Huart. — 2. *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus wa Masraḥ al-Taʾannus fī Mulaḥ Ahl al-Andalus*, a kind of appendix to the preceding work: there were, it seems, two or three editions or rather recensions of it, a large and a small or a large, a medium and a small, of which the

small was published at Constantinople in 1305 (*al-Djawā'ib* press) and at Cairo in 1325. — 3. A biography of his teacher, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (different from that dedicated to him in the third part of his *Ḳalā'id*) preserved in the Escurial (Derenbourg, *Les Mss. ar. de l'Escurial*, 448 [1]); this biography is followed by a kind of anthology containing letters and poems by Ibn al-Sīd and other scholars, the majority his contemporaries. — 4. *Maḳāma* on Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, preserved in the Escurial (Derenbourg, *Les Mss. ar. de l'Escur.*, 538 [1]). — 5. *Bidāyat al-Maḥāsin wa Ghāyat al-Muḥāsin*, thought to be lost. — 6. *Madjmū' Rasā'ilihi*, also thought lost.

Al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān more often wrote in rhymed prose, in which he is usually excellent, and also in verse which is mediocre. He seems to have plagiarised his contemporaries or even appropriated their works bodily; they did not dare accuse the thief for fear of his cynicism, which showed itself as much in his everyday life as in his literary doings. In any case, we need not look in his *Ḳalā'id* or *Maṭmaḥ* for historical facts; the value of the work lies rather in the elegance of its style.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

AL-FATḤ B. KHĀḲĀN, a favourite of al-Mutawakkil. Al-Fatḥ and the vizier 'Ubaid Allāh b. Yaḥyā, exercised an extraordinary influence over this cruel and frivolous Caliph, particularly in the last years of his reign. Both were ardent supporters of his second son al-Mu'tazz, and exerted all their efforts to exclude the Caliph's eldest son, al-Muntaṣir, from the succession. The latter was publicly insulted and had to put up with all sorts of nicknames like al-Mustaʿdjil (the "premature"), al-Muntaẓir (the anxious one, i. e. for the throne). On one occasion he was even ill-treated by al-Fatḥ by his father's orders. Other influential men were also thrust aside by al-Fatḥ till the Caliph himself by his lack of foresight prepared his fall. When he ordered al-Fatḥ to have the property of the Turkish general Waṣīf in Iṣpahān and Media confiscated, the latter learned of the Caliph's intention and allied himself with al-Muntaṣir and several others to get rid of the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Mutawakkil was assassinated in Shawwāl 247 (December 861); al-Fatḥ attempted to defend him but was defeated by superior forces and shared his master's fate.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī (de Goeje), iii. (Index); Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg), vii. 60—68; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 368 *et seq.*

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

FATḤ-'ALĪ AKHUNZĀDE (Russ. AKHUNDOV), an Āzarī-Turkī dramatist, was the son of a village schoolmaster, took service in the Russian army and attained the rank of captain. When the governor-general, Woronsoff, of the Caucasian territory built a theatre in Tiflis 1266 = 1850, the Turkī officer wrote 6 comedies for it, besides a historical dialogue in the Turkī dialect of Ādharbaidjān, which he dedicated to Field-Marshall Prince Bariatinski and which were printed in 1276 = 1859 at Tiflis under the title *Tamthīlāt*. They have been translated into Persian by Muḥammad Dja'far Maradjī.

The following is a list of them:

1. *Mollā Ibrāhīm Khalīl Kīmiyā-gar* (1267), transl. into French by Barbier de Meynard (*L'Alchimiste*, *Journ. As.*, janv. 1886);

2. *Monsieur Jourdan*, *Ḥakīm-i nabātāt* (1267), transl. into German from the Persian version by A. Wahrmund, Vienna 1889, and into French from the Turkī text by L. Bouvat, Paris 1906 (*Bibl. Orient. Elzévirienne* de Leroux, t. 81);

3. *Khirs-i Ḳuldur-bāsan*, transl. into French by Barbier de Meynard (*l'Ours et le Voleur*, extract from the *Recueil de textes et de Traductions*, Paris 1889);

4. *Wazīr-i Khān-i Sirāb* (presented at Tiflis, for the first time on the 13th November 1903);

5. *Merd-i khasīs* (1269), transl. into French by L. Bouvat (*l'Avare*, *Journ. As.* 1904);

6. *Murāfa'a wakīl-leri* (1272), *Les Procureurs*, transl. into French from the Persian by M. Cillière;

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(CL. HUART.)

FATḤ-'ALĪ-SHĀH, a Persian Shāh of the Ḳādjār dynasty, was born in 1185 (1771), succeeded his uncle Āḳā Muḥammad-Shāh in 1212 (1797) on the throne and died in 1250 (1834) after a reign of 38 years and five months (which won him the title *Ṣāḥib-ḳirān*) and was buried in Ḳumm. He was at first known as Bābā-Khān. The murder of Āḳā Muḥammad had thrown the army into the greatest confusion, Mīrzā Muḥammad-Khān Ḳādjār closed the gates of Teherān till the arrival of Bābā-Khān who was then in Shīrāz, he was at once proclaimed king but only enthroned at the beginning of the following year. After his victory over his brother Ḥusain-Ḳulī-Khān, Muḥammad-Khān Zand and Ṣādiḳ-Khān Shaḳāḳī, he succeeded in winning recognition from the chiefs of Khorāsān. After a long war with the Russians he lost Georgia, which was finally ceded by the peace of Gulistān in Oct. 1813. He had sought the support of Napoleon I. who sent Romieu and Jaubert on a mission to him and later General Gardane with the title Ambassador (1806); but thinking that France could not be of any help to him at that time he sought the friendship of England, who sent Sir John Malcolm, Sir Harford Jones Bridges and Sir Gore Ouseley to his court. The rebellion in Khorāsān, fomented by Maḥmūd-Shāh of Afghānistān, gave Fatḥ 'Alī an opportunity to seize Herāt (1815), but he could not keep it. A war with the Porte (1821—1823)

was ended by a treaty advantageous to Persia. In 1826, seeking to take advantage of the death of Alexander I. to reconquer Georgia and incited by his eldest son ʿAbbās-Mīrzā, Fatḥ-ʿAlī Shāh declared war on Russia; his son was defeated near Gandja by General Paskiwitch (25th Sept.), and again before ʿAbbās-ābād (July 1827); the Shāh was forced to abandon Armenia (treaty of Turkmān-čāi, 22nd February 1828), Eriwān and Nakhčewān. He died at Iṣpahān a few months after the death of his son ʿAbbās-Mīrzā and left the throne to his grandson Muḥammad Shāh. His keen and deeply sunk eyes were overhung by very thick bushy eyebrows; he wore a long, bushy beard dyed with ḥinnā.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Nadjaf-ḳūlī, *Maʾāthir-i Sulṭāniya*, Tabrīz 1241 and Teheran 1245 (translated by H. T. Brydges, *The Dynasty of the Kajars* (London 1833)); Mīrzā Taḳī Sipihr, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳādjāriya*, extract from the *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh*, Teheran 1273; Amédée Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie*, p. 238 *et seq.*; Fonton, *La Russie dans l'Asie Mineure*, p. 231 *et seq.*; L. Dubeux, *Perse*, p. 376 *et seq.* (portrait, pl. 58 and pl. 84); *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. p. 306 *et seq.* (CL. HUART.)

FATḤPŪR-SĪKRĪ, a deserted city, 23 miles from Agra, situated in 27° 5′ N. and 77° 40′ E., on a ridge of sandstone rocks near the ancient village of Sīkrī. In 1569 when Akbar visited Shaikh Salīm Čishtī, who was living in a cave on the Sīkrī ridge, the saint foretold the birth of a son to the childless monarch, and in 1570 Sulṭān Salīm, afterwards known as the Emperor Djahāngīr (q. v.), was born there. Akbar then commenced building a city, covering an area of about 1¾ sq. m. and enclosed by a wall (still standing) 3¾ m. long. On his return from his campaign in Gudjarāt in 1574, he found his new capital ready for occupation and named it Fatḥpūr (the City of Victory); he resided here until 1586, when he abandoned it as a capital, probably on account of the brackish nature of the water obtainable there, and shortly after his death, it began to fall into ruin. Many of the buildings, however, still remain in an excellent state of preservation; among these may be mentioned the official buildings, such as the mint, the treasury, the record office, and the hall of public audience, and the royal palace, including the private apartments of the Emperor and the residences of several of his wives. The house of the Turkī Sulṭāna is remarkable for the elaborate carving with which it is covered, both within and without; the interior is decorated with a dado, 4 ft. high, divided into eight oblong panels, richly decorated with carvings representing forest and garden scenes. The two-storeyed building, known as Bīrbal's house, (though it was undoubtedly the palace of one of Akbar's queens), is similarly covered with carving exhibiting a profuse variety of patterns executed in minute detail. In close proximity to the royal apartments are some curious buildings, of a unique design, e. g. the Panč Maḥall, a five-storeyed pavilion, each storey of which is smaller than the one on which it rests, and the so-called Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ (or private audience hall), a building consisting of one room only, in the centre of which rises an octagonal column surmounted by an enormous circular capital, from the top of which radiate four narrow causeways, each about 10 ft. long, to the corners of the building; the top of this capital is thus connected with a gallery, running round the upper part of the room and communicating by staircases (made in the thickness of the wall) both with the roof and the courtyard below. It is not possible to enumerate here the many other buildings connected with the emperor and his court, but special mention must be made of the great mosque, which is one of the finest monuments of Mughal architecture. It covers an area of 438 ft. by 542 ft., having a central court (360 ft. by 439 ft.) enclosed by cloisters, except at the three gateways, of which the Buland Darwāza (facing the South), erected by Akbar in 1602 to commemorate his victories in the Dakkan, ranks as one of the noblest gateways in India. In the court of the mosque stands the tomb of Shaikh Salīm Čishtī, a single-storeyed building, encased in white marble and surmounted by a dome; the marble lattice screens which enclose the veranda of this building are of extraordinary delicacy and intricacy of geometrical pattern; over the cenotaph is a wooden canopy inlaid with mother-of-pearl arranged in beautiful geometrical designs.

Among the noteworthy features of the buildings at Fatḥpūr-Sīkrī are the evidences of the influence of Hindu architecture, in construction and decoration, and the frescoes painted on the walls of the Khwābgāh and the Sunahrā Makān, and the colour decoration of the Ḥammām and other buildings.

Bibliography: *Tūzuk-i-Djahāngīrī*, p. 2 (Allygurh, 1864); E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri* (*Archaeological Survey of India*, Allahabad, 1894—1898); *Keene's Handbook for visitors to Agra and its neighbourhood, re-written by* E. A. Duncan, pp. 222—257 (7th ed. Calcutta, 1909).

FĀTIḤA, the first and most popular Sūra in the Ḳorʾān. Its name means the "opener" (i. e. of the Korʾān). This short Sūra which only contains seven verses has a certain number of peculiar features; it is at the beginning of the book, while all the other short Sūras are at the end; it is in the form of a prayer while the others are in the form of a sermon or lecture; in reciting it the word *āmīn* (amen) is added to it, which is not done in any of the others.

In Sūra xv. 87 there is an allusion to the *Fātiḥa* under the name of the seven (i. e. verses) which ought to be constantly repeated (= *Sabʿan min al-Mathānī*); and these seven verses occupy a special position with reference to the portion of the Ḳorʾān revealed at that time. "We have already given thee the seven verses which ought to be constantly repeated as well as the great Korʾān". At the period then, when Sūra xv., which is Meccan, was revealed, the *Fātiḥa* was already the favourite prayer of the little community of believers.

It has been said that this Sūra is the oldest or one of the oldest in the Ḳorʾān. Nöldeke has urged against this view that it contains expressions which are not found in the Sūras of the first period; notably certain epithets of Allāh, "the merciful, the compassionate, *al-Raḥmān, al-Raḥīm*" appear there for the first time. Nevertheless the *Fātiḥa* is relatively old and should be placed at the end of the first Meccan period. It is, as we have just mentioned, quoted in Sūra xv. which belongs to the second period; and its first verse "glory be to God, the lord of the worlds"

is repeated at the end of Sūra xxxvii. (verse 182) which also belongs to the second period.

The words *al-Maghḍūb ʿalaihim* "those against whom God is enraged", and *al-Ḍāllīn*, those who err, in verse 7 of the *Fātiḥa*, refer respectively to the Jews and Christians.

The *Fātiḥa* forms part of the daily prayer (*Namāz*) of the Muslim; its recitation is a divine order according to Shāfiʿī, while Abū Ḥanīfa says it is only obligatory by canon. Various pious scholars have written on the virtues of this Sūra.

Bibliography: Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorâns*[2], p. 110 *et seq.*; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, ii. 79, 88; the annotated translations of and commentaries on the Ḳorʾān. (B. Carra de Vaux.)

al-**FĀTIK**, the name of three rulers of the NAḌJĀḤ dynasty (q. v.).

FĀṬIMA, the daughter of Muḥammad and the aged Khadīdja, born in Mecca. Unlike the other children of the Prophet, we have solid grounds for believing in her existence, not so much in reliable documents as in her descendants. She possesses a biographical literature of her own, in which however historical facts are rather scarce, a slight but appreciable advantage over her sisters, notably Ruḳayya and Umm Kulthūm, always associated as sisters and confused even in the most trifling incidents of their lives. The poetry of the first century A. H., however, entirely omits to mention her. The date of her birth still remains to be settled. This question implies another, also still unsolved, — the place in order among the four daughters of the Prophet occupied by Fāṭima? All except Umm Kulthūm have been claimed to be the eldest. In this controversy the compilers of the *Sīra* and of Tradition thought that the advanced age of Khadīdja ought to be taken into account. On the other hand, they wished to avoid too great an age for Fāṭima at the time of her marriage with ʿAlī. According to the degree of importance accorded to these two considerations, so difficult to reconcile, the various writers have sometimes brought forward and sometimes set back the date of her birth. It is principally among the Shīʿites, who endow Fāṭima with all physical graces and all mental gifts and virtues, that it has been found more suitable to make her the youngest. Her sisters are supposed by the *Sīra* to have been married before Fāṭima, for "as a good pater familias", so they reason "the Prophet must have settled the elder daughters first". This insistence on the youth of Fāṭima is quite natural; otherwise it would have to be admitted that Muḥammad was indifferent to his daughter, that the companions showed a shocking lack of enthusiasm to enter the Prophet's family and finally that Fāṭima was a nonentity if she remained unmarried for a period far beyond the ordinary period of celibacy, so dreaded by Arab women.

In this chronological discussion, in the absence of any direct information — it is useless to suppose with Sprenger that traditions have been lost — the starting-point is furnished by the death of Fāṭima, which all agree in placing in the year 11 A. H. To the 11 years thus obtained are added the three separating the Hidjra from the death of Khadīdja. Above this figure 14 there is no agreement among our authors. If some of them have represented Fāṭima as the eldest or one of the eldest of her sisters, it is because they wished to avoid the objection arising from the advanced years of her mother. Others, thinking only of the lateness of her marriage to ʿAlī, have sought to place the birth of Fāṭima about the period of the "prophetic calling" of her father, shortly before or shortly after. The boldest supporters of this view are the writers devoted to the house of ʿAlī. Masʿūdī places the birth of Fāṭima "eight years before the Hidjra" i. e. at a date when her mother must have been at least 60 years of age. This isolated view, which is inspired by the statement in the *Sīra* that ʿĀʾisha was married at the age of nine, is an attempt to give Fāṭima the same advantage. In more than one respect Fāṭima is the Shīʿite counterpart of the very prominent figure of ʿĀʾisha.

The oldest historians and the early *Sīras* such as that of Ibn Hishām devote relatively little attention to Fāṭima. In Ibn Ḥanbal's compilation, the *Musnad* of Fāṭima only occupies a page against the 250 devoted to ʿĀʾisha. The *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Saʿd manage to give an account of ʿAlī without ever even mentioning the name of his wife. She hardly appears in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* in spite of the pronounced ʿAlid tendencies of this collection. We know nothing of Fāṭima for the pre-Hidjra period except her *kunya* "Umm Abīhā" and her grief at the death of Khadīdja. No one among the persons in the *Sīra* weeps as much as Fāṭima except perhaps Abū Bakr: tears are a manifestation of physical pain in the daughter of the Prophet and of religious fervour, a veritable χάρισμα, in the rough Ḳuraish trader. Fāṭima seems to have had a melancholy temperament always wrapped as it were in gloom. Physically she was no better endowed; her weak constitution, her thinness, her frequent illnesses made her unfit for the hard tasks allotted to Arab women. Unlike her sister Ruḳaiya, there is rarely any allusion to Fāṭima's beauty and nowhere does Muḥammad declare, as he does for Zainab, that she is "the most capable (*afḍal*) of his daughters". All this explains why she waited so long before finding a husband. One asks, without being able to explain, why this heiress of "the wealthy merchant Khadīdja" had no dowry. Tradition would attribute all the delay not to the absence but to the number and exceptional qualities of her suitors, Abū Bakr, ʿOmar etc. Muḥammad, in expectation of a divine command, decided on ʿAlī. She is usually said to have been 15 years of age then; others speak of "18 years or more". As a matter of fact this last figure must have been exceeded if she was about thirty at her death, but it is a very probable mean. As a rule writers avoid dwelling on this point, for girls in Arabia usually married between 9 and 12. Here again there is an allusion to ʿĀʾisha who was married at the age of nine.

After the Hidjra, ʿAlī or rather Zaid b. Ḥāritha undertook to bring her to Medina, while her sister Zainab remained in Mecca. As to her marriage, it is as rule not placed before the battle of Badr; others place it after Uḥud. If Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim settled his daughters in the order of seniority, Fāṭima, supposed to be the youngest, could not marry before her sister Umm Kulthūm who was married to ʿOmar in the period between the two battles. Other authors claim to reconcile all discrepancies by distinguishing, as in the case of ʿĀʾisha, between the conclusion of the marriage before Badr and its consummation after Uḥud but this is again

an artifice to tone down the lack of eagerness for the marriage on both sides. ʿAlī at first declined the match on the ground of his poverty. Muḥammad had to remind him of the beautiful cuirass, won at Badr; this has been made an argument for placing the marriage immediately after this victory. Fāṭima on her side showed no more enthusiasm. Although a brave soldier ʿAlī was poor and was even said not to be particularly intelligent.

A union concluded under such auspices could hardly promise to be a happy one. Discord soon found a place beside poverty in the home. Muḥammad settled the newly married pair near him. Her quarrels with ʿAlī caused him a great deal of pain. Muḥammad had continually to intervene without succeeding in restoring peace. The birth of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, one born a year after the other, probably in 4 and 5 A. H., did not mark any turn for the better. Their mother did not feel strong enough to nourish her children herself and Tradition has turned this fact to the advantage of the Caliphs of Baghdād, by saying they were nursed by one of the wives of ʿAbbās, who had remained in Mecca with all his family till the surrender of the town. The existence of a third son, Muḥassin, who died young, is problematical; it is affirmed principally by the Shīʿites. There were also two daughters; Zainab and Umm Kulthūm, the latter born in the last year of Fāṭima's life.

No outstanding event interrupts the course of this monotonous and obscure life. Fāṭima had little influence with her father and was thrown into the background far behind the enterprising and formidable ʿĀʾisha and even the other female members of the Prophet's household. Her relations with the former were particularly strained. For the sake of peace, Muḥammad found himself forced to close up the door leading to the adjoining house of Fāṭima. After Uḥud she is depicted to us tending her father's wounds. On the deaths of Ḥamza and Djaʿfar she resumes her lachrymose rôle. She tried to intervene, but without success, in the intrigues that divided the "mothers of the believers" and had to retire before ʿĀʾisha. Tired of monogamy and the trying temperament of Fāṭima, ʿAlī meditated doing her the grave wrong of marrying a Makhzūmite and a daughter of Abū Lahab. Muḥammad was very indignant and offered his son-in-law the choice between Fāṭima or divorce; "she is", he added "a portion of my flesh". Other details given by Tradition and obviously biassed show us the poverty and weak health of Fāṭima, forced to do the hardest tasks without her father or husband offering to assist her. Cruel and harsh to his wife and exasperated by her constant recriminations, ʿAlī is said to have so far forgotten himself as to maltreat his invalid wife, forcing her to take refuge with her father. On his part he began to avoid the conjugal domicile preferring to sleep in the mosque.

The period of the greatest foreign activity in the Prophet, now head of the state, begins with the fifth year A. H., in the interval between the defeat at Uḥud and the siege of Medina by the Arab confederates or *Aḥzāb*. The period coincides with the married life of Fāṭima. Absorbed in his wars, and his great schemes of political organisation, he began to neglect his daughter, so poorly endowed by nature and constantly worrying him with her troubles and appeals to his generosity. Not finding the help expected from her husband, a brave soldier, but undistinguished for intelligence, he turned to the circle of Abū Bakr and ʿOmar; this was to put himself completely under ʿĀʾisha's influence, openly hostile to ʿAlī and Fāṭima. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* and the *Musnad* do their best to clear away this unfavourable impression. Thus we are told that the Prophet when he rose used to go to announce the hour of prayer at Fāṭima's door. These collections are fond of insisting on the affection shown by him to his grandsons. A whole cycle of traditions of the Prophet's family life has thus arisen, in which Muḥammad in déshabillé plays even at prayer with the "two Ḥasans". The *Sunan* on the other hand emphasises the marks of tenderness lavished by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim on the children of his daughter Zainab, on those of Zaid b. Ḥāritha, of Djaʿfar and even of Zubair ibn al-ʿAwwām, not to mention the little ʿAbbāsids: orthodox tactics to neutralise the dangerous exaggerations of the Shīʿa. The sons of Fāṭima do seem nevertheless to have won back their grandfather's affection, particularly when he saw all his children taken from him one by one. These repeated blows may well have extracted from him the disconsolate words "ʿAlī shall perpetuate my line".

A passage in the Ḳorʾān (iii. 60) has furnished the framework of an anecdote which has been cleverly exploited; it is Muḥammad's interview with the Christian envoys from Nadjrān. Wishing to test the effect of his imprecations (*mubāhala*) against them, he arrived, surrounded by Fāṭima and her family. This scene has inspired another, still more celebrated in Shīʿite literature, that of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kisāʾ* ("privileged ones of the cloak"). He is said to have called out one day while covering ʿAlī and Fāṭima and the "two Ḥasans" under his cloak: "These are the members of my family". Since then that group of five persons has been known to Tradition as the "people of the cloak". We can see the object of this, to associate the ʿAlids with the Prophet, vindicate for them the privilege of forming, to the exclusion of all others, the "people of the house" (*ahl al-bait*), and the sole possession of the special purity, as announced in the Korʾān (xxxiii. 33): "Allāh will cleanse you, people of the house, and purify you", a verse that is directly addressed to the wives of Muḥammad, and not to the ʿAlids and Fāṭima who are nowhere mentioned in the Ḳorʾān.

When he became owner of the rich oases of the northern Ḥidjāz, Muḥammad decided to allot to Fāṭima an annual allowance of 85 loads of wheat, as he had done for his wives. Abū Sufyān arrived in Medina to renew the treaty of Ḥudaibiya. Fāṭima is mentioned among the people whom the Omayyad chief sought to interest in the conclusion of this treaty: the first act of a comedy which was to end in the *fatḥ*, the surrender of Mecca. She accompanied her father on the military outing, in which, without striking a blow, he became master of the Ḳuraish capital. She is also said to have been present at the farewell pilgrimage. Towards the end of 11 A. H. the Prophet was overtaken by his last illness. Fāṭima made her way to the bedside of her dying father over whom ʿĀʾisha was jealously watching, to hear the prediction that she would be the first of the family to rejoin him.

New trials were to mark the last months of Fāṭima's life. Furious at being set aside by the triumvirate, 'Alī shut himself up in his house with his partisans. Their adversaries led by 'Omar came to use force against them. Fāṭima came out, threatening to uncover her hair, the greatest sign of distress among Arab women. A dispute followed regarding the division of her father's estate, who had, it appears, died intestate. Among the numerous estates of the Prophet, she laid particular claim to the oasis of Fadak, which had been her father's private property in the strictest sense of the word. All this landed property had been declared state lands by Abū Bakr. He answered Fāṭima's request with the words of the Prophet: "Prophets do not leave heirs". To this decided refusal Fāṭima, after quoting Ḳor'ān xxvii. 16: "Solomon received David's inheritance", is said to have added this obvious distinction: "Prophecy and the exalted gifts attached to this dignity are not heritable, agreed! But the estate remains". Overruled by Abū Bakr, she swore never again to speak to him and refused even to see him on her deathbed.

Her death is unanimously placed in the year 11 A. H., "one, two, six or eight months" after that of her father, a variation that ought to be noted. Not knowing the exact date, the ancient annalists adopted that of the year 11 in conformity to the prophecy quoted above. They must also have argued from the impossibility of granting that Fāṭima could have survived beyond the year 11, after the behaviour of 'Alī, who hastened to make peace with Abū Bakr and to collect a complete harem for himself; these were gratuitous insults to the memory of Fāṭima and could not (they thought) be decently laid to her husband's charge. We always find the same *a priori* reasoning; the whole chronology of Fāṭima's life has been obtained by this method. Fāṭima died of exhaustion, perhaps of consumption; this disease was later to carry off her eldest son Ḥasan, whom some allege to have been poisoned by Mu'āwiya. By a strange coincidence, 'Alī, who was away from home, was not present at her deathbed, but he was summoned back to prepare for the funeral which was carried out at night and with the greatest haste. The estimates of her age vary between 23 and 35 years: it depends on the *terminus a quo*, the date of her birth. The lowest figures owe their origin to authorities chiefly concerned with making her as young as possible at her marriage. The exact site of her tomb was soon forgotten as was to be the fate of those of her husband and the martyrs of Uḥud also.

In the eyes of Shī'ites, Fāṭima represents "the embodiment of all that is divine in womanhood, — the noblest ideal of human conception" (Syed Ameer Ali). Her birth was miraculous; her union with 'Alī decided by a divine decree. After having been the person most dear to the Prophet, she could not survive the grief caused by his death. Without going as far as this, the Sunnis do not reject the hadīths, in which she is declared "the queen of the women of Paradise next Maryam, the daughter of 'Imrān"; they give her the enigmatical title of *batūl*, virgin. The ancient orthodox school was inclined to accord the pre-eminence to 'Ā'isha when choosing between her and Fāṭima. But the farther we come down the series of collections of Tradition, the larger becomes the list of her *faḍā'il* (virtues) and *khaṣā'iṣ* (privileges). The number of her devotees increases as Islām begins to feel the need of a hagiology for the use of the weaker sex. Her story, being vaguer, lent itself much better to edifying amplification than the too well-known story of the romantic daughter of Abū Bakr. On the day of the resurrection Fāṭima will be on the same level as her father and the two will form a group. When she passes, an angel will cry: "Lower your eyes, ye mortals!". The Mahdī will be born from her posterity. The above is a modest glimpse into the *florilegium* of the specifically Fāṭimid literature, cultivated by later orthodox writers; it will give an idea of the rest. The real and only importance of Fāṭima consists entirely in the fact that through her Muḥammad's line has been perpetuated. She participates in the reverence accorded by Islām to its founder. Veneration for Fāṭima cannot be earlier than the tragedy at Karbalā (61 = 680). This cult developed laboriously. Ancient orthodoxy rightly detected in it a danger to the unity of Islām and the Arab empire; the Caliphs of Baghdād, after having exploited it, endeavoured to turn the veneration for the family of the Prophet aside to the descendants of 'Abbās. It is difficult to explain why the descendants of Muḥammad's other daughters did not participate in this veneration to the same degree as the Fāṭimids, a name frequently given to the descendants of Fāṭima.

Fāṭima is a name that covers a real personality but one that eludes the investigations of the critic. Around this inconstant figure the struggle between Shī'is and Sunnis has centred; it has been an irregular battle with underhand stratagems and parallel tactics, in which the details conceal and distort our view of the whole conflict. This strife, lacking in sincerity and grandeur, a regular guerrilla warfare of partisans, a war fertile in surprises, utterly distracts the eye of the historian, who desires to fix his attention on this fleeting figure, the lightly painted portrait of the heroine, the cause of and the stake in the struggle. When the two great Muslim parties had taken the field, the dispute was further complicated by the quarrels of the schools, or by particular tendencies, each claiming to be authorised by the example of this daughter of the Prophet, to make a doctrine, a rule of conduct, or moral or ritual prescriptions prevail. Under pressure of the Shī'a, the school of Kūfa, the rival to that of Medina, developed the exaltation of Fāṭima, in opposition to the glorification of 'Ā'isha, elaborated in the Ḥudjāz, just as it transformed the brief history of her husband 'Alī into an answer to the Medina legend of Abū Bakr. Relying on the precautions, which it believed itself to be secured by, orthodoxy seems to have set its mind at rest by thinking of the honour which would be reflected from the cult on the Prophet and his family. While filling up a lacuna in the *Sīra*, they at the same time freed him from the reproach of indifference to his family. Even the 'Abbāsids found it opportune to abandon their hostile neutrality; this was not a disinterested change of attitude but one in which their crafty policy is quite apparent. They must henceforth have tolerated the glorification of 'Alī and Fāṭima among the authors, who worked under their supervision, but on condition that they emphasised the obligations of the 'Alids to their powerful Hāshimī cousins, and depicted them as

having always lived under their protection on the crumbs that fell from their tables. Posterity thought that this edifying anthology should be taken seriously, in which the personality of Fāṭima is used as a pretext, a basis for further developments, a pious make-believe, destined to further recognition of the cult. From these elements has arisen a vast biographical literature, a heterogeneous mixture of elements, for the most part apocryphal and frequently contradictory. Fāṭima was not the ideal woman depicted by ʿAlid writers; perhaps she did not play such a humble part; she may have been a less insignificant individual than her adversaries make out. This last impression is the one obtained from an impartial study of the ancient documents, which are more sober and contain less fabulous additions. One can understand why the piety of later ages has sought to embellish the figure of the Prophet's daughter, but it is less easy to understand why Tradition should have deliberately sought to misrepresent it, if it did not believe that in doing so it was casting off the fabrications of partisans.

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(H. LAMMENS.)

FĀṬIMIDS. The origin of the Fāṭimid movement is to be sought among the Ismāʿīlīs, whose centre was from about the middle of the third century A. H. the small town of Salamiya between Ḥamāt and Ḥimṣ. Among the *dāʿīs* [q. v., i. 895b *et seq.*], who went forth from here to the various Muslim countries, particularly to Mesopotamia, Persia and the Yemen, to engage in very successful missionary work, Abū ʿAbd Allāh [q. v., i. 74], who became famous under the name al-Shīʿī was the first to gain a firm footing in the Maghrib among the Berber tribe of Kutāma (from the end of 272 = 805) and gradually undermined the power of the Aghlabids. This induced the then head of the Ismāʿīlī sect, ʿUbaidallāh (who seems originally to have been called Saʿīd) to go first to Egypt about 289 = 902, and thence to the west when he found himself subject to constant persecution instigated by the ʿAbbāsids: here, however, he was thrown into prison in Sidjilmasa by order of Ziyādat Allāh. Al-Shīʿī's brilliant and victorious campaign which, after the capture of Tāhert and Raḳḳāda, made an end of Aghlabid rule, led to his release and, on the 29th Rabīʿ II. 297 (15th January 910), he was able to make his ceremonious entry into Raḳḳāda and to take the name al-Mahdī and the title Amīr al-Muʾminīn. They at once set to work in the most earnest fashion with the introduction of the Shīʿī creed but they never succeeded in overcoming the Mālikitism of the natives for more than a brief period. Al-Mahdīya (on the coast not far from Raḳḳāda), which received its name from that of the Caliph, was made the capital in 308 = 920. The next two successors of ʿUbaidallāh also built residences of their own — Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (Muḥammad) al-Ḳāʾim, while still a prince, built al-Muḥammadiya, while al-Manṣūr built al-Manṣūriya — but these never attained any particular importance.

Such was the origin of the Fāṭimids. Their name refers to the descent, which they claimed from ʿAlī and Fāṭima, a claim the justice of which cannot even now be decided with certainty, although there are undoubtedly grave reasons against it, so that ʿUbaidallāh's descent from Maimūn, a Persian oculist, which is upheld by the other side, is not improbable. In any case, it appears that suspicion of the dynasty only appears at a comparatively late period in literature; the unreliability of certain important authorities like Akhū Muḥassin (see C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 4 *et seq.*) is likewise demonstrable; it is obvious also that any means must have seemed legitimate to the ʿAbbāsids to overthrow their dangerous and superior rivals but, if it is urged by the defenders of the legitimacy of the Fāṭimids, among whom Maḳrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn are pre-eminent, that ʿUbaidallāh would never have had to suffer from the plots and persecution of the Caliph of Baghdād already referred to, if the latter had not feared him as an ʿAlid, it can be said in reply to this argument that ʿUbaidallāh was at that time no obscure or utterly unknown personality, but well known as the grand-master of the Ismāʿīlīs and that this might be the reason why he was suspected. Nor is the objection quite convincing that, with the great number and wide dissemination of the ʿAlids at this time, it would have been impossible for their adherents to attach themselves to the descendants of a Magian (the oculist Maimūn) or Jew. This latter assertion, that ʿUbaidallāh was of Jewish descent, is certainly to be traced to the hatred of his enemies (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 205), but it must not be forgotten that the ʿAlids themselves have repeatedly attacked the genuineness of the Fāṭimid pedigree with great vigour and have also taken up a directly hostile attitude to them. What is particularly surprising, however, is the absolute uncertainty of tradition everywhere regarding the genealogy of the Fāṭimids (cf. Wüstenfeld, p. 12 *et seq.*). August Müller (i. 597) has already shown

how their genuineness is shaken by the contradictions with the view of the Druses, who simply make Maimūn an ʿAlid.

The energies of the new ruling house were for the next two generations constantly occupied with an unending series of domestic troubles. ʿUbaidallāh's treacherous murder only a year after his accession of the strongest supporter of his rule, al-Shīʿī, who was threatening to obtain by force the recognition hitherto denied him, was severely avenged. The principal trouble was the rebellion of the Zenāta and of the Kitāma with them. The wars with the former were only brought to an end with the conquest of their city Tāhert by Maṣāla in 299 = 911; the latter then conquered the Idrīsids but Fās was left to a prince of this house; soon afterwards he conquered Sidjilmāsa also. His power thus formed a bulwark of the Fāṭimid interests in the west till his death in 312 = 924. But his successor, Ibn Abī 'l-ʿĀfiya, although at first able to win even more brilliant successes by subduing the whole of the Maghrib as far as Ceuta where a few Idrīsids still held out, thought it better to submit to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III., who had occupied Ceuta, in view of his threatening proximity. It was only in the reign of ʿUbaidallāh's son al-Ḳāʾim (322—334 = 934—946) that the deserter was conquered, his territory restored to the Idrīsids and rebellion in Tāhert put down. But all these troubles paled into insignificance before the rebellion of Abū Yazīd [q. v., i. 113ᵇ *et seq.*], which broke out in 332 = 943-944 and threatened to be the greatest danger to which Fāṭimid power had yet been exposed. He was able to win considerable support, particularly among the Khāridjī elements in the Awrās and the greatest cities of the empire fell one by one before the onrush of his Berber hordes. He was so successful that he laid siege to the Caliph in al-Mahdiya. Although he was forced to raise the siege after blockading the city for a year, al-Ḳāʾim was again besieged soon afterwards in Sūsa where he succumbed to the hardships he had endured. His son al-Manṣūr (334—341 = 946—953) finally succeeded in putting an end to the civil war after severe fighting in which Abū Yazīd was slain. The always uncertain attitude of the Idrīsids and Zenāta in the West also became rather more settled about this time so that for once the empire could find a breathing space after a long period of internal convulsions.

These decades of unrest, to which were added earthquake, plague and famine, naturally impeded to a considerable degree the efforts of the early Fāṭimids to expand their power. From the beginning they devoted most of their energies to advancing eastwards against Egypt, but the attempts to conquer the country in this period all ended in failure. In the reign of ʿUbaidallāh his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim twice (301-302 = 913—915 and 307—309 = 919—921) invaded the Nile valley; in both cases initial successes were followed by severe defeats, in the second campaign at sea also. Barḳa alone was retained as a permanent conquest. When he became Caliph, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim send a third expedition against Egypt in 323 = 935, but this was unable to break down the vigorous resistance of the Ikhshīd. Much less attention was devoted to Sicily [q. v.] where a Fāṭimid governor had been installed immediately after the overthrow of the Aghlabids. Although after his expulsion the island made itself independent under Ibn Ḳurhub the Caliph did nothing to regain it and it was only when the rebel was delivered up to him by his own people (304 = 916), that he again came into possession of Sicily. The corsair raids from Sicily on the coasts of Southern Italy and France, the capture of Genoa (323 = 935) and the devastation of Sardinia and Corsica had no permanent results. From the end of 336 or beginning of 337 = 948 Sicily won practical independence through the skill of the Kalbī Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. For the further vicissitudes of this western outpost of the empire to its conquest by the Normans in 450—484 = 1061—1091, the reader may be referred to the article SICILY, as they do not concern Fāṭimid history.

It was only under al-Manṣūr's successor al-Muʿizz (341—365 = 953—975) that the empire found the internal peace and security, which allowed it to make a fresh start with a powerful policy of conquest, through the sober diplomacy of this Caliph and the great military skill of his general Djawhar [q. v., i. 1028], who succeeded in definitely conquering the far west, after an aggressive war in 344-345 = 955-956 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. which threatened to be dangerous, had not been continued. The goal of this policy was naturally Egypt which had hitherto been attacked in vain. The country, utterly disorganised, could not resist a Djawhar and on the 17ᵗʰ Shaʿbān 358 = 6ᵗʰ July 969 the Fāṭimid general made his victorious entry into Fusṭāṭ. Egypt, formally at least, thus became a Shīʿite country for two centuries. The conqueror at once set about with great prudence the introduction of measures to alleviate the famine raging among the people and personally saw to the restoration of law and order. At the same time he began the building of a new quarter, the modern Cairo [q. v., i. 821ᵇ *et seq.*], and the foundation of the Azhar Mosque also dates from his time. He also endeavoured to extend Fāṭimid power beyond the frontiers of the land of the Nile. Mecca and Medina, where the way had been cleverly prepared for the change, submitted without delay to Muʿizz, and Fāṭimid suzerainty over the holy cities lasted till the end of the dynasty in spite of frequent interruptions — for the recognition of a suzerain was largely a question of money with the covetous Sharīfs [for details cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 53 *et seq.*]. It was more difficult to gain a firm footing in Syria. The Ḳarmaṭians [q. v.] proved the chief obstacles, although they originally sprang from the same movement as the Ismāʿīlīs. Djawhar's second-in-command, Djaʿfar b. Fallāḥ, who had occupied Damascus for a brief period, soon fell before them, readily supported by the Būyids of Baghdād. But when they appeared before the gates of Cairo they could not resist the military genius of Djawhar nor to a certain extent his gold. Jaffa also was now recaptured; but further progress remained impossible. Muʿizz himself, who had entrusted the affairs of the west, which had been pacified by Bulukkīn's [q. v., i. 792] strong arm, to this devoted Ṣanhādja chief, and moved his residence to Egypt in 362 = 973, had to ward off a new invasion by the tenacious Ḳarmaṭians in the following year. Following up his victory, which was won by bribery, he succeeded in again taking Damascus through dissensions among the Ḳarmaṭians, but it was soon lost to the Turk Aftakīn in the troubled times that followed. In 367 =

977 the new Caliph al-ʿAzīz (365—386 = 976—996) defeated him, but the city still remained Egyptian in name only. It was only in 378 = 988 that it was finally won for the Fāṭimids by the eunuch Munīr. Tripolis then remained the most northern point in their Syrian possessions. Repeated attempts to capture Aleppo failed however, as it was energetically supported in its defence by the Byzantines; in the great siege of 383-384 = 993-994 it was relieved by the Emperor Basil II in person. It may be said that the empire attained its greatest extent towards the end of the reign of ʿAzīz. In 382 = 992 even the ʿUḳailid Abu 'l-Dhawwād b. al-Musaiyib had prayers said in the name of ʿAzīz, although for but a brief period. But in North Africa even with Bulukkīn's successor the bonds that bound the empire began to loosen till in 437 = 1045-1046 Muʿizz b. Bādīs finally broke off from the Fāṭimids and had prayers pronounced in name of the Caliphs of Baghdād. The Egyptian authorities thereupon induced the tribe of the Banū Hilāl to invade the Maghrib and although they advanced victoriously as far as Ḳairawān, the land remained irrevocably lost to the Fāṭimids. — Nor did further developments of affairs in Syria ever lead to the land becoming a secure possession of the Egyptian Caliph; on the contrary we have a long series of great and small risings, sometimes of the Syrians themselves, sometimes also of the governors and generals sent from Cairo besides wars against foreign powers; the cause was the lack of one powerful controlling will at the head of the central government. The Byzantines were at first disposed of with comparative ease; after they had suffered two defeats at Tyre by sea, and at Apamea by land, a ten years' truce was entered into in the early years of the Caliph Ḥākim (386—411 = 996—1021). Temporary successes were marked by the homage of the ʿUḳailid Ḳirwāsh b. Muḳallad in 401 = 1010-1011 and the transitory occupation of Aleppo (402 = 1011). On the other hand the rising of the Banū Djarrāḥ, who set up an anti-Caliph in the person of the Sharīf of Mecca, Abu 'l-Futūḥ, into whose hands the greater part of Syria soon fell, caused a good deal of anxiety. The Egyptian troops were defeated and it was only by bribery that the trouble was finally settled and the Sharīf allowed to resume his position in Mecca. The utter weakness of Egyptian rule came to light under Ḥākim's successor al-Ẓāhir (411—427 = 1021—1036). Three enemies threatened it at the same time: Ḥassān b. Daghfal, one of the main figures in the above mentioned rebellion, rose in Palestine, Sinān besieged Damascus while the Mirdāsid Ṣāliḥ captured Aleppo from the Egyptians, which they had held for the last few years; (definitely probably since the end of 417 = 1027, cf. Becker, *Beiträge*, p. 45 *et seq.*). Then an officer of exceptional ability, al-Dizbirī, took command and his vigorous measures were crowned with success. Ḥassān and Ṣāliḥ were defeated by him at Uḳḥuwāna (420 = 1029) and the latter fell in the battle; he regained Damascus and by a further victory over the Banū Mirdās on the Orontes (429 = 1038) entered into possession of Aleppo. He devoted himself to the restoration of law and order. A ten years' peace was again concluded with the Byzantines and al-Dizbirī even succeeded in having the Fāṭimid Caliph recognised in Ḥarrān, Sarūdj and Raḳḳa. This distinguished soldier fell all too soon a victim to the intrigues of the vizier al-Djardjarāʾī and the rapid downfall of Fāṭimid power could no longer be averted. Palestine rebelled again under Ḥassān, Aleppo at once fell to the Mirdāsid Muʿizz. The Egyptians twice, in 440 = 1048 and 441 = 1049, sought in vain to regain it; although the prince above mentioned submitted again in 449 = 1057, the town was lost to Fāṭimids, — this time for ever, — in 452 = 1060. The apparent successes, which will be recorded elsewhere, such as the submission of Basāsīrī in Baghdād (450 = 1058), the surrender of al-Ṣulaiḥī, who was able to enforce the recognition of their Caliphate in the Ḥidjāz and Yemen from Mecca to Ḥaḍramawt, went but a little way to balance the loss of their power in Syria: for a new danger was already steadily advancing from the east in the rising might of the Saldjūḳs. In 463 = 1071 Jerusalem fell to them, in 468 = 1076 Damascus, and after this date it is impossible to speak of Fāṭimid power in Syria, although there was no lack of attempts to restore it and numerous battles on Syrian soil, of which more will be said below.

Egypt was therefore the only land left of which the Fāṭimids could really maintain a permanent hold, in which they impressed the stamp of their characteristics. The history of their rule in the Nile valley will only be dealt with in its main outlines here; for the details the reader is referred to the separate articles and to the article EGYPT [ii. 4^b *et seq.*]. Their power was placed on a sound basis by the cautious and deliberate policy of the two first Egyptian Caliphs al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz as well as by the careful organisation of the mechanism of administration and finance in which they found a most valuable adviser in Ibn Killis in spite of many faults. Under the second of these rulers he received the rank of vizier, an office which in course of further developments became of the highest importance. He was a Jew by descent, although a convert to Islām; one of his immediate successors, ʿĪsā b. Nesṭorius, was a Christian; the Jew Manasseh was appointed to govern Syria, so that as early as this we find that remarkable favouring of the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, particularly the Christians, which is characteristic of the Fāṭimids. By the time of ʿAzīz, however, we find a rather strong reaction from the Muslim side, but even under his successor al-Ḥākim, the son of a Christian mother, whose tyrannical moods repeatedly found expression in rigorous oppression of Christians and Jews, we find Christians in the highest offices. The reign of this Caliph forms in other points also a marked contrast to those of his two predecessors. Although many meritorious institutions and important foundations such as the "House of Sciences" are due to him, his cruel despotism was on the whole a great misfortune for the land and led to the utter disintegration in the country. This showed itself in the rebellion of the Spanish Umaiyad Abū Raḳwa, which was only suppressed with difficulty. The danger formed by the mercenary troops of Turks and negroes now became visible; they had first been employed in addition to the Berber troops by al-ʿAzīz, and their insubordination and constant quarrelling among themselves became the chief reason for the gradual collapse of the kingdom. After the ruler, following up the extreme development of the Ismāʿīlī system had claimed to be a deity, and conditions in the capital had become unbearable, he disappeared in the night of the 27th Shawwāl 411

(13th February 1021) in a mysterious fashion. Henceforth it became almost without exception the rule, for children and unripe youths to be placed on the throne while viziers and generals held the actual reins of government in their hands. At first, however, it was a clever and energetic woman, Ḥākim's sister, the so-called *Sitt al-Mulk*, who took over the regency for her sixteen-year old nephew al-Ẓāhir and soon brought order out of chaos. But she cannot long have remained at the helm of state, for her name is no longer mentioned during the severe famine of 415 = 1025, which led to countless riots in Cairo and threw a lurid light on the lack of discipline among the mercenaries. The following year saw the expulsion of the Mālikīs from Egypt, in which on the whole great toleration had been shown. The Caliph moreover, like the majority of his successors, preferred a luxurious life to devoting himself to the affairs of state. Egypt came to the verge of ruin in the second half of the reign of his son al-Mustanṣir (427—487 = 1036—1094), as powerless as it was long; he was at first under the regency of his mother, a negro slave, and then at the mercy of the vizier for the time being. While in the early decades of his reign he could still display the whole princely splendour of the court that had been usual under his predecessors, the lack of control over the army, within which bloody battles were constantly being fought between the negroes on the one side and the Turks and Berbers on the other, and the utter helplessness of Mustanṣir, whose rich treasures were ruthlessly plundered by the barbarous soldiery, gradually led to events, which revealed the lowest abasement of the Fāṭimid Caliphate and the political and economic fortunes of the land at their lowest level. The land was severely ravaged for seven years by a terrible famine, which was in the first place the result of the low level of the Nile in 457 = 1065 and secondly of the devastation of the Delta and the prevention of any importation of provisions by the rebellious commander-in-chief Nāṣir al-Dawla. In this period of the cruellest suffering, learning suffered an irreparable loss by the brutal destruction of the unique library of the Caliph by the Turkish mercenaries. It was not till 465 = 1072-1073 that there was at last a good harvest and at the same time the country found a saviour in Badr al-Djamālī [q. v., i. 560 *et seq.*], a general of Armenian descent, who had hitherto been employed in Syria and was raised to the highest military and civil offices in 466 = 1073 by the vacillating Caliph. He restored order throughout the country with a strong arm, the power of the Turkish emirs was broken, and prestige of the Fāṭimids once more assured as far as Aswān. Under his twenty years' régime, Egypt on the whole enjoyed peace and order, but he was no longer able to save Syria. In 468 = 1076 Damascus, as above mentioned, had fallen and all attempts to regain it were in vain. In the end only a few towns in the south remained in Egyptian hands. When the great vizier died in 487 = 1094, his son Shāhanshāh took over administration of the country with equal energy, and was likewise able to assure its material prosperity. The name al-Malik al-Afḍal given him clearly shows the powerful position he held. After al-Mustanṣir's death in the same year he had appointed his youngest son, al-Mustaʿlī, Caliph, who during the few years of his Caliphate (he died in 495 = 1101) remained a powerless puppet in the hands of the all-powerful vizier. The rebellion of his elder brother, Nizār, was suppressed. Al-Afḍal resumed his father's attempts to regain Syria, but now there was a further enemy to be faced, the Crusaders, whose importance he does not seem to have recognised in time, till the capture of Jerusalem (492 = 1099), which he had won from the Urtuḳids only a short time before, by the Christian knights opened his eyes to this new danger. The next two decades were filled with battles with varying results between the Egyptians and the Crusaders, but finally only Tyre and Ascalon remained in the hands of the Fāṭimids, when the vizier was murdered in 515 = 1121 at the instigation of the Caliph al-Āmir (495—524 = 1101—1130) who wished to escape from his tutelage. His by no means incapable successor, Ibn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, was not able to replace him; al-Āmir, a malignant despot, then sought to govern alone, to the country's misfortune till he perished at the hands of the Assassins in 524 = 1130. After a brief interregnum by a son of al-Afḍal, who had prayers said in name of the "expected Imām", his cousin al-Ḥāfiẓ, a man of mature years, ascended the throne, for the first time by a break in the direct line of succession, as the murdered Caliph had left no son. He also attempted to govern independently for a period after poisoning his brilliant vizier Yānis. Revolts of the troops and constant humiliations of the powerless ruler mark the beginning of the end and the atrocities, which history relates of the brief reign of his young son al-Ẓāfir (544—548 = 1149—1154), make it clear how far the degeneration and decline of the dynasty had proceeded by this time. Once more, however, a strong personality took over the reins of government in the courtly Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, whom the panic-stricken women of the palace called upon after al-Ẓāfir's tragic end. The country had need of such a man. Al-Fāʾiz, a sickly child of five, chosen Caliph by his father's murderers, sat on the throne; in Palestine Ascalon, the last bulwark against the Franks, had fallen in 548 = 1153; the Egyptian coast-towns were burned in 550 = 1155 by a Sicilian fleet. The new dictator first of all saw that law and order were successfully restored in the land and his general Dirghām [q. v., i. 978] won a great victory over the Franks at Ghazza in 553 = 1158. Shortly after the accession of the last Fāṭimid, al-ʿĀḍid, Ṭalāʾiʿ also was all too soon treacherously murdered, his son and successor soon afterwards met the same fate and Egypt now became a pawn in the game between the two great Syrian powers, Damascus, where the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn now ruled, and Jerusalem, with whose policy of aggression the quarrel developing between the two most capable brains in the declining state, Shāwar and Dirghām, coincided. The young Caliph, one of the few figures among the later Fāṭimids that awaken sympathy, was too weak to avert the approaching downfall of his house and the appointment of the Damascus general Shīrkūh as vizier, with which the independence of the dynasty practically ceased, put an end to all these protracted wars and turmoils. Shīrkūh's successor, Saladin, formally put an end to the dynasty when, in the beginning of 567 = September 1171, he reintroduced the prayer for the ʿAbbāsids. A few days later the unfortunate al-ʿĀḍid died and with him the Fāṭimid family disappears from history.

ʿUbaidallāh's successors, although not very successful in their foreign policy after their conquest of Egypt, nevertheless were able for long to maintain a position of splendour and power. This they owed not, as Lane-Poole supposes, to their foreign guards, who on the contrary very soon showed themselves a source of danger, but to the administrative ability of the two first great Caliphs in Cairo, to the mild rule of most of their successors, as well as to the energy of great viziers and generals, of whom more than one raised the kingdom to a new prosperity after grave periods of depression. Traces of the Shīʿite fanaticism of the early decades are only rarely noticed in the Egyptian period. The great endeavour of the dynasty, whose legitimacy was always disputed, was, after it settled in Cairo, to create a punctiliously regulated ceremonial and carefully graduated categories of officers and officials, as well as to develop an unwontedly luxurious way of living and an extraordinary splendour at court. In this respect, as William of Tyre's accounts even in the days of al-ʿĀḍid show, they have been equalled by few Muslim rulers, and to this day the Azhar, Ḥākim, Akmar and Djuyūshī Mosques, as well as the great gates, Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwaila testify to the grandeur of the buildings erected by them.

Bibliography: The most important Oriental sources are collected in Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, in the preface; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Part. 1, p. 1 *et seq.* gives critical studies of the sources. Cf. also Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*; de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, 2nd ed., 1886; Fagnan, *Nouveaux textes historiques relatifs à l'Afrique du Nord et à la Sicile*; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 595 *et seq.*, ii. pass.; Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 92 *et seq.*; Inostrancev, *Torjestvennii vi'ezd Fatimidskich Chaliphov* in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Archaeol. Obshč.*, Vol. xvii.

(E. Graefe.)

FAṬĪN Efendi, a minor official (*kātib*) at the Sublime Porte, died at the end of the "fifties" of last century, wrote the biographies of Ottoman poets and versifiers from 1135 to his own time under the title *Tezkere-i Khātimat ul-ashʿār* as a continuation of the *Tezkere* of Muṣṭafā Ṣafāʾī (ends at 1132 A. H.) and of Mīrzāzāde Sālim (ends at 1134 A. H.) at the request of several patrons of high rank. The work, which the author completed in 1260, was lithographed in 1271 (1854-1855) in Constantinople and deserves notice for its biographical data concerning contemporary writers.

Bibliography: v. Schlechta-Wssehrd in *Sitzber. d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. Wiener Ak.*, Vol. xx., iii. p. 467 *et seq.*; do., *Osm. Geschichtsschreiber d. neuern Zeit*, p. 19; *Augsburger Allg. Ztg.*, Suppl. to Nº. 92 of 2. 4. 1855; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv. 25; Mss. in the Wiener Hofbibl., Nº. 1243 of Flügel's Catalogue.

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

FATRA (A.) lassitude, feebleness or lukewarmness; the interval of time between the disappearance of a prophet and the appearance of another; also the period between Jesus and Muḥammad; and more generally, a relapse in religious feeling. In the life of Muḥammad it signifies the interval between the revelation of Sūras 96 and 74 of the Ḳorʾān. Feeling that inspiration had forsaken him, the Prophet suffered great mental depression. He began to wonder whether, after all he was not "possessed" (*madjnūn*), and meditated suicide by casting himself from mount Ḥirāʾ. But a mysterious power is said to have restrained him and the suspense at length was ended by the revelation of the Sūra entitled "The Enwrapped". This period of "intermission" lasted 2¼ or 3 years.

(A. S. Fulton.)

AL-FATTĀḤ (A.), the "Opener", one of the names of God [cf. i. 304ᵃ].

FATTĀḤĪ, Yaḥyā Sībak, a Persian poet of Nīshāpūr, died 852 (1448-1449) or 853 (1449-1450), had at first the name *Tuffāḥī* (in allusion to *Sībak* a "little apple"); he also took the names *Khumārī* and *Asrārī*. He wrote a prose work entitled *Ḥusn u Dil* "Beauty and Heart", a romance full of mystic allegories and symbolical expressions, transl. into English by A. Browne (Dublin 1801) and W. Price (London 1828), into German by R. Dvořák (Vienna 1889), and imitated in Turkish by Lāmiʿī, Āhī and Walī; his *Shabistān-i Khayāl* (in the London and Paris Mss.: *Nikāt*) "Abode of Fancy", is a collection of tales, stories and jeux d'esprit in rhyme and prose, of which the first chapter has been published and translated by H. Ethé (Leipzig 1868).

Bibliography: v. Hammer, *Redekünste Persiens*, p. 290; Khondemir, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 3, 148; Dawlat-Shāh (ed. Browne), p. 417; Rieu, *Catal. Pers. Brit. Mus.*, p. 741; Huart, *Calligraphes*, p. 98; Ethé in the *Grundriss der iran. Phil.*, ii. 335 *et seq.*

(Cl. Huart.)

FATWĀ. A *fatwā* is a formal legal opinion given by a *muftī* or canon lawyer of standing, in answer to a question submitted to him either by a judge or by a private individual. On the basis of such an "opinion" a judge may decide a case, or an individual may regulate his personal life. It must be rendered in precise accordance with fixed precedent; a mufti cannot now follow his own judgment. But inasmuch as these opinions deal with actual cases, as opposed to the abstractions of text-books of canon law, published collections of them, which are numerous, are valuable as exhibitions of real situations. In the ideal Muslim state, where canon law would rule absolutely, all these decisions would be equally backed by state authority, and would be the law of the land. But as the case is, in practically all Muslim states, a distinction has entered and the canon law, expressed in these *fatwā*'s, rules only in such matters as marriage, inheritance and divorce. All other legal questions are decided by other codes or by the will of the sovereign. And *fatwā*'s on the side of canon law, which regulates the details of the personal religious life, have validity only for the pious. Further, there is a tendency in some Muslim states to favour some one or other of the four legal schools. Thus Turkey everywhere upholds the Hanafite school and appoints Hanafite judges only. It may appoint muftis of all four schools; but only the fatwās of Hanafite muftis are admitted in the law courts. The others are purely for the private convenience of the followers of the other schools.

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handbuch d. islâmischen Gesetzes* p. 54 *et seq.*, 320, 339; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. iv; Snouck Hurgronje in *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, liii. p. 153 *et seq.*; Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology etc.*, p. 115 *et seq.*, 277 *et seq.* (D. B. MACDONALD.)

FAWDJ (A.) "troop" is the name given since the reorganisation of the Persian army to the tactical unit of infantry, the battalion, which is commanded by a colonel (*sarhang*) and sometimes by a brigadier-general of the third class *sartip-i thālith*). Each battalion should contain 800 men but in practice is much below this figure. It is not denoted by a number but by the name of the city or tribe of its origin.

Bibliography: Polak, *Persien*, i. 42; Ṣanī' al-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥasan-Khān, *Maṭla' al-Shams*, p. 25 *et seq.* (section on infantry). (CL. HUART.)

FAWDJDĀR was the title of the chief military and police officer of a sarkār (revenue district) under Muḥammadan rule in India. His duties were the maintenance of order, the punishment of rebels and rioters, and, frequently, the collection of the revenue. Though subordinate to the provincial authorities, the *fawdjdār* enjoyed the privilege of direct correspondence with the imperial court and the appointment was often a stepping-stone to the highest offices.

The title of *fawdjdār* was also given, under the house of Tīmūr, to subordinate officers in the elephant stables. (T. W. HAIG.)

FAZĀRA, a tribe in North Arabia. Their genealogy is: Fazāra b. Dhubyān b. Baghīḍ b. Ghaith b. Ghaṭafān. They dwelled on the Wādi 'l-Rumma in Nadjd. In the time of the Djāhiliya they worshipped the idol Halāl.

Among places which belonged to the Fazāra, there are mentioned: 'Adama, al-Akādir, Aẓfār, Baldaḥ, Bark, Djubbat A'yār, al-Dīl, Djanafā, al-Djināb (between Madīna and Faid), Dārat Dāthir, Yara'a, Kumaib, al-Lakāṭa, Kinn, Ṣubḥ (on Mount 'Urfa, a place of some size), Shu'abā, Urul and 'Uraim. Among mountains: Abān al-Aswad and Abān al-Abyaḍ (between them the Wādi 'l-Rumma), al-Abdab, al-Akwām, Dhū Urul (in Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 167 wrongly *Dhu Waral*), al-Gharīd (in common with the B. Muḥārib), al-Mudjaimir and 'Urfa 'l-Adjbāl with the hill of Dhāt al-'Alanda; among watering-places: 'Abākir, Arnā, Wādi Baṭn al-Liwā (only the lower part), Dāthir, al-Dathīna, Dighn, al-Ḥisā, Kharaz, al-Rimm, Ra'la, Shardj, 'Uwāra, 'Uraitināt and al-'Uraim.

History: — The Fazāra under Ḥudhaifa b. Badr and his son Ḥiṣn played a prominent part in the war which lasted for decades between the 'Abs and the Dhubyān, the so-called Dāḥis war. They took part in the battles of Dhu 'l-Muraikib, Yām'ariya, Ḥalaṭ'a, Rakm etc. In the early years of Islām they gave a good deal of trouble to the Prophet, who according to tradition bought his first horse, which he rode at Uḥud, from one of the Fazāra. In the year 5 (= 626) under 'Uyaina b. Ḥiṣn they besieged Medina in alliance with other tribes of the Ghaṭafān and the Jews of Khaibar (the so-called "Battle of the Ditch"). In the following year a number of the Fazāra raided a herd of camels belonging to the Prophet at al-Ghāba, a few miles from Medina, plundered a caravan from Medina and wounded its leader Zaid b. Ḥāritha, whereupon the latter in revenge took prisoner Mālik b. Ḥudhaifa's widow, Umm Kirfa Fāṭima, and put her to a cruel death. In 8 (629) they were about to help the Jews of Khaibar against the Prophet but were prevented by the latter. In the so-called "Year of the Deputations" (9 = 630) they appeared before Muḥammad under Kharidja b. Ḥiṣn to tender their submission. After the Prophet's death they, like the 'Abs and other tribes, renounced Islām, but were conquered by Abū Bakr.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra* (ed. D. H. Müller), p. 174, 177, 178, 180, 182; al-Bekrī, *Geogr. Wörterbuch* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 63, 160, 235, 256, 358, 509, 525, 598; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 75, 144, 211, 227, 312, 341, 345, 601, 667, 698, 739; ii. 24, 120, 133, 265, 301, 422, 514, 529, 550, 745; iii. 274, 293, 365, 475, 554, 590, 602, 649, 663, 741, 784; iv. 192, 313, 362, 954, 1013, 1014; *Aghānī*, ii. 109, 197; xiv. 90; xvi. 30—31, 54—57, 109; xvii. 114—115 and Index s. v.; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 1465, 1557—1559, 1720, 1782, 1890—1891; ii. 1381—1390; iii. 1342—1343, 2008; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien* (Göttingen 1852), Part ii.: Isma'ilitische Stämme, Tafel H 12; do., *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen* (Göttingen 1853), p. 167; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme* (Paris 1847—1848), ii 424, 440—442, 453—458, 537—538, 633—635; iii. 132, 154, 155, 158—159, 195, 218, 345, 348, 361—362; Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (London 1858), iv. 3—4, 12—13, 14, 106—107. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

FĀẒIL ḤUSEIN BEY, a Turkish poet, celebrated for his erotic works, also called ENDERŪNĪ FĀẒIL, was a grandson of Ṭāhir 'Omar Pasha of 'Akkā, who rebelled against the Porte in the seventies of the xviiith century; after his grandfather in 1775 and his father Ṭāhir 'Alī in 1776 had been slain in battle against the Kapudanpasha Ghāzī Ḥasan, he was taken to the capital by the latter and brought up in the royal serai (*enderun*). On leaving the serai, he filled various posts in the Treasury, and in 1214 = 1799-1800 was banished to Rhodes. There he became blind; he afterwards returned to Constantinople, where he died at the end of Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 1225 (beginning of 1811). His poems *Zenānnāme* (Book of Women) and *Khūbānnāme* (Book of Beauties) were lithographed at Constantinople in 1838 [v. Hammer, *Osm. Dichtkunst*, iv. 603; Zenker, p. 596; Flügel, *Handschr. d. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, i. 423 *et seq.*; Fazil-Bey, *Le Livre des Femmes* (*Zenan-Nameh*), trad. du turc par J. Decourdemanche etc. (Paris 1879)]; but Muṣṭafā Reshīd, the Minister of the Exterior of the day, had the whole edition confiscated on account of the offensive subject-matter, so that only a few copies got into circulation. A new edition with various other similar works of the author was published in 1286.

Bibliography: Faṭīn, *Tezkere*, p. 321 *et seq.*; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 5; v. Hammer, *Osmanische Dichtkunst*, iv. 428—453; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 220—242 et passim; cf. also: Shānīzāde, i. 407; Djewdet, i. 105; ix. 219. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

FAẒLĪ [FAḌLĪ], MUḤAMMAD, known as Ḳara Faẓlī (Faẓlī the Black) or Faẓlī Čelebi, as

Ottoman poet. The son of a saddler, born in Constantinople, he devoted himself to the study of mysticism as a pupil of Zātī and, according to ʿĀhdī, entered the Khalwatī order. He soon showed himself a poet of talent. His teacher, Zātī, himself celebrated as a poet, succeeded in drawing Sulṭān Sulaimān's attention to him in 1530, at the festival on the circumcision of Princes Meḥemmed, Muṣṭafā and Selīm. The Sulṭān liked him and appointed him secretary of the dīwān to his son Meḥemmed who was going off as governor of Magnesia. He remained in this office after Meḥemmed's death, with Prince Muṣṭafā till the latter's execution in 1552, when prince Selīm, afterwards Sulṭān, took him into his service as secretary of the dīwān. Faẓlī died in 970 (1562-1563). Unpretentious and ascetic in his life, he displayed a glowing passion as a poet. Faẓlī is one of the more important poets of the reign of Sulṭān Sulaimān, not unjustly called the golden age of Ottoman poetry. He wrote a *Dīwān*, as seems to be the unwritten law with all Ottoman poets, with ghazals, ḳaṣīdas and quatrains (*rubāʿī*) and a *nakhlistān* (palm-grove), a mixture of prose and verse, closely modelled on Saʿdī's *Gulistān*. But his great importance as a poet lies in his *Mesnewī*'s: the history of love-affairs in 5000 verses entitled, *Hümāi u Humāyūn*, in the style of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, is probably an imitation or reproduction of the poem of the same name by the Persian poet, Khwādja of Kirmān. Faẓlī's most celebrated work is the romantic allegorical Mesnewī, *Gül u Bulbul* (the Rose and the Nightingale), in the style of the *Gül u Nevrūz*, the allegorical story of the love of the nightingale for the rose. Written in 960 (1552-1553) the poem is dedicated to Prince Muṣṭafā. The work is one of the most beautiful of its kind, although Faẓlī cannot entirely be credited with originality in the subject. It is ingeniously treated and its language is particularly brilliant. It has become known in Europe also through Hammer's text and translation. But he no longer suits the modern taste with his fondness for subtle allegory.

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FAẒLULLAH, Turkish pronunciation of FAḌL ALLĀH.

FĀZŌGHLĪ, a mountainous district in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān situated between lat. 10 and 11 N. and extending from the Blue Nile to the Abyssinian frontier and beyond. The chief places are Fāzōghlī and Fāmāka on the Blue Nile. The district is inhabited by backward Negroid tribes among whom Islām and the Arabic language have spread to a certain extent since the time of the Fung conquest; their ethnological position has not yet been determined, the principal tribes are Barūn, Barta, Hamadj (Hameg) and Djebelāwīn. The Fung who once ruled the country have now almost completely died out. There are also a certain number of Arabs who immigrated into the district from other parts of the Sūdān.

Since an early period Fāzōghlī was famous for its export of slaves and gold. A certain quantity of the latter is still obtained, but the principal gold-producing district, that of Banī Shanḳūl (Shangūl) is in Abyssinian territory.

In the time prior to the Egyptian conquest Fāzōghlī was a vassal state of the Fung kingdom of Sennār. The Fung are stated to have conquered it under their king Unsa, the son of Nāṣir who reigned at the close of the 17th century. The traveller Bruce who visited Sennār and Abyssinia in the 18th century states that the Fung left the old ruling family in possession, only forcing them to acknowledge their sovereignty and to pay tribute. This is contradicted by the French traveller Cailliaud (quoted by Shuḳair) according to whom the kings of Fāzōghlī belonged to a branch of the royal family of the Fung. A list of the kings extending over 215 years prior to the Egyptian conquest is given by Cailliaud (quoted by Naʿūm Shuḳair).

Fāzōghlī was occupied by the Egyptians under Ismāʿīl Pāshā in 1822. Ismāʿīl visited the gold district of Banū Shanḳūl, which disappointed his expectations. Since then the district shared in the history of the Egyptian Sūdān, but during the time of the Mahdī and his successor Fāzōghlī was independent of the Omdurman government and part of it became subject to Abyssinia.

Under the present administration the greater part of Fāzōghlī belongs to the Sennār province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān.

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FEDŪ. [See FIDĀʾĪ.]

FEHĪM, an Ottoman poet and scholar; his full name was FEHĪM SULAIMĀN EFENDI and he is also known as KHODJA FEHĪM. Born in 1203 (1787-1788) in Constantinople, he first of all became an official in the Dīwān, then in the Mint and Customs service, and ultimately a ḳāʾimmaḳām in Rumelia. He retired from office and obtained a reputation as a teacher of Persian in Constantinople. He died in 1262 (1845-1846). Fehīm principally composed ghazals and his *Dīwān* has been printed. He wrote a commentary (*Sharḥ Sharḥī*) on selected ghazals of the Persian poet Ṣāʾib of Iṣfahān and translated the 'Biographies of Poets' (*Tadhkirat*) of Dawlat-Shāh under the title *Safīnat al-Shuʿarāʾ* into Turkish (also printed).

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FEHĪM, UNDJI-ZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ ČELEBI, known in literature as Fehīm of Constantinople, an Ottoman poet of the late classical period (under Murād IV. and Ibrāhīm 1623—1648), and one of the few more important representatives of

the period. A simple scholar, without any proper calling, he attached himself to men of note. He came to Cairo in the train of Eiyūb Pas̲h̲a who had been appointed governor of Egypt. But he could not accustom himself to life here, as the bitter verses, veritable *Tristia*, which he wrote there against Egypt, show. When he lost the favour of the Pas̲h̲a, absolutely penniless, he had to appeal to a prominent citizen of Cairo who sent him home with the annual caravan bearing the Egyptian tribute. But he was doomed never to see it again, for he died at Ilgh̲ūn near Ḳōniya of the plague, it is said, in 1054 (1644) or 1058 (1648); the statements on this point vary.

Fehīm's works are throughout lyrical. He compiled his *Dīwān* at the early age of 18. The spirit of the new school is already active in Fehīm, who lived at the beginning of the struggle between the Persian and Turkish schools. He sought the subjects of his g̲h̲azals in the trivial events of everyday life. His influence down to the most recent times is undisputed. Kemāl, for example, began his career as a poet with verses in imitation of Fehīm's.

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(TH. MENZEL.)

FELEKE, properly *falaḳa*, an **instrument of torture**, consisting of a wooden pole to the two extremities of which a cord is attached to form a bow; the legs of the victim are passed between the pole and the cord; the instrument is then turned round several times to bind them tightly and make criminal motionless. In this position he is beaten with a stick on the soles of the feet. Schoolmasters and heads of workshops use it to punish children and apprentices. In Turkey, when the Agha of Janissaries used to make his tour of inspection in the capital, he was always accompanied by soldiers carrying the *falaḳa*, called *falaḳd̲j̲i*; every week, one of the latter was at the service of the Porte in the retinue of the grand vizier. He had to see to the execution of the punishments ordered by this minister.

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(CL. HUART.)

FELLANI. [See FUL.]

FELLATA. [See FUL.]

FERHĀD U S̲H̲ĪRĪN. [See FARHĀD U S̲H̲ĪRĪN.]

FERĪDŪN AḤMED BEY, **Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲i** (Keeper of the Great Seal) and Keeper of the State Archives. We know nothing of his birthplace or his ancestors. He was educated in the house of the Defterdār Čiwizāde ʿAbd Allāh Čelebi and entered the service of Meḥemmed Soḳolli Pas̲h̲a as Secretary in 960 = 1552-1553. He afterwards became Secretary to the Privy Council (*Dīwān Kātibi*), took part in the campaign against Nak̲h̲d̲j̲ewān (1554) and particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Sigeth (1566). On the 8th Muḥarram 978 (12th June 1570) he became Raʾīs al-Kuttāb, and Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲i on the 3rd Ramaḍān 981 (27th Dec. 1573). When, after Selīm II's death, his successor Murād III. was hastening from Manissa to the capital, he crossed from Mudania to Constantinople on a galley belonging to Ferīdūn, which happened to be lying ready to sail in Mudania (7th Ramaḍān 982 = 21st Dec. 1574). A month later on the 9th S̲h̲awwāl (22nd Jan. 1575) Ferīdūn laid his life's work, the *Müns̲h̲aʾāt al-Salāṭīn* before the Sulṭān.

Only a year later he lost the Sulṭān's favour and was dismissed on the 10th April 1576 (Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, p. 175). In August 1577 he went as sand̲j̲aḳbeg to Semandria where he arrived at the end of the year (Gerlach, p. 375; Schweigger, *Reisebeschr.*, p. 39); from there he was transferred to Köstendil (about 1580, see von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv. 82 note *c*). In Muḥarram 989 (February 1581) the Sulṭān recalled him to the capital and restored him the office of Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲i. On the 12th Rabīʿ I. 990 (6th April 1582), he married ʿĀʾis̲h̲e Sulṭān, daughter of Rustem Pas̲h̲a and the princess Mihrimāh; he died on the 21st Ṣafar 991 (16th March 1583).

The *Müns̲h̲aʾāt al-Salāṭīn* (chronogram for the year of its completion, 982 A. H.), according to Selānikī (p. 137), contained 1880 historical documents in 11 volumes from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire to the accession of Murād III. The work has been twice printed in Constantinople in 1264 (1848-1849; cf. *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, vii. 460) and 1274-1275 (1858). The first edition contains 735 documents, including 41 from the beginnings of Islām, the second a number of translations of Arabic and Persian documents, 100 more than the first edition. If Selānikī's figures are correct, the two editions contain much less than the original work; on the other hand they contain a large number of documents of a later period, which have apparently been added by later writers in continuation of the work. The book is prefaced by an ethical treatise *Miftāḥ-i D̲j̲ennet* (chronogram for the year 982 A. H.); as an appendix there is a long essay on agrarian affairs in Egypt, written in the reign of Murād III. Ferīdūn mentions a historical essay, *Nuzhat al-Akhbār*, in his preface; the translation of a work on the history of France, which Ferīdūn ordered to be prepared while Raʾīs al-Kuttāb, exists in manuscript in Dresden.

Bibliography: Our chief authorities are Ferīdūn himself in the preface to the *Müns̲h̲aʾāt* and Selānikī; they are the authorities used by the bibliographers ʿAṭāʾī, ii. 336 *et seq.* and Aḥmed Resmī, *Sefīnat al-Ruʾasāʾ*, p. 12 *et seq.*; v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, iv. passim; on the *Müns̲h̲aʾāt-i Salāṭīn* and its MSS. cf. Langlès in *Not. et Extraits* etc., v. 668 *et seq.*; v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, i., xii. 586 *et seq.*; iii., viii. iv. 16; ix. 197 *et seq.*; Flügel, *Handschr. Hofbibl.*, i. 282 *et seq.*, 293 *et seq.*; Krafft, *Or. Ac.*, no. 83; Rieu, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 80 *et seq.*

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

FERMĀN (P.; Old Pers. *framānā*, Pahl. *framān*), properly a command thence "written order", "letters patent" or "diploma"; the word has passed from Turkish into French and English with the pronunciation *firman*. Such documents were always written in the chancelleries in a special hand and to this day the *nastaʿlīḳ* is used in Persia for this purpose and the *dīwānī* in Turkey.

Several princes of the Persian Royal Family,

e.g. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's eldest son who was governor of Fārs for 40 years, beautified Shīrāz with the garden Bāgh-i Naw and wrote several works, have borne the title *Fermān-ferma* ("issuing orders").

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 272. (CL. HUART.)

FĒRŌZ. [See FĪRŪZ.]

FĒRŌZKŌH. [See FĪRŪZKŌH.]

FĒRŌZPUR. [See FĪRŪZPUR.]

FĒRŌZSHĀH. [See FĪRŪZSHĀH.]

FES (written FEZ in Spain), a red cap worn by the Turks, taking its name from the city of Fes (Fās) where it was first manufactured. The introduction of reforms (*tanẓīmāt*) in Turkey was marked in dress by the abolition of the turban, which was only retained by the ʿUlamāʾ. All civil and military officers and private individuals in the capital now wore the fes; in the provinces, however, the turban has to a great extent survived, so that a distinction is made between *fesli* (wearer of a fes) and *ṣarīkli* (wearer of a turban). In 1247 (1832) a decree of Sulṭān Maḥmūd II. declared the fes to be the Turkish national head-dress, which was to be worn by all religious communities alike to abolish all external distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. These caps came from Tunis and France, although Austria carried on the greater part of the import trade. To put a stop to this foreign competition Maḥmūd II. founded a factory, called *fes-khāne*, which still exists in combination with a cotton-mill, and with the latter is under the supervision of the Minister of War.

Bibliography: A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*², i. 390. (CL. HUART.)

FETWĀ. [See FATWĀ.]

FEZ. [See FĀS and FES.]

FEZZĀN is the name of the largest group of oases in the Central Sahara. While Tripoli is the name given to the country that slopes from the Sahara to the Gulf of Syrtes, Fezzān is a part of the Sahara plateau itself; it has an average height of 600—1500 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the north by the table-lands of Djebel al-Sōdāʾ, Djebel Sharḳiye and Harūdj al-Aswad, in the south by the eastern arm of the Tasili of the Adjer Tuāreg and by the Tümmo or War mountains. The eastern and western frontiers are undefined, but may be said to be approximately delineated by the Acacus range in the southwest, in the northwest by the source of the Wādī 'l-Shāṭi, and the east by Wau 'l-Ṣaghīr (area 186,000 sq. miles). The country consists almost entirely of horizontal deposits of palaeozoic sandstone and limestone, which are in part bare stony deserts (*ḥammāda*), but in other districts (south and northwest of Murzūḳ) covered by extensive areas of sandhills. In many places there are deep fissures or cauldronlike hollows in the ground, which form ditches and depressions in which the surface water can collect and form soft crumbly earth (*ḳīḳho*, saliferous alluvial sand). It is here that agriculture is pursued as in these places alone is there any possibility of a permanent settlement being made. But Fezzān is almost entirely (c. 95% of the area) bare desert which does not even yield enough vegetation for the inhabitants who have to send their cattle to Tripoli to pasture there. — The climate is only known in its main outlines, for meteorological observations have not yet been systematically made. On account of its central position in the midst of the Sahara its cool winters are followed by long hot summers, the nights in which are sometimes quite cold however. Great drought characterises both seasons (there are no fleas or bugs) and the annual rainfall must be under four inches. There is therefore practically no wild vegetation. At the same time the wild fauna is exceedingly scanty and is limited to a few lizards, snakes, scorpions and the *varanus niloticus*.

The inhabitants of Fezzān first appear under the name *Garamantes* and the land as *Phazania* with the capital *Garama* (the modern Djerma in the Wādī 'l-Gharbī), which Cornelius Balbus won for Rome in 19 B.C. About 100 A. D. Fezzān utterly disappears from our knowledge and does not re-appear till 643 A. D., when ʿUḳba Ibn Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī won it for Islām on an expedition from Barḳa, so that Arab blood was thus introduced among the Garamantes. In the beginning of the xth century the power of the al-Khaṭṭāb family of the tribe of Hawāra was in the ascendant, they made Zawīla (east of Murzūḳ) their capital and reigned till the end of the xiith century, when the Turkish adventurer Sharaf al-Dīn Ḳarāḳosh came from Egypt and overthrew the dynasty. Only a few decades later the kings of Kānem extended their sway over Fezzān, which was governed for them by a governor who lived in Traghen and afterwards became very independent. It is probably since then that there has been a large infusion of negro blood. The family of Ḳarāmān, who also chose Zawīla as their capital, next (when is unknown) ruled Fezzān. In the beginning of the xvith century they were followed by the Awlād Muḥammad dynasty, whose capital was Murzūḳ and in the seventies of the xviith century history sheds a brighter light on Fezzān, for it sought to defend its independence in battle with the rulers of Tripoli. Peace reigned after the first invasion from Tripoli (1576-1577) as long as the rulers of Fezzān paid their tribute regularly, but invasion always followed their refusal which happened regularly every few years. It was not till 1744 that the suzerainty of Tripoli was definitely recognised and peace reigned for half a century. But in 1804 the rule of the Awlād Muḥammad came to a violent end at the hands of al-Mukni. During his rule he led many campaigns against the lands of Tubu and as far as Bagirmi [q. v., i. 570b *et seq.*] and also destroyed the prosperity of the Arab Bedouin tribe of Awlād Sulaimān. A member of the latter, ʿAbd al-Djalīl, seized Fezzān about 1831 and fought bitterly against the Turks who had occupied Tripoli and were trying to conquer Fezzān also. In 1842, he, the last ruler of Fezzān fell in the disastrous battle of al-Baghla. Henceforth till 1912, Fezzān was a Turkish Mutesarriflik until it was ceded to the Italians at the end of that year. — These events have strongly influenced the constitution of the present population of Fezzān. In the south there are pure black Tedda, in the west light coloured Tuāreg and pure Libu Berbers in the north and east with negroes from the central Sūdān. In the larger oases it is almost only these readily recognisable races that are to be seen side by side with types which are the results of intermarriage among them. In consequence of its situation which commands the caravan route from Tripoli to Lake Chad so important only twenty years ago, the population of

Fezzān is readily exposed to modification by immigrants and people passing through the country. Nevertheless, remnants of the ancient Garamantes seem to have survived in the more remote oases (e.g. of Wādī 'l-Shāṭi'), the inhabitants of which are large-boned, black-brown and fairly honest (cf. the similar Barābra of Nubia). Their mother-tongue is Arabic, they call themselves *Fezāzna* (sing. *Fezzānī*). The population of Fezzān is about 40,000 of whom about a fifth are nomads. The average density of population is thus about 1 per square mile.

The scarcity of soil (only 2⁰/₀ the whole surface) and of pasture (3¹/₂), as well as its remoteness in desert wastes, prevents any considerable development of agriculture. Cultivation is still carried on entirely by the spade (without the plough), is limited to the oases and is only possible by artificial irrigation. The chief wealth of Fezzān is in date-palms among which grow wheat, barley, *durra*, *dukhn*, vegetables, lucerne, clover and fig-trees. The only domestic animals are the indigenous camel, poultry and pigeons, while cattle and a few horses have been imported from Tripolitania and sheep from the Tuāreg and Tedda countries. Industries are very few, in keeping with lamentably low level of civilization generally. Trade with the Mediterranean lands and the Sūdān gave Fezzān quite an important position from ancient times to the beginning of the last decade of the 19th century, while the traffic in goatskins, ostrich feathers, ivory, cotton goods, indigo, civet, tamarinds, horn and negro-slaves passed through it from the Sūdān to the north. Since the opening of new waterways and railroads in the Sūdān, however, by far the greater part of this trade has been diverted to the Guinea coast and the roads across the Sahara, always very insecure, are now deserted. — None of the settlements has attained to any size on account of the way in which the small patches of arable land are scattered. Murzuḳ [q. v.] in the centre of a series of oases running from east to west has become the capital with a population of 8000—10,000 as it lies at the intersection of the roads from Tripoli to Lake Chad and to Ghāt and Cyrenaica. The only villages with 1500 inhabitants are Semnu and Ḏjedīd in the north and Ḳaṭrūn in the south, which all lie on the main line of traffic from north to south.

Bibliography: Hornemann, *Tagebuch seiner Reise von Cairo nach Murzuck* (Weimar 1802); Lyon, *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa* (London 1821); Ritter, *Die Erdkunde u.s.w., I, 1. Afrika* (2nd ed., Berlin 1822); Denham and Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern a. Central Africa* (London 1826); Richardson, *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara etc.* (2 Vols., London 1848); Richardson, *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa* (London 1853); Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North- and Central-Africa* (5 Vols., London 1857-1858); v. Beurmanns *Reise von Benghasi u.s.w. nach Mursuk* (*Peterm. Mitt.*, Ergh., Gotha 1862); Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara. Les Touareg du Nord* (Paris 1864); Rohlfs, *Land und Leute von Fezzan* in *Petermanns Mitt.*, Ergbd. V, No. 21, p. 1; do., *Briefe aus Murzuk* in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1866, p. 3; do., *Quer durch Afrika* (Vol. I, Leipzig 1874); Nachtigal, *Von Tripolis nach Fezzan* in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1876, p. 45; do., *Sahărâ und Sûdân* (1. Bd., Berlin 1879); v. Bary, *Tagebuch des verstorbenen ......* (*Zeitschr. Ges. f. Erdk.*, Berlin 1880); Monteil, *De St. Louis à Tripoli* (Paris 1894); Vischer, *Across the Sahara* (London 1909); Launoy de Bissy, *Carte d'Afrique*, sheet 12 "Mourzouk" (Paris, 1: 2 Mill.).

(EWALD BANSE.)

FIDĀ' (A.), "ransom". — According to Lane, *Manners and Customs*⁵, i. 110 *et seq.*, the sacrifice offered at Minā is called *al-fidā*, "as it is performed in commemoration of the ransom (cf. Ḳur'ān, xxxvii. 107) of Ismā'īl by the sacrifice of a ram".

FIDĀ'Ī (in vulgar Arabic *fidāwī*), he who offers up his life, a name given to the Ismā'īlīs, particularly to the assassins appointed to murder their victims (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 167; v. Hammer, *Fundgruben des Orients*, iii. 204; do., *Assassinen*, p. 88); but the word has frequently also a good sense, "paladin, knightly, courageous, brave, undaunted" (Quatremère, *Mongols*, 124—5; cf. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii. 100). In Algeria *fidāwī* means a narrator of heroic deeds and *fidāwīya*, a tale or song of heroic deeds. During the Persian revolution *fidā'ī* was applied in the first place to the adherents of the republican party and then to the defenders of liberal ideas and the constitution.

Fidā'ī was also the pen-name of Shaikhzāde Lāhidjī, who was sent by the Safawī Shāh Ismā'īl as ambassador to Muḥammad Khān Shaibānī and afterwards retired to Shīrāz, where he died (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣaḥā'*, ii. 27). — It was also the pen-name of Saiyid Mīrzā Sa'īd of Ardistān, who lived at Iṣpahān and was the favourite poet of Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ii. 383).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, transl. of de Slane, i. 122, 5; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 147; H. d'Allemagne, *Du Khorassan au pays des Backhtiaris* (Paris 1911), iv. 304 (photogr., p. 294, 299); E. G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, ii. 206 *et seq.*; do., *Persian Revolution*, p. 127, 151; *Revue du Monde Musulman*, i. 49; iv. 176; v. 361; xii. 217.

(CL. HUART.)

AL-**FIḌḌA**, silver. It is nearest to gold in composition and would have become gold, if it had not been affected by cold during its formation in the interior of the earth; it is cold and dry in equal proportions. It cannot be alloyed with copper and *raṣāṣ* (lead or tin) but is easily separated from them. It is consumed by fire if long exposed to its action and is also decomposed in the earth in course of time. If it is affected by quick-silver vapour, it becomes brittle and breaks under the hammer. Sulphur vapour blackens it and if sulphur is thrown on molten silver, it is consumed, becomes black and breaks like glass. But if some borax is put on it, it returns to its former condition, only its mass is at the same time diminished. Borax also facilitates the smelting of silver.

These are practically the statements of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, they are more or less expanded or corrupted in the "*Petrology* of Aristotle", and are also found in Ḳazwīnī. Ḳazwīnī erroneously talks of lead and quicksilver vapours: lead and tin do not make silver invisible, as is stated in Wüstenfeld's text, but "destroy" or "alter" it (read *tughaiyir* or *ghaiyara* for *ghaiyaba*). The

dust and verdigris are contained in silver seems to be a late addition to Aristotle's *Petrology*.

Mas'ūdī, on the authority of a Copt, says that in consequence of the heat and drought in Ḥabesh the silver in the land is transformed into gold. Numerous silver-mines are mentioned by the geographers and cosmographers. The medical application of silver in the form of filings, which are mixed with drugs, is based on the belief that it dries up the viscous humours; it is also said to be of use against palpitation of the heart.

Bibliography: Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (ed. Bombay), ii. 79; *Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (ed. Ruska), p. 58; Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 206; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii. 378 etc., Dimishḳī, *Cosmographie* (ed. Mehren), cf. the Index s. v.

(J. RUSKA.)

FIDJĀR. The Fidjār days, which are said to be so called because they fell in the holy months during which war could not be waged (wherefore the participators said *fadjarnā*, "we have sinned"), are discussed in the literature of the *Aiyām al-'Arab* [see above i. 218ᵇ *et seq.*]. There were 4 fidjār days in all, so that the plural *afdjira* is also used. The last of these days was fought between the Ḳoraishīs (and their allies, the Kināna) and the Hawāzin [q. v.]. Tradition varies as to the date; according to some Muḥammad, who is said to have been present, was 14, according to others, 20 years of age at the time. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Mittwoch, i. 80 *et seq.*; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 579.

Bibliography: See under the article AIYĀM AL-'ARAB and also Caussin de Perceval, i. 296—318.

FIDYA (A.), "ransom". Sūra ii. 180, 192, demands a *fidya* on the omission of certain religious duties (fast, pilgrimage). The same passage indicates of what it should consist and further details are given in the commentaries. Cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islām. Gesetzes*, p. 122; on the *pediya* (= *fidya*) in Java and Sumatra, for ṣalāts omitted in a lifetime, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 433 *et seq.* — See also the article KAFFĀRA.

The people of Syria and the country east of Jordan give the name *fidye* or *fedū* to a bloody sacrifice, by which it is hoped to protect children or property (house or cattle) from misfortune or destruction, or which is offered for (to) the dead, cf. S. I. Curtis, *Ursemitische Religion*, Index s. v. *fedu*, *fidje*; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 357 *et seq.* and 361 *et seq.*; *Mission arch. en Arabie*, i. 472.

In Morocco *fedya* is the name of a peculiar ceremony, also performed in several parts of Algeria under the name *fedwa*, at which a man, in the hope of securing freedom from punishment in the next world, has all the preparations for his burial made, after which a number of *ṭolba* recite the sections of the Ḳur'ān used at burials, cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (*Bibl. de l'École des Langues Orient. Viv.*, Vol. iv.), p. 400 (glossary).

FIGHĀNĪ (BĀBĀ), a Persian poet, the son of a cutler in Shīrāz, whence his first pen-name *Sakkākī*, the creator of a new style, which was imitated by his successors, but did not meet the taste of his contemporaries. He left Herāt and the court of Sulṭān Ḥusain to go to Tabrīz, to enter the service of Sulṭān Ya'ḳūb of the Aḳ-Ḳoyūnlū dynasty (883—896 = 1478—1491), who gave him the title *Bābā-i Shu'arā*, "father of poets". After the death of the Sulṭān he went to Abīward in Khorāsān and died in 922 (1516) or 925 (1519) at Meshhed. His *Dīwān* contains *ghazals* of which ten have been published by Bland in his *Century* (p. 34—37), *rubā'ī* and *fardīyāt* (quatrains and distiches).

Fighānī is also the pen-name of a Turkish poet Ramaḍān of Trebizond, who began by studying medicine and then devoted himself to literature. An epigram composed by him on the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha on the transporting of three statues from Buda-Pest brought about his execution by the bowstring (933 = 1526). Cf. von Karabacek, *Zur Orient. Altertumskunde*, iv. 98 (*Sitzber. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, Vol. 172). He left ghazals and ḳaṣīdas.

Fighānī was further the pen-name of an older poet, Fighānī of Karamān, secretary to prince 'Abd-Allāh, son of Bāyazīd II., who composed an *Iskandar-Nāme* amongst other works.

Bibliography: Hammer, *Redekünste Persiens*, p. 391; Rieu, *Catal. Pers. Mss.*, p. 651; Ethé im *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii. 307, 310; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 34, 36, Note 1.

(CL. HUART.)

FIGUIG (FIGIG), an oasis in Morocco, 76 miles S. of 'Ain Sefra and 3 miles W. of the French station of Beni Unif (32° 18′ 54″ N. Lat. and 1° 26′ 54″ W. Long., Greenwich). For long closed to Europeans, it was visited only by the two travellers, Rohlfs and Schaudt; the district was practically only known from information collected by the Service des Affaires Indigènes and remained somewhat mysterious down to the beginning of the xxᵗʰ century. Since then the progress of the French occupation of the Sahara, the conclusion of the Moroccan agreements and lastly the building of a railway have dissipated this mystery and rendered access to Figuig possible even to tourists.

The group of oases known by the general name of Figuig, lies at a height of about 3000 feet in a mountainous hollow surrounded by serrated peaks separated from one another by rather narrow passes. On the north rise the Djebel Grus, the Djebel Haimer and the Djebel Djerman Taḥtānī. On the south the hollow is bounded by the Djebel Melias and the Djebel Mudjāhidīn, between which runs the Teniyet (pass) Mudjāhidīn, then, above the Pass of the Jewess, the Djebel Zenāga (3490 feet), the Djebel Taghla (3730 feet), cut off from the preceding by the Pass of Zenāga and lastly above the Pass of Mazzura, the Djebel Sīdī Yūsuf. All this region is, as it were, surrounded by a natural rampart which protects it from the incursions of the tribes of the Sahara or of the high plateaus of Morocco. The bottom of the hollow thus marked out is, with the exception of a denuded zone called the plain of Baghdād (a name given throughout South Morocco in general to flat areas devoid of vegetation), covered with palm-groves which cover a space of about 4 miles by 2 and enclose about 300,000 palms. Their irrigation is secured by two rivers, the Wādī Sheggaret al-'Abīd and the Wādī al-Ardja and also by a subterranean sheet of water which gives rise to numerous springs. The water is led through the palm-groves by a system of canals, some above ground (*sāḳiya*, *seguia*) and some subterranean (*feggāra*, plur. *fegāgir*). They also fill reservoirs, the contents of which are used in

the dry season (July to October). As in all the oases the water-supply is administered after an ancient and complicated system of laws. The *khar-rūba* or perpetual right of disposing of two-thirds of the water furnished by a spring, twice a month for one hour, costs about £ 24. Disputes over the water supply have on several occasions provoked bloody conflicts between the inhabitants of different oases, who had sought to divert the course of the water to monopolise it to the detriment of their neighbours. The gardens thus watered are planted with fruit trees and vegetables; a few poor patches of barley and wheat are scattered over the plain of Baghdād. The gardens are worked either by the owners with the help of labourers or *khammes*, who receive one-fourteenth of the produce, or by *khammes* alone, who in this case receive a seventh of the yield.

The population is distributed among seven villages or *ḳṣūr* forming five groups: 1. Udaghīr and al-ʿAbīd in the N.W. — 2. al-Maʿīz. — 3. Ulād Slīmān in the N. — 4. al-Ḥammām al-Fūḳānī and al-Ḥammām al-Taḥtānī in the N.E. — 5. Zenāga in the S. All these *ḳṣūr* are built around springs, except Zenāga whose inhabitants have recourse to the waters of ʿAin Taddert, which springs up between their village and that of Udāghīr; its ownership has been the cause of frequent quarrels between the two *ḳṣūr*. Each of these townships is surrounded by walls, within which the houses of unbaked brick are huddled together, sometimes several stories high and forming a labyrinth of narrow, tortuous streets often vaulted over by the houses. The most important of these *ḳṣūr* is that of Zenāga, which is divided into five quarters, Beni Dārū, Ulād Mūsā or Tidīr, Ulād Slīmān or Muḥammad, Alamna and Ulād Saʿīd. Udāghīr is the next in importance to Zenāga. The others are much smaller, that of al-ʿAbīd being almost entirely in ruins. It may be added that the inhabitants of Figuig, notably those of Zenāga, possess a certain number of small oases in the neighbourhood, such as al-Ardja, Taghla, Meghrur, Tzara, Mesiu, Takrūmet, Melias, al-Khōneg and Beni Unif.

The total population of Figuig is about 15,000, the great majority of Berber origin, of whom the Fentasa, a section of the Ulād Slīmān or Muḥammad, according to tradition, represent the oldest established element in the country. Among the inhabitants we find many *ḥarrāṭīn* (cf. the art. ḤARRĀṬĪN, i. 1074[b] *et seq.*) reduced, as in all the Berber regions of Morocco, to a condition of social inferiority. They are particularly numerous at Zenāga, where they live in a separate quarter, called *al-ḥarāṭīn*. The slaves owned by the people of the *ḳṣūr* used at one time to come from Tuwāt but since the occupation of this country by French troops, they are now bought in Tafilelt.

Finally may be mentioned various nomadic tribes who come regularly to encamp in the neighbourhood of the *ḳṣūr*; such are the ʿAmūr, the Ulād ʿAbdallāh, the Beni Gail and the Ulād Sīdī Shaikh Gharāba.

The Jews number about 5000 and live in separate quarters or *mellāḥ* at Udāghīr and Zenāga. They each have a master to whom they pay tribute but their lot is, however, not such a hard one as that of their co-religionists in Southern Morocco. They are for the most part engaged in various industries, particularly goldsmith's work in which they have a practical monopoly. The other industries practised by the people of the *ḳṣūr*, the weaving of burnuses and carpets ornamented with geometrical designs, the manufacture of pottery, and embroidery on leather, are dying out. On the other hand, from its geographical situation at the intersection of the routes from the High Plateaus to the Sahara oases on the one side and from Tafilelt to the central Maghrib on the other, and also on account of its proximity to the railway, which facilitates the importation of European goods, Figuig is still a commercial centre of considerable importance.

Although the mosque of Udāghīr contains the ashes of three rather celebrated saints, Sīdī ʿAisā (ʿĪsā), Sīdī Muḥammad or Brāhīm, Sīdī ʿAbd al-Wāfī and although the instruction given in the mosque of al-Maʿīz attracts a certain number of *ṭolba*, the religious influences that predominate in Figuig are foreign.

Marabouts calling themselves Sharīfs, but readily marrying the daughters of the ḳṣūrians and others less numerous but more exclusive, attached to the Ulād Sīdī Shaikh Gharāba, form a religious aristocracy. The brotherhoods of the Taibiya governed by the Shorfā' of Wazzān, of the Kerzāziya, which is under the marabout of Kerzāz, of the Ziyāniya attached to the Zāwiya of Kenādsa, and lastly of the Nāṣiriya, attached to the Zāwiya of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Nāṣir in Tamagrūt, number among their members the great majority of the people of the ḳṣūr. The other brotherhoods, Tidjāniya, Ḳādiriya, Derḳāwa and Aisāwa only find a very few adherents.

The languages in use at Figuig are Berber and Arabic. Besides the learned men, a certain number of men have some knowledge of the latter but practically all the women are ignorant of it. The language in common use is a dialect of Shelḥa mixed with Zenāta elements and with Arabic, sufficiently allied to the dialect of ʿAin Sefra and of Moroccan Sūs for the natives of these regions to understand the people of Figuig without difficulty, but on the other hand quite unintelligible to the Brāber. "This language" says Mr. Basset "is very poor. It seems to be a kind of patois strongly mixed with Arabic, but, nevertheless, is one of the most interesting, as under this seeming primitiveness it is the sole relic of the dialect spoken on the high plateaus and in the Sahara of Algeria, Oran and Morocco before the invasion of the Beni Hilāl and the emigration of the Ṭlāḳa, which was spoken for a time also at Tlemsen at the court of Yaghmurāsen and the Beni Ziyān, who originally belonged to the Wāsinian tribe of ʿAbd al-Wād".

The history of Figuig is very uncertain. For ancient times, the only evidence we have of the existence in these regions of a settled population is contained in rock inscriptions. The country was perhaps peopled by Berbers of the Ṣanhādja family. At the time of the Arab conquest, all the land between the Mulūya, the Djebel ʿAmūr and Figuig, was occupied by the Beni Badīn, a branch of the Beni Wāsin. The name Figuig itself only appears in the xivth century A. D., when this district seems to have inherited the commercial prosperity of Sidjilmāsa. It was then governed by the Beni Sīd al-Mulūk, of the Maghrāwa family, a section of the Beni Fātin. "Figuig" says Ibn Khaldūn, to whom we owe this information "consists of several town-

ships quite close to one another and forming a large town into which flow the products of the desert and, owing to its distance from the Tell, it enjoys complete independence (*Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Vol. i. 240). In the xvi[th] century, Leo Africanus mentions "the three castles of Figuig built in the desert" (Leo Africanus, ed. Schefer, Vol. iii. 240). In the xvii[th] century the pilgrim al-ʿAiyāshī, who visited Figuig in 1074 (1663 A. D.), describes the district as prosperous and possessing celebrated libraries (Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le Sud de l'Algérie et des États Barbaresques*, Paris, 1846, p. 159). About this time, Figuig fell into the hands of the Sultans of Morocco, who were seeking to extend their power over the oases of the Ṣaḥrā. According to the *Tardjumān* (transl. Houdas, p. 32), Mūlāy Ismāʿīl conquered Figuig in 1679 A. D. and established a negro garrison there. The name al-ʿAbīd borne by one of the ḳṣūr to this day is perhaps connected with this event. Moroccan rule, in any case, was established in the oasis in the beginning of the xviii[th] century A. D., for a Sharīfī ḳāʾid, named Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Djamaʿī, was in command there in 1121 A. H. and in the following year another ḳāʾid was in conflict with those under his rule. The ḳṣūrians succeeded in recovering their independence, however, no doubt favoured by the troubles that followed the death of Mūlāy Ismāʿīl. They retained it throughout the whole of the xviii[th] century. A second expedition was sent against them in 1806 by Mūlāy Sliman, who had taken up the plans and policy of his ancestors. A third expedition was perhaps sent in 1830. These various attempts had no effect on the country however and Figuig remained independent. Each of the ḳṣūr was ruled by a *djamāʿa* or assembly of notables elected for life. This assembly decided matters of general interest, notably the levying of the necessary provisions to constitute the *makhzen* or storehouse, to supply food in time of war and provide for the expenses of hospitality, etc. The various *djamāʿa* were independent of one another: they could unite however in case of a common danger, but did not elect a chief.

The agreement of Lalla Maghnia (18[th] March 1845) which divided the ḳṣūr of South Orania between France and Morocco granted Figuig, without any real reason, to Morocco. The suzerainty of the Sharīfs, however, remained purely nominal. The Makhzen could not instal a permanent representative in the oasis; it did not succeed in obtaining regular payment of tribute; it proved utterly incapable of repressing the excesses of the ḳṣūrians. The latter, indeed, on every opportunity lent their aid to Algerian malcontents (Ūlād Sīdī Shaikh, Bū Amāma) and encouraged the incursions of the Zegdū or marauding bands who, after being organised in Figuig, raided the Algerian tribes and returned to get rid of their booty in the ḳṣūr. The French government, although the treaty of Lalla Maghnia conferred on it the right of pursuit on Moroccan territory, declined on grounds of international policy to punish the people of the ḳṣūr. Napoleon III. in 1867 refused to authorise General Deligny to conquer Figuig and, in 1870 at the time of the Haut-Guir expedition, forbade General de Wimpfen to go near the oasis. Demonstrations alone were tried but without effect. In 1886, for example, Colonel de Colomb's troops advanced as far as al-Ariḏja, in 1868, Colonel Colonieu's encampment at Taghla, a mile from Zenāga. Encouraged by their impunity the ḳṣūrians continued their misdeeds, until the French government and the Sharīfī Makhzen decided to come to an agreement to put an end to the state of affairs. By the protocol of Paris of the 20[th] July 1901, the two governments resolved to take the necessary measures to "establish peace and security on a more solid basis and initiate a commercial scheme destined to render the border regions of Algeria and Morocco richer and more populous. Two commissions, one French and the other Moroccan were appointed to find the practical means of obtaining this result. Their labours ended in the agreement of the 20[th] April 1902 which decided on the installation in Figuig of a Moroccan ʿāmil supported by a Sharīfī garrison and of a French commissioner in Beni Ounif, the establishment of outposts to guard the different passes and the method of collecting the customs dues etc. Difficulties still continued however. The ʿāmil did not succeed in enforcing his authority and remained blockaded with his garrison in the ḳaṣba of Udāghīr. Finally on the 30[th] May 1903, the governor-general of Algeria, M. Jonnart having come to examine the situation on the spot and confer with the ʿāmil, was attacked by the ḳṣūrians near the Zenāga pass and lost several of his escort. This attack was severely punished. A French column under General O'Connor appeared before the walls of Zenāga, the ḳṣar was bombarded in June 1903 and the *djamāʿa* sued for peace. They had to hand over to the French the culprits who had taken refuge in the ḳṣūr, to deliver hostages and pay an indemnity of £ 2,400. The memory of this punishment, above all the progress and consolidation of the French occupation in the whole region, and the advantages which the ḳṣūrians themselves have reaped in being able to trade freely with the French established in their neighbourhood, have since then assured perfect tranquillity to Figuig.

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FIHL. [See FAHL.]

AL-**FIHRĪ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. ABĪ 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD, compiled in 632 = 1234 a selection from the works of Spanish poets and stylists of the v[th] and vi[th] century A. H. entitled *Kanz al-Kuttāb wa Muntakhab al-Ādāb* (s. H. Krafft, *Die Ar., Pers. und Türk. Hdss. der k. k. Orient. Akademie zu Wien*, Vienna 1842, N°. 147).

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

FIHRIST (P.) "list", particularly a catalogue of books; hence the title of several bibliographical works, s. AL-NADĪM, IBN.

FIKH ("intelligence, knowledge") is the name given to jurisprudence in Islām. It is, like the *jurisprudentia* of the Romans, *rerum divinarum atque humanarum notitia* and in its widest sense covers all aspects of religious, political and civil life. In addition to the laws regulating ritual and religious observances (*ʿibādāt*), as far as concerns performance and abstinence, it includes the whole field of family law, the law of inheritance, of property and of contract, in a word provisions for all the legal questions that arise in social life (*muʿāmalāt*); it also includes criminal law and procedure and finally constitutional law and laws regulating the administration of the state and the conduct of war.

All aspects of public and private life and business should be regulated by laws recognised by religion; the science of these laws is *Fiḳh*.

In older theological language the word had not this comprehensive meaning; it was rather used in opposition to *ʿilm*. While the latter denotes, besides the Ḳorʾān and its exposition, the accurate knowledge of the legal decisions handed down from the Prophet and his companions (Ibn Saʿd, II. ii. 127, 16: *al-riwāyat wa ʾl-ʿilm*, synonymously), the term *fiḳh* is applied to the independent exercise of the intelligence, the decision of legal points by one's own judgment in the absence or ignorance of tradition bearing on the case in question. The result of such independent consideration is *raʾy* (opinion, *opinio prudentium*), with which it is also sometimes used synonymously. In this sense *ʿilm* and *Fiḳh* are regarded as distinct qualities of the theologian (in Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 703, 8); *fiḳh wa-riwāya* (Ibn Saʿd, v. 327, 11). The sum total of all wisdom is defined by Mudjāhid (in explanation of Sūra, ii. 272, *man yuʾta ʾl-ḥikma*) as composed of the following elements: *al-ḳurʾān wa ʾl-ʿilm wa ʾl-fiḳh* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii. 56, 2). [Even the Jewish Karaitic expositor of the Bible, Jepheth b. ʿAlī (950—980 A. D.) has adopted this distinction for he translates *tiflāyā* in Daniel, iii. 4 (ed. D. S. Margoliouth, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1889, p. 33, 1) by: *ahl al-ʿilm wa ʾl-fiḳh*]. Hārūn al-Rashīd instructs his governor Harthama to consult the *ahl al-fiḳh fī dīn Allāh* and the *ahl al-ʿilm bi-kitāb Allāh* in doubtful cases (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii. 717, 12). Further passages are quoted in *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 176, note 6.

In this sense the *ʿālim* (plur. *ʿulamāʾ*) is distinguished from the *faḳīh* (plur. *fuḳahāʾ*) or the combination of both sciences in one individual is expressed by the combination of these two epithets or their synonyms. Ibn ʿUmar was *djaiyid al-ḥadīth* but not *djaiyid al-fiḳh* (Ibn Saʿd, II. ii. 125, 1); on the other hand Ibn ʿAbbās was *aʿlam* with reference to decisions handed down by Tradition and at the same time *afḳahu* (or *athḳab raʾyan*) in new cases that arose, for which no precedent could be found in Tradition and in which it was necessary to use one's own judgment (*ibid.* 122, 5; 124, 2); the same is true of Zaid b. Thābit (*ibid.* 116, 21). Vgl. *faḳīh fī ʾl-dīn ʿālim fī ʾl-sunna* (*ibid.* iii. i. 110, 13). Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyab is *faḳīh al-fuḳahāʾ* on the one hand and *ʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* (*ibid.* II. ii. 129, 1; 130, 4, 7, 10; v. 90, 3) on the other. Among the *Tābiʿūn* there were *fuḳahāʾ wa-ʿulamāʾ* i. e. those who were authorities on the chain of evidence of ḥadīth and *āthār* as well as on *fiḳh* and were competent to give (independent) decisions, *fatwā* (*ibid.* II. ii. 128, 15). Abū Thawr was *aḥad aʾimmat al-dunyā fiḳhan wa-ʿilman* (in Dhahabī, *Tabaḳ. al-Ḥuff.*, viii. 106).

In the oldest period of the development of Islām the authorities entrusted with the administration of justice and the conduct of the religious life had in most cases to fall back on the exercise of their own *raʾy* owing to the scarcity of legislative material in the Ḳorʾān and the dearth of ancient precedents. This was regarded as a matter of course by every one, although they were naturally very pleased, if the verdict could as far as possible be based on *ʿilm*. When ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (died 114 = 732) was giving a judgment, he was asked: "Is this *ʿilm* or *raʾy*?" If it was founded on a precedent (*athar*), he said it was *ʿilm* (Ibn Saʿd, v. 345, 25). The *raʾy* was not, however, thereby discredited. It was considered an equally legitimate factor in the decision of a point of law and was destined in the near future to be regarded as the undoubted opinion of old authorities and in later times to be actually considered an element of the *ʿilm*. From the very beginning one could have recourse to it as soon as *ʿilm* failed. According to an old story which certainly reflects the conditions of the Omaiyad period, although it does not actually date from the time in which its scene is laid, Muʿāwiya finally applied to Zaid b. Thābit on a legal question, on which neither he nor other companions to whom he propounded it, could quote any ancient evidence (*falam yadjid ʿindahu — or ʿindahum — fīhi ʿilman*); the latter gave a verdict based on his own independent *raʾy* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii. 250 ult. on i. 228). The ḳāḍī of Egypt asked the advice of the Caliph ʿOmar II. on a point not provided for in Tradition; the latter wrote to him: Nothing has reached me on this matter, therefore I leave the verdict to you to be given according to your opinion (*bi-raʾyika*) (Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 334, 8 = Gottheil's ed., 29, 12) (cf. the article IDJTIHĀD).

Corresponding to this recognition of *raʾy* as an approved source of law are the instructions ascribed to the Prophet and the early Caliphs, which they gave to the officials sent to administer justice in the conquered provinces; the principles to which they gave their approval, in so far as they were actually proposed by the judges sent (*Ẓāhiriten*, 8 *et seq.*; cf. *ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, i. 314, 17; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 9, 10 *et seq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* p. 87), in the digests which were developed from these simple origins we find deduction from decisions in allied cases expressly mentioned (*al-ashbāh*, *al-naẓāʾir*, cf. *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, p. 72, 3) i. e. the application of analogy (*ḳiyās*) as a methodical adjustment of *raʾy* (equity). In the investigation of the *ʿillat al-sharʿ*, the motive of law (*ratio legis*) and the consequent reduction of doubtful cases to a rational point of view, we find this principle given systematic validity. — We thus have — there is evidence of it at a very early period — a kind of popular element adopted among the constitutive sources for the deduction of laws: The conception of *idjmāʿ* (consensus) i. e. the general usage of the community which has been established by agreement in the larger circles of believers independent of the written, traditional or inferred law. As in Roman law, the principle was applied,

that: *consuetudinem aut rerum perpetuo similiter judicatarum auctoritatem vim legis obtinere debere*; also: *nam diuturni mores consensu utentium comprobati legem imitantur*.

It was quite natural from the changed conditions after the conquests that the formation of the law, not only in its special provisions, but particularly in the point of view they adopted in their method of deductive operation (*Muh. Stud.*, ii. 75) as laid down in Fiḳh, was greatly influenced by what the authorities on the development of law in Syria and Mesopotamia were able to learn of Roman law, sometimes of the special laws for the particular provinces. It was obvious that a quite uncultured people coming from a land in a primitive stage of social development into countries with an ancient civilisation, where they established themselves as rulers, would adopt from among their new surroundings as much of the customary law of the conquered lands as could be fitted in with the conditions created by the conquest and be compatible with the demands of new religious ideas. The detailed investigation of this fact in the history of law, which, although emphasised and established in its main outlines long ago, has only been sporadically investigated within a limited field, is one of the most attractive problems of this branch of the study of Islām. Santillana has collected much material for the investigation of this subject in his plan for a *Code Civil et Commercial Tunisien* (Tunis 1899). The comparative study of one chapter of private law has yielded the most conclusive proofs of the thorough-going adoption of Roman law by the jurists of Islām (Frans Frederik Schmidt, *Die Occupatio im Islamischen Recht* [reprint from *Der Islām*, I], Strassburg 1910). The present writer had previously in this connection made the suggestion that even the names of legal speculation (*fiḳh* = intelligence) and of its students *fuḳahā'* (intelligent) have been influenced by the Latin terms (*juris*) *prudentia* and (*juris*) *prudentes* in their special application to the study of law and teachers of law. An analogous example in support of the influence of Roman Law is the use of the words *ḥokhmā* and *ḥakhāmīm* among the Jews of Palestine (*Kultur d. Gegenw.*, Vol. I. Part iii. 1st half, p. 103, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, ii. 318).

Roman Law, however, does not exhaust the sources drawn upon in the development of Muslim Law. The receptive character that marks the formation and development of Islām also found expression, naturally first of all in matters of ritual (Wensinck in *Der Islam*, i. 101) in borrowings from Jewish Law (cf. *Revue des Études Juives*, xxviii. 78; xliii. 4; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets u. Kultus* [*Abhandl. der Kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*], Berlin 1913). According to Kremer (*Culturgesch. d. Orients*, i. 535) even many of the provisions of Roman Law that have been adopted by Islām only found a place in *Fiḳh* through the intermediary of the Jews. — It still remains to be investigated, however, if and in what degree Persian influence can be traced in the development of many details of Muslim Law.

We thus have four "roots" in operation for the deduction of laws, as methodical principles from which legal prescriptions may be legitimately laid down, viz.: 1. *Ḳor'ān*, 2. *Sunna*, 3. *Ḳiyās*, 4. *Idjmā'*. With the gradual recognition of the sources of legal knowledge the terms *fiḳh* and *fuḳahā'* gradually lost their original limitation to deductions not based on tradition. *Fiḳh* next became the science which co-ordinated and included all the branches of knowledge derived from the four roots; similarly those who are masters of this science were called *fuḳahā'* i. e. jurists. — *Fiḳh* was also used as the result of deduction from the positive sources of law, the sum total of the deductions derived from them, e.g. *wa fī ḥāḏhā 'l-Ḥadīth ḍurūb min al-Fiḳh* (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 529, 1, cf. *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.*, iii. 84). In a still wider generalisation *fiḳh* was used for religious science in general (*al-Ḳur'ān wa 'l-Fiḳh* in opposition to the study of poetry, *Aghānī*, vii. 55, 22; *laisa bihim raghbatun fī 'l-dīn wa lā raghbatun fī 'l-fiḳh*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, i. 155), *fuḳahā'* likewise was applied to students of religion, theologians (not only students of law) e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xii. 73, 11: *fuḳahā'unā wa-mashāyikhunā*; ibid., 112, 2, where Abū 'Ubaid al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām says with reference to an explanation by Abū 'Ubaida Ma'mar of a word in the Ḳor'ān contradictory to the traditional explanation: *al-fuḳahā' a'lam bi 'l-ta'wīl minhu*, "the *fuḳahā'* are more conversant with exegesis than he" (who is not a theologian but only a philologist); cf. also *Ẓāhiriten*, p. 19. In eastern and western dialects of spoken Arabic the word *fiki*, *fiḳī*, *fḳi* (all from *faḳīh*) has come to mean an elementary schoolteacher of the lowest rank (W. Marçais, *Textes Arabes de Tanger* [Paris 1911], p. 415, where further references are given).

The sporadic attempts that were made during the 'Omaiyad period in the field of Law did not lead to a systematic codification of the material in existence. It was only with the rise of the 'Abbāsid caliphate that this attempt was made, favoured and indeed even furthered by the pronounced religious character of the government. From the very beginning of this process of codification it was always these four "roots" that were recognised as authoritative by the theologians who made the first endeavour in the beginning of the second century A. H. in Medina, Syria and the 'Irāḳ, to evolve a finished system of Muslim law. According as they made a limited or free use of one or other of the "roots" or selected one in preference to another of the contradictory traditions, they attained different results on particular points of law. Only names have survived to us from the literature created by these early efforts. We learn a good deal in the Arabic sources about theologians who arranged the *'ilm* or *sunan* in chapters and thence deduced the *fiḳh* inferences (*Muh. Stud.*, ii. 211, cf. also 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak: *Dawwana al-'ilm fi 'l-abwāb wa 'l-fiḳh* [Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i. 250, 11]; Abū Thaur: *Ṣannafa al-kutub wa-farra'a 'alā 'l-sunan* [Ibid., ii. 95, 1]). Little value can be attached to the statement ascribed to Hishām b. 'Urwa that many *kutub fiḳh* of his father's perished in the flames on the day of Ḥarra (*Biographien*, ed. Aug. Fischer, p. 41). At that ancient period ('Urwa died in 94 = 712, the so-called Fuḳahā' year — the year of the death of many fuḳahā' — *Ibn Sa'd*, vi. 135, 11) there could be no real *kutub* in existence; the reference must therefore be to rough notes only. We might also mention the statement that Zuhrī's *Fatāwī* were collected in three, Ḥasan Baṣrī's in seven books

(*aṯfār*) arranged in the order of the *abwāb al-fiḳh* (Ibn Ḳaiyim al-Djawzīya, *I'lām* [Cairo 1325], i. 26). E. Griffini has recently discovered among the South Arabian treasures of the Ambrosian library in Milan a compendium of Fiḳh attributed to the founder of the Shī'ite sect of the Zaidīya entitled the *Madjmū'a of Zaid b. 'Alī* (died 122 = 740) [*La più antica codificazione della giurisprudenza islamica* in *Rendiconti del R. Ist. Lomb. di Sc. e Lett.*, Ser. ii. Vol. xliv. (Milan 1911), 260 *et seq.*] This would be the oldest attempt at a codification of Muslim law in existence; in any case it is to be reckoned with in the literature of the older Fiḳh. If it should be a direct product of the circle of Zaid b. 'Alī himself, we should have to recognise the priority of the Shī'ite (Zaidī) branch of Islām in Fiḳh literature among the works that have survived. It has not yet, however, been fully investigated what position this collection holds in the history of Fiḳh literature.

The oldest *corpus juris* of the Sunnī branch of Islām that has survived from the early period of Fiḳh is the *Muwaṭṭa'* ("paved path") of the Medina teacher Mālik b. Anas (97—179 = 715—795), who easily surpassed all his contemporaries with this work (*Muh. Stud.*, ii. 213 *et seq.*) and created an organic synthesis of the four roots of jurisprudence in the chapters on private law. His work represents a codification of the Fiḳh as it developed in the Ḥidjāz in its theological centre Medina. Almost at the same time the Fiḳh was being methodically systematised in other lands of the Muslim empire also. In Syria 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awzā'ī (died 157 = 774; v. i. 524b) was teaching a system of Fiḳh which remained in force, even among the Muslims of Spain (al-Ḍabbī, ed. Codera, No. 751) till the Medina system was introduced there by disciples of Mālik and became supreme. The most vigorous efforts to create a code of law were made in the 'Irāḳ, where about the same time studies in other branches (philology, philosophy, exact sciences and dogmatics) were being industriously pursued. Although the Ḥidjāz school recognised the validity of *ra'y* without restriction and made free use of it in establishing legal principles, the 'Irāḳ school excelled them in many ways in their use of this source of law. Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaimān (died c. 120 = 738) may here be mentioned as the pioneer who was the first to gather a circle of scholars around him, to whom he taught a system of Fiḳh in which *ra'y* had a predominant influence. To his school belonged Abū Ḥanīfa [q. v., i. 90b *et seq.*] who is regarded as the patriarch of the 'Irāḳ school of Fiḳh, which was placed in a firmer footing by his two great pupils Abū Yūsuf (died 182 = 795) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī (died 189 = 804), who also distinguished themselves by monographs on important chapters of constitutional law (C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i. 171 *et seq.*). The name of the former of these scholars is also associated with the recognition of canon law in the government of the state. At the request of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, Abū Yūsuf compiled his *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, which, however, covers much wider ground than is indicated in its title, for it includes the whole field of administration in consonance with canon law, and was imitated by writers in later reigns. The Caliph al-Muhtadī (869-870 A. D.) entrusted the jurist al-Khaṣṣāf with the compilation of a similar work. The administration of the state was, theoretically at least, to be brought into absolute harmony with canon law. The starting-point was naturally always the *sunna*; but in spite of a most generous recognition of apocryphal traditions there was of necessity ample scope left for the use of *ra'y*. The school of Abū Ḥanīfa laid no restraint on the use of *ra'y*. A certain amount of freedom was even allowed to individual opinion in face of methodical analogy (*ḳiyās*) by allowing practical considerations also to be taken into account. This is expressed in the term *istiḥsān* (holding for better). The legal authority is justified in deviating from a ruling suggested by the *ḳiyās*, if due consideration showed him that another procedure was more suitable to the conditions in question. (Early examples of *istiḥsān* are given in Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj* [Būlāḳ 1302], p. 109, 11, 112, 3 from below, 117, 12: *wa 'l-ḳiyās kāna .... illā innī istaḥsantu ....*; Shaibānī, *al-Djāmi' al-Ṣaghīr* [printed on the margin of the *Kharādj*], p. 17, 4 from below: *Adja'ahum fi 'l-ḳiyās walā yudja'uhum fi 'l-istiḥsān*, 72, 6; Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ikrāh*, No. 7, ed. Juynboll, 338, 3). In the school of Mālik also a similar subjective element in *ra'y* has been recognised as legitimate; it is called *istiṣlāḥ* (consideration of what is beneficial or expedient — *maṣlaḥa*) — *murā'āt al-aṣlaḥ*. This right to set aside the ruling based on methodical analogy in favour of the judgment of a competent jurist, when considerations of expediency justify it reminds one of the Roman *corrigere jus propter utilitatem publicam* (in the Talmudic law: *mippenē tiḳḳūn hā-'ōlām*).

The 'Irāḳ school of Fiḳh had another important teacher in the Baṣrī theologian Sufyān al-Thawrī (died 161 = 778), whose system remained for long authoritative even among the Muslims of the Maghrib (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, p. 120, 12); his system has, however, like that of the above mentioned Awzā'ī, not survived in its entirety but is only known in its application to isolated cases, particularly in points where it differed from other schools (*ikhtilāfāt*).

Although the foundations of Muslim jurisprudence as outlined above met with the approval of authoritative circles in the Muslim world, from the very beginning of its development it had to contend with a hostile minority who refused to recognise *ra'y* as a proper basis for the deduction of laws. This opposition was largely due to the subtle casuistries (*Ta'annut Abī Yūsuf wa-Muḥammad*, Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 152—153, 211 at the foot) which the 'Irāḳ jurists exercised in a most sophistical fashion in their use of *ra'y* (cf. the author's *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, p. 67 *et seq.*). *Ara'aita*, "what do you think (i. e. of a case propounded in a sophistical fashion)"? is the formula with which such tests of ingenuity were introduced (early examples in the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 30; *Muwaṭṭa'*, ii. 37, 330; iii. 19) and therefore the wrath of those, who regarded this legal skill as idle abuse of the law, was vented against this formula (v. *Ẓāhiriten*, p. 17; cf. Ibn Sa'd, vi. 68, 13 [*lā tudjālis aṣḥāb ara'aita ara'aita*] and a host of traditions on the point in the *Sunan al-Dārimī*, p. 37. Abū Dāwūd, i. 17). Although the Ḥidjāz school did not entirely decline the use of *ra'y*, it made a moderate use of it in comparison with the 'Irāḳ school, from which it differs in many ways in its results, and the Ḥidjāz school had many objections to the application of Ḥadīth by

the jurists of ʿIrāḳ (cf. *Muh. Studien*, ii. 78—83). This distinction is antedated to a time when it did not *yet* exist to the prejudice of the ʿIrāḳ school: even the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik is made to fulminate against the eastern school in favour of Medina (Ibn Saʿd, v. 160, 6; 173 14 *et seq.*).

There were also individuals who would not agree to recognise the opinion of any mortal (unless of the Prophet himself) as a deciding factor in legislation. It was not conceivable, they said, that God and his Prophet had not provided legislation for all contingencies that might arise. "We have omitted nothing in the scripture" (Sūra, *vi*. 38) and if a point is not expressly provided for in the Ḳorʾān, Muḥammad has certainly expounded it in a *ḥadīth* by God's command. They quoted in this connection the combination *al-kitāb wa ʾl-ḥikma* (cf. *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lxi. 860 *et seq.*), which appear in so many passages in the Ḳorʾān; which the adherents to this view explained as referring to the Ḳorʾān and Sunna (in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii. 275, xxii. 7). With the vast number of ḥadīths, that had been forged, it was quite easy to quote a ḥadīth on any point and thus readily to dispense with *raʾy* and *ḳiyās*. To be able to give a ruling from ḥadīths on all cases that arose, one had, however, to refrain from the exercise of strict criticism and be ready to use badly authenticated, interrupted and isolated traditions. To be correct, in form at least, an opinion, which was honestly admitted to be *raʾy*, was clothed in the form of a ḥadīth, given a pompous *isnād* and traced back to the Prophet.

Thus arose the distinction between *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth* and *Aṣḥāb al-Raʾy*; a mediator between the two extremes now appeared in the person of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (died 204 = 820). His great claim to fame is that he systematised the method for the deduction of laws from the sources of law (*Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*) and laid down the exact limits within which each might be used. In his *Risāla* (two editions, Cairo, ed. Kalāmī, 1310; Maṭbaʿa ʿIlmiya, 1312) he created the science of the use, which could be made of speculative deduction without lessening the undisputed prerogatives of Scripture and Tradition; he regulated their application and limited their arbitrary use by strict rules. For example, he did not approve the subjective *istiḥsān* (2nd ed., p. 134); on the other hand, with the principle of *istiṣḥāb* [q. v.] he opened up a fruitful source for juristic presumption. His school might be said to belong to the *Aṣḥāb al-Raʾy* as readily as to the *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*, but out of it, through preponderating attachment to the latter, there again developed a tendency to overemphasise *fiḳh* which was based on traditional sources, first of all in the school of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (died 241 = 855; v. i. 188 *et seq.*); and this tendency was even more marked in the Ẓāhiriya school founded by Dāwūd b. ʿAlī al-Iṣfahānī (died 270 = 883, v. i. 928^b^), which set aside speculative elements and carried the limitations for the deduction of law traditional sources to extremes, but had soon to confess that it would soon be at a standstill without a moderate use of *ḳiyās*.

Among the opponents of *ḳiyās* at this time is mentioned Yaḥyā b. Akthām (died 242 = 856), an older contemporary of Dāwūd and celebrated Shāfiʿī and Ḳāḍī of Baghdād under Maʾmūn; he wrote a work (*Kitāb al-Tanbīh*), which is wholly devoted to an attack on the ʿIrāḳ school; he constantly exchanged ideas with Dāwūd b. ʿAlī (Ibn Khallikān, N°. 823, ed. Wüstenfeld, x. 24). Such attacks, however, were only of theoretical importance; they were quite without influence on the practical administration of law.

Down to the beginning of the third century then, the historical development of the study of law had produced two divisions of the science of Fiḳh, viz.: 1. the science of the *Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*, i. e. the doctrine of the "roots", the sources of law and the methodology of their application; 2. that of the *Furūʿ al-Fiḳh*, the doctrine of the branches, i. e. applied Fiḳh, the systematic elaboration of positive law under its separate heads. The latter can show authoritative works even from the period of the founders of the schools; its important Furūʿ works were published by immediate pupils or edited and handed down by them as lectures of their teachers (see the separate articles).

At the present day Fiḳh has developed in four directions within orthodox Sunnī Islām, each of which goes back to codifications of the law, differing in little details, by the independently developing schools of the above mentioned founders of the second and third centuries A. H., and which in course of time were considerably developed along these lines. These four schools (*madhāhib*, sing. *madhhab*; only utter ignorance can call them sects) which have survived to the present day and prevail in different parts of the Muhammadan world are called after the Imāms on whose teachings they are founded: 1. the Ḥanafī, which is followed in by far the greater part of the Muslim world (the Turkish empire, Central Asia and the Indian mainland); 2. the Shāfiʿī (Egypt, South Arabia, the Indian Archipelago, East Africa and Syria after it had supplanted the Awzāʿī *madhhab* there in 284 = 897; cf. Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiya*, ii. 174 at the foot, 214, and the extremely important data given *ibid.*, v. 134 *et seq.*); 3. the Mālikī (the Maghrib, to a great extent in Upper Egypt also, German and English West Africa) and the 4. Ḥanbalī, strongly represented (down to the viii^th^ = xiv^th^ century) in the ʿIrāḳ, Egypt, Syria and Palestine (cf. the article AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL), now limited to Arabia (Nadjd) (cf. the article WAHHĀBIS). The Hanafi madhhab has become the only authoritative code of law in the public life and official administration of justice in all the provinces of the Ottoman empire. All the other once prominent schools of fiḳh have disappeared from the field after a brief existence; for example, at a very early period the school of Awzāʿī (see above), that of Sufyān al-Thawrī (in 403 = 1014 the last mufti taught according to this madhhab, cf. Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, p. 120, 10), that of the Ẓāhirites already mentioned and the school founded by the celebrated historian Ṭabarī [q. v.] called Djarīriya, which this scholar expounded in numerous works which no longer exist (*Wien. Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, ix. 364). The teachings of these obsolete schools are not taken account of in the *Idjmāʿ* of Sunni Islām; the four madhāhib above mentioned are considered equally orthodox elements of it; they differ from one another only in details of *furūʿ* which according to the orthodox conception do not form fundamental differences. In the Azhar mosque [q. v., i. 532 *et seq.*], the most impor-

tant Muslim university of the present day, all four schools are still represented by teachers and pupils just as before the coming of Ottoman supremacy, whereby the Ḥanafī *madhhab* became supreme, all four systems were represented in the great centres of Islām by judicial functionaries, who gave their decisions in important cases at a joint conference. Each of these four *madhāhib* has produced an enormous literature of codices, compendiums and commentaries in the schools of the lands in which its adherents are found.

Cases not provided for in such codices, as well as new points of law that crop up, are decided by professional jurists in *fatwā*'s (decisions) of which considerable collections have been and are still being made. Since various European countries have extended their authority over Muslims, in their possessions and protectorates in the east, handbooks of Fiḳh of the *madhāhib* prevailing in the respective countries have been published in western languages also, and in this connection editions and translations of the best known works on fiḳh have been prepared by European scholars.

The dissenting sects of the Khāridjīs and Shīʿahs have also developed the legal system along lines parallel to the Fiḳh of the Sunnīs. The most fundamental differences between these systems and that of the Sunnīs are naturally to be found in questions of constitutional law (Khalīfate). The Shīʿīs also show differences in their law of marriage (*mutʿa*; marriage with women of the *Ahl al-Kitāb*) and are more rigid in their laws regulating intercourse with unbelievers. In their liturgy (*adhān*) trifling deviations from the usage of the Sunnīs may also be noted; in their calendar of feasts also there are certain feast days peculiar to them. Otherwise the differences in law between these sects and the Sunnīs are scarcely more considerable than those of the different orthodox *madhāhib* within Sunnī Islām from one another (cf. *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, p. 237—239). Among the Shīʿahs, besides the Imāmī "Twelvers" the sect of Zaidīs (particularly strong in South Arabia) has developed a very rich Fiḳh literature, of which R. Strothmann has lately given a very thorough account (*Der Islām*, i. 354—368; ii. 49—78; *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen* (Strassburg 1912); *Der Kultus der Zaiditen* (ibid. 1912).

In giving an appreciation of Fiḳh one must not forget to mention the fact that the codifications from a very early period for the most part represent an academic code of law, a system given ideal validity, a doctrine of duties, as Snouck Hurgronje, the creator of the historical criticism of Fiḳh, so admirably described it, which the theologians represent as alone corresponding to the ideal demands of religion. History teaches us that, as is the case at the present day, even in the oldest period of Islām, the actual practice assumed in many instances a different form from that required by the demands of canon law (*Sharīʿa*). Certain parts of Fiḳh have been quite obsolete for centuries; on the other hand in many districts customary law (*ʿurf*, *ʿādā*), which for the most part can be traced back to pre-Muḥammadan times, has retained its validity [cf. the article ʿĀDA, i. 121b *et seq.*] Modern conditions have also produced many reforms of legal practice in Muslim countries and have produced a system of civil law different from the religious law (*Sharīʿa*) alongside of the latter. This dualism in the administration of justice can be traced back to an earlier period in which it also existed. (*Ẓāhiriten*, p. 205, note 4, an example from Egypt, 2th century A. H.; Ibn Ḳaiyim al-Djawzīya, *al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥikmiya fi 'l-Siyāsa al-Sharʿīya* [Cairo 1317], p. 218, dual system of law in Syria; Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, ii. [Cairo 1912], p. 30, the *Ḳaḍāyā yarghūdjiya* were in operation in the ʿIrāḳ under Mongol rule alongside of the *Ḳaḍāyā sharʿiya*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, (Paris), iii. 11, from Khwārizm).

Quite recently the French government in Tunisia and Algeria has begun to attempt a codification of Muslim Law after modern legal methods; thereon cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islām* (Leiden 1911), p. 42 *et seq.* = *Politique musulmane de la Hollande*, p. 61 *et seq.*; C. H. Becker in the *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, xv. (1912), p. 549; H. Bruno, *Le Régime des Eaux en Droit musulman* (Paris 1913), p. 183 *et seq.*

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Islāmic literature on Fiḳh according to the different Madhāhib and the European editions see Juynboll, l. c., p. 350—363 and the pertinent sections in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litteratur*.

(I. GOLDZIHER.)

FIKRI, ʿABD ALLĀH PASHA, Egyptian statesman and man of letters, born in Mecca in 1250 (1834), where his father, Muḥammad Efendi Balīgh, who had chosen the profession of arms and reached the rank of *ṣaghḳol aghasi*, was stationed at the time of his son's birth. His grandfather, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, however, was professor at the Azhar university at the time of the French occupation and the grandson followed in his steps. As he lost his father in 1261 (1845), when only eleven years of age, he was brought up by a relative, studied at the Azhariya and at the same time studied Turkish industriously to qualify for a place in the Dīwān. In 1267 (1851) he entered the civil service, held positions in various dīwāns and accompanied Ismāʿīl Pasha to Stambūl in 1279 (1861) when the latter went

there to receive his investiture from the Sulṭān. He often returned there and in 1284 (1866) was appointed tutor to the princes Meḥemmed Tewfīḳ, Ḥasan and Ḥusain. In 1286 he was transferred to the Ministry of Finance and commissioned to organise the Khedival Library. In 1288 (1870) he was appointed *wakīl* to the Ministry of Public Instruction under ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak [q. v.] and finally became Minister, although for a brief period only on account of the political turmoils of the time [cf. the article ʿARĀBĪ PASHA, i. 416 *et seq.*]. He was even imprisoned after the rebellion had been put down, but finally released. He then lived the life of a private scholar, made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1302 (1885), travelled through Syria in the following year and visited Stockholm in 1306 (1889) as delegate of the Egyptian government to the Oriental Congress. On his return to Egypt he occupied himself with an account of this journey but death overtook him on the 11th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1307 (27th July 1890) when he had only finished the opening chapters.

ʿAbd Allāh Pasha Fikrī was a good stylist and wrote several works, some of which were only printed after his death by his son AMĪN PASHA FIKRĪ, who had accompanied him to Stockholm. This son, born in Cairo 1272 = 1856, also wrote a *Geography of Egypt and the Sūdān* (Cairo 1296), and died young (January 1899). He published a collection of his father's poems, letters etc. entitled: *al-Āthār al-Fikrīya* (Cairo 1315), and the above mentioned account of his journey: *Irshād al-Alibbāʾ ilā Maḥāsin Urūbā*, Cairo 1892. Other works by his father: *al-Fawāʾid al-Fikrīya li 'l-Makātib al-Miṣrīya*, Cairo 1304 (Elementary grammar for schools); *Naẓm al-Laʾāl fi 'l-Ḥikam wa 'l-Amthāl*, Cairo 1308; *al-Muḥāwara al-Fikrīya fi 'l-Mamlaka al-Bāṭinīya*, Cairo 1289 and often reprinted.

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AL-FĪL, the elephant, also called *al-Zandabīl*, which latter name is applied to the smaller animals or according to some writers the females. In spite of its bulk and heavy figure it is one of the swiftest and most mobile of animals. As its neck is very short it has a long trunk of cartilage, flesh and sinew, which is of the same use to it as hands to man. With it it carries food and water to its mouth; it can move it round its whole body and fights with it. Its two ears are like shields; it flaps them constantly to drive away flies and mosquitoes from its mouth, which is always open. Its powerful tusks attain a weight of 200 or even 300 *mann*. Its tongue is reversed, that is, it is attached to the front of the mouth; if this were not so, according to the view of the Indians, it would learn to speak like a man. Its cry is like that of a boy and is weak in comparison to its size. It only has joints in the shoulders and in the thighs; it therefore sleeps standing or leaning against a tree. When it falls on its side it cannot get on its feet again; the other elephants help it up, while a large elephant shoves its trunk under the side of the fallen one and the others help till it is up again. When it wants to tear up a tree, it twists its trunk around it and uproots it with ease.

The elephant becomes reproductive in its fifth year. Its testicles are inside its body near the kidneys. When the animal has conceived she is no longer covered by the male. After two years the young one is born and one every seven years afterwards. As the female brings forth in a standing position and has no joints, it goes into a river with an abundant flow of water; it drops the young one into it to avoid letting it fall on the hard ground. The male elephant watches by it and protects it and the young one from snakes, which it tramples upon with its feet. It also eats snakes when it is ill. The elephants exported to ʿIrāḳ do not increase their numbers there and soon die out; in India they may live to be several hundred years old.

The elephant cannot bear the rhinoceros and flees from its neighbourhood; when they fight with one another, both are often killed. But its most deadly enemy is the *zabraḳ*, an animal smaller than the lynx, of reddish-yellow colour with fiery eyes, exceedingly agile in jumping; it squirts its urine on elephants and men so that they fall dead if it touches them. The elephant is also afraid of the cat; it is said that the kings of Persia when fighting with the Indians used to let cats loose on the elephants to put them to flight; a similar stratagem is related by the poet and freedman Hārūn b. Mūsā.

Dimishḳī tells us how wild elephants are caught; a long pit with steep sides is dug, which slopes gradually downwards to a depth equal to the height of the elephant and so narrow that, though it can easily go in, it cannot turn round or come out. Rice and other fodder is then scattered round this pit, most thickly around the entrance and in the pit itself. When a young elephant comes along, it follows the fodder in its greed until it reaches the deep end of the pit and then does not know what to do. The hunters then come dressed in dazzling colours red, blue and yellow and beat it with sticks; the elephant tries to trample those who attack it with its fore feet but cannot get out of the narrow pit. A man dressed in white then comes to its help, drives away its tormentors, brings food and water and remains near it to accustom the elephant to him. After a time he goes away and the others return and beat the elephant still more unmercifully whereupon the man in white appears for the second time and repeats the process of driving off the tormentors and feeding the elephant. This alternation is continued till the elephant has such confidence in the watcher that it allows him to touch it and mount it. When the elephant has become sufficiently used to him, the earth in front of the elephant is dug out so that it can come out of the pit. The elephant-driver (*fayyāl*) sits on the elephant's back and has a crooked stick (*miḥdjan*) in his hand, with which he touches the elephant's head when he wants it to do anything.

Numerous stories are told of the vindictiveness of elephants; it is said to be as great as that of the camel. For example, a fayyāl had beaten an elephant severely; the latter waited till on one occasion he was bound to a tree while the driver lay down to sleep a little distance off. The elephant broke a branch off, twisted it through the driver's bushy hair till it was quite entangled, then pulled him towards itself and crushed him.

Its docility, patience and tractability are, however,

quite as great as its vindictiveness, when it is well treated. In its native country it is a most valuable beast of burden and labourer.

War-elephants are of special importance and the kings of India possessed an astounding number of them. It is related of king Khusraw Parwēz that he had 1000 white elephants, each 12 ells high. The elephants knelt before him, as soon as they became aware of his presence in the midst of countless troops of cavalry. A war-elephant is a moving fortress; it carries men on its back and its body is protected by a cuirass of iron and horn; a bent sword is fastened to its trunk and with this it cuts horses and camels in two. Around it are 500 men, who protect its rear and on its back are valiant soldier's who break through the ranks of the enemy; one of these elephants is a match for 5000 horsemen. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives his experiences as an eyewitness of elephants trained to act as executioners.

African elephants are not tamed but are all wild and only hunted for their ivory. They are particularly numerous in the land of Zandj. When the people go to hunt them they throw the leaves, bark and branches of a certain tree into the water and conceal themselves near. The elephants are intoxicated by the water, fall down and are slain with a long spear. The tusks are exported to ʿOmān and thence to India and China. Ivory is used most extensively in China, for example for sedan-chairs and for burning before altars; in India it is made into sword and dagger handles, chessmen and draughtsmen. Shields are made of its skin in India and Africa. Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Baiṭār discuss the uses in medicine of parts of the elephant.

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FIʿL (A.; literally "action"), a technical term in Arabic grammar: the verb. According to al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, p. 108 (§ 402) it is "that which indicates the association of a *ḥadath* (event) with a time". Muḥammad Aʿlā adds the "reference to the agent" in his *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger etc., ii. 1142 *et seq.*). But this addition is only correct for the active verb. On the other hand the emphasis laid on the notion of time, which is found as early as Sībawaihi (chap. 1), shows that the Arabic verb had for long been not so tenseless in the linguistic feeling of these old grammarians as the original Semitic verb perhaps was. — Among the characteristics of the verb are that *ḳad*, *sawfa* and similar particles may be placed before it, that one can affix the allied pronouns etc. The pertinent grammars teach the division of the verb into *fiʿl mutaṣarrif* and *djāmid*, *thulāthī* and *rubāʿī*, *mutaʿaddī* and *ghair mutaʿaddī*.

Among the scholastics (*mutakallimūn*) *fiʿl* practically means "realisation, actuality"; among philosophers (*ḥukamāʾ*) it also means „effect". (A. SCHAADE.)

FILALI, a line of SHERIFS [q. v.] in Morocco.

FILASṬĪN, i. e. PALESTINE, is the name given by the Arabs to the Roman Province of Palestina Prima, practically Judaea and Samaria with Caesarea ad Mare as capital. De Goeje, Wellhausen and Caetani have brought order into the confused accounts of the conquest of this district by the Muslims, notably by disputing and correcting Saif's account, although various details still remain uncertain; for example, the date of the outbreak of hostilities. While the Arab historians do not make Abū Bakr send an army to Western Palestine via Aila under ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī till the year 13 (began 7th March 634), according to a Syriac authority published by Land, the first conflict between Greek and Muslim arms took place as early as February 634 at a place about three hours east of Ghazza [q. v.]. Although this source is not very reliable otherwise, in favour of its accuracy on this point it may be urged that it gives more time for the operations of the Arabs before the battle of Adjnādain [q. v. i. 141b] and that Khālid, who had been summoned from Syria to assist, could thus have actually arrived during Easter in April in Mardj Rāhiṭ as Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 2109, 11 (although in contradiction of l. 2) says. The Greeks were defeated in this battle and their leader slain while retreating. ʿAmr was now able to take Ghazza and then advanced on Caesarea with his troops and began to besiege it in July 634 (Djumādā I, 13). He was, however, forced to retire to ʿAraba by the approach of a larger Greek force; here he was joined by the troops coming from the district east of the Jordan and thereupon advanced against the Greeks who were utterly defeated at Adjnādain at the end of July or in August. It was probably immediately after this victory that ʿAmr conquered the towns in Filasṭīn, detailed by Balādhurī, Samaria, Sichem, Lydda, Jabne, ʿAmwās, Bait Djibrīn and Raphia. After joining the main army and taking part in the deciding battles, he was able to return in August 636 after the battle of Yarmūk and proceed to the siege of Jerusalem which finally surrendered in 16 or 17 (637 or 638). Caesarea, which was strongly fortified, now alone remained. ʿAmr began the siege anew, but was called to Egypt in 640 and had to leave the conduct of the siege in the hands of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān the commander-in-chief in Syria; but it was only after the latter's death that his brother Muʿāwiya succeeded in taking the town with the help of a traitor (according to Wāḳidī and others in 19, according to Ibn Isḥāḳ not till 20). The conquest of Filasṭīn was finally completed by Muʿāwiya's capture of Asḳalān.

The Arabs, as they usually did elsewhere, here retained the organisation they found there and Palaestina Prima remained a separate province under the name *Djund* (military district) *Filasṭīn*, although its centre was shifted from Caesarea to Lydda. At a later period the place of Lydda was taken by the new foundation of Ramla which Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik had built while governor of Filasṭīn and where he was fond of living even after he became Caliph.

As to the extent of the conquered province, Ṭabarī (i. 2146, 1) mentions Baisān as the north-eastern limit, and at 2108, 11 ʿAraba is described as a part of Filasṭīn. Iṣṭakhrī defines its length by the frontier towns of Raphia and Ladjdjūn and the breadth by Yāfā and Jericho; Idrīsī and, at a later period Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, give similar state-

ments, although the latter, like the author of the *Mutḥir* (middle of the xiv[th] century), gives al-'Arīsh as the extreme southwestern point. Iṣṭakhrī gives the following dependencies of Filasṭīn, the southern part of al-Ghawr [q. v.], al-Djibāl and al-Sharāt as far as Aila. In Muḳaddasī on the other hand al-Sharāt is given as an independent *kūra* alongside of Filasṭīn with Zoghar as its capital, while in compensation, as it were, he reckons 'Ammān, the capital of al-Balḳā', to Filasṭīn. Iṣṭakhrī says that Ramla is the largest town in the province, with Jerusalem second, which in Yāḳūt is the capital.

Iṣṭakhrī describes Filasṭīn as one of the most fertile parts of Syria and emphasises the fact that it depends for its irrigation entirely on the rainfall; there is running water only at Sichem. Yāḳūt remarks on the generally mountainous character of the land. Muḳaddasī knows the following exports of Filasṭīn: olive oil, small figs, raisins, carobs, different sorts of textiles, and soap; of Jerusalem especially: cheese, fine sorts of raisins, apples, pine apples, looking-glasses, lamps and needles, from Jericho indigo (cf. AL-GHAWR). He also mentions the quarries of white stone and the marble quarries at Bait Djibrīn.

The statements on the public revenues of this province in the 'Abbāsid period are of special interest. Ibn Khaldūn gives a list from the second half of the viii[th] century A. H., according to which the annual revenue of Filasṭīn was 310,000 dīnārs besides a payment in kind, of 300,000 raṭl of olive oil. In Hārūn al-Rashīd's time, 310,000 dīnārs with a payment in kind of raisins. In 820, according to Ḳudāma's *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 195,000 (in another passage 259,000) dīnārs. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih in 864, 500,000 dīnārs and the same figure is given by Ibn al-Faḳīh for 903, while Ya'ḳūbī who flourished in the interval only gives 300,000 dīnārs.

The old provincial division was abolished during the Crusades and from the Aiyūbid period onwards replaced by a division into *mamlakas* which we find in Dimishḳī and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī. The mamlaka of Ghazza practically corresponded to the ancient Filasṭīn.

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(FR. BUHL.)

FIRĀRĪ (from the Arabic *firār* "flight") (T.) "**deserter**". This word has been recently applied by the partisans of the government to Young Turks who have taken refuge abroad to escape the vigilance of the police. (CL. HUART.)

FIRĀSA is apparently an Aramaic loanword. The lexicons quote no old evidence for it; *firās* in this sense in *Ḥamāsa*, p. 564, v. 5, need not be old (Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 152), nor does it occur in the Ḳur'ān but it is used by the commentators (in the form *tafarrasa*) to explain *tawassama* in Ḳur. xv. 75. The general meaning is "insight" and it occurs quite normally in this sense of judges and rulers as to cases before them (Ibn Ḳaiyim al-Djauzīya, *al-ṭuruḳ al-ḥukmīya*, p. 24 *et seq.* of ed. of Cairo, 1317). (ii) More narrowly of physiognomy as a science (Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 370) for which the older Arabic is *ḳiyāfa* [q. v.]. (iii) As a Ṣūfī expression for the divinely given intuition of saints. The basis is the tradition, *Ittaḳū firāsat al-mu'min fa'innahu yanẓur binūri'llāh*. "Beware of the intuition of the believer for he beholds in the light of Allāh". To this some forms of the tradition add, *Innahu shai'un yaḳdhifuhu'llāhu fī ḳulūbihim wa'alā 'alsinatihim*, "It is a thing which Allāh casts into their minds and upon their tongues". For the different forms of this tradition, see the *Iḥyā* of al-Ghazzālī with the *sharḥ* of the Saiyid Murtaḍā, ed. Cairo, vol. vi. p. 544-545; and on Ṣūfī *firāsa* in general see the *Risāla* of Ḳushairī, ed. of Bulāḳ, 1290, with *sharḥ* of Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, vol. iii. p. 174—185. Ibn al-Athīr (*Lisān*, viii. p. 40, ll. 7—10) says that the above tradition was understood in two ways: — the first, the literal (*ẓāhir*) meaning, that it was something which Allāh put into the minds of his saints and so they knew the condition of certain people by a *karāma* and by rightly using opinion and conjecture: and the second, that *firāsa* is something learned from indications and experiments and make (*khalḳ*) and character [evidently physiognomy]: further, that in the addition to the tradition quoted above there is drawn a distinction between the *firāsa* which the saints consciously exercise and a *firāsa* which appears in automatic speech, the saint not knowing, or at least not understanding what he says. An example of the latter is the story of the elephant cub, told in Damīrī's *Ḥayawān*, vol. ii. p. 188 of ed. of Cairo, 1313; for the same phenomenon in Muḥammad himself, see Macdonald, *Religious Attitude in Islam*, p. 47 and 99.

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(D. B. MACDONALD.)

FIR'AWN (Plur. FARĀ'INA), **Pharaoh**. The word is explained by the commentaries on Sūra ii. 46 of the Ḳor'ān as a *laḳab* or *'alam* of the Amalakite kings, like Kisrā and Ḳaiṣar of the Kings of the Persians and Romans. The verb *tafar'ana* means "to be arrogant and tyrannous", hence the Ḳor'ānic Fir'awn is called *al-Djabbār* "the tyrant" by al-Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), i. 31. A number of Fir'awns are mentioned in Arabic literature; their number is very differently given. In the Ḳor'ān, however, Fir'awn is always the king with whom Mūsā and Hārūn had to deal; the word is here clearly understood as a proper name.

The **Ḳor'ānic** data concerning Fir'awn are on some points fuller than the Biblical. The most important are the following. In place of his daughter his wife, Āsiya [q. v. i. 487[b]], is mentioned; a certain Hāmān is also mentioned who (Sūra xxviii, 38, xl. 38) is commissioned to build a tower (*ṣarḥ*),

which shall reach to heaven, by which Fir'awn will ascend to Mūsā's God. There are obviously several confusions here; Hāmān is an echo of the vizier of this name in the Book of Esther; the tower and its description recall the Tower of Babel. It is probably the Biblical account of the building of the "treasure cities, Raamses and Pitom", that has given rise to the confusion last mentioned.

Another member of Fir'awn's suite who appears in the Ḳor'ān is not mentioned by name. When Fir'awn wanted to slay Mūsā, "then a believer among Fir'awn's people, who had concealed his faith said: Will ye slay a man because he says: My Lord is Allāh, when he has come to you with manifest signs from your Lord! If he be a liar, against him is his lie; but if he speaks the truth, there will befall you something of that with which he threatens you" etc. (Sūra xl. 29 *et seq.*).

Fir'awn is twice called "he of the pegs" in the Ḳor'ān (*Dhu 'l-Awtād*, Sūra xxxviii. 11, lxxxix. 9). This expression is variously explained by the commentators; some say that it means that his dynasty is firmly established as by tent pegs, while others say that his armies are meant by the pegs. Others again say that he bound people to be punished hand and foot to pegs driven into the ground.

A further addition to the Biblical narrative is the statement that the magicians were threatened with dreadful punishment by Fir'awn when they became converts (Sūra vii. 121 *et seq.*; xxvi. 45 *et seq.*). Finally Fir'awn himself is said to have become converted the moment he was being drowned; but God did not accept his conversion and caused his body to be cast upon land as an example for others (Sūra x. 90 *et seq.*).

It is said of him that he had himself worshipped as a God (Sūra xxviii. 38). On the day of the resurrection he will go into Hell at the head of his people (Sūra xi. 100). The Ḳor'ān makes no distinction between the Pharaoh of the Bondage and of the Exodus. This is clear from the fact that when Mūsā and Hārūn come to him Fir'awn recognises the former (Sūra xxvi. 17).

Muslim Tradition gives the following account of the Fir'awns. In contrast to the Ḳor'ānic account, Fir'awns are mentioned as early as the stories of Abraham and Joseph and some even tell us that Joseph's first Fir'awn was called al-Raiyān b. al-Walīd and his successor Ḳābūs b. Muṣ'ab. According to others Joseph was the vizier of al-Walīd (or Dārim) b. al-Raiyān. Tradition is not unanimous with regard to the Fir'awns between Joseph and Mūsā. The sources which are less directly influenced by the Bible say that the above mentioned Ḳābūs b. Muṣ'ab was the first husband of Āsiya and Mūsā's foster-father. When Mūsā received the divine mission, Ḳābūs was already dead and his successor was his brother Walīd b. Muṣ'ab (Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* and Baiḍāwī on Sūra ii. 46; Ṭabarī [ed. de Goeje], i. 443 *et seq.*).

Ibn Isḥāḳ in Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), i. 444 *et seq.*, closely follows Exodus, i. 8; when Joseph and his Pharaoh, al-Raiyān b. al-Walīd, had died, the throne was occupied by Amalekite Fir'awns to the time when al-Walīd b. Muṣ'ab ascended it; Mūsā was sent to him; he was the most arrogant and cruel of all and reigned for the longest period. — Is there perhaps a reminiscence here of the reign of Rameses II. which covered three quarters of the xiii^th^ century? — According to Ya'ḳūbī (i. 211) and Mas'ūdī (ii. 397) there were two kings between Joseph's Pharaoh and Mūsā's foster-father. Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf* on Sūra vii. 103) says that 400 years passed between Joseph's arrival in Egypt and Mūsā's return from Midian; this agrees very well with Exodus xii. 40.

The other Egyptian kings who are mentioned in connection with the history of the kings of Israel, are also called Fir'awn in Tradition, often with an attribute like *al-A'radj* etc.

The Ḳor'ānic accounts of Fir'awn assume the following form in Tradition. Fir'awn had enslaved the Israelites and instituted forced labour. When his astrologers or priests one day told him or, as others say, when he had dreamed that an Israelite would be born who was destined to rob him of his power, he commanded that every new-born Israelite boy should henceforth be slain. When a want of servants thus began to be felt, he altered the edict so that they were preserved in alternate years. This explains how Hārūn, who was older than Mūsā, was saved.

Concerning the member of his suite who, according to the Ḳor'ān, was a convert, we are told that he was called Khirbīl, Shim'ān or Ḥabīb. According to some he was a nephew of Fir'awn, according to others his treasurer, or an Israelite carpenter who had made the box for Mūsā's mother in which the child was exposed. He is said to have been slain by Fir'awn with the magicians, along with his wife, the princesses' maid, who shared the beliefs of her husband; but it is also said that he was present at the passage of the Red Sea.

Tradition also gives further details of the building of the tower. The object of building it was to strengthen Fir'awn's position because he feared that his subjects would follow Mūsā. He also wished to reach the God of Mūsā. The tower was the highest that had ever been built. When the sun was rising its shadow darkened the west and when it was setting, the east. When it was finished Fir'awn climbed up and shot an arrow upwards to strike Mūsā's God. Then God tested him; he caused the arrow to fall down blood-red. Fir'awn then thought he had achieved his purpose. But Gabriel came and broke the tower into three pieces with his wings; one of them fell in India, one into the Ocean and a third in the Maghrib, so high was the tower. According to Zamakhsharī on Sūra xxviii. 38, a piece fell on Fir'awn's army and slew many of his soldiers.

At the passage of the Red Sea Hāmān commanded Fir'awn's vanguard. When no one dared enter the sea, Gabriel rode in front on a mare; attracted by the mare the stallions of the Egyptians could not be restrained and the whole host rode in and was drowned. When Fir'awn uttered the words professing conversion given in the Ḳor'ān, Gabriel descended and closed his mouth with a piece of mud so that he might not be able to obtain the mercy of God by repeating the words. God then caused Fir'awn's body to be cast up so that the Israelites might believe that he was really dead. — Fantastic details of Fir'awn's person and reign are further given by Wüstenfeld in *Orient und Occident*, i. 338 *et seq.* In Maḳrīzī also many data are given which are not in agreement with the Ḳor'ān and Muslim Tradition as such. Cf. also the article MŪSĀ.

Bibliography: The Ḳor'ān commentaries

on the various passages where Fir'awn is mentioned; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), i. 378 *et seq.*; 442 *et seq.*; Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae* (ed. Houtsma), i. 30 *et seq.*; 211 *et seq.*; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), i. 92 *et seq.*; ii. 368 *et seq.*, 397 *et seq.*, 410—414; iii. 273; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Cairo, 1290), p. 146 *et seq.*; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Fleischer), p. 98 *et seq.*; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 142, ... *et seq.*; ii. 465, 466; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sagenkunde*, p. 152 *et seq.*; G. Weil, *Bibl. Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 126 *et seq.*; Wüstenfeld, *Die ältest. aeg. Gesch. nach den Zauber- u. Wundererzähl. d. Araber*, *Orient u. Occident*, i. (1862), p. 336 *et seq.* (A. J. WENSINCK.)

FIRDAWS is an artificially formed singular to *farādīs* which was taken by the Arabs from παράδεισος and understood by them as a plural (G. Hoffmann in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxii. p. 761). The rare measure *fi'laul* (Lumsden, *Arabic Grammar*, p. 365, 368) was probably chosen to distinguish it from a form (perhaps *furdus*) derived from the genuinely Arabic root *fardasa* (*Lisān*, viii. p. 45; Lane, s. v.). *Firdaws* occurs in old Arabian poetry in the sense of a fertile hollow of land (Bekrī, *Geogr. Wörterb.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 314; Yāḳūt, iii. p. 870 *et seq.*), and twice in the Ḳur'ān (xviii. 107; xxiii. 11) and was evidently for Muḥammad a synonym for *djanna* in the ordinary sense, "garden". Farādīs occurs as a proper name at Damascus and Aleppo (Yāḳūt, iii. p. 862 *et seq.*). It is curious that the fundamental sense of the Zend *pairidaêza*, "a place walled in" survives even in the remotely derivative Arabic, and a *firdaws* is defined by the lexicons more narrowly as *ḥadīḳa*. It also suggests grape-vines and palm trees (Baiḍ. on Ḳur. xviii. 107). In *Ṭabarī* (xvi. p. 25—27) are given the guesses of the earliest expositors, only two points having any basis — that it is a *rūmī* word and indicates a vineyard. Otherwise they say that it is the lordliest, finest, widest and loftiest part of the Garden, the abode of those who in life commanded kindness and forbade disliked actions. To Muḥammad himself tales are traced back that it is the uppermost story of the Garden, that from it the four rivers of Paradise divide, etc. On this last see more details in the abbreviation by al-Sha'rānī of the *Tadhkira* of al-Ḳurṭubī (Cairo ed. 1324), p. 83, and on *al-Firdaws* generally on p. 84 and 86. But the Saiyid Murtaḍā in his commentary on the *Iḥyā'* (vol. x. p. 525) says that it is the second story of Paradise below the *'arsh* of Allāh, and that above it comes Djannat 'Adn. Others, again, held that 'Illiyūn was the loftiest; see a long discussion, involving the doctrine of the vision of Allāh and the presence of Muḥammad with his people in the Garden, in the *Ibrīz* of Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak, p. 277 *et seq.*, ed. of Cairo, 1316.

Bibliography: is given above.

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

FIRDAWSĪ (ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM), a Persian poet, whose proper is uncertain (Manṣūr, or Aḥmad, or Ḥasan), probably born in 320 (932) at Ṭābarān, one of the quarters of the town of Ṭūs (Khorāsān). His father had left him a small estate on which he lived in a modest way. He received his education from his compatriot Asadī. A *dihḳān* or landed proprietor, who was a friend of his, gave him a Book of Kings to put into verse; it was thus that set him to compose the *Shāhnāmah* (book of kings), an epic of about 60,000 lines in which he incorporated the portion already versified by Daḳīḳī [q. v., i. 900a]. The composition of this gigantic work lasted thirty-five years and was completed on the 25th February 1010 (400 A. H.) when the poet was nearly eighty years of age; it must therefore have been begun when he had reached a fairly mature age. The poem was dedicated to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who had conquered Khorāsān in 389 (999), and presented to him by his minister Ḥasan b. Aḥmad; the Sulṭān ordered a present of twenty thousand dirhams to be given to the poet but the latter, who expected a much more munificent reward, gave half of it to a bath attendant and the other half to a seller of fuḳḳā' (a kind of beer). Threatened with being trampled to death by elephants, Firdawsī in revenge composed a scathing satire and took refuge with the Ispahbadh Shahriyār b. Sharwīn, ruler of Ṭabaristān, after remaining six months in concealment in Herāt. This prince purchased the satire from him for 100,000 dirhams, at the rate of 1000 for each line, and had it destroyed; nevertheless, the text has survived and is usually published with editions of the *Shāhnāmah*.

After writing the poem *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* (publ. by Ethé, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series II*; German transl. by O. Schlechta-Wssehrd, Vienna 1889) for the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla or his son Sulṭān al-Dawla, he returned to his native town where he died; he was buried near Ṭūs in a piece of ground that belonged to him; as he was looked upon as a heretic, he could not rest in the Muslim cemetery. It is said that, while his funeral cortege was passing through the gate of Razān (the name of a neighbouring village) a caravan entered by that of Rūdbār bringing the 60,000 dinārs that the poet had hoped for. His daughter refused to accept this sum and the Sulṭān devoted it to pious works (the *ribāṭ* of Čāha). Dawlat-Shāh gives the date of his death as 411 (1020-1021).

The *Shāhnāmah*, which comprises the whole mythical and legendary history of Persia down to the Arab conquest, is a national epic which has rendered its author immortal. Firdawsī possessed the epic sense in a high degree; his descriptions of battle show an extraordinary vigour and movement; he felt the heart of his native land beating within him. The poem *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* written to show suspicious Muslims that ancient Persia was not his only love, is no whit inferior to its predecessor in spite of the advanced age at which it was written by the author.

The *Shāhnāmah* has been several times published; Lumsden's edition, *The Shah Nameh* (Calcutta 1811) only contains the first volume; Turner Macan's (Calcutta 1829) and Mohl's (Paris 1878) are complete while that of Vullers (Leiden 1877—1884) lacks the fourth volume. There have also been lithographed editions published in the East.

Translations: *Arabic* (cf. the art. AL-BONDĀRĪ); *East Turk.*, published at Tashkent 1326; *Gudjarātī* by J. J. Modi, Bombay 1897—1904; *French* by J. Mohl opposite his text and separately at Paris in 1876—1878; *Italian* by Pizzi, Turin 1886—1888; *English* by Atkinson opposite his edition of the text and separately, London 1832 (several times reprinted), by Warner, London 1905—1910,

and Rogers, London 1907; *German* by Von Schack, Berlin 1851—1865 and by F. Rückert, Berlin 1890—1895. For further bibliography we may refer the reader to the works quoted below.

Bibliography: Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī, *Čahār Maḳāla*, p. 47—51; Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xlviii. p. 89 *et seq.*; do., *Das iranische Nationalepos* (in the *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.*, ii. 150 *et seq.*); Muḥammad ʿAufī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ii. 32-33; Dawlat-S̲h̲āh, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-S̲h̲uʿarā*, ed. Browne, p. 49; Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*[3], i. 332—350; Ampère, *La Science et les Lettres en Orient*[1], p. 279—373; H. Ethé, *Firdausi als Lyriker* (*Sitzungsber. der kgl. bayr. Akad.*, Munich, 1872-1873 and *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 229 *et seq.*); Browne, *A literary History of Persia*, ii. 129 *et seq.*; Pizzi, *L'epopea Persiana*, Florence 1888; M. Grünbaum, *Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, xliii, 1—29, xliv, 445 *et seq.* (CL. HUART.)

FIRDAWSI (FIRDEWSI), an Ottoman poet of Brusa in the time of Sulṭān Bāyazīd II. (1481—1512), to distinguish him from the great Persian poet Firdawsī, called Firdewsī-i Rūmī or more frequently Uzun Firdewsi or Firdewsī-i Ṭawīl ("Long" Firdewsi), probably in allusion to the length of his chief work. His chronograms (*taʾrīkh*) were celebrated. His masterpiece is the *Sulaimān-Nāme*, composed for Sulṭān Bāyazīd by his command, in 360 or 380 volumes, in prose and poetry, a complete encyclopaedia in which he included all the knowledge of his time in philosophy, astrology, genealogy, history etc. The Sulṭān, however, only choose 80, or, according to others, 90 volumes and had the others burned. Firdewsi was deeply hurt, and like his Persian namesake, is said to have revenged himself by lampoons and went to Persia, where he died.

Bibliography: *Teḏhkere-i Laṭīfī* (Constantinople 1314), p. 261; M. T̲h̲urayyā, *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv. 14; Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Dichtk.*, i. 276 and *Recueil*, i. xv.; Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der türk. Handschr. d. k. Bibl. zu Berlin* (1889), N°. 470. (TH. MENZEL.)

FIRḌE (from *faraḍa* "to impose", so pronounced in the Egyptian dialect, while in the middle ages *farḍ* and more usually *farīḍa* was used) is an extraordinary imposition usually levied for some special purpose. Lane in his *Manners and Customs* (see below) says that Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [q. v.] in the first half of the xix[th] century levied a *firḍe* of one twelfth of the income of each subject, without distinction of religion, up to a maximum of 500 piastres to meet the expense of increasing the army and navy. When this expenditure diminished, the tax was abolished. A similar *firḍe* was at the same time levied on prostitutes. As already mentioned *farīḍa* (plur. *farāʾiḍ*) is almost always used with the sense of *firḍe* in the historians and inscriptions of the middle ages.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes* under "*farḍ*" and "*farīḍa*"; Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, II[b], 186, 187; E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, 5[th] ed., 1871, i. 165; ii. 91, 289. (M. SOBERNHEIM.)

FIRIS̲H̲TA. [See MALʾAK.]

FIRIS̲H̲TA, MUḤAMMAD ḲĀSIM HINDŪ S̲H̲ĀH, known as FIRIS̲H̲TA (born 960 = 1552, died after 1033 = 1623), of Astarābād in northern Persia, was brought to Aḥmadnagar as a child in the reign of Ḥusain Niẓām S̲h̲āh I and, while yet a youth, entered the service of Murtaḍā Niẓām S̲h̲āh I. The persecution of foreigners which followed the murder of Ḥusain II drove him to Bīd̲j̲āpūr where, in January 1590, he entered the service of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil S̲h̲āh II. Shortly afterwards he wrote *Ik̲h̲tiyārāt-i Ḳāsimī*, a work on medicine, and Ibrāhīm, pleased with its style and aware of Firis̲h̲ta's devotion to historical studies, urged him to undertake a comprehensive history of Muhammadan rule in India. Firis̲h̲ta at first declined the task as being beyond his powers, but eventually offered to submit for approval a few chapters of such a work as he could undertake. Among the specimen passages thus presented was an account of the disgraceful circumstances of the death of ʿAlī ʿĀdil S̲h̲āh I, Ibrāhīm's father. Ibrāhīm correctly interpreted the selection of this subject as a hint that the historian demanded unfettered liberty in the relation of facts, and gave him permission to proceed with his work.

Firis̲h̲ta, who was an industrious compiler, mentions in the preface to his history no less than thirty-two books which he had collected and consulted, and adverts to some others in the body of his work. The *ipsissima verba* of his authorities are so often found in his pages that he has been stigmatised, with scant justice, as a mere copyist. He was, however, utterly devoid of the critical faculty and has made several glaring errors even in the annals of the Dakhan, which were his own peculiar province. The value of his work is further impaired by his gross ignorance of geography, and it is unsafe to follow the example of Briggs, his best known translator, in accepting it as a thoroughly satisfactory account of the rise and progress of the Muhammadan power in India. The history, which was begun in 1606 and finished in 1611, consists of an introduction, twelve sections dealing with the G̲h̲aznawid kings of Lāhor, the emperors of Dihlī, the independent Muhammadan dynasties of the Dakhan, Gud̲j̲arāt, Mālwa, K̲h̲āndesh, Bangāl (including D̲j̲awanpūr), Multān, Sind, Kas̲h̲mīr and Malabār, and the saints of India, and a conclusion, and embraces the whole history of Muhammadan rule in India, excepting that of the ʿArab conquerors of Sind, to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Firis̲h̲ta complained with truth that until his time the only work which pretended to deal comprehensively with the subject was Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, which was too brief and condensed to be of much value to the student of history, and boasted with justice that he had produced a work the like of which had not previously appeared in India. His *History* (ed. Bombay, 1831; Lucknow, 1281 = 1865), despite its many defects, is valuable not only as a summary of known authorities, but also because it embodies fragments of works of which the originals have been lost. A critical translation (those extant in English are enumerated Morley, *Catal. R. As. Soc.*, p. 67; the best is that of Briggs, London 1829), or, at least, a careful and intelligent edition of the text is much to be desired.

Bibliography: Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vi. 532 *et seq.*; J. Mohl, *Journal des Savants*, 1840, 212 *et seq.*, 354 *et seq.*, 392 *et seq.*; Rieu, *Catal. of Pers. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, i. 225 *et seq.*; Ethé, *Catal. of Pers. Mss. India Office*, 113 *et seq.*; Morley, *o. c.*, 65 *et seq.* (T. W. HAIG.)

FIRISHTE-ZĀDE, ʿAbd al-Madjīd ʿIzz al-Dīn, in Turkish also called *Firishte-oghlu* and in Arabic *Ibn Firishte*, one of the principal disciples of Faḍl Allāh [q. v., p. 37] the founder of the Ḥurūfī [q. v.] sect, died in 874 (1469). In 833 (1430) he wrote a book on the doctrines of the sect in Turkish, entitled *ʿIshḳ-nāme* (Book of mystic Love), which is placed by the adepts on a level with Faḍl Allāh's *Djāwidān*, so that this name is also given to it. There also exists from his pen a *Hidāyet-nāme* (Book of Conduct) in Turkish and an *Ākhiret-nāme* (Book of Future Life). The *ʿIshḳ-nāme* has been lithographed at Constantinople (1288 = 1871).

Bibliography: Isḥāḳ-Efendi, *Kāshif al-Asrār*, p. 31, 156; Cl. Huart, *Textes ḥouroûfîs*, p. xix.–xx.; G. Jacob, *Derwisch-Orden der Bektaschis*, p. 35, 41 note 2; Edw. G. Browne, *Further notes*, in the *Journ. R. Asiat. Society*, 1907, p. 535, 544, 558, 570. (Cl. Huart.)

FIRMĀN. [See FERMĀN.]

FĪRŌZA, Arab. *al-fīrūzadj*, the turquoise, a well-known precious stone of a bright green or "mountain green" to skyblue colour with a gloss like wax; in composition it is a hydrated clay phosphate with a small but essential proportion of copper and iron. The colour is not permanent in all stones, and is said to be particularly affected by perspiration. It is almost always cut as an ornament en cabochon i. e. with a convex upper surface; only stones with an inscription are given a flat upper surface. The provenance of serviceable stones is limited to a few places whose history may be traced back for thousands of years. Turquoise mines were worked by the kings of Egypt in the peninsula of Sinai. Major Macdonald discovered them again in 1845 in the Wādī Maghāra and its neighbourhood and worked them again for a number of years. The hieroglyphic inscriptions at the mines date, according to H. Brugsch, from King Snefru of the third dynasty to Rameses II. Brugsch takes the word *mafkat* to be the name of the mineral. No mention of the stone or the mines has survived from the Hellenistic period; on the other hand in addition to wonderful details of the method of procuring the pale green *callais* in Carmania, Pliny knows a good deal about its properties, which can only refer to our turquoise; for the statement that the *callais* loses its colour when affected by oil or ointment is found in al-Kindī on the *fīrūzadj* and in all later mineralogical works. It can hardly be doubted that the turquoise was obtained in the Sāsānid period and even earlier in the mines around Nīshāpūr. Tīfāshī says of the kings of Persia that they adorned their hands and necks with turquoises, because they averted danger of death by land or water; but we often meet with the assertion that the turquoise detracts from the majesty of kings. It was considered to contain copper and to be formed in the vicinity of copper mines. Different kinds are distinguished according to the different colours (sky-blue, milk-blue, green, spotted); the best kind is considered to be the *būsḥāḳī* (i. e. *Abū Isḥāḳī*) and the finest variety of this is the sky-blue *azharī*. Large pieces are very rare and are correspondingly costly, small pieces on the other hand are very common. The best specimens retain their colour, apart from the influences detailed below; after 10—12 years many lose their colour entirely and the stone is then said to be dead. All stones, however, show a certain variation in colour. They are brilliant in a clear sky and dim when the sky is clouded; they alter their colour with the state of health of the wearer, and when affected by sweat, oil or musk; fat restores the colour again.

Taken internally it is a poison, but in collyrium it is useful for clearing the sight, also if it is stared at for some time. Gold takes away its beauty (unlike lapis lazuli), i. e. probably, the greenish blue colour does not harmonise as well with the yellow of the gold as the dark blue of the lapis lazuli.

Akfānī explains the name *fīrūzadj* as "stone of victory"; whence it is also called *ḥadjar al-ghalaba*. The word *fīrūzadj* is found in many corrupt forms in the Latin translations of the middle ages (*feruzgeh*, *februgnag*, *feruzegi* etc.), but none of these can be considered the original of the word turquoise; for as early as the xiii[th] century we find the form *turcoys*, *turquesia* and *turquesia*, and it may safely be assumed, that this was a new name given to the stone from the land of its origin, the ancient home of the Turks; cf. Arnoldus Saxo: "*Turcoys . . . . . . dictus a regione Turkye in qua nascitur*". Certainly the name did not first appear in connection with the trade between Venice and Turkey.

General (now Sir) A. Houtum-Schindler who was governor of the mining area and director of operations at the mines in the "eighties" of last century has given a detailed account of the Persian turquoise mines at Meshhed in Khorāsān, which is quoted in Bauer's *Edelsteinkunde* (2[nd] ed., p. 490 *et seq.*). The stones procured are usually roughly cut *en cabochon* on the spot and brought to Meshhed by the village elders. Thence the turquoise, fastened to pieces of reed with black wax, which are tied in bundles, travels to Nijni Novgorod or Moscow, usually through the intermediary of Bukhārā traders, whence it is distributed all over the world. Many of the "lucky stones" are sold to pilgrims in Meshhed. In Nīshāpūr the stone is seldom to be seen. Many are also exported via Yezd to Baghdād and Constantinople. The value of the exports varies from £ 10,000—£ 15,000 annually, which is believed to be about a third of the total yield.

H. Brugsch states, that, according to present day belief, the alteration in the colour of a stone presented indicates increase or decrease in the friendship of the donor. The large, quadrilateral turquoises polished flat, which were at one time engraved with inscriptions and arabesques in gold and worn on the upper arm, are no longer held in such estimation. Stones for rings are always mounted in silver or tin, never in gold; Brugsch connects this with the Muslim prohibition of the wearing of the most precious metal or with a very ancient notion of the demonic meaning of gold. I am rather inclined to believe that the real reason is good taste, as has been mentioned above, for religious prohibitions are not mentioned by any writer; besides diamonds also are only mounted in silver.

Bibliography: *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (ed. Ruska), p. 151; al-Kindī in E. Wiedemann, *Zur Mineralogie bei den Arabern*, in the *Arch. f. d. Gesch. d. Naturw.*, i. (1909), p. 210; Tīfāshī, *Azhār al-Afkār*, transl. by Raineri Biscia, 2[nd] ed., p. 70 *et seq.*; Akfānī, *Nukhab al-Dha-*

khāṣṣ, in *Mashriḳ*, xi. (1908), p. 761; Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, *Djawāhir Nāmeh*, transl. by F. v. Hammer-Purgstall, in *Fundgruben d. Orients*, vi. 133; Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. p. 232; Dimishḳī (ed. Mehren), p. 68; Ibn al-Baiṭār, transl. by Leclerc in *Notices et extr.*, xxvi., p. 30; Clément-Mullet, *Essai sur la min. arabe*, in *Journ. As.*, Series vi., Vol. xi. p. 150 *et seq.*; Boetius de Boodt, *Gemmarum et Lapidum historia* (1609), p. 134 *et seq.*; H. Brugsch, *Wanderung nach den Türkis-Minen und der Sinai-Halbinsel* (1866), p. 66 *et seq.*; H. Brugsch, *Reise der k. preuss. Gesandtschaft nach Persien 1860 und 1861*, Vol. ii. p. 77; W. Fl. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (1906), p. 41 etc.; Bauer, *Edelsteinkunde*, 2nd ed., p. 386—405; H. Fühner, *Lithotherapie*, p. 138. (J. RUSKA.)

FĪRŪZ-ĀBĀD (earlier Pīrūz-ābād, "city of victory", Muḳaddasī, p. 432), a name given to the town of Gūr (arabicised Djūr) in Fārs, by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla to avoid the evil omen suggested by the Persian name of the town (*gōr*, *gūr*, "tomb"). It was founded by Ardashīr I. on the site of a marsh that had been drained (Yāḳūt, iii. p. 140) and remained the capital of the province of Ardashīr-Khurra, although not so large as Shīrāz or Sīrāf (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 97); it was fortified by a wall with a ditch but not surrounded by suburbs (ibid. p. 116, 124). In the Sāsānian period there was a fire-temple there, built beside a reservoir and called *Bārīn*; it was there that Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī heard the *patit* of the Mazdeans recited (*Livre de la Création*, i. 56, where *Djūr* should be read for *Khūz*, an emendation suggested by Seybold). It had four gates, called Mihr (Mithra or the Sun), Bahrām (Mars), Hormuz (Jupiter) and Ardashīr. In the centre of the town was a building like a platform, called *ṭirbāl* (temple) by the Muslims, and *īwān-wakiyākhurra* by the Persians, the erection of which was attributed to the founder of the city; it was of sufficient height to command the surrounding country and on it there was a fountain fed from a spring in a mountain near. It was probably the remains of an Assyrian *ziḳḳurat* (M. Dieulafoy). In Iṣṭakhrī's time it was almost entirely in ruins. Otto of roses was manufactured there and exported throughout the East. Djūr and Iṣṭakhr were the last cities in Fārs to capitulate before the conquest (Balādhurī, p. 315, 389); it was occupied, then after it had rebelled, taken by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kuraiz, governor of Baṣra in 29 (650).

Bibliography: Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 174—176; Nöldeke, *Arabien und Persien*, p. 11, note 5; Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 255; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii. 56 *et seq.* (CL. HUART.)

FĪRŪZĀBĀD, is also common in other parts of the world as a place-name, cf. the article SHĪRĀZ [i. 972a *infra*]. For other places of this name cf. Yāḳūt s. v. and Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, Index.

AL-FĪRŪZĀBĀDĪ, ABU 'L-ṬĀHIR MUḤAMMAD B. YAʿḲŪB B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM MADJD AL-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, Arabic lexicographer, was born in Rabīʿ II or Djumādā II 729 (Feb. or April 1329) at Kāzarūn near Shīrāz, on which account he was in later life fond of calling himself a descendant of the celebrated Shāfiʿī Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, although the latter died childless. From his eighth year he studied in Shīrāz and afterwards in Wāsiṭ and in 745 (1344) in Baghdād. In 750 (1349) he studied under Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī in Damascus and accompanied him to Jerusalem. There he acted for ten years as professor and then undertook a series of journeys which took him to Asia Minor and Cairo. The accounts of his travels given by his biographers vary a great deal. According to the best authenticated statements, those of al-Nuʿmānī, he moved to Mecca in 770 (1368) and remained here about 14 years, which were interrupted by a journey to India and a five years' stay in Dihlī. About 794 (1392) he accepted an invitation from Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Uwais to Baghdād. From there he went to Persia, and was honourably received by Tīmūr when the latter took Shīrāz in 795 (1393). But as his native district had been devastated by the Mongols he could not stay here but took ship in Hormuz to South Arabia, which, owing to its remoteness from the scenes of the great events in history, afforded him the peaceful resting-place required by for a scholar's activity. After his arrival there in Rabīʿ I 796 (Jan. 1394), the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf invited him to Taʿizz, where he remained for 14 months. On the 1st Dhu 'l-Ḥididja 797 (12th Sept. 1395) he was appointed Chief Ḳāḍī of al-Yaman and given a daughter of the Sulṭān in marriage; after this he claimed to be a descendant of the Caliph Abū Bakr. In 802 (1400) he again made the pilgrimage and constituted his house in Mecca a Māliki Madrasa with three lectureships. During his stay in Mecca, his father-in-law died in 803 (1401). He made a second journey to Mecca in 805 (April 1403), but soon returned to Zabīd where he died on Tuesday the 12th (according to others the 20th) Shawwāl 817 (26th Dec. 1414). His great work, the dictionary *al-Ḳāmūs*, which he had extracted from his (now lost) *al-Lāmiʿ al-Muʿlam al-ʿUdjāb al-Djāmiʿ bain al-Muḥkam* (of Ibn Sīda) *wa 'l-ʿUbāb* (of Ṣaghānī) in 60, according to others in 100, volumes, in which however, as Graf Landberg suggests, he perhaps included many words from South Arabian dialects, became a classic throughout the whole Muslim world, in spite of the fact that, although it contains a very large number of words, the material has not been critically examined and the explanations are very brief. It has been printed at Calcutta 1817, 1270, Bombay 1884, 1272, Lucknow 1885, Būlāḳ 1274, 1289, 1301—1303, Cairo 1281, 1319. A Persian version by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm *Muntaha 'l-Arab fī Lughat al-ʿArab* appeared at Calcutta 1841 (another *al-Ḳāmūs* by Muḥammad Ḥabīb Allāh, s. *Catalogue of the Pers. Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, No. 1016-1017). A Turkish translation by ʿĀṣim Efendi *al-Uḳyānūs al-Basīṭ fī Tardjamat al-Ḳāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* was printed with the Arab. text, Stambul 1272 and alone at Būlāḳ 1250, Stambul several times, last in 1305. Among the commentaries the fullest is the *Tādj al-ʿArūs* of Saiyid Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, died 1205 (1791), 10 Vols., Būlāḳ 1307-1308. Fāris al-Shidyāḳ [q. v.] published a critique entitled *al-Djāsūs ʿala 'l-Ḳāmūs*, Stambul 1299. Of his other works, of which *al-Bulgha fī Taʾrīkh Aʾimmat al-Lugha* (s. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Hss. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 10060) is probably the most important, there have been printed the *Kitāb Taḥbīr al-Muwashshīn fīmā yuḳāl bi 'l-Sīn wa 'l-Shīn*, Vocabulaire des mots arabes s'écrivant indifféremment avec un *s* ou *ch*, Alger 1909, and the stories from the life of the Prophet, *Sifr al-Saʿāda*, which he

originally wrote in Persian (s. Pertsch, *Die pers. Hdss. der herz. Bibliothek zu Gotha*, N°. 33) and which was translated into Arabic in 804 (1401) by Abu 'l-Djūd Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Makhzūmī al-Miṣrī, Cairo n. d. (*Catalogue de Goeje*, N°. 2827) with the *al-Fawz al-Kabīr ma'a Fatḥ al-Khabīr fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr* of Walī Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm on the margin.

Bibliography: al-Nu'mānī, *al-Rawḍ al-'Āṭir*, cod. Wetzstein, ii. 289 (Ahlwardt, *op. cit.*, N°. 9886), fol. 218 v.; Ṭāshköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'mānīya* (on the margin of Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299), i. 92; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, Cairo 1326, 117; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N°. 464; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, ii. 181.

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

FĪRŪZKŌH (FĪRŌZKŌH), a mountain fortress in the Country of Ghōr, now the Hazāra highlands of Afghānistān. It was founded by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (known as the Malik al-Djibāl or mountain-king), in a territory known as Warshāda, and continued by his brother Bahā' al-Dīn Sām who succeeded in 544. It remained the capital of Ghōr as long as that kingdom lasted, and was much embellished during the victorious reign of Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām from the spoils of India. The Citadel or Ḳaṣr is described as of great magnificence. It was taken by 'Alā' al-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh in 607, and finally destroyed during the Mongol invasions under Ogotai son of Čingiz Khān in 619-620. The exact position of Fīrūzkōh is doubtful. It was on the bank of a river which may have been the upper Murghāb or the upper Hari-rūd or one of its tributaries. Raverty favours the latter view, but Holdich, who surveyed the country in 1884-1885, could find no site corresponding with it in those valleys, and identifies it with the extensive ruins of Taiwāra on an affluent of the Farāh-rūd, still locally known by the name of Ghōr. The tribe bearing the name of Fīrūzkōhī now inhabits the Murghāb valley, but it is nomadic, and it is not therefore necessary to suppose that Fīrūzkōh was in that valley. Taiwāra is in the country of the kindred Taimanī tribe, and has easy communications with Herāt, Farāh and the upper Hari-rūd valley. It may therefore with some confidence be accepted as the actual site of Fīrūzkōh.

Bibliography: *The Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, trans. Raverty, London 1881; Holdich, *The Gates of India*, London 1910.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

FĪRŪZPŪR (FĪRŌZPŪR). A district in the Pandjāb which takes its name from the principal town. It forms part of the Djālandhar division, lying between 29° 55' and 31° 9' N. and 73° 52' and 75° 26' E. Area 4302 sq. m. Population 958 072 of which 447 615 are Muḥammadan. The principal Muḥammadan tribes are Rādjpūts, Arains, Dogars and Wattus; there is also an ascetic tribe known as Bodla, who are believed to possess powers of incantation. The ancient site of Djanēr, supposed to be the Hadjnir of Baihaḳī, was the capital of the Punwar Rādjpūts. Soon after the Muḥammadan invasion the Bhaṭṭī Rādjpūts adopted Islām and invaded the district from the south. The Gil, Dhālīwāl and other Djaṭ tribes entered it later. The Dogars, a wild and predatory tribe, are more recent immigrants. The town of Fīrūzpūr was founded in the time of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh III of Dihlī and named after him. In Akbar's time it was part of the Ṣūbah of Multān and not of Sirhind, and probably lay on the right bank of the river Satladj, and not on the left as at present. The Sidhū Djaṭs appear towards the end of Akbar's reign and soon adopted the Sikh religion. It was in this tract that Guru Govind was defeated after a three days fight by Awrangzīb's army; the site is now held sacred and the tank (Mukat-sar = Tank of Salvation) has become a place of pilgrimage, where a 3 days' festival is held in January. Round it the important town of Mukatsar has grown up. The Sikhs got possession of the country after the retirement of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī; the Bhangī Misl under Gūdjar Singh took the principal part in the conquest. Randjīt Singh threatened this country with the minor Sikh states, and this move (1808) led to British intervention. Fīrūzpūr was occupied, and annexed in 1835, thus interposing between Randjīt Singh's kingdom and the minor states, which have been preserved to the present day. The Muslim Nawwābs of Ḳaṣūr also found a refuge at their estate of Mamdōt near Fīrūzpūr in 1807, and were recognized as ruling chiefs. Their territory was annexed owing to mismanagement in 1855, but was afterwards restored and is still held by the Nawwābs. It is a large and wealthy estate. The present Nawwāb Ghulām Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Khān is a minor.

The first Sikh war between the British and the Khālsa army was fought in this tract. The Sikh army crossed the Satladj in Dec. 1845. The battles of Mudkī and Phērū-shahr (often wrongly called Fīrūz-shahr or Fīrūz-shāh) were fought soon after. The Sikh army was repulsed but not crushed, and recrossed the Satladj, only to invade British territory again higher up the river near Ludhiāna. The decisive battle of Alīwāl was fought outside the district of Fīrūzpūr, but the desperate struggle of Subrāwān (Sobraon) which ended the war, was fought within its limits.

In more recent times the district was enlarged by the addition of the Taḥṣīl of Fāzilka in the south from the former district of Sirsa (1884). The sandy tracts to the east and south of the district have been rendered fertile by the irrigation from the Sirhind canal, and the inundation-canals constructed by Col. Grey in the riverain tract have also added greatly to its productiveness. The Sikh Djaṭs are excellent farmers and take full advantage of these conditions; the Muḥammadan tribes in this part are inferior cultivators. There is at present a large export of wheat from the Fīrūzpūr district.

Bibliography: *Various provincial and district Gazetteers and settlement reports issued by Pandjāb Govt. Press Lahore*; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, London 1849; Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography*, Calcutta 1883.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

FĪRŪZ SHĀH KHILDJĪ (DJALĀL AL-DĪN), the twelfth Muḥammadan emperor of Dihlī, was an Afghān of the Khildjī or Ghildjī tribe who first rose to eminence in Balban's reign and later became governor of Sāmāna. When Mu'izz al-Dīn Kaiḳubād fell sick, he was summoned to Dihlī to assume the direction of affairs, but encountered much opposition from the Turkī *amīrs*, who, as the emperor grew feebler, proclaimed his infant son, Shams al-Dīn Kayūmarth,

Fīrūz acknowledged the child but removed him from the custody of the Turks and seized the palace of Kīlūghari where, with his connivance, Kaiḳubād was assassinated. The child disappeared shortly afterwards and, on June 13, 1290, Fīrūz ascended the throne. His chief difficulties were the disaffection of the people of Dihlī, who resented the rule of an Afghān, and a rebellion headed by Malik Čhadjū, a nephew of Balban, who claimed his uncle's throne. The prejudices of the citizens were conciliated by mildness and the rebellion was crushed, but the old emperor's culpable leniency both to rebels and robbers was much resented by his *amīrs*, who refused to accept his plea of conscientious objection to bloodshed. A conspiracy of the disaffected *amīrs* was detected and pardoned, but more severity was shown towards Sīdī Mawlā, an influential *darwīsh* suspected of plotting the emperor's assassination, who was put to death. Fīrūz had appointed his nephew and son-in-law, 'Alā' al-Dīn, governor of Karra, and this adventurous prince, hearing of the great wealth of Devagiri in the Dakhan, led a daring raid into that kingdom and returned laden with plunder, but declined to visit his uncle at Dihlī, feigning apprehension of punishment for having undertaken such an enterprise without permission. The doting old emperor was at length persuaded, against the advice of his counsellors, to visit his nephew in Karra, and on July 19, 1296, was stabbed to death on the bank of the Ganges before the eyes and under the orders of 'Alā' al-Dīn, who immediately caused himself to be proclaimed emperor.

Bibliography: *Ta'rīkh-i Firishta*, ed. Briggs (Bombay 1831), i. 154 *et seq.*; transl. Briggs (London 1829), i. 285 *et seq.*; Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Bibl. Ind.) p. 174 *et seq.*; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*. (T. W. Haig.)

FĪRŪZ SHĀH TAGHLAḲ, son of Malik Radjab, brother of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Taghlaḳ, and the daughter of Rāna Mal Bhaṭṭī of Abohar, was educated and advanced to high rank by his cousin, Muḥammad Ibn Taghlaḳ, on whose death near Thaṭha on March 20, 1351, he was induced to ascend the throne. He extricated the army then employed in Sind from its difficulties and led it back to Dihlī, where in the meantime Aḥmad Ayāz Khwādja-yi Djahān, whom Muḥammad had left in charge of the capital, too hastily crediting a report that Fīrūz had been slain in an encounter with the Moghuls, had placed on the throne a supposititious son of Muḥammad. Fīrūz would have pardoned and reinstated Aḥmad, but was overruled by his advisers, who caused the aged minister to be put to death. The wars of Fīrūz Shāh's reign were two expeditions into Bengal in 1353 and 1359, one into Uṛīsa in the latter year, one against Nagarkoṭ in 1361, and one to Thaṭha in 1362. A certain measure of success attended all these campaigns, but Fīrūz's generalship in each was beneath contempt, and after the submission of the Djām of Thaṭha he wisely abandoned the quest of military glory. The rest of his long reign was passed, if the suppression of one or two unimportant rebellions be excepted, in the indulgence of his passion for architecture and the chase. His public works included cities, palaces, tombs, irrigation works, mosques and colleges, but he compounded for his activity in this direction by neglect of all other public business and tolerance of corruption and inefficiency in others. He had so little of the jealousy which is a usual attribute of sovereignty that at different times he associated two of his sons to himself in the imperial dignity. He was endeared to his people by his abolition of many vexatious imposts and by the general lenity of his rule, which contrasted strongly with that of his predecessor. He died, at the age of more than 80 years, in the latter half of September, 1388, and was succeeded by Taghlaḳ II, the son of his deceased eldest son, Fatḥ Khān. The proximate cause of the ruin of his empire was Tīmūr's invasion but the inefficiency of his own administration contributed largely to its disruption.

Bibliography: Shams-i-Sirādj 'Afīf, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (*Bibl. Ind.*), (Calcutta, 1888—1891); Fīrūz Shāh, *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (MS., Brit. Mus., Rieu, iii. 920); Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (*Bibl. Ind.*); Elliot-Dowson, iii. 260—388. (T. W. Haig.)

FISḲ. [See fāsiḳ.]

FIṬNET, a Turkish poetess, whose real name was Zubaida, the daughter of the Shaikh al-Islām Meḥemmed Es'ad Efendi, died 1194 (1780). Of her life we only know that she made an unfortunate marriage with Derwīsh Efendi, Ḳāḍī'asker of Rumelia under Selīm III. Her *Dīwān* (printed Stambul 1286 = 1869 and often since) consists chiefly of lyric poems, ghazels, sharḳīs and a few riddles; some poems show a philosophic strain, which according to Gibb, is due to the influence of her friend Rāghib Pasha [q. v.]. Her total writings were of small bulk.

Bibliography: Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 151 *et seq.* (the Turkish sources are also given there).

FIṬR. [See 'īd al-fiṭr.]

FIṬRA is a "noun of kind" (*Wright*³ i. 123 ᶜ) to the infinitive *faṭr* and means (an Ethiopic loan-meaning, Schwally in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, liii. 199 *et seq.*; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 49), "a kind or way of creating or of being created". It occurs in Ḳur. xxx. 29 (*khilḳa*, Baiḍ.) and other forms of its verb in the same meaning occur 14 times. But though Muḥammad uses derived forms freely, it was obscure to his hearers. Ibn 'Abbās did not understand it until he heard a Bedawī use it of digging a well, and then the Bedawī probably meant the genuinely Arab sense of *shaḳḳ* (*Lisān*, vi. p. 362, l. 20). Its theologically important usage is in the saying of Muḥammad, "Every infant is born according to the *fiṭra* ('*ala 'l-fiṭra*; i. e. Allāh's kind or way of creating; "on God's plan", cf. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude in Islam*, p. 243); then his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian". This is one of several contradictory traditions on the salvability of the infants of unbelievers. On the whole question the theologians were uncertain and in disagreement. This text evidently means that every child is born naturally a Muslim; but is perverted after birth by his environment. But in this interpretation — that of the Mu'tazilites (cf. *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, ii. p. 1094) — there were found serious theological and legal difficulties. (i.) It interferes with the sovereign will (*mashī'a*) and guidance (*hidāya*) of Allāh. Orthodox Islām, therefore, holds that the parents could be only a secondary cause (*sabab*) and that the guiding aright and leading astray must come from Allāh himself. (ii.) This view, and indeed

almost any view of the tradition, would involve that such an infant, if his parents died before he reached years of discretion, could not inherit from them; and that if he died before years of discretion, his parents could not inherit from him. For this presupposes that he *is* a Muslim up to years of discretion, and canon law lays down that a Muslim cannot inherit from a non-Muslim or vice versa (*Ḥāshiya* of al-Bādjūrī on the *sharḥ* of Ibn Ḳāsim on the *matn* of Abū Shudjā', ed. Cairo 1307, vol. ii. p. 74 *et seq.* and Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p. 186, 204, 206 — a favorite subject for hair-splitting). Two attempts have been made to escape this. (i.) This statement of Muḥammad is to be regarded as a decision (*ḥukm*) and was abrogated by the later decision as to inheritance. But it is pointed out that it is not really a decision, but a narrative (*khabar*) and that narratives are not abrogated. (ii.) The being made a Jew, Christian or Magian is to be regarded as not actual, but figurative, and takes place in this figurative sense from the point of birth; the legal religion of the infant is automatically that of his parents, although he comes actually to embrace that religion only with maturity of mind. Another view was that being created according to the *fiṭra* meant only being created in a healthy condition, like a sound animal, with a capacity of either belief or unbelief when the time should come. Another was that *fiṭra* meant only "beginning" (*bad'a*). Still another was that it referred to Allāh's creating man with a capacity of either belief or unbelief and then laying on them the covenant of the "Day of *Alastu*" (Ḳur., vii. 171). Finally that it was that to which Allāh turns round the hearts of men.

Bibliography: Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭa* (ed. Cairo 1279—1280 with Zarḳānī), ii 35. *Dict. of tech. terms*, p. 1117 *et seq.*; *Lisān*, vi. p. 362 *et seq.*; *Risāla* on *Īmān* by Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Samarḳandī prefixed to the Hyderabad ed. of the *Fiḳh al-akbar* of Abū Ḥanīfa, p. 25 *et seq.*; *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Faiyūmī *s. v.*; Krehl, *Beiträge z. muh. Dogm.*, p. 235; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam* under *Infants*; Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghaib*, iv. p. 16; vi. p. 480 of ed. of Cairo 1308; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxi, p. 24.

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

FOMALHAUT (also *fomalhot* and *famahot*) = *fam al-ḥūt* ("the fish's mouth") is the star α of first second magnitude in the Southern Piscis. Ptolemy and following him al-Battānī, however, reckon it to Aquarius, but add that it also lies in the mouth of the Southern Piscis. According to Ḳazwīnī and Ulugh Beg it was called *al-Ḍafda' al-awwal* = the first frog, according to Arab nomenclature, to distinguish it from a second in the Whale. It is also called *al-Ẓalīm* = the ostrich by Ḳazwīnī.

Bibliography: al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum* (ed. Nallino), ii. 165; iii. 264; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 37 and 41; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung u. die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p. 201, 284-285; *Tabulae long. ac latit. stellar. fixar. ex observat. Ulugh Beighi* (ed. Th. Hyde), p. 104; *Libros del saber de astronomia del Rey D. Alfonso X. de Castilla* (ed. M. Rico y Sinobas), i. 117 and 142.

(H. SUTER.)

FU'ĀD PASHA (MUḤAMMAD KEČEDJI-ZĀDE), an Ottoman statesman, born in 1230 = 1815 in Constantinople, the son of the poet 'Izzet Mollā [q. v.], who mentions him in his *Miḥnat-keshān*, studied medicine after leaving the school of Galata-Serāi and entered the army medical service with the rank of *yūzbāshī* (captain) and was sent to Tripoli in North Africa. Returning in 1253 = 1837 to Constantinople, he entered the service of the Porte as interpreter, was sent to London in 1256 = 1840 as first secretary to the Embassy and in 1261 = 1845 attended the coronation of Queen Isabella of Spain as Envoy Extraordinary. In 1263 = 1847 he became Dragoman of the Imperial Dīwān, in 1265 = 1849 referendary, then was sent on a special mission to Wallachia and Moldavia and finally appointed ambassador in St. Petersburg. In 1266 = 1850 he was under-secretary of state to the Grand Vizier, in 1268 = 1852 he went on a mission to Egypt and on his return from there became Minister of Foreign affairs, but in the following year resigned in consequence of the intrigues of Mentchikoff. In 1270 = 1854 he was entrusted with the task of suppressing the unrest provoked by Greek bandits in Janina and Yeñi-Sheh'r, and succeeded in restoring order. As a member of the Grand Council for Reforms he drew up a series of laws and regulations and on his appointment for the second time to the Ministry of Foreign affairs, became at the same time President of this body. He was deprived of both offices in 1273 = 1856, but was given them again in the following year. He attended the Paris congress as the delegate of Turkey and after the massacres of Christians in Lebanon (1276 = 1860) he was sent to Syria as commissioner extraordinary with civil and military powers. In this capacity he had Mushīr Aḥmed Pasha shot to remove any pretext for General Beaufort d'Hautpoul to march on Damascus with the troops under his command.

After the accession of Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz (1278 = 1861) he became President of the High Court of Justice (*medjlis-i aḥkām-i 'adliye*), Minister of Foreign Affairs for the fourth time and Grand Vizier in the same year. After filling this office for fourteen months he was dismissed in 1279 = 1862, but soon afterwards appointed Seraskier and Adjutant-general and, retaining this title, Grand Vizier for the second time 1283 (= 1867). He retained this position for nearly three years and introduced reforms during his tenure of office. On his dismissal he retired to his palace on the Bosporus (*yālī*). He accompanied the Sulṭān on his journey to the Paris Exhibition of (1867 = 1284), remained in Europe for his health and died at Nice in Shawwāl 1285 (Febr. 1869) at the age of 55. His remains were interred in Constantinople in a mausoleum beside the small mosque built by him in the Gedik-Pasha quarter. Fu'ād played an important part in the history of modern Turkey; with 'Alī Pasha he is to be numbered among those who were earnest for reform. With Djewdet Efendi (afterwards Pasha) he compiled the first grammar of Ottoman Turkish that was ever printed (*Ḳawā'id-i 'othmāniye*, 1851; transl. into German by H. Kellgren, Helsingfors, 1855). The political testament (*waṣiyet nāme-i siyāsī*), addressed to Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz, ascribed to him is a literary skit probably from the pen of the Persian envoy Malcom-Khān.

Bibliography: Ch. Mismer, *Souvenirs du monde musulman* (Paris 1892), p. 12; Sāmī-bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3440; J. Lewis Farley,

Turkey (London 1866; with Fu'ād's Portrait on the title-page), p. 121 *et seq.*

(Cl. Huart.)

al-FUḌAIL b. 'Iyāḍ, Abū 'Alī al-Fuḍailī al-Ṭālaḳānī, one of the most celebrated Ṣūfīs of the older period, a contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd, died 187 = 803. His *nisba* shows that he was born in Khorāsān, which agrees with the story that he began his career as a member of a robber band which rendered the roads between Abīward and Sarakhs insecure. He happened on one occasion to hear some one reciting Sūra lvii. 15: "Is it not time for those that believe, to humble their hearts before God's warning" and in consequence became converted. He then went to Kūfa, where he studied Tradition, and afterwards to Mecca, where he remained till his death. From the anecdotes related of him, it is clear that he was one of those pious ascetics to whom worldly greatness and pleasures are as nothing; no original opinions and views ascribed to him have been handed down, but he is considered one of the most reliable and prolific transmitters of Tradition.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Sachau), v. 366; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 542; 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā* (ed. Nicholson), i. 74 *et seq.*; al-Ḳushairī, *Risāla* (Cairo 1318), p. 10 *et seq.*; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. by Nicholson, p. 97 *et seq.*

FUḌŪLĪ. [See fuzūlī.]

FULBE. [See ful.]

FULK, the usual name for ship in the Ḳor'ān (*safīna* is only found four times). Navigation seems to have made a profound impression on Muḥammed's mind: in numerous passages in the Ḳor'ān (xiv. 37; xvi. 14; xvii. 68; xxxi. 30; xxxv. 13; xxxvi. 41 etc.) the fact that God has given man power over the waters (*mawākhir*), so that they bear ships, is quoted by Muḥammad as a special proof of God's grace.

Fulk is more particularly Noah's Ark. The Ḳor'ān does to some extent but it is rather the histories of the Prophets that give all sorts of interesting details of the building and equipment of the ark. By God's command Nūḥ had first of all to plant the trees necessary for the building of the ark and he planted plane-trees (*sādj*). During the forty years that these were growing no children were born on earth. Being asked what form the ark was to assume, God answered that the upper part and the back were to be like that of a cock and the hull also to be like the body of a bird, and that it was to have three stories (*ṭabaḳāt*). The dimensions are variously given; according to the "possessors of a scripture" it was 80 (sic) ells long, 50 broad and 30 high; according to other statements the dimensions were 660, 330 and 33 ells. The ark was nailed in the ordinary way (*dhāt alwāḥ wa-dusur*, Sūra liv. 13) and covered with pitch internally and externally; God caused a spring of pitch to well forth for this special purpose. — On one occasion the disciples of Jesus asked their master to raise a man from the dead who would tell them what the ark was like. Jesus raised up Sām (according to Ṭabarī, i. 107 it was Khām), the son of Nūḥ, from a piece of earth, and he told them that the ark was 1200 ells long, 600 broad and had three stories, one for quadrupeds, one for birds and the third for human beings. When the accumulation of excrement became a nuisance, Nūḥ seized the tail of an elephant and from it was produced a pair of swine which devoured the excrement; the mice became a plague, so he struck the lion on the forehead and a pair of cats came forth from its nose and destroyed the mice. — According to the Ḳor'ān (Sūra xi. 46), the landing place of the Ark was the mountain Djūdī. [Cf. this article i. 1059[b] *et seq.*].

Bibliography: The commentaries on the Ḳor'ān on the accounts of the Deluge; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā* (ed. Cairo 1325), p. 34 *et seq.*; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (1845), p. 45; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sagenkunde* (1893), p. 79 *et seq.*; R. Basset, *Contes Berbères* (Paris 1887), p. 25-26, et les sources; *Nouveaux Contes Berbères* (Paris 1897), p. 203—205. (H. Bauer.)

FUMANĪ. [See 'abd al-fattāḥ.]

FUNDUḲ, "hazel-nut". "The *funduḳ* is the fruit of a tree, round like a nut, enclosing a kernel like the pistachio-nut" (*Lisān*). Also (in the dialect of Syria and Marocco) a house at which travellers alight, by the way side or in a town; an inn or hostel, corresponding to the Persian *khān*. The derivation is probably from the Greek πανδοχεῖον. (A. S. Fulton.)

FUNDUḲLY or Fyndyḳly, the name of the old gold coin of Turkey, said to be derived from the pearl border, which was likened to grains of corn (*funduḳ*) (Ismā'īl Ghālib, *Taḳwīm*, p. 274). This name only came into general use when two different gold coins began to be struck. The Turkish gold coin that had been in use till then, usually called simply *altyn* based its weight on that of the ducat. Down to the conquest of Constantinople, European ducats, usually of Venetian origin and later Hungarian and Dutch ducats, circulated almost exclusively in the Ottoman dominions. To make them pass current in Turkey they were countermarked *ṣaḥḥ* by the authorities. The oldest native gold coin dates from 883 (1478) and was struck in Constantinople. These gold coins were to be of the same value as European ducats and are therefore of about $23^1/_4$ carat fine, and weigh 3.49 grammes (Hungarian ducat 3.491 grammes, Dutch 3.494), but well preserved specimens run from 3.43 downwards. This coin bore the most different names: *Altyn*, *Zikin* (Zecchino), *Filūrin* or *Filūri* (Florenus), *Shāhī* (in the provinces bordering on Persia), *Ashrafī* (in Egypten), *Sulṭānī* (in the Barbary States), *Tughraly*, *Zendjirli*, from the ornamentation etc.

A second gold coin was introduced alongside of the ducat in the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad III. (1115—1143 = 1703—1730), of the weight of 2.6 grammes, and was called *zer-maḥbūb* [q. v.], and the old gold coin received the name *funduḳly*. The latter has not been struck since the reign of Maḥmūd II.

Bibliography: Belin, *Essai sur l'Histoire économique de la Turquie* (*Journ. Asiat.*, 6. Série, iii. iv. v.); S. Bernard, *Mémoire sur les Monnaies d'Egypte* (*Description de l'Egypte*, *Etat Moderne*, Vol. xvi. of the Octavo edition, p. 267 *et seq.*); St. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Turks in the British Museum*, London 1883 (Introduction); Ismā'īl Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i 'Othmāniye*, Constantinople 1307, p. 297; Zambaur, *Prägungen der Osmanen in Bosnien* (*Wiener Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908).

(E. v. Zambaur.)

FUNG (FUNDJ), a tribe or mixture of tribes in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān. The name is said to be derived from a Shilluk word denoting "stranger" and is originally applied to a negroid race related to or identical with the Shilluks on the White Nile. They became prominent at the end of the 15th century A. D. by conquering an extensive portion of the eastern Sūdān where they founded the famous kingdom of Sennār. At the time of the conquest and subsequently to it their kings and notables intermarried with Sūdān Arabs and ultimately claimed Arab descent which they or their court genealogists traced back to the Banū Umaiya. It is noteworthy that of the names borne by their kings a considerable proportion are non-Arabic and non-Muslim.

The Fung dynasty of Sennār was founded by 'Amāra Dunkas (= 'Amāra, the son of Dunkas) who reigned from A. D. 1505 to 1534. In alliance with 'Abd Allāh Djammā', the chief of the 'Abdallāb tribe, he conquered the country between the White and Blue Niles and established himself at Sennār, while 'Abd Allāh founded a semi-independent dynasty at Ḳerri, north of Khartūm. The Fung dynasty lasted down to 1789 in which year the throne was usurped by the Hamadj tribe who held possession until the time of the Egyptian conquest. Lists of the Fung kings are given by Shuḳair (see below) and the French traveller Cailliaud. The two differ in details while agreeing on the main features. During its most flourishing period in the 18th century the Fung kingdom extended from the third Cataract in the north to Fazoghlī on the Blue Nile in the south, and from the Red Sea on the east to the White Nile and Kordofān in the west. Only the country between the White and Blue Niles was directly governed by the Sennār kings, while Fazoghlī and the Northern Sūdān had their own tribal rulers who were tributary to the Fung.

The Fung seem to have embraced Islām at the time of their rise to power, but, even in the days of Bruce (see below), many pagan practices survived among them. The use of Arabic was general only among the upper classes.

The present Fung are a Negro people in the Sennār province. Their district, called Dār Fung, extends south of North Lat. 12, from the Abyssinian frontier to the White Nile. Their head (shaikh) is a direct descendant of the old Fung dynasty, but the tribe is small in numbers and unimportant.

Even at their most flourishing period they seem to have made little advance in civilisation, and their kings cultivated Muslim sciences only to the extent of occasionally attracting Arab scholars to their court.

Bibliography: There are several MSS. histories of the Fung Kingdom, e.g. the Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 2345; others were used by Na'ūm Shuḳair, but their mutual relationship has not been studied.

Cp. further: Na'ūm Bey Shuḳair, *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* (Cairo, 1903), esp. Vol. ii. 73 *et seq.*; J. Bruce, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile in the Years* 1768—1773 (London and Edinburgh, 1813), Vol. 6, passim; F. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroé etc. 1819—1822* (Paris, 1826—1828); Trémaux, *Le Soudan* (Paris n. d.), p. 190—206; R. Hartmann, *Skizze der Landschaft Sennār* (*Zeitschr. für allgem. Erdkunde*, Nº. 115, 117, 1863, p. 1—40, 153—200); Lejean, *Note sur les Foung et leur idiome* (*Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie*, 1865, Vol. i. 238—252); Deherain, *Le Soudan Égyptien* (Paris 1898), p. 49—69, 88—90, 94—98; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan, its history and monuments*, 2 vols. (London, 1907), see index; *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, ed. by Lt. Col. Count Gleichen (London, 1905), Vol. ii. 122; H. A. MacMichael, *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 224 *et seq.*; Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk people, their Language and Folklore* (Philadelphia and Berlin, 1912), p. lii. *et seq.*; H. C. Jackson, *Tooth of Fire, being some Account of the ancient Kingdom of Sennar* (Oxford, 1912). (S. HILLELSON.)

AL-FURĀT is the Arabic name of the Euphrates, called in Sumerian BU-RA-NU-NU, Assyr. *Purattu*, Hebrew פְּרָת, Syriac ܦܪܬ. On the name and the notices by authors in antiquity cf. Weissbach's article *Euphrates* in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 1195 *et seq.*; we need only note here that, according to modern travellers, it does not seem absolutely certain that the names Ḳara-Ṣū and Murād-Ṣū are applied respectively to the northern arm, the "Western Euphrates" and the southern, the "Eastern Euphrates"; Murād-Ṣū, like Frat, is rather applied to both tributary streams (cf. *Geogr. Journ.*, viii. 1896, p. 333 note), and perhaps Belck's (*Beiträge zur Alten Geographie*, i. 45) supposition, that *Murād* is only a popular etymology for *Furāt* [cf. also the name Djebel Marad in Pseudo-Wāḳidī (see Tomaschek, *Sasun*, p. 17), which is to be located in the district in which the "Eastern" Euphrates rises], is not to be dismissed offhand.

The Arab geographers, to whose notices this article is limited, regard the northern tributary arm as the true upper course of the river. It rises in the district of Ḳālīḳalā (cf. ERZERŪM, ii. p. 31) in a mountain called 'AFDAKHS or some such name, in which we may probably recognise the Παρυάδρης ὄρος of Ptolemy, and the *Mons Parverdes* of the Tabula Peutingeriana. For the upper course of the river we have the very important description by Ibn Serapion, whose text has been published with translation by G. Le Strange in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1895 and more recently his statements have been discussed by Tomaschek in a valuable paper in the *Festschrift für H. Kiepert* (1898), p. 137—149.

The Euphrates receives from the west below Kamkh the waters of the Nahr Līḳīya (probably the modern Armudan-Čai), the Nahr Abrīḳ (the Čalta-Irmaḳ flowing from Abrīḳ = Diwrigi) and the Nahr Anḳā (the modern Angu-Čai, the lower course of the river system of 'Arabkir). Below (Ibn Serapion wrongly says above) the mouth of the last named river the Western joins the Eastern Euphrates, the Nahr Arsanās rising in Ṭarūn (Taraunitis), which not far from Shimshāṭ (Arsamosata, cf. R. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, text to sheet 5, p. 8a) is augmented by the Nahr al-Dhi'b and the Nahr Salḳīt (according to Tomaschek, the rivers Peri-Ṣū and Sungut). The united stream now flows past Ḥiṣn al-Minshār (the modern Mishar-Dagh: Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, p. 52: *Minshār*), receives on the west bank the Nahr Ḳurāḳīya (probably the Kuru-Čai) which flows from the neighbourhood of Kharshana, further the Nahr Ḳabāḳib i. e. the Tokhma-Ṣū. The latter, into

which flow the Nahr Kurāķis = Sulṭān-Ṣū and the Nahr al-Zarnūķ, which irrigates by a branch Malaṭya, is crossed by the celebrated Ķanṭarat Kubāķib, the modern Ķirkgözköprü (see Yorke in the *Geogr. Journ.*, viii. 1896, p. 328 *et seq.*; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 486). On the east bank the Euphrates receives the Nahr Henzīṭ (Böyük-Čai) which still preserves the name of the capital of the old district of Anzitene and then enters the cataract district, which it does not leave till it reaches Gerger (see von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände ...... in der Türkei*[6], p. 305—310; E. Huntington in *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1901, p. 183—204).

Leaving the mountainous country the Euphrates divides the flat tableland into two, and forms the boundary between Syria and al-Djazīra below Sumaisāṭ. At first the river continues as before to receive important tributaries from the west only. Of these the most important is the Nahr Sandja or Nahr al-Azraķ crossed by the famous Ķanṭarat Sandja, which, like the Singas of the ancients (cf. R. Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, text to sheet 5, p. 1[b]), is certainly to be identified with the Gök-Ṣū and not with the Bōlam-Ṣū, on account of the Roman bridge that still survives in the latter (see Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen*, p. 393 *et seq.*). Below the rocky citadel of Ķal'at al-Rūm and the crossing of al-Bīra, of particular importance since the Crusading period [cf. BIREDJIK, i. 723[b] *et seq.*], there is still the Nahr Sādjūr to be mentioned. In the early middle ages Djisr Manbidj, the later Ķal'at al-Nadjm, and al-Raķķa were the main places where the Euphrates could be crossed. Below the last named place the al-Balīkh, rising in the neighbourhood of Ḥarrān, joins the mainstream at al-Raķķa al-Sawdā', the modern ruins of al-Samra' (see Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, i. 160). It is true that the modern very important crossing at Dēr al-Zōr [q. v., i. 936[b]] seems to have had a predecessor in an ancient Birtha [see above i. 724[a] *infra seq.*] and is probably mentioned by Yāķūt, ii. 662 as Dair Kummān, but it has only become of any considerable importance in modern times. The place of Dēr al-Zōr at the present day was held in ancient times by Circesium, the Ķarķīsiyā of the Arabs at the mouth of the Khābūr, which flowing from Ra's al-'Ain, according to the repeated statements of the Arab authors, formed with its tributary the Hirmās from Ṭūr 'Abdīn, a navigable connection between the Euphrates and the Tigris in the Nahr al-Tharthār, but, according to the recent investigations of Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, i. 193, this must be regarded as more than doubtful. The place of the ancient Circesium, the modern Dēr al-Zōr, was filled, particularly in the later middle ages, by the double village of Raḥba, or the Dāliya of Mālik b. Ṭawķ, a little south of the former, the lands of which were watered by the Nahr Sa'īd canal, which began before Ķarķīsiyā, and was called after Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (see Peters, *Nippur*, i. 127 and 129 *et seq.*; A. Musil, *In Nordostarabien und Südmesopotamien*, p. 10 of the reprint from the *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wiener Akad.*, 1915, I).

While modern geographers make Southern Mesopotamia begin at 'Āna [q. v., i. 344[b] *et seq.*], already celebrated in the middle ages for its palms, where the cultivation of the date-palm in the Euphrates valley begins, the writers of the middle ages as a rule place the boundary between al-Djazīra and al-'Irāķ much farther south on the Euphrates. The Čeri Sa'de, which was led out of the Euphrates downwards from Hīt, the course of which can be traced almost as far as Nedjef (see Peters, *Nippur*, i. 166 and 313; ii. 327; Meissner, *Von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Ḥīra und Ḫuarnaķ*, p. 15), has unfortunately not yet been sufficiently explored for its real importance and relation to Khandaķ Sābūr (see Nöldeke, *Sasaniden*, p. 57; G. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 65) and to the Wādī 'Ain al-Tamr (see Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 11), which, according to Ibn Serapion, flowed into the Euphrates at Hīt. According to Ibn Serapion a canal, called Nahr Dudjail, flowed from the Euphrates at al-Rabb (7 farsakh from al-Anbār, 12 from Hīt; possibly the Umm al-Ru'ūs in Peters, *Nippur*, ii. 45) to the Tigris near 'Ukbarā (see Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, p. 24), but it seems soon to have been silted up, as the later geographers give this name only to a Tigris-canal perhaps originally connected with the ancient Dudjail (see Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 33 and 220 *et seq.*).

Only a little farther down, at al-Anbār [q. v., i. 348], begins the great network of the Babylonian canal system which dates back into remote antiquity, although only the remains survive today. The usual identification of the four main canals, Nahr 'Īsā, Nahr Ṣarṣar, Nahr al-Malik and Nahr Kūthā, led from the Euphrates, is given in the article DIDJLA, i. 969 *et seq.* (for details see Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 25 *et seq.*), but in the present state of our knowledge of the country it can only be regarded as highly hypothetical. Shortly after they branch off, the Euphrates divides into two arms. The western arm, according to the Arabs, the river proper, which flows past Kūfa and is finally lost in the Baṭīḥa [q. v., i. 675 *et seq.*] west of Wāsiṭ, is also called al-'Alķamī, which Musil (*op. cit.*, p. 13) has found E.N.E. of Kerbelā as the name of an ancient canal, perhaps forming the northern continuation of the modern Hindiye arm. The eastern arm of the Euphrates, which even in Ibn Serapion's time held a greater stream of water, for the first part of it corresponded to the bed of the modern Euphrates proper, until since about 1880 the river began to pour the greater part of its waters into the Hindiye arm (see Peters, *Nippur*, ii. 335; Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, p. 38 and 57), again divides near Bābil. Its eastern arm, which flows to the Tigris under the name Nahr Sūrā al-A'lā, Sarāt al-Kabīra, Nahr al-Nīl, or Nahr Sābus via the town of al-Nīl, the modern Nīliye, has been thoroughly explored by Sarre and Herzfeld (*Arch. Reise*, i. 234—247) except for its eastern extremity. How far the western branch, the Nahr Sūrā al-Asfal, corresponds to the modern course of the Euphrates or the canals Shaṭṭ al-Nīl, Shaṭṭ al-Kar which flow to the southeast, cannot yet be exactly determined. This arm likewise ends in the great swampy area of the Baṭīḥa, the outflow from which, Nahr Abi 'l-Asad, which runs into the Didjlat al-'Awrā', may in a way be described as the lower course of the Euphrates.

This is in its main outlines the picture drawn by the Arab geographers, particularly Ibn Serapion. That the details, which they give us, are not always intelligible, is not remarkable considering the deficiencies in our knowledge of the country; that contradictions seem to be found in them, need not cause surprise, when we consider how much the river has changed its course, of which the

shifting to the south in quite recent times of its confluence with the Tigris is a striking example (see *Geogr. Journ.*, xxxv. 11 with map). The Arabs themselves knew of considerable changes in the course of the Euphrates; for example, Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, i. 216), says, that in the period of Ḥīra's prosperity sea-going ships came up as far as Nadjef in the old riverbed (*al-'Atīḳ*). A detailed account has already been given [i. 675 *et seq.*] of the Arabs' knowledge of the history of the Baṭīḥa. It is perhaps evidence of the gradual alteration in this area of swamps that, according to certain authors (see *Bibl. Geogr. Ar.*, iii. 20, note 1; cf. also Yāḳūt, iii. 560 *et seq.*), an arm of the Euphrates — it can probably only be the Nahr Sūrā al-Asfal — entered the Tigris at Wāsiṭ. Not only is the history of the Euphrates in antiquity and the middle ages still very obscure, but we have only very meagre information regarding the changes in its course in recent times. For what is known on this subject we can only here refer the reader to the general textbooks on geography and the encyclopaedias as well as for the economic importance of the river.

Bibliography: The Arab geographers and the more important western works are given under DIDJLA; we may here mention as a cartographical aid R. Kiepert's excellent *Karte von Kleinasien* (1:400.000). Important monographs are mentioned in the text. For further details cf. the separate articles. (R. HARTMANN.)

FURḲĀN (A.), Discrimination, revelation, salvation. The word is found in Arabic literature as an original Arabic word and also as one borrowed from the Aramaic. The meaning of the word in various passages in the Ḳor'ān cannot always be exactly determined; Muḥammad made a wide use of it; he was fond of words with a long vowel in the last syllable on account of their solemn sound.

1. The Arabic word means separation, distinction, proof. Probably, however, this meaning is not found in the Ḳor'ān, although the commentators constantly expound it as having the theological shade of meaning of "discrimination between true and false". It is not impossible that Muḥammad came by this means to use it in the meaning of

2. Revelation, as this meaning of the word is not found in Aramaic. Thus it is applied in the Ḳor'ān to pre-Muḥammadan revelations, e.g. Sūra xxi. 49; iii. 2, where, according to Zamakhsharī, it is a name for the whole class of heavenly books. But it is used of the Ḳor'ān in Sūra xxv. 1, where it is said: "Blessed is he that hath sent down the *furḳān* to his servant, that he might be a warner to the creatures", and among later writers it has become a synonym for Ḳor'ān.

3. In the meaning "salvation" the word is certainly an Aramaic loanword. Thus in Sūra viii. 42 "... and what we have revealed to our servant on the day of the *Furḳān*, on the day when the two hosts met". Here the battle of Badr is called the "day of the *Furḳān*". Some of the commentators on this passage give the meaning *al-naṣr* "victory". But this is the Aramaic *furḳānā*, synonymous with the Hebrew *pidyōn* "salvation".

Bibliography: A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*, p. 55 *et seq.*; Schwally, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lii. 134 *et seq.*; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i. 34; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 23 *et seq.*; cf. *A Dictionary of Technical Terms (Bibliotheca Indica)*, ii. 1130. (A. J. WENSINCK.)

FURŪ'. [See the art. FIḲH, ii. 104b.]

FURŪḌ. [See FARḌ and FIRḌA, ii. 61b and 111a.]

FURŪGH (ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM KHĀN), a Persian poet, born in Kāshān, descendant of Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, the prince of poets, lived for long in Khorāsān, then settled in Teherān, where he lived a retired life only associating with mystics. He lived in the xixth century; we do not know the dates of his birth or death. Among his poems he wrote verses on the death of Muḥammad Shāh and the accession of Nāṣir al-Dīn.

Bibliography: Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣaḥā*, Vol. ii. p. 370—382. (CL. HUART.)

FURŪGH AL-DĪN (MUḤAMMAD MAHDĪ), a Persian poet, born in Tabrīz in 1223 (1808); an ardent student from the age of seven, he entered the service of various individuals of high rank, among them Ferīdūn Mīrzā, a prince of the royal family, who had written poems under the name Farrukh (a name of the hero Ferīdūn in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah*), from whom he took the name Furūgh-i Farrukhī. In Teherān he held a high position in the offices of the chancellary. He collected his Arabic and Persian poems in his *Tadhkirat al-Shabāb* ("Memoirs of Youth"), which forms a kind of autobiography.

Bibliography: Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣaḥā*, Vol. ii. p. 396—400. (CL. HUART.)

FURŪGHĪ, 1. Surname of the Persian poet Muḥammad of Iṣfahān, who had studied the *Almagest* of Ptolemy and became poet laureate to Tīmūr Shāh Durrānī after spending his youth in travel.

2. The surname of a janissary of Awlona in the time of Sulṭān Sulaimān, skilled in music and the composition of riddles.

3. The surname of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain Iṣfahānī Zakā' al-Mulk, a Persian poet and editor of the *Tarbiya*, who died in 1908.

Bibliography: Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣaḥā*, Vol. ii. p. 382; Hammer, *Geschichte der osman. Dichtkunst*, ii. 491; Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, p. 404. (CL. HUART.)

FUSṬĀṬ. [See CAIRO, i. 816a *et seq.*]

FUTA DJALLON, a district in West Africa, in the N.W. of French Guinea, to which it is politically attached. It consists of a mountainous area, the most important in West Africa with an average height of 3000, 3500 feet. These highlands border in the E. on the mountains of the Mandingo territory; in the S. they slope in a series of shelving spurs to the level of the Atlantic Ocean, while in the N. they gradually slope down to Bondu. The geographical and orographical conditions of the land are only slightly known at present. The most recent journeys of exploration have merely established, that the south and west borders are formed of sandstone plateaus, while the older kinds of stone, granite and gneiss, occupy the centre. The structure of the mountains is rather irregular; the general picture is of a plateau from which rise peaks 600 to 1000 feet high, bordered by a sandstone range deeply cut by erosion.

The average elevation of Futa assures the land a more moderate and healthy climate than the coast lands. The temperature is lower than on the coast and the thermometer shows considerable variations at all seasons of the year. During the dry season (December to June) differences of 25, 30 and 32° C. may be noticed in the course of a single day; during the winter or rainy season (May to November) the nights are always fresh. Nor does rain ever entirely stop during the dry season, but falls very heavily in winter, and reaches its maximum in spring when the south winds laden with moisture from the Atlantic Ocean set in. Although Futā Djallon has a smaller rainfall than the coast, it has a better supply than the neighbouring lands on the Upper Senegal and the Upper Niger.

Futā Djallon is one of the most important hydrographic centres of Africa. We may distinguish two great watersheds, one in the S. in the district of Timbo, where the Faleto (Bāfing), the Tene, the Kinkisso, a tributary of the Niger, and the Konkure, which flows into the Atlantic Ocean, rise, and another in the N., in the neighbourhood of Labe, from which flow the Gambia, the Salla (Kakrima) and the Komba (Rio Grande). To get beyond the boundaries of Futā the rivers with a S. or S.W. course have to cross the mountain wall, which they do in numerous falls, rapids and deep ravines, usually running from N.E. to S.W. Although the slope of the country is much more gradual to the N., the valleys here are quite as narrow and often overhung by steep cliffs.

Futā has long been regarded as a country with a rich and luxurious vegetation, but it does not seem to deserve this reputation, at least not everywhere. The most frequent feature in the structure of the country is the "bowal", a rocky plateau covered with ferriferous boulders, sometimes overgrown with thin scrub, but sometimes so bare and stony that some travellers compare it with the ḥammādas of the Sahara. During the rainy season the ground is covered with a kind of grassy vegetation which varies in thickness with the nature of the country and lasts for longer or shorter periods. Trees are lacking except in the immediate neighbourhood of the water-courses; nevertheless, the valleys are very well wooded; on the slopes and in the cavities which collect the necessary soil, little wooded islands (*duntures*) are formed which, where they are found in large numbers, seem to form an extensive continuous forest. The villages are surrounded by orchards of orange, melon, kola and mango trees. The *karité* or butter tree and various kinds of bamboo are widely diffused, but the palms are small and few in number. Finally in some granite districts we find meadows, cultivated fields and plantations beside one another which give the country a certain similarity to parts of Switzerland and the Auvergne. But this is the exception.

The fauna is not so rich as in the Sūdān; it is represented by antelopes, gazelles and especially monkeys, the latter being so numerous that the inhabitants have to institute "drives" to protect their crops from being ruined by them. The scarcity of large carnivora has favoured the development of cattle-rearing so that at the present day there are three kinds of sheep and four of cattle in Futā, of which one, the buffalo, used as a beast of burden, was introduced into the country by the pastoral Fulbe.

The number of inhabitants is unknown; it is tentatively estimated at 600,000–700,000. The principal settlements are Timbo, the residence of the *Almamy* (9000 inhabitants?), Labe (5000?), Medina, Kade and Fugumba (10,000), the holy city, where the rulers are consecrated. The population is composed of various elements, among which the Mande predominate. We find representatives of the different branches of this race here, Diallonke, Susu, Soninke and half breeds like the Khassonke and notably the Fula, who are the result of a mixture of the Mande and Fulbe and during the last 150 years have become supreme over the other groups. There are also Peuhl or Fulbe, but they are less numerous in Futā proper than in the neighbouring territories and follow the pastoral life of their forefathers, although there is a marked tendency among them to exchange a nomadic for a settled life.

The social divisions of the people correspond to some extent to this diversity of origin. The highest class consists of an ecclesiastical and military aristocracy, the former composed of marabouts, the latter of prominent Fula, the descendants of Muslim immigrants or native chiefs who have become converts to Islām. These nobles who have special titles (*alpha, shaikh* etc.) are grouped in families like the Roman "*gentes*" and take an active part in the political life of the country; they have seats in the assemblies and supply the Almamys with their civil and military officers. Next to them are the negroes and the Muslim Fulbe; they attend the assemblies as vassals of the nobles but as a rule take no part in their deliberations; they live in villages which are called *gor*. A third class comprises the non-Muslim freemen. These are usually artisans (weavers, carpenters, shoemakers) and live in separate groups in the *gor* or near them. They are endogamous and are excluded from any share in political life. Lastly slaves are very numerous, because the conquerors of the Sūdān, e. g. al-Ḥādjdj 'Omar and Samory used to exchange their prisoners for the cattle of Futā. These slaves fall into two classes: domestics, whose position is fairly comfortable and who enjoy a relative independence, and agricultural labourers, whose lot is a much harder one. The latter are settled in special villages (*runde*), are supervised by overseers and severely punished if they attempt to escape. Since the establishment of the French protectorate, however, slavery is no longer legal.

As to religion the population of Futā is divided into Muslims and fetish worshippers. A few negro tribes have remained idolaters, for example, a section of the Fulbe which has retained its original beliefs. The predominant religion, however, is Islām which the Fulbe brought into the land and whose progress coincided with the political victory of this race. The Islām of Futā Djallon is fairly orthodox and less penetrated by heathen customs than among the Mande. Hecquard describes it as Māliki; according to Lechâtelier, it is a "kind of national church formed from the mixture of Ḳādiriya and Tidjāniya doctrines". Although Futā was and still is a centre of proselytising activity, the inhabitants are not at all fanatical. This lukewarmness is attributed to the predominance of the Ḳādiriya whom the Tidjāniya, the representatives of Muslim intolerance in the Sūdān, have not been able to supplant in spite of all their efforts. The marabouts hold a very im-

portant social position. They form a kind of hierarchy; at the top are the *fodie* who have often studied among the Moors of Tagant, next come the *tamsir* or heads of mosques, then the *tcrno* and the *tcke* who have charge of the schools.

The government is a kind of "aristocratic republic" with an elected sovereign. The executive power is in the hands of an *almamy* (*al-imām*) who is at once head of the army, judge and high priest. Before the establishment of the protectorate the almamy was chosen by the Council of Elders, acclaimed by the assembly of freemen, and received the turban of investiture in the town of Fugumba. He was chosen from among the descendants of the two founders of the Fula state, the Alfayas (descendants of Karamoko Alfa) and the Soryas (descendants of Ibrahima Sory). In principle the elected sovereign ruled for two years, after which he retired for two years in favour of a representative of the rival family. Devised to prevent rivalry and civil war, this rule of alternation was not always regularly observed. The Council of the Elders which chose the sovereign, could also on occasion depose him; in normal times it decided, under the presidency of the almamy, all questions of any importance of politics, law and religion.

Futa was divided into provinces or *diwal* (9 in the xviiith century, 13 in 1881, 11 in 1887), to which tributary regions were attached, whose number varied with the success or failure of Fula arms. Each *diwal* was administered by a governor (*lamdo*), appointed by the almamy and assisted by a council of notables. The villages obeyed the authority of chiefs who likewise were assisted by a council. In this organisation, which some European travellers have compared to that of the Carolingian Empire, the central power was very weak. Some governors, those of Labé for example, were masters of territory more extensive than that of the sovereign and had at their disposal resources greater than his. Ruined by the largesse necessary to secure his election, impoverished by the necessity of keeping open table for his adherents, the almamy was very often incapable of making his authority respected.

The history of Futa Djallon down to the xviiith century is obscure. About this time we find the Djallonke in the land, who had driven out the original inhabitants, besides them a body of Fulbe attracted by the extensive pastures, and finally the Fula already in such numbers that their name was applied by Europeans to this part of Africa (the name "Fouta Guialon, land of the Fula", is found in a map by d'Anville of the year 1727). Among the Fula were many Muhammadans, who undertook the conversion of the fetish-worshipping tribes to Islām under the leadership of marabouts. They overcame and formed small communities of them, whose chiefs recognised the authority of the Djallonke. In the second half of the xviiith century the Fula succeeded in liberating themselves and founding an independent state. This transformation was the work of two men, the marabout Ibrahima Sambego, who claimed to be of Arab and Sherifi origin, and his cousin Sory celebrated for his energy and bravery. A holy war was proclaimed against the infidels and the lands to be conquered promised as spoil to all the chiefs who took part. The Fulbe adopted Islām *en masse*, but the Djallonke resisted and were conquered. Their lives were respected, but a third of their lands and cattle divided among the conquerors. An assembly at Timbo then chose Ibrahima as almamy, and he took the name Karamoko Alfa. The new sovereign received the turban of investiture at Fugumba from the hands of Alfa Othmān Serianke, governor of the town; he made the Fula chiefs swear fealty to him and gave Sory command of the army. The conquered country was divided into provinces or *diwal* to the number of 9 in memory of the companions of the Prophet.

Karamoko became insane in 1791 and was replaced by Sory as almamy. But the victories and riches of the new ruler aroused the fears and jealousies of the chiefs, who deposed him and appointed in his stead Alfa Salifu, son of Karamoko (1801). This youth of fifteen proved incapable of securing order in the interior and could not prevent the invasion of Futa by the Wassolonke. Sory had to be recalled; he drove out the enemy and ruled the country without opposition till his death (1814). Power passed to his son Sadu but Alfa Salifu protested and was supported by a party of nobles. Two rival soff's were thus formed, the Alfayas and the Soryas, whose rivalry steeped Futa in blood for fifteen years. An agreement was finally reached between Abdulaye Bademba, chief of the Alfayas and Abdu 'l-Gaderi (*'Abd al-Ḳādir*), chief of the Soryas, it was decided that each of the two chiefs should govern alternately for periods of two years each. This arrangement was violated almost as soon as it was concluded. Abdulgaderi had his colleague assassinated and remained sole master of Futa for 15 years.

On his death (1847) disorder again broke out. The Soryas and Alfayas each chose an almamy and flew to arms. Al-Ḥādjdj 'Omar attempted without great success to bring about a truce between the two parties and it was only after 1856 that peace was finally established in the country. For 26 years, Alfayas and Soryas lived on good terms and furnished almamys by turns. This was the most brilliant epoch in the history of Futa. The almamys succeeded in restraining the turbulent spirits of the nobles and subjected the lands adjoining Futa to their authority. The people of Dinguiray, the fetish-worshippers of the upper Casamance, the Gambia and the Rio Nuñez had to become tributary to Futa.

Europeans had for long been trying to enter into relations with Futa. During the first half of the xixth century French and English travellers setting out from the "factories" of Gambia and Sierra Leone penetrated into the interior. Such were the Frenchmen Mollien (1819) and René Caillié (1827), and the Englishman Cooper Thomson as well as various missionaries. In 1850 Hecquard spent a year there and collected valuable information on the history and civilisation of the country. Lambert explored it in 1859. From 1880 on French missions began to increase in number. Olivier de Sanderval, Gaboriaud and Ansaldi endeavoured to find accessible routes to Futa, entered into commercial relations with the natives and made preliminary surveys for the building of a railway into the interior. In 1881 Doctor Bayol signed a treaty with the almamy giving the French the exclusive right of establishing commercial depots in Futa and its dependencies.

The disorders that again broke out about this time facilitated the task of the French agents.

The almamy Ibrahim Sory, having to give up his powers after his two years of office, was abandoned by every one, but, arming his slaves, he overcame his adversaries and reigned alone till 1887. On his death two Sorya rivals, Alfa Mamadu Paté and Bokar Biro disputed the title of almamy. Bokar won and, feeling the need of support against his enemies, fell back on the French. He therefore gave a good reception to the mission under Plat and Fras and concluded with them a treaty which placed Futā Djallon under the protection of France. For several years he remained faithful to his agreement, but then adopted a hostile attitude and tried to impede the passage of caravans through his country. Wishing to get rid of the Council of Elders, he aroused the discontent of the nobles, who deposed him and proclaimed his brother Abdulaye in his stead. Bokar triumphed over the rebels, took Abdulaye prisoner and put him to death; but some of the partisans of this claimant appealed to the French who, having already cause to complain of Bokar's misdeeds, invaded Futā. Bokar tried without success to offer resistance; he was conquered and slain (November 1896). The French chose a new almamy, the provinces of Timbo, Buria and Kalen were left to him while the other "diwal" were declared independent. A French resident was installed in Timbo. Since then the geographical and economic survey of the country has been pursued by several expeditions of which the most important have been those of Dr. Maclaud (1898-1899), while a railway, which has now reached Timbo, was begun to connect the Upper Niger and French Guinea through Futā.

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(G. YVER.)

FUTŪWA (A.). In ordinary usage this word means all the honourable qualities that distinguish a noble youth (*fatā*), particularly generosity (*karam*, *sakhā'*).

The members of the family of the Prophet regarded themselves as the true representatives of *futūwa*, which they inherited from their ancestor and in course of time received the meaning of chivalry, knightly rank: they based this claim on an alleged saying of the Prophet's "*lā fatā illā ʿAlī* (*wa lā saif illā Dhu 'l-Faḳār*"; cf. *Chronique de Tabari*, trad. Zotenberg, iii. 27; according to another tradition it was called from heaven by an angel on the day of Badr, Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira* (Cairo 1327), ii. 190 *infra*. — On the use of this saying cf. Reinaud, *Monumens*, ii. 153, 307; *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1873, ii. 333 *et seq.*). It is related of the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīni'llāh (575—662 = 1180—1225), who according to the *Kit. al-Fakhrī* was an Imāmī, that he granted several princes and nobles the rank of *futūwa*, with which he associated the privilege of *ramy al-bunduḳ*. Installation consisted in the ceremonial putting on of a pair of trousers, called *sarāwīl al-futūwa* or *libās al-futūwa*, and drinking the knight's cup (*ka's al-futūwa*). The knight, whose rank was hereditary, had the right to depict the cup or trousers or both on his arms. — According to the *Kitāb ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib*, the ʿAlid family of the Āl Maʿiya had from the time of al-Nāṣir the right to grant *futūwa*. The Naḳīb Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad, who belonged to this family, also granted the *khirḳat al-taṣawwuf*.

Ibn Djubair (2nd ed., p. 280, where on l. 11 the reading تحزموند of the Ms. is to be retained) mentions a brotherhood in Syria who proved their *futūwa* by ruthlessly attacking the Rāfiḍīs; an oath sworn by them at the *futūwa* was kept in all circumstances.

In Asia Minor Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found brotherhoods whose members (*fityān*) had for the most part the same trade and lived together in a monastery (*zāwiya*) under a superior called *akhī* on the earnings of the work which they did outside. After dining together they spent the evening in song and dance. Their dress consisted of a cloak (*ḳabā'*), a white woollen cap (*ḳalansuwa*), to the upper of which was fastened a strip of cloth an ell long, and shoes (*akhfāf*); in the girdle they wore a knife two ells long. They were hospitable to strangers and were ruthless in their opposition to tyrannical governors and their followers (ed. Paris, ii. 260 *et seq.*). — In Ḳōniya the same traveller stayed in the *zāwiya* of the Ḳāḍī Ibn Ḳalam Shāh, whose inmates (*fityān*) were *sarāwīl* and traced their *futūwa* rite to ʿAlī. They were distinguished for their hospitality (ed. Paris, ii. 281 *et seq.*). — During his travels Ibn Baṭṭūṭa frequently found hospitality in such *fityān* monasteries (cf. *ibid.*, 270—368 *passim*).

In the language of the Ṣūfīs *futūwa* is the expression for a disposition which is manifested in dif-

ferent ways and therefore cannot be expressed by a single word. In general *futuwa* is described as "placing others above himself" *īthār ʿalā nafsihī*, which, according to al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* iii. 213 (Cairo 1282), is the highest stage of *sakhāʾ*. This finds expression in liberality, unselfishness, selfdenial, self-effacement, superiority to disappointment, indulgence to the faults of others etc. Al-Ḳushairī gives some idea of the scope of the notion in a series of illustrations and anecdotes.

For further information on *futuwa* and its relation to the guild-system the reader may be referred to H. Thorning's work in the xvi[th] volume of the *Türkische Bibliothek*.

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(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

FUZŪLĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. SULAIMĀN, a Turkish poet of Kurdish origin, born in Baghdād (date unknown), died 963 (1556) or 970 (1562). After the capture of Baghdād by Ibrāhīm Pasha, Sulṭān Sulaimān's grand vizier (941 = 1534), he offered the vizier and the Sulṭān his congratulations, whereupon the latter granted him an annual allowance at the expense of the town. His *Dīwān* is written in Ādharbaidjānī Turkī; the style is original and lacks the artificiality which characterises Turkish literature of the period in imitation of Persian, although in passages the influence of Persian rhetoric cannot be mistaken; the expression is passionate. Among his contemporaries he found little favour; it is only modern Turks that have begun to appreciate his merits. He also wrote a Persian *Dīwān* (lith. Tabrīz). His Turkish *Dīwān* was printed in Būlāḳ (1254 = 1838), and his *Lailā u Madjnūn* in Constantinople (1264 = 1848); a collected edition of his works also appeared in the latter town in 1291 = 1874. He also composed a *Sāḳīnāmeh* in Persian and a *Beng u Bāde* (Hemp and Wine) in Turkish, which is dedicated to Ismāʿīl Shāh and must therefore have been composed between 907 (1501) and 930 (1524). Under the title *Ḥadīḳat al-Suʿadāʾ* ("Garden of the Blessed") he translated from the Persian Ḥusain b. ʿAlī al-Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshifī's legendary description of the martyrdom of ʿAlī and his family (*Rawḍat al-Shuhadāʾ*, "Garden of Martyrs"). We also possess from his pen a Turkish work in prose entitled *Shikāyet-nāme*, which contains a complaint addressed to the Porte on the holding back of his year's allowance by the civic authorities. A well at Kerbelā bears a metrical inscription composed by him.

Bibliography: Cl. Huart, *Hist. de Bagdad*, p. 38 *et seq.*; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 70 *et seq.*; Hammer, *Gesch. der osm. Dichtkunst*, ii. 293; Ethé, in the *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 358.

(CL. HUART.)

G.

GABAN, properly GABNOPERT (cf. Abu 'l-Faradj, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bruns, p. 329 and Καπνίσκερτι φρούριον, Cinnamus, i. 8), an Armenian mountain stronghold on the Tekir-Su, a tributary of the Djaiḥān, now called Geben and belonging to the ḳaẓā of Anderin in the sandjaḳ of Marʿash. Here the kings of Armenia kept their treasures and retired hither in case of need; the last king Leon VI. of Lusignan entrenched himself here in 1374, for example, but had to surrender after a siege of nine months to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 2, p. 36, 137; Dulaurier in *Documents arméniens*, *Recueil des historiens des crois.*, s. Index; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 243.

GABES (ḲĀBIS), a town in Southern Tunisia, in 33° 52′ 58″ N. Lat., 10° 4′ 6″ E. Long. (Greenw.), 80 miles south of Sfax and 250 south of Tunis, on the west coast of the Gulf of Gabes or Lesser Syrtis, on the side of a rocky isthmus, which separates the sea from Shoṭṭ el-Fedjedj. It is the capital of the district of Arad.

Gabes includes three settlements: the town of Gabes, a European suburb with 1200 inhabitants of whom 300 are French, and the native villages of Djara (4000 inh.), Chenini (1000) and Menzel (3500). The European town lies on the right bank of the Wādī Gabes about half a mile from the sea. The mouth of the river has been made into a harbour which ships of small draught can enter. Larger ships have to anchor in the open sea in an insecure roadstead, full of shallows where the tide rises 9 feet. The traffic in the harbour is not very considerable as the total exports and imports scarcely exceed 25,000 tons. The native settlements lie in groups up the river along the Wādī Gabes. This stream, which rises about 8 miles from the sea, sustains the vegetation of a beautiful oasis the verdure of which forms a striking contrast to the barrenness of the surrounding country. The gardens which contain 130,000 palms and about 200,000 other trees, cover an area of 7000 acres of which 3000 are watered by the Wādī itself. This area is about 4 miles long by 1/2 to 1 broad. The distribution of the water is regulated by mechanical means, some ancient and some modern. The palms are of very fine quality but the dates are only mediocre. Fruit-trees on the other hand grow in a marvellous fashion, whence the oasis of Gabes has always been the admiration of visitors. "It has been said with reason", writes the Shaikh al-Tidjānī in the xivth century, "that Gabes is an earthly paradise and a little Damascus". The oasis, it is true, is extremely unhealthy and the dwelling-houses have had to be built outside the gardens in which only a few negroes live regularly. Beyond the palm-groves lie areas which are at present practically desert but might be fertilised by irrigation works. Gabes deserves the description "a town which is both maritime and Saharan" given it by al-Tidjānī, from its geographical situation and appearance.

In ancient times the town of Tacape stood on the site of Gabes. Founded by the Phoenicians this town was one of the most flourishing emporia

of the "Syrtes". It passed to the Carthaginians, then to the Romans and under the empire was raised to the status of a colony. Nothing else is known of the town however; some of its ruins were still standing in Shaw's time (*Travels*, Ch. iv.), and were used in the building of Gabes. We are equally ignorant of the circumstances under which Gabes fell into the power of the Arabs. After the triumph of the Fāṭimids the town was placed under the governorship of the Ketāmī Lokmān, whose descendants still exercised their authority in al-Bakrī's time. Under the rule of the Fāṭimids and Zīrids Gabes seems to have enjoyed great prosperity. Ibn Ḥawḳal extols the fertility of the oasis, the excellence of the silk and wool manufactured in it, the activity of its trade and the number of the merchants who frequented the port. A century later al-Bakrī adds a few details to this picture, the main outlines of which are unchanged. "The town", he says, "surrounded by a wall of large stone's from ancient débris, possesses a magnificent mosque, and numerous bazaars and caravanserais". The gardens included, besides innumerable fruit-trees, mulberries and also plantations of sugar-cane which is no longer found there. The population was composed of Arabs and Afāriḳ, i.e. the descendants of Latinised Berbers. The environs of the town were occupied by sections of the great Berber tribes of Lwāta, Lemāya, Nefūsa, Zugha etc. These natives, who were rude and uncultured, had most probably remained Abāḍī doctrines. Ibn Ḥawḳal indeed describes them as "people inclined to evil and professing a religion which is corrupted by an admixture of heresy".

The Hilālī invasion introduced new Arab elements to Gabes and its neighbourhood. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 33, 34 and ii. 21) the Caliph al-Mustanṣir granted the district of Gabes to the tribe of Zoghba when he sent the Hilālīs against the Zīrid Sulṭān. Whatever be the truth of this statement, it is a fact that the Zoghba, after inflicting a severe defeat with the help of the Riyāḥ, 'Adī and Djusham on the Zīrid al-Mu'izz on the plateau of Haiderān, settled in Gabes. One of their chiefs, Ibn Djāmi', organised a little state there, which remained independent down to the middle of the xiith century A. D. After the capture of Mahdiya by the Sicilian fleet Gabes recognised the authority of the king of Sicily for several years (1148—1159 A. D.) until in 553 (1159-1160) it was taken by 'Abd al-Mu'min, who exiled the last representative of the Benī Djāmi' to Morocco.

The Almohads, however, had great difficulty in enforcing their sovereignty on the people of Gabes. From the end of the xiith century they constantly tried to throw off the yoke and took an active part in the struggle of the Banū Ghāniya against 'Abd al-Mu'min's successors. 'Alī b. Ghāniya and his ally Ḳaraḳūsh became masters of the town (581 = 1185 A. D.). The defeat of this adventurer and the Almoravid pretender at al-Ḥamma enabled the Almohad Caliph al-Manṣūr to regain possession of Gabes (584 = 1187 A. D.), but Ḳaraḳūsh was not long in re-entering it again. He was again driven out in 591 (1195); but Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya installed himself there in his turn and it was only in 601 (1204-1205) that the Almohad al-Nāṣir definitely recovered the town. The allegiance of the people of Gabes nevertheless remained very uncertain: throughout the xiiith and xivth centuries they showed themselves as independent of the Ḥafṣids as they had been of the Almohads. From 1282—1344 the Benī Mekkī who ruled at Gabes freed themselves of their allegiance to the sovereign of Tunis. Ḥafṣid authority had hardly been re-established when the Marīnid expeditions into Ifrīḳiya gave the people of Gabes an opportunity to rebel once more. Revolts again broke out in 1379 and 1387, stirred up by a certain 'Abd al-Wahhāb, a descendant of the Benī Mekkī. To put an end to this state of affairs Abu 'l-Abbās had to lay waste the oasis and cut down the palm-trees, but a century later in 1469 a rebellion once more gave evidence of the turbulent spirit of the inhabitants.

The constant turmoils seriously affected the prosperity of Gabes without however destroying it. The Hilālī invasion does not seem, however, to have produced in Gabes the disastrous results that it did in the rest of Tunisia. Idrīsī is still able to describe Gabes as a considerable town with a large quantity of merchandise in its bazaars. He notes, however, the disappearance of the silk industry; but trade by sea was still active and remained so throughout the middle ages. It attracted to Gabes merchants from all parts of the Muslim world and even Christians such as the Pisans were allowed to trade there. The tomb of one of the companions of the Prophet, Abu 'l-Bābā al-Anṣārī, was also a much frequented place of pilgrimage. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the xivth century A. D. manifest signs of decline may be noted in Sheikh al-Tidjānī's account. A number of buildings had fallen into ruins, for example the palace al-'Arūsain, built in the Ḳaṣba by Rashīd b. Djāmi', and the al-Menāra tower mentioned by al-Bakrī. In the xvith century it was still worse. "This city", writes Leo Africanus, "has much diminished in honesty and good manners since it was sacked by the Arabs..... The inhabitants are negroes, poor labourers and fishermen who are much oppressed by the kings of Tunis and of the Arabs".

The lot of Gabes hardly changed under Turkish rule, although the harbour continued to export the products of the Sūdān which were brought thither in caravans.

Gabes was occupied by the French in 1881. After the conclusion of the treaty of Ḳaṣr Sa'īd, great unrest was manifested in the south of Tunisia. Immediately after the bombardment of Sfax, therefore, French troops were sent to Gabes, the inhabitants of which had taken up arms. Djara and Menzel surrendered almost without resistance on the 23rd July. A camp was pitched at Rās al-Wād to command the river on whose waters the existence of the oasis depended. When peace was established a European town arose between the oasis and the sea. Since then Gabes has become the headquarters of a military command which extends over the whole of Southern Tunisia and is the residence of a civil comptroller. But the attempts made to bring back to this part the caravans which, since the French occupation, have been deflected to Tripoli and thus to restore the town its former economic importance have as yet only produced insignificant results.

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(G. YVER.)

GAFSA (ḲAFṢA), a town in Tunisia, 146 miles S. of Ḳairawān, 20 miles from Tunis and 150 from Sfax, with which it is connected by a railroad built to serve the phosphate deposits of Metlawi, 26 miles E. of Gafsa; it lies in 36° 24′ 32″ N. Lat. and 8° 40′ E. Long (Greenw.). It has a population of about 5000 including 360 Europeans and 379 Jews.

Gafsa occupies a remarkable geographical and strategic position. The town, built on a rounded eminence 1150 feet high, commands the ravine of the Wādī Bayāsh between the mountainous massif of the Djebel Orbata in the S.E., the Djebel 'Aasala and Djebel Yūnes in the N.E., and therefore the route between the steppes of Central Tunisia and the Djerīd and Shoṭṭ country. An oasis watered by the canals drawn from the Wādī lies at the foot of the town covering an area of about 2500 acres. This oasis includes 75,000 palmtrees, numerous fruit-trees notably apricots and figs as well as a number of fields of cereals. The town itself offers little of interest. The only notable buildings are the ḳaṣba built in the middle ages on Byzantine foundations, the Chief Mosque with pillars crowned by ancient capitals and finally the baths or *termidjī*, watered by hot springs used even by the Romans. The native population speaks Arabic only. The Berber language has almost entirely disappeared and is only represented by the dialect of Sened, a village 32 miles E. of Gafsa. (Cf. Provotelle, *Étude sur la Tamazir't ou Zenatia de Qalaât es-Sened* (Paris, 1911, *Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, T. xlvi).

Gafsa occupies the site of the ancient town of Capsa. The latter was one of the strongest places in the kingdom of Numidia and was destroyed by Marius in the course of the war against Jugurtha (106 B. C.). Rebuilt under the empire it became a *municipium*, then a *colonia*. The Byzantines made it one of their strongholds to protect Byzacene from the inroads of the nomads. The Arabs ravaged its surroundings after the defeat of the Patrician Gregory, and took it at the time of 'Oḳba's invasion in 49 = 669 A. D. Down to the Hilālī invasion, Gafsa passed through the same vicissitudes as the rest of Ifrīḳiya. Al-Bakrī describes it as a prosperous town, still retaining remarkable relics of an earlier epoch. It was surrounded by a wall, certainly built by the Byzantines, but which legend attributed to "Shentiyān, slave of Nimrūd"; the houses were built over marble porticoes, the intervals between the pillars of which were filled with light masonry. The oasis produced pistachios in abundance which were exported to Egypt and Sidjilmāsa, and fruits of all kinds which served to provision Ḳairawān. The surrounding country was dotted with equally prosperous villages. Over 200 could be counted which were called the "Ḳuṣūr of Gafsa". The general wealth was attested by the amount of taxation which annually reached 50,000 dīnārs (£ 25,000). Idrīsī confirms al-Bakrī's account. "The inhabitants" he adds "have become Berbers, the majority of them speak African Latin". Many of them had still remained faithful to Abāḍī doctrines. Al-Bakrī in fact mentions their custom of fattening dogs for food, as was the custom in various regions, particularly Sidjilmāsa. Cynophagy is still practised by the Abāḍīs of Djerba.

The Hilālī invasion introduced a new element into the population of the country round Gafsa. The Athbadj tribe settled near the town. With the help of these nomads, who after devastating the country remained and entered the service of local chiefs to be enabled to live, a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Rend founded a kingdom in 449 (1053-1054) which comprised in addition to Gafsa the greater part of Ḳasṭīliya and lasted for over a century. The dynasty of the Banū Rend, although overthrown by 'Abd al-Mu'min in 554 = 1159 and restored on his death, did not finally disappear till 576 (1180). The rule of the Almohads and Ḥafṣids was, however, never solidly established in Gafsa. The inhabitants of the town, like those of the Djerīd, were distinguished for their turbulence and their rebellions. In the course of the wars between the Banū Ghāniya and the Almohads Ḳaraḳūsh installed a garrison there under the Kurd Kuryatin. The Almohad Caliph after retaking the town destroyed its walls, but they soon rose again. In 1282 Gafsa fell into the power of the pretender Ibn Abī Amara; in 1338 a new rebellion broke out under Abū Bekr b. Yemlul. During al-Ḥasan's invasion of Ifrīḳiya, the people of Gafsa hastened to recognise the authority of the Marīnid sovereign. At a later period the Ḥafṣid Abu 'l-'Abbās had to suppress several rebellions but he only put an end to them by cutting down the palm-trees. During the second half of the xvth century Gafsa finally made itself independent under princes of the Banū Khalef family. The town suffered considerably from these disorders. "The town", says Leo Africanus at the beginning of the xvith century, "is for the moment inhabited but the buildings are ugly except the temple and some other small mosques..... The inhabitants are courteous but very poor because they are much oppressed by the king of Tunis". Turkish rule was not of such a nature as to restore Gafsa its former prosperity; it was a very wretched little town when it was occupied by French troops under the command of General Forgemol on the 20th November 1881.

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GAGAUZES, a people of Turkish origin speaking a pure Turkish language but professing the orthodox faith; their numbers are small. They live in isolated colonies and at the present day are found chiefly scattered over Bessarabia (mainly within the triangle formed by lines joining Ismail-Bolgrad-Kagul, in the district of Trajan's wall and also at Bender and Akkerman), on the west coast of the Black Sea from the mouth of the Danube and Silistria to Cape Emine, in the Dobrudja in Roumania (Nikolitel and Tatta) and in Bulgaria, also in the wilāyet of Adrianople particularly in the ḳaza of Ḥawṣa, in the sandjaḳ of Seres (Sihna and Selhovo) and in ḳazā Karaferie. In the Balkan Peninsula they seem to call themselves *Surḳuč* or *Serḳuč* in preference to "Gagauzes" which is, however, also used there.

The origin and early history of the Gagauzes are somewhat obscure. As in the East it is not linguistic or ethnological features that are considered essential but religion alone, they were classed by the Ottomans as Christians with the Christian Bulgars. It seems remarkable that in Russia also, even in Bessarabia, where the great mass of the Gagauzes now reside, their proper name is little known and it is only at a comparatively late period that the name Gagauzes appears in Russian authors. They were officially and usually still are simply identified with the Bulgars and in all statistics classed with them. In consequence of this confusion accurate figures cannot be obtained. In popular language on the other hand they are correctly called *pravoslavnije Turki* (Orthodox Turks).

The Gagauzes are certainly Turks and probably the descendants of the so-called Kara Kalpak and therefore, like the Ottomans, descended from the Oghuzes or Uzes, as is already suggested by their name *Gagauz*, in which *auz* is a contraction for *oghuz* while *gag* (probably equal to *gök* or *gök*) is a distinguishing mark of the clan. The Oghuz hordes while still heathen separated on their westward migration. While one section, the Saldjūḳs and later after them the Kangly, the present Ottomans, went through Persia to Asia Minor and adopted Islām, other sections went to the steppes of South Russia where they led a nomadic life: first the Pečenegs who were next pressed westwards by the Uzes or Torks, who were related to them, till finally the Kumans or Polowzes, who came last in the middle of the xith century, forced the main body of the Pečenegs and Uzes over the Danube, where they settled in Byzantine territory, the majority in the Balkan Peninsula. One section, however, which settled in Russian territory, was conquered by the Russians and at the same time, it seems, converted to Christianity, and served like the Cossacks as frontier guards against the Pečenegs, Torks, Kuyer and Berendeyer under the collective name of *Kara Kalpak* (*Černyje Klobuki* "Black-caps"). But before the Slavifying process which began with the conversion to Christianity had been completed, the great Mongol invasion took place in the xiiith century, which forced the tribes already Christian to migrate to the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary, the Caucasus and even to Asia Minor (Phrygia) and Egypt. The remnants that settled in the Balkans retained their language and religion even under Ottoman rule, while their relatives who had settled there as pagans in the xith century became Muslims and were merged in the Ottomans; the other branches that had broken off also lost their identity.

From 1750 to 1846 an interesting migration took place of the Gagauzes of the Balkans — along with a similar movement among the Bulgars — back to Russia over the Danube (till 1769 into the New Russian district, 1787—1791 and in largest numbers in 1801—1812 to Bessarabia), this seems to have taken place without the co-operation of the Russian government, which did not till a later period begin to allot lands and provide for their administration systematically. The reason for this emigration was presumably the persecutions, still commemorated in Gagauz songs by the robber bands (the Daghly and Kyrdjaly) of Paswandoghlu (Pasban oghlu 'Othmān) the notorious Pasha of Widdin and Kara Feiẓi.

In the sixth decade of last century there were 24 Gagauz colonies in Bessarabia numbering over 26,000 souls (34% of the total population), which has now grown to over 70,000 according to Moshkoff's estimate, but this is certainly exaggerated. Roumania contains about 3600 Gagauz to which may be now added 5 177 Gagauzes in the recently ceded district of Silistria. The figures for Bulgaria and Turkey are unknown to me. In any case the total number of Gagauzes including the Surḳuč does not exceed 100,000. As they live in isolated groups and have no common intellectual bond they are destined to be slowly but certainly merged in the peoples amongst whom they dwell.

The administration of the Gagauzes of Bessarabia still enjoys certain colonial privileges (according to the colonial statute of 1819) and certain liberal institutions which date from the period of Roumanian rule in Bessarabia.

On the whole they are comparatively poor and are almost entirely engaged in cultivating vegetables and the vine. At an earlier period they were also shepherds and cattle-rearers. They are no longer distinguished in dress or manner of life from their neighbours. The position of women among them is a relatively low one.

The most striking features in the character of the Gagauzes are frugality, an extraordinary avarice and want of hospitality. To these are added cunning and a certain pride and independence of spirit, which prevents even the poorest from entering a position of servitude among the neighbouring peoples. They seem to have displayed very little intellectual activity. They are scorned as stupid and among the Roumanians "Gagauz" is used as a synonym for "blockhead" and it is said to be used as an epithet of contempt among the Albanians, like *türk* among the Ottomans. The Russian Gagauzes therefore are fond of calling themselves Bulgars after the official example. The Gagauzes have a great contempt for the Ottomans. Numerous popular etymologies attempt to explain the remarkable phenomenon of the combination of the Christian religion and Turkish language by former despotic measures on the part of the Ottomans.

The language employed in the home is exclusively Turkish. The women as a rule under-

stand no other language, while the men are forced to know several languages. The divine service of the Gagauzes who live in Turkey is after the Greek rite and that of those in Russia Slavonic. The priest often can only communicate with his congregation through the medium of Russian which is unintelligible to the majority of them. The Russifying process has, however, made great progress by the foundation of the school in Ismail, the compulsory use of Russian as the language to be used in all church and country schools and above all by military service.

The language of the Bessarabian Gagauzes as well as that of those across the Danube is, apart from Christian elements, practically identical with primitive Ottoman Turkish, which is explained by their common origin. The vowel harmony is very strictly carried out except in loanwords. One peculiarity is the tendency to weakening. With weak vowels all consonants are weakened, even when the latter are weak already. The numerous peculiarities of pronunciation in the different colonies are explained by their isolation from one another. The language is not a rich one: a certain laconicism and a certain poverty, particularly in synonyms, is noticeable in it. There appears to be no written literature, although there is no lack of tales and songs handed down by oral tradition.

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GAIKHATŪ, a Mongol prince (*Ilkhān*) of Persia (690—694 = 1291—1295), brother and successor of Arghūn (q.v., i. 430[b] *et seq.*). He received the name Irindjin Dūrdjī (in Waṣṣāf Tūrdjī) "most precious jewel", which he bears on his coins, after his accession from his Buddhist priests (according to Waṣṣāf from Chinese); the same name was, according to Waṣṣāf, also placed on the currency notes issued in Gaikhātū's reign. Before his accession he was governor of Asia Minor. Muslims were particularly favoured in his reign unlike that of his predecessor; Ṣadr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Khālidī (also called al-Zandjānī from his birthplace, and al-Čāwī after his unfortunate experiment with paper money), who was appointed minister (*Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*) on the 6[th] Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 691 = 18[th] November 1292, received the title *Ṣadr-Djihān* and the military rank of a commander of 10,000. His brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad as chief Ḳāḍī bore the title *Ḳuṭb-Djihān*. The Mongol Emirs were completely excluded from any share in the administration of the empire by Ṣadr-Djihān; no distinction was made between the revenues of the royal estates (*indjū*) and the state revenues proper (*dalāī*). All attempts of the Emirs to overthrow the minister failed; the malcontents were delivered into the hands of the minister by Gaikhātū's orders but pardoned by him; it was strictly forbidden to bring such complaints in future. Unlike all other rulers of this dynasty, particularly his predecessor Arghūn, Gaikhātū did not stain his brief reign by any atrocities; on the other hand he plunged the land into a critical condition by his extravagances and excesses; matters were made worse by a severe murrain (*yūt*); the treasury had to borrow large sums to meet the expenses of the court and was not in a position to repay them. In these circumstances the first and last attempt in Western Asia was made to force a paper currency (*čāw*) after the Chinese model into circulation (693 = 1294); but the crisis was only intensified by this measure and the prestige of the ruler and his minister undermined. After only two months the notes had to be withdrawn; as Dorn (*Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 575) has pointed out not even the word *čāw* has survived in Persian; European paper-money is always known by the Arabic name *ḳā'ima*; but *čāw* is still found in Persian literature of Central Asia in the xii[th] = xviii[th] century with the meaning "debased coin" (F. Teufel, *Quellenstudien zur neueren Geschichte der Chânate*, p. 74).

On the deposition and murder of Gaikhātū cf. BAIDU, i. 591.

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GAKHAR. The Gakhar tribe occupies parts of the districts of Rāwalpindī, Aṭak and Djhilam in the Pandjāb and of Hazāra in the North-west Frontier Province of India, also in Djammū Territory, West of the Čināb. They are all Muḥammadans and have a high social position among the agricultural tribes of North-west India in the mountainous and sub-montane tract, and are generally considered to stand apart from the tribes of Rādjpūt descent. Some of them call themselves Mughals but the late Rādja Djahāndād Khān (Chief of the Gakhars of Hazāra) claimed descent from Nawshirwān and Yazdigird and claimed the title of Kāyānī, stating that after being driven from Persia they ruled Tibet under the Chinese, adopted Islām and returned to Kābul, ultimately entering India with Maḥmūd Ghaznawī. This account is evidently unhistorical, but points to a tradition among the Gakhars of Central-Asian origin. It is most probable that the Gakhars represent one of the invading races from the period of the Kushāns to that of the Ephthalites, but evidence is not forthcoming for any exact identification. Cunningham held them to be Kushāns. In later times they have been supposed by most historians to be the tribe called Gakkars in Briggs's translation of Firishta's history i. 46 and 182, who joined the Indian confederacy against Maḥmūd Ghaznawī in 399 (1008) and fought against Muḥammad b. Sām in 602 (1205) and were charged by Firishta with his assassination. There is good reason however for reading the name of the tribe in question Khokar (for Khōkhar) instead of Gakhar; the whole ques-

tion as regards the events of 602 is discussed fully by Raverty (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* trans., Vol. I, p. 485 and notes). As regards the events of 399 in Maḥmūd's time, however, it seems possible that the brave band who stormed his camp near Peshāwar were Gakhars rather than Khōkhars as the locality is close to Gakhar territory and the Khōkhars belong rather to the central Pandjāb. There is, however, no mention of the tribe in the early historians such as the *Ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī* or the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*; the only authority is Firishta who spells the name Khakar (ككهر). Balban's expedition against the tribes of the Djūd Mts. may have been directed against them. The Gakhars again emerge from obscurity in the time of the Emperor Bābur who in 925 (1519) intervened in a dispute between two Gakhar chiefs in the Salt-range (Koh-i Djūd). Bābur took their fort Parhāla, and Hātī Khān Gakhar submitted to him, but afterwards again revolted. The chiefship seems to have remained in the family of the rival chief Tātār Khān who was supported by Bābur, as in Akbar's time we find from the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* that his sons Sulṭān Sārang and Sulṭān Ādam ruled the tribe, and Nazar Khān, grandson of Sārang Khān, was a commander of five hundred (afterwards one thousand in the year 1001). Djahāngīr in his memoirs describes his journey through the Gakhar country in 1016, and was himself married to a daughter of Saiyid Khān father of Nazar Khān. Djahāngīr described the territory of the Gakhars as ending at the Margalah pass between Rāwalpindī and Ḥasan Abdāl, and alludes to them as a troublesome and turbulent race. Under later Mughal sovereigns several Gakhars attained distinction. They suffered a good deal under the rule of the Sikhs, but have since recovered, and now hold a good position. They are especially given to military service under the British Government.

The Gakhar mainly belong to the Shī'a sect. They are divided into five clans, the Bugiāl, Iskandral, Firūzāl, Ādamāl and Sārangāl; these are patronymics, the last two being derived from Ādam and Sārang the chiefs in Akbar's time. The Sārangāls are found in Hazāra and Atak, the Ādamāls in Rāwalpindī and Djehlam. The chiefs formerly bore the title of Sulṭān, but since Sikh rule that of Rādja. The late Rādja Djahāndād Khān C. I. E. was one of the leading men of his day, and has been succeeded (in 1906) as chief of the Hazāra Gakhars by his son Rādja 'Alī Ḥaidar Khān.

Bibliography: Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography*, (Calcutta, 1883), p. 255; Griffin, *Panjāb Chiefs* (Lahore, 1872), p. 574 *et seq.*; Watson, *Gazetteer of the Hazara District* (London 1908), p. 35, *Settlement Reports of Rawalpindi and Jehlam* (Lahore); Firishta, *History*, lithogr. Lucknow, pp. 26—38 (Briggs's trans., Vol. i. 146 and 182); Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, ii. Appendix, p. 444; Blochmann, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, i. 486 (Calcutta, 1873); Massy, *Chiefs and Families of the Panjab* (Allahabad, 1890), p. 424; *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, trans. Raverty, i. 481 *et seq.* (London, 1881); *Bābar's Memoirs*, trans. Erskine, London 1826, p. 259; Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 104.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GALATA, a suburb of Constantinople [q. v., i. 874[b] *et seq.*].

GAMRON, also written GOMRON etc., see above i. 694[a] *infra sq.*, a seaport on the Persian Gulf, called Bender 'Abbās since the reign of 'Abbās I. To the *Bibliography* given above i. 695[a] may be added, Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Gombroon.

GANDĀPUR, the name of an Afghān tribe living in the Dāmān of the Dera Ismā'īl Khān District [see Art. DĀMĀN]. The tribe is said to be of Saiyid descent, and like the Bakhtyārī who also claim the same origin, was originally attached to the Ustarāna tribe. In the time of the Durrānī kings they descended into the plains and settled in the Dāmān. Their country extends from Drāban in the south to Pahārpur in the north. Kulāčī is the principal town, and the residence of the Chief. The country is barren but receives some irrigation from mountain torrents, especially from branches of the Gumal River. The name Gandāpur is accounted for by a legend that Tarīn son of Storai (eponymic founder of the Ustarāna tribe) married without his father's consent a girl of the Sherānī tribe, and hence was called by him *Ganda pūr* or 'evil son'. This story no doubt points to the fact that the tribe is of mixed descent. The Gandāpur, though formerly turbulent, are now a peaceable tribe living entirely in British territory. Their language is the Kandahārī variety of Pashto.

Bibliography: Muhammad Ḥayāt Khān, *Afghānistān* (the *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī*), trans. Priestley (Lahore 1874); H. Edwardes, *A Year on the Panjab Frontier* (London 1851); Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan* (London 1880).

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GANDJA, Arab. DJANZA, Russian JELISAWETPOL since 1804, (the old name alone is still used by the native population), a town in the Caucasus. The town was first founded under Arab rule, according to the Armenian Moses Kalankatuači (transl. by Patkanian, p. 270; cf. J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 462) about 845, according to Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (in Schefer, *Siasset Nameh*, supplément, p. 227) in the year 39 (probably for 239 = 853-854). It is not mentioned by the oldest Arab geographers like Ibn Khordādhbih and Ya'ḳūbī; it seems to have taken its name from the pre-Muhammadan capital of Adharbaidjān (now the ruins of Takht-i Sulaimān, cf. i. 134[b] *infra sq.*). Iṣṭakhrī (ed. de Goeje), p. 187 and 193, only mentions Gandja as a small town on the road from Bardha'a to Tiflis; according to him the distance between Bardha'a and Gandja was 9 farsakh, according to Yāḳūt (ii. 132) 16 farsakh. After the decline of Bardha'a (cf. i. 461 and 656) Gandja became the capital of Arrān; the Shaddādid dynasty ruled here from about 340 = 951-952; after it had been overthrown by Sulṭān Malik Shāh (465—485 = 1072—1092) Muhammad, son of the Sulṭān, was granted Gandja in fief. In 533 = 1138-1139 [so correctly in 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Recueil des Textes* etc., ed. Houtsma, ii. 190; according to Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornb.), xi. 51, in 534 = 1139-1140] the town was destroyed by an earthquake in which, according to 'Imād al-Dīn, about 300,000 people, to Ibn al-Athīr about 130,000, perished including the wife and children of Ḳarā-Sonkor, Emir of Adharbaidjān and Arrān, who was absent at the time;

Demetrius, king of Georgia, sacked the ruined town and carried off one of its gates. ʿImād al-Dīn says that the Georgians built a new town in their vicinity, gave it the name Djanza and set up the gate they had carried off there; soon afterwards Ḳara-Sonḳor destroyed the new town and brought the gate back to Gandja. The latter statement does not agree with the facts; the gate that was carried off still exists in the Gelathi monastery in Kutais; a Georgian inscription gives an account of its removal; and there has also survived on the gate itself an Arabic inscription of the year 455 = 1063 (the year of its erection) which has been deciphered by Fraehn (*Mém. de l'Acad.*, viᵗʰ Ser., *Sciences politiques*, iii., 1836, p. 531 *et seq.*).

Ḳara-Sonḳor died in 535 = 1140-1141, his successor Djawlī in Djumādā I. 541 (9ᵗʰ Oct.—7ᵗʰ Nov. 1146). Kawlī is next mentioned as ruler of Arrān (*Recueil* etc., ii. 232); but a few years later we find Arrān again united with Ādharbaidjān under the rule of the Pahlawānids. The town of Gandja is said to have been rebuilt by Ḳara-Sonḳor "in all its splendour" (*ilā aḥsan ḥālātihā*); in the viᵗʰ = xiiᵗʰ century it was considered one of the most beautiful cities of Western Asia (cf. the verses in Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (*l. c.*); the poet Niẓāmī Gandjawī belongs to this period; Ibn al-Athīr (xii. 251) calls Gandja "mother of the cities of Arrān" (*umm bilād Arrān*). When the Mongols appeared before Gandja in 618 = 1221, they dared not attack the strongly fortified town, the inhabitants of which had proved their courage in frequent battles with the Georgians; but the retreat of the enemy had to be purchased with money and clothstuffs. In 622 = 1225 Gandja, whither the last Pahlawānid, Uzbeg, had fled from Tabrīz, was taken by Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh; a few years later all the Khwārizmians were massacred in a rebellion of the inhabitants; nevertheless, after suppressing this rising Djalāl al-Dīn refused to allow his troops to sack the town and only had the ringleaders, 30 in all, executed (628 = 1231). Four years later (1235) the town was captured and burned by the Mongols. On this occasion again the town was soon rebuilt but does not seem to have ever attained great importance again. After the foundation of a Mongol empire in Persia, Arrān with Gandja as capital became one of the provinces in it; the land afterwards usually shared the lot of Ādharbaidjān and from Ismāʿīl Shāh Safawī's reign formed a portion of the Persian kingdom; under Persian rule the governor of Gandja bore the title Khān. In 1583 Khān Imām Ḳulī was defeated by the Turks, the town itself taken in 1588 by them; invested in Shawwāl 1014 (9ᵗʰ Febr.—9ᵗʰ March 1606) by Shāh ʿAbbās I. it was won for the Persians again after a six month's siege. Shāh ʿAbbās transferred the town to another site about 1 farsakh "higher", i. e. to the southwest. The new Gandja had to surrender to the Turks in 1723, was taken by Nādir Shāh in 1735, remained after his death under the rule of Khāns who were practically independent, passed into the power of the Ḳādjārs towards the end of the xviiiᵗʰ century, was stormed on the 3ʳᵈ (15ᵗʰ) January 1804 by the Russians under Prince Cicianow and definitely ceded to Russia by the Peace of Gulistān [q. v.]. On the 13ᵗʰ (25ᵗʰ) Sept. 1826 Paskewič defeated a Persian army under ʿAbbās Mīrzā in the neighbourhood of Gandja (about 5 miles from it). As a Russian town Jelisawetpol had, according to Ritter's *Geographisch-statistisches Lexicon* (5ᵗʰ ed. 1864), only 13,169 inhabitants, in 1891 20,794, while, according to the census of 1897, the number had risen to 33,190.

The modern town (the writer visited it in 1908) lies on both banks of the Gandja Čai, a tributary of the Kura (called by the Russians Gandjinka), which are connected by a bridge. The western part of the town is inhabited by "Tatars" (Ādharbaidjānīs) and Persians, the eastern mainly by Russians and Armenians; the government offices and the gymnasium are in the latter; in the former remains of fortifications (illustrated in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 3) and the so-called "Tatar" mosque have survived from the time of Shāh ʿAbbās; the "Persian" mosque belongs to a later period. Only the ruins remain (2-3 miles east of the town; illustrated in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, xxi. 034 *et seq.*) of the mausoleum (*turbat*) of the poet Niẓāmī, mentioned by Iskander Munshī (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā-i ʿAbbāsī*, Pers. ed., p. 498 *et seq.*). South of the town (5-6 miles) on the right bank of the Gandja-Čai lies the flourishing German colony of Helenendorf. The climate of Jelisawetpol is regarded as unhealthy and malarial; on the other hand the climatic conditions favour the development of vegetation, particularly the horticulture; the town garden (near the ancient fortress) is one of the best in South Russia; wine, tobacco and silk are also produced. (W. BARTHOLD.)

GANDO, the kingdom of the Fulbe in the Western Sūdān (cf. the article FUL).

GAO. [See GOGO.]

GARDĪZĪ, ABŪ SAʿĪD ʿABD AL-ḤAYY B. AL-ḌAḤḤĀK B. MAḤMŪD, a Persian historian. Nothing is known of his life. As his *nisba* shows he was born in Gardīz (usually written Kardīz in Arabic, e. g. Yāḳūt, iv. 258, but sometimes also Djardīz as throughout al-ʿUtbī's *Taʾrīkh Yamīnī* which confirms the spelling with *g*), a day's journey from Ghazna on the road to India (Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 349). His work (*Zain al-Akhbār*) was written in the reign of ʿAbd al-Rashīd the Ghaznawid (440—444 = 1049—1053). It contains a history of the kings of Persia, of Muḥammad and the Caliphs to the year 423 = 1032 a detailed history of Khorāsān from the Arab conquest to 432 = 1041; included are essays on Greek sciences (*Dar Maʿārif-i Rūmiyān*), on chronology and the religious festivals of various peoples. The final chapters deal with genealogy (*ansāb*) and science (*maʿārif*); it also includes a chapter on the Turks of great value for the geography of Central Asia and one on India. No historical sources are quoted by Gardīzī; in the chapter on the Turks he relies on Ibn Khurdādhbih, Djaihānī and Ibn Muḳaffaʿ. He says he received information about Indian festivals from Albīrūnī, so that he is regarded as a pupil of the latter. Gardīzī exercised little influence on historical tradition in the east and is seldom quoted (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 220ᵃ); the manuscript in the Bodleian (Ouseley 240) of the year 1196 = 1782 is the one that has been generally used by European scholars and is frequently (even in the *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 356) described as unique; from this MS. the chapter on the Turks has twice been edited (W. Barthold, *Otčet o poězdkě v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 78 *et seq.*; Géza Kuun, *Keleti Kútfők*

1808, p. 5 *et seq.* and *Keleti Szemle*, 1903, p. 17 *et seq.*) and translated (into Russian and Hungarian). There is another MS. in Cambridge (King's Coll. Library, N°. 213), to which attention was called by Morley as long ago as 1858 (*Journ. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., iii. p. 120). The author of this article has shown (*Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, ii. 520) that Ouseley 240 must be a transcript of King's College, N°. 213. It is not known what MS. Raverty used (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 901). The contents of the *Zain al-Akhbār* have been most fully analysed by Sachau and Ethé (*Catalogue*, p. 9 *et seq.*). Cf. the excerpts from the historical chapters in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 1 *et seq.* and the corrections given in ii. 513; see also Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Engl. transl., ii. 360 and 397 on the passages borrowed by Gardīzī from this work and W. Barthold in *Orientalische Studien*, *Th. Nöldeke dargebracht*, i. 174 *et seq.* on the relation of Gardīzī to Sallāmī.
(W. BARTHOLD.)

GARĔBĔG, a Javanese name for the Muslim festivals: *garĕbĕg bĕsar* = *ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā* [q. v.], *garĕbĕg pawasa* or *pĕṛnan* = *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr* (q. v.) and *garĕbĕg maulud* on the 12th Rabīʿ I.

GAUR, The old capital of Bengal, situated in the district of Mālda, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Lat. 24° 54′ N. Long. 88° 8′ E. It lies east of the Ganges, on a narrow and deserted channel of that river, and is twelve miles from the town of Mālda. The name Gaur is old, and according to Firishta it was founded many centuries ago by a Hindu named Shankal. In later times it was known by the name of Lakhnawtī, an abridgement of Lakshmaṇavatī, a name derived from the Hindu king of Bengal. It was captured by the Muḥammadans in 1197 or 1198. In 1243-1244 it was visited by Minhādj ad-dīn who gives a short description of it in his *Ṭabaḳāt Nāṣirī* (Raverty's translation i. 584). It was from time to time the capital of the Muhammadan kings of Bengal, though they also resided at the town of Pandua about 20 m. to the N. E. of Gaur. In 1538 Humāyūn resided at Gaur and changed its name to Jinnatābād, as he regarded the name Gaur as unpropitious on account of its resemblance to the Persian *gōr*, a sepulchre. Akbar's general Munʿim Khān occupied it, but had to abandon it in 1575 on account of the outbreak of a pestilence. It was last inhabited by a prince when Sulṭān Shudjāʿ was there in the middle of the 17th century. It is now in utter ruin, but possesses a magnificent tank, the Sāgar Dighi. The remains of the mosques etc. are preserved by Government. There is a good account of Gaur in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xii. It was visited by the Portuguese in the 16th century, and in 1683 Sir William Hedges was there and gave an account of it in his Diary (Hakluyt Society, 1887—1889). The earliest detailed account of it is in Henry Creighton's *Ruins of Gaur described*, London, 1817. But J. H. Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, edited by his widow, is more accurate (London, 1878). It is also described in the *Archaeological Reports of India*, vol. xv. See also Dr. Buchanan's *Eastern India*, and a *Note on Major Francklin's art. Description of Gaur*, *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. lxiii. Part i. p. 85 *et seq.*, and the review of Ilāhī Bakhsh's *Khurshīd Djahānnumā* in the same *Journal*, Vol. lxiv. Part i. p. 194. The history of the Muḥammadan kings of Bengal, and some account of Gaur will be found in Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm's *Riyāẓ-i Salāṭīn*, translated by Abd as-Salām, Calcutta, 1902, and in Stewart's *History of Bengal*.
(H. BEVERIDGE.)

GAYOS, a tribe in Atjeh [q. v., i. 506a].

GAZA. [See GHAZZA.]

GAZŪLĪ. [See DJAZŪLĪ.]

GEBER. [See DJĀBIR, i. 987b *et seq.*]

GEBER (P.), the name of the Persian Zoroastrians, the origin of which is not quite certain. The word is usually considered to be the Arabic *kāfir* (unbeliever; Turk. *giaur*). For other etymologies see the *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 667. Cf. art. PĀRSIS.

GEGA, an Albanian tribe, i. p. 453b.

GEORGIA (Russ. GRUZIJA, Pers.-Turk. GURDJISTAN, GURDJISTAN, Georg. SAKHARTHVELLO), in the wider sense an area in Western and Central Transcaucasia, inhabited by people who speak Kharthwelian languages, stretching from the Black Sea to somewhat over 60 miles N. E. of Tiflis, in the narrower sense practically the government of Tiflis. From the point of view of historical geography, which is still to some extent valid, it comprises the provinces and districts of Kakhethia with the mountain districts of Thushethia, Pshawia and Khewsuria, Karthlia, Imerethia, Swanethia, Guria, Mingrelia and Meskhia. The Kharthwelian languages include the Georgian, Mingrel, Lasian (the latter only spoken in the extreme southwest corner on the Turkish frontier while the majority of the Lases, also called Tšans, live in Turkey) and Swanian; the latter spoken in Swanethia and Mingrel in Mingrelia. Georgian is spoken in all the other provinces. The greater proportion of the Kharthwel peoples profess Christianity in the Greek Orthodox form; only in a few places have they adopted Islām, namely in the extreme east, in the district of Sakathal, the Engiloes (Georgian language), also entirely in the southwest, in the Batum circle, the Adjars (the Lases are likewise Muslims). Georgian has lost a considerable number of adherents in the Čoroch district and on the upper course of the Kura, i. e. in the Ardagan district and in the districts of Akhaltsikh (q. v., i. 230a) and Akhalkhalakhi, where Georgian was still spoken two hundred years ago and has now been supplanted by Turkish. The people have forgotten their language and origin and call themselves Turks.

The beginnings of Georgian history are wrapped in obscurity. Karthlia and Kakhethia formed the nucleus for the formation of a new state. The western Kharthwel country had at an early period passed under Byzantine rule and from it Christianity in its Eastern Roman form spread over the Western Transcaucasia. Saint Nino is regarded as the bringer of Christianity. She is said to have converted King Mirian in the beginning of the fourth century (the dates given vary). The Georgian church was granted its independence at the sixth council in 680 at Constantinople.

As Georgia lay in the centre of a circle on the circumference of which powerful states had grown up, it suffered terrible vicissitudes till it became Russian territory in 1801. Down to the seventh century Byzantium and Persia were fighting for its possession; soon after 627 (Heraclius's victory over the Sāsānians) the Arabs advanced on Georgia. From the end of the viiith century

the power of the Bagratids began to increase (with Byzantine help) in South Georgia. In the xith century the Saldjūḳs conquered the land. It was only after the Crusaders had entered Jerusalem that David the Renovator drove out the Turks in 1100. Under this king (1089—1125) a period of prosperity for Georgia began which lasted till after the death of Thamar (1184—1212). A great decline in the fortunes of the land set in from the xiiith—xviith centuries, the Mongol invasions (Tīmūr alone was six times in the country between 1385 and 1403) had most disastrous consequences. Scarcely had the country been united under the Bagratids, when it broke up in the xvth century into three kingdoms, Karthlia, Kakhethia, Imerethia and five principalities and henceforth its history is not that of a single country. After the fall of the Byzantine empire Georgia was left without a protector and the inroads of the Tatars, Turks, Persians and Lesghians became more frequent. Persian influence in particular became very strong and in the xviith century the king of Karthlia and Kakhethia became a mere governor for the Shāh of Persia.

Russia was the only hope and to it Georgia had turned at quite an early period. In 1558 Lewan II. of Kakhethia besought the Czar Iwan IV. Wassiljewitch for help against the Persians; in the time of the terrible Shāh ʿAbbās Alexander turned to Boris Feodorowitch Godunow, in 1619 Teimuraz sent an embassy to the first Czar of the house of Romanow, Michail Feodorowitch. But Georgia was not yet within the sphere of Russian interests and the old state of affairs continued. It was only in the xviiith century that Georgia regained strength once more under King Wakhtang VI. Heraclius II. (1762—1798) was once more able to stem the tide of Persian-Turkish-Lesghian invasion, temporarily at least, but when he died the country had been so weakened by domestic troubles, the plague (1770), the destruction of Tiflis by Agha Muḥammad Khān of Persia (1795) and other causes, that George XII., the successor of Heraclius resolved to place his kingdom under Russian protection (1801). A few years later (1804) Imerethia also became a Russian province; a year previously Mingrelia had also become a Russian possession and after the last Russo-Turkish war, the Muslim southwestern districts of the Kharthwels, Kaghisman, Ardagan, Olty, Artwin, Batum (and Kars) also passed under Russian rule. [Cf. ARMENIA, I. 442].

Bibliography: Cf. Brosset's works, particularly *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg 1858; W. E. Romanowskij, *Skizzen aus der Geschichte Georgiens* (Russisch), Tiflis 1902; Arth. Leist, *Das Georgische Volk*, Dresden 1903; J. Marquart, *Osteurop. und ostasiat. Streifzüge*, p. 177—188, 391—436. (A. DIRR.)

GERMESĪR (P.). *Germsīr* is the name given to the hot coast region of Fārs and Kirmān in opposition to the cooler highlands (*Serdsīr*). These words have been arabicised by the Arab geographers in the forms *Djurūm* and *Surūd* or *Ṣurūd*.

GERMIĀNOGHLU, the name of a Turkoman dynasty, which made itself independent on the fall of the Saldjūḳ empire in Asia Minor and made Kütahia, the ancient Cotyaeum, its capital; Germiān was originally the name of a tribe and afterwards was applied to the dynasty (cf. Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv. 229, 232, 326 *et seq.*, 332 *et seq.*; and the expression Ἀλισύρας τὸ Καρμιανῶν in Pachymeres, ii. 421, as well as the title: *Sulṭān al-Germiānīye* in Sulaimān-Shāh's inscription). The pronunciation — Germiān or Kermiān — is doubtful; the Byzantines write Γερμιάν, Καρμιανός, or Καραμανός (through confusion with Ḳaramān); Schiltberger (ed. Langmantel), 54: *Kermian*; on the other hand Aḥmed Wefīḳ, Lehdje 1040, writes *Germiān*, گرمیان, and Leunclavius (xvi. Jahrh.) transcribes *Germian* throughout; the form جرمیان given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 271, also seems to be in favour of Germiān. At the end of the xiiith century or the beginning of the xivth ʿAlīshīr (written Ἀλισύρας, Ἀλισούριος, Ἀλησύρας by the Byzantines), "the satrap of Cotyaeum" (Kantakuzenos, ii. 82) is mentioned with ʿOsmān, Ṣarukhān, Menteshe etc. as one of the invaders of Byzantine lands in Asia Minor; amongst other places he had seized Kula and Tripolis on the Maeander and attempted to take Philadelphia (Alashehir) but was severely defeated in battle with the Katalans and Almugavars (1304; 1306 according to Muralt) (see Pachymeres, ii. 421 *et seq.*; Mumuner, c. 205). According to Turkish sources, in the time of Ertoghrul "ʿAlīshīr, father of Germiān" was reigning over Afiun Karaḥiṣār (Neshrī and his copyists). Shihāb al-Dīn, a contemporary of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's, knew of Germiān, son of ʿAlīshīr, as lord of Kütahia, and Ibn en-Nūʿh, the son-in-law and vassal of Germiān, as lord of Karaḥiṣār. This agrees with a coin of Germiān Khān of the year 707 (1307), struck at Shahr Germiān (unique, described by Ismāʿīl Ghālib in the Catalogue of his collection of Saldjūḳ coins Nr. 175).

Our knowledge of the history of the dynasty of Germiān to the end of the xivth century is lamentably small. Munedjdjimbashī, iii. 34 *et seq.* gives the following list of rulers: Germiānbeg, ʿAlīshīrbeg, ʿAlemshāh, ʿAlī, Yaʿḳūb; this cannot be reconciled with other statements of contemporary historians and monuments. We learn from an inscription in Kütahia of the year 779 (1377) that Sulaimānshāh, son of Meḥemmed, grandson of Yaʿḳūb, ruled over Germiān about this time. According to Ḫalīl Edhem this Yaʿḳūb is identical with the "great Emīr" Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAlīshīr, who is mentioned in an inscription of Angora of the year 699 = 1299. Yaʿḳūb's father, ʿAlīshīr, might thus be the lord of Germiān of this name mentioned by the Byzantine and Ottoman historians but can hardly be identified with Karīm al-Dīn ʿAlīshīr (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv. 299) who was slain in the reign of Ḳilidj Arslān IV (655—663). According to the waḳf document of his grandson Yaʿḳūb II, Meḥemmed conquered Kütahia and Simav; in his reign or that of his successor Sulaimānshāh the districts of Karaḥiṣār and Denizli were incorporated in the kingdom of Germiān. Sulaimānshāh (in the Turkish historians simply called Germiānoghlu) married his daughter Khātūn Sulṭān in 783 (1381) to prince Bāyazīd, son of Murād I., and granted her as dowry the most important towns in his land, including the capital. His son, Yaʿḳūb (II), who succeeded him about 790 (1388), was taken prisoner by Bāyazīd in 793 (1391), interned in Ipsala in Roumelia, and his lands confiscated in 795 (1393). Yaʿḳūb escaped from Ipsala to Tīmūr and after the battle

of Angora was restored by Timūr like the other petty rulers who had been dispossessed by Bāyazīd. When Timūr left Anatolia, he gave Ya'ḳūb the task of guarding the corpse of Bāyazīd I. and his captive son, Mūsā Čelebi; Ya'ḳūb then handed both over to Meḥemmed Čelebi. He was on friendly terms with the latter and with Murād II. and remained in undisturbed possession of his lands till his death. When he died without male heirs in 832 (1428-1429) the land of Germiān was confiscated by Murād II. A pretender, who rose in rebellion in 1453 on the accession of Meḥemmed II. supported by the Karamanoghlu, was quickly disposed of. The Germiān country has since then been divided into two sandjaks, Germiān and Karaḥiṣṣri Ṣāḥib; Kutahia in 1453 became the seat of the Beglerbeg of Anadolū. The following dynasty table is based on the material available:

'Alīshīr (about 700 A. H.)
|
Germiān Khān (about 707—730 A. H.) = Ya'ḳūb (I)?
|
Meḥemmed
|
Sulaimānshāh (about 779 A. H.)
|
Ya'ḳūb II. (790?—793; 805—832 A. H.).

The chief critical authority is Ḫalīl Edhem in the *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane I.*, p. 112 *et seq.*; the exceeding rare coins of Sulaimānshāh and Ya'ḳūb II. are described by Aḥmed Tewḥīd in the fourth part of the *Catalogue of the Moh. Coins in the Ottoman Museum*, p. 294 *et seq.*, 529. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

GHADĀMES, a town and oasis in the Sahara, 300 miles S.W. of Tripoli and 280 miles S.S.W. of Gabes, in 30° 7' 48" N. Lat. and 8° 28' E. Long. (Greenw.), with 5000—6000 inhabitants.

The town occupies the southwestern part of the oasis. It forms a ḳṣar of about 1300 houses surrounded by a dilapidated wall and intersected by narrow streets which are vaulted over almost their whole length. The only architectural monuments are the mosques (14 in number) of unpretending exteriors. According to al-Hashā'ishī the tombs of two companions of the Prophet, Sīdī al-Badrī and Sīdī 'Uḳba b. 'Āmir are honoured there. The oasis, which is protected by a wall around it with only one gate, is about 4 miles in circumference, ½—1 mile broad and has an area of 400 acres of which not more than 100 are planted with palms. Water procured from an artesian well and two warm and seven or eight ordinary springs assure the irrigation of the gardens, each of which contains five or six palms. The total number of trees estimated by Duveyrier in 1860 at 63,000 seems in reality not to exceed 25,000.

The free inhabitants fall into four groups: *a.* the Berber Benī Waziṭ and Benī Ulīd, who consider themselves the descendants of the founders of the town; *b.* the Arab Ulād Bellīl; *c.* the Atriya, i. e. negroes or mulattoes descended from manumitted slaves; *d.* Tuareg Ifoghas, who are permanently encamped round the town as caravan leaders or bandits and "protectors" of the traders.

The predominant languages in Ghadāmes are first, Arabic as the language of commerce, second Hausa spoken by a number of slaves and lastly a Berber dialect, the language of everyday life, which is between the dialect of the Djebel Nefūsa and the Tamashek, but is more closely connected with the former. The women only know the last of these.

The indigenous industries are of little importance although Ghadāmes has always been celebrated for its leather work (Spanish *guadamecí*). The situation of the town however between the sandhills of the Eastern Erg (cf. ERG, I. 428) and those of Edeyen has made it a great centre of exchange for the traffic of the Sahara; but its importance from this point of view has considerably decreased since the abolition of the slave trade and the estimates of Duveyrier and Largeau, who put the annual value of the business done in Ghadāmes at 12 million francs (£ 48,000) are much exaggerated. According to more recent investigations the annual value of the goods sold in the city hardly reaches £ 4000. The inhabitants nevertheless are very busy and clever tradesmen. We find them not only in Tripoli and Tunis, where the young men serve their apprenticeship, but in all the trading centres of the Sūdān from the shores of Lake Chad to the banks of the Niger.

Ghadāmes is the Cydamus of the ancients. Native legends ascribe its foundation sometimes to Nimrūd and sometimes to Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain (Alexander). According to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 5) Cydamus was inhabited by Egyptians from Libya. Possibly it is to these original inhabitants that we owe the buildings called *el-Aṣnām* (the idols) by the natives, which Duveyrier regards as evidence of a civilisation which he calls Garamantine. In the year 19 B. C. Cydamus was occupied by Cornelius Balbus, under the empire it was garrisoned by a detachment of the *Legio Augusta*, stationed in Lambaesis, and under the Byzantines it was the see of a bishop. Ibn Khaldūn is therefore wrong when (*Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii. p. 303) he ascribes the foundation of the town to the Banū Waṭṭās, a branch of the Benī Merīn, who built Ghadāmes in the early days of Islām.

In the year 46 (666-667) 'Uḳba b. Nāfi' sent a detachment from his army to occupy Ghadāmes. In the following century, however, the inhabitants eagerly adopted the Abāḍī doctrines introduced by their countryman Abu 'l-Munīb Ismā'īl b. Darrār. This Ismā'īl was one of the five "transmitters of knowledge" who spread heretical doctrines in Africa. When Ghadāmes returned to orthodoxy is not known, but the Abāḍī heresy seems to have disappeared by al-Bakrī's time as this author describes the inhabitants of Ghadāmes as Muslim Berbers (*Descr. de l'Afrique Septentr.*, trans. de Slane, p. 397).

During the centuries that followed, Ghadāmes seems to have retained its independence, as the few historical statements that we possess of this period concerning the town refer to attempts made by the rulers of Ifrīḳiya to take the town. For example in 609 (1212-1213) Abu 'l-'Ulā Idrīs occupied Ghadāmes for a brief period and in 809 (1406-1407) the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris forced the inhabitants to pay him tribute. The latter soon seem to have freed themselves of this burden, as in the second half of the xvth century we find the princes of Tunis undertaking three campaigns against Ghadāmes. Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, Vol. iii. p. 265) in the beginning of the xvith century mentions that the people of Ghadāmes were independent. The Turks of Tunis in spite of several campaigns undertaken by Darwish Bey

(1592) and Ramaḍān Bey (1609) were, like the Ḥafṣids before them, not able to enforce their authority on Ghadāmes. During the xviiith and early xixth centuries Ghadāmes was an independent republic, but in 1830 the inhabitants had to recognise the suzerainty of Yūsuf the last Karamanli Bey of Tripoli. After the expulsion of the Karamanli Ghadāmes passed into the possession of the Turks and a *mudīr* who was afterwards (1862) replaced by a *ḳā'immaḳām* was appointed to govern it and a small garrison was stationed there.

The commercial importance of the place attracted the attention of Europeans to it in the xixth century. The following travellers visited it, Laing (1825), Richardson (1845), Dickson (1852), Capitaine de Bonnemain (1856) and Duveyrier; in 1862, a French mission (Mircher, Vatonne and Polignac) concluded a commercial treaty with the Tuāregs; they were followed by the travellers Rohlfs (1864-1865), Dournaux-Duperré, Joubert, Largeau (1876) and Pères Richard (1878); since then, however, Ghadāmes has remained closed to Europeans owing to the jealousy of the Turks. The French have vigorously disputed their claim to the town since the establishment of the protectorate in Tunisia. The Anglo-French treaty of 1899 decided that Ghadāmes must be considered outside French territory and the Franco-Turkish agreement of 19th May 1910 regarding the delimitation of the frontier between Tunisia and Tripolitania laid it down that the frontier should pass 10 miles west of Ghadāmes. The cession of Tripolitania to Italy, made Ghadāmes an Italian possession.

Bibliography: al-Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique* (transl. de Slane), p. 397; Richardson, *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara* etc. (London 1848, 2 Vols.); Cherbonneau, *Relation du voyage de M. le Capitaine de Bonnemain à R'adamès* (Paris 1857); Ch. Dickson, *Report of his journey from Tripoli to Ghadames* in the *Journal of the Royal Society*, Vol. xxii. p. 131; do., *Account of Ghadames*, ibid., Vol. xxx. p. 255; H. Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, Paris 1863, Book iii., Chap. i.; G. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika*, (Leipzig 1874), i., Chap. iii. iv.; do., *Reise . . . . . . durch die grosse Wüste über Rhadames nach Tripoli* (Bremen 1868); E. Fagnan, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XIIe siècle de notre ère* (*Kitāb al-Istibṣār*), Constantine 1900, p. 60 *et seq.*, 200; al-Hachaichi, *Voyage au pays des Senoussia*, transl. Serre et Lasram (Paris 1903); V. Largeau, *Le Sahara Algérien* (Paris 1881); do., *Second voyage à Ghadamès* in *Le Pays de Rirha* (Paris 1879); Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer), iii. 265; Letronne, *Note sur l'oasis de Ghadamès et ses antiquités* in *Rev. archéologique*, iv. p. 301; *Mission de Ghadamès, Rapports officiels et documents* (Paris 1868); A. C. de Motylinski, *Le dialecte berbère de R'edamès* (Paris 1904, *Publ. de l'École des Lettres d'Alger, Bull. de corresp. afric.*, Vol. xxviii.) with list of authorities; L. Pervinquière, *A Ghadamès* in *La Géographie*, 15. Juni 1911; do., *La Tripolitaine interdite: Ghadamès* (Paris 1912); E. Bernet, *En Tripolitaine. Voyage à Ghadamès* (Paris 1912); Minutelli, *La Tripolitania* (2nd ed. Milan 1912), p. 225—220. (G. YVER.)

AL-**GHAḌANFAR** ("the lion"), a name of the Ḥamdānid 'UDDAT AL-DAWLA ABŪ TAGHLIB FAḌL ALLĀH B. NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA, ruler of al-Mawṣil 358—369 (968—979). Abū Taghlib, who was born in 318 (929-930), quarrelled with his father and afterwards with his brothers, when on the death of the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla in 356 (967) they attempted to attack Mu'izz al-Dawla's successor Bakhtiyār [q. v., i. 602] against their father's wish and therefore threw their father into prison. On the latter's death in 358 (969) two of the brothers, Ḥamdān and Ibrāhīm, took Bakhtiyār's side while a third, al-Ḥusain, stood by Abū Taghlib. The latter conquered Ḥarrān in 359 and made peace with Bakhtiyār, whose daughter he married; he also took Mārdīn from his brother Ḥamdān. Unfortunately for him, a powerful enemy of his father-in-law's entered the field in the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who took Baghdād in 364 (975) and finally, on the death of his father Rukn al-Dawla, forced Bakhtiyār to surrender the 'Irāḳ. Ḥamdān thought he would seize the opportunity to drive his brother Abū Taghlib out of al-Mawṣil with Bakhtiyār's help but only succeeded in getting himself imprisoned by Bakhtiyār as soon as Abū Taghlib had promised him his help in recovering Baghdād. In the war with 'Aḍud al-Dawla that followed, Bakhtiyār was taken prisoner and put to death while Abū Taghlib had to take refuge in flight. The victor soon appeared before al-Mawṣil and the Ḥamdānid sought in vain to treat with him; he was not inclined to restore this important city to the Ḥamdānids so that Abū Taghlib, pursued by Būyid troops, sought refuge with Bardas Skleros, to whom he was related by marriage and bound by ties of friendship. But just then the latter was engaged in a struggle with the Byzantine general Bardas Phocas, in which he came off second in 368 (979), so that Abū Taghlib, who was awaiting the result of the war in Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Kharthart), as in the meanwhile 'Aḍud al-Dawla had occupied Maiyāfāriḳīn and Āmid, went to Damascus and sought the help of the Fāṭimid al-'Azīz billāh. The latter pretended to take his part and made him the most gorgeous promises through his general al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ. But while Abū Taghlib was looking in vain to Egypt for troops to help him, he fell out with Mufarriḏj b. Daghfal b. al-Djarrāḥ, who ruled over Ramla and South Palestine while nominally recognising the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids and was seeking to drive out the Banū 'Uḳail who were settled there. The latter thereupon turned to Abū Taghlib, who was taken prisoner in a battle near Ramla by his rival and put to death in 369 (979).

Bibliography: Besides the sources mentioned in the article ḤAMDĀNIDS the following deal particularly with Ghaḍanfar: Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī in von Rosen *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa*, p. 10 *et seq.* and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* at the end of the article NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA.

GHADĪR AL-**KHUMM**, a pond or marsh formed by a spring in a wādī on the left of the road from Medina to Mecca, three (according to others one or two) Arab miles from Djuḥfa. The Arab geographers mention the thick trees that surround it and the mosque of the Prophet lying between it and the spring; the few inhabitants belonged in Yāḳūt's time to the Khuzā'a and Kināna. Near it was al-Kharrār, to which Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ was sent in the year 1 A. H. with a few followers by the Prophet.

The place has become famous through a tradition which had its origin among the Shī'a but

is also found among Sunnis, viz., the Prophet on a journey back from Ḥudaibiya (according to others from the farewell pilgrimage) here said of ʿAlī: Whomsoever I am lord of, his lord is ʿAlī also! In memory of this in later times a feast was observed by the Shīʿa.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Vakidi*, p. 31, 425; Kumait, *Hāshimiyyāt* (ed. Horovitz), vi. v. 9; Yaʿḳūbī, *Bibl. geogr. arab.* (ed. de Goeje), vii. 314; Masʿūdī, ibid. viii. 234, 255; Bekri, *Geogr. Wörterbuch* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 232, 318, 829; Yāḳūt, *al-Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 471; iii. 777; Ibn Saʿd (ed. Sachau), v. 235; Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Shīʿa*, p. 61; *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 116; *Vorlesungen über den Islâm*, p. 239; Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiat.*, 1874, p. 198.
(FR. BUHL.)

GHAFFĀR (A.), "Pardoning", one of the beautiful names of Allāh, cf. i. 304ᵃ.

GHAFFĀRĪ (AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD), a Persian man of letters, a descendant of the Shāfiʿī jurist Imām Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Ḳazwīnī, who died in 666 = 1268. His father, who was Ḳāḍī of Raiy, wrote poetry under the pseudonym Wiṣālī and died in 933 = 1527. Aḥmad al-Ghaffārī was likewise a Ḳāḍī and died in 975 = 1567 at Daibul (Sind) on the return journey from the pilgrimage to Mecca. He dedicated his *Nigāristān* ("picture-gallery"), completed in 959 = 1552, to Ṭahmāsp I; it is a collection of anecdotes collected from works of different periods (lith. Bombay 1245 and 1275 and also Calcutta); he also wrote a history of the world in two books entitled *Nusakh-i Djahān-Ārā* (972 = 1564).

Bibliography: Hammer, *Gesch. der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, p. 307; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, ii. 504; Krafft, *Catalogue*, p. 87; Rieu, *Catal. Pers. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, i. 106, 111; *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 267, 333 *et seq.*
(CL. HUART.)

AL-**GHĀFIR** (A.), One of the titles of xl. Sūra.

GHAFŪR (A.), "Pardoning", one of the beautiful names of Allāh, cf. GHAFFĀR.

GHAIB is used generally with the same sense as *ghaiba*, what is absent or hidden, and *al-ghaib* has come to mean the unseen spiritual world; thus *ʿālam al-ghaib* is opposed to *ʿālam al-shahāda*, the world perceived by the senses. This sense is normal in the Ḳorʾān (*Mufradāt* of al-Rāghib, ed. of Cairo, 1324, pp. 372 *et seq.*) and it is explained by the commentators (e. g. Baiḍāwī on Ḳor. ii. 2, ed. Fleischer, p. 16, ll. 6 *et seq.*) that *al-ghaib* is what is not reached by the senses or required by intuition; it is of two kinds, one made known to man by the prophets and one known only to Allāh "with whom are its treasuries" or "its keys", according as Ḳor. vi. 59 is read. It thus came to be used in the broadest way as "the Unseen" by occultists among us. Al-Rāzī found the Ḳorʾānic phrase *Mafātīḥ al-ghaib* a possible name for a commentary on the Ḳorʾān, Ibn al-ʿArabī for a Ṣūfī work and Aḥmad al-Zarḳāwī, a modern Egyptian writer, for a collection of treatises on magic and divination (Cairo, 1327). *Ridjāl al-ghaib* means the saintly hierarchy presided over by the Ḳuṭb (Lane, *Arabian Nights*, chap. xxx. note 17) and *ibn al-ghaib* can mean a youth conceived without father and gifted with mysterious powers of insight (C. Wills, *Mehemet the Kurd etc.*, p. 129). In Ṣūfism *ghaib al-huwiya* and *ghaib al-muṭlaḳ* mean the essence of the real *ens* unconditioned (*al-dhāt ʿaiyan*).

Bibliography: To the references above add *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī, ed. Cairo, 1321, pp. 109, 177; *Dict. of techn. terms*, pp. 1053 *et seq.* (sub *ʿālam*), 1090, 1539 *et seq.* (sub *huwiya*); Horten, *Theologie des Islam*, pp. 229 *et seq.*
(D. B. MACDONALD.)

GHAIBA is used as infinitive in its root, *ghāb* having come to equal *ghāʾib*. It thus means "absence", often "absence of mind". This latter force was developed by Ṣūfīs into absence of the heart from all except Allāh, expressed, on the other side, by *ḥuḍūr*, "presence" with Allāh. It is a stage on the passage to *fanāʾ*, complete "ceasing" or passing away of the self. For details of the development of this idea see Nicholson's translation of the *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* of al-Hudjwīrī, pp. 248 *et seq.*, and index. Also the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushairī with the commentaries of Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and al-ʿArūsī, ed. Būlāḳ 1290, vol. i, pp. 66 *et seq.*, and the Saiyid al-Murtaḍā's commentary on the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazzālī, vol. vii. p. 248 and Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, pp. 260, 262.

Another common use of the word is to describe the condition of any one who has been withdrawn by Allāh from the eyes of men and whose life during that period (called his *ghaiba*) has been miraculously prolonged. Of this the outstanding example is the Hidden Imām, or Mahdī, of the Shīʿite Twelvers. He, though thus kept generally invisible, still lives on earth (cf. al-Khaḍir), has from time to time been seen by some and been in correspondence with others and maintains a control over the fortunes of his people (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, pp. 232 *et seq.*, 269 *et seq.*; *Arabische Philologie*, ii. pp. lxii. *et seq.*).
(D. B. MACDONALD.)

GHAILĀN B. ʿUḲBA, see DHU ʾL-RUMMA.

GHAIN, the nineteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet (numerical value 1000; cf. the article ABDJAD); the character *ghain* is a variant of *ʿain*. In most modern dialects it is pronounced as a voiced velar aspirate. The old Arab writers on phonetics describe it as a guttural; but it seems very doubtful if it ever really was pronounced as a post-uvular. *Ghain* has become *ʿain* in many modern dialects (for details see the article ARABIA, ARABIC DIALECTS, i. p. 396ᵇ). Cf. A. Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre*, particularly p. 19, Nº. 5 and note 48; and the index. (A. SCHAADE.)

GHAIṬA (GHAʾIṬA, GHEṬA), an Arab musical instrument, very popular in North Africa and some districts of Southern Europe, a kind of cylindrical bagpipe with a movable wooden mouthpiece (*ḳaṣba*) and rather wide bell-mouth. The cylindrical portion has seven holes on the upper side. The first hole below the mouthpiece is called *yka ṣ-ṣīda*, the second *ghazzāla*, the third *ḥamdān*, the fourth *djudarka*, the fifth *rasd*, the sixth *ʿirāḳ* and the seventh *yka*. On the lower side about midway between the *yka ṣ-ṣīda* and the *ghazzāla* is an eighth hole called *kaftāḥ*. The names of these holes are used by native musicians to denote the finger required in playing the instrument and also to denote the key of a piece or a scale. In playing, the player puts the mouthpiece in his mouth as far as a kind of a catch (*ʿarrāḍ*) in the form of a disc ³/₄ inches across. The compass of the instrument is about an octave.

The *ghaiṭa* is used by the Arabs particularly as a military musical instrument. It is almost always accompanied by the *ṭbal*, a kind of drum, which is beaten with two sticks and the *gannâr*, a kind of large drum, which is beaten with the bone of an animal.

The *ghaiṭa* is often called *zammâra*; in the south of Tunisia and the province of Constantine it is also called *zorna*, whence the Turkish word *zornadji*, *ghaiṭa*-player. Ibn Khaldûn describes it under the name *zallâmî*, perhaps a metathesis of *zammâra* (*Proleg.*, ii. 353; ed. Quatremère, Paris 1834). But the name *ghaiṭa* was well known to the writers of the middle ages, as well as to those of Muslim Spain (cf. Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dict. Arabes*, ii. 235; Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas*, Madrid 1888, p. 239).

This instrument still exists in modern Spain under the name *gaita* or *raita*. In lands where Turkish is spoken it is fairly common and is called *ghaida* (cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Diction. Turc-français*, ii. 392).

Bibliography: On the *ghaiṭa* in particular and the Arab musical instruments in general s. Bel, *La Djâzya* (Paris 1903), p. 96 *et seq.*; Budgett-Meakin, *The Moors*, p. 202 *et seq.*; Ibn ʿAlî, *Kitâb Kashf al-ḳinâʿ* (Algiers 1904), p. 103 *et seq.*; Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes* (Paris 1886), p. 47—49; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, p. 152, Note 3 with sources quoted and p. 407; Salvador-Daniel, *La Musique arabe*, in *Revue africaine*, Vol. vi. Nº. 34 (July 1862), p. 296; Shaw, *Voyages dans la Régence d'Alger* (transl. by Mac-Carthy, Algiers 1830), p. 89 *et seq.*

(A. COUR.)

GHALÂFIḲA (Ghalefka, Ahâbâ, the Ditio Sabaeorum of Pliny), at one time a flourishing seaport in Yemen, near Bait al-Faḳîh (q. v., i. 597ᵇ *et seq.*). It was an important emporium and was known as the harbour of *Zabîd*. About a century before Niebuhr's journey in Yemen the harbour of Ghalâfiḳa became inaccessible through coral reefs, whereupon the rich traders of this coast-town moved to Bait al-Faḳîh, which rapidly became a flourishing commercial town. During his stay in Yemen, Niebuhr saw only a few walls, a mosque and several tombstones remaining of this once prosperous town.

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GHALČA. The name Ghalča is applied by the Turki-speaking population to the group of tribes of Iranian origin inhabiting the country near the sources of the Oxus, the Pâmir, and even (in the case of the Sarîkôlî) the upper Yarkand, and (in the case of the Yidghâh) the southern slope of the Hindû-Kush. These races belong to a type differing from that of the ordinary Tâdjîks of Badakhshân etc.; they are classed by anthropologists as a branch of the brachycephalic Alpine race and known as Highland Tâdjîks (cf. AFGHÂNISTÂN, i. 154ᵇ). The word Ghalča is Persian, and according to Vullers means a nomad or uncivilised peasant, and the form Gharča suggests a possible connection with the old form of the name Ghardjistân. Geiger suggests that the original meaning may be 'mountaineer' from the word *ghar* 'mountain' used in these languages and also in Pashto. They are Shîʿah by creed and therefore sharply separated from their orthodox neighbours, and speak a number of distinct dialects of an Iranian language, each valley having its own speech. These districts are as follows: Wakhân on the upper Pandj river, under Afghân rule. The language and people are called Wakhî. A distinct dialect of Wakhî is that spoken in Ishkâshim lower down the Pandj river, known as Ishkâshimî.

The valleys of the Warôdj and its tributary the Kôkča are occupied by the people of Sanglîč, speaking Sanglîčî and of Mindjân speaking Mindjânî. These territories like Wakhân are under Afghân rule. The upper Warôdj valley leads to the Dôrâh Pass the principal route through the Hindû-Kush into Čitrâl, and on the southern side of this pass dwells the Yidghâh tribe, speaking the Yidghâh language which comes within the British sphere. Where the Pandj joins with the main stream of the Oxus are the territories of Shighnân and Roshân (in the Russian sphere) in which the Shighnî language is spoken, and nearly related to it is the Sarîkôlî spoken by the Sarîkôlî people on the Eastern slope of the Pâmir. Still further north, lies the valley of Yaghnôb on one of the upper affluents of the Zarafshân, where the Yaghnôbî language is spoken (cf. AFGHÂNISTÂN, i. 156ᵃ).

Little is known of the history of this inaccessible region or its inhabitants. It is probable that they formerly extended farther into Badakhshân and gradually retreated from the open country at the time of the Muslim conquest. Islâm spread among them in its Shîʿah form at a later date. Idrîsî mentions Wakhân as the country which supplied Badakhshân with musk. Lapis lazuli was also found in the neighbourhood, and this no doubt refers to the mines still worked at Djurm in Mindjân (cf. BADAKHSHÂN, i. 554ᵃ). Wakhân also produced gold and silver and slaves. In modern times the travels of Wood, Forsyth, Gordon, Bonvalot and Sven Hedin and the visits of English and Russian officers, especially Holdich, employed in boundary demarcation have thrown much light upon it, and the researches of Shaw, Ujfalvy, Biddulph, Tomaschek and Geiger have elucidated the ethnology and languages of the whole Pâmir tract.

Bibliography: Wood, *Journey to the Source of the Oxus* (London 1872); Gordon, *The Roof of the World* (Edinburgh 1876); Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh* (Calcutta 1880); Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou Kouch* (Paris 1896); Idem, *Quelques observations sur les Tadjiks des Montagnes appelés Galtchas* in *Bulletin, Soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1887; Shaw, *High Tartary, Yarkand and Kashgar* (London 1871); Idem, *On the Ghalchah languages* in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* 1876—1877; Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien* II. *Die Pamir-Dialekte* (Wien 1880); Idem, *Yidghah* in *Beiträge z. Kunde d. indogerm. Spr.*, 1883; Geiger, *Die Pâmir-Dialekte* in *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.* (Stuttgart 1901); Sven Hedin, *Ensam med Tadschiks på Pamir* (Stockholm 1894); Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London 1904), p. 53 *et seq.* [For full

bibliography on the Ghalča languages see Geiger, supra.) (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GHĀLĪ (A.), plur. *ghulāt*, "one who exaggerates or goes beyond all bounds", particularly in reverence for certain individuals, notably ʿAlī and the ʿAlids, and considers them incarnations of the Deity. What kinds of sects are to be called *ghulāt* depends on the point of the view of the writer, but as a rule those who have adopted such notions, originally foreign to Islām as incarnation (*ḥulūl*), metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) etc., are considered to be *ghulāt*. Cf. Friedländer in the *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.*, xxix. 12.

GHĀLIB, the poetical name of NAJM AL-DAWLA DABĪR AL-MULK MĪRZĀ ASAD ALLĀH KHĀN, a distinguished Persian and Urdu scholar and poet, famous for his excellent and polished style of composition. In his Persian Dīwān he has occasionally taken the *takhalluṣ* Asad, and is also called Mīrzā Nosha.

Ghālib was of Turanian descent. His grandfather left his ancestral home and came to Dihlī during the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam. His father, ʿAbd Allāh Beg Khān, lived for some time at Lucknow, and went thence to Hyderabad in the service of Nawwāb Niẓām ʿAlī Khān. After a time he went to Alwar and served under Rādja Bakhtāwar Singh, where he was killed in battle. His son, Asad Allāh Khān, then only 5 years of age, was adopted by his uncle Naṣr Allāh Beg Khān, Ṣūbadār of Agra. In A. D. 1806, when the district of Agra was made into a Commissionership under General Lake, his uncle was pensioned off, and, on his death, Ghālib, then 9 years old, received an allowance of Rs. 50 a month from the Emperor of Dihlī. After the accession to the throne of Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh in A. D. 1847, Ghālib received a yearly allowance of Rs. 500 in recognition of his poetical abilities. The Nawwāb of Rampur, hearing of his fame as a poet, sent his own poetical compositions to Ghālib for correction, and in A. D. 1859 assigned him an allowance of Rs. 100 a month. After living some time at Rampur, Ghālib returned to Dihlī, where he died in A. D. 1869, at the age of 73.

(J. F. BLUMHARDT.)

GHĀLIB DEDE, after Fuḍūlī, Nefʿī and Nedīm, the last of the four great poets of the old school of Ottoman literature; his real name was SHAIKH MUḤAMMAD ESʿAD, but he is best known by his pen-name SHAIKH GHĀLIB or GHĀLIB DEDE. Born in 1171 = 1757-1758 he was the son of the secretary, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Efendi in Constantinople and early became connected with the Mewlewī order in whose monastery, in Yeñi Ḳapu, his father is also said to have acted as kettle-drummer. Following his father's example he first entered the service of the state but soon left it to devote himself wholly to the order. He began his novitiate in the parent monastery of the order in Ḳoniya. Homesickness drove him back, however, to Constantinople, where he remained in the Yeñi Ḳapu monastery till in 1205 (1790-1791) he was appointed Shaikh of the Mewlewī monastery in Galata, which is probably the best known to Europeans of all the monasteries of the "dancing dervishes". The favour in which he was held by Sulṭān Selīm III., the Sulṭāna-Mother and other high personages, greatly benefitted this monastery, which was entirely rebuilt at his request in 1210 (1796). Ghālib died at the early age of 42 on the 26th Radjab 1213 (3rd Jan. 1799). He is buried in the Galata monastery in a separate turbe.

Ghālib who numbered among the excellent scholars, who were his tutors, Khodja Neshʾet, who was himself not unknown as a poet, composed the work which has given him an abiding place among the poets of first rank in his nation, at the early age of 26 (in 1197) — the figure 21 seems to be wrong —; this is the romantic and allegorical Mesnewī, *Ḥüsn u ʿAshḳ* (the pronunciation ʿ*ishḳ* is foreign to Turkish), "Beauty and Love". It was written as a kind of protest against Nābī's Mesnewī *Khairābād* which was extravagantly Persian in style, and stands alone on a level never attained before or after in an Ottoman Mesnewī through its originality of thought so rare in Ottoman poets, its inspiration which recalls the *Divina Commedia* and the loftiness of its fancy, the beauty and relative simplicity of its language. In the struggle between the Persian and the Nationalist schools Ghālib unhesitatingly took the side of the latter and developed a simple yet dignified language more fitting the Ottoman spirit in the happiest way than the artificial language which was then so much in vogue. The influence of this Mesnewī on Turkish literature to the present day has been enormous; the number of Ghālib's admirers is still large; according to them the *Ḥüsn u ʿAshḳ* is the noblest work not only of the romantic school but of all that Ottoman poetry which draws its inspiration from Asia.

Ghālib's *Dīwān* which contains a large number of ghazels, ḳaṣīdas and rubāʿīs is on the other hand relatively unimportant, that is to say, it is no better and no worse than the numerous dīwāns of his time; it has, however, a certain historical value on account of its *vers d'occasion*.

Prose writings also exist from Ghālib's pen: he translated and wrote a commentary on Shaikh Kōse Aḥmed Dede's (who is buried in Ḳoniya) work, *al-Tuḥfa al-bahīya fi 'l-Ṭarīḳa al-Mawlawīya*, entitled *al-Suḥba al-Ṣafīya*. He also wrote a commentary on the *Djezīret al-Mathnewī* of Yūsuf Sīne-Čāk, and a collection of biographies (*Tedhkire*) of Mewlewī poets, which was continued by al-Saiyid. His *Dīwān* with the ḳaṣīdas, terdjīʿbends and sharḳīs and the *Ḥüsn u ʿAshḳ* was printed at Būlāḳ in three parts in 1252; the *Mesnewī* has often been printed in Constantinople e. g. in 1304, the greater part of it is also given in Ḍiyā Pasha's anthology of *Mesnewīs*, *Kharābāt Turki-Mesnewīler*, 1292. A biography of Ghālib is given by his contemporary Khalīl Nūrī Bey, the poet and historian, in his history.

Bibliography: M. Nādjī, *Esāmī*, p. 255; Thureyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii. 615; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüseïn, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, ii. 25; M. Rāif, *Mirʾāt-i Istambol*, p. 400 and 408; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Memdūḥ, *Taʾrīkh-i Edebīyāt-i ʿothmānīye*, p. 60; Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Dichtk.*, iv. 378; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 175; *Turk. Bibl.*, x. 14. (TH. MENZEL.)

GHĀLIB, ISMĀʿĪL, son of the celebrated Ottoman statesman Edhem Pasha, born at Constantinople on the 2nd Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1263 (11th November 1847), entered the service of the Sublime Porte early in his career, became a member of the Privy Council and ultimately became *mektūbdjī* (counsellor) for the province of Crete; he died in Constantinople on the 15th December 1895. Ghālib

Bey was the founder of the scientific study of numismatics among the Ottomans and enormously advanced this science by his standard works on the coins of the Ottomans (*Taḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i ʿOthmānīye*, Constantinople 1307) and of the Seldjūḳs (*Taḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i Seldjūḳīye*, *ibid.* 1309; also in French under the title *Essai de Numismatique Seldjoukide*, Constantinople 1894). Of equal importance are his catalogues of the Urtuḳid coins and coins of the Caliphate in the Ottoman Museum (*Meskūkāt-i Turkmānīye Kataloghi*, Constantinople 1311, also in French, *Catalogue des monnaies Turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894, and *Meskūkāt-i Ḳadīme-i Islāmīye*, *ibid.* 1311); finally several smaller treatises may be mentioned (*Quelques mots sur les monnaies musulmanes à monogrammes bienfaites*, Constantinople 1894; *Sur une monnaie Mengudschide*, Constantinople 1894; *Une monnaie d'Ala uddin Qeikobad III* in the *Revue numism. belge*, 1895). Ghālib Bey's collections were purchased by the government after his death for the Imperial Mint Collection (*meskūkāt-i ʿāmire*). (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

GHĀLIB PASHA, MUHAMMAD SAʿĪD, the son of Aḥmed Efendi, Grand Vizier of Turkey under Maḥmūd II., 13th Dec. 1823—16th Sept. 1824. Ghālib was born in Constantinople in 1177 (1763-1764) and entered the service of the state in 1202 (1787-1788). In 1216 (1801) he went to Paris to conduct the peace negotiations with France; he also conducted the negotiations with Russia which ended in the Peace of Bucharest, 28th May 1812. Soon afterwards he was disgraced and banished to Asia. He met the same fate some years later when he was deprived of the grand viziership, but he afterwards acted as governor of Erzerum and commander of the eastern troops. In 1244 (1828-1829) Ghālib died at Balikesri.

Bibliography. Djewdet Efendi, *Taʾrīkh*, vii. 228 *et seq.*; xii. 96 *et seq.*; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3245.

GHALZAI, a large and important Afghān tribe with numerous subdivisions which occupies the country near Ghaznīn and eastward as far as Khost and Wazīristān, also the upper valleys of the Tarnak, Arghandāb and Arghesān (cf. AFGHĀNISTĀN, i. 153). They are largely nomadic, and migrate in enormous numbers annually at the commencement of the cold weather mainly via the Gomal Pass. There they camp in the plains of the Indus valley while their traders spread throughout India. At the commencement of the hot weather they march back to their upland homes. These nomadic trading communities are known by the name of Powindahs. The most numerous section is the Sulaimān Khēl. The origin of the Ghalzais is doubtful. They are at the present day one of the most important elements in the Afghān race, and speak the Pashto language, but there is good ground for believing that they are of mixed blood, and have absorbed both Tādjīk and Turkish elements. Attempts have been made to identify them with the Khaldj Turks who entered Afghānistān and took service with the Ghaznawid monarchs; this rests solely on the similarity of the name Khaldj (sometimes written Khildjī) with Ghalzai (sometimes written Ghilzai or Ghildjī). But there is no evidence of this, though the appearance of the Ghalzais favours the idea that there is a Turkish element in the race, which is historically probable, considering the large bodies of Ghuzz, Khaldj and other tribes which entered their country from the 11th to the 14th centuries, many of whom fought as mercenaries under the Ghaznavid and Ghōrid kings. According to the legends in the *Makhzan-i Afghānī* the Ghalzais are descended from Mato daughter of Baṭan who had an illicit connection, afterwards legalised by marriage, with Shāh Ḥusain a refugee prince of Ghōr. Owing to the clandestine nature of his birth the son who was born was called Ghal-zoe 'the thief's son', whence the name Ghalzai. The great Lōdī tribe (including the Sūr and Lohānī) was of the same descent (cf. AFGHĀNISTĀN, i. 152). This legend no doubt conceals the mixed Afghān and Tādjīk origin of these tribes. The Ghalzais proper do not emerge from obscurity until after the Lōdīs and Sūrs who founded dynasties in India in the 15th and 16th centuries. They come into notice during the 17th century when their power and influence in Zamīndāwar increased owing to the transportation of a large section of the Abdālī to the Herāt province by Shāh ʿAbbās I. and at the commencement of the 18th century under their chief Mīr Wais they began to intrigue with Shāh ʿĀlam I, the Emperor of Dihlī. Mīr Wais was arrested and taken prisoner to Iṣfahān, while the Ghalzais were very severely treated by the Georgian governor Gurgīn Khān. Mīr Wais, however, obtained the confidence of Shāh Ḥusain, and was allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return he obtained permission to return to Ḳandahār. Gurgīn Khān, to humiliate him, demanded his daughter from him. Mīr Wais pretended to submit and substituted another woman for his daughter, but murdered Gurgīn Khān and his followers at a banquet to which he had invited him. The Ghalzais now openly rebelled, drove out the Persian garrison and took possession of Ḳandahār. Mīr Wais became master of the province, but died shortly in 1127 (1715). His brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz succeeded but was soon murdered by Maḥmūd eldest son of Mīr Wais, who became ruler himself, and gathered strength during the next few years. He was encouraged by the weakness of the Persian government and the success of the Abdālīs of Herāt who rebelled successfully in 1129 (1717). In 1132 (1720) Maḥmūd ventured to invade Persia itself, and occupied Kermān almost without opposition, but was soon expelled by Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, and retired to Ḳandahār. Next year, however, he again invaded Persia, assisted by large bodies of Abdālīs and Balōčs, took Kermān and Yezd and arrived before Iṣfahān in 1134 (March 1722) and overthrew the Persian army at the battle of Gulnābād. He did not obtain possession of Iṣfahān, however, till October, when Shāh Ḥusain abdicated and Maḥmūd became Shāh of Persia being invested by Shāh Ḥusain himself in 1135 (1722). The Ghalzai rule in Persia lasted for seven years, 1135 to 1142, (1722 to 1729). Ṭahmāsp II. maintained his claims to the throne throughout this period, and was ultimately restored through Nādir Shāh's help. Maḥmūd began his rule well, but soon showed himself a sanguinary tyrant. The invasions of the Turks and Russians apparently deprived him of all self-control, and wholesale massacres in Iṣfahān followed. He seems to have lost his reason and died (or was killed) while insane. He was succeeded by Ashraf, son of his uncle ʿAbd Allāh, during whose reign the wars with Turkey and Russia continued, Persia losing many provinces. Ashraf made peace with the Turks by appealing

to their sympathies as a Sunnī who was restoring the true faith among the Persian Shīʿahs. Kandahār had meanwhile fallen into the possession of Maḥmūd's brother, which caused a division among the Ghalzais in their own country and weakened them in Persia. Nādir's victory at Dāmghān in 1135 (1720) and at Murča-Khurt the same year put an end to the Ghalzai rule. Ashraf fled; his army melted away and was attacked everywhere by the local tribes, and finally Ashraf himself was slain by ʿAbd Allāh Khān Balōč. He was a brave warrior but unfitted by nature for the rule of a great country. Very few of the Ghalzais ever found their way back to their native land. The tribe relapsed into obscurity and has never since produced a ruler with the exception of Āzād Khān, a Sulaimān Khēl Ghalzai who obtained ephemeral power at Tabrīz between 1166 and 1169 (1753 to 1756) and disputed the supremacy with Karīm Khān Zand, by whom he was defeated and captured, but well treated. In Afghānistān, after the time of Nādir Shāh, the power fell into the hands of the Durrānīs and the Ghalzais have been obliged to submit to their rule from the time of Aḥmad Shāh to the present day. Nādir Shāh took the Durrānīs into favour and expelled the Ghalzais from the lands which they had occupied near Kandahār. They were nominally banished to the Herāt country, but seem in reality to have returned to their old homes near Ghaznīn, and many settled in the Kābul province, still part of the Mughal Empire of India. It was this settlement which led to Nādir Shāh's invasion of Kābul, which was followed by that of India itself. In the disputes which took place between the members of the Sadōzai family after Tīmūr Shāh's death the Ghalzais took the side of Shāh Shudjāʿ against Maḥmūd and assisted him to take Kābul in 1218 (1803). The celebrated Bārakzai chief Pāinda Khān, father of Dōst Muḥammad, married a Ghalzai wife among others, and his sons Kohandil, Purdil, Shērdil and Mihrdil long held possession of Kandahār and had great influence with the Ghalzai tribe. In more modern times the principal incidents in their history are the battle of Aḥmad Khēl (1880) when a Ghalzai force attacked and was defeated by the British force under Stewart which was marching from Kandahār to Kābul, and the rebellion against the Emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in 1886 (see Art. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN, i. 60).

The Ghalzais have a very democratic constitution and pay little obedience to their nominal chiefs. They are divided into two main sections known as Tūrān and Burhān (or Ibrāhīmzai). (Possibly some allusion to a Turkish origin is implied by the name Tūrān). Each of these sections comprises several important clans; among the Tūrān the principal are Hōtak (from which the Persian invaders sprung) and the Tōkhī. The Nāṣir and Kharōtī are sometimes included, but they are generally considered not to be Ghalzais at all. Among the Burhān the principal are the Sulaimān-khēl (now the most important of all Ghalzai clans) the Tarakkī, the Andar, the ʿIshāk, and others of minor importance.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Ḥayāt Khān, *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī* (Eng. transl. *Afghanistan*, Lahore 1876); Bellew, *Races of Afghanistan* (Calcutta 1880); Niʿmat Allāh *Makhzan-i Afghānī* (*MS. R. As. Soc.*, tr. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, London 1836); Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 3rd Ed., London 1842); Hanway, *Travels in Persia* (London 1762); Père Krusinski *Mémoires*; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia* (2nd Ed., London 1829); J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 253.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GHĀNA, an ancient town in the Western Sūdān which has now disappeared. According to Barth it lay in 18° N. Lat. and 7° 8′ W. Long. (Greenw.) not far from Walāta. M. Delafosse however, relying on certain statements by Arab geographers, notably al-Bakrī, places Ghāna in the Awkār district within the triangle Walāta, Nema, Bassikūnū, i.e. about 240 miles north of the Niger on the meridian of Sansanding. Martin Hartmann (and this is also Desborough-Cooley's opinion) thinks that Ghāna must have been nearer the Niger, not far from Timbuktu. [Cf. in addition J. Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsm. f. Völkerkunde* (Leiden 1912), where this question is fully discussed, particularly pp. cxxx *et seq.* and cxlix *et seq.*; Editors].

Barth and Delafosse agree in placing the foundation of Ghāna about 300 A. D. and ascribe it to men of some white race. Barth suggests that Fulbe, Delafosse on the other hand makes the bold suggestion that immigrant Jewish-Syrian tribes from Cyrenaika were founders. One of the leaders of these immigrants named Kaya settled in Awkār and founded a state there which remained under the rule of his descendants till about the end of the viiith century. This dynasty was succeeded by another of Soninke negroes whose first ruler was called Kaya-Maghan. His successors, the Sise-Tunkara extended their kingdom in the east as far as the Niger, in the west to the Atlantic Ocean, in the south to Tekrūr and in the north to the Sahara. In the xth century these kings had to wage long wars with the Berbers who had settled in Tagant, notably the Lemtūna, the lords of Awdaghost [q. v., i. 516ᵇ]. But they finally won the upper hand, took the town of Awdaghost in 990 A. D. and installed a negro as governor there. During the next fifty years the kingdom of Ghāna was the most powerful state in the Sūdān.

According to al-Bakrī's description (written in 460 = 1067-1068) Ghāna consisted of two towns lying in a plain. One of these was inhabited by Muslims, contained twelve mosques and numbered jurists and other scholars among its inhabitants. The other town six miles distant was the royal residence. The king's abode consisted of a palace and a number of huts with round roofs; a wall enclosed the whole. Near the royal court of justice was a mosque allotted to Muslims who appeared on special missions before the king. The houses were built of stone, probably the only ones of their kind in the Sūdān, or of the wood of the gum tree. The royal residence had received the name ghāba (the wood) from the woods around it. In these woods were the dwellings of the magicians and priests, whose duty it was to guard the idols. There also were the royal tombs and the prisons. The people like their rulers were fetish-worshippers, but the latter thought highly of Muslims and therefore chose his interpreters, his treasurer, and the majority of his ministers from among them.

Its situation between the Sūdān and Sahara made Ghāna an important trading centre at an early period. Copper and dried fruits were imported from

the Maghrib, while caravans laden with salt came from the Sahara. The most important article of commerce however was the gold obtained in the mines of Wangara (the area drained by the Upper Senegal and the Faleme), which the merchants obtained in Ghayārō, eighteen days' journey from Ghāna.

In spite of its wealth and power and although al-Bakrī says that the king commanded 200,000 soldiers, including 40,000 archers, Ghāna could not resist the attacks of the Almoravids. 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn [q. v., i. 32^b et seq.] seized the town of Awdaghost in 446 (1054-1055). While one section of the Almoravids were conquering the Maghrib, other troops invaded the Sūdān under Abū Bakr. After fifteen years of war Abū Bakr finally succeeded in taking Ghāna in 1076. The inhabitants in part were forced to adopt Islām and in part massacred. The king had to pay tribute.

The death of Abū Bakr gained the kings of Ghāna their independence once more but did not restore their former power. The tributary lands regained their independence one by one, so that at the end of the xii^th century A.D. the state of Ghāna only consisted of Awkār and Bassikūnū. It led a bare existence for a century more until, in the year 1203, Sumangūru-Kanaté, chief of the Sūsū conquered Ghāna and incorporated it in his dominions. Soon afterwards a number of the inhabitants, led by a Shaikh named Ismā'īl, left the town and founded Walāta at some distance to the northwest. Finally in the year 1240 the Malinke chief Sundiata overthrew the kingdom of the Sūsū and levelled Ghāna to the ground.

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(G. YVER.)

GHANĪ (A.), "the self-sufficing", one of the beautiful names of God. Cf. ALLĀH, i. 303^a.

GHANĪ b. A'ṣur, a tribe in North Arabia, a branch of the Kais b. 'Ailān and related to the Ghaṭafān [q. v., p. 144^a et seq.]. They lived around Ḥimā Ḍarīya in Nadjd and were neighbours of the Ṭaiy with whom they were constantly at feud. In the time of the Djāhilīya they worshipped the idols al-Lāt, Manāt and al-'Uzzā, all of whom are mentioned in the Ḳor'ān (Sūra liii. 19, 20). The great pre-Islamic poet Ṭufail b. 'Awf, called Ṭufail al-Khail (on account of his skill in depicting the horse) belonged to the Ghanī.

Among the settlements of the Ghanī were: Ayhab, Aw'āl, Adhru'āt, Baṭn Dhī-'Aḳīḳ, 'Amūd Ghiryān, Djuraiyīr, Ghamra, Ḥumr (a fairly large tract in the W. of Ḥimā Ḍarīya), Kuna, Ma'dila al-'Awaḳa, Minā, Muṭālī', Sharī, al-Shibāk (between Abrak al-'Azzāf and Medina), Ti'ār. Among the mountains, that belonged to them, are mentioned: 'Udākh (a large mountain), Kabid, Kalaḥa Laḳṭa(?), Kunlu', Nadjd al-Nīr (in common with the Ghāḍira b. Ṣa'ṣa'a), Rābigha, Suwād (a large mountain), Suwaidān (with the stream of the same name), Thahmad (red hill); among Wādīs and waters: Abātir (W.), 'Āḳil (W., only the upper part), al-Akhṭal, al-'Anāk, al-Baṭn, al-Djathdjātha, Dhū Bihār, al-Djamīka, Ghamr, Ghamraiya (near Djabala, the largest water of the Ghanī), al-Ḥalandī, al-Ḥishādj, al-Ḥumaidīdj (al-Ḥamāḍidj), Ḥulaiya, Ḥurs, Khalṣa, Immara, Mudhra, Muṣallala, Salmanān (two Wādīs on Mount Suwād), Ṭahnān, al-'Udiya, al-'Urṭa, Uraimila, Zahā.

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(J. SCHLEIFER.)

GHANĪ, *Takhalluṣ* of the Persian poet MUḤAMMAD ṬĀHIR of Kashmīr, who died in 1079 (1668-1669). His Dīwān was printed in 1261 (1845) and 1887 at Lakhnaw (lithographed).

Bibliography: Ethé in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, ii. 309.

GHANĪMA, spoils of war. By *ghanīma* Muslim scholars mean the weapons, horses and all other movable possessions taken in battle from conquered unbelievers (cf. FAI', ii. 38^b et seq.). Four-fifths of the booty were to be divided among the troops, who were present at the battle whether they actually fought in it or not. Horsemen could claim a share three times as large (according to Abū Ḥanīfa's view only twice) as that of a foot-soldier; one who had slain an enemy in battle also received his equipment (*Salab*).

The remaining fifth belongs to Allāh: "Know that a fifth of what ye have won belongs to Allāh — to his apostle, his family, to the orphan, the needy, and the traveller — if ye believe in Allāh". This verse in the Ḳor'ān (Sūra, viii. 42), was revealed shortly after the battle of Badr. From ancient times Arab chiefs had been accustomed to receive a certain portion of the booty and it was thus nothing new when the Prophet had one fifth of the *ghanīma* granted him in God's name in this verse of the Ḳor'ān to defray the expenses of the state.

After Muḥammad's death the Imām was at first considered qualified to apply the fifth of the spoils in the way that seemed to him best to further the general interest of the Muslims. This was also the teaching of Mālik Ibn Anas. But most of the later Muslim scholars have interpreted Ḳor'ān viii. 42 literally. In their view the fifth allotted to Allāh must be divided into five equal portions among the five categories expressly mentioned (in Abū Ḥanīfa's view however only among three of the categories mentioned in Ḳor'ān viii. 42: the orphan, the needy and the traveller); the portion originally allotted to the Prophet himself is, according to the Shāfi'ī school, to be applied to the general good of the Muslim community.

Prisoners of war are also included in the *ghanīma*.

Unbelievers, who are taken prisoners of war by Muslim's — women and children as well as men — are divided as slaves among the troops who are entitled to the booty. The Imām may, however, dispose of freeborn, male, adult prisoners of war in other ways. He can, as the good of the Muslims demands it, also set them free on payment of a ransom (or even without such payment), exchange them for captured Muslims or on the other hand he may put them to death; according to Abū Ḥanīfa, however, he may not set them free.

The rules regulating the division of *ghanīma*, in the view of most Muslim scholars, do not apply to the division of lands in the conquered countries (cf. FAI', ii. 39ᵃ).

Bibliography: The commentaries on Ḳor'ān viii. 42 and the chapter on Djihād in the collections on Tradition and the Fiḳh books; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya* (ed. M. Enger, Bonn 1853), p. 217, 226 *et seq.*; V. F. Schmidt, *Die Occupatio im islamitischen Recht* (*Der Islām*, i. 300 *et seq.*); and the bibliography given in p. 345 and 330 of T. W. Juynboll's *Handbuch des Islām. Gesetzes* (Leiden 1910).

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

GHANĪMAT, MUḤAMMAD AKRAM, a Persian poet, who was governor of Lahore from 1106—1108 (1695—1697). He is the author of a Mathnawī, very popular in India called *Nairang-i 'Ishḳ* or *Shāhid-u 'Azīz* (lithographed at Lucknow).

Bibliography: Ethé in the *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.*, ii. 231.

GHARB and Maghrib [q. v.] are synonymous, and the opposites of "Shark" and "Mashriḳ". *Gharb* is a *maṣdar* of *gharaba*, *Maghrib* being derived from the same verb in the sense of 'to set', used of the sun or of a star. Then both came to mean the place of setting, the West. The dual, as used in the Ḳor'ān, 55, 16 in the expression "Lord of the two Mashriḳs and Lord of the two Maghribs" means the two extreme points at which the sun appears to set, the most northern in summer (26° N. in Central Arabia) and the most southern in winter (26° S. in Central Arabia). The plural, on the other hand, as used in the Ḳor'ān, 70, 40, "Lord of the Mashriḳs and Maghribs", denotes the daily points of setting of the sun between these extreme points. There are, therefore, one hundred and eighty of these.

Geographically Gharb is used as a name of Morocco or of the northern part thereof. It survives in the name of the southern province of Portugal *Algarve*, which occurs also in the plur. *Algarves* for the province just named together with the north-western part of Morocco.

The district south of Bairūt in Syria is also named al-Gharb. (C. H. WEIR.)

GHARBĪYA, a province in the Delta of Egypt, lying between the Rosetta and Damietta arms of the Nile, bounded on the north by the sea, in the south by the *Manūfīya* [q. v.]. It has existed since the division of Egypt into *a'māl* (cf. Becker in the article EGYPT, section 2 *et seq.*). According to Abū Ṣāliḥ it was divided into 149 districts, included 165 villages and yielded a revenue of 470,935 dinars. When the administrative units were increased in size, the Kawīsnīya, Samannūdīya and Damīrāwīya were incorporated in the Gharbīya province, so that Ibn Djī'ān about 250 years later mentions 471 villages and a revenue of 1,844,080 dinārs. Ḳalḳashandī praises the great fertility and flourishing condition of the province. At the present day (according to Boinet Bey, 1899) it has 1,297,656 inhabitants, 515 towns and villages and is divided into the following 11 circles (*marākiz*): 1. Burullus; 2. Sherbīn; 3. Desūḳ; 4. Fūwa; 5. Kafr al-Shaikh; 6. Kafr al-Zaiyāt; 7. Maḥalla al-Kubrā; 8. Santa; 9. Ṭalkhā; 10. Ṭanṭa; 11. Zifta. The capital is Ṭanṭa.

Bibliography: Abū Ṣāliḥ (ed. Evetts), fol. 8ᵇ; Ḳalḳashandī, *Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten*, transl. Wüstenfeld, p. 114; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, v. 43; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 72 *et seq.*; Ibn Djī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa al-Sanīya*, p. 41; Boinet Bey, *Dict. géographique de l'Égypte*; Baedeker, *Egypt*⁶.

(R. GRAEFE.)

GHARDAYA, a town in Algeria, s. ART. MZAB.

GHARĪB (A.), "strange; rare, foreign", whence a technical term in lexicography for rare words in the Ḳor'ān and Ḥadīth; in the science of Tradition for such traditions as are isolated, do not date from one of the companions of the Prophet, but only from a later generation; in prosody, for the rare metre *al-mutadārik*. Cf. the dictionaries.

GHĀRIM or GHARIM, i. e. debtor. The ghārim can legally claim a share of the yield of the zakāt if he has brought the debt upon himself for a legitimate purpose and especially if he has voluntarily taken upon himself to pay it off "for God's sake". Cf. Ḳor'ān ix, 60.

In some districts of Sumatra people who leave their homes to study law, are regarded as *ghārim*; they receive something from the *zakāt*. See Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 269.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

GHARDJISTĀN (GHARDJISTĀN, GHARSHISTĀN) a tract on the upper valley of the Murghāb in Afghān Turkistān. It seems to have corresponded with the country now occupied by the Fīrōzkōhīs, although a passage in the *Masālik wa Mamālik* speaks of the town of Bāmiyān being on a mountain beneath which flows the river which passes through Ghardjistān, which if correct would locate Ghardjistān on the Surkhāb River; Bāmiyān however seems to have been rather the name of a country than a town, and Ghardjistān was undoubtedly further west, north of Ghōr and close to the Ghūrī capital Fīrōzkōh, from which the modern Fīrōzkōhīs probably derive their name. When Khusraw Malik the last of the Ghaznawids was taken prisoner, he was taken to Fīrōzkōh and imprisoned in the fort of Balarwān in Ghardjistān, and we learn that Fīrōz son of Yazdidjird fled from Sidjistān to Ṭukhāristān by way of Ghardjistān.

Ghardjistān was a separate state under its own rulers who bore the title of Shār i. e. king (from Old-Iranian *Khshathriya*, cf. Marquart, *o. c.* and see BĀMIYĀN i. 634ᵃ). They were under the suzerainty of the Sāmānīs and afterwards of the Ghaznawides. Maḥmūd received the submission of the Shār in 389 H. and was again at war there in 401 when his son Mas'ūd took part in the expedition. The Tādjīk leader Warmash or Warmīsh-bat (apparently not yet converted to Islām) had to surrender the castles he had taken in Ghardjistān. The Shār is stated to have sold his rights to Maḥmūd and died in imprisonment in 406. The dynasty however seems to have continued, for Bahā' al-Dīn Sām, who

began to reign at Fīrūzkūh in 544, made an alliance with the Shār of Ghardjistān; he built the forts of Bindār and Fīwār in that country, and it afterwards formed part of the Ghōrī kingdom. When 'Alā' al-Dīn Djahān-sōz attacked Ghaznīn he assembled the forces of Ghōr and Ghardjistān. He afterwards made over the kingdom of Tukhāristān including Ghardjistān to his half-brother Fakhr al-Dīn, and it remained separate from Ghōr until the invasion of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khwārizmī. After the disappearance of the Ghōrīs, Ghardjistān no longer formed a separate province, and its name does not appear to be known to modern travellers.

Bibliography: *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, trans. Raverty, Vol. I. pp. 80, 113, 341, 423, 431; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, II, 286; *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), i.—iii. s. Index; Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 785 f. (s. v. *Gharshistān*) and Index; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 79; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 415 *et seq.*

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GHAṢB, i. e. usurpation. By this term the law in general understands the illegal taking possession and illegitimate exercise of the rights of another (e. g. when some one rides on a horse without the owner's permission). The purloining of a thing in secret is not called *ghaṣb* but *sariḳa* (theft).

In learned discussions (*ādāb al-baḥth*) *ghaṣb*, means to seize suddenly upon some one's words and contest his opinion without giving him time to explain himself fully.

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Flügel), p. 108; E. Sachau, *Muhamm. Recht nach Schafiitischer Lehre*, p. 473 *et seq.*

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

GHĀSHIYA (A.), "the covering", particularly a "covering for a saddle". Among the Saldjūḳs, Mamlūks etc., the royal ghāshiya was one of the insignia of royal rank and was carried before the ruler in public processions. Cf. C. H. Becker, *La Ghâshiya comme emblème de la royauté* in the *Centenario di M. Amari*, ii. 148 *et seq.* — Ghāshiya is also used metaphorically of a great misfortune that overwhelms some one; in this sense it is found in Sūra lxxxviii. 1 for the day of the last judgment or for the fires of hell and from this the Sūra has received the name Ghāshiya.

GHASSĀN (GHASSĀNIDS), an Arab dynasty in Syria, of Yamanī origin. They were monophysite Christians and were under the suzerainty of the Byzantine Emperors, whose frontiers they had to defend against the Persians and their vassals, the Lakhmids of Ḥīra. Their rule extended approximately over the province of Arabia (roughly the Ḥawrān district and Balḳā'), Phoenicia ad Libanum, Palestina Prima and Secunda. In contrast to their relatives and natural enemies, the Lakhmids, to whom they were far superior in culture from their contact with Greek civilization, the Ghassānids had no fixed residence. Djawlān [q. v., i. 1029b *et seq.*] with the town of Djābiya [q. v., i. 988 *et seq.*] in Palestina Secunda is sometimes mentioned by the Arab poets as their capital, and sometimes Djillīḳ [q. v., i. 1043b *et seq.*] near Damascus.

The history of this dynasty is one of the most obscure portions of Arab history. The statements of the Arab historians Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, Ibn Ḳutaiba, Ibn al-Kalbī, Mas'ūdī, Abu 'l-Fidā (Ṭabarī hardly mentions them) concerning them are limited to a few lists of rulers and brief accounts which are full of contradictions; e. g. Ḥamza and Abu 'l-Fidā give thirty-one rulers of this dynasty, while Ibn Ḳutaiba and Mas'ūdī only give ten of them; Ḥamza makes king Ḥārith b. Djabala [q. v.] about whom we are fairly well informed by the contemporary Byzantine chroniclers Malalas, Procopius, Theophanes etc., reign only ten years, while as a matter of fact he reigned forty years. According to the usual Arab tradition the Ghassān were descended from the South Arabian tribe of Azd. The latter is said to have left the Yaman after the breaking of the dam at Ma'rib and to have gone to Mecca (Baṭn Marr near Mecca). At a later period one section of the Azd led by 'Amr b. 'Āmir Muzaiḳiyā' went to Syria; they are said to have received the name Ghassān from a stay of some considerable time at the pond of Ghassān in the Syrian desert (this name however had already been borne by Māzin son of Azd). According to Ḥamza and Ibn Ḳutaiba, it was Tha'laba b. 'Amr, a great grandson of 'Amr b. 'Āmir, who led them to Syria: Djafna (Greek Γοσφνας, a corruption of Γαῖφνας), a son of 'Amr, was considered the founder of the dynasty. In Syria they had to pay an annual tribute to the Roman phylarchs there, the Ḍadji'ima of the tribe of Salīḥ, probably descendants of the Christian phylarch Ζοκομος, mentioned by the ecclesiastical historian Sozomenus. Ultimately they refused to pay this, conquered the Ḍadji'ima and took their place, in which they were recognised by the Byzantine emperor Anastasius (probably about the end of the fifth century A. D.), who made use of them as frontier guards against the Lakhmids of Ḥīra.

The most important and the first ruler of this dynasty, whose existence is certain, was al-Ḥārith b. Djabala (Greek Ἀρέθας τοῦ Γαβάλα), an enthusiastic patron and protector of the monophysite church. His genealogy is al-Ḥārith b. Djabala b. al-Ḥārith b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. Djafna. His father Djabala may be identified with the Γαβάλας mentioned by the chronicler Theophanes as making raids into Palestine about the end of the fifth century A. D. In 529 A. D. he was appointed lord over all the Arab tribes in Syria by the Emperor Justinian and received the titles Phylarch and Patricius, the highest rank next to the Emperor in Byzantium at that time. In the same year he took part in the suppression of the rebellion of the Samaritans on the side of the Byzantines. The greater part of his reign was occupied with wars with al-Mundhir III. of Ḥīra. In 528 he was victorious over his opponent. About ten years later he again quarrelled with al-Mundhir over the so-called "Strata", the land on both sides of the military road from Damascus to Palmyra as far as Sergiopolis, to which both laid claim. In 541 al-Ḥārith fought in the Byzantine army under Belisarius in Mesopotamia. But when he returned home to Syria by a different route from the Byzantine army without having won any successes worthy of mention, he was accused of treachery to the imperial cause. In a later war between al-Ḥārith and al-Mundhir (about 544) the latter took prisoner a son of the former and sacrificed him to the goddess al-'Uzzā, the Arab Aphrodite. In June 554 al-Ḥārith won a decisive victory over al-Mundhir, who fell in battle in the district of Ḳinnasrīn (Chalcis), probably at al-Ḥiyār. This battle is perhaps identical with that celebrated by the Arabs

as the "Day of Ḥalīma" (according to the common Arab tradition, so called because Ḥalīma, daughter of al-Ḥārith, anointed the warriors with her own hands with *khalūḳ*, a perfume containing saffron; but it is very probably a place-name). His son and successor afterwards sought to avenge al-Mundhir's death and made a raid into Syria. In 563 al-Ḥārith went to Constantinople to give an account of these doings to the Emperor and to advise what measures should be taken. He also took advantage of his stay there to discuss the appointment of his successor with the Emperor. He died in 569 or 570. We may here mention the Arab tradition according to which al-Ḥārith besieged the Jew al-Samaw'al b. 'Adiyā in his citadel of Ablaḳ in Taimā and slew his son because al-Samaw'al would hand not over the cuirasses left with him by the poet Imru'u 'l-Ḳais [q. v.] before his journey to Constantinople.

Al-Ḥārith was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir (Greek 'Αλαμούνδαρος). Soon after his accession the Persian Arabs invaded the Ghassān territory. Al-Mundhir defeated their king Ḳābūs, apparently in the battle of 'Ain Ubāgh so often celebrated by Arab poets. The Emperor Justinus was not well disposed to al-Mundhir, who, like his father, was an ardent protector of the Monophysites, and tried to have him assassinated by underhand means. After the attempt on him had failed, al-Mundhir rebelled and refused allegiance to the Emperor for three years. On account of the renewed inroads of Persian Arabs into Byzantine territory, the Byzantines were forced to make peace with al-Mundhir and a treaty was concluded after several unsuccessful overtures at the tomb of St. Servius in Ruṣāfa (Sergiopolis) by a special envoy from Constantinople. Two years after Justin's death (580) al-Mundhir came with two of his sons to Constantinople and was received with great honour by Tiberius from whom he received the actual crown (*tāgā*) in place of the previous diadem (*tūfa*). In Constantinople he also held an assembly of his co-religionists and endeavoured to smooth over the disputes among them. In the same year al-Mundhir raided Ḥīra, burnt the town and brought back rich booty. This success did not serve to dissipate the general mistrust of him or the suspicion that he had had a treacherous understanding with the enemy on a raid into Persian territory undertaken with Mauricius, Comes of Anatolia, and the Syrian Magnus was commissioned to make him prisoner. Magnus was only able to attain his end at the dedication of a church in the village of Ḥuwwārīn (between Damascus and Palmyra), to which al-Mundhir had come as a guest, and he was taken prisoner to Constantinople (581). The incarceration of al-Mundhir and the suspension of the payment of subsidies (*annonae*) at the same time to his family provoked his four sons under the leadership of the eldest, al-Nu'mān (Greek Νααμάν), to raid Byzantine territory which they laid waste in a terrible fashion. The Emperor Tiberius therefore equipped an expedition against them under the leadership of the above mentioned Syrian Magnus. The latter succeeded in capturing al-Nu'mān who was likewise brought to Constantinople.

After the capture of al-Mundhir and al-Nu'mān anarchy broke out in the Syrian desert, the various tribes chose their own chiefs and some went over to the Persians. With the capture of Jerusalem and Damascus (613-614) by the Sasanian Khusraw Parwīz, the power of the Ghassānids seems also to have collapsed. Whether the phylarchate was restored on the reconquest of Syria by the Byzantines (629) is uncertain. According to the usual Arab tradition Djabala b. Aiham was the last king of the house of Ghassān. In the battle on the Yarmūk (635-636) he fought on the side of the emperor Heraclius against the Muslims. When the defeated Emperor then retired to Constantinople, Djabala is said to have submitted to the Caliph 'Umar and adopted Islām but to have afterwards taken refuge with the Byzantines in Constantinople and adopted Christianity again.

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(J. Schleifer.)

GHĀT, a town in the Sahara of Tripolitania, belonging to the sandjaḳ of Fezzān, 400 miles S.S.E. of Ghadames and 280 W.S.W. of Murzūḳ in 24° 57′ N. Lat. and 10° 17′ 30″ E. Long. (Greenw.), at the intersection of the caravan routes which lead to the Sūdān via Fezzān and Ghadames. This exceptional position at the intersection of important commercial routes has caused it to become one of the busiest trade centres in the Sahara. It is one of the starting points for trade with Central Africa.

Its topography is known fairly accurately from the accounts of the European explorers who have visited it, notably Duveyrier and Erwin von Bary. There is nothing remarkable in it. Like all towns in the Sahara it is surrounded by a wall with six gates which winds around it; three of these bear the name Tamelghat in common, a fourth is the gate of Tafelghat, a fifth Bāb Kelala and the sixth is Bāb al-Khair. The streets are narrow,

tortuous and full of sand. The houses are very primitive. Among the public buildings are a school and a mosque with a minaret. In the centre of the town is a little square called *Tokli*, from which radiate six streets to the six gates, cutting the town into six sections.

Ghāt owes its importance entirely to the caravan traffic. The town itself has barely 600 houses and 4000 inhabitants. Its suburbs are the two little villages al-Tadarmut and Tūn, about half a mile beyond the town wall.

The ground between these villages and Ghāt is a scene of great animation when the caravans arrive from the Sūdān. Dates, skins, cotton-stuffs, salt and natron are the principal articles traded here. Industry is limited to local needs. The chief manufactures are furs, wooden vessels, trappings and cases for weapons.

The population of Ghāt consists of about equal elements of Berbers, Arabs and Sūdānese. It includes: *a*. The Kil Ghāt or Ghātians proper, grouped into 8 sections: Imrkammazen, Kil Khefsa, Yadjenen, Kil Talak, Kil Yanaa, Kil Tamolghat, Kil Tūnīn, Kil Tarat; *b*. Colonies of foreign traders, chiefly from Ghadāmes; *c*. Transitory bodies of Tuāreg, who are caravan leaders and lastly; *d*. *Harrātīn*, negroes who till the soil.

The Ghātians speak Arabic and Hausa in their business transactions with foreigners. Among themselves they use a peculiar Berber dialect called *Tamāhak*, which is not connected with the groups of Tuāreg dialects.

For the history of Ghāt there is an absolute dearth of documents. Its origins are obscure. Duveyrier (*Touaregs du Nord*, p. 267) proposes to identify it with the oppidum of Rapsa mentioned by Pliny the Elder among the centres conquered by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus about the year 19 A. D., but his hypothesis, which is not based on any certain facts, has still to be verified. Nor can any more be made of the local legends which attribute the foundation of the town to the Berber tribe of Yadjenen with the help of the Kil Khefsa, the Kil Tarat, the Kil Talak and the Imrkammazen. There are no historical texts to support this tradition.

Ghāt in fact only began to play a part in the history of the Sahara about the middle of the six[th] century, at the time of the great expeditions of exploration in the Sahara. The majority of the travellers who have attempted to reach Central Africa from Tripoli have chosen it as the centre of their negotiations with the Tuāregs, from whom it was necessary to obtain permission to traverse the Sūdān.

From 1845 to 1876 it was successively visited by Richardson (1845), Barth, Richardson and Overweg (1850), Ismā'īl Bū Derba (1858), Duveyrier (1860) and Erwin von Bary (1876-1877). Before it was ceded by the Turks to Italy, it was ruled by a Berber chief whose power was hereditary, according to the Tuāreg custom.

In 1875 the Turks took advantage of a war which broke out between the Azdjer and Heggar, two Tuāreg tribes, to instal their authority in Ghāt. It passed from them for a brief period in 1886 as a result of a rebellion of the Azdjer, fomented by a sharīf named Sī Bū Bakr. Ghāt fell into the hands of the Tuāreg and a portion of the garrison was massacred. In the end the Azdjer made peace with the Turks and the town was again occupied by Ottoman troops. It was governed by a *Ḳā'immaḳām* for civil matters and by a *Yūzbashi* for military affairs.

Bibliography: Oudney, *Excursion faite à l'ouest de Mourzouk*, after Denham, *Voyages et découvertes dans le Nord de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1826, 3 vol.; Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central-Afrika* (Gotha, 1857-1858, 5 vol.), i. 259—265; Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord* (Paris 1864), p. 256—275; Cotblenz, *Histoire de Ghat*, in *Bulletin de la Société Languedocienne de Géographie*, 1885, vii. 138—261; Rebillet, *Les relations commerciales de la Tunisie avec le Sahara et le Soudan* (Nancy, 1896); Schirmer, *Le dernier rapport d'un Européen sur Ghat et les Touaregs de l'Aïr*, (Paris, 1898, transl. from Von Bary's account); Chaikh Mohammed Ben Otsmane el-Hachaichi, *Voyage au Pays des Senoussia* transl. Serres et Lasram (Paris 1903); Lippert, *Zur Eroberung der Stadt Ghat durch die Türken* (*Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, t. vii. part iii., *Afrikanische Studien*, Berlin 1904); Commandant Lacroix et Capitaine Bralley, *Les relations de l'Algérie et de la Tripolitaine*, (*Bulletin du 19e Corps d'Armée*), 2e année, No. 2, 1er Trimestre 1910.

On the Berber dialect spoken at Ghāt, cf. Stanhope Freeman, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Temahuq language* (London, 1862); René Basset, *Notes de lexicographie berbère*, 1re series (Paris, 1883); Krause, *Proben der Sprache von Ghât in der Sahara* (Leipzig, 1884); Nehlil, *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat* (Paris, 1909).

(NEHLIL.)

GHAṬAFĀN, thought by Reiske to denote a kind of bird, apparently in error (Lane), the name of two Arabian tribes, Ghaṭafān b. Sa'd b. Mālik b. Ḥarām b. Djudhām, a south Arabian tribe, and Ghaṭafān b. Sa'd b. Ḳais 'Ailān. The latter alone is important. The pasturing-grounds of the Ḳaisite Ghaṭafān extended eastwards from Khaibar and the borders of the Ḥidjāz to Adjā and Salmā the mountains of the Banū Ṭaiy'. (For their camping-places see Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen, Register*, p. 171). Ghaṭafān was divided into two large branches, Ashdja', which inhabited the country in the neighbourhood of Yathrib, and Baghīḍ, subdivided into 'Abs and Dhubyān, whose territory lay round about Sharabba and Rabadha. Their neighbours were branches of Khaṣafa b. Ḳais 'Ailān, the most important being Sulaim on their south border, and further south Hawāzin, brother-tribe to Sulaim.

History: The history of the tribes of Khaṣafa and Ghaṭafān commences from the middle of the sixth century, when the dominion of the Yemen over the Ma'add tribes came to an end. The chief of all Ghaṭafān at this time was Zuhair b. Djadhīma of 'Abs [q. v., i. 73]. He held the title of king (malik), and received tribute from Hawāzin also. He was assassinated by a Hawāzini, who became independent chief of that tribe. Zuhair was succeeded by his son Ḳais, as chief of 'Abs only, Dhubyān choosing Ḥudhaifa b. Badr of Fazāra, who was much the more powerful and influential of the two. The endeavours of Ḳais to avenge the death of his father were interrupted by the famous war of the Horse-race between the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān (see art. DĀḤIS). During the war Khālid who had killed

Zuhair was himself slain by Ḥārith b. Ẓālim al-Dhubyānī, whilst both of them were guests of the Lakhmid prince. Ḥārith took refuge with Ghaṭafān who refused him protection, but after some wanderings he returned secretly to them, but brought upon them the vengeance of Nu'mān, whose son he had unwittingly killed. Owing to the slaughter of Ḥudhaifa and other chiefs by 'Abs, all the remaining clans of Ghaṭafān became united against 'Abs, who migrated and after many wanderings became guests of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a who were at war with Tamīm. Dhubyān joined Tamīm. Thus two tribal wars became merged in one and the situation may have been further complicated by the outbreak of a third war between Hawāzin and Kināna (see art. FIDJĀR). 'Abs having quarrelled with each of their hosts in turn became reconciled to the rest of Ghaṭafān.

No sooner had Ghaṭafān become re-united than they were involved in a war with Khaṣafa (Hawāzin and Sulaim), which consisted largely of skirmishes and assassinations rather than pitched battles and ended only with the rise of the power of Muḥammad. A principal figure in the early stages of this war is that of Duraid b. al-Ṣimma [q. v., i. 1082a] of Hawāzin [q. v.]. At that time the opponents of Ghaṭafān were chiefly Hawāzin, but in the later stages, Duraid growing old, Sulaim took the lead under Mu'āwiya and Ṣakhr, the brothers of the poetess al-Khansā' [q. v.].

When this war had burned itself out Ghaṭafān joined with Sulaim against the rising power of Muḥammad. Year after year mutual raiding took place between these two opposing powers. In the second year of the Hidjra Ghaṭafān and Sulaim joined in an attack upon Madīna, but Muḥammad marching out to Karkarat al-Kudr, dispersed them. In the following year occurred the expedition to Dhū Amarr which had a similar result, Ghaṭafān again retiring into their mountains. And again in the fourth or beginning of the fifth year the raid of Dhāt al-Riḳā' produced the same result. In the fifth year also Ghaṭafān was amongst the tribes which took part in the investment of Madīna known as the battle of the Trench. In the following year 'Uyaina, the chieftain of Fazāra, raided the camels of Muḥammad close to the city. Muḥammad pursued the robbers as far as Dhū Ḳarad. In the seventh year Ghaṭafān set out to the relief of Khaibar but finding Muḥammad stationed between them and the town they fell back. Muḥammad's guide in this expedition was an Ashdja'ī who also divulged the whereabouts of a party of Ghaṭafān against whom Bashīr b. Sa'd was sent. At last in the year viii. Sulaim threw in their lot with the Muslims and was followed by Ghaṭafān, and the wisdom of their action was shown by the conquest of Mecca shortly afterwards.

That their faith was not very deep is also shown by the celerity with which they fell away upon the death of Muḥammad, and the leading part played by 'Uyaina b. Ḥiṣn, the Fazāra chief, together with 'Abs and Dhubyān in threatening Madīna, the Ashdja' branch alone holding back. Their attack on the city was twice repulsed by Abū Bakr. In retaliation they put to death those of their number who were Muslims. As soon as reinforcements had reached Abū Bakr (through the return of Usāma from Syria), he again attacked them and drove them out of the district of Rabadha, in which they had congregated. They betook themselves to Ṭulaiḥa, the prophet of the Asad tribe, and, when the latter was defeated by Khālid b. al-Walīd in the battle of Buzākha, Ghaṭafān, and especially Fazāra under 'Uyaina, bore the brunt of the fighting. Ghaṭafān then once more became Muslim and, those who had put to death the faithful believers of their tribe having been executed, were pardoned.

In the year 14 A. H. we find the tribesmen of Ghaṭafān swelling the forces of Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ. They took part in the battle of the Camel in the year 36, and sided with the Umaiyads as against the 'Abbāsids, being present at the battle of the Zāb in 132.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, by index; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Hist. Ante-islam.*, ed. Fleischer, p. 140; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii. 408 *et seq.*

(T. H. Weir.)

GHAWĀZĪ (A.), Plur. of *Ghāziya* [q. v.].

AL-**GHAWR**, AL-GHŌR, "depression", "low lying ground among hills", is often found as an Arab geographical term.

1. The best known is Ghawr in Palestine, the *Aulôn* of the Greeks, i. e. the deep hollow through which the Jordan flows, the south end of which forms the Dead Sea. The Arab geographers define its boundaries as Tiberias in the north and Zughar in the south. The portion north of Baisān belonged to the province of al-Urdunn, the remainder to Filasṭīn (q. v., ii. 107 *et seq.*)

It is described as a very hot, unhealthy district with bad water, but there were a number of springs, rivers, palm-groves and villages in it. Yāḳūt says that its principal product was sugar-cane, Idrīsī indigo. Besides Jerīḥā, the capital, the following towns are mentioned, Tiberias, Baisān, 'Amatā and Zughar. Al-'Arabāt in the Ghawr of Filasṭīn, where, according to Ibn Isḥāḳ (Ṭabarī, i. 2125, 12 on the other hand 2107, 16 Ghawr al-'Arabāt), 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī joined the army which came from east of Jordan before the battle of Adjnādain, is probably to be sought for at the south end of the Dead Sea.

2. Another Ghawr is Ghawr Tihāmat al-Yaman or Ghawr Tihāma (Farazdaḳ, ed. Boucher, p. 20, 11), also as a dual: Ghawrā Tihāmat (Ṭabarī, iii. 210, 11). The statements by the geographers regarding it are very vague, for it is sometimes identified with Tihāma and sometimes described as a district adjoining it; for example, according to Ḳudāma b. Dja'far it stretched from Nadjd to the extreme borders of Tihāma; according to a passage in al-Bakrī it lay between Tihāma (the district from Dhāt 'Irk to two days' journey beyond Mecca) and al-Sarāt.

Bibliography: 1. *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), i. 56, 58 *et seq.*; ii. 111, 114; vii. 326; Bekrī, *Geogr. Wörterbuch* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 703, 772; Yāḳūt, *al-Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 822. — 2. *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vi. 248; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 46, 24, 48, 4, 6, 210, 11, 233, 16; Bekrī, *Geogr. Wörterb.* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 7, 11, 36, 818; Yāḳūt, *al-Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 821.

(FR. BUHL.)

GHAWTH ("succour", "deliverance") is an epithet of the Ḳuṭb [q. v.], the head of the Ṣūfī hierarchy of saints. It is used of him only when he is thought of as one whose help is sought; but that, from the nature of the Ḳuṭb, is practically always. Thus it is a normal sequent to Ḳuṭb. Others say that the Ghawth is immediately below the Ḳuṭb in the hierarchy.

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Cairo, 1321), p. 109; *Dict. of Tech. Terms*, pp. 1091, 1167; Lane, sub voce, p. 2306c; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p. 139a; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 214.

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

GHAZAL (A.), **a short poem of more than four but less than fifteen lines.** The first two have the same rhyme, which is repeated at the end of the fourth, sixth etc. lines; the poet usually mentions his own name (*takhalluṣ*) in the last line. The matter is usually erotic, but other subjects, wine, spring, fate etc. are not excluded. The form should be the most perfect possible, especially from the point of view of language; vulgar and kakophonous words are to be most rigidly avoided. The ghazal is the kind of poem most favoured in Persian and the Indian and Turkish literature influenced by it.

Bibliography: Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindouie et hindoustanie*², i. 31; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 80 *et seq.*

AL-GHAZĀLĪ. (For the evidence at present available on this name see the *Journ. of the Royal As. Soc.*, 1902, pp. 18—22. Apparently Ibn al-Samʿānī preferred the double *Z*). ABŪ ḤĀMID MUḤAMMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD AL-ṬŪSĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ **was the most original thinker that Islām has produced and its greatest theologian.**

1. **Life.** He was born at Ṭūs in A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058) and was educated there and at Naisābūr, especially under the Imām al-Ḥaramain with whom he remained until the Imām's death in 478. A sceptical attitude showed itself in him from the first. Although in a Ṣūfī environment and practicing the Ṣūfī exercises, no impression was made on him by these, and he preferred rather to investigate theological and legal subtleties. This began when he was under twenty; with *taḳlīd* (acceptance of religious dogma on authority) he had broken from his earliest youth. From Naisābūr he went to the court of Niẓām al-Mulk, the Seldjūḳ wazīr, and formed part of his retinue of canonists and theologians until 484 when he was appointed to teach in the Niẓāmite madrasa at Baghdād. During this time he became an absolute sceptic, not only as to religion but also as to the possibility of any certain knowledge. This scepticism he never overcame so far as philosophy was concerned. At Baghdād he taught and wrote on canon law; he wrote also controversial books against the Taʿlīmites (Bāṭiniya, Imāmiya, Ismāʿīliya). Niẓām al-Mulk and Malik Shāh were assassinated by them in 485. For himself he laboured to recover a possible intellectual and theological position and from 483 to 487 studied diligently the different schools of thought around him, especially philosophy. Finally he turned seriously to Ṣūfiism. Intellectualism had failed him; what of religious experience? He had returned to belief in God, prophecy and the last judgment — or, as he put it, God had restored to him these beliefs — and fear of that Day of Wrath seized him. From Radjab to Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 488, he was in the throes of a conversion wrought by terror, and under it he collapsed physically and mentally. Finally, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda he put behind him his brilliant position and worldly ambitions and fled from Baghdād as a wandering darwish. By giving himself to the ascetic and contemplative life he sought peace for his soul and certainty for his mind. And these he gained. From that time his position was pragmatic and he taught that the intellect should only be used to destroy trust in itself and that the only trustworthy knowledge was that gained through experience. A purely philosophical structure could have no base. On that his dialectic was as inexorable as that of Hume. Even the systems of the speculative theologians had no intellectual certainty, although their doctrines were correct. By speculative methods they could not be proved; but only by the direct knowledge with which God floods the heart of the believer. By that personal experience (*maʿrifa*) the fact of prophetic revelation is established and the truth of the theological structure assured. Yet there can be no question that his thinking had been indefinitely clarified by his philosophical studies and that with him the forms of Greek dialectic made their final entry into Muslim thought. What al-Ashʿarī half consciously began, al-Ghazzālī witingly finished. Further, that he used the forms of Greek dialectic to found a pragmatic system is his originality and distinction. The later theologians did not always understand or follow him in this, but modern Islām seems to be recovering his method. That the account which he himself gives of all this in the *Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl* is true cannot be doubted; the philosophical necessity, both for al-Ghazzālī as an individual and for the development of Muslim thought, both of which had got into a *cul-de-sac*, is plain. As in al-Ashʿarī's case only a great emotional experience could break the fetters of tradition and give the personal force needed to turn the current of the age. Political complications may have helped to bring on his nervous breakdown. Barkiyāruḳ became Great Seldjūḳ and killed his uncle Tutush immediately before the flight of al-Ghazzālī, and the khalīfa at whose court al-Ghazzālī held important place declared for Tutush. Similarly his return to active life in 499 followed the death of Barkiyāruḳ in 498. About two years he passed in strict retirement in Syria, finally pilgrimaging at the end of 490. Then came nine years of retreat in different places, with, from time to time, periods of return to his family and the world. The *Iḥyā* and other books were written, and he preached at Baghdād and taught the Iḥyā there and at Damascus. Finally "the Sulṭān of the time" (*Munḳidh*, ed. of 1303, p. 42) compelled him to become a teacher in the Niẓāmite madrasa at Naisābūr, and he consented in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 499. The times called for some strong reforming influence. That he had himself recognized and also that there was need of a powerful and religious-minded ruler who would crush heresy and unbelief. Such a ruler was apparently found in Muḥammad, the brother of Barkiyāruḳ, who became Great Seldjūḳ in 498, and to whom he addressed the original Persian form of his *Tibr al-masbūk*, a manual of ethical guidance for kings. The immediate influence in his recall was, however, Fakhr al-Mulk, the son of his old patron, Niẓām al-Mulk, who was wazīr at Naisābūr to Sandjar, the governor of Khurāsān. But he did not long stay in public life. His yearnings to quiet and contemplation continually drew him and there are stories, too, of friction. He returned to Ṭūs and lived there in retirement with some personal disciples, having charge of a madrasa and a khānḳāh or Ṣūfī monastery.

There he died on the 14th of Djumādā II 505 (Dec. 19th 1111).

2. Doctrine and Influence. Although a formative canon lawyer of a rank short only of the first, he yet deposed Fiḳh from the position it had usurped, lashed its casuistry and refused it a place as a part of religion. He dealt similarly with the intellectual subtleties of *Kalām* and especially denounced the tendency to make the faith of the masses a structure of logically demonstrated articles (*'aḳā'id*). In this he followed the founder of his *madhhab*, al-Shāfi'ī. He opposed the Mutakallims also in the intolerance which they had developed. All, he taught, who agreed in the broad principles of Islām were believers. This he lays down in his *Tafriḳa*; but he taught also in the *Iljām* (ed. of 1303, pp. 31, 32, 51, 62) and the *Munḳidh* (ed. of 1303, p. 42) that the religion of the unlearned should be protected by the secular arm of the state. These reforms his high rank as a scholar and popularity as a preacher carried through. They have been accepted by the Agreement of the Muslim people (*al-idjmā'*) and he himself is reckoned as not only the *mudjaddid* (renewer) of his century, but as the great restorer of the faith. Of course both canon lawyers and speculative theologians continued and still continue to spin their systems and to try to enforce them. He also brought philosophy into the open and dissipated the glamour of mystery which had surrounded it. It was simply "thinking", and the philosophers and their systems could be understood by any intelligent man. Further, by philosophy the ultimate and unconditioned could not be reached; there could be no metaphysics on a basis of pure thought. This agnosticism was a development into more perfect form of the system of the later Ash'arites. On the positive side he continued the work of al-Ḳushairī and gave Ṣūfiism a firm standing in Muslim orthodoxy. In this al-Ghazzālī marked the second great epoch of development as al-Ash'arī with his applying of logical argument to the defence of orthodoxy had marked the first. Thus for al-Ghazzālī the basis of all religious certainty was ecstatic experience. By it he and all *'ārifs* (those who have direct experiential knowledge, perhaps a translation of "gnostic", v. Bauer, *Dogmatik al-Ghazālī's*, p. 35) learn that the theological positions of the Fathers (*al-salaf*) are true, and how these should be interpreted. To that age of simple faith he looked back with longing. This led him to what might be called a Biblical theology: study of the Ḳur'ān and of the record of the teachings of Muḥammad. Practically he endeavoured to arouse men to religion and lead them back to the old ways by preaching the Wrath to come at the Judgment. His own conversion had been under the pressure of fear. Strongly contrasted and forming the paradox of his position is the emphasis which he laid on the love of Allāh. It is part of the contrast between the emotional life of the saints with Allāh which he had known and the inhuman dogmatism of the theological system which he felt compelled to accept. In spite of the curiously intolerant passage as to the faith of the masses referred to above, his influence has been and is for charity, the stimulation of free enquiry and intellectual life. His indirect influence on European thought, even the most modern, has also been marked. It flowed through the *Pugio Fidei* of Ramon Martí and affected, first, Thomas Aquinas and, later, Pascal. For his alleged relationship to the 'Alids and to the book *Djafr*, see DJAFR above (vol. I, p. 995a) and references there and for his real relationship to magic, see DA'WA above (vol. I, p. 770b) and *Descr. of Ar. and Turk. MSS. in Newberry Library, Chicago*, pp. 6 *et seq.*

3. Sincerity. Even by his contemporaries the reality of his conversion was doubted; the change, it was felt, was so great from the pugnacious, sceptical canonist to the ecstatic saint with his sermons on the fear of God. Later, the philosophers, hard hit by his dialectic, and unable to believe that a man who knew philosophy so well should not be, at least secretly, a philosopher, sought in his writings proofs of an esoteric teaching. Two things aided them in that. 1. He had openly preached an economy of teaching and had written a book with that publicly as its title, *al-Maḍnūn bihi 'alā ghairi 'ahlihi* — "That which is to be concealed from those who are not worthy of it" — a book, however, in which there is no heretical doctrine. In his *Imlā'*, an answer to attacks on his *Iḥyā'*, he formally defends, with the example of the Prophet and the Companions, the practice of keeping certain theological reasonings and developments secret from those who are not in a position to understand them and who might thereby be led astray either in faith or in practice (ed. on margin of *Itḥāf al-sāda*, Cairo 1311, pp. 45, 159—164, 225 *et seq.*, 247 *et seq.*). There are other references to the same practice in the *Arba'īn* (ed. of 1328, pp. 25 *et seq.*); the *Djawāhir* (ed. of 1329, pp. 25 *et seq.*, esp. 30 *et seq.*) all very important passages on the order in which his books were written; the *Mishkāt* (ed. of 1322, pp. 54 *et seq.*) and the *Mīzān al-'amal* (ed. of 1328, pp. 212 *et seq.*) on *madhhab*'s and what a man has a right to keep to himself. And this had really been the practice of Islām from the beginning. Even al-Shāfi'ī, while denouncing kalām, had admitted that some should study it for the defence of the faith. The position of Ibn Khaldūn, at the extreme end of the development, was similar, only in his day the need had passed (ed. Quatr., iii. 43; de Slane, iii. 63). It was always a *farḍ kifāya* and not a *farḍ 'ain* and had a similar origin with the *bilā kaifa* of al-Ash'arī. Thus the advanced doctrine did not contradict, but only developed, based and deepened the simpler faith, and knowledge of it was open to all who would fit themselves for it. In the end, this led most ironically to the Averroistic doctrine of the two-fold truth. That was only a special case of the multiform truth which Islām has always admitted. 2. Those direct perceptions of religious truths which al-Ghazzālī had reached in ecstasy he was compelled to express in language by means of metaphor and symbol. He teaches consistently that there are ideas which language cannot render in exact terms and the content of which can be suggested only by pictures. When, then, such expressions were examined and held to account as intellectually exact statements, misunderstanding was certain to follow. Thus Ibn Rushd was led by the metaphor of the sun in the *Mishkāt* (p. 55) to believe that al-Ghazzālī was there teaching the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation (*fuyūḍ*). But the context is on the tenth of such an explanation, and the metaphor is one frequently used by al-Ghazzālī to suggest the relationship

between God and the world. On this point and on the *Mishkāt* generally I would refer to a paper by W. H. T. Gairdner of Cairo, shortly to be published. I am indebted to him also for several chronological and bibliographical suggestions.

4. Works. Our knowledge of al-Ghazālī's works is still incomplete both as to extent and relative order, not to speak of dating. For lists approximately complete reference can be made to the introduction by the Saiyid al-Murtaḍā (based on al-Subkī) prefixed to his *Itḥāf al-sāda*, a commentary on the *Iḥyā* (ed. Cairo 1311, vol. i. pp. 41—44) and to Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, i. pp. 421—426. The following is an attempt at a classified list of the works which have been printed and are accessible. The *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn* (the title expresses al-Ghazālī's consciousness of the part the book was to play, cf. Bauer in *Der Islam*, iv. 159 *et seq.*) as a compendium of his whole system stands by itself, although it does not go into the ultimate details, either on philosophy, kalām or Ṣūfīism. On its date see above. It divides into two parts, each consisting of two quarters (*rub'*); the first is on external acts of devotion and religious usage, the second upon the inner side of life, the heart and its workings, good and evil. The four quarters are *Rub' al-'ibādāt* (Acts of a creature towards his Lord); *Rub' al-'ādāt* (usages of life), *Rub' al-muhlikāt* (Destructive matters in life); *Rub' al-mundjiyāt* (Saving matters). Each contains ten Books; the first of the forty is on *'ilm*, the second on kalām and the last on eschatology. Otherwise all is experiential, traditional and practical. The present writer has translated Book viii. in *Rub'* ii. on the relation of music and singing (*samā'*) to the Ṣūfī ecstasy, in the *Journ. of the Royal As. Soc.* for 1901-1902; he has analyzed with extracts Book i. *Rub'* iii. on the marvels of the human heart, in Lectures viii.—x. of his *Religious Attitude*, and Book vi. of *Rub'* iv. on the love of Allāh, in Hastings' *Dict. of Religions*, vol. ii. pp. 677—680. A great part of the *Iḥyā* is also analyzed by Miguel Asín in his *Algazel*; a translation of the whole work is being prepared by H. Bauer. Another compend of introduction on *'ilm* in general is his *Fātiḥat al-'ulūm*; it resembles the first book of the *Iḥyā*. His remaining printed works may be classified as follows. 1. Canon law: *Kitāb al-wadjīz*, the smallest of his general treatises on fiḳh; *al-Mustaṣfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl*, written after his return (ed. of 1322, i. pp. 3 *et seq.*). 2. Logic and books against the philosophers: *Mi'yār al-'ilm*, an elaborate treatise on logic; *Miḥakk al-naẓar*, a smaller book; *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa*, statement of their teachings on all subjects save the absolutely demonstrable, professes to be a *ḥikāya* only partly ed. by G. Beer, diss. 1888; *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, demonstration that they could not by reason prove their system (cf. de Boer, *Widersprüche der Philosophie*; there are translations also in Asín's *Algazel*, pp. 735—880; also a translation begun by Carra de Vaux in *Muséon*, vol. xviii). 3. Contra Bāṭinīya: *al-Ḳusṭās al-mustaḳīm*. 4. Speculative theology: *Risāla al-ḳudsīya*, incorporated in *Iḥyā* as *Ḳawā'id al-'aḳā'id*, an abridged translation of it in H. Bauer, *Die Dogmatik al-Ghazālī's*, Halle a. S., 1912); *al-Iḳtiṣād fi 'l-i'tiḳād*, an expansion of the preceding and his most elaborate treatment of kalām. 5. Books to be kept from those unfitted for them: *al-Maḍnūn bihi 'alā ghairi ahlihi*, on Allāh and his creation — on angels, djinn etc. — on prophets and miracles — on eschatology; *al-Maḍnūn al-ṣaghīr*, otherwise called *al-Adjwiba al-ghazālīya fi 'l-masā'il al-ukhrawīya* (Analyses and translations from these in Asín's *Algazel*, pp. 609—733); *Mishkāt al-anwār*, on the mystical meaning of Allāh as Light and on the guidance of the Inner Light to Allāh — a book of the end of his life. 6. Expositions of the Faith of the Fathers on the basis of the Ḳur'ān and tradition: *Djawāhir al-Ḳur'ān*; *Kitāb al-arba'īn*, a second part of preceding; *al-Maḳṣad al-asnā fi 'asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* (exhortation to imitation of the divine qualities); *al-Ḥikma fi makhlūḳāt Allāh*, evidence of creation for the wisdom of Allāh; *al-Durra al-fākhira*, eschatology (text and transl. by L. Gautier); *al-Kashf wal-tabyīn fi ghurūr al-khalḳ adjma'īn*, how all mankind have strayed from obedience; *Ildjām al-'awāmm 'an 'ilm al-kalām*, see above; *Risāla fi 'l-ma'rifa wal-i'tiḳād*, another *Ildjām*. 7. Books of religious experience and edification, personal and systematized; *Al-risāla al-ladunīya*, on knowledge which is gained immediately from Allāh; *Kīmiyā al-sa'āda*, original in Persian, an abbreviation of the *Iḥyā* (trans. by H. A. Homes); *Aiyuha 'l-walad*, on the need of works besides knowledge (text and trans. by Von Hammer); *Mukāshafat al-ḳulūb*, the ed. of Būlāḳ 1300 is a *mukhtaṣar*; *Bidāyat al-hidāya*; *Mīzān al-'amal* (Hebr. transl. of Abraham bar Chasdai, ed. J. Goldenthal, Lipsiae, 1830), on saving works; *Khulāṣat al-taṣānīf fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, what is worth while in religion — from the Persian and, if genuine, of the very end of his life; *Minhādj al-'ābidīn*, his last book, dictated (the prologue is translated by Asín in his *Algazel*, pp. 881—899). 8. Defences of himself: *al-Imlā' 'an ishkālāt al-Iḥyā'*, margin of *Itḥāf al-sāda*, vol. i. pp. 41—252; *al-Tafriḳa bain al-Islām wal-zandaḳa*; *al-Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl*, written after 500 (trans. by Barbier de Meynard in *Journal As.*, vii. vol. ix.). 9. Miscellaneous: *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, an ethical Mirror for Princes, see above; *Sirr al-'ālamain wa-kashf mā fi 'l-dārain*, a manual for kings to worldly success, assertedly after his return, but almost certainly apocryphal; *Antworten auf Fragen die an ihn gerichtet wurden*, ed. from Hebrew version in 1896 by Heinrich Malter, but certainly apocryphal; *al-Taḥbīr fi 'ilm al-ta'bīr*, on principles of dream interpretation; on a ḳaṣīda of al-Ghazālī v. Mart. Schreiner in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlviii. 43 *et seq.*, also Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übers.*, i. 347.

Bibliography: It is very large and the following is a selection only of the more recent books. The period of Schmoelders and Gosche is past, and the popular articles, based upon these, in encyclopaedias and histories of philosophy are untrustworthy. The principal sources for the life are the *Munḳidh* and the materials in the introduction of the Saiyid Murtaḍā to his *Itḥāf*, vol., pp. 2—53. These can be controlled by al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv. pp. 101—182 and by the extracts from Ibn 'Asākir in Mehren's *Exposé*, *Trans. of* iii. *Congress of Orientalists*, vol. ii. For the order and dating of the works there are numerous references scattered through them (see above for some), but these are not yet sufficiently collected and examined. Formal biographies, in order of date, are: D. B. Mac-

donald, *Life of al-Ghazālī with special reference to his religious experiences and opinions*: *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.* for 1899, vol. xx, pp. 71—132 (cf. also Chap. iv. of the same writer's *Development of Muslim Theology*, 1903); Miguel Asin Palacios, *Algazel, dogmática, moral, ascética*, Zaragoza, 1901; Carra de Vaux, *Gazali*, Paris, 1902. Goldziher has a luminous treatment in his *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, by index, and especially, pp. 117 *et seq.* Al-Ghazālī's place in the history of philosophy De Boer has treated in his *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, pp. 138—150 and by index (English trans., pp. 154—168). Cf. also Goldziher in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. 5, pp. 62 *et seq.* and, for his logic, Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, ii. pp. 361 *et seq.* (based on a mediaeval Latin translation of the *Maḳāṣid*). On his place in history of. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 338 *et seq.*, 380 *et seq.* and by index; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, by index; Jewish Enc., V, 649 *et seq.* Horten has not yet treated him systematically; but see (by index) many suggestive remarks in his *Philos. Systeme d. Spekul. Theologen im Islam*; cf. also *Die Hauptlehren des Averroes nach seiner Schrift: die Widerlegung des Ghazālī*, p. 325—328 of the same author. For Muslim criticism of al-Ghazālī see Asin, *Un Faqîh Siciliano, contradictor de al-Gazālī*, in *Centenario di Michele Amari*, vol. ii, pp. 216—244. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

GHAZĀLĪ, MUḤAMMAD ČELEBI, called GHAZĀLĪ (probably after the gazelle-skin rug, peculiar to the Shaikhs of many orders), usually quoted as *Deli Birāder* (crazy brother), an Ottoman poet of the early Sulaimānian age. Born in Brusa he became a professor (*müderris*) in a Madrasa there, on the completion of his studies. But his bright nature, full of the joy of life, his love of pleasure, his skill as a conversationalist, a ready wit, his extraordinary imperturbability, an inexhaustible fund of anecdote and a great readiness in versifying marked him out for a life at court as an entertainer and companion to a prince almost without a rival. He therefore soon gave up his academic position and went to Magnesia, the residence of Bāyazīd II's ill-fated son Korkud. He soon succeeded in becoming the prince's secretary and inseparable companion which he remained till Korkud's execution. After the death of his patron he retired deeply affected to Brusa to the monastery (*zāwiya*) of Geikli Baba (also called Abuly Baba). But he did not long adhere to a life of meditation. He became *müderris* in a number of Anatolian towns, till he finally had the good fortune to receive a pension (of 1000 aspers monthly) from the Sulṭān. He now settled in Beshiktash on the Bosporus where with the help of several patrons he built a mosque, which still exists, a hermitage and a bath with a marble basin and laid out a garden. The bath soon became the rendezvous of all the dissolute youth, so that finally the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha had it levelled to the ground by 'Adjemi-Oghlans. Ghazālī then found it advisable to go to Mecca in 938 (1434-1435). There also he laid out a garden and built a mosque. He died over 70 years of age in 941 (1437-1438), according to others in 942 (1438-1439) and was buried beside his masdjid.

Ghazālī enjoyed a not unusual fame as a poet in his lifetime but it was for the most part due rather to his winning personality than to his verses. His chronograms (*ta'rīkh*) were particularly celebrated. He wrote a book called *Dāfi' al-Ghumūm wa-Rāfi' al-Humūm* (Dispeller of sorrows and dissipator of troubles), also known as *Muṭāyabāt-i Ghazālī* (Anecdotes of Ghazālī), and *Ḥikāyāt-i Deli Birāder* (Tales of the crazy brother), according to Laṭīfī a version of Azraḳī's *Alfiya wa-Shalfiya* with additions of his own, in which all sexual pleasures and excesses are discussed in the greatest detail. Later prudish biographers say that Korkud therefore would not accept the dedication and dismissed Ghazālī from his court, but this is rather improbable. Ghazālī's poems were not collected till after his death by his friends into a *Dīwān*, which is rather rare.

Bibliography: Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳā'iḳ-i Nu'māniye*, Turk. transl. by Medjdī, Constantinople 1269, p. 471; *Teẕkere-i Sehī*, Constantinople 1325, p. 86; *Teẕkere-i Laṭīfī*, p. 254; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüsein al-Aywānserāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djewāmi'*, Constantinople 1281, ii. 115; Ismā'īl Beligh Efendi Brusewī, *Ta'rīkh-i Brusa*; *Güldeste-i Beligh*, Brusa 1287, p. 496; Thureyya, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iii. 610; Hammer, *Gesch. d. osman. Dichtk.*, ii. 198; G. Flügel, *Die arab. u. s. w. Handschr. der k. k. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, i. 426, N°. 442; Pertsch, *Türk. Handschr. Berlin*, N°. 460; Gibb, *A History of Ott. Poetry*, iii. 36. (TH. MENZEL.)

GHĀZĀN MAḤMŪD, a Mongol ruler (*Ilkhān*) of Persia (694—703 = 1295—1304) born in the year 670 = 1271. On the accession of his father Arghūn (q. v., i. 430) he was appointed governor of Khorāsān, Māzandarān and Raiy; he administered these provinces in the reign of Gaikhātū also (cf. above p. 128). Ghāzān had been brought up as a Buddhist and, while governor, ordered a Buddhist temple to be built in the town of Ḳūčān; shortly before his accession, during the war with Baidu (q. v., i. 591), his general Nawrūz persuaded him to adopt Islām. In his reign Islām was recognised as the State religion, the Mongol empire organised on a basis of Muslim culture, splendid buildings erected in and around the new capital Tabrīz, notably charitable endowments, mosques, theological schools *etc.*, the descendants of the Prophet sometimes mentioned in the first place in the state records before the princes and princesses of the ruling house, and lastly the turban introduced as the court headgear. But Ghāzān was more a Mongol than a Muslim; as a ruler and law-giver he displayed great activity entirely free from biassed pietism, of which his physician and actual minister Rashīd al-Dīn (the vizier Sa'd al-Dīn al-Sāwī filled this office in name only and had in reality no say in the government) gives a detailed account. Particular attention was devoted to the finances of the country, the currency etc.; Ghāzān no longer appears on his coins (the inscriptions on which are in three languages Arabic, Mongol and Tibetan), like his predecessors, as representative of the Great Khān who lived in Pekin, but as ruler "by the grace of God" (Mong. *Tengrin Kučündür* = by the power of heaven). Ghāzān carried out his plans with vigour and bloodshed in the teeth of the opposition of the Mongol Emirs and even against the princes of the ruling house; every one whom he believed to be dangerous to the peace of the country or to his autocratic rule, was dis-

posed of with ruthless cruelty; among these was the Emir Nawrūz himself, to whom he owed his throne. On the other hand Ghāzān's measures increased the prosperity of the country and in particular protected the country people from oppression and extortion. The revenues of the state rose and in Ghāzān's reign amounted to 2100 tūmāns (before only 1700), i. e. about £ 2,500,000. Like other Mongol rulers Ghāzān particularly esteemed those arts and sciences which might be useful to the State; he is himself said to have been conversant with natural history, medicine, astronomy, chemistry and even with several trades; an observatory was built by his orders in Tabrīz with a school for secular sciences (*ḥikmīyāt*) in connection with it. Ghāzān is said to have known several languages in addition to Mongol, his mother-tongue, and to have been acquainted with the history of many lands and peoples. He devoted particular attention to the history of his own people and had all that could be learned about it collected by Rashīd al-Dīn in a great work to which the name *Ta'rīkh-i Ghāzānī* was given; the author says that he received much of the information embodied in the work from his royal master. Ghāzān's activity abroad was less successful; he did not succeed in effectively defending the eastern frontier from invasion from Central Asia nor in conquering Syria.

Bibliography: D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 143 *et seq.*; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, ii. 1 *et seq.*; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 393 *et seq.* The section of the *Ta'rīkh-i Ghāzānī* dealing with Ghāzān's activities as a ruler and law-giver has not yet been published in the original; in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii. 576, Ghāzān's legal code is quoted according to the extract from Khondemīr translated by G. Kirkpatrick (*New Asiatic Miscell.*, i. p. 149 *et seq.*, Calcutta 1789). On Persia under Ghāzān Khān cf. also W. Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpis na stene Aniyskoi mecheti Manuče*, St. Petersburg 1911 (*Aniyskaya seriya*, N°. 5) and do. in *Mir Islama*, i. 76 *et seq.* (W. Barthold.)

GHAZĀT or **GHAZWA** (A.): Razzia against unbelievers.

GHĀZĪ (A.), plur. *ghuzāt*, one who undertakes a *ghazwa*, particularly the leader of one; hence an honorary title for one who distinguishes himself in war against the unbelievers. For other meanings of the word cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.

GHĀZĪ, Saif al-Dīn, son of Zangī, born 500 (1106-1107), an Atabeg of Mōṣul (al-Mawṣil) 541—544 (1146—1149). When the Atabeg Zangī was murdered by his own men in 541 (1146), the most prominent of his followers, including the vizier al-Djawād al-Iṣfahānī [q. v., i. 1025b], attempted to persuade the troops to recognise the authority of the Saldjūḳ Alp Arslān b. Maḥmūd. But they were only successful with a section of them; another section went to Syria with Nūr al-Dīn [q. v.] the son of Zangī, afterwards so famous. Those who paid homage to Alp Arslān took the road to al-Mawṣil where Zain al-Dīn 'Alī Kučak was in command as Zangī's representative. But because Alp Arslān did not show the courage to play the part allotted to him, it was decided to recognise instead the authority of another of Zangī's sons named Ghāzī, to whom the Saldjūḳ Mas'ūd had granted Shahrazūr in fief. The latter accepted the call, went to al-Mawṣil, took Alp Arslān prisoner and henceforth ruled over this town and Diyār Rabī'a. There is not much to be told of his short reign — he died in 544 (1149) —. The inhabitants of Damascus besieged by the Crusaders called him to their help and he went thither with his brother Nūr al-Dīn, but no fighting resulted as in the meanwhile the people of Damascus had succeeded in forcing the Crusaders to retire. Ghāzī is further celebrated because he was a friend to learning and founded a madrasa in al-Mawṣil, which was called al-'Atīḳa and became his last resting-place. Among his panegyrists was the poet Ḥaiṣ-Baiṣ. He was succeeded as Atabeg of al-Mawṣil not by his son, who was brought up by his uncle Nūr al-Dīn and died young, but by his brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd [q. v.]

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Hist. des Atabecs de Mosul* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens orientaux*, T. ii. 2e partie, 116, 152—168; do., *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xi. 74 *et seq.*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, s. v. Ghāzī; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatain* (ed. Cairo), i. 46 *et seq.*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 290 *et seq.*

GHĀZĪ, Saif al-Dīn, son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd [q. v.], Atabeg of al-Mawṣil 565—576 (1170—1180). On Mawdūd's death it was not his eldest son 'Imād al-Dīn that was recognised as his successor, but Ghāzī, through the influence of his mother, a daughter of Timurtash, who had the powerful support of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Masīḥ who held the reins of government in Mawdūd's reign. 'Imād al-Dīn had spent almost all his life with his uncle Nūr al-Dīn and married the latter's daughter and for this very reason was hated by 'Abd al-Masīḥ, apparently a Christian by birth. But Imād al-Dīn appealed to the powerful Nūr al-Dīn and the latter at once marched against al-Mawṣil, conquered Raḳḳa, Niṣībīn and Sindjar, but made peace with Ghāzī, when he reached al-Mawṣil, by the terms of which Ghāzī was left in power and Sindjar alone given to 'Imād al-Dīn. When Nūr al-Dīn died in 569 (1174), Ghāzī seized the towns of Ḥarrān, Niṣībīn, Raḳḳa, Edessa, Khabūr and Sarūdj, but had to come into conflict with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as a result. The latter came to Syria in the following year and as soon as he had dealt with the Syrians and the Christians, he put the Mōṣulans to flight near Ḥamāt (19th Ramaḍān 570 = 13th April 1175). Ghāzī had in the meanwhile besieged his brother 'Imād al-Dīn, who naturally had not taken part in the campaign against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in Sindjar, but, when he heard of the defeat at Ḥamāt, he raised the siege and retired to al-Mawṣil. In the following year (571) he again set out against Niṣībīn to fight Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn again in company with the Syrian rulers who were his allies, but he had again to take refuge in al-Mawṣil after the battle of Tell al-Sulṭān (between Ḥamāt and Ḥalab). He held out here till his death on the 3rd Ṣafar 572 = 11th Aug. 1176. His brother 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd [q. v.] succeeded him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, l. c., ii. 2, p. 276 *et seq.*; do., *Kāmil*, xi. 233 *et seq.*; *Kitāb al-Rawḍatain*, i. 187 *et seq.*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, s. v. Ghāzī; Weil, l. c., iii. 345 *et seq.*

GHĀZĪ, see (al-Malik) al-Ẓāhir.

GHĀZĪ 'ALĪ PASHA, see 'Alī Pasha, i. 294b *et seq.* (and 8).

GHĀZĪ GIRĀY, name of three Khāns of the Crimea. Ghāzī Girāy I. reigned only about six months in the year 929 = 1523. Ghāzī Girāy II. twenty years (996—1016 = 1588—1607-1608), Ghāzī Girāy III. three years (1116—1119 = 1704—1707). Only the reign of the Ghāzī Girāy II. is of importance; he was known as *Bora* = storm from his impetuous bravery and was the son of Dewlet Girāy I. and reigned after his brothers Muḥammed Girāy and Islām Girāy. Before his accession he had taken part with the Turkish army in the campaigns against Persia and spent seven years as a prisoner in the Persian fortress of Kahkaha; he afterwards came to Constantinople and enjoyed the favour of Sulṭān Murād III. (982—1003 = 1574—1595). As Khān he undertook a campaign in 1591 against Moscow, was defeated and wounded; in the following year he sent his brother, the heir-apparent (*Ḳalgha*) Fatḥ Girāy, to lay waste the Russian frontiers and on this occasion a larger number of prisoners were taken than had even been taken before. At a later period Ghāzī Girāy took part in the campaigns against Hungary. About 1005 = 1596-1597 he lost the favour of Sulṭān Meḥemmed III. (1003—1012 = 1595—1603) for a short time, was deposed in favour of Fatḥ Girāy, went to Sinope, while there received a grant of confirmation from the Sulṭān, returned to the Crimea and was recognised as Khān again without opposition; his brother had to pay for his brief rule with his life. Ghāzī Girāy took advantage of the decline of the Turkish empire under Meḥemmed III. to adopt a more independent attitude to the Porte than before; he is said to have meditated founding an independent kingdom and introducing transmission of the throne from father to son into the Crimea. He was actually succeeded by his son Toḳtamish, but the latter was not confirmed by the Porte and could hold out against his uncle Selāmet Girāy. In Ghāzī Girāy II's reign Gozlew (the modern Eupatoria) was made capital for a short time in place of Bāghče-Serāi [q. v., i. 562[a] *et seq.*]. Cf. V. Smirnow, *Krimskoe Khanstvo*, St.-Petersburg 1887, p. 444 *et seq.*; O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, p. 100 *et seq.* (W. BARTHOLD.)

GHĀZĪ AL-DĪN ḤAIDAR was second son of Nawwāb Saʿādat ʿAlī, nominally Wazīr of the Mughal Empire, in reality ruler of Audh. Saʿādat ʿAlī died in 1229 (1814) and the children of his eldest son were set aside as *maḥjūb al-irth*. In 1234 (1819) he took the title of Pādishāh or king of Audh with the consent of the Governor General of British India, the East India Company having now become de facto suzerains of Northern India. His government was not successful. The king, although a man of ability and culture, was dissipated and very much under the influence of unscrupulous ministers, especially Aghā Mīr (Muʿtamad al-Dawla), and the administration of the land-revenue led to much discontent. He died in 1244 (1827), and was succeeded by his son Naṣīr al-dīn Ḥaidar. His coinage, struck at Lakhnau, commences in 1235 and continues till 1242. Lakhnau is alluded to as *Dār al-salṭanat* or *Dār al-ʿImārat*, and the coins are stated to have been struck in the *Ṣūba* of Audh. They bear a coat of arms in imitation of European heraldry; two fishes (the badge of Lakhnau) supported by tigers bearing banners. A fine silver medal (weighing 1125 grains, 72.9 grammes), bearing the king's portrait crowned, full faced, wearing a moustache but no beard, was issued also in the first year of his reign.

Ghāzī al-dīn Ḥaidar was a man of considerable literary attainments and learning. He was the author of a valuable Persian Dictionary and Grammar called the *Haft Ḳulzum* or "Seven Seas", published at Lakhnau in 1822; cf. Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*. According to H. Ethé, *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.*, ii. 265, 348 *infra*, the real author is Ḳabūl Aḥmad.

Bibliography: J. Mill, *History of India*, London 1857, Vol. viii. and ix.; Irwin, *The Garden of India*, London 1880.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GHĀZĪ 'L-DĪN KHĀN was the title bestowed by Awrangzīb on Mīr Shihāb al-Dīn, elder son of ʿĀbid Khān, entitled Ḳilīdj Khān, who rose to the rank of commander of 5,000 horse and held more than one provincial government under Shāhdjahān. Shihāb al-Dīn came from Turkistān to Awrangzīb's court in 1669, and was appointed commander of 300 horse. During Awrangzīb's reign he served with distinction in the suppression of Prince Akbar's rebellion and in the long campaign in the Dakhan, especially at the sieges of Bīdjāpūr, Golkonda, and Adhwanī. He received the title of Ghāzī 'l-Dīn Khān in 1679 and that of Fīrūz Djang in 1685, and died in 1709, in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, being, at the time of his death, governor of the province of Gudjarāt. He left a son, Mīr Ḳamar al-Dīn, entitled Čīn Ḳilīdj Khān and, later, Niẓām al-Mulk and Āṣaf Djāh, who became, in the reign of Farrukhsiyar, viceroy of the Dakhan, and founded the line of the Niẓāms of Ḥaidarābād.

Bibliography: *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*; *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*. (T. W. HAIG.)

GHĀZĪ KHĀN was one of the sons of Malik Sahrāb Khān Dodāī Balōč who emigrated from Mekrān to Multān in the time of Shāh Ḥusain Langāh, King of Multān from 874 to 908 = 1502 [cf. BALŌČISTĀN, i. 628[b], 636[a]]. They obtained djāgīrs [q. v. i. 996[a]] in exchange for military service in the country below the junction of the Indus and the Čināb, although owing to a change in the course of the Indus a large part of this tract, formerly west of the Indus, now lies between that river and the Čināb. Another Balōč leader Mīr Čākur Rind, who also came with his followers to Multān, was on bad terms with Sahrāb and his sons, who perhaps were forced to move further north. Bābar met Balōčes as far north as Bhēra in 925 (1519) and twenty seven years later Shēr Shāh in his pursuit of Humāyūn was met at Khushāb by Ismaʿīl Khān, Fatḥ Khān and Ghāzī Khān, sons of Sahrāb who were confirmed by him in their possessions along the Indus. The towns of Dēra Ismaʿīl Khān, Dēra Fatḥ Khān and Dēra Ghāzī Khān were founded by these three sons, and Ghāzī Khān became founder of a line of Nawwābs of the Mirrānī branch of the Dōdāīs, who ruled there till the middle of the 18th century. They bore the names of Ghāzī Khān and Ḥādjdjī Khān (cf. BALŌČISTĀN, i. 629, 636[b]) alternately. Ghāzī Khān was buried at Čuṭṭā near Dēra Ghāzī Khān where his tomb still exists bearing an inscription of Akbar's time but undated. The tomb is octagonal with towers at the angles and is decorated with fine glazed tiles. Ghāzī Khān II built a tomb in memory of the

saint Pīr ʿĀdil which still exists a few miles north of Dēra Ghāzī Khān and is a place of pilgrimage. His own tomb is near it.

Bibliography: Fryer, *Settlement Report, Dera Ghazi Khan* (Lahore, 1872); Massy, *Chiefs and families of note in the Panjab* (Allahabad, 1890); *Taʾrīkh-i Shēr Shāhī* in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, IV. 388; Dames, *The Baloch Race* (London, 1904), p. 44.

(M. Longworth Dames.)

GHĀZĪ MIYĀN. This celebrated personage is venerated by both Hindus and Muhammadans, and his *shādī*, or wedding, is a popular institution among the unlettered masses throughout Hindustan. In the northwestern parts of India he is identified with Sālār Masʿūd, the nephew of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, who was born at Adjmīr A. H. 405 (1014) and after performing prodigies of valour in battle against the infidels, and capturing Dihlī and Ayodhya, settled at Bahrāič in Oudh. Here he was attacked by the Hindus under Rāī Sahar Deo and Har Deo, and in the battle that ensued he was killed and his army destroyed. This occurred on the 14th Radjab, A. H. 424 (1033). Around this warrior's name strange and incredible stories have accumulated. It is believed in Oudh that only the bones of the hero were discovered in the 14th century, and that, whilst being exhumed, many miraculous events occurred; but a native historian informs us that Sikandar Lōdī in the 15th century abolished throughout his dominions the annual procession of the banner of Sālār Masʿūd because of its being contrary to orthodox belief. No legislation, however, could stop such a popular festival as this has always been.

It is perhaps impossible to explain the meaning of the ritual performed by persons while celebrating the *shādī* of Ghāzī Miyān.

At Gauyarī in the Banda district, a fair is annually held in the month of Baisākh (April—May) in honour of Ghāzī Miyān, at which „Daffāli fakīrs" (mendicant beggars who sing and dance to the accompaniment of a drum) tie coloured rags and horsehair about the top of a long bamboo, round which they sing and often burn incense.

In some parts of India Ghāzī Miyān is described as the son of a famous general who served under the King of Dihlī, and subsequently adopted the garb of a fakīr (mendicant), retired from the world, and shortly afterwards died, whereupon the son, Madār, joined the troops of a Paṭhān leader, and distinguished himself by his bravery and hatred for the Hindus. Hence his name has come to be regarded as a symbol of warlike prowess, and is used up to present times as a battle-cry by Hindustānī soldiers. While his nuptial ceremonies were being celebrated, the enemy appeared, and in his attempt to drive them back he was himself slain. The present day celebrations in honour of Ghāzī Miyān are hence supposed to represent the incident of his untimely death and the capture of his nuptial banners and emblems by the enemy.

On the first Sunday of Djaith (May—June), a great fair is held at the tomb of Sālār Masʿūd, at Bahrāič, when crowds of pilgrims make liberal offerings at the shrine; at Monir also, near the junction of the Sone and the Ganges, the anniversary of the death of Ghāzī Miyān is celebrated. The history of this fair is interesting as showing how legends about one holy man come to be ascribed to another quite different from him.

Van Graaf, sailing up the Ganges in 1669, stopped at "Monir". The inhabitants were poor cultivators, and the country was formerly a desert until a very holy man, "His Monero" (Yaḥyā Munairī, a famous ṣūfī who is the author of the *Sharaf Nāma* and died A. H. 782, see Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss. Br. Mus.*, p. 492) struck by the general features of the place, fixed his abode there, and after having exterminated the wild beasts, erected a small chapel where he performed many miracles. At his death he left much money, with which, "his valet" built a mosque and a tank, frequented by fakīrs, who pretended to work miracles. The mosque still stands, but the fakīrs, finding the worship of Ghāzī Miyān more profitable, established a fair in his honour instead.

The festival of Ghāzī Miyān is not popular in Eastern Bengal, but few villages are without a shrine dedicated to Ghāzī Ṣāḥib. This spot is usually a diminutive *Dargāh* (shrine), with a raised mound of earth in the middle, before which every Muhammadan and Hindu makes obeisance as he passes, and, whenever his family is attacked with any malady, the villager makes votive offerings of flowers, milk, and sweetmeats. Along the banks of the Lakhya, on the outskirts of villages, a mound of earth, stands beneath a grass thatch. This mound has generally two knobs on the tops, said to represent the tombs of Ghāzī Miyān and his younger brother Kālū. On the 22nd day after a cow has calved, the first milk drawn is poured over the mound as a libation, and in time of sickness rice, plantains, and sweetmeats are offered.

Bibliography: Elliot, *History of India*, vol. ii. App. 513—549, and supplemental Glossary, i. 251; *Asiatic Annual Register*, vi. (1801); *Asiatic Journal*, iv. 75; *Statistical and descriptive Account of the North-West Provinces of India*, i. 118 (Allahabad, 1874) and *Voyages de Nikolaas Van Graaf aux Indes Orientales* (Amsterdam, 1719). (M. Hidayet Hosain.)

GHĀZĪ MUHAMMAD, called Kazi-Mulla by the Russians, a Muslim leader in the war of liberation in the Caucasus. (See the article DAGHESTAN, i. 891a).

GHĀZĪPŪR, district of India in the United Provinces, lying on both sides of the Ganges below Benares. Pop. (1911), 839,725, of whom 10% are Muslims. It includes the site of the battle field where Shēr Shāh decisively defeated Humāyūn in 1539. The city of Ghāzīpūr stands on the N. bank of the Ganges, Pop. (1901), 39,429. Before the opening of railways, it was a considerable centre for river traffic. It contains the Government opium factory for all the poppy products of the United Provinces, and is also famous for rose water and otto of roses, made from roses grown in the neighbourhood. The name is traditionally derived from a Saiyid named Masʿūd Malik al-Sādāt Ghāzī, who is said to have defeated the Hindu Rādja and founded the city about 1330. The only notable buildings are the tomb and tank of Pahār Khān, governor in 1580; and the Čihil Sutūn, or "Hall of forty pillars", the palace of ʿAbd Allāh Khān, governor in the 18th cent., which is still owned by his descendants.

Bibliography: *District Gazetteer of Ghazipur* (Allahabad, 1909).

(J. S. Cotton.)

GHĀZIYA (A.), plur. *ghawāzī*, a name given to the caste of dancing-girls in Egypt, who call themselves Barāmika. The origin of those two names is not quite certain; cf. *Revue du Monde Mus.*, Vol. xx. 110, 125. According to Lane, the Ghawāzī mostly keep themselves distinct from other classes and marry only within their tribe; the men are household servants or sometimes also follow a trade when they do not accompany the women as musicians; one of the latter is called *ghawāzī*. They used to perform in the public streets, but this was prohibited in 1834 because they were notorious as prostitutes.

Bibliography: Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*², p. 495; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ii. Ch. xix.

GHAZNA (otherwise known as GHAZNĪN, GHAZNĪ) is an ancient town in Afghānistān situated in lat. 68° 18′ E. long. 33° 44′ N. on lofty ground 7280 ft. above sea-level on the watershed of the Arghandāb and Tarnak rivers. It is now an insignificant town, its place as the northern capital of the country having been taken by Kābul, but has some importance still as a centre of the Ghalzai traders who proceed annually to British India by the Toči and Gumal routes. It is still fortified and the ruins and mounds to the north-east testify to its former extent.

Its early history is obscure. Suggestions have been made of its identity with Ptolemy's Gazaca and with the Greek Gazos, but there is little to support these conjectures. On the other hand the *Ho-si-na* of Hiuen Thsang (which V. de St. Martin first identified with Ghazna), seems to correspond with it accurately. He approached it from India either by the Gumal via Wāna or by the Toči via Bannū. Either of these names might represent Varana, which is designated by the Chinese Fa-la-na. According to the Buddhist pilgrim it was the capital of the kingdom of Tsao-kin-to and of great extent. Buddhism still flourished there at that period (the 7th cent. A. D.). It is not however till the rise of the Ghaznavid dynasty which took its name from the town that Ghazna became famous. It is doubtful whether Ghazna was included in the Sāmānī dominions. It was certainly not one of their mint-towns. Alp-tigin conquered it from a certain Lawīk whose position is uncertain. After his death his son Isḥāḳ was driven out of Ghazna by Lawīk, but recovered it with the aid of Manṣūr b. Nūḥ Sāmānī. Balkātigin his slave succeeded him in Ghazna, and was himself succeeded by Pīrī who allied himself with Lawīk and the Hindū Shāh of Kābul, but Subuktigin another servant of Alptigin attacked them and became master of Ghazna in 366 (976). It was the head quarters of Subuktigin in his Indian expeditions and here in 380 (990) he imprisoned his son Maḥmūd for some time. After Maḥmūd had become an independant sovereign in 389 (998), Ghazna rose in importance owing to its commanding position towards India, although the actual capital of his empire was Balkh. It was to Ghazna he brought the idol from the Somnāth temple, part of it being thrown in front of the great mosque and part in front of his palace. It was one of his mints, although the coinages of Nīshāpūr, Herāt and Balkh are more important. Farwān, his father's only mint, was quite given up. Mas'ūd I does not seem to have coined at Ghazna, but after his time the Ghaznavids were confined by the rise of the Saldjūḳ monarchy and the growing strength of the Ghōrī Chiefs to the eastern part of Afghānistān, and Ghazna became the actual capital and the principal mint-town. During the reigns of the later kings of this dynasty the town underwent a series of misfortunes. In the time of Arslān there was a destructive fire said to have been caused by lightning, and in the same reign it was taken by Sulṭān Sandjar Saldjūḳ and made over to Bahrām Shāh. In the wars between Bahrām Shāh and the Ghōrī chiefs it was more than once taken, and in 544 (1149) 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusain sacked and destroyed the town, thereby earning the name of Djahān-sōz. It is stated by chroniclers to have been utterly destroyed, nevertheless it continued to be an important capital under the Ghōrīs. Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām became governor here under his brother in 569 (1173), and began his expeditions into India. It was to Ghazna he brought the last Ghaznavid king Khusraw Malik before sending him to Fīrūz-kōh, and here in later years he accumulated the treasure obtained from his Indian conquests of which fabulous accounts are given. After Muḥammad b. Sām's death in 602 (1205) Ghazna again became an object of dispute. Yaldūz held it for several years and after his death in 612 it fell into the hands of 'Alā al-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh, who in his turn was driven out by the Mongols. All these events are marked in the coinage of the Ghōrīs, Yaldūz and 'Alā al-Dīn at the Ghazna mint, but after their time it relapses into obscurity. Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubartī held it till driven out by Čingiz Khān. The great conqueror sent his son Ogotai who took the city, massacred the greater part of its inhabitants and carried the remainder away as prisoners, and from this calamity Ghazna never recovered. This occurred in 618 (1221). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who visited Ghazna more than a hundred years after found it still a heap of ruins, 733 (1332). In the succeeding period we hear little of Ghazna. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time it had been taken by the Amīr Ḥusain Kurt after his defeat of Tarmashīrīn, 727 (1326), and in 804 (1401) Tīmūr granted it to his grandson Pīr Muḥammad. Bābar obtained possession of it in 910 (1504) and in his autobiography gives an interesting description. He found it a poor place, and expressed his astonishment that former kings should have made it their capital in preference to Khorāsān. He also mentions the tomb of Sulṭān Maḥmūd (Rawḍa) and those of Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīm as existing in Ghazna. The Minārs or columns of victory erected by Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd III are still standing. Maḥmūd's tomb also exists and was described by Vigne. The outer gates supposed to be those of the shrine at Sōmnāth in Gudjarāt plundered by Maḥmūd and brought to India by the Governor General Lord Ellenborough in 1842, are now considered to be the original gates of the tomb, as they show no sign of Indian style. Under the rule of the Mughal Emperors of India, and afterwards under the Durrānīs and Bārakzāīs, Ghazna, or rather Ghaznī as it is now called, played no important part. It was however a strong fortress, and had the popular reputation of impregnability. At the commencement of the war of 1839—42 it was stormed by a British force under Keane. Rattray at that time described it as still possessing signs of former greatness with some fine houses. It had perhaps recovered to some extent

since Forster in 1783 described it as maintained only by a few traders. Vigne's description in 1836 was more favourable. It was garrisoned by a small force of sepoys under British officers and was besieged from Nov. 1841 to March 1842 when it was taken by a Bārakzai force. Nott re-took it in September the same year, and in returning to India brought away, by Lord Ellenborough's orders, the supposed gates of Sōmnāth. In more recent times Ghazna was the scene of the imprisonment of Afḍal Khān by Shēr ʿAlī and his rescue by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān after defeating Shēr ʿAlī at Saidābād close by. In 1868 however Ghazni was again the scene of fighting when Aʿẓam and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān were defeated by Shēr ʿAlī's forces. In 1880-1881 Ghazni was traversed by Stewart's force marching from Ḳandahār to Kābul and by Roberts from Kābul to Ḳandahār.

The name Ghazna is found on coins and in Arabic chronicles. The form Ghaznīn is used in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* and other Persian chronicles such as Firishta up to modern times. The final *n* has been dropped and the form Ghazni is now generally used.

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(M. Longworth Dames.)

GHAZNAVIDS. The rise of the dynasty known as Ghaznavid or Ghaznawī (from the capital Ghazna) is connected with the struggle between the Iranian and Turkish races for the mastery of the borderland of Islām in the 4th cent. The Sāmānids, an Iranian or Tādjīk stock from Sughd, had risen to power at the commencement of the 3rd century, becoming practically independent of the authority of the khalīfas. After the year 300, however, Turkish names begin to appear among their governors and generals; these were the so-called Turkish slaves, who distinguished themselves in war, and, gradually rising to positions of importance, paved the way for the Turkish and Mongolian invasions which swept away the independence of the Iranian races of Persia, Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, Ṭukhāristān and the regions now included in Afghanistān. The most important of these was Alp-tigin [q. v., i. 321a], who became *Ḥādjib* or chamberlain, and in 344 (955) governor of Harāt. At the accession of Manṣūr b. Nūḥ he fell out of favour and betook himself to the eastern border of the kingdom, where he not only resisted all attempts to subdue him but himself conquered Ghazna, where he died in 352 (963). There is no evidence that Ghazna had previously formed part of the Sāmānid kingdom. It had been overrun, with the whole of Zābulistān and Kābul, by the Ṣaffārīs by 260 (873), but it is doubtful how far their power was permanent, and even when the Sāmānides became paramount there is no evidence that Kābul and Ghazna were under them. The ruler of Ghazna is described as *Pādshāh* and was allied to the Hindū Shāhis of Kābul. These titles were not as yet used by Muhammadan rulers. The Pādshāh Lawīk was probably a Hindū Chief, even though some Mss. of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* give him the name of Abū Bakr or Abū ʿAlī. Alp-tigīn was succeeded by his son Isḥāk, but the power fell into the hands of other Turkish slaves Balkā-tigīn and Subuktigīn. Balkā-tigīn was the first to obtain the power. He was an old servant of the Sāmānids, and had struck coins in his own name under their suzerainty at Balkh as far back as 324 = 935 (very much as Alptigīn had done at Andarāba), but his coinage of 359 (969) at Ghazna is that town's first appearance as a mint-town. The mountain-fort of Farwān in the Hindukush was also used as a mint by Alptigīn and Balkātigīn. Balkātigīn was succeeded by Pīrī, who was perhaps a local man, as he allied himself with Lawīk, the former ruler of Ghazna, and with the Hindū Shāhis. Subuktigīn, who had perhaps remained at Farwān, attacked the allies and routed them, obtaining possession of Ghazna in 367 (977). He continued to issue coins (which are still abundant) at Farwān in his own name with that of Nūḥ b. Manṣūr. Subuktigīn rapidly spread his power through Ṭukhāristān, Zābulistān, Zamindāwar and Ghūr, and even Ḳuṣdār (now in Balōčistān), and then turned his arms against the Hindū Shāhī Djaipāl who is described as Pādshāh of Hind. This title may be due to confusion of Hind (India) with his capital Ohind or Waihind on the Indus, still locally known as Hind or Hund. This expedition against Djaipāl marks the commencement of the wars which ended in the destruction of the powerful Hindū kingdom of the Shāhis, commonly spoken of as the Hindū kings of Kābul. Kābul, however, had at this time passed out of their possession, though they still held the lower Kābul valley and the territory between the Indus and Djihlam. Their dominions in India extended far beyond these bounds to the east, along the line of the Himālaya as far as Kāngra, and through the northern and central Pandjāb to Bhaṭinda on the Hākra river (now dry owing to the diversion of the Satladj to join the Biās). It has been held by some writers (see Raverty *Notes on Afghānistān*, p. 370, followed by V. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 2nd Ed., p. 353) that the kingdom of the Central Pandjāb, with its capital at Bhaṭinda, was distinct from that of the Shāhis, and that Elliot and Dowson were mistaken in treating them as one. Nevertheless there seems to be no good evidence in support of this theory, which involves the supposition that there were two Djaipāls reigning side by side, both of whom were simultaneously at war with the Ghaznavids, and both of whom were succeeded by sons named Anandpāl. Raverty himself says that Djaipāl of Bhaṭinda lost both Lamghān and Nangnihār to Subuktigīn, yet these territories were an integral part of the Shāhi kingdom, the last part of the Kābul valley held by them after the loss of Kābul itself. It seems most probable that the first Hindū kingdom of Kābul was distinct from that of the central Pandjāb, but that the earlier kings whose names end in *deva* had been replaced (by succession or conquest) by the Rādjput dynasty of the central Pandjāb who adopted the ancient Kushan title of Shāhi. Their names all end in *pāl* like those of other Rādjput sovereigns of the time. Djaipāl appears to have succeeded to Bhīma Dēva and to have been allied to the kings of Kashmir who had married into Bhīma Dēva's family and afterwards assisted Triločan Pāl (Djaipāl's grandson) in his war with Maḥmūd. It is evident therefore that the wars of Subuktigīn and Maḥmūd with Djaipāl

and his successors were directed against the most powerful kingdom of northwestern India. In 369 (979) Subuktigin defeated Djaipāl and plundered Lamghān, and there was war again in 378 (988) when Djaipāl seems to have been the aggressor. He was defeated, probably in the Kurram valley, and forced to surrender some forts in the neighbourhood of Ghazna. Maḥmūd first came prominently forward during these wars, and was more inclined to extreme measures than his father. There was some disagreement between them, and Maḥmūd was imprisoned for some time in 380 (990) in the fort of Ghazna. During this period Subuktigin, although practically independent, admitted the suzerainty of the Sāmānid kings and fought their battles for them, especially in 382 (992) and 385 (995) against Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūr. He was made governor of Khorāsān with the title of *Nāṣir al-Dīn*, and Maḥmūd was at the same time given the military command with the title of *Saif al-Dawla*, which is commemorated in a coin struck by him at Nīshāpūr in 385 (995). Subuktigin died in 387 (997) having by his conquests and firm character laid the foundation for the wider empire of his son Maḥmūd.

Ismāʿīl. Subuktigin was succeeded by his younger son Ismāʿīl who, however, was speedily put aside by his energetic brother.

Maḥmūd. Maḥmūd succeeded in 389 (999) at the time when the Sāmānid king had been dethroned by a rebellion. Maḥmūd ostensibly sided with his suzerain, but utilized the opportunity to assume the title of *Amīr* and to obtain investiture from the Khalīfa al-Ḳādir billāh as *Yamīn al-dawla* and *Amīn al-milla*, and these titles henceforth appear on his coins.

Maḥmūd finding himself now an independent ruler, and the once powerful Sāmānid monarchy having vanished, proceeded to consolidate his authority over the greater part of the dominions of that monarchy, and in addition to carry out a systematic series of invasions of India which had been beyond its scope. The position of his new and rising capital of Ghazna on the crest of the high plateau overlooking the plains of Northern India with which it possessed easy communications by the valleys of the Kābul, Kurram, Tochi and Gumal rivers, gave him peculiar advantages for such expeditions. Nevertheless he did not at first make Ghazna his capital. He chose rather the ancient centre of Ṭukhāristān, Balkh, and issued his coinage there, as well as at Walwālīdj in the same province, and Harāt and Nīshāpūr in Khorāsān. Expeditions against Ilak Khān in Turkistān, who had captured the last Sāmānid prince, and also against the Maliks of Sidjistān and Ghōr consolidated his home power and left him free for his almost annual cold weather raids into India. For further details of these expeditions which occupied the greater part of his reign see art. MAḤMŪD.

At the end of his life a danger which was soon to threaten the security of his successors made its first appearance. The Saldjūḳs crossed the Oxus and invaded Ṭukhāristān. Maḥmūd hastened northwards and defeated them, and then turned westwards to ʿIrāḳ where also his arms were triumphant over the Būyids, till then the dominant family and masters of the caliphate, and Shīʿahs by creed. After annexing Persian ʿIrāḳ Maḥmūd re-established the Sunnī faith and made his son Masʿūd governor over Iṣfahān and Raiy. He returned to Balkh and afterwards to Ghazna but was attacked by a severe illness and died soon after his arrival in 421 (1030).

Maḥmūd's dominions at the end of his reign comprised the whole of Khorāsān and Persian ʿIrāḳ in the west, Ṭukhāristān and part of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr in the north, Sidjistān, Zamīndāwar and Ḳuṣdār in the south, and the Pandjāb, Multān and part of Sindh in the east, with an admitted suzerainty over the Hindu kingdoms of the Ganges valley and the south coast. His authority was admitted too by the chiefs of Ghōr and Ghardjistān and the mountain Afghans. From the time of his accession he had recognized the nominal authority of the Khalīfa al-Ḳādir billāh instead of the deposed Khalīfa al-Ṭāʾiʿ lillāh whom the Sāmānids and Subuktigin had acknowledged. The only part of his Indian conquests which was permanent was the establishment of a strong kingdom with its capital at Lahore, which now first becomes known in history as a centre of government. The Ghaznavid rule in the Pandjāb outlasted that in the northern and western provinces of the empire, which fell into the hands of the Khāns of Turkistān or the Great Saldjūḳs of Persia, or in the centre, where the growing power of the Chiefs of Ghōr gradually overshadowed that of Maḥmūd's descendants; and Lahore was the last refuge of the kings of the dynasty. Maḥmūd's fame is mainly based on his Indian conquests, and beyond the actual realization of his projects they had the effect of showing that, in spite of the bravery of the Rādjpūts, India lay open to a resolute invader from the northwest, who, himself screened by an impenetrable mountain barrier, was able to strike the disunited tribes of the plains when weather and opportunity served; and thus they led to the final overthrow of the Hindū states of northern India by Muʿizz al-Dīn two hundred years later. The weakness of the Ghaznavid monarchs was the want of a strong central body of supporters of their own race. They were themselves intruders, and were obliged to recruit their armies from various sources, wild Ghōrī and Afghān tribesmen, Khaldjī Turks, and even Indians from the new Pandjāb dominions. Such a rule could only be held together by strong personal influence, and no king after Maḥmūd was able to exercise such influence. In religion Maḥmūd was a strong Sunnī. He admitted the authority and sought the recognition of the Khalīfa al-Ḳādir billāh, even when he was a powerless tool in the hands of the Shīʿah Būyids, and when he himself occupied the Būyid territory in Persian ʿIrāḳ he put down the Shīʿah creed with severity. In the same way he acted towards the Ḳarāmiṭa, whom he found still powerful in Multān and Manṣūra. In the eyes of his contemporaries his greatest glory was the spreading of the light of Islām in pagan India and the destruction and plunder of celebrated shrines like Mathurā and Sūmnāth. His name is a household word in the east to the present day, and innumerable tales of a folklore type are told about him and his faithful servant Ayāz, some of which began to find their way at an early period into chronicles like the *Djawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt*. His ill-treatment of the poet Firdausī is not mentioned by early writers, but some probability is lent to the story by Firdausī's fierce denunciation of Maḥmūd in his ode.

Muḥammad. On Maḥmūd's death the process of disintegration soon began. Muḥammad was ab-

sent in his government of Djurdjān and Masʿūd (his twin brother) in his government of Iṣfahān. The supporters of the former called him to Ghazna and he was declared Amīr, but he was rejected by the army, with whom Masʿūd as a bold leader was popular. Masʿūd on receiving an invitation to return proceeded towards Ghazna; a deputation went to meet him and Muḥammad sent a force to stop them headed by a Hindū commander named Sīwand (Shiwo Nand?) but he failed to do so. The deputation met Masʿūd at Herāt and offered him the crown. Muḥammad was soon dethroned, blinded and imprisoned.

Masʿūd I. Masʿūd was declared king in Shawwāl 421 (1030). His history is related in considerable detail by al-Baihaḳī. He was of a bold and generous but rash disposition, a brave warrior but given to excess in drinking. He attempted to rival his father's fame both to the east and west, but was more successful in India than in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr where he was opposed by the rising power of the Saldjūḳs under Ṭughril Beg. For details of his Indian wars see art. MASʿŪD. Masʿūd engaged in various warlike adventures in the west in the intervals of his Indian expeditions. He took Karmān from the Būyids in 424 (1032) but lost it again soon afterwards. In 428 (1036) he had visited Mā warāʾ al-Nahr with a force containing a large Indian element, but without effecting much. Now the Saldjūḳ invasion was in greater force and Masʿūd made a desperate effort to arrest it. He met Ṭughril Beg at Dandānaḳān 431 (1040) and, after a hard-fought battle which lasted three days, met with a disastrous defeat. He retired on Ghazna through the hill country of Ghardjistān, and immediately collecting his family and treasures marched into India, leaving his son Mawdūd to defend Balkh, while Madjdūd was sent to Lahore. His blinded brother Muḥammad accompanied the march, and a conspiracy was formed to dethrone Masʿūd in favour of Muḥammad. On reaching the Mārgala Pass between the Indus and the Djihlam Masʿūd was seized and bound. [See art. MASʿŪD.]

Muḥammad (2nd reign). Muḥammad became Amīr a second time, and his son Aḥmad killed Masʿūd in prison at Girī in 433 (1041). Mawdūd on hearing the news marched from Balkh to Ghazna and thence by the Kābul valley where he met Muḥammad's army and defeated it at Nagrahār in 434 (1042), and afterwards took vengeance on all his father's murderers, "both Turk and Tādjīk". Fatḥābād, near Djalālābād, was founded by Mawdūd in honour of this victory.

Mawdūd. 433—441 (1041—1048). Mawdūd now succeeded to the throne, but displayed no qualities calculated to delay the disruption of his kingdom. His brother Madjdūd immediately rebelled and seized on the Sawālak province, lately annexed by Masʿūd, but he died suddenly not without suspicion of poison. The Hindūs were not slow to take advantage of the discord, and the Rādjā of Dihlī (a town recently founded) took not only Hānsī and Thānesar, but recovered the strong fortress of Nagarkōt or Kāngṛā, and then advanced on Lahore, which was saved with difficulty. Three Rādjās are said to have joined in this attack. Mawdūd made no move to assist his harassed servants. On the western side the Saldjūḳ invasions continued. Mawdūd sent one general after another against them, but did not take the field himself. In 434 (1042) Ṭukhāristān was invaded and the Ḥādjib Artigīn who was sent against the enemy failed to save Balkh, and was disgraced and beheaded. In 436 (1044) we hear of the Saldjūḳs as far south as Bust, and the next year they plundered both Bust and Rubāṭ-i Amīr in Zamīndāwar, and advanced towards Ghazna. The general sent against them was named Ṭughril Beg. He inflicted a defeat upon them, but himself joined in traitorous plots and fled. The Ghōrī Maliks now took advantage of the Saldjūḳ invasion to throw off the Ghaznevide yoke. The general who succeeded Ṭughril Beg was named Bāī-tigīn. He obtained the alliance of one of the Ghōrī Maliks named Yaḥyā and attacked the other, ʿAbū ʿAlī, who possessed a strong mountain fort. After this fort was taken Yaḥyā was executed as well as Abū ʿAlī. The Saldjūḳs under Bahrām Niyāl were defeated by Bāī-tigīn near Bust, and he also put down a rising in Ḳuṣdār. The check to the Saldjūḳs was only temporary and Mawdūd at length marched against them in person, but was taken ill after starting and returned to Ghazna where he died in 441 (1049).

Masʿūd II. An infant son of Mawdūd named Masʿūd was enthroned through a palace intrigue, but quickly deposed by ʿAlī, a son of Masʿūd I.

ʿAlī. ʿAlī only reigned for two years, during which the process of decay continued, and the mountain Afghāns, regarding whom we hear nothing since their punishment by Maḥmūd, now began to take part in the internal discord. In 443 (1051) a successful rebellion was headed by ʿAbd al-Rashīd.

ʿAbd al-Rashīd. He was a son of Maḥmūd and was with Masʿūd I at the battle of Dandānaḳān. He was declared Amīr with the assistance of Nōsh-tigīn Karkhī who became one of his generals and recovered the fort of Nagarkōt from the Hindūs who had taken it in Mawdūd's reign. Ṭughril Beg in spite of his treacherous conduct under Mawdūd is found still in command of the western army. As on the former occasion he inflicted a fruitless defeat on the Saldjūḳs and put down a rebellion in Sidjistān, but immediately put his treacherous plot into execution, took possession of Ghazna, murdered ʿAbd al-Rashīd and declared himself Amīr.

Usurpation of Ṭughril. Nōsh-tigīn on hearing of these events marched from India towards Ghazna. Ṭughril was killed before his arrival, and he installed Farrukhzād, a son of Masʿūd I, who with his brother Ibrāhīm had long been imprisoned.

Farrukhzād. This prince relied mainly on Nōsh-tigīn who successfully repelled an invasion of Čaghri Beg (Dāwūd) Saldjūḳ and his son Alp-Arslān. (The *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* says nothing of this invasion which is recorded by Firishta). Farrukhzād is also said to have earned popularity by remitting the taxes of Zābulistān ruined by frequent invasions. Farrukhzād died in 451 (1059), like Mawdūd from a disease which seems to have been cholera.

Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm, his brother, succeeded to the throne peacefully. About the same time Alp-Arslān succeeded his father Čaghri Beg (Dāwūd) as governor of Khorāsān, and, in 455 (1063), he succeeded Ṭughril as sulṭān of the whole Saldjūḳ empire. Khorāsān and Ṭukhāristān were now permanently lost to the Ghaznavid kingdom, which seemed on the point of extinction. Ibrāhīm's long reign however restored some measure of prosperity. He

made peace with the Saldjūks, and married his son Mas'ūd (afterwards Mas'ūd III) to a daughter of Malik Shāh who succeeded Alp-Arslān in 465 (1072). This marriage had a great influence on subsequent history. He pursued the arts of peace with success and also strengthened his position in the Pandjāb. He took the fort of Adjōdhan on the Biyās, now known as Pāk-pattan and celebrated for the shrine of Bābā Farīd (Shakarganj). Firishta mentions two other strong places which he took, Rōdpāl and Dūra. The latter was situated in a mountainous country, and may be Dūra Dūn. Ibrāhīm was the first Ghaznavid monarch to use the title Sulṭān on his coins in imitation of Tughril Saldjūk. He died in 492 (1099) after a reign of forty-one years.

Mas'ūd III. His son Mas'ūd succeeded and reigned for sixteen years. The conditions of his reign were similar to those of the preceding one. He enjoyed peace at home, and sent expeditions into India, one of which under Tughā-tigin Ḥādjib of Lahore penetrated beyond the Ganges and brought back great spoil. The rise of the Ghōrī Maliks becomes noticeable in this reign. 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusain received the government of Ghōr in 499 (1099). Mas'ūd III died in 508 (1115).

Shērzād. His son Shērzād who succeeded him was killed next year by his brother Arslān.

Arslān. Arslān assumed the crown in the Garmsīr of Zamīndāwar in 509 (1116) and the remaining brother Bahrām Shāh fled to the court of the Saldjūḳ monarch Sandjar who took up his cause. Arslān insulted his father's widow, the sister of Sandjar, the alliance with the Saldjūḳs was broken, and the temporary prosperity of the Ghaznavids came to an end. Sandjar invaded Zābulistān and advanced on Ghazna. Arslān was defeated and retired on his Indian dominions. Bahrām Shāh was set up in Ghazna, but Arslān returned and drove him out as soon as the Saldjūḳs had departed. Sandjar returned and again took Ghazna. This time Arslān was captured, and appears to have been put to death. Cf. i. 463ᵇ.

Bahrām Shāh. [q. v., i. 586ᵃ] Bahrām Shāh's reign began in 511 (1117) and lasted till 547 (1153) but the independent monarchy of Ghazna was now at an end. Sandjar was his suzerain, and his name was placed on Bahrām Shāh's coins below that of the Khalīfa (except on the coins of Indian type struck at Lahore). The Indian dominions were in fact the only part of the monarchy free from the Saldjūḳ power. Bahrām Shāh's downfall was however due not to his Saldjūḳ suzerain but to the rapid rise of the chiefs of Ghōr. In the beginning of his reign he had to deal with the rebellion of Muḥammad Bahlīm who had been governor of the Indian province. He attempted to assert his independence and built a fort at Nāgōr in the most remote part of Sawālak, a province which had been conquered by Mas'ūd I, lost by Mawdūd, and apparently reoccupied afterwards, although of this there is no record. (For the importance of Nāgōr see Cunningham, *Ephthalites*, in *Transactions 9th Oriental Congress*, p. 241 and Thomas, *Chronicles of Pathān Kings of Dehli*, p. 47). Bahrām Shāh encountered Bahlīm near Multān and defeated him, returning to Ghazna in 523 (1128). The rebellion of the Ghōrī Chiefs was due to the murder of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn who was a refugee at Ghazna by Bahrām Khān's orders. His brother Sūrī, the principal malik, after driving Bahrām Shāh out of Ghazna for a time, was himself driven out by the latter who collected a force of Afghāns and Khaldj Turks in the Kuram valley. Sūrī was himself captured and executed with great ignominy, 543 (1148). Then Sūrī's successor Sām with his brother Ḥusain advanced towards Ghazna, and Sām having died, Ḥusain ('Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusain, nicknamed Djahān-sūz) took Ghazna and ravaged it in a merciless manner, hence earning his nickname. Bahrām Shāh probably recovered possession of Ghazna for a short time after his departure, but accounts are contradictory. Ḥusain, on his return march through Zamīndāwar, destroyed the celebrated city of Bust, capital of that province. It has lain in ruins ever since, and Ḳandahār soon took its place as the capital. Bahrām Shāh died in 547 (1152).

Khusraw Shāh. His son Khusraw Shāh succeeded and would no doubt have received the support of his suzerain Sandjar who had been at war with Ḥusain, had not Sandjar himself been defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz hordes in 548 (1153). He died soon after his release four years later. The Ghuzz rapidly overran the whole country, the Ghōrīs in their mountains alone being untouched. Khusraw Shāh was not in a position to resist them. He abandoned Ghazna for the last time and the Ghaznavid kings henceforward held only the Indian territory. Khusraw Shāh died at Lahore in 555 (1160).

Khusraw Malik. He was succeeded by his son Khusraw Malik. (There is a good deal of discrepancy as to dates in the chronicles but the date 555 is fixed as being the year of the death of the Khalīfa al-Muḳtafī whose name appears on the coins of both Khusraw Shāh and Khusraw Malik). He was the last of the Ghaznavid Sulṭāns, and ruled the Pandjāb till 583 (1187). The Ghōrī Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn b. Sām, who recovered Ghazna from the Ghuzz in 569 (1173), almost immediately began his invasions of India, but did not attack the Lahore kingdom till after his expeditions to the south. After the campaigns of Multān, Nahrwāla and Debal he made his first attack on Peshāwar which belonged to Khusraw Malik, and threatened Lahore. He occupied and strengthened the fort of Siyālkōt in the country of the Khōkhars, a powerful tribe, and made it an outpost of his rule. Khusraw Malik tried to retake it with the help of the Khōkhars, and the Rādjā of Djammū, who considered the Khōkhars his own subjects, turned against Khusraw Malik and took the side of Mu'izz al-Dīn. The latter finally entrapped Khusraw Malik by pretended negotiations, surrounded him and took him prisoner. Lahore and the Pandjāb fell into the hands of the conqueror. The unfortunate Ghaznavid king was sent first to Ghazna, then to Ghiyāth al-Dīn at Fīrūzkōh and lastly to the fort of Balarwān in Ghardjistān, where he and his son Bahrām Shāh were put to death in 587 (1191).

Thus the great Ghaznavid empire came to an inglorious end. Had it not perished when it did, it must inevitably have been swept away, like its successors, by the Moghal flood, for it had no stability. It was a purely military rule with no national force behind it, and in such a case weakness and domestic feuds must be fatal. Its fame is due to its having commenced the Muḥammadan conquest of Northern India, and established a firm foothold in the Pandjāb which made Mu'izz al-Dīn's later conquests possible.

The coinage of the Ghaznavids is full, and affords a numismatic record of the principal events from Alp-tigin's rise to Khusraw Malik's fall. Particularly noteworthy are the small issues of Subuk-tigin at Farwān, imitating in size and weight the coinage of the Hindū Shāhis, followed later by Muḥammad and Mas'ūd I who adopted the horseman type used by the same kings, with their own names above the horseman in Kūfic letters. Later kings adopted the bull of Siva from the same coinage and even borrowed the title *Sri Samanta Deva* in Nagari letters from the Shāhi coinage. Very remarkable also is Maḥmūd's bilingual *tanka* in Arabic and Sanskrit struck at Maḥmūdpur (Lahore). Side by side with these Indian coins the regular issue of dinārs and dirhams, following the models of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, went on. Maḥmūd's early assumption (during his father's life) of the title of *Saif al-Dawla* under the Sāmānids is illustrated by a dirham struck at Nīshāpūr in 385, which bears the figure of a sword and the title Saif al-Dawla Maḥmūd b. Subuk-tigin. The extensive coinage of Khorāsān and Tukhāristān issued from the mints of Herāt, Nīshāpūr, Balkh and Walwālīj comes to an end in the reign of Mas'ūd I, as these places fell into the hands of the Saldjūḳs. The title *Amīr* was the only one used at first. The chroniclers give Maḥmūd and his immediate successors the title of *Sulṭān*, but it does not appear on the coins till Ibrāhīm's reign.

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(M. Longworth Dames.)

GHAZZA, the ancient 'Azza, Greek Γάζα, an important commercial town in south-western Judaea, near the coast at the intersection of the chief route to Egypt and several caravan routes from Arabia. The town belonged to the Philistines and was not taken by the Jews till the time of Alexander Jannaeus who had it destroyed. It was rebuilt by Gabinius somewhat farther south than the ancient town the ruins of which were still visible in the fifth century. The harbour of Maiumas (cf. *Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten des Deutsch. Pal. Vereins*, 1901, p. 62) was 2-3 miles away. Under Roman rule it belonged to the province of Syria Palestina and later to Palestina Prima. In Muḥammad's time it is described by Antoninus Martyr as a splendid and luxurious city, whose inhabitants gave a kindly welcome to foreign visitors. The town was of very great importance to the merchants of Mecca who sent their great caravan to Syria every year. According to Tradition the Prophet's great grandfather Hāshim [q. v.] died in Ghazza and is buried there, which gave "Hāshim's Ghazza", as it was called, a particular sanctity in the eyes of Muslims; 'Omar also is said to have won his wealth there. When Abū Bakr sent a section of the Arabian troops to Palestine, the Patricius of Ghazza was defeated at Dāthin (Balādhurī, p. 109; cf. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, where this battle is confused with one in al-'Araba) or Tādūn (Eutychius, *Annales*, ed. Pococke, ii. 258), about three hours east of Ghazza (cf. the article FILASṬĪN), which was soon afterwards taken by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. Whether Saif's account of the siege of Ghazza by 'Alḳama b. Mudjazziz has any historical value, remains to be proved; at any rate its details are a repetition of what is related of 'Amr himself. In 767 the celebrated jurist al-Shāfi'ī was born in Ghazza. Towards the end of the viiith century the town, like several others in the neighbourhood, was devastated by the bloody feuds of several Arab tribes. It recovered, however, for in the xth century Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī describe it as a large and wealthy city with a beautiful chief mosque. It must, however, have been laid waste again for, when the Crusaders came there, it was in ruins. In 1152 it was rebuilt by the Christians and a fortress built in it, which was granted to the Templars and garrisoned by them. It is from this period that Idrīsī's brief mention of the city dates. The unfortified part of the town had been sacked with great cruelty by Salāḥ al-Dīn in 1170 but it was only after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187 that the citadel fell into his hands. Richard I. Coeur de Lion succeeded for a while in holding it again, but it was finally taken by the Muslims again who held it henceforth. On the division of country into *mamlakāt* Ghazza became the capital of one of them. In the xivth century Abu 'l-Fidā describes it as a town of medium size with a small fort and flourishing orchards which were separated by sandhills from the sea; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa on the other hand calls it a large, thickly populated town without walls and with many mosques, including one newly built by Amīr Djāwalī, which had taken the place of the old chief mosque (perhaps the modern chief mosque, which, it may be added, was originally a Johannite church of the xiith century). In the xvth century Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī speaks of Ghazza as the capital of an extensive mamlaka and calls it a beautiful town in a flat country, rich in fruits and having mosques, schools and other fine buildings worthy of admiration.

At the present day Ghazza is very prosperous (about 40,000 inhabitants); the surrounding orchards yield a rich harvest and the market is a very busy one. Many pieces of marble from the ancient buildings are built into the houses but otherwise the town is not rich in relics of antiquity.

The above mentioned harbour of Maiumas is certainly mentioned by Muḳaddasī, al-Bakrī and Idrīsī as "Maimās" or some such name. The last named, however, says that the harbour of Ghazza is Tīda, which al-Bakrī merely mentions along with Maimās; it is the ancient Anthedon, the site of which Gatt has discovered an hour's journey N.W. of the town.

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(Fr. Buhl.)

GHEBA, A Musalmān tribe of Rādjpūt origin associated with the Djōdrā tribe, and occupying a considerable part of the Pindi Gheb Taḥṣīl of the Aṭak District, Pandjāb. Though not a large tribe they have a good social position. They are a branch of the Puṅwar Rādjpūts and related to the Tiwāna and Syāl tribes. Legend provides them with three founders, sons of Rai Shankar Puṅwar, named Tēo, Sēo and Ghēo, the first the ancestor of the Tiwānas, the second of the Syāls and the third of the Ghebas. The Ghebas were nearly independent till subdued by Randjīt Singh. The period of their conversion to Islām is not known.

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(M. Longworth Dames.)

GHIFĀR, an Arab tribe, belonging to the Ma'addī (Ismā'īlī) group. Their genealogy is: Ghifār b. Mulail b. Ḍamra b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna; they were closely allied to the Hudhail.

They lived in the Ḥidjāz. The following places belonged to them: Adā'a (near Mecca), Ba'āl (near 'Usfān, also given as a hill), Shadakh (in common with the Uslum), Ghaiḳa, Waddān (both the latter between Mecca and Medina), al-Tanāḍib and the hill of Muslih.

In the year 8 (629) the Ghifār adopted Islām. In the same year they took part in the conquest of Mecca along with the Muzaina, Djuhaina, Sulaim, Asad, Kalb and other tribes under Khālid b. al-Walīd. After the death of the Prophet, they recognised the Caliph Abū Bakr and fought for his party against the rebel tribes.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 304, 432, 671; ii. 202; iii. 265, 829; iv. 910; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 1637, 1647 and Index s. v.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme* (Paris 1847-1848), iii. 43, 188, 223, 228, 244, 252; Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (London 1858), iv. 24, 107, 114; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen der arab. Stämme und Familien* (Göttingen 1852), 2. Abt.: *Ismā'īlitische Stämme*, Tafel N 13; do., *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, p. 712.

(J. Schleifer.)

GHILZAI. [See ghalzai.]

GHIRSH. [See ghirsh.]

GHIYĀR (A.), a distinctive mark or strip of cloth which the Dhimmis (Christians, Jews, Magians etc.) fasten on their shoulders, the colour of which is different from that of their clothes. The obligation to wear such a badge as well as that prescribing the wearing of the *zunnār* and forbidding riding on horseback, is said to date from 'Omar I, but no such edict was expressly proclaimed till the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 191 (807) (Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 712 *et seq.*). The edict in question was repeated by following caliphs from time to time and made more strict, namely by al-Mutawakkil in 235 (849-850), cf. Ṭabarī, iii. 1389 *et seq.*, al-Muḳtadir (Ibn Taghrībardī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 175), al-Muḳtadī (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x. 123). The same is related of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim in 395 (1005), cf. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes, Introd.*, cccviii. *et seq.* and of the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Nāṣir in 700 (1301), cf. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 301. These laws were enforced with particular rigour in the Maghrib, especially with reference to the Jews. The term used there is (*'amāfa*) *al-shakla*; cf. Fagnan in *Revue des Études Juives*, 1894, p. 294 *et seq.* As is well-known, this example was followed in various Christian countries.

As to the colour of the *ghiyār*, we read in the Fiḳh books that it should be blue for Christians, yellow for Jews, and black or red for a Magian, but in the regulations of the various caliphs and Muslim rulers mentioned above we meet with arbitrary deviations from this rule. A honey-coloured piece of cloth, for example, is almost always prescribed, so that *'asalī* is used for *ghiyār* without further qualification. It is clear that the regulations were usually allowed to be forgotten, or exemption from them could be obtained on payment of a certain sum, so that they had repeatedly to be enforced anew till finally they fell utterly into desuetude. Nevertheless, Muslims still hesitate to wear a European hat and tie, because they regard these to some extent as *zunnār* and *ghiyār*.

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handbuch des islām. Gesetzes*, p. 352 *et seq.*; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (ed. Būlāḳ), p. 72 *et seq.*; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 272 *et seq.* Cf. also the *Bibl.* to the article dhimma, i. 958[b], *et seq.*

GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN BALBAN etc. [See balban, i. 616[b], kaikhusraw, muḥammad etc.]

GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN TAGHLAḲ, eighteenth Muḥammadan emperor of Dihlī, was by birth a Ḳarawuna Turk, but of Indian descent through his mother. He began his career as a private soldier under the brother of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī but early in the reign of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Khaldjī was in command of the frontier district of Dēbālpūr. Here, by his services against the Mughals, whom he encountered no less than twenty-nine times, he earned the title of Ghāzī Malik, and when Mubārak's vile favourite, Khusraw Khān, slew his master and usurped his throne Taghlaḳ's eldest son, Fakhr al-Dīn Djauna, fled

from Dihlī and persuaded his father to take up arms against the outcast. Khusraw was defeated on Sept. 5th 1320, and on the following day Taghlaḳ was proclaimed emperor. The restoration of order in the capital occupied him but one week, and, after modifying the harsh laws of the Khaldjī and founding his new capital of Taghlaḳābād, he dispatched his son, now styled Ulugh Khān, into the Dakhan. Details of Ulugh Khān's campaigns cannot be given here but he carried his arms to the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula. The defeat of an expedition against Warangal has been variously attributed by historians to a military mutiny and to the failure of Ulugh Khān to persuade the whole army to join him in a rebellion against his father, but he had no difficulty in convincing Taghlaḳ of his innocence, and in 1324 was summoned from Tilingāna to act as regent during the absence of Taghlaḳ, who had resolved to lead an expedition into Bangāl, where two brothers, Shihāb al-Dīn Bughra and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bahādur, were contending for sovereignty. The former submitted and the latter was captured, and on his return towards Dihlī Taghlaḳ was received with great pomp in a temporary pavilion which had been erected by his son at Afghānpūr, six miles from Taghlaḳābād. The building fell and crushed its occupants, and Ulugh Khān has been accused by some historians of having contrived the disaster, but many circumstances, besides the clumsiness of the artifice, combine to render his guilt doubtful. Taghlaḳ died in February or March 1325.

Bibliography: Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*; Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*; Firishta.

(T. W. HAIG.)

GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN TAGHLAḲ II, fourth emperor of Dihlī of the Taghlaḳ dynasty, was the son of Fatḥ Khān, eldest son of Fīrūz Shāh Taghlaḳ. On the death of Fīrūz in Sept. 1388, his second son, Muḥammad, was in rebellion, and Taghlaḳ was placed on the throne in accordance with his grandfather's will. He attempted, without success, to crush his uncle's rebellion, and, after he had reigned five months, he and his minister Malik Fīrūz Khāndjahān were put to death (Feb. 19th 1389) by Malik Rukn al-Dīn Canda, and his cousin Abū Bakr was raised to the throne.

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*; Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*; Firishta.

(T. W. HAIG.)

GHOMĀRA (Gumera in Leo Africanus), a Berber tribe in the western Maghrib. Ibn Khaldūn numbers it among the Maṣmūdī tribes and traces it back to Ghomār, a son of Maṣmūd, or, according to another tradition, son of Mestāf b. Melīl b. Maṣmūd. The Ghomāra are divided into a large number of clans (Benī Ḥamīd, Mettwa, Benī Nāl, Aghaṣwa, Benī Wazarwāl, Medjkasa etc.), names which are still to be found at the present day among a number of Rīf tribes. It is rather difficult to define exactly the territory occupied by the Ghomāra. According to Ibn Khaldūn, it was five days' journey in length (from the "plains of Maghrib" to Tangier) and about the same in breadth (from Ḳaṣr Ketāma to the Wādī Wergha). It ran down to the Atlantic coast between Aṣīlā and Anfā and here adjoined the lands of the Berghawāṭa. Al-Bakrī no longer reckons the district of Tangier and Ceuta to the Ghomāra and gives Nukūr in the east and Karūshat in the west as their boundaries.

The Ghomāra were settled in this part of the Maghrib long before Islām was introduced into these regions. Conquered by Mūsā b. Nuṣair, they became converts to the new religion, but in the second century A. H. they adopted Khāridjī doctrines and took part in the rebellion of the Maisara. Even after the defeat of the Khāridjīs they still showed themselves disposed to heretical doctrines however. "Their rudeness and lack of culture", writes Ibn Khaldūn, "prevent them recognising the truth in matters of religion". It therefore followed that they attached themselves in great numbers to the false prophet Ḥāmīm, known as *al-Muftarī* "the forger" (cf. the art. ḤĀMĪM). He belonged to the tribe of the Medjkasa, appeared in the district of Teṭuān in 313 (925) and fell in 315 (927-928) in a battle against the Maṣmūda. Ḥāmīm gave his followers civil and religious laws, limited the fast of Ramaḍān to three days, abolished the command to make the pilgrimage and composed a Ḳur'ān in the Berber language, from which al-Bakrī and Ibn Khaldūn quote a few passages. At a later period another prophet named 'Āṣim b. Djamīl al-Yazdadjūmī appeared; in 625 (1228) a rebellion broke out instigated by a certain Abu 'l-Ṭawādjīn, who claimed to be a prophet and magician. The Ghomāra have always had a particular fondness for magic. Al-Bakrī makes a number of references to it and Ibn Khaldūn says that the black art was particularly practised by young women.

As to the political history of the Ghomāra, they have undergone many changes. From the IIth—IVth (VIIIth—Xth) centuries the eastern part of their lands belonged to the kingdom of Nukūr. One of their chiefs named Soggen attempted in 144 (761) to seize the reins of government then held by the Benī Ṣāliḥ, the descendants of the founder of the Nukūr kingdom, but failed. On the division of the Idrīsid kingdom, the eastern tribes passed under 'Omar b. Idrīs and his descendants. They remained loyal to these even after the Idrīsids had been driven from Fās by the Fāṭimids and stood by them to the last in their wars with the Spanish Umaiyads. After the disappearance of the Idrīsids from the scene (364 = 974) the Ghomāra first recognised the suzerainty of the Umaiyads, then that of the Ḥammūdids of Ceuta until the coming of the Almoravids. On the rise of the Almohads the Ghomāra hastened to adopt the new teaching and assisted 'Abd al-Mu'min in his expedition against Ceuta (541 = 1146). But this loyalty, which had won them the particular favour of the Caliph, did not last long. Abū Ya'ḳūb in 562 (1166-1167) had to take the field in person to suppress a rising led by a Ghomāra chief named Seba' b. Menaghfād. The rebel was defeated and slain and Abū Ya'ḳūb appointed his brother to govern Ceuta and watch the Rīf.

The Marīnids also found it difficult to conquer the unruly Ghomāra. They only succeeded in subduing them by taking advantage of the feuds between the various *ṣoff*. But this conquest was by no means permanent. "At the present day", writes Ibn Khaldūn (trans. de Slane, ii. 137 *et seq.*), "the Ghomāra have become powerful and numerous; they pay homage and tribute however to the Marīnid government as far as the latter

can extort it from them; but as soon as the government once shows itself weak, ... it has to order troops from the capital to bring the tribes back to their allegiance. Protected by inaccessible mountains, they do not hesitate to offer an asylum to members of the royal family and to all rebels who seek refuge with them". From the xvth century onwards details of the history of the Ghomāra are entirely lacking; their name is still mentioned by Leo Africanus, however, in the xvith century and it is still borne by a powerful tribe of Djebala.

Bibliography: al-Bekrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, transl. de Slane, p. 288 *et seq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii. 133, 144, 156 *et seq.*, 197 *et seq.*; Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer), i. 10 *et seq.*; E. Fagnan, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XIIe siècle de notre ère (Kitāb al-Istibṣār)*, Constantine 1900, p. 45 *et seq.*, 144—147; Mouliéras, *Maroc inconnu*, ii. 291—355. (G. YVER.)

GHŌR, a mountainous country now included in Afghānistān [q. v. i. 149ᵇ] occupying the block between the Helmand valley and Herāt, and corresponding roughly with the modern Hazāristān, occupied by the Hazāra and Čahār Aimāḳ tribes. The country gave its name to the Ghōrids [q. v.] who succeeded the Ghaznavids in power. Ghōr formed part of the kingdoms of the Sāmānids and Ghaznavids. The Ghōrids themselves were conquered by the Shāhs of Khwārizm and shortly afterwards, in the early part of the viith = xiiith century, the country came under Mongol rule, and Fīrūz-kōh the capital was destroyed. The population, formerly Irānian, became from that time largely Mongolian, as it still remains (see under art. AFGHĀNISTĀN i. 151ᵃ, 154ᵇ). The name Ghōr gradually disappears from history, and has not been in use in modern times.

Bibliography: For authorities see under art. FĪRŪZKŌH, p. 114ᵃ and GHŌRIDS.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GHŌRIDS, The family of the Maliks of Ghōr claimed an illustrious Iranian descent, and took the name of Shansabānī from Shansab a supposed descendant of Zuḥāk, but nothing is known of their actual history before the time of the Ṣaffārids, when Ya'ḳūb b. Laith invaded Zamindāwar and Bust. At that time the mountain region of Ghōr (sometimes called Mandēsh) was under a Malik named Sūrī, and the population were not yet converted to Islām. His son Muḥammad who was attacked by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī is also stated in the *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā* to have been still a pagan, in spite of his name, and al-'Otbī calls him a Hindū. Maḥmūd took his stronghold in the year 400 (1009) and carried the chief into captivity, where he is said to have poisoned himself. His son Abū 'Alī, who was put in his place by Maḥmūd, no doubt had embraced Islām, and is said to have built masdjids. Nevertheless he was seized and imprisoned by his nephew 'Abbās after Mas'ūd had succeeded to the throne of Ghazna. 'Abbās seems to have been a powerful ruler and built himself a strong castle in the mountains of Mandēsh. Mas'ūd himself is stated by Baihaḳī to have conducted warlike operations in the Ghōr country against chieftains named Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Warmēsh, but no allusion is made to Muḥammad, Abū 'Alī or 'Abbās. It is probably that there were at that period several tribes in Ghōr under separate chiefs, and that there was no central government. 'Abbās seems to have continued in power under Ghazna suzerainty until he was dethroned by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm who put his son Muḥammad in his place. Through this comparatively peaceful period, when the raids of the Saldjūḳs were suspended, the power of the Ghaznavid monarchy was evidently sufficient to exact obedience from the hill chiefs. The maliks who succeeded Muḥammad were Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥasan and 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusain. The latter came into collision with Sulṭān Sandjar the Saldjūḳ ruler in 501 (1007), and was taken prisoner but released after two years (strange to say a similar story is told of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusain Djahānsōz, and as both were called Ḥusain it is probable there has been some confusion). After this his allegiance appears to have been divided between the Saldjūḳs on the west and the Ghaznavids on the east. Mas'ūd III confirmed him as chief in 493 (1099). After his time the family divided into the two branches of Ghōr and Bāmiyān. 'Izz al-Dīn is said by Faṣīḥ to have died in 545 (1150), but this is evidently too late a date. His son, Saif al-Dīn Sūrī, succeeded as principal chief, being the eldest of the sons by a mother of high status. They had an elder brother, however, named Fakhr al-Dīn Mas'ūd, the son of a Turkish woman, and another, the son of a serving woman, named Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. Sūrī made a division of his father's dominions awarding a part of the mountain tract of Ghōr called Warshāda (perhaps corresponding to the Taimanī country of to-day) to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who founded there the fortress of Fīrūzkōh and was known as Malik al-Djibāl. Fakhr al-Dīn received the northern territory of Bāmiyān with Ṭukhāristān and, according to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, even Shaghnān and the country up to the boundary of Wakhsh and Badakhshān, but it is clear that his authority over the more remote parts of this region must have been very slight. The later history of the Maliks of Bāmiyān may be here briefly given before continuing that of the main Ghōrid family. Fakhr al-Dīn was succeeded by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who is said to have extended his power to Balkh and Badakhshān, and to have subdued Ṭukhāristān, which evidently had not been really subdued before. He took the title of Sulṭān with the consent of his uncles of Ghazna who had by this time risen to great power as will be seen. His son Bahā' al-Dīn Sām succeeded him in 588 (1192) and reigned till 602 (1205) when he died (soon after the murder of Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām). His son Djalāl al-Dīn 'Alī who held power after him, assisted his brother 'Alā' al-Dīn to seize the throne of Ghazna, and himself obtained great booty. 'Alā' al-Dīn having been expelled from Ghazna by Yaldiz, Djalāl al-Dīn again assembled a force said to consist of Ghōrī, Ghuzz and Beghū (or Eastern Turks), but met with no success. He was himself taken prisoner by Yaldiz, but was released and recovered possession of Bāmiyān which had meanwhile been usurped by his uncle 'Alā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd. Djalāl al-Dīn continued to reign till the invasion of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khwārizm-Shāh, when he was defeated and put to death 612 (1215). Bahā' al-Dīn and Djalāl al-Dīn were rulers of great importance and the last of the Shansabānī race to enjoy real power. Coins of both of them are known. It is necessary now to return to Saif al-Dīn Sūrī and carry on the story of the main line.

The origin of the insurrection of the Ghōrī

Maliks is not very clear, but apparently the Malik al-Djibāl quarrelled with his half-brothers and took refuge with Bahrām Shāh in Ghazna. It is probable that this was connected with the enmity between Bahrām Shāh and Sulṭān Sandjar who had been making overtures to the Ghūrī Maliks. Whatever the cause, Bahrām Shāh became suspicious of the Malik al-Djibāl and put him to death by poison 541 (1146). Sūrī, on hearing this news, marched on Ghazna which he took. Bahrām Shāh retired into Kurram and there assembled an army of Afghāns and Khaldj. Meanwhile Sūrī had declared himself Sulṭān at Ghazna and made over Ghōr to his brother Bahā' al-Dīn Sām, but on the approach of Bahrām Shāh the leading men of Ghazna rose against him. He attempted to retreat to Ghōr, but was surrounded, captured and executed.

His brother Bahā' al-Dīn Sām who succeeded him in 544 (1149) had already taken charge of Ghōr in his absence and completed the unfinished town and fort of Fīrūzkōh abandoned by the Malik al-Djibāl when he went to Ghazna. On learning of the death of Sūrī he collected an army and marched towards Ghazna, but died at Kīdān on the way in the year of his accession. His brother 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusain succeeded him, and took up the work of avenging his brothers. Bahrām Shāh's army met him near Tiginābād in the plain country of Zamīndāwar but was defeated, Dawlat Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, being killed. The chroniclers enlarge upon the valiant deeds of two champions in 'Alā' al-Dīn's army both named Kharmil, who fought with Bahrām Shāh's war-elephants. Nearer to Ghazna Bahrām Shāh's troops twice attempted resistance, but 'Alā' al-Dīn defeated them and took Ghazna by storm. His revenge was terrible. The city was laid waste and its inhabitants slaughtered; and the remains of the later Ghaznawī monarchs were dug up and burned. The name of Djahān-sōz was given to 'Alā' al-Dīn on account of this terrible event. He did not attempt to hold Ghazna, being threatened on the west of his kingdom by Sulṭān Sandjar Saldjūḳ. Some chroniclers assert that Bahrām Shāh was dead and had been succeeded by Khusraw Shāh before the fall of Ghazna but this is improbable. The author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* states that he recovered Ghazna after 'Alā' al-Dīn's departure. The latter, after leaving Ghazna, marched by way of Bust, which he utterly destroyed so that it has been a ruin ever since, and then spent some time in his capital Fīrūzkōh till roused by Sandjar's advance. The armies met at Nāb in the valley of the Hari-rūd. 'Alā' al-Dīn was deserted by his Turkish, Khaldj and Ghuzz troops. The Ghōrīs were defeated and 'Alā' al-Dīn taken prisoner. After a time he found favour with Sandjar who restored him to the throne of Ghōr. He re-established his power and extended it northwards, getting possession of the Murghāb valley (Ghardjistān) and the strong fort of Tūlak. The defeat and capture of Sandjar by the Ghuzz probably made this development possible, and 'Alā' al-Dīn was himself at Harāt at the time of his death in 551 (1156). His son Saif al-Dīn Muḥammad succeeded at Fīrūzkōh. The two sons of Sām, Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Mu'izz al-Dīn, who had been imprisoned by his father he set at liberty, and also began a persecution of the Malāḥida who had obtained influence in 'Alā' al-Dīn's time. He was soon recalled by the incursions of the Ghuzz who were rapidly increasing in power, and was defeated and killed in a battle with them near Marv in 558 (1162). It is said his death was due to the treachery of his general Abu 'l-'Abbās in revenge for his brother Warmīsh whom Saif al-Dīn had killed through jealousy. Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Sām was with him at the time, and was brought back and raised to the throne by the army at Fīrūzkōh. Mu'izz al-Dīn who had been at Bāmiyān with Fakhr al-Dīn joined his brother and became his principal support. They soon killed Abu 'l-'Abbās, and then had to meet an attack from their uncle Fakhr al-Dīn assisted by Tādj al-Dīn Yaldūz of Herāt. Fakhr al-Dīn considered that the Ghōr territories should belong to him and not to his nephew, and obtained the support of the rulers of Herāt (Yaldūz) and Balkh (Kimādj), no doubt Turkish chiefs. The Ghōrī chiefs met their army at Rāgh-i Zarī in the Hari-rūd valley and defeated them. Both Yaldūz and Kimādj were killed and the latter's head was sent to Fakhr al-Dīn. The defeated uncle was received with ironical courtesy by his nephews, who however released him and restored him to his own territory of Bāmiyān 559 (1163). Ghiyāth al-Dīn then proceeded to liberate other parts of his territory from the intruding Ghuzz, who had taken possession of Ghazna after the death of Saif al-Dīn Muḥammad the year before, and retained it till 569 (1173) when Mu'izz al-Dīn conquered them and got possession of the old Ghaznevide capital. The last Ghaznevide kings had abandoned it and made Lahore their capital. Ghiyāth al-Dīn then installed his brother Mu'izz al-Dīn as Sulṭān at Ghazna, himself retaining the suzerainty over that kingdom and the actual rule over Ghōr, as may be seen from the coins, on which Ghiyāth al-Dīn appears as *al-Sulṭān al-a'ẓam* and Mu'izz al-dīn as *al-Sulṭān al-mu'aẓẓam*. Ghiyāth al-Dīn himself operated against Herāt which had fallen into the possession of one of Sulṭān Sandjar's Turkish slaves named Tughril, and obtained possession of the city in 571 (1175), but no doubt it was recovered by Tughril who was not finally disposed of till 588 (1192). Ghiyāth al-Dīn also received the adhesion of Tādj al-Dīn Ḥarb, Malik of Sidjistān, who accepted his suzerainty, though it is not the case as stated by Raverty in a note on p. 192 of his translation of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* that the name of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn was put on the coins (see *B. M. Cat. Oriental Coins, Additions*, vols. i. to iv. p. 268). Mu'izz al-Dīn after consolidating his authority at Ghazna began to conduct expeditions into India where the Ghaznawī king Khusraw Malik was still reigning at Lahore, while Multān had fallen back into the hands of the Karmaṭians who had been expelled by Maḥmūd. He took Multān in 570 (1174) and Uččh soon after. The latter place was held by a Rādjā of the Bhaṭṭi tribe, and according to Firishta Mu'izz al-Dīn obtained possession of it through an intrigue with the Rādjā's wife. In 574 he marched to attack Bhīm Dēv king of Nahrwāla (Anhilwara on the Gudjarāt coast), but was defeated and forced to retreat. In 575 (1179) he took Peshāwar and threatened Khusraw Malik at Lahore, and in 578 (1182) he turned south again and took Daibul on the sea-coast of Sind. In 582 (1186) or perhaps the following year he defeated Khusraw Malik and obtained possession of Lahore (see under Ghaznavids), and from that time onwards the Ghōrī kings,

having destroyed the last remnants of the dynasty of Maḥmūd, considered themselves heirs to all his conquests. In 588 (1192) Mu'izz al-Dīn joined his brother in repelling an attack of Sulṭān Shāh, a son of the Khwārizm-Shāh, who was finally defeated at Ḳādisīya on the Murghāb River. Ṭughril of Harāt who had joined Sulṭān Shāh was killed in this battle, and the unfortunate Khusraw Malik was put to death the same year. Nīshāpūr was taken from the Khwārizm Shāhs in 596 (1199) or perhaps the year after, but was not held for long, and the rising power of 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Takash, the Khwārizm-Shāh, soon became predominant in Khorāsān, although Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Mu'izz al-Dīn were able to hold him at bay as long as they lived, and Mu'izz al-Dīn was able to prosecute his Indian conquests.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn died in 599 (1202) at Herāt leaving a very wide-spread empire. His brother Mu'izz al-Dīn was at that time in Khorāsān. On succeeding to the throne he bestowed the government of Ghōr on his cousin Ziyā' al-Dīn, who took the name of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. Mu'izz al-Dīn during his brother's life had been pursuing his schemes of Indian empire since his conquest of the last of the Ghaznavids. Immediately after his occupation of Lāhore, in 587 (1191), he took the strong fort of Bhaṭinda on the Hakrā, and leaving Ziyā' al-Dīn in charge advanced towards the Djamnā to attack the Rādjā of Dihlī. (It may be noted that in many histories of this period Mu'izz al-Dīn is alluded to by his earlier name Shihāb al-Dīn).

Since Maḥmūd's invasions the great kingdom of Kanaudj had recovered some of its former prosperity under the Gahaṛwār dynasty which had succeeded to the Pratihāras. Dihlī, a recent foundation, had been taken a short time before from the Tomara or Tuwar tribe by the Čauhāns whose capital was at Adjmēr. The Čauhān Rādjā at the time of Mu'izz al-Dīn's invasion was Prithvī Rādj, popularly called Rai Pithorā, who was married to the daughter of the Rādjā of Kanaudj with whom he had eloped. He was a bold and successful warrior, and is still famous in folklore. The kingdom of Adjmēr and Dihlī stood in the way of a conqueror from the northwest, and must first be subdued before the more eastern regions could be attacked. It was therefore against this kingdom that Mu'izz al-Dīn's efforts were directed, and in Prithvī Rādj he met a worthy antagonist. Prithvī Rādj met him at Tirāorī, accompanied by his brother Gōbind Rāi (or Khāndī Rāi), governor of Dihlī. A desperate battle ensued in which Mu'izz al-Dīn was wounded by Gōbind Rāi, and saved with difficulty by one of his Khaldjī followers. His army met with a defeat and was forced to retire on Lahore. Prithvī Rādj advanced on Bhaṭinda to which he laid siege, but Mu'izz al-Dīn appeared in the field again in 588 (1192); Prithvī Rādj who had just gained possession of Bhaṭinda thereupon fell back to his former position at Tirāorī. (The name is given as Tarāïn by some chroniclers and Talāwarī by others, but Tirāorī is the actual name and was so in Firishta's time. It is situated between Karnāl and Thānēsar). Here he was again attacked by Mu'izz al-Dīn, this time with complete success. Gōbind Rāi was killed in the battle and Prithvī Rādj in the pursuit. This battle destroyed all power of resistance. The whole territory of Sawālakh southwards to Adjmēr, including Hānsī and Sarsatī (now Sirsā) fell into the conqueror's hands. The Sulṭān returned to Ghazna leaving his general Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aibak to prosecute his conquests. Mīraṭh was soon taken by this commander and Dihlī the next year. In 590 (1193) Mu'izz al-Dīn again took the field and advanced against Kanaudj. He was met by the Rādjā Djaičand at Čandwār near Iṭāwa not far from Kanaudj and on the banks of the Djamnā. Djaičand was killed in the battle and over 300 elephants taken. Next year he took Thankir (now Bhiāna), and Gwāliyār soon followed. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn carried on the conquests south of the Adjmēr kingdom into Gudjarāt and Anhilwāra (Nahrwāla) where Bhīm Dēv who had once repulsed Mu'izz al-Dīn was now defeated. Another general Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, Khaldjī carried the war into Bihār, which he subdued, destroying Hindu and Buddhist shrines in great numbers. He also took Nūdia (Nadia) and drove out its king Rāi Lakhmania, who took refuge in Bang (Bengal). Lakhnautī now became the Muhammadan seat of government. Kālandjar was also taken by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in 599 (1202).

In these later conquests Mu'izz al-Dīn does not seem to have taken part personally. He was in fact occupied jointly with his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn in the affairs of Khorāsān and in resisting the growing power of the Khwārizm-Shāhs. He was in Khorāsān when his brother died in 599 (1202) and succeeded to the supreme government. In 601 (1204) he organized a powerful army to invade Khwārizm and put an end to 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad's depredations, but was unsuccessful and had to retire followed by the enemy. He was deserted by 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusain, one of his principal maliks, and was for a time in great danger. He escaped to Ghazna with the wreck of his army. An outbreak then took place among some of the Pandjāb tribes, especially the Khokhars near Lahore; the same tribe that had turned against Khusraw Malik in favour of Mu'izz al-Dīn. The Sulṭān marched into the Pandjāb and punished this tribe. On his return march while encamped at Damyak on the bank of the Indus he was assassinated by a fanatic of the Malāḥida, whom he had persecuted at an earlier period. The Khokhars have also been accused of the act, and by confusion of names its responsibility has been placed on the Gakhars; but the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, by far the best authority, supports the account here given.

The death of Mu'izz al-Dīn broke up the Ghōride empire. The power in India passed to the Turkish slaves and generals. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn remained at Dihlī and Tādj al-Dīn Yaldiz who was in Kurmān (the Kurram valley) took possession of Ghazna, defeating the Ghōride maliks of Bāmiyān. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, succeeded to the chieftainship of Ghōr, now reduced to something like its original importance, and deposed and imprisoned 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad who had been installed by Mu'izz al-Dīn. Sulṭān Maḥmūd continued to rule at Fīrūzkōh, and at the request of the Khwārizm-Shāh imprisoned there the latter's brother 'Alī Shāh. He was assassinated by 'Alī Shāh's followers in 609 (1212). His son Bahā' al-Dīn succeeded and 'Alī Shāh was set at liberty, apparently as a defiance to the Khwārizmī monarch. The latter thereupon attacked and took Fīrūzkōh and added the whole of Ghōr to his kingdom. 'Alā' al-Dīn Utsuz, a son of Djahān-sūz, became nominal Sulṭān under Khwārizmī suze-

sinty; he was attacked by the Ghazna forces by order of Yaldūz in 611 (1214) and killed. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad who had been imprisoned in 602 was again made nominal sulṭān by Yaldūz, but after the latter's death next year he surrendered to the Khwārizm-Shāh and was taken in 612 (1215) to Khwārizm where he died some time after. The same year, as already related, the last of the Bāmiyān branch of the Ghōrid family were swept away by the Khwārizm-Shāh, and the dynasty was now extinct.

The territories in Ghōr, Ghazna and Khorāsān now formed part of the Khwārizmī kingdom, soon to disappear before the advancing Mughals. The Indian conquests although they passed away from the family were more permanent. The Turkish slave generals continued its traditions, and took from Muʿizz al-Dīn their title of Muʿizzī Sulṭāns. The most faithful of these slaves Tādj al-Dīn Yaldūz who reigned in Ghazna, Kurramān and Banīyān (Banū) till 612 (1215) continued to put Muʿizz al-Dīn's name on his coins as suzerain, and called himself 'his servant' (عبده). Kuṭb al-Dīn never even struck coins in his own name, but called himself "Muʿizzī" as did Nāṣir al-Dīn Kabāčah who obtained possession of Sindh. Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaldjī founded a semi-independent rule in Lakhnautī deriving from Muʿizz al-Dīn. The most important of the slave generals was Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish who founded a royal family which continued to rule at Dihlī for some generations.

Bibliography: The only valuable contemporary authority is the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* of Minhādj-i Sirādj (Raverty's trans., London 1881); see also Thomas, *Chronicles of Pathān kings of Dehli*, London 1871; Defrémery, *Histoire des Sultans ghourides*, extraite de Mirkhond, Paris 1844; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (ed. Browne), i. 406—413; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, London, 1869; Firishta's *History* (text of Lucknow). For coins, see *B. M. Catalogues* (Oriental coins, Additional Vol. i. to iv. and Sulṭāns of Dehli); Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, London 1866; Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistān*, London 1880.

(M. Longworth Dames.)

GHORĪ DYNASTY, the, of Mālwa, was founded by Ḥusain, entitled Dilāwar Khān, an *amīr* of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaḳ of Dihlī claiming descent from Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām. Dilāwar Khān, having been appointed governor of Mālwa by Muḥammad Shāh, son of Fīrūz, became independent in 1401, after the overthrow of the empire of Dihlī by Tīmūr. He died in A. D. 1405-1406, and was succeeded by his son Hūshang, who was suspected of having poisoned him. Hūshang, who built the fortress of Māndū, was chiefly occupied during his reign in unsuccessful warfare with Gudjarāt. In 1420 he reduced the Gond kingdom of Kherla to the condition of a tributary state, and in 1422 led a raid into the distant Hindū kingdom of Ūḍīdjnagar and returned with much plunder. In 1423 he besieged Gwāliyār without result, and in 1428, having forced Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī I to raise the siege of Kherla, pursued him, but was defeated. In 1433 he captured Kālpī. The last years of his reign were embittered by disputes between his sons, the eldest of whom, Ghaznīn Khān, was, not without opposition, raised to the throne under the title of Muḥammad Shāh on Hūshang's death in July 1435. Muḥammad Shāh's debauchery and his cruelty towards his brothers and their sons alienated the affections of his subjects, and he foolishly quarrelled with his powerful cousin and brother-in-law, Maḥmūd Khān Khaldjī, to whom he owed his throne. Maḥmūd Khān caused him to be poisoned and the *amīr*'s proclaimed Muḥammad's elder son, Masʿūd, a boy of thirteen years of age, king; but Masʿūd and his brother ʿUmar Khān fled and the throne, after having been declined by Malik Mughīth, Maḥmūd's father, was usurped by Maḥmūd, and the kingdom of the Ghōrīs passed, in A. D. 1436, to the Khaldjīs.

Bibliography: Firishta; *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*.

(T. W. Haig.)

GHRŪSH (T.), *ghirsh* or *ḳirsh* (A.), the name of the heavy silver coin of Turkey, translated by piastre in European languages. The Oriental nations borrowed this name from the Slavonic-German form of the word *grossus* (*gros, grosso, groat, grot, Groschen*). The national coin of the early Ottoman empire was the *aḳča*, a small silver piece, which had evolved from the half and third dirhem of Western Asia and weighted about 15 grains at the time of the foundation of the Ottoman empire but fell in weight very rapidly. The last *aḳča*'s, which were struck at the end of the xviith century, weighed only 2 grains. So small a coin, the only piece intermediate in value between the gold and copper coins, could not serve the purposes of commerce, so that silver coins of all the countries of Europe also circulated in Turkey. Soon after the appearance of the groat in Europe (the earliest was the *gros tournois* of Louis IX., struck in 1250, weighing 60 grains = 12 deniers) it must have found its way to Turkey also, for we find the word *ghrūsh* officially mentioned as early as a *berāt* of Sulṭān Bāyazīd I. of the year 795 (1392). The same must have been the case with the taler, but it has not yet been clearly explained why the Ottomans now gave the same name *ghrūsh* to the taler as they had formerly given to the groat. Perhaps the transition of the name was facilitated by the "Guldengroschen" (uncialis) struck in South Germany at the end of the xvth century or by the "Dickgroschen", the immediate predecessor of the taler. In any case it is certain that the word *ghrūsh* had already undergone this change of meaning as early as the reign of Selīm I. (918—926 = 1512—1520). Sulaimān II. (1099—1102 = 1687—1691) was the first to take the final step of striking this large silver piece in his own mints, — at least no Turkish piastre of an earlier reign has as yet been found. This national *ghrūsh* was struck on a standard of 6 (Constantinople) dirhems (296 grains), i. e. considerably lighter than the Austrian taler (valued at 9 dirhems) which was then the pre-dominant coin in Turkey. (This Austrian taler was struck at the rate of 9.75 to the Vienna mark of 4380 grains and therefore weighed 442 grains, from which weight divided by 9 we actually get the Constantinople dirhem weight of 49.4 grains). After the *aḳča* had been finally supplanted by the new small silver coin, the *pāra* [q. v.] the relationship between the *ghrūsh* and the *pāra* was fixed at 40 : 1, which still holds. The fractions of the piastre were: the *zolota* [q. v.] of 30 pāras, the *yirmilik* or half piastre, *onbeshlik*, *onluḳ* and *beshlik*; its multiples were the *altmyshlyḳ*, *ikilik*

(double piastre) and *yüzlük*. In the reigns of Maḥmūd I. and Othmān III. (1143—1171 = 1730—1757) the weight (although not the value) was temporarily raised and the *ghrūsh* approximated to the Austrian taler (*c.* 475 grains); with the accession of Selīm III. (1203 = 1789) a rapid depreciation of the weight and value of the alloy began, which lasted till the currency was definitely reformed by Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Madjīd in 1259 (1843). This last reform transformed the piastre to a small coin weighing 19 grains of .83 fine silver and worth about two pence.

Ghrūsh were struck not only in Constantinople but in the North African vassal states of Turkey also, in inconsiderable numbers however and only after the reign of Muṣṭafā III. (began in 1171 = 1757). The first ghrūsh were issued in Egypt under ʿAlī-Bey in 1183 (according to the inscriptions but probably not till 1185), on a standard of c. 5 drachms = 248 grains and halves of c. 2½ drachms = 124 grains; they were to contain .5 fine silver but hardly attained ¼. They were worth 40 and 20 pāras (called *medīn* [q. v.] in Egypt) respectively. The same coins but still more reduced in weight and value were also struck at the mint in Cairo during the French occupation.

Bibliography: See the authors cited in the article FUNDUḲLY, ii. 117ᵇ.

(E. v. ZAMBAUR.)

GHUBĀR (A.), "dust", an exceedingly fine kind of writing, the lines of which are finer than hairs and which requires to be read with the aid of a glass. It may be used in any of the various calligraphies. — It is also the name of a kind of decimal figures, which are very similar to the Hindu-Arabic numerals.

Bibliography: Cl. Huart, *Calligraphes et Miniaturistes*, p. 53; S. de Sacy, *Grammaire Arabe*², i. 91 and Pl. viii.

(CL. HUART.)

GHUDJDUWĀN, a large "village like a town" (according to the *Rashaḥāt ʿAin al-Ḥayāt* of ʿAlī b. Ḥusain al-Kāshifī, MS. of the University of St. Petersburg, Or. 293, f. 12ᵃ) six farsakh from Bukhārā, the birthplace of the saint ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghudjduwānī (viᵗʰ = xiiᵗʰ century) is mentioned at quite an early date by Narshakhī (ed. Schefer, p. 66 at the foot) in his account of Muḳanna' (second = viiiᵗʰ century) and probably dates from the pre-Muslim period. In the viᵗʰ = xiiᵗʰ century there was a much frequented weekly market there (cf. the text of Samʿānī in Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, ii. 123, note 6). In the xᵗʰ = xviᵗʰ century Ghudjduwān appears as a strong fortress and the key to Bukhārā (ʿAbd Allāh Balkhī in Barthold, *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, xv. 202); Bābur was defeated here by the Uzbegs in 918 = 1512 and this ended the rule of the Tīmūrids in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr. At a later period Ghudjduwān is mentioned as one of the seven *tūmen* in the neighbourhood of Bukhārā (ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī, ed. Schefer, p. 77) and there is still a tax-collector (*Amlākdār*) stationed there.

(W. BARTHOLD.)

GHUDJDUWĀNĪ, KHWĀDJA ʿABD AL-KHĀLIḲ, a famous Ṣūfī, born in the village of Ghudjduwān (see preceding article); almost nothing is known of his life except that he studied under Shaikh Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf Hamadhānī in Bukhārā and died in 575 (1179-1180). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi. 444 mentions his *waṣīya* (admonitions) and some of these are given in Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, p. 431, and in Cod. Leid. 1051 (2). The Naḳshbandīs hold him in particular reverence, whence his name appears in the *sanad* of this order. Further materials for his biography may perhaps be found in the manuscripts described by Pertsch (which exist elsewhere however also but are not accessible for publication): Cod. Gothanus, *Cat.*, p. 123 and Cod. Berol., *Cat.*, no. 266. Cf. also Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss.* (Brit. Museum), 862ᵃ and Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orient.*, s. v. Agdouani.

GHUFRĀN (A.), pardon (of sins).

GHŪL. For the ancient Arabs the *ghūl* (fem., pl. *ghīlān* and *aghwāl*) was a peculiarly bestial, diabolic and hostile variety of the *mārids* of the djinn which allured men from their path by assuming different forms, then fell upon them unawares, destroyed and devoured them. In the root seem to lie two ideas: 1. changing into different appearances and 2. treacherously assailing and destroying. There are many references to them in the early poets. According to the *Aghānī* (vol. xviii. 209 *et seq.*) Taʾabbaṭa-Sharran spoke frequently in his verses of them; see especially his description of one (ibid., p. 212 foot) and his boasting of comradeship with them as a wanderer of deserts (ibid., p. 210 top). It was said to be the same as the *siʿlāt* (pl. *saʿālī*) which had a similar power of transforming itself and which was called on that account the sorceress (*sāḥira*) of the djinn. The masculine of the ghūl was said to be the *ḳuṭrub*. It is plain that the word ghūl is a descriptive, for it can be used, and not apparently as a metaphor, of any destruction which comes upon a man; so even of spiritual things in the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī, *sub voce* and Horten, *Theologie des Islām*, p. 335. Otherwise a man could hardly have been called Abu 'l-Ghūl (*Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag), p. 12) and Kaʿb b. Zuhair in his Burda-poem could not have compared Suʿād, even in her changeableness, to a ghūl. For some reason Muḥammad disliked the word, and only one derivative from the root occurs in the Ḳurʾān (xxxvii. 46) *ghawl*, "insidious destruction", used of the effects of wine (cf. *Mufradāt* of al-Rāghib, p. 375). In a tradition, also, he declares that there is no such thing as a ghūl (*Lisān*, xiv. p. 21, ll. 10 *et seq.*). This has justified Muslims, especially Muʿtazilites in denying the existence of the ghūl altogether, e. g. Zamakhsharī on Ḳur. xxxvii. 46 (ed. Calcutta, p. 1205). But others held that it was only the changing of appearance (*taghawwul*) which the Prophet denied, and they quoted traditions from him telling how to drive away the ghūl by reciting the *adhān*. For the mediaeval system in which the ghūl is fully accepted, see Damīrī *sub voce*, also under *siʿlāt* and *ḳuṭrub*; Jayakar's transl., vol. ii. 47 *et seq.* Ḳazwīnī classifies the ghūl among the diabolic (*mutashaiṭana*) djinn (ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 370) and that is overwhelmingly the later attitude. In the popular mind ghūl (also *ghūla*; similarly *ḳuṭruba*) was an ordinary word for cannibal, whether human or demonic, and thus became equivalent to the European ogre, and the standard 'Märchen' told elsewhere of ogres are connected with them. For Persia see Sir John Malcolm's *Sketches of Persia*, chap. xvi.; for Egypt, Spitta's *Contes arabes*, by vocab. under ghūl; for North Africa, Stumme, *Märchen aus Tripolis*, passim; for Turkey, Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen*, by index under *Dew* and *Dschinn* and passim. See also in *Arabian*

Nights, Sindbad, voyage iv; Story of Saif al-mulūk, Story of envious Wazīr, all with Lane's notes. On ghūls haunting graves and feeding on dead bodies see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. x.; *Arabian Nights*, end of Note 21 to Introduction and addition by editor, with reference to a passage in Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, to Note 39, chap. 1. For ghūl as a demon producing hydrophobia (al-Madma) see Burton's *Pilgrimage*, chap. xviii. *Ṣoulāme*, a kind of ghūl, is an Ethiopic loan-word; see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 50.

Bibliography: Besides the above references: *Lisān*, *sub voce* and especially, pp. 21 *et seq.*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kit. al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo 1325), vi. 48, cf. van Vloten, *Wien. Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morg.*, vii. 178; Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 157 *et seq.*; *Ḥamāsa*, p. 12; Nöldeke in Hasting's *Encycl. of Religion*, vol. i. 670.

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

GHULĀM (A.), boy, servant, slave = *ʿabd* [q. v.]; whence frequently found in proper names (see the following articles); in Persia and India with the meaning of ʿAbd.

GHULĀM AḤMED ḲĀDIĀNĪ. [See AḤMADIYA, i. 206].

GHULĀM ʿALĪ [ĀZĀD] AL-ḤUSAINĪ AL-WĀSIṬĪ AL-BILGRĀMĪ, a member of the Saiyid family of Bilgrām [q. v.], was born in 1116 A. H. (= 1704); he travelled extensively in India and in 1151 made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he stayed two years; after his return to India he settled in Aurangābād and died there in 1200 (1786). Among his numerous writings may be mentioned *Maʾāthir al-kirām fī taʾrīkh-i Bilgrām*, a biographical work on the famous men of Bilgrām and other parts of India, and *Rawḍat al-Auliyāʾ*, a brief account of the great saints of India; he compiled three *Tadhkira*, giving biographies not only of Persian but also of Hindūstānī poets, *Sarw-i Āzād*, *Yad-i Baiḍāʾ* and *Khizāna-i ʿĀmira*; biographies of Indian theologians and learned men together with a compendium of rhetoric and poetics in *Subḥat al-Marḏjān fī Āthār Hindūstān* printed 1303; he also brought out the first edition of *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, a biographical dictionary of famous nobles under the Mughal emperors in India, compiled by Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah [q. v.]; after the assassination of Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah in 1171 A. H. (= 1758), the manuscript of this work was scattered, but was collected together again and put in order by his friend, Ghulām ʿAlī. His *takhalluṣ* was Āzād and he wrote poems in Arabic, Persian and Hindūstānī. An autobiography of the author is given in most of his works e. g. *Subḥat al-Marḏjān*, p. 118.

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GHULĀM ḤUSAIN SALĪM ZAIDPŪRĪ, an Indian historian, born at Zaidpūr in Awadh; he migrated to Mālduh in Bengal, where he held the office of *Dāk Munshī* (or Post Master) under Mr. George Udny, the Commercial Resident of the East India Company's factory at that place, at whose instigation he compiled his history of Bengal. This work, entitled *Riyāḍ al-Salāṭīn*, was completed in 1788, and is the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan history of Bengal. It was published in the Bibliotheca Indica (1890—1891). Ghulām Ḥusain died in 1233 A. H. (= 1817).

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GHULĀM ḤUSAIN KHĀN B. HIDĀYAT ʿALĪ KHĀN AL-ḤUSAINĪ AL-ṬABĀṬABĀʾĪ, historian, born 1140 A. H., author of *Siyar al-Mutaʾakhkhirīn* (or Manners of the Moderns), a history of India from 1118 to 1195 (= 1707—1781), comprising the reigns of the successors of Awrangzīb [q. v.] and an account of the progress of the English in Bengal, together with a critical examination of their government and policy; printed in India several times, e. g. Calcutta, 1836, Lucknow, 1866; translated into English by Raymond (Ḥādjī Muṣṭafā), Calcutta, 1789; a revised translation by J. Briggs (only one vol. published), London, 1832.

Bibliography: *Asiatic Annual Register*, (*Characters*, p. 28—32) (London, 1802); Elliot-Dowson, viii. 194 *et seq.*; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, i. 280.

GHUMDĀN, a castle in Ṣanʿāʾ in the Yaman, famous for its size and splendour. Hamdānī and other contemporary geographers give very full descriptions of it, but by that time it had long been merely a gigantic ruin. It is said to have been already destroyed when the Abyssinians conquered the Yaman in 525 A. D. It was then rebuilt, however, for, according to an oft quoted verse, which is ascribed by some to the father of the celebrated Umaiya b. Abi ʾl-Ṣalt, it was the abode of Dhū Yazan's son, after the Persians had conquered South Arabia about 570. Several authors say that it was the Caliph ʿOthmān who finally destroyed it, but D. H. Müller considers this to be probably a malicious invention. In any case its destruction was connected with the Muslim conquest of the country. From several poems, whose South Arabian origin is confirmed in an interesting way by a number of technical expressions which are also found in Sabaean inscriptions, we learn that the castle was built on a rock and that the lower part was built of freestone and the upper part of polished marble. According to Hamdānī, the ruins lay opposite the two first east doors of the chief mosque; he was still able to see a stronghold on the top, where the Ḳarmaṭians had encamped in 906. E. Glaser has actually discovered, northeast of the chief mosque, a large mound of ruins in the lower part of which were many beautiful freestone blocks; the large mosque has been built of the debris of the ancient castle as the style and size of the stones show.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 26 *et seq.*; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 928 *et seq.*, 957 (cf. the commentary under *wḥr*); *Kāmil* (ed. Wright), 239, 12, 16; D. H. Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens* (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, *phil. hist. Cl.*, xciv., 1879, p. 345—351, 383—390; Bekri, *Geogr. Wörterbuch* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 399, 464, 698; *Biblioth. geogr. arab.*, i. 24; ii. 31; v. 35 (cf. the commentary under *ṣrḥ*), vi. 139; vii. 110 *et seq.*; Yāḳūt, *al-Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 811 *et seq.*; *Corpus in-*

scriptionum semiticarum, Vol. iv. part i. 3 *et seq.*; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, i. 418, 421. (Fr. Buhl.)

al-**GHURĀB** (a.), "raven", the name of a constellation in the southern sky (*corvus*); al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 420.

GHURĀBĪYA, a branch of the Shīʿī "exaggerators" (*ghulāt* q. v.). Its adherents believe that ʿAlī and Muḥammad were so like in physical features as to be confused, as like "as one raven (*ghurāb*) is to another" (a proverbial expression for great similarity, cf. *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xvii. 53), so that the Angel Gabriel when commissioned by God to bring the revelation to ʿAlī gave it in mistake to Muḥammad. ʿAlī was, they say, appointed by God to be a Prophet and Muḥammad only became one through a mistake. It is related that in the fourth century a. h. the holders of this view in Ḳumm raised a serious revolt against the decision of the judge Abū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭakhrī (died 328 = 940) when he divided an inheritance equally between two claimants, one of whom was the daughter and the other the uncle of the deceased. The Ghurābīya demanded that the whole estate should go to the daughter and the uncle be quite excluded; as our authority rightly observes, this was the result of their political creed, according to which the succession to Muḥammad was only legitimate in the line of his only daughter Fāṭima and not in that of his uncle (ʿAbbās) (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿīya*, ii. 194). Cf. the regulations made by the Caliph al-Muʿizz regarding the inheritance of daughters in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Rafʿ al-Iṣr*, ed. Guest (in the appendix to al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Gibb-Memorial, xix.), p. 587, 3 from below. Ibn Djubair, who visited Damascus in 580 = 1184, mentions the Ghurābīya among the minor sects to be found in Syria.

Bibliography: I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm* (New Haven 1909), i. 36; ii. 77 (= *Journal of Americ. Or. Soc.*, xxviii. xxix); Ibn Rosteh in *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), vii. 218, 11 et seq.; *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (ed. Wright—de Goeje; Gibb-Memorial, Vol. v.), p. 280, 2 et seq. (Italian transl. by C. Schiaparelli, Rome 1906, p. 272). (I. Goldziher.)

GHURAMĀʾ. [See gharīm.]

GHURSH. [See ghirsh.]

GHUSL is the so-called "major" ritual ablution, which the law ordains for a *djunub*, i. e. a man who is in a state of major ritual impurity (cf. the article djanāba, i. 1013ª). The *ghusl* consists in washing the whole body. The formulation previously of the *nīya* (intention) is indispensable for this and the believer has to be careful that not only is every impurity removed from his body but also that the water moistens every part of his body and his hair.

Bibliography: The chapter on purity (*ṭahāra*) in the collections on Tradition and the Fiḳh books; R. Strothmann, *Kultus der Zaiditen* (Strassburg 1912), p. 21 *et seq.*; A. J. Wensinck in *Der Islām*, i. 101 *et seq.*; iv. 219 *et seq.* (Th. W. Juynboll.)

GHŪṬA is the name given to the girdle of gardens that surrounds Damascus; it is the intensively cultivated area, watered by the delta and the canals of the Baradā [q. v., i. 652ᵇ], extending from the exit of this river from the gorges of the Antilibanon to its disappearance in the Lake of ʿAtaiba, the ancient "Sea of Damascus", a number of lakebeds only intermittently filled with water. The Ghūṭa is protected by this network of ponds with their reedbeds from the advance of the desert. "The area reclaimed on the east looks like a green mountain spur thrust boldly into the sea of sand" (Maspero). The name Ghūṭa is found in the Umaiyad poets, Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt, Akhṭal, al-Rāʿī and in Ḥadīth, where it is designated by the Prophet as the scene of a future great battle (Mardj Rāhiṭ?). It is to this wonderful oasis that Damascus [q. v., i. 902ᵇ *et seq.*] owes the glory of ranking as one of the four "paradises on earth". Tradition says that Abraham was born here and points out the hill which served ʿĪsā and his mother as a refuge (Ḳorʾān, xxiii. 52). Its greatest diameter is from west to east. The statements of the authorities on its area vary; 18 square miles or 2 days' journey (*marḥala*) in length and one in breadth. It is entirely covered with gardens and plantations — particularly orchards, from which come the celebrated fruits of Damascus, notably apricots, which are exported great distances — with villages buried among them, quite recalling the "*djāt al-ḳurā wa ʾl-ẓilāl*" of Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis, p. 209). Several of these villages, says Ṣāliḥī, possess the importance of towns, such as al-Mizza, Dārayā, Ḥarasta and Dūmā. Others have disappeared like Dair Murrān [q. v., i. 898], Bait Lāhyā, which Ṣāliḥī proposes to identify with a quarter in Damascus. The same writer also mentions the Druzes, *Taimīna* (i. e. those who come from the Wādī ʾl-Taim, on the western slope of Hermon) as already here. According to the old geographers, the Ghūṭa was occupied chiefly by the Banū Ghassān (cf. ghassānids), then by the Banū Kalb and various groups of the Ḳais. Ṣāliḥī counted 5345 *bustān* or estates and 530 vineyards in his day (xᵗʰ century a. h.); cf. the interesting monograph which he has devoted to the Ghūṭa: *Darb al-ḥūṭa ʿalā djamīʿ al-ghūṭa* (ms. in Leiden, no. 1862; section on cosmography.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Géographie* (ed. de Goeje), p. 326; Ibn Rosteh, *Aʿlāḳ* (ed. de Goeje), p. 91; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 104, 140; Maḳdisī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm* (ed. de Goeje), p. 35, 154, 160; Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik* (ed. de Goeje), p. 59; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (Cairo), vi. 214—315; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, p. 703; *Aghānī*, xiv. 8; xvii. 55; von Kremer, *Mittelsyrien und Damaskus*, p. 169 *et seq.*; Wetzstein in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xi. 475 *et seq.*; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, s. index. (Lammens.)

al-**GHUZŪLĪ**, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bahāʾī al-Dimashḳī, an Arab author, of Berber origin, who died in 815 = 1412; under the title *Maṭāliʿ al-Budūr fī Manāzil al-Surūr* he composed an anthology after the model of the Adab books but which, as the author in his preface rightly prides himself, is favourably distinguished from the mass of these books by its contents. He deals with the house and its parts, with all the pleasures of life and sport and the accessories required for them. He illustrates these subjects by anecdotes and verses from the later poetry, thereby giving us a very rich wealth of material, which is still far from being exhausted, for the study of the history of Muslim culture; similar to the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, to which it is superior

however in the greater area covered by its subject matter. The book was printed in two volumes in Cairo in 1299-1300 A. H. (C. BROCKELMANN.)

GHUZZ, the Arabic name for the Oghuz branch of the Turkish people. This seems to have been the name of the great people who united all the tribes from China to the Black Sea into one nomad empire in the vith century A. D.; in the Orkhon inscriptions of the viiith century they are also called Toḳuz-Oghuz ("the nine Oghuz") so that they were divided into nine tribes. On the linguistic and ethnological relationship of the Oghuz to other Turkish peoples opinions differ; Ramstedt's attempt (in *Sbornik v čest semidesyatilětiya G. N. Potanina, Zapiski Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshč. po otdělěniyu etnografii*, Vol. xxxiv. p. 547 *et seq.*) to prove that *Oghuz* is to be identified with the Mongol *ulrat* (properly *uyiraď*) has found no support, any more than the equation to Ughur and Uighur proposed on the same philological grounds by different scholars (B. Munkácsi etc.).

The Toḳuz-Oghuz (called Tughuz-ghuz by the Arabs) are mentioned for the last time in the west in 205 = 820-821, when they are said to have invaded the land of Ushrūsana (Ṭabari, iii. 1044). The geographers of the ivth = xth century call the people living in the west Ghuzz alone without the addition of a numeral. These Ghuzz were the immediate neighbours of the *Dār al-Islām* from Djurdjān on the Caspian Sea to Fārāb and Asbīdjāb in the Sir-Daryā territory; in the west their territory was bounded by the lands of the Khazar and Bulghar, in the east by the lands of the Kharlukh, in the north by the lands of the Kaimāk (in Turkish probably Kimāk), cf. Iṣṭakhrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 9; on the other hand to reach the land of the Taghuzghuz from the *Dār al-Islām*, one had to traverse the whole of the broad territory of the Kharlukh, more than 30 days' journey, setting out from the eastern frontier of Farghāna (Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 11). The boundary between the Ghuzz and the Kaimāk was formed by the upper course of the river Itil, i. e. the Kama (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 222); in the same century a section of the Ghuzz had separated from its fellow-tribesmen and migrated to the previously uninhabited peninsula of Siyāhkūh (Mangishlak) (*ibid.*, p. 219). The headquarters of this people were on the lower course of the Sir Daryā (Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 393). According to Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xi. 117) these Ghuzz had separated from the Tughuzghuz in the time of the Caliph al-Mahdī 158—169 = 775—785 and even at this early period adopted Islām; in reality Islām only began to spread among the Ghuzz in the ivth = xth century; one section of them had adopted Christianity perhaps even earlier (Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 394). The Muslim Ghuzz were also called Turkmān (Turkomans): this name (of uncertain origin), which was later to supplant the name Ghuzz utterly, first appears in Muḳaddasī (ed. de Goeje, p. 274 *et seq.*).

The migration of the Ghuzz to Muslim territory began towards the end of the ivth = xth century; they first settled at Nūr in Bukhārā; at an even earlier period Constantine Porphyrogennetos mentions the advance of another branch of the Ghuzz (Οὖζοι, called Torki in the Russian annals) westwards over the Volga against the Pečenegs. In the vth = xith century considerable bodies migrated in both directions: in Western Asia the Ghuzz or Turkomans, sometimes as robber bands and sometimes under the leadership of their chiefs, penetrated all the civilised lands up to the Mediterranean sea; in the west the Uz crossed the Danube in 1065 and ravaged the Balkan peninsula as far as Thessalonica and Hellas but were soon afterwards almost exterminated by the Pečenegs and Bulghārs; the remainder entered Byzantine service and seem afterwards to have become merged in other peoples. The campaigns of conquest of the Ghuzz had nevertheless great influence on the ethnographic conditions of Western Asia. The Saldjūḳ dynasty which arose from among the Ghuzz gradually succeeded in subduing all the lands from Chinese Turkestan to the frontiers of Egypt and the Byzantine empire. The Saldjūḳs seem to have been fond of settling their unruly relatives on the western frontier of their empire and thus Asia Minor and the northern provinces of Īrān received their Turkish population. Only one movement of the Ghuzz in the east of any importance is mentioned; in 548 = 1153 the tribes settled around Balkh rose against Sulṭān Sandjar, a rising which resulted in the taking prisoner of the Sulṭān and the devastation of Khorāsān and several other provinces, but these events only affected political conditions for a brief period and the ethnographic not at all, as far as can be seen. The lands abandoned by the Ghuzz on the Sir-Daryā and north of the Caspian Sea and Sea of Aral were occupied by the Kipčaḳ (also written Khifčāḳ), a branch of the Kaimak (so Gardīzī in Barthold, *Otčet o Poězdkě v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 82). As early as 421 = 1030 we find the Kipčaḳ mentioned as neighbours of Khwārizm (Baihaḳī, ed. Morley, p. 91 at the foot); Nāṣir-i Khusraw (in Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 227) already uses the term "desert (*dasht*) of the Kipčaḳ", afterwards adopted by the Muslim geographers, in the same sense as Iṣṭakhrī (p. 217 *et seq.*) at an earlier period uses the term "desert of the Ghuzz" (*mafāzat al-Ghuzziya*).

Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 54) mentions the division of the Ghuzz into two groups of tribes, the Üčuḳ and the Buzuḳ; we do not learn further details of this division, or of the 24 tribes of the Oghuz and their common ancestor, the eponym hero Oghuz Khān till the *Ta'rīkh-i Ghāzānī* of Rashīd al-Dīn (cf. the article GHAZAN, ii. 149^{b} *et seq.*): the same authority gives the totem (*onghon*) and seal (*tamgha*) of each tribe. Oghuz Khān appears as early as this as a Muslim hero; geographically also the saga is for the most part localised in Western Asia, Egypt and Europe (even the Franks are subdued by Oghuz Khān). Another version of the same saga, still free from Muslim colouring, in the Uighur script, but composed in a dialect differing from Uighur (such Persian words as *dūst* and *dushman* are also found in it), has been published by W. Radloff; nothing is known of the origin of this version or the date of its composition. The geographical proper names mentioned in it refer mostly to Eastern Asia and suit the Mongol period; a similar saga was utilised by Rashīd al-Dīn in another section of his work (in the section on the Turks; cf. Baron Rosen in *Collections Scientifiques*, iii. 99 *et seq.*) and by Abu 'l-Ghāzī. All that is given by later Muslim writers on Oghuz Khān and the 24 tribes of the Oghuz may be traced to the *Ta'rīkh-i Ghāzānī*; this is particularly true of the *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i Saldjūḳ*, whose author has taken the alleged claims of Čingiz Khān from the *Ta'rīkh-i Ghāzānī* and simply substituted Oghuz

Khān for Čingiz Khān. Led astray by this falsification, a Turkish scholar has recently propounded the thesis that we have the foundations of the celebrated *Yāsā* of Čingiz Khān in the book of laws of the Oghuz Turks (cf. M. Hartmann, *Der Islamische Orient*, iii. 37 *et seq.*). As late as the xix[th] century the Turkomans of the Caspian Sea still considered Uz Khān (for Oghuz Khān) as the ancestor of their people (Galkin, *Etnograficeskie i istoričeskie materiali po srednei Azii i Orenburgskomu krayu*, St. Petersburg 1868, p. 5); popular legends of his life and deeds are not yet known.

In Asia Minor even in the Ottoman period the "times of the Oghuz" (*Oghūz-zamānī*) were for long famous; every saga handed down by the bards (ozān) about the past was called an *Oghūz-Nāma*; a collection of such legends is contained in the *Kitāb-i Dede Korkud* which is preserved in a unique manuscript in Dresden (Fleischer, N°. 86). The Korkud or Korkut, who appears in this book, is also known on the Sir-Daryā (the erstwhile abode of the Oghuz) and in the Turkoman steppes as a saint, bard and sage; similar legends were also current at one time in Adharbaidjān, at Derbend (cf. i. 945[b] *infra seq.*) and in Asia Minor. The view propounded by Inostrantsew (*Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, xx. 040 *et seq.*) that this Korkud may be identical with the Korghūd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, mentioned by ʿImād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī (ed. Houtsma, p. 281 *et seq.*) and by Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 54), will hardly hold; the saga must certainly be older and have been known to the Oghuz even at the beginning of their wanderings; its wide dissemination cannot be otherwise explained.

Bibliography: M. Th. Houtsma, *Die Ghuzenstämme* (*Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, ii. 219 *et seq.*). For the text of Rashīd al-Dīn see Berezin, *Trudi vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, vii. 13 *et seq.*, and C. Salemann in W. Radloff's *Kudatku-Bilik*, i., St. Petersburg 1891, p. xiv. *et seq.*; the text of Abu 'l-Ghāzī (p. xxviii. *et seq.*) and the "Uighur" saga (p. x. *et seq.*, 232 *et seq.*) is also given there. On the name Tughuzghuz: M. J. de Goeje on the authority of Th. Nöldeke in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii. p. viii. The identity of the Oghuz with the Turks of the vi[th] century was recognised by Radloff (*Kudatku-Bilik*, p. lxxvii.) even before the discovery of the Orkhon inscriptions; for details see Barthold, *Očerk o prošlom v Srednyeya Azii*, p. 33 *et seq.* On the contents of the *Kitāb-i Korkud* cf. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, viii. 203 *et seq.* On the Greek accounts (especially Joannes Scylitzes, p. 654 *et seq.*) Hertzberg, *Geschichte der Byzantiner*, Berlin 1883, p. 245; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 338 *et seq.* (W. BARTHOLD.)

G'AUR (T.) = Geber [q. v., ii. 131[b]].

G'AUR DAGH, the Turkish name for the Amanus mountains, to be more accurate, for the northern part of the range [cf. i. 312[b]].

GIBRALTAR, a rocky limestone peninsula belonging to Great Britain in the S.E. of the Spanish province of Cádiz [q. v., i. 810] almost the most southerly point in Spain (3 miles from N. to S., greatest breadth one mile with an area of 2 square miles and greatest height 1430 feet) with a town and harbour of the same name lying along the gentler western slope, with 28,000 Spanish, English, Jewish and Moroccan inhabitants (including a garrison of 7000 men). Being the key of the Mediterranean it is very strongly fortified and honeycombed with batteries; in the Bay of Gibraltar or Algeciras (q. v., opposite it in the west) there was in ancient times the European pillar of Hercules (Herakles = Phoenician-Punic Melqart from Malkqart = king of the city), also called Calpe or Alyba Mons, opposite (15 miles) the African Columna Abyla or Abenna, the modern Ceuta [q. v., i. 836[b] *et seq.*] with Castillo and Monte del Acho (600 feet high) and Punta de la Almina (but not along the strait like the whole chain of the Sierra Bullones [as Baedeker[8] still has it] or of the Djebel Mūsā [called after Mūsā b. Nuṣair]. The very ancient Carteia (Calathe) on the most northerly point of the Bay of Gibraltar, east of the mouth of the Guadarranque, seems to have been of Iberian origin in spite of the Phoenician name, and played a part in history under the Carthaginians as a seaport; in 171 B.C. it received the first Roman colony on the peninsula and under the Arabs was called *Karṭādjenna* like Carthago and Carthago Nova (Cartagena); in the xviii[th] century the tower built on its ruins was still called Cartajena or Cartagena, the modern Torre del Rocadillo on the Farm of Rocadillo with low mounds of ruins. Gibraltar from the northeast commands the whole of the strait between Europe and Africa, between the Atlantic and Mediterranean usually called the strait of Gibraltar, Strasse von Gibraltar, Estrecho, Détroit de Gibraltar, in ancient times Γαδειρίτιδες Πύλαι, Fretum Gaditanum (from Gades, Cádiz) or Herculeum, Arabic (*khalīdj*) *al-Zoḳāḳ*, (canal of) the street [cf. BAḤR AL-MAGHRIB]. After 711 Gibraltar was called *Djebel Ṭārik*, Ṭārik's hill, by the Arabs after Ṭārik's first landingplace, which was soon fortified by him (also *Djebel al-Fatḥ*, hill of victory) but never wrongly with the article as one frequently finds it even to the present day; the Spanish only inserted a euphonic *r*, Gibraltar for *Gibaltar* (cf. *estrella* from Latin *stella*, *Priego*, Arab. *Bāghū*, and the correctly Italianised form of the name, Gibilterra), just as it has added an *r* in Tanger = Arab. Ṭandja (Tingis); cf. also the citadel of Malaga: Castillo de Gibralfaro from *Djebel Fārō*, "hill of the Pharos", while Gibraleon, north of Huelva = Arab. *Djebel al-ʿUyūn* "mountain of the springs", of which the name of the hill El Jabaleon, N.W. of Baza in the N.E. of the province of Granada, is only another form (cf. Monte Jabalcuz S.W. of Jaén = Arab. *Djebel Kūz*). Throughout the whole of the Arab period, the harbour, town and citadel ("The Moorish Castle") on the N.W. of the rock played a constant part as a strong base for the fleet; while Algeciras opposite became more and more the prosperous capital of the southern part of Andalusia (cf. the decline of Cadiz, i. 810[a] *infra seq.*). In 1160 the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin strengthened the fortifications of the rock. In 1309 Gibraltar was taken by Alonso Perez Guzmán el Bueno for Ferdinand IV of Castile, but in 1333 it passed to the Marīnids of Morocco from whom it was taken in 1410 by the Naṣrid Yūsuf III Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj of Granada, and finally on the 20[th] August 1462 it was won for Henry IV of Castile by Count Guzmán of Medina Sidonia. From 1462 it was with the whole mountainous Campo de Gibraltar, in the N.W. of Gibraltar (practically the whole Sierra de los Gazules) the hereditary fief of

the Guzmans de Medina Sidonia till 1502, when it lapsed to the crown. In 1540 Gibraltar was plundered by the Algerian corsair Khair al-Dīn, but strongly fortified by Charles V till 1552; it was from here in 1610 that Admiral Don Juan de Mendoza shipped the banished Moriscoes back to Africa. During the war of the Spanish Succession Gibraltar was taken by the English in 1704 and had subsequently to suffer severe sieges, notably in 1779—1783 under General Elliot against the French and Spanish.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, p. 177 = transl. 213; *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, p. 68 = transl. 85; *Maḳḳarī al-Ḳiṭṭī*, v. 23 *et seq.*, Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères* (Slane), iv. Index; *Encyclopédie arabe (Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif)*, vi. 385—386; Seybold, *Zur spanisch-arabischen Geographie: die Provinz Cádiz*, Halle 1906 (s. Cádiz), Baedeker, *Spanien und Portugal*⁴ (with plan); Gayangos, *History of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, ii. 355 "Gibraltar was afterwards taken from the Beni Merin by Mohammed, surnamed al-Ghani-billah" and Index s. v. Jebal-Tārik, "recovered by Mohammed IV" has misunderstood Maḳḳarī's text i. 295; it is rather the conquest of Algeciras in 1369 by Muḥammad V (not IV) that is referred to. (C. F. SEYBOLD.)

GĪLĀN (properly land of the Gīls, *Gelae, Γῆλαι*), a province of Persia, south of the Caspian Sea and north of the Elburz chain. It is bounded in the east by Ṭabaristān or Māzandarān, and its northern limit is marked by the juncture of the Kur and the Araxes; its political boundary with Russia, however, is marked by the Astara stream. The chief town is Resht. The interior is swampy (whence the popular etymology of the name from *gil* "mud") and covered with woods and mulberry groves; the mountainous part bears the name Dailam; the natives call themselves *Gilek*. The Safīd Rūd flows into the sea near Lāhīdjān. The silk industry and the cultivation of rice flourish in it.

The perpetual moisture of the climate has a relaxing effect; the mild and wet winter is broken by the *bād-i garm* (warm wind). Seen from the above, the forests have the appearance of a vast sea of green; in them a kind of tiger, resembling that of India, is found.

According to the recent reforms Gīlān forms an independent wilāyet of the first class with Resht as capital and its seaport Enzeli [q. v., ii. 28] ranks as a village. The population numbers about 250,000 and revenues amount to 20,278 tūmāns. The province is divided into 4 *bilūk*: Tawālish (chief town Kergāne-Rūd), Lāhīdjān, Lenge-Rūd (with Rūdsar and Rānkūh) and Mandjīl (with Raḥmetābād). It was formerly divided into five districts: Rānekū, Lāhīdjān, Resht, Fūmen and Gesker. Fūmen was once considered the capital and the most important places were Tālem, Lāhīdjān, Bima-shahr, Kūtem, Salās and Djīsdjum. The natives, however, only recognise the geographical division of the province into two districts by the Safīd-Rūd: Biye-pas (district of Resht) and Biye-pīsh (district of Lāhīdjān); in the dialect of the country *biye* means river (Aḥmed Rāzī, *Haft Iḳlīm*, quoted by Schefer, *Chrest. Pers.*, ii. 104; cf. Melgunof, p. 230, note; Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 46). After remaining for long independent Gīlān was conquered by Hūlāgū, who razed the fortifications of Shamīrān to the ground in 1257, and was finally incorporated in Persia by the Ṣafawids; under 'Abbās I the capital was Resht. Tālish in the north was separated from it and the greater part ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Gulistān (1813).

Yāḳūt mentions a tribe named Djīlān, which emigrated from Iṣṭakhr to Baḥrain; according to a verse by Imru' al-Ḳais they entered the service of the rulers as miners and masons (Van Vloten, *Wien. Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, viii. 1894, p. 62); it is probably Gīls that are referred to.

The old kings seem to have borne the title Gīl (Arab. *Djīl*; cf. Gloss. Ṭabarī; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 350; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Sefer-nāme*, p. xxii and 16).

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. (al-Iṣṭakhrī), p. 204, 205; ii. (Ibn Ḥawḳal), p. 267 *et seq.*; iii. (al-Muḳaddasī), p. 51, 355, 360, 367 *et seq.*; Yāḳūt, ii. 179; Dorn, *Muhamm. Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des kaspischen Meeres*, Vol. ii. iii. and iv.; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr. hist. et litt. de la Perse*, p. 187 *et seq.*, Alex. Chodzko, *Le Ghilan et les Marais caspiens* (*Nouv. Annales des Voyages*, 1849-1850); G. Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres* etc. (Leipzig 1868), p. 227—288; Fr. Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, i. 77; Dorn, *Caspia*, passim cf. Index; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 124 *et seq.*, 127, 230; Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii 82 *et seq.*; *Revue du Monde musulman*, xxii. 1913, p. 282. (CL. HUART.)

al-**GILDAKĪ** (DJILDAKĪ) 'ALĪ B. AIDAMIR B. 'ALĪ, according to other authorities, 'Izz al-Dīn Aidamir b. 'Alī, author of a number of works dealing with occult sciences, notably alchemy which are detailed by Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litterat.*, ii. 139, who gives the following as printed: *al-Miṣbāḥ fī Asrār 'Ilm al-Miftāḥ*, Bombay 1302, and *Natā'idj al-Fikar fī Aḥwāl al-Ḥadjar*, Būlāḳ n. d. Almost nothing is known of his life; all that is certain is that he composed one of his works in 740 (1339) in Damascus and another in 742 (so Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, not 743) in Cairo. 743 (1342) is usually given as the date of his death; Brockelmann, however, also gives 762 (1361).

Bibliography: See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*

GILGIT, A province in the extreme N.-W. of the Indian empire, the capital of which is the small town of Gilgit, situated in a valley 4890 feet above sea-level on the Gilgit R. which is a tributary of the Indus. It is surrounded by great mountain ranges, and is opposite to the gap leading to Hunza, beyond which the northeastern Hindū Kush separates it from Wakhān and the Murghāb from Chinese territory. The population belongs to the Shin race, and the Shina language, one of the Pishācha group, is spoken. This race is probably mainly Aryan, the people are good cultivators and fond of sport, light-hearted and cheerful, but with a reputation for treachery. The routes by which Gilgit is approached from India lead down the Gilgit R. to its junction with the Indus near Bundjī, and hence to Kashmir by the Tragbal and Burzil passes or to Abbottābād by Chilās, the Bābosar pass and the Kāghān valley. In Gilgit the whole population is Muhammadan, mainly Shī'eh, and not fanatical. Little is known of the earlier history. In Purānic lists the Cīnas (or Shīns) are classed with the Dardas. Al-Bīrūnī mentions Gilgit, and says that the people speak Turkish and that their king is called Bhatta Shāh. It is improbable that Turkish was actually spoken, but the Shins still claim relationship with the

Mughals of India. Till recently Gilgit was under kings of the Trakhāne family, from a former king Trakhān who reigned in the 14th cent., and established the Muḥammadan faith. The title of the kings before that period was *Rā*, but since then it has been *Shāh-raʾīs*. The country is also said to have been formerly called Sargin, and afterwards Gilit.

In 1841 the last of the legitimate rulers Karīm Khān was expelled by Gauhar Raḥmān (or Gauhar Amān) a member of the Khushwaḳtī family of Yāsīn who made himself master of the country, and proved to be a cruel tyrant. The expelled ruler took refuge with the Sikh governor of Kashmīr, who invaded Gilgit and set up Karīm Khān again in 1842. He ruled under Sikh suzerainty, and when Gulāb Singh Dōgra became Mahārādja of Kashmīr in 1846, Gilgit passed to him with the other Sikh possessions. In 1852 however, Gauhar Raḥmān attacked and routed the Dōgras while they were invading Hunza, and Karīm Khān was killed. The Dōgras recovered possession in 1860, and shortly afterwards ʿAlīdād Khān, an infant, was installed by them as Rā. He was a son of the ruler of Nagar, but was considered to be a representative of the Trakhāne family. The Gilgit agency under Biddulph was first established in 1877, and renewed afterwards under Durand in 1889. In 1895, at the time of the Čitrāl war, Gilgit was occupied by a small force which advanced on Čitrāl via the Shandur Pass. (See art. ČITRĀL.) The country has continued to form part of the Kashmīr kingdom, but the relations with the local chiefs are controlled by the British agent at Gilgit.

Bibliography: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh* (Calcutta 1880); Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, London, 1901; Capt. W. E. Robertson, *The Citral Expedition*, Calcutta 1898; Grierson, *The Piśāca Languages*, London 1906.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GIMBRI, GINBRI. [See ḲOBUZ.]

GIRĀY, a Tatar dynasty, which ruled the Crimean peninsula for three centuries (ix^{th}—xii^{th} = xv^{th}—xviii^{th}). The accounts of the beginnings of the dynasty and the deeds of its founder Ḥādjdjī Girāy b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Tāsh-Timūr, a prince of the kingdom of the Golden Horde are very meagre and contradictory. His earliest coins are of the year 845 = 1441-1442; he is said to have laid the foundations of his power at a considerably earlier period with the help of the rulers of Lithuania and Poland, on whom he afterwards continued to rely till his death (871 = 1466). We have no reliable information on the origin of the name Girāy. According to local tradition the tutor (*atalïḳ*) of the prince is said to have belonged to the tribe of Girāy (this tribal name is still known in Central Asia where it is pronounced "Kirāy"); Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha says in his *Dictionary* (p. 1043), without giving authorities, that Girāy is a Mongol word, pronounced "Gerey" in Mongol and used with the meaning "meritorious, worthy, qualified" (*mustaḥiḳḳ*, *shāyista*, *aḥaḳḳ*). Ḥādjdjī does not seem to have intended to transmit this name to his descendants; only one of his sons, Mengli, and he not the eldest nor the immediate successor of his father, bore the name Girāy; on the other hand this name was given to every prince of the ruling house from Mengli's time onwards. After the conquest of Kaffa by the Turks (880 = 1475) the Crimea nominally belonged to the Ottoman empire. The southern coast passed directly under Turkish rule while the Girāy retained possession of the remainder as vassals of the Porte; but neither the relations of the Pasha stationed in Kaffa to the Khān nor the relations of the Khān himself to the Porte were accurately defined. It was only after the reign of Islām Girāy II (992—996 = 1584—1588) that the Sulṭān's name was mentioned before the Khān's name in the Friday service; the coins were afterwards struck in the name of the Khān only. The earliest Khāns (Ḥādjdjī Girāy, Nūr Dawlat and Mengli-Girāy before the Turkish conquest) bore the title "Sulṭān" on their coins; they afterwards contented themselves with the title Khān; the word "Sulṭān" denoted, as among the Uzbeg and Ḳazaḳ, a prince of the reigning house, who was not actually ruling. The seal (*tamgha*)  is characteristic of the coins and documents of the Girāy. Several Khāns extended their power far beyond the bounds of the peninsula, sometimes independently and sometimes by authority of the Sulṭāns of Turkey: northwards to Moscow, eastwards to the Volga and the Caspian Sea. In 1736 the peninsula was occupied temporarily for the first time by Russia, in 1771 it was permanently conquered and has not been vacated since then, although, according to the terms of the peace of Kučuk-Kainardje (1774) and of the treaty of Ainali-Kawak (1779), the Khān was to be chosen freely by the Tatar population and was to rule his land as an independent prince, free of the Porte and Russia alike. In 1783 the Crimea was incorporated in the Russian empire whereupon the rule of the Girāy came to an end; the last Girāy to bear the title Khān, Bakht-Girāy died in Ramaḍān 1215 = January 1801 on the island of Mytilene. Cf. also article BAGHČE-SARĀI (i. 562 *et seq.*, where *Bibliography* is given).

(W. BARTHOLD.)

GIRGĀ, a province (*mudīriya*), district (*markaz*) and town in Upper Egypt. The etymology is uncertain. The name of Saint Girgis (George) is presumably concealed in Girgā. ʿAlī Mubārak connects it with a Djirdja or Djirdjā known in the same district (the latter place is also mentioned by Ibn Djīʿān, p. 189 and Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v. 27). The older Egyptian sources do not seem to be acquainted with Girgā so that it is not mentioned in Ḳudāʿī's list of *kūra's*; it is given by Yāḳūt however. The name first appears as that of a province in the *Description de l'Égypte* (1212 = 1798); it is not yet found in the *Rūk Nāṣirī* of 715 = 1315. The province of Girgā therefore probably first arose in the Ottoman period. In the Khedivial period Sōhāg became capital of the province of Girgā, while Girgā itself declined to the level of the chief town of a district. The town was celebrated for its industries in wood and leather, which, like all Egyptian industries, were in the hands of Christians. Its large Christian population is evidence of its age. The town flourished as long as the pilgrims' caravans went via Ḳuṣair, as its inhabitants provided the pilgrims with provisions, particularly *bashmaṭ* (= *ḳashmaṭ* "biscuit"). With the alteration in the route Girgā began to decline; cf. the similar fate of ʿAidhāb [q. v., i. 210a]. Under Muḥammad ʿAlī the town, which was well built, suffered from the inundations of the Nile, but it was saved from destruction by protective works under Ismāʿīl. At the present day

the population of the town is 19,893, of whom 5443 are Copts, and that of the province about ³/₄ of a million.

Bibliography: 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ djadīda*, x. 55; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 48; Boinet Bey, *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 114 sub Guerga; Baedeker, *Egypt*, v. Index.

(C. H. BECKER.)

GIZEH (Djīza), town in Egypt [s. i. 821ᵃ *infra sq.*].

GOG AND MAGOG. [See YĀDJŪDJ.]

GOGO, a town in the Sūdān on the left bank of the Niger, about 250 miles east of Timbuktu in 16° 12' 4" N. Lat. and 42' 55" E. (Greenw.). The name Gogo (كوكو) has been written in various ways by the European translators of the Arab geographers; we find the following forms, Kaogha, Caudan, Kaukao, Kaokou, and Gago in Leo Africanus. Barth writes Gao or Gogo. The etymology of the name moreover is obscure. Al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, p. 309) gives a fantastic explanation of it. "The inhabitants say that the name Kao Kao has been given to their town because their drums make this sound very distinctly". According to Houdas, (*Tarikh es-Soudan*, transl., p. 6, Note 3), these various forms are corruptions of *Kokey Koeya* "the king's town", the first of these two names having been taken for a place-name.

Gogo was the capital of the Songhai empire (cf. the articles SŪDĀN, SONGHAI). It was founded in the viiᵗʰ century A. D. When Dia (Zā) al-Aiman had settled at Gugia (Kukiya of the Arab authors), on the right bank of the Niger, a section of the Songhai, the Sorko-Faran, who lived in these regions, had to go northward and build a new town, Gogo, about 100 miles up the river on its left bank. About 890, according to Barth, the sovereigns or *Dia* of Gugia seized Gogo. Even at this time Gogo was an important commercial centre to which the caravans from Tripolitania and Ifriḳiya flocked. This is how (according to Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii. 201), Abū Yazīd, the adversary of the Fāṭimids, came to be born in this town during a business journey which his father had taken into the Sūdān. The presence of these merchants from the north made Gogo a centre of Muslim propaganda. The fifteenth prince of the dynasty of the Dia, Dia Kossoi, became a convert to Islām, perhaps during a journey to Gogo, about 400 = 1009-1010 and moved his capital to the latter town. M. Delafosse thinks that this change of residence was brought about at the request of Arab and Berber merchants, whose caravans ran the risk of being pillaged between Gogo and Gugia by the Sorko or by the Tuaregs of Awellimiden and for whom the presence of the sovereign was a guarantee of security.

In any case, we find Gogo one of the most prosperous cities in the Sūdān in al-Bakrī's time. It consisted of two parts, the native town inhabited by infidels in the midst of which rose the royal palace and the merchants' quarter occupied by Muslim traders. The population consisted of negroes, Berbers, and Arabs. The Arabs called the natives *Busurginin*, a word which Slane (*l. c.*) connects with the Persian words *buzurgān* (the great) or *bāzirgān* (merchants). Although the rulers had adopted Islām, the mass of the people had remained pagan and never abandoned their ancient beliefs. Commerce was active but money was unknown; its place was taken by salt, which came from the mines of Tautek in the middle of the Sahara, 6 days' journey beyond Tadmakka (es-Sūḳ). Idrīsī likewise emphasises the economic importance of Gogo and describes the part taken by the natives in the trade. "Persons of importance and the notables (transl., p. 13) far from keeping apart from the merchant class, visit them, associate on equal terms with them and supply them with means for their commercial undertakings by entrusting them with merchandise and receiving from them in return a share of the profits". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who spent some time at Gogo in 752 (1352) says that it is "one of the fairest and largest cities of the land of the negroes and the best supplied with provisions".

About 1325 A. D., the king Dia Assibai had to acknowledge himself a vassal of the empire of Malli (Melle); but by 1339 his son, 'Alī Kolen, escaping from the court of Malli where he had been kept as a hostage, recaptured Gogo and restored its independence. 'Alī Kolen was the founder of the *Sonni* dynasty, of which 19 sovereigns ruled from 1335—1493. Limited in size under the early rulers of this dynasty, the kingdom of Gogo became of considerable extent through the conquests of the last of the dynasty, Sonni 'Alī (1464—1492), who conquered Timbuktu (1468) and Djenne (1473). Under the Askia dynasty whose founder was the Soninke Muḥammad Ṭūri (Muḥammad Askia) Gogo became the capital of a vast empire comprising the greater part of the country enclosed in the northern part of the bend of the Niger. The description of Gogo given by Leo Africanus gives a very clear idea of the great city of the Sūdān. "Gago" he says "is a very large city, like the above-mentioned (Kabara) i. e. without walls and about 400 miles south of Tombut. The great majority of the houses are ugly in appearance; however, it does contain a certain number of buildings of considerable beauty and convenience, in which the king and his court live. The inhabitants are rich merchants, who spend their time on the marketplace, selling their merchandise and trading in all directions. A vast number of negroes come to this city, who bring gold in immense quantities to buy and carry away the goods brought from Europe and Barbary, but they cannot find sufficient goods, so great is the sum of dinars that they bring with them, so that they are forced to return home taking a half or a third of their money with them. The other towns of the negroes cannot equal it in culture". The slave-trade was a busy one, the other goods sold, particularly salt and European goods, fetched very high prices.

Gogo's reputation for wealth attracted the attention and covetousness of the Sherīfs of Morocco. Profiting by the dissensions in the second half of the xviᵗʰ century, which were enfeebling the power of the Askia, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī appointed Djuder Pasha to conquer the Sūdān. The Askia Isḥaḳ II's army was routed on the 12ᵗʰ April 1591 at Tangondibo', about 35 miles N. of Gogo. By their ruler's orders, the inhabitants then evacuated the town and retired to the opposite bank of the Niger. The Moroccan troops entered the capital without resistance and only found in it an aged khaṭīb, several students and foreign merchants. Djuder Pasha was then able to confirm how exaggerated was the reputation of the Sūdānese capital.

"The palace of the Askiya" he wrote to the Sharif "is not equal to the home of the chief muleteer of Marrākush".

Djuder's expedition put an end to the Gogo empire. The Askia of the north who continued to reside in this town till the xviiith century were now subordinated to the Moroccan pashas of Timbuktu. A garrison was installed in the town to protect it against the attacks of the Askias of the south, who had succeeded in maintaining their independence in the region of Say and against the incursions of the Tuāregs. The Tuāregs ultimately however succeeded in taking Gogo from which they expelled the Moorish garrison in 1680. The Pasha Manṣūr Seniber retook the town in 1688 but did not leave a garrison in it. After 1770 (according to Barth) all trace of Moorish domination disappeared and the Awellimiden were henceforth masters of Gogo.

The town continued to decline more and more. When Barth passed through it in 1854 it was only a village of 300—400 huts, built on the edge of a dry arm of the Niger and inhabited by Songhai, Tuāregs and Ruma, degraded descendants of the Moorish conquerors. Of the monuments of architecture praised by Leo Africanus there only survived a tower about 60 feet high and some traces of the great mosque (Djingereber) where Muḥammad Askia was buried. Barth, however, claims to have recognised the site of the ancient town, the circumference of which must have been about 4 miles. At the present day Gogo is "a collection of large villages of straw huts" (Hourst). As a result of the occupation of the Timbuktu region by the French, a station was established at Gogo (1898) which has become the centre of a region and of a military circle in the Sudan.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, transl. de Slane, p. 399; al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, i. 220; Idrīsī, transl. de Goeje, p. 13; Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages*, transl. Defrémery, iv. 335; Leo Africanus, Bk. vii., ed. Schefer, iii. 298 *et seq.*; Es-Sa'di, *Tarikh es-Soudan*, transl. Houdas, Paris, 1900 (*Public. de l'Ecole des Langues orient. viv.*, ivth Ser., Vol. xiii.); H. Barth, *Reisen*, iv. 605 *et seq.*, v. ch. ix, p. 216 *et seq.*; *Nozhet Elhadi*, *Hist. de la Dyn. Saadienne au Maroc*, ed. Houdas, text, p. 88—95, transl. p. 155—166 (*Publ. de l'Ecole des Lang. orient. viv.*, iiird Ser., Vol. ii. iii.); Hourst, *La mission Hourst* (Paris, 1898), p. 158 *et seq.*; E. F. Gautier, *A travers le Sahara français* in *La Géographie*, 15 Febr., 1907; F. Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse* (Paris, 1897), chap. vii.; M. Delafosse, *Haut Sénégal et Niger*, First Series, Vol. ii., *L'Histoire*, Paris, 1912. (G. Yver.)

Cf. now also M. Hartmann, *Zur Geschichte des westlichen Sudan*, *Mittheil. des Seminars f. orient. Sprachen*, xv. (1912), Part 3, Afrik. Stud., p. 155 *et seq.*; do., *Kūgu und Kūgū*, *Orientalist. Literaturzeitung* 1911, col. 465 *et seq.*; H. von Mžik, *Kūgu, Kūgū und Gāna*, ibid. 1912, col. 193 *et seq.*; J. Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung des niederländ. Reichsmuseums f. Völkerkunde in Leiden* (Leiden 1913), p. xcv.—cvii. and Index.

Hartmann considers Bakrī's كوكة to be Gogo and the Kūgū (كوكو) of the other geographers to be the land of Wailai. Marquart, *Benin-Sammlung*, p. cvi., observes that no fewer than seven places in the Sūdān are to be distinguished which have names written in the same or similar ways and proceeds to discuss them in detail.

GÖKČAI, Turkish Gökče-tengis ("blue sea"), Armenian Sewanga (Sew-Wank = "Black cloister"), a freshwater lake in Russian Armenia (gouvernement of Eriwan), 7000 feet above sea-level, covering an area of 62 square miles and drained by one stream, the Zanga, which flows into the Araxes. As Le Strange (*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 183) points out, the name first appears in Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī; in the Muhammadan sources of the pre-Mongol period the lake is not mentioned at all. The monastery from which the lake has received its Armenian name lies on an island near the north-western shore. At the present day the Gökčai is best known for its wealth in fishes (trout, Turk. *ishkhan*, Armen. *gegarkuni*). Cf. E. Weidenbaum, *Putewoditel po Kawkazu*, p. 31.

(W. Barthold.)

GÖKLÄN, a Turkoman tribe who dwell in the mountains between the upper course of the Gurgen and Atrek [q. v., i. 512b *et seq.*] i. e. in Persian territory; but some are said to live on Russian territory in Khiva, Karaḳal'a and Candir. They are divided into the following clans, Čakur, Kirik, Bayandir, Kayi, Yangak, Saghri, Kara, Bukhān, Ay-derwish, Arkakli and Shaikh Khodja. The total number of the Göklän cannot be accurately ascertained; Schuyler gives 3000 *kibitka* = 15,000 souls, with which Vambéry agrees, while Yate gives only 2000 *kibitka* (10,000); in other accounts quoted by Vambéry higher figures are given, which is perhaps explained by the fact that these records date from an earlier period and the numbers have meanwhile decreased. The Göklän are not nomads but follow agriculture and grow silk. They are fairly prosperous and pay the Shāh a fixed annual tribute. It cannot be ascertained how long they have been in these lands, but probably they were there as early as the Seldjuk period. They often come to blows with their neighbours on the west, the Yomuts, and with the Kurds of Bodjnurd. The Göklän seem to be rather lax Muslims but they hold their religious leaders (khodjas) in great respect.

Bibliography: Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 393 *et seq.*; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, ii. 382; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 212 *et seq.*; Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia* etc., p. 18, Note (varying statements).

GÖKSU, the "blue river", a name given to several rivers by the Turks. The best known is the river of Selefke, also called Ermenek-su, the Calycadnus of the ancients, the Saleph of the mediaeval authors in which the Emperor Frederick was drowned on the 10th June 1190.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xix. 2, p. 306 *et seq.*

GÖKSÜN (the ancient Cocusus), a village in Turkey in Asia, the capital of a nāḥiya of the ḳaẓā of Andrin in the sandjaḳ of Mar'ash in the province of Aleppo. It lies in a low, swampy plain, surrounded by argillaceous hills and consists only of huts built of tree-trunks. On the heights there still stand the ruins of several Armenian castles; the land around is almost entirely desert. St. Chrysostom spent some time here in

404 A.D. during his exile. During the first Crusade the Franks spent three days in Göksün (Cocsum, Coxon), as they found ample supplies here.

Bibliography: Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 585; Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, 7th ed., i. 132. (CL. HUART.)

GÖK-TEPE ("Blue Hill"), a Turkoman stronghold, made famous by Skobelew's campaign (1880-1881). The name properly belongs to a stronghold afterwards called Kohna-Gök-Tepe (Old Gök-Tepe), abandoned by the Turkomans in 1879; in a wider sense the same name was given to the whole oasis, in which the Teke tribe had collected their forces on the approach of the Russians. The strongest fortress was Dengil-Tepe (circumference about 3 miles, about 5 miles S. of Old Gök-Tepe) which was successfully defended in 1879. Shortly before Skobelew's arrival defences had been erected (it is said, under the direction of the English officer Butler), to give the stronghold greater power of resistance; but the besieged (about 12,000 men not under a single leader) had only one cannon at their disposal, captured from the Persians in 1868; two light guns were also captured from the Russians during the siege but the Turkomans could do nothing with them. The Russian troops numbered 8000 men with 70 guns. On the 12th (24th) January 1881 Gök-Tepe was stormed after a twenty days' siege and given over to plunder by the soldiers for four days; the number of Turkomans who fell during the siege and storming of the fortress was 6000—8000; the Russians won their success at greater sacrifice than all their other victories in Central Asia, the total loss in killed and wounded being over 1000 men; the battles before Gök-Tepe were moreover the only ones in which the Russian troops in Turkestan had colours and guns captured from them. Cf. the latest and fullest account of these battles in M. Terentyew, *Istoriya zawoyewaniya Srednei Azii*, iii. 157 *et seq.*

The name Gök-Tepe is now borne by the station on the Trans-Caspian Railway (30 miles W. of Ashkhabad), built close beside Dengil-Tepe; there also is a museum of the campaign of 1880-1881, which is visited by the passengers during the wait made by the trains at the station (10—15 minutes). (W. BARTHOLD.)

GÖL, "a large assemblage of stagnant water, lake or pond"; also the name of two nāḥiyas in Asiatic Turkey of which the first is in the Ḳaḍā of Köprü (sandjaḳ of Amāsiya, wilāyet of Sīwās) and contains 43 villages, and the second attached to the capital of the wilāyet of Ḳasṭamūnī and including 61 villages.

Bibliography: *Sālnāme* 1325, p. 826, 833. (CL. HUART.)

GOLDEN HORDE. [See the articles BĀTŪ and MONGOLS.]

AL-**GOLÉA** (AL-KULAI'A), a ḳṣar and oasis in the Algerian Sahara, 166 miles south of Ghardaia, 240 southwest of Wargla and 245 north of 'In Ṣālaḥ, 30° 31′ 12″ N. Lat., 3° 7′ 30″ E. (Greenw.), population 2500.

Al-Goléa, the name of which means "the little fortress", called in Berber Taurirt, consists of two parts, the ḳṣar proper built on the northern flank of a "garat" which serves as storehouse for the nomads and a lower part occupied by the settled population. The latter is composed of Zenāga, who came from Gurāra and of manumitted negroes who cultivate the gardens of the oasis. A subterranean water supply fed by the Wādīs Seggueur, Zergun, Mehaiguen and Loa assures the irrigation of the palmgroves containing about 7000 date-palms. It would also suffice to put a valley 7 miles long and 2 broad under cultivation. The water brought to the surface by artesian wells has given rise to a small lake called Bel Aid, the neighbourhood of which renders the oasis very unhealthy. The Shaanba Muadi lead a nomadic life around al-Goléa and are divided into five sections.

Little is known of the history of al-Goléa. This ḳṣar seems to have been first occupied by Zenāta Berbers and to have enjoyed a fair amount of prosperity, owing no doubt, to its situation between the eastern and western Erg on the road leading from the Mzāb to Tuāt and Tidikelt. In the xviith century, according to the traveller al-'Aiyāshī, al-Goléa belonged to the Sulṭān of Wargla who maintained a governor there. In the xixth century the ḳṣar was visited for the first time by a European, Duveyrier, in 1859. In 1873 a French column reached it under General de Gallifet and a permanent garrison was established in 1891. With its outposts, Fort Miribel and Fort MacMahon (Hassi Shebaba), al-Goléa was the most advanced French station in the Sahara till the occupation of the Saharan oases in 1900.

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GOLETTA, the harbour of Tunis (q. v.).

GOLKONDA, a city and fortress in the Dakhan, formerly the capital of the Muhammadan kingdom of Telingana. Its site was originally occupied by a mud fort built by the Hindū rulers of the country and the primitive structure was strengthened and improved by the Bahmanī kings of the Dakhan. Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk, who was appointed governor of western Telingana in 1495 by Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, made Golkonda the headquarters of his administration, rebuilt the fortifications with stone, and called his city Muḥammadnagar, a name which never replaced the older appellation. In 1512 he became independent and made Golkonda his capital. It remained the capital of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī kings until 1591, when Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, fifth king of the dynasty, built Bhāgnagar, afterwards named Haidarābād, at a distance of seven miles from the old fortress, and moved his court thither. Golkonda remained, however, the citadel, and the court moved thither when danger threatened. 'Abd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh, seventh king of the dynasty, was besieged there in 1656 by Awrangzīb, when viceroy of the Mughal province of the Dakhan, but the

prince was obliged by his father's orders to raise the siege. Awrangzīb, after his accession to the throne, set himself in due course to extinguish the two remaining independent dynasties of the Dakhan and, having captured Bīdjāpūr, in 1687 besieged Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḳuṭb Shāh, eighth and last king of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty, in Golkonda. The fortress fell after a siege of eight months and the king was sent captive to Dawlatābād, where he ended his days twelve years later.

Golkonda was famous as the diamond mart of southern India, most of the mines being situated in the kingdom of which it was the capital.

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(T. W. Haig.)

GÖRDOS, the capital of the ḳaḍā of the same name in the sandjak of Ṣārūkhān, in the wilāyet of Aidin, important for its manufacture of carpets (particularly *sedjdjāde*, the socalled prayer-carpets) originally belonged to the territory of the Ḳarasi-oghlu and passed with the rest under Ottoman rule in 1340; the modern town has about 5000 inhabitants of whom 4000 are Muhammadans and 1000 Greeks (Münedjdjimbashi, iii. 30; *Djihān-numā*, p. 635; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 556 *et seq.*).

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

GOUM (in written Arabic Ḳawm), the form and pronunciation usual in the Arab lands of North Africa of the name given to the body of armed horsemen or of fighting men of a tribe. Its derivative *goumas* means "a levy of goum or troops" or "a bold raid, rebellion, or revolt". The written Arabic form *ḳawm* is also found in the dialects of North Africa with the meaning of "people, nation, tribe" etc. (Beaussier, *Dict. pract. arabe-français des dialectes parlés en Algérie et en Tunisie*). It should, however, be noted that *ḳawm* in written Arabic may also mean "enemies" or a "body of men going out to plunder" (Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 424[b]).

The Goum of the old Barbary states of Algiers and Tunis received their official position in the army from the Turks, who based on them their system of military occupation of the country. All the tribes were divided by them into *makhzen* or auxiliaries, exempted from most of the taxes and *raʿīya*, who were subject to all taxation. When one or more tribes of the latter class refused to pay taxes or for any cause rose in rebellion the Turkish army speedily moved to the territory of the rebels. This army supplemented its small numbers by exceedingly mobile bodies of horsemen of the goums. As soon as the enemy was sighted, the goums of the makhzen tribes, under the leadership of the chiefs of the tribe or ḳāʾids, charged straight upon those in front of them and continued the pursuit till they had overtaken them. The regular army followed as quickly as possible in the direction of the goums to assist to form a position where these horsemen could reform if they were driven back by the rebels; as a rule, however, the little body of Turkish regular troops only arrived in time to be present at the triumph of the goums of the makhzen.

Soon after the occupation of the regency of Algiers the French saw the advantage to be derived from these goums. But once the country was pacified the makhzen or auxiliary troops disappeared. The organisation of goums was then extended to all tribes without exception. The goums under the command of chiefs, ḳāʾids or aghas invested with authority by France, had to cooperate with the military police in the maintenance of security in the country, to protect nomad tribes on their migrations and the passage of trading caravans.

In military territory the number of goumiers as members of a goum varies with the requirements of the district from time to time. The goumiers draw a monthly allowance and encamp on the state lands, which are at their disposal, but they must pay the cost of maintenance of their equipment and horses. On service they have also a claim on the *maʿūna*, a special allowance for rations.

In civil territory the goumiers equip and mount themselves at their own expense. They receive no pay but when they are called up for service they receive the special allowance for rations. The goums of civil territory are only called up in case of rebellion or a European war. It is a regular territorial militia under the command of the chiefs of the tribes and receiving its orders from the government. The goum of each mixed or native commune contains 120 horsemen. The goumiers have the right to carry arms. Their distinctive badge is a green and red cord rolled round the turban. The goumier's horse is exempt from the war-tax and the goumier himself is exempted from the *zakāt* or cattle-tax. The natives consider it an honour to be a member of a goum and any condemnation for a serious crime or habitual evil living causes their exclusion from the body.

The French government has been encouraged by the warlike valour of the goums to use their services in case of war on the Algerian frontier or in Moroccan territory. It was the goumiers of the military circle of Mécheria who under Commandant Pein took Udjda by surprise in 1907. Other goums have successfully co-operated in the conquest of Western Morocco with the regular French troops. When in this latter case the government calls up the horsemen of the goums, service is voluntary and the period does not exceed six months, the expenses of the march and of any sickness being paid by the state. The men are subjected to medical examination before their departure. On the other hand the goums are only employed as auxiliaries and retain their own organisation. On an expedition they camp apart from the regular troops; they bring their own provisions and maintain themselves on the country occupied.

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(A. Cour.)

GRAÑ, Imām of Harar [q. v. and above i. 120[a]].

GRANADA, capital of the modern Spanish province and of the former kingdom of Granada, which, besides the present province, included in addition practically the province of Málaga in the west and that of Almeria in the east, lies at the

present day 80,000 inhabitants, while at the end of the Moorish period it sheltered half a million within its walls. It lies 2200 feet above sea-level at the foot of the northwestern spurs (Sierra del Sol) of the Sierra Nevada (Cerro de Mul(a)hacén 11,000 feet high, called after 'Alī Abu 'l-Ḥasan 1461—1485) on the right (north) bank of the Genil (Jenil, Latin *Singilis*, Arabic *Shenīl*) which rises to the southeast and on both sides of the Darro (Arab. in the older period Ḳulzum, not Calum, Salom or Salon, and later called Ḥadārro; cf. Dozy, *Recherches*³, i. 340—344), a tributary from the northeast which flows into the Genil south of Granada, almost at the east end of the broad, extremely fertile and healthy upper valley of the Vega (probably from the Arabic *baḳʿa*, *buḳʿa*, cf. *baḳīʿa* [Vocabulista: *waḳīʿa* = campus]), which runs 35 miles westwards to Loja (Arab. Lōsha, the ancient Laus [Halos], Ilipula major); usually however called *al-Fāḥṣ*, *al-Mardj*, *al-Baṭḥa*, by the Arab authors; cf. also al-Biḳāʿ = Coelesyria, the upper valley of the Leontes = al-Līṭānī between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanus). Whether the Arabic Gharnāṭa or Aghranāṭa (Agharnāṭa; the corresponding *nisba* is *Gharnāṭī* and in popular language *Gharnāṭīshī*, Granadine), is connected with a Berber place-name Kernāṭa (Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, p. 56, 79) or perhaps merely represents the Romance Granata and is connected with the *Ḥiṣn al-Rummān* = pomegranate citadel, the ancient Alcazaba, *al-Kaṣabat al-ḳadīma*, the oldest settlement in Granada on the hill to the west afterwards and still called Albaicin, while the new Alcazaba, *al-Kaṣabat al-djadīda*, gradually advanced eastwards down to the Darro and became linked up with it (especially in the time of the Zīrids 1012—1090, whose residence *Dār Dīk al-Rīḥ* (house of the weathercock) is perpetuated in the names at least Calle and Casa del Gallo [= de la Lona] near Santa Isabel la Real), just opposite the corresponding fortress-topped hill of the Alhambra (afterwards the residence of the Naṣrids 1232—1492) east of the Darro, which is mentioned occasionally at quite an early date, can no longer be definitely ascertained; the true connection with the ancient Iberian and Roman Illiberri is also difficult to ascertain, cf. the article ELVIRA, ii. 24ᵇ. The only certain fact is that Granada has gradually extended itself from the two parallel hills, commanding the Darro-Genil plain (afterwards called) Albaicin and Alhambra (*al-Ḥamrā* the red fortress) in the north, as it is again doing at the present day, southwards on both sides of the Darro towards the Genil. Besides the Alhambra [q. v., i. 278 *et seq.*] on the whole well preserved, with the summer residence of the Naṣrids to the east of it, the garden palace of Generalife (older Ginaralife = Arab. *Djannat al-ʿArīf*, garden of the architect) the relics of the Arab period are very few in number; of the walls which surrounded *al-Kaṣaba al-ḳadīma* and *al-djadīda*, for example, there only remains the northwest side with several gates on the north side of Albaicin which at the present day is mainly occupied by gipsies: Bāb Cieda, Bāb al-Bonaida, Bāb Elvira, and farther north the outer wall on the hills which included the later northern suburbs with the Bāb al-Bayerín (the falconers' gate) whence comes the name Albaicin (*Bāb* and *Rabaḍ al-Baiyāzīn* is not so called from immigrants from Baeza, which would be *al-Baiyāsīn* [with *sīn*] in Arabic) and Bāb Faḥdjal-lausa, Fajalauza (= Almond-ravine gate, *Bāb Faḥdj al-Lauza*), while gates and walls have entirely disappeared in the south of the town in the Darro-Genil plain and only *al-Funduḳ al-Djadīd* (Alhóndiga Nueva) in the Casa del Carbon has survived. Of the nine Arab bridges over the Darro the majority of those in the south have been incorporated in the covering in of the river, while the old bridge over the Genil, *Ḳanṭarat Shenīl*, in the east above the mouth of the Darro, is still in existence (Puente del Genil). The old mosques have mostly been turned into churches, e. g. the great mosque *Djāmiʿ* (with Granadine imāle = *Djīmiʿ*, cf. bāb = *bīb*, ḥammām = *ḥammīm* etc.) *al-Kabīr* is represented by the modern cathedral (particularly by the Sagrario); northeast of the great mosque was the high school (madrasa) southeast the great bazaar or market, Alcaiceria (*al-Ḳaisāriyya*), burned down in 1843 and afterwards rebuilt with the old pillars; the great street of second-hand shops El-Zacatin (= *al-Saḳḳāṭīn*) runs southwards. Both led westwards to the great Plaza de Bibarrambla (*Raḥbat Bāb al-Ramla*), where the Rabaḍ al-Ramla, on the other side of the city wall on the west, with the Bāb al-Ramla (destroyed in 1873 near the modern Puerta Real) joined the Rambla of the Darro. Of the many Arab baths there only survives perhaps the "nut tree bath" Ḥammām al-Gauza (Baño del Nogal) at the Ḳanṭarat al-Ḳāḍī (Puente del Alcalde). As the whole of the hilly northeast part of Granada is now called Albaicin so is the southeastern slope called Antequeruela, so called after the immigration of the Muhādjir from the town of Antequera (Arab. Anteḳīra, the ancient Anticaria, S.W. of Granada, north of Málaga; Yāḳūt, i. 370). On the southwestern hill which runs parallel to the Alhambra, the modern Campo de los Mártires there lay also the Jewish quarter with a synagogue (*Djāmiʿ al-Yahūd*) which is also called *Gharnāṭat* or *Madīnat al-Yahūd*. On the N.W. spur lay the Ḥiṣn Maurūr, the still surviving Torres Bermejas of the southeastern fortifications of Greater Granada, while on the slope and in the valley of the Darro there lay Rābiṭa and Rabaḍ Maurūr = Bāb Axarc (*Bāb al-Sharḳ*, Eastgate, Puerta del Sol): the whole range of the Campo de los Mártires is now called Monte Mauror after these Muhādjir of Maurūr = Moron de la Frontera between Seville and Ronda. On the history of Granada cf. the articles ALHAMBRA, ELVIRA, ZIRIDS and NAṢRIDS.

Bibliography: Cf. the article ALHAMBRA (where there should be added to the bibliography, the large plan (the best) by the Arquitecto Director de la Alhambra D. Modesto Cendoya, 1909), ELVIRA (CÓRDOBA); Idrīsī, p. 204 *et seq.*; Yāḳūt, iii. 788; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ii. 307; Ḳazwīnī, ii. 367 (i. 193 'Ain Gharnāṭa); Abu 'l-Fidā, p. 176; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Index: *Bibliotheca Geograph. Arab.*, Indices; Madoz, *Diccionario* s. v.; Baedeker's *Spanien und Portugal*⁴ (with good plans); L. Seco de Lucena, *Guia práctica y artística de Granada*², 1909; do., *Plano de Granada árabe* (precedido de un prólogo par D. Mariano Gaspar Remiro [Director del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada and of the *Revista* of this Centro] 1909, in which previous studies on Moorish Granada are comprised and made clear to the eye on the excellent plan although there are several errors still in it, as for example when Maurūr (Moron see above)

is explained by *ḥārat* Moriscos, de los Mauriscos, Rabaḍ al-Gomera (Calle de Gomeres or Gomales), Rabaḍ al-Zenata (cf. Calle del Zenete) appears wrongly with the article, compared with the classical Ghomāra, Zenāta, cf. however, south of Granada, Alhendin = *Ḳaryat al-Hendān* and class. *Hamdān* (without article); Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i. 345. The uncritical *Historia de Granada*, 1843 (unaltered reprint: Granada 1904—1907), by Miguel Lafuente Alcántara is useless as it is based on Conde's makeshift of 1820. The next best would be a good edition and critical translation of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's (died 1374) *Iḥāṭa fī Taʾrīkh Gharnāṭa* (Cairo 1319, I. ii. is only the synopsis *Markaz al-Iḥāṭa*, which still lacks Vol. iii.). (C. F. SEYBOLD.)

GUAD . . . GUADI . . . in a large number of Spanish river-names like Guadalquivir [q. v.], Guadiana [q. v.] from the Arabic *wādī* = river, valley, particularly a river which dries up in summer, which is the case with the majority, especially the smaller of rivers in Spain, cf. also *rambla* from the Arabic *ramla*, a dry sandy bed, which becomes used as a road, cf. La Rambla de Cataluña, the Corso of Barcelona = the Italian *fiumara* (secco); *wādī* in the west is usually *wād*, *wed* (French *oued*), in Granada *guid* (Pedro de Alcalá, like *lib* for *bāb* etc.) e. g. Guadalaviar (also contracted to Gualaviar) = *Wād al-abyaḍ*, white river = Turia at Valencia and = Segura of Murcia; Guadalete from Wād Lekk; Guadalmedina and Guadalhorce at Málaga; Guadaira (Alcalá de Guad.) at Seville; Guadiaro (with Guadalevin) rising at Ronda = Arab. *Wādī āra* or *āro*, also *yāra*, *yāro*; Guatizalema, a mountain brook east of Huesca, with *t* in a solitary instance); Guajara, Guahazar from Guadijara, Guadihazar; Guadarrizas, Guarrizas, a mountain brook east of Linares; it is readily transferred from rivers (valleys) to towns: e. g. Guadalajara [q. v.], Guadix [q. v.], Guarromán, contracted from *Wādar-rommān*, pomegranate river, a small town north of Linares; also transferred to mountains, e. g. Guadarrama from *Wādarramla* (sand-river); still as the name of a river, village and mountain, e. g. Guadalupe, from *Wādallobb* (*lobb*, Spanish *lobo*, Latin *lupus*, Wolf, while the Spanish *adive*, Portuguese *adibe*, borrowed from the Arabic *al-dhīb* as in North Africa means not "wolf" but "jackal") a mountain and village, while the stream is called Guadalupe and Guadalupejo; Guadalupe is also the name of a southern tributary of the lower Ebro; Guadalupe a mountain at Serpa on the lower Guadiana; Guadalim = Alcarrache, a stream on the borders of Spain and Portugal south of Badajoz. In Portuguese, Spanish Guad(i) is usually represented by Odi . . ., Ode . . ., e. g. Odiana = Guadiana [q. v.], Odivellas, Odiseixe, Odiarca, Odemira, Odeleite, Odeloaca, Odega; Degebe = Odigebe; Divor = Odivor; cf. the Odiel with its tributary Odiverga in the province of Huelva, adjoining South Portugal with the Guadiel between Linares and Bailén, Gualdala on the upper Tajo, and many others. (C. F. SEYBOLD.)

GUADALAJARA, the capital of the Spanish province of the same name, on the plateau (2000 feet high) of northeastern Castile, with 12,000 inhabitants, is the ancient Arriaca (from *arri*, Basque "stone") on the left (eastern) bank of the Henares, which the Arabs called *Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra* "Stone-river" (*amnis lapidum* in Rodericus Toletanus), whence the name Gudalaxara, the modern Guadalajara, which was then transferred to the town and used particularly of it; the latter was also called *Madīnat al-Faradj*, which might be translated "city of joy", if a note by al-Yaʿḳūbī did not inform us that it was the fief of a Berber family, the Banū Faradj (*Bibliotheca Geogr. Arab.*, vii. 355). In 714 Guadalajara was taken on the joint campaign of Mūsā and Ṭāriḳ and remained an Arab possession, till it was surprised by Ferdinand I of Castile in 1060, although not permanently captured till 1081, when it was taken by Alvar Fañez de Minaya, a cousin of the Cid, for Alfonso VI of Castile. Like Toledo (Toleiṭula till 1085) and Madrid (Madjrīṭ), it had till then been an important Arab fortress on the northern frontier and the home of many scholars as is testified by the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* (ed. Codera, 10 vols.) and al-Maḳḳarī passim; the *nisba* is *Ḥidjārī* (cf. also *al-Samʿānī*, p. 156, *Mushtabih* and *Lubb al-Lubāb*) and is best known as that of a celebrated historian born in Guadalajara. Even under Arab rule there was a strong Christian element in Guadalajara (cf. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*). Of its later history as a Spanish town, which does not concern us here, we need only mention that it was the residence (with a Gothic-Moorish palace) of the (Basque) family of Mendoza, the Duques del Infantado, whose most celebrated member "el Gran Cardenal de España", the Cardinal-Primas of Toledo, Don Pedro Gonsáles de Mendoza, the soul of the last phase of the Reconquista, the recapture of Granada by the Reyes Católicos in 1492, died in Guadalajara in 1495.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*; Index: Faradj and Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra; Edrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, p. 189, transl. p. 229; Aboulféda, *Géogr.*, p. 178, transl. p. 255; *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ii. 75 = transl. p. 101 (Medinat al-Faradj i. e. Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra); *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arab.*, iv. (Index). In Dimashḳī p. 244, 11 *al-Ḥarīdj wa-hiya ʿalā nahr yusammā Wādī 'l-Ḥidjāra*, transl. p. 350 "Heredj près de la rivière Guadalaxara" with Mehren's erroneous Note: "D'après la position indiquée, Heredj pourrait être altérée de Alcala de Henares" (p. 428 even Hennâres] is of course to be read *al-Faradj* simply = *Madīnat al-Faradj* = Guadalajara; Madoz, *Diccionario*, viii. 637; Gayangos, *History*, i. 48, 319, 533; ii. 441; *Crónica del Moro Rasis* (*Memoria* p. Gayangos), p. 48: Et la ciudad de Alfar que agora llaman Aguadalfaxaryare . . . sobre un rrio á que dicen Aguadalfaxar; Rodericus Toletanus, *Historia Arabum*, p. 62: Medina Alfaragel, quae nunc dicitur Guadalfaiara. (C. F. SEYBOLD.)

GUADALQUIVIR, the ancient Baetis (Tartessus, Perces, Certis), whence the province of Baetica (with Baeturia in the north) = Andalusia, is the most southerly of the four great rivers of the Iberian peninsula flowing from N. E. to S. W. into the Atlantic Ocean. The Spanish name is derived from the Arabic *Wād(ī) al-Kabīr*, popular for *al-Wādī* or *al-Nahr al-Kabīr*, the "great river" also *Nahr al-Aʿẓam* the "greatest river" (there are several Wādī 'l-Kabīr just as there are a number of Rio Grande). We find the popular form as early as Yāḳūt, i. 275 (*Nahr ʿaẓīm yuḳālu lahu Wādī 'l-Kabīr*) and Ḳazwīnī, ii. 275 (*al-Nahr al-akbar alladhī yuʿrafu bi Wādī 'l-Kabīr*). The Guadalquivir proper rises in the Sierra del Pozo between the Sierra de Cazorla and Segura

(Saltus Tugiensis and Argentarius Mons), receives on the left bank the Guadiana Minor formed of the Guardal or Barbata (with the Cúllar), Fardes and Guadahortuna, and after running for a considerable distance between the Sierra Mágina and Loma de Úbeda is joined by the Guadalimar (with the Guadalén and Guadalmena) on the right bank; these three together properly form the sources of the Guadalquivir. Of further tributaries there may be mentioned on the right bank the Jándula, the Guadamellato formed of the Matapuercas, Cuzna (Arab. *Kuzna*) and Guadalbarbo above Córdoba, the Guadiato below it, the Bembézar with the Benejarafe, the Viar with the Benalijar, the Ribera de Huelva (with the Cala) near Seville, the Guadiamar, which flows through the famous district of Ajarafe or Axarafe (between Seville and Niebla) rich in olive trees (Arabic *al-Sharaf* or *Sharaf Ishbīliya*, raised undulating ground, hill-country) and flows into the salt swamps on the coast (las Marismas) formed by the inundations of the sea. On the left the Guadalquivir receives the waters of the Guadalbullón (from Jaén) and the Guadajoz (*Wādī Shūsh*), which flows through the fertile Campiña (Arab. *Kunbānīya* and *Kanbāniya*), south of Córdoba, but its most notable tributary is the Genil (Arab. *Shinīl* [*Shindjīl*] from the ancient *Singilis*) which runs through Granada, Loja and Ecija [q. v.], and next the Corbones and Guadaira (*Wādī'l-aira*); *Kabtūr* and *Kabtīl* are the modern Isla Mayor and Menor.

Bibliography: Madoz, *Diccion. Geogr.*, s. v.; Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, p. 196; Dimishkī, *Cosmographie*, p. 112, 246 = 139, 353, where *Kalya* = Cúllar should be read for *Kila* (Marrékoshi, *History of the Almohades*, p. 269, 2 *Kalya*, cf. p. 271 *et seq.*), for Abla *Kalya* or *Ubbadha*; Maḳḳari, i. 299; Aboulféda, *Géographie*, transl. ii. 235—238, 248, 249, 269; *Crónica del Moro Rasis* (ed. Gayangos), p. 61 and 62. (C. F. Seybold.)

GUADIANA, Arab. *Wādī* or *Nahr Yāna* or *Ana* or *Anā* (s. Yāḳūt), river *Ana* = *Anas* of the ancients, the Portuguese Odiana, the second most southerly of the four great rivers of the Iberian peninsula flowing into the Atlantic Ocean after parallel courses from N. E. to S. W., only navigable for 40 miles from its mouth, rises in the mountains of the eastern Iberian border of the central tableland (Meseta) in the Serranía de Cuenca, as, according to more recent geographers (notably Theobald Fischer), the Záncara (in the N. E.) and the Gigüela (in the N. W.) together form the proper source-streams of the Guadiana, not the Guadiana Alto flowing from southeastern Mancha from the 18 small lakes lying in terraces one above the other (Lagunas de Ruidera), nor the so-called eyes (Ojos) of the Guadiana Bajo, which rush from the level tertiary land between Daimiel and Villarta and soon unite with the Rio Azuer, which runs parallel to the Guadiana Alto from the Campo de Montiel and the spurs of the Sierra de Alcaraz. These Ojos del Guadiana were regarded from ancient times as the "reborn Guadiana", for the Guadiana Alto, which usually disappears in summer in the steppes of northern Mancha at Don Quixote's home Argamasilla de Alba, but which otherwise can only discharge its waters northwards into the Záncara. The Arab authors also mention the disappearance and reappearance of the Guadiana, notably Idrīsī, p. 181 (220) and 186 (226), who actually describes the Guadiana as *al-Nahr al-Ghā'ir*, the disappearing river, with a subterranean course, and also mentions a *Karyat Yāna* above Calatrava, on which cf. Ḳazwīnī, i. 177 = Ethé's translation, p. 361. Dimishkī (*Cosmographie*, 112 = 139 *et seq.*) speaks of the Guadiana as the combination of the *Nahr Uḳlīsh* (river of Uclés = Bedija—Riánsares—Gigüela) with the river of (*Ḳal'at*) *Rabāḥ* (Calatrava, q. v.) = Guadiana Alto + Bajo + Záncara. Mehren says "the river of Rabāḥ (Guadalaviar)", but instead of *al-Baḥr al-Rūmī* = Mediterranean, as the terminus of the Guadiana one ought of course to read *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ* = Atlantic Ocean. In Dimishkī's second reference to the Guadiana, *ibid.* (only in the Paris Codex), and p. 246 = 353 *Uḳlīsh* should be read for Ṭurṭūsha (Tortosa) and (*Ḳal'at*) *Rabāḥ* for Dalāya (= Dalias W. of Almería). The Guadiana is also called, as here, *Nahr Ḳal'at Rabāḥ*, the river of Calatrava, or also *Nahr Uḳlīsh*, river of Uclés, still oftener *Nahr Mārida*, the river of Mérida, and *Nahr Baṭalyōs*, the river of Badajoz after the principal towns on its banks.

Bibliography: Madoz, *Diccion. Geogr.*, ix. 27; Aboulféda, *Géographie*, p. 172 = 247 s., but where it is wrongly said of Mérida: *'alā djanūbī nahr Baṭalyōs* "south of Guadiana" for *djofī* "north" [جنوب and جوف often confused, particularly in the Maghribī script]; *Crónica del Moro Rasis* (ed. Gayangos 1852), p. 62, where probably Uclés should be read for the puzzling Riebla. (C. F. Seybold.)

GUADIX, the capital of a district in the Spanish province of Granada on the northern slopes of the Sierra Nevada (*Djebel Shulair* = Solorius Mons, *Djebel al-Thaldj* = "snow-mountain" like Hermon), the ancient Iberian *Acci* (Colonia Julia Gemella, which was however 7 miles N. W. [Baedeker wrongly S. E.] of the modern Guadix and is distinguished as Guadix el Viejo), one of the oldest bishoprics in Spain (*Sedes Accitana*), with 13,000 inhabitants, on the left bank of the stream of the same name which rises to the south (Rio de Guadix), with a Moorish castle (Alcazaba), in Arabic called *Wādī Āsh*, more rarely *Wādī Yāsh* (and *Wādī Yāsh*) also in poetry *Wādī 'l-Ashī* and *Wādī 'l-Ashāt*, with infix *ash* (from *Acci*), wrongly explained by Mármol as "water of life" (an explanation which is still given everywhere, e. g. Baedeker, *Spain and Portugal*[4] 1913, p. 330) and confused with *'aish* = life, whereas *Ash*, *ashī* is of course = *Acci*. In the Barrio (suburb) de Santiago there are remarkable cave dwellings inhabited by gipsies. West of Guadix on the Fardes (Auchuron) is the ancient Arab bath Graena (from the Arabic Djilyāna = Juliana), celebrated for its apples, hence called *Djilyānat al-Tuffāḥ* (Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ii. 109). Dimishkī (*Cosmographie*, p. 84 = transl. p. 99) speaks of black antimony (*al-kuḥl al-aswad wa-[illegible] al-[illegible]*), which is obtained near Guadix. The whole of the northern slopes of the Sierra Nevada around Guadix are called in Arabic *Sened Wādī Āsh* = slopes of Guadix, which still survives in the Spanish Marquesado del Zenete (cf. Jerez del Marquesado, S. W. of Guadix, N. E. of the highest peaks of the Sierra Nevada and the citadel built in 1510 for Rodrigo de Mendoza, Marqués del Zenete, south of Guadix above Alcudia (Arab. *kudya* = hill) de Guadix in the little town of La Calahorra (arabicised from the Iberian Calagurris, cf. Gröber,

Granada, *Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil.*, i, 522). In 1232 the first Naṣrid or Aḥmarid, Muḥammad I of Granada made himself master of Guadix. In 1315 the Christians under the Infante Don Pedro of Castile were severely defeated before Guadix. In 1489 it was conquered by the Reyes Catolicos, after having been previously made tributary in 1433. The *nisba* is in Arabic *Wādīāshī* or *Wādiyāshī*; for example it is that of the poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Nizār who was born there.

Bibliography: Simonet, *Descripcion del Reino de Granada*[2] (1872), p. 98—101; do., *Historia de los Mozarabes*, index; Muñoz, *Diccionario geográfico*, p. 9, 43; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, p. 202—247; Marrākoshī, *History of the Almohades*, p. 269; Maḳḳarī, i. 94-95; Yāḳūt, i. 279, where Kaṣr ash (rather Ḳāṣrāsh = Cáceres) is confused with Guadix. — Soler, *Sierra Nevada y las Alpujarras*, Madrid 1903, p. 92—106, where however Jeres (Jérez) is to be read throughout for Jeres (only Madoz writes Jerez). (C. F. Seybold.)

GUARDAFUI, the most eastern cape in Africa, the Ἀρωμάτων ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy, and the Arabic Ra's 'Asīr. The origin of the name is uncertain; the only certain point is that the name Ḥafūn (Opone) is concealed in it; indeed there is another cape about 60 miles southwards which the Arabs call *Djard* (*Gard*) Ḥafūn. But it is doubtful if this *Djard* or *Gard*, which cannot be explained from the Arabic, has not been taken over from Europeans because the earliest name given by the Portuguese is rather to be traced to *Ward*, which word need not necessarily be of Arab origin. It may be possible that the name did not originally denote a cape but the whole land of Ḥafūn (Arḍ Ḥafūn) and was erroneously limited by the Portuguese to the Cape.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*[2], p. 398 *et seq.*

GUDJAR (Gudjar, Gudjur). The name of a very widely spread tribe in Northern India akin to the Rādjpūts and Djāts and like them probably descended from Scythian immigrants about the 6th century A. D. Their physical characteristics show them to be of the purest Indo-Aryan type without Dravidian admixture. It has been shown by V. A. Smith (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1909), by A. M. T. Jackson (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 1896, Vol. i. pt. i.) and by D. R. Bhandarkar (*Epigraphic Notes and Questions*, iii.) that the Gurdjaras entered Northern India about 550 A. D. with or soon after the White Huns. The Gurdjaras are first mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* which couples them with the Hūṇas as enemies of Harṣa's father. They founded a powerful state with its capital at Bhīnmāl near Mt. Ābū. From the southern branch of this kingdom comes the name of the southern Gudjrāt, while the ruling families of the central part developed into Rādjpūt tribes, especially the Pratihāra or Parihār clan. But the bulk of the Gurdjaras is represented by the Gūdjars of the present day, and their wide distribution bears witness to the former extent of their rule. The Gūdjars were mainly a pastoral race given to war and plunder, and the same tendencies are found in many at the present day. They have not the same reputation as steady cultivators as their near kindred, the Djāts, but still they have mainly adopted a settled life. In the extreme northwest of India, especially in the outer fringe of the mountains in Hazāra, Djammū, Kāngra and Čibhāl they are still nomad herdsmen and speak a dialect of their own, known as Gūdjarī or Gōdjrī, in which Grierson finds a strong resemblance to the Mēwātī dialect of eastern Rādjpūtāna. This seems to show that, during the days of Gurdjara power, when their headquarters were in Rādjpūtāna, they adopted the language of that country, which has been retained by their least civilised outlying northern branch even now though isolated among speakers of Pandjābī and Western Pahārī dialects. In Peshāwar the name Gūdjar is often used as a synonym for 'herdsman' in general. The more settled Gūdjars are most numerous in the modern district of Gudjrāt where they are an important element in the population numbering 111,000 in 1901. In Hazāra (settled and pastoral) they number 91,670, and in both districts as well as in the whole of the North and West Pandjāb they are all muslims. Further east Gūdjars are numerous in Hoshyārpur and in the districts along the Djamnā both in the Pandjāb and the United Provinces, but here the majority remain Hindū. In the Pandjāb the Gūdjars number 739,622 and in the U. P. 344,000. In the whole of India they number 2,103,000 and are found in most provinces especially (in addition to those already mentioned) Rādjpūtāna, Central India and Bombay.

It is generally believed that most of the pastoral Gūdjars of the plain were forced to settle in fixed villages in Akbar's time, and that the Pandjāb Gudjrāt obtained its name at that time. The conversion to Islām is attributed to the reign of Aurangzēb, but Audh tradition puts it down to the time of Tīmūr, which is very improbable. In addition to the Northern and Southern Gudjrāts the tribe has given its name to Gūdjrānwāla in the Pandjāb (where however Gūdjars are not numerous) and to a part of the district of Sahāranpur formerly called Gudjrāt. The Gudjarātī language derives its name from the Southern Gudjarāt province, and has no connection with the tribe.

Bibliography: Ibbetson, *Outlines of Pandjāb Ethnography* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 262 *et seq.*; Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. ii. 439 *et seq.* (Calcutta, 1896); V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India* 2nd ed., p. 303; do., *The Gujaras of Rājputana and Kanauj* in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1909; H. D. Watson, *Gazetteer of the Hazara Dist.* (London, 1908), p. 30. (M. Longworth Dames.)

GUDJARĀT in the present 20th century denotes the tract of country immediately east of the Peninsula of Kathiawar; but at the time of the Muhammadan power in India it included not only that, then known as Sōrath, but also the districts as far as Sūrat and even Bombay on the south, part of Khāndesh and Mālwah to the East, and the south-west corner of Rādjpūtāna round Anhilwāra to the north. It was first known to the Muhammadans when Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī marched from Multān to Anhilwāra and sacked the famous temple of Sōmnāth on the south coast of Sōrath in 1024 A. D. The Sulṭān Shihāb al-Dīn met with a check at Anhilwāra in 1178, but 16 years later this was avenged by the Dihlī viceroy, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aibak. One hundred years afterwards the place was taken by Ulugh Khān, general of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī; and between 1347 and 1351 Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaḳ waged several campaigns in Gudjarāt from Sind,

where he died. His successor, Sulṭān Fīrōz Shāh established his authority in the country, which thenceforth remained under Muhammadan governors, one of whom, Ẓafar Khān, became an independent ruler of Gudjarāt, under the title of Muẓaffar Khān, after the central power at Dihlī had been crushed by the invasion of Tīmūr. This ruler was a notable general and in his time destroyed Sōmnāth for a third time, and subdued Īdar, Dhār and Mandū. He also saved the Dihlī ruler from the attack of Ibrāhīm Sharkī of Djawnpūr. He was succeeded by his grandson Aḥmad I who founded Aḥmadābād in 1413 A. D. These rulers attacked at different times Cāmpānīr, Djūnāgaṛh, Īdar, Citōr and Kach, and greatly extended their power; but towards the close of the dynasty they became embarrassed by the Turks and Portuguese. The country was invaded in 1573—1575 by the emperor Akbar, who came in person to Aḥmadābād, Barōda, Cambay and Sūrat, and from that time forward the Gudjarāt country remained under Muhammadan viceroys of the Dihlī court until the rise of the Marāṭhas and the advent of the English put an end to the Muhammadan domination of these parts. The revenue settlement of it was made by the famous Tōdar Mal. Among the best known viceroys were Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōkaltāsh, foster brother of the emperor Akbar; Mīrzā Khān, afterwards dignified with the title of Khān Khānān; Prince Khurram, afterwards the emperor Shāh Djahān, in 1618—1622; Prince Awrangzēb in 1644, and his brother Dārā Shikōh in 1648—1652, and Murād Bakhsh in 1654—1657. In 1659—1662 Mahārādjā Djaswant Singh of Djōdhpur was governor. Early in the 18th century the power of the Marāṭhas became more and more aggressive, and the government fell more and more into confusion, Sūrat being sacked once by Malik Ambar and twice by Sivadjī. An attempt by the Muhammadans to recover Aḥmadābād after the battle of Pānīpat (1761 A. D.) failed, and the Gaikwār making terms for himself apart from the Pēshwā, the British took possession of the Gudjarāt country of the mainland in 1818.

Bibliography: Sikandar b. Muḥammad, *Mirʾāt-i Sikandarī*, ed. Bombay 1851; ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān: *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*; Mīr Abū Turāb Walī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Denison Ross, 1909; Muḥammad b. ʿOmar Ulughkhānī, *Ẓafar al-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa-Ālih*, ed. Denison Ross, 1910; Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, *Hindoo Annals of the province of Goozerat*, 1856; Elliot, *Historians of India*; Bailey, *History of Gujarat*; *Bombay Gazetteer*, (*History of Gujarat*, Vol. I. Part I.).

(H. C. FANSHAWE.)

GUDJARĀTĪ, a modern Indo-Aryan vernacular language, spoken by over 9 million persons in Western India and by more than one million persons from Gudjarāt who have settled in other parts of the country; it has a printed character of its own, a modification of the Devanāgarī, and its literature extends back to the fourteenth century. It is the chief commercial language of Western India, and, as such, acquires modifications according to the class which uses it; while most of the Muhammadans of Gudjarāt speak Urdū, those who are descended from Hindū converts speak Gudjarātī, and the educated members of this class introduce into the vocabulary of their native language a large number of Urdū (and, through it, of Arabic and Persian) words. The Muhammadans have employed Gudjarātī but little as a medium for literary expression, and have preferred to write either in Persian or (in more recent times) in Urdū. The few works written in Gudjarātī by Muhammadans consist mainly of translations from Arabic, Persian and Urdū, or of religious tracts and elementary books of religious instruction.

Bibliography: *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. ix. Part. ii., p. 323 *et seq.* (Calcutta, 1908); J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Gujarati Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum*, (London, 1892); Id., *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, Vol. ii. — Part. v. *Marathi and Gujarati Books* (London, 1908).

GŪDJRĀNWĀLA, A district in the Pandjāb, 3198 sq. miles in extent with a population in 1901 of 890,577 of whom 603,464 are Muhammadan. The district lies in a level plain between the Canāb and Rāvī rivers, but does not extend to the latter river. Like Gudjrāt it obtains its name from the Gūdjar tribe, but there is not now a large Gūdjar element in the population. The district took its name from the town which was founded by Gūdjars. Rādjpūts (especially Bhaṭṭīs), Djaṭs and Arains are now the most numerous tribes. There are Buddhist remains at Takī which has been identified with the Tse-kia of the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang. The ruins of Shāhkot in the south perhaps represent the Sākala of the Hun king Mihirakula. Under the Mughal emperors this tract was prosperous, and some of the principal towns were founded. Eminābād (properly Amīnābād) was founded by Muḥammad Amīn, and Hāfiẓābād by Hāfiẓ, both in Akbar's reign, and Shēkhopura (properly Shikōh-pura) by the prince Dārā Shikōh, son of Shāh Djahān, who made an irrigation channel there while his grandfather Djahāngīr was still living. In the eighteenth century the country was nearly deserted, and was afterwards colonized by the Sikhs. Randjīt Singh was born at Gūdjrānwāla and erected there a mausoleum to his father Mahān Singh. The principal towns are Gūdjrānwāla (pop. 29224) and Wazīrābād (pop. 18069). The Canāb canal has its head in the Canāb river and irrigates a large tract in the Hāfiẓābād and Dōgrān taḥṣīls. Wazīrābād is an important railway junction.

Bibliography: *Local Gazetteers and settlement reports* (Lahore); *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, Pandjāb Section (1908).

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GUDJRĀT (Pandjāb), The name of a district in the Pandjāb in British India lying between 33° and 32° 8′ N. and 73° 17′ and 74° 30′ E. It contains an area of 2051 sq.m. and a population of 750458 (in 1901), of which the greatest part (87 per cent.) is Musalmān. It is a submontane district lying between the Canāb River to the S. E. and the Djehlam to the N. W. The outer fringe of the Himālaya bounds it to the N. E. and the open waste of Shāhpur to the S. W. A great part of the waste land of Gudjrāt and Shāhpur is now being brought under cultivation through irrigation from the Djehlam canal.

The district was traversed by Alexander who crossed the Hydaspes, (Vitastā, Vēhat or Djehlam), near the modern town of Djehlam, and skirted the mountains crossing the Acesines, (Canāb), near the point where it issues into the plains. It seems to have formed the central portion of the kingdom of Porus. It afterwards formed part of the kingdoms of the Mauryas and the Kushans, but does

not seem to have been included in the Gupta kingdom nor in that of Harṣa. The prevalence of the Gūdjar tribe and of the name Gudjrāt makes it probable that the great Gurdjara kingdom which had its centre at Bhinmāl in Rādjpūtāna included this tract. But the local princes had no doubt been long separated from the central kingdom, which had its capital at Ḳanaudj when the territory known as Gūdjar-deś corresponding roughly with the Gudjrāt district was ceded by the king reigning at Jammū to the king of Kashmir in the 9th century. In later times this tract from its position must have been the thoroughfare of every invading army including those of Maḥmūd, Muḥammad b. Sām, Tīmūr, Bābar and Nādir Shāh. Its population, whether Djaṭ, Rādjpūt or Gūdjar, was gradually converted to the Muhammadan faith; the Sikh religion has never made much progress and the country remains mainly a Musalmān tract. In modern times a rather lax heretical sect known as Dittēshāhī has arisen in this district. They consider the founder Ditte-Shāh Arain to be a true rasūl and disregard the strict doctrines and ceremonies of Islām.

Although the Sikhs did not spread their religion in Gudjrāt they obtained possession of the country from the time of the abandonment of the Central Pandjāb by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. The Bhangī Misl occupied the country up to the Djehlam, and in 1768 they went even further, as far as Rāwal Pindī. The dominions of the Bhangī confederacy were soon absorbed by Randjīt Singh. After his death Gudjrāt continued to be part of the Sikh kingdom till 1849, when it was the scene of the most severe fighting in the second Sikh war. The battles of Sa'dullāpur, Čiliānwāla and Gudjrāt took place within the limits of the district, and Gough's victory at the latter place led to the annexation of the whole Pandjāb to British India.

The town of Gudjrāt near which the battle took place is now the district headquarters and has a pop. of 19,048. It is well known for its damascened work (*koftgarī*). Here is the shrine of Shāh Dawla celebrated for its semi-idiotic mendicants with heads artificially narrowed, known popularly as "Shāh Dawla's rats".

Bibliography: V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*², Oxford 1908, pp. 59—67; *Gazetteer of Gudjrāt* in *Imp. Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series*, Panjab, 1908; Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography*, Calcutta, 1883; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1849.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GUINEA, a land on the coast of West Africa. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 307, mentions a land Kināwa (Ginawa), which, according to him, received its name from its inhabitants; the Ginawa are said to have been a Berber tribe who had penetrated into the land of the negroes (Sūdān) and become neighbours of Ghāna (q. v., ii. 139ᵇ *et seq.*). It seems to follow from this that the usual derivation of the name of Djenne (see above i. 1035ᵇ *et seq.*) is incorrect. As far as we know, Marquart was the first to call attention to this passage in Yāḳūt (*Benin*, p. clxxi).

On the penetration of Islām among the peoples of Guinea, cf. the article by Westermann in *Die Welt des Islams*, i. 85 *et seq.* and the literature quoted there. For further details *cf.* the article SŪDĀN.

GUL (P.) the rose. The rose plays a great part in Oriental poetry, whence its name frequently appears in the titles of Persian, Turkish and Indian books. The relations between the rose and the nightingale have already been discussed above (art. BULBUL, i. 785ᵃ). There are therefore numerous poems with the title *Gul u Bulbul*, but the rose is also associated with other things; cf. the indices in the *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii., and in Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*. Here we will only mention *Gul u Ṣanawbar*, "the Rose and the Pine tree", a subject which has been chosen mainly by writers in India. A Persian version is mentioned by Ethé in the *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 321; on the versions in Hindustānī and other modern Indian dialects cf. Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Litt. Hindouie*², i. 157 *et seq.* The same author published a complete French translation of this poem in the *Revue Orient. et Améric.*, vii. 60—120; on the original editions that have been published in the East, cf. Ethé, p. 323.

GÜL-BĀBĀ, a Bektāshī derwish, a native of Marzifūn (Marsiwān in Asia Minor in the wilāyet of Siwās) took part in several wars waged by the Turks in the reigns of Sulṭāns Meḥemmed II, Bāyazīd II, Selīm I and Sulaimān II and fell during the siege of Buda (Ofen) in a skirmish below the walls of the city on the 29th Rabī' II 948 = 21st August 1541 (Pečewī, i. 227). After he had been buried on the spot where he had fallen, Sulaimān II declared him the patron saint of the city (*pīr-i ḥāmī*). His name was also borne by a Bektāshī monastery near the hot springs of Welī-bey outside the Khoros gate, which was founded for charitable purposes by the descendants of Ghāzī Mikhāl. The tomb of the saint still stands in Budapest; it is in the Türkengasse (Törökutcza) and is in the form of an octagon, on which is a dome covered with lead plates and wooden tiles, on the top of which is a lantern. Its exterior is covered by creeping plants. Tāhir Bela discusses this saint in his *Sulṭān Sādje*.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebī, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, vi. 225, 244 (his authority is information given him by his father). (CL. HUART.)

GULBADAN BEGAM, daughter of the Emperor Bābur, half-sister of Humāyūn, and aunt of Akbar. Her mother was Dildār Begam, whose real name, apparently, was Ṣāliḥa Sulṭān, and who was daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā the ruler of Samarḳand. Gulbadan was born in the city of Kābul, and as in her charming Memoirs she tells us that she was eight years old when her father died, i. e. in the last week of December 1530, she must have been born in 929 (1523). She remained in Kābul when her father went off to the conquest of India, but she joined him in 1529 and she was in Agra when he died. She was there also in 1539 when Humāyūn returned, defeated, from Bengal. By this time, apparently, she had been married to Khiḍr Khwādja Khān, a Čaghatāi Moghal and a great-grandson of Yūnus Khān. Rieu states that the marriage took place in 942 (1545), but I do not know on which authority. By her husband, who was an officer of Humāyūn and of Akbar, and who was at one time governor of the Pandjāb, she had at least one son, Maḥmūd Yār, and one daughter. When Humāyūn was driven out of India, she did not accompany him to Persia, but remained in Afghānistān with her brothers Kāmrān and Hindāl, and did not see Humāyūn again till 1545. She did not leave Kābul

for India till after Humāyūn's death, arriving there in 1557, the second year of the reign of her nephew. In 1576 she went on pilgrimage to Mecca in company with her niece Salima Sulṭān Begam and other royal ladies. On her way back she was shipwrecked at Aden, and did not return till 1581 or 1582 (Badā'ūnī, Lowe's translation, 216). In 1590 she went to Kābul in company with Akbar's mother, in order to visit the emperor. She died at Agra on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1011 (7 May 1603), not long after the death of Queen Elizabeth of England. She was then 82 lunar years of age. The correct date of her death is given in Rieu's *Catalogue*, iii. 1085. She was greatly respected, and Akbar himself took her bier upon his shoulder.

The interesting thing about Gulbadan is that she wrote her Memoirs. The work is called the *Humāyūnnāmah* and has been edited and translated by Mrs A. Beveridge for the Royal Asiatic Society (London 1902). Unfortunately the only known MS. is that described by Rieu in his Catalogue of Persian MSS, I, 247, and it is imperfect, and breaks off in the middle of a sentence. She wrote the Memoirs at the request of Akbar in order to furnish his secretary Abu 'l-Faḍl with materials for his history. Probably this was in 1587. Her book is valuable on account of its domestic details, and gives a pleasing picture of the author, and of Court-life in Humāyūn's time. There are several references to Gulbadan in the third volume of the *Akbarnāmah*.

(H. Beveridge.)

GULBARGA, spelt *Kalburgā* in Marāṭhī, was a town of little importance until 'Alā' al-Dīn Bahman Shāh made it his capital in 1347 on establishing his independence as sulṭān of the Dakhan. It remained the capital of the Dakhan until 1429, when Aḥmad Shāh I, ninth king of the Bahmanī dynasty, rebuilt Bīdar and transferred his court thither. On the disruption of the Bahmanī kingdom in 1490 Gulbarga was in the possession of the African eunuch, Dastūr Dīnār, but ten years later he was defeated and slain by Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh and the city and province were absorbed in Bījāpūr and remained part of that kingdom until it was annexed to the Mughal empire by Awrangzīb ('Ālamgīr) in 1686. The city is famous for its great mosque and for the shrine of Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz, a saint who flourished in the early years of the fifteenth century.

Bibliography: *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig.

(T. W. Haig.)

GÜLEK BOGHAZ, the Turkish name of the celebrated *Pylae Ciliciae* of the ancients, which have already been often described. The name is derived from a place named Gülek in the neighbourhood which, according to Cuinet, has including some other adjoining villages a population of 1850. In the Armenian notices we find *Gugleg* in place of Gülek, latinised as *Gogulas* or *Coplaquus*, although the Latin chroniclers always speak of the *Porta Judae*. In the Arab chroniclers we find simply *Darb* or *Darb al-Salāma*. For a more detailed description see the works quoted below.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xix. 2, p. 275 *et seq.*; Ramsay, *Historic. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 349 *et seq.*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliph.*, p. 133 *et seq.*; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 49.

GULISTĀN, a place in the Caucasus (in the gouvernement of Elisavetpol), famous for the peace concluded there (peace of Gulistān) in 1813. Instigated by Napoleon, Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh had declared war against Russia. After the victories of the Russian general Kotljarevsky at Aslandūz and Lenkoran the treaty of Gulistān was concluded on the 12th (24th) October 1813, by which Russia came into the possession of the khānates of Karabagh, Sheki, Shirwān, Derbend, Kuba, Baku and Tālish. The khānate of Gandja [q. v.] had been previously occupied by the Russians so that the treaty only ratified what was actually a fact. At the same time Persia pledged herself not to maintain any warships on the Caspian Sea. (A. Dirr.)

GULISTĀN (P.), "land of roses, rose-garden", the name of a celebrated didactic work, a mixture of prose and verse, by the Persian poet Sa'dī of Shīrāz, consisting of a preface, eight chapters (the lives and doings of kings, manners and customs of the derwīshes, frugality, advantages of silence, love and youth, infirmity and old age, importance of education and rules of conduct) and an epilogue. A number of anecdotes interwoven give us information on the personal experiences of the poet. The *Gulistān* was completed in 656 (1258), one year after the *Bostān*; it bears a dedication to the Atābeg of Fārs, Abū Bakr b. Sa'd b. Zangī and his son Sa'd and has appeared in numerous editions (the best European ones are by E. B. Eastwick, Hereford 1850; Johnson, ibid. 1863; J. T. Platts, London 1874) and translations; of the latter we may mention: Latin: by G. Gentius (*Rosarium Politicum*, 1651, 1655); French: by D'Allègre (1704), Gaudin (1789, 1791), Semelet (1834), Defrémery (1858), Franz Toussaint (with a preface by Comtesse de Noailles, 1913); German: by A. Olearius (*Persianischer Rosenthal*, 1654, 1660), Schummel (1775), B. Dorn (1827), Ph. Wolff (1841), K. H. Graf (1846), G. H. F. Nesselmann (Berlin 1864); English: by Gladwin (Pers. text with transl., Calcutta 1806, 1809); Dumoulin (1807), J. Ross (1823), Eastwick (1852), J. T. Platts (London 1873), E. H. Whinfield (Pers. text with transl. and notes, London 1880), Edw. Arnold (1899); Roumanian: by Gh. Popescu Ciocănel (Ploesti 1906); Polish: by Ebenstein-Karimirski (Paris 1876); Italian: by Gherardo de Vincentiis (selection, Naples 1873); Arabic: by Djibrā'īl b. Yūsuf al-Mukhalla' (1263 = 1847); Hindūstānī: by Mīr Sher 'Alī Afsūs under the direction of John Gilchrist (*Bāgh-i Urdū*, Calcutta 1802).

Bibliography: H. Ethé in the *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 293—296, 297, 570.

(Cl. Huart.)

GÜLKHĀNE, the "house of roses", or *Gülkhāne Meidānī*, is the name of a part of the gardens, which lie along the Sea of Marmora on the east side of the old imperial Serai in Stambul; the name is derived from the fact that in olden days the building, in which the rose sweetmeats for the use of the court were prepared, stood there. The place is famous in history because the celebrated firmān of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Madjīd, the so-called *Khaṭṭ-i sherīf* promulgating the reforms, was publicly proclaimed there on Sunday the 26th Sha'bān 1255 (3rd November 1839); cf. the description in Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, ii. 14 *et seq.*; Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, vi. 59 *et seq.*; on the place itself cf. White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, i. 110, and *Revue Histor. publ. par l'Inst. d'Hist. Ott.*, i. 291 *et seq.*

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

GULPĀYAGĀN, a town in Persia at the foot of the Zagros range in the fertile valley of the Ḳum. The Arab geographers give the form of the name Djarbādhakān, i. e. Gurbādhakān. Ḥādjdjī Khal., *Djihānnumā*, p. 299 still knows both forms for his Darbāyagān is probably only a misprint for Garbāyagān. It is only in the modern times that the place is frequently mentioned; the Arab geographers only refer to it as a station on the road from Iṣpahān to Hamadhān. Although Gulpāyagān is the capital of a Persian province, which exports opium, tobacco and cotton in addition to agricultural produce satisfying the local requirements, it gives one the impression of considerable decay. Among the 12,000—15,000 inhabitants are a few Jews, about 150 families.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 40; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 210; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 63; Aubin, *La Perse d'Aujourd'hui*, 310 *et seq.*; Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 233; Schefer, *Siasetnameh*, Suppl. 192; Brugsch, *Reise nach Persien*, ii. 25 *et seq.*

GÜLSHENĪ, a Turkish poet, born in Ṣarukhān (Asia Minor in the wilāyet of Aidīn), a contemporary of Muḥammad II, to whom he dedicated his book, led the life of a hermit. His *Maḳāmāt* consist of series of moralising dialogues in verse illustrated by anecdotes.

Bibliography: Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 378; v. Hammer, *Osm. Dichtkunst*, i. 286.

(CL. HUART.)

GÜLSHENĪ (SHAIKH IBRĀHĪM), a celebrated mystic of the Khalwetī order, a native of Adharbaidjān, studied in Tabrīz and migrated to Cairo after Shāh Ismāʿīl had proclaimed the Shīʿa creed the state religion of Persia. After the capture of the city by the Turks he was treated with the greatest respect by Sulṭān Selīm I. In 935 (1528-1529) he went to Constantinople on Sulṭān Sulaimān's invitation, where he was received with unusual distinction. He died in 940 (1533-1534) in Cairo. He wrote a Persian mystic poem of 40,000 distiches entitled *Maʿnawī* in answer to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. Of his numerous pupils particular mention may be made of the poet Uṣūlī of Yeñidje-i Wardar and the mystic Yūsuf called Sīne-čāk. An order founded by him bears his name Gülshenī or sometimes it also called Rūshenī after the epithet of his teacher and consecrator Dede ʿOmar Rūshenī. This order is distinguished by the form of its turban of eight folds.

Bibliography: Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 374; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iv. 625, 630.

(CL. HUART.)

GUMAL. A river in Afghānistān formed by the junction of the Gumal proper which rises near Ghaznīn, with the Kundar in the Wāna territory. It then flows eastward and, after being joined by the Zhōb from the south, passes through the Gumal Pass into the plains of the Indus valley. Its water is here diverted into irrigation channels, and does not reach the Indus except during high floods. The Gumal Pass is one of the principal passes from India into Afghānistān, and is more used than any other by the Powindahs or nomadic traders of the Ghalzai and other tribes.

Bibliography: Vigne, *Ghazni*, London, 1840.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GÜMÜSH-KHĀNE, the "silver house" (translated into modern Greek as Ἀργυρόπολις), capital of a sandjaḳ of the wilāyet of Trapezunt, and till 1913 see of the Greek Metropolitan of Chaldia, is said to have been founded only 250 years ago and according to Ewliyā (ii. 343) identical with Djāndje which is known as a mint for silver currency from Sulaimān I to ʿOthmān II. Gümüsh-khāne was formerly the centre of the mining industry in the coast lands of Pontus famous even in antiquity for its silver; in the xviii[th] century (under Maḥmūd I) ghurūsh (dollars) were struck there for a time. During the war of 1828-1829 the Russians temporarily occupied the district of Gümüsh-khāne; after their departure the greater part of the Greek inhabitants, who were mainly engaged in working the mines, migrated and the mining industry declined. Recently attempts have been made, but without marked success, by European enterprise to set the flooded mines at work again; argentiferous lead is exploited there. The present population is about 3000 half of which are Greeks. The rich decorations of the five Greek churches, which date from a time when the Greek population numbered 5000 families, testify to the prosperity of the earlier inhabitants (cf. *Djihānnumā*, p. 622, 623; Hamilton, *Researches*, i. 234 *et seq.*; Triantaphyllides, Τὰ Ποντικά, p. 97 *et seq.*; Sava Joannides, Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος, p. 141, 248 *et seq.*; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 122 *et seq.*; view in Texier, *Descr. de l'Arménie, la Perse* etc., Pl. 2).

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

GURČĀNĪ. A Baloč tribe located partly in the plains of the Dēra Ghāzī Khān District of the Pandjāb, and partly in the adjacent mountains called Mārī and Drāgal in the Sulaimān Mts. and the upland plains of Shām and Phailāwagh. They are of mixed origin, some sections being Dodāīs of Sindh Rādjpūt extraction, and others being Rind Baloč of pure blood. The Chief's family belongs to one of the Dodāī sections. The tribe was till lately very turbulent and often at war with its neighbours and with the Sikhs. In 1848 they joined Edwardes against the Sikhs. The Lashārī and Durkānī sections are mountaineers occupying a very difficult hill country.

Bibliography: Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race*, London 1904; Edwardes, *A Year on the Panjab Frontier*, London, 1850.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

GURDJ, GURDJĪ, GURDJISTĀN. [See GEORGIA.]

GURGĀNDJ, Arabic Djurdjāniya, a town in the northern part of Khwārizm; on the situation of the town and the arm of the Oxus which flows past it, cf. the article AMŪ-DARYĀ, i. 341[a]. Although the town is first mentioned by the Arabs, it was undoubtedly founded in the pre-Muhammadan period; the oldest Chinese name for Khwārizm (Yue-kien) is apparently to be traced to the name Gurgāndj. In what condition the Arabs found the northern part of the country is not narrated in the sources dealing with the Arab conquest (93 = 712). In the iv[th] = x[th] century Khwārizm broke up into two independent kingdoms, the land of the Khwārizmshāh with Kāth, the ancient capital of the country, and the land of the Emīr of Gurgāndj. According to al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, ed. Sachau, p. 36), the dynasty which had its residence in Kāth only retained the regal title (*shāhīya*) after the Arab conquest; the real power (*mulūkīya*) was henceforth sometimes in the hands of the members of the dynasty itself, sometimes in the

hands of others, until under its last rules both (the *shāhiya* and *wilāya*) were finally taken from it. This statement is interpreted by Sachau (*Sitz.-Ber. Wien. Ak.*, lxxiii. 499) to mean that the old dynasty resided in Kāth and the Arab wāli in Gurgāndj and that the political separation of north from south was brought about by this system of dual rule. In the year 385 = 995 the Emir of Gurgāndj succeeded in conquering Kāth, overthrowing the dynasty which had held it since pre-Muhammadan times, uniting Khwārizm once more into a single kingdom and transferring the title Khwārizmshāh to his own house.

Gurgāndj is described as the second largest town in Khwārizm by the Arab geographers of the ivth = xth century (cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 146 *et seq.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 447 *et seq.*); in contrast to the ancient town of Kāth it was then a rapidly rising city of commerce and industry. After the union of the two kingdoms Kāth and Gurgāndj are described as the two capitals of this kingdom each enjoying equal privileges; under the later rulers and governors, Kāth gradually became quite overshadowed by Gurgāndj. The period of Gurgāndj's greatest prosperity coincides with the rule of the Khwārizmshāhs of the vith = xiith and viith = xiiith century. Yāķūt (ii. 54. 486; iv. 260 *et seq.*) gives most of the notices, unfortunately however very scanty, of the brilliant capital of this dynasty; 3 *farsakh* from the capital there was in this period another town called "Little Gurgāndj". Djuwainī's account of the siege and capture of the city by the Mongols in 618 = 1221 contains much information on the topography of Gurgāndj in the viith = xiiith century: cf. the text in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, ii. 136 *et seq.* and the comparison with other sources in W. Barthold, *Turkestān*, ii. 467 *et seq.* The city is said to have been rased to the ground on this occasion, the dikes destroyed and the whole district inundated by the Āmū-Daryā; on the contrary other sources (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaķāt-i Nāṣirī*, transl. Raverty, p. 281, 1000; cf. also 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī, ed. Schefer, p. 78), say that several buildings, including the tomb of Sulṭān Takash escaped destruction. The inscription found in a minaret (cf. the picture in H. Lansdell, *Through Russian Central Asia*, p. 517) giving the date of erection as 401 = 1010-1011, published by Katanow (*Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshl.*, xiv. 015 *et seq.*), actually shows that some remains of pre-Mongol Gurgāndj have survived to the present day. On the commercial city rebuilt on another site a few years later, cf. URGENČ. (W. BARTHOLD.)

GŪRKHAN, a title of the rulers of the Ķarā Khiṭāi [q.v.]. The word is said by the Muslim authorities to mean "Khān of Khāns" (*Khān-i Khānān*). This explanation is rejected by Grigoryew (*Vostočnyi Turkestan*, i. 398) and Gurkhān equated to Mongol Gürgen = "son in law"; the founder of the kingdom of the Ķarā-Khiṭāi is said by him to have adopted this title because he was related to the former Emperors of the house of Liao (in North China). Documentary authority on which this view might be supported has not yet been found; nor do we know any better how far the language of the Khiṭāi was related to Mongol or had adopted Mongol words and whether a form "Gūrkhān" for "Gürgen" could be explained by any phonological peculiarities of this language; indeed the Persian accounts of the Ķarā-Khiṭāi show that the Chinese word *fu-ma* was used for son-in-law at the Gūrkhān's court (cf. Defrémery's note to his edition of Mirkhond, *Histoire des Sultans du Kharezm*, p. 124). Čingiz Khān's rival Djamuķa (cf. the article ČINGIZ-KHĀN, i. 857a *infra*) adopted the title "Gūrkhān" in the early years of the xiiith century, apparently in imitation of the rulers of the Ķarā-Khiṭāi; the title does not seem to be found later.

(W. BARTHOLD.)

GWALIOR, (GWĀLIYĀR), the capital of the principal Native State of Central India, ruled by the Mahārādja Sindhia, is chiefly famous for its fortress, situated on a great table rock of Vindhyan sandstone. This rock rises 300 feet above the plain, and stretches two miles from north to south, and is half a mile broad at its widest point. It was threatened by Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazni in 1032, and was captured in 1196 for Sulṭān Shihāb al-Dīn Ghōrī, by his Dihlī deputy, Ķuṭb al-Dīn Aibak from the Parihārs, who had ousted the Kachwāha Rādjpūts. It was recovered by the Parihārs 14 years later, but was reconquered by the emperor Iltutmish in 1232 after a long siege, which ended in the immolation of the women of the defenders at the Djauhar tank at the north end of the fortress. After capturing the fort, the emperor destroyed the famous Surya Deva temple, which stood near the Suradj Kund at the south of the tableland. During the confusion caused by the invasion of the emperor Tīmūr, the place was seized by the Tōnwāra Rādjpūts, who held it till 1518, in spite of several sieges by Hōshang Shāh of Mālwa, Ḥusain Shāh Sharķī of Djawnpūr and the Lōdī Kings of Dihlī. During this century and a quarter the place rose to high renown, especially under Rādjā Mān Singh, who built the famous Mān Mandir (palace), and the principal gate leading into the fort. When the fort surrendered to Ibrāhīm Lōdī he carried off from it to Dihlī a famous brazen bull, which was afterwards transferred to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and there broken up. The emperor Bābur visited Gwalior in 1526. In 1542 it fell to the Paṭhān Sulṭān Shēr Shāh Sūr, and under him and his son Islām Shāh, who died there in 1553, it was practically the capital of India. It was surrendered to Akbar soon after his accession, and the fine tomb of Muḥammad Ghawth near the foot of the fortress is, with the mausoleum of the emperor Humāyūn at Dihlī, one of the earliest important works of Mughal architecture in India. Under the Mughal emperors the fortress became a state prison, and many inconvenient members of the royal family died in the Naw Čawkī cells near the north-west gate of the fort, known as the Dhōnda-pōl. The Mughal governor Mu'tamid Khān built a small mosque by the Ganesh Gate, and deepened the Nūr Sāgar Tank; he also destroyed the shrine of the hermit Gwālipa, from whom the rock is said to derive its name. The Djāmi' Masdjid, a fine building, was begun about 1665 and finished 60 years later. The Djahāngīrī Mandir (about 290 by 180 ft.) was built in the reign of the fourth Mughal emperor, north of the palace of Mān Singh, and upon the site of that of the Sūr emperors; the Shāhdjahānī Mandir (500 × 170 ft.) stands north again of the former on the spot where the palace of the emperor Humāyūn once stood. After the defeat of the emperor Aḥmad

Shāh at the battle of Pānīpat (1761) the fortress fell into the hands, first of the Djāṭs and afterwards of the Marāṭhas; captured by the British in 1780 and handed over to the Rāna of Gōhad, it was again taken by the Marāṭhas in 1781. After various vicissitudes, it was occupied by British troops from 1857 till 1886, since when it has been in the hands of the Mahārādja Sindhia.

Bibliography: *Gwalior State Gazetteer* (Calcutta, 1908); *Archaeological Survey of India*, First Series, Vol. ii. (1862—1865), p. 330.

(H. C. Fanshawe.)

H.

HĀ, the 26th letter of the Arab alphabet with the numerical value 5, our *h*, it has survived everywhere except in Maltese where it has become *lawna* or *ḥ*. As a feminine termination (*hā' al-ta'nīth*) with the pronunciation *t* the character receives the two points of the letter *tā'*. In reality the written form is here based on the *ah* pronunciation of the feminine termination *at* in pausa, while the pronunciation *at* (as in Hebrew) has survived in combination with a vowel following. The transition from *at* to *ah* in pausa did not, however, take place at the same time throughout the whole of the Arabic language wherever spoken, but appeared earlier in the west, where the pronunciation was authoritative for the orthography, than in the east (Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur Sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 10), so that the Persians have adopted Arab words with the pronunciation *at*. In Arabic itself this *h* was afterwards dropped everywhere so that the spelling with *h* has now only a historical interest.

ḤĀ, the 6th letter of the Arab alphabet with the numerical value 8. It is a guttural characteristic of the Semitic languages, approximating to the unvoiced sound corresponding to *'ain* [q. v., i. 211b]; as *'ain* passes into *ḥā'*, where it dialectically drops its voiced pronunciation; e. g. in Egyptian Arabic by assimilation (*arbaḥṭāsar*, 14 from *arba'ta'šar*) and in Maltese throughout when final (*dumūḥ* from *dumū'*). Our knowledge of the nature of this sound is no more complete than that of the related *'ain*. A discussion of the various views may be found in E. Mattsson, *Études phonologiques sur le dialecte arabe vulgaire de Beyrouth* (Upsala 1910), p. 41 *et seq*. — In South Arabia the sound approximates to *hā'*. The Persians and Turks also pronounce *h* for *ḥ* in words borrowed from the Arabic. — In various African names e. g. that of the Hausa people the spelling with *ḥā'* (حوسه) is simply an affectation, it is really *h*.

(H. Bauer.)

al-**ḤABAṬ**, the name in South Arabia for a sacred area, which is under the protection of a saint, who is usually buried there, and is a place of refuge. No one who seeks asylum on this holy ground may be slain or attacked there. The verb *ḥabaṭa* in South Arabia means "to hold back" "to restrain". The most important *ḥabaṭ* in South Arabia is that of Djebel Kuffā, which lies to the south of the village of Liḥya (Laḥya) on the Wādī Ḥabbān in the land of the Wāḥidī [q. v.]. Four saints (*maḳābir*) of the tribe of Bā Murḥil, to whom Liḥya belongs, are buried there. This *ḥabaṭ* therefore is also known as Ḥabaṭ al-Arba'a. It is uninhabited, and the surrounding tribes only allow their cattle to pasture there after the rains. Besides places of refuge which are called *ḥabaṭ* there are others which bear the name *ḥawṭa* [q. v.].

Bibliography: Comte de Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 203-204, 205, 206, 207, 214.

(J. Schleifer.)

ḤABBA, literally grain or kernel, a fraction in the Troy weight system of the Arabs, of undefined weight. Most Arab authors describe the ḥabba as 1/48 of the unit of weight adopted, as a 1/12 of the *dānaḳ* (which in Arab metrology is a sixth part of the unit, see i. 912b), but there are other estimates which vary from 1/44 to 1/72. The ḥabba thus means something very different according to the unit of weight; there is a ḥabba of the silver measure, a ḥabba of the gold measure, a ḥabba of the mithḳāl, later of the dirham etc. On the supposition that the oldest Arab unit of Troy weight was the mithḳāl [q. v.] of 4.25 grammes (65 2/3 grains Troy), we get as the most probable weight of the ḥabba in the early days of Islām about 70-71 milligrammes (1.1 grains), which approximately agrees with the European apothecary's weight of the *granum* (grain, 1/5760 of the pound) as it was used throughout Europe down to the most recent times (cf. the English Troy grain of 64.8 milligrammes). The statements regarding the subdivisions and multiples of the ḥabba also vary; the ḥabba is usually divided into 2 grains of barley (*sha'īr*) or 4 grains of rice (*aruzz*) or about 100 mustard-seeds (*khardal*); sometimes 3 and sometimes 4 ḥabba on the other hand make a *ḳīrāṭ* [q. v.].

At the present day in Constantinople in Troy measure (for precious metals, jewels and drugs) the ḥabba, of which four make a ḳīrāṭ, weighs 50.04 milligrammes (.75 grains) (the drachm of 64 ḥabba thus weighs 3.2025 grammes = 49.4235 Troy grains); in the coinage system it is somewhat heavier: 50.11 milligrammes (the coin-drachm = 3.207 grammes = 49.497 grains Troy). In Cairo the ḥabba, of which 3 go to the ḳīrāṭ, is the same for all measures: 64.3417 milligrammes (one drachm = 3.0884 grammes = 47.66 grains Troy).

Bibliography: S. Bernard, *Notice sur les Poids arabes* (*Description de l'Égypte*. État Moderne, Vol. xvi. of the octavo edition, p. 73-106); Don Vasquez Queipo, *Essai sur les Systèmes métriques et monétaires des anciens Peuples*, Paris 1859; S. Lane-Poole, *The Arabian Historians on Mohammedan Numismatics* (*Num. Chron.*, Third Series, Vol. iv. 1884); Edw. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], 1846, iii. 130; H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1882; do., *Arab Metrology* (*Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1877—1884); Decourdemanche, *Traité pratique des Poids et Mesures des Peuples anciens et des Arabes*, Paris 1909; do., *Sur les Misqals et Dirhems arabes*, Paris 1908; C. Mauss, *Loi de la Numismatique musulmane etc.*, Paris 1898,

and the metrological text books; e. g. F. Noback, *Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtsbuch*; Kelly's *Universal Cambist*, etc. (E. v. Zambaur.)

ḤABBĀN (Abban), a town in South Arabia, the capital of the territory of the Upper Wāḥidī [q. v.], situated in the wādī of the same name. According to Miles it has about 4000 inhabitants, but this figure seems to be too high. The Sulṭān of the Wāḥidī dwells here in the Castle of Maṣna'a Hāḳir, which is built on a small isolated hill in the midst of the city and surrounded by a wall. The town itself has no walls and only two watch-towers at each end of it. The houses are strongly built like little fortresses and, as usual in the land of the Wāḥidī, often five stories high. In the houses of the better families the second storey is used as a *madjlis* (reception-room). Besides one large mosque, Ḥabbān has eight smaller ones and an important library. The town is divided into four quarters: 1. the quarter of the Ḥaḍramī and Ra'īya; 2. that of the Jews; 3. that of the family of the Faḳīh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shibli (of the prominent family of Muḥammad b. 'Umar in al-Ḥawṭa and al-Rawḍa) and 4. that of the carpenters who here form a caste and are descended from the ancient great carpenter family of al-'Awd, who came originally from Jeshbum and are now scattered throughout almost all South Arabia. The Jews (about 200 in number) are mostly goldsmiths and, as usual in South Arabia, are subject to many restrictions; they may not carry arms, not acquire land and have to pay a kind of poll-tax (*furḍa*) to the Sulṭān. Miles saw many inscriptions, which he describes as Hebrew near Ḥabbān in the little wādī of Shoghaib.

Bibliography: K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 624; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, p. 230; Comte de Landberg, *Arabica*, v. p. 216—220. (J. Schleifer.)

ḤABESH, see Abyssinia, i. 119 *et seq.*

ḤABĪB b. Aws. [See Abū Tammām].

ḤABĪB b. Maslama, a Meccan of the clan of Banū Fihr, one of the Caliph Mu'āwiya's greatest generals. He is generally recognised as a companion of the Prophet except by the Medina school, who are infatuated by their anti-Umaiyad prejudices. The chronology confirms the correctness of this view. For, as he must have been about 15 years old at Muḥammad's death, there is no reason to suppose that he was not personally acquainted with him. He very early took part in the first fighting in Syria and vigorously championed the cause of the Umaiyads. Under the governorship and later the Caliphate of Mu'āwiya he distinguished himself by his numerous incursions into Asia Minor and particularly Armenia. Tradition ascribes to him the conquest of the latter country. He is also known as *Ḥabīb al-Rūm*, Ḥabīb of Byzantium, on account of his frequent raids into Byzantine territory. He was also a *mudjāb al-da'wa* i. e. he possessed the privilege of having all his prayers and requests answered by God. He must have died at the age of about 55 early in the reign of the Caliph Mu'āwiya; at least he seems to have played no part in history after this date.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (Egyptian edition), i. 309. A complete bibliography is given in my *Études sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Mo'âwia Ier*. (H. Lammens.)

ḤABĪB al-**NADJDJĀR** (the carpenter), the saint of Anṭākiya, after whom Mount Silpius is called by the Arabs, because a much visited grave, alleged to be his, is said to be there (cf. above i. 360a). This Muslim saint is no other than the Agabus mentioned in *Acts* xi. 27—30 and xxi. 10 *et seq.*, and his legend, which is related in Sūra xxxvi. 12 *et seq.*, although his name is not mentioned, is consequently of Christian origin. When Allāh, as is there related, sent two apostles (according to the expositors, Yaḥyā and Yūnus) and afterwards a third (Sham'ūn) to convert the inhabitants and the latter threatened them with death if they did not give up preaching, a man came running from the most distant part of the town, who warned his fellow-citizens to believe the messenger and proclaimed himself a believer. The wrath of the people was thereupon turned against him and, when they were putting him to death, they cried in scoffing tones to him "Enter thou into paradise", but he rejoiced that he was worthy of the high honour of martyrdom. Allāh thereupon put all the blasphemers to death and without sending an army against them: a single cry (a voice from heaven) was heard and all were dead.

That man, say the expositors of the Ḳor'ān, was Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār, a carpenter who made idols but had become a convert, when he saw the miracles performed by the apostles. As it appears from the Ḳor'ānic account as if Ḥabīb had prided himself on his martyr's death after he had suffered it, we find in al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren, p. 206) the fantastic story, that Ḥabīb took his decapitated head in his left hand and placed it in his right and walked for three days and nights through the city in this fashion, while the head cried with a loud voice out the verses mentioned in the Ḳor'ān.

Bibliography: The commentaries on Ḳor'ān, Sūra xxxvi.; cf. also the bibliography to the article Anṭākiya.

HĀBĪL and **ĶĀBĪL**, the names given by Muhammadans to the two sons of Adam, mentioned, but not by name, in the Ḳor'ān, who brought an offering to God. Jealous that his sacrifice was rejected the one slew his brother. A raven sent by God, which scratched upon the ground, showed him how he could dispose of the body (Sūra, v. 30—34). As this account in the Ḳor'ān, following the Bible narrative, appears bald and uninteresting, Ḳor'ānic exegesis, like the Biblical, endeavours to discover the psychological motives underlying the affair. According to it, the sons of Adam were all born with twin sisters; Ḳābīl's (also sometimes called Ḳain, Ḳā'in and Ḳāyin) was called Aḳlīmā, Hābīl's, who was two years younger, Labūdā (the names are given in varying forms). According to one tradition which is traced among scholars *ahl al-Kitāb al-awwal* (presumably the book of Genesis is meant), Ḳābīl first saw the light in Paradise and Hābīl was born on earth; just as also *Pirḳe de R. Eliezer*, 21. Adam demanded that each should marry the other's twin sister; but Ḳābīl wished to marry his own sister who was the fairer. It was to be decided by a sacrifice to which of the two the fairer sister was to go (so also *Jebamoth*, 62, *Gen. R.*, 22 etc.). According to another tradition, to which the marriage with a sister was abhorrent, Hābīl was to have married a ḥūrī of Paradise, while Ḳābīl had to marry a woman of the Djinns, with which he did not agree. Enraged at the rejection of his sacrifice

(according to Ṭabarī, i. 144 *infra*, he had sacrificed fruits of the field of little value, while Ḳābīl slew his favourite sheep), Ḳābīl slew his twenty-year old brother, according to one account following the example of Iblīs, who appeared with a bird in his hand and struck off its head (a similar story is given in *Sanhedrin*, 30). As Hābīl was the first man that had died, the murderer did not know what to do with the corpse; he therefore carried it for a year on his back in a sack to protect him from the birds and wild beasts. He then noticed a raven fighting with another kill his opponent and bury him by scratching the earth over him. Ḳābīl did the same with his brother (similarly in *Pirḳe d. R. Eliezer*, 21, while according to *Gen. R.*, 22, the birds and beasts buried Abel). When God said to him: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto Me from the ground. Wherefore hast thou slain him?", Cain replied: "Where is his blood, if I have slain him?" thereupon God forbade the earth ever again to drink human blood.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 137 *et seq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, p. 30 *et seq.*; al-Yaʿḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), i. 4; al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (ed. Cairo 1325), p. 34—37; al-Kisāʾī, p. 70—75; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge* etc., p. 68; Weil, *Legenden* etc., p. 38—40.

(J. Eisenberg.)

ḤABUS (A.), properly *ḥubus*, a pious endowment, synonymous with *waḳf* [q. v.].

ḤADATH (A.), ritual impurity. The law recognises two conditions of ritual impurity which are distinguished from one another as "major" and "minor" *ḥadath*. A Muslim in a condition of ḥadath can only regain his ritual purity (*ṭahāra*) by the prescribed ritual ablutions (*ghusl* or *wuḍūʾ* respectively); cf. DJANĀBA, GHUSL and WUḌŪʾ. Not only is a *muḥdith* (a person in a condition of "minor" ḥadath) forbidden to perform the *ṣalāt*, but also he is not allowed to make the *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿba nor to touch a copy of the Ḳorʾān; further the *ṣalāt* and *ṭawāf* of a *muḥdith* are legally invalid. The same regulations apply to a case of major ḥadath; but there are a few additional rules applicable to the latter, cf. DJANĀBA, i. 1013ᵃ.

(Th. W. Juynboll.)

AL-ḤADATH, also AL-ḤADATH AL-ḤAMRĀʾ, a border fortress often mentioned in the wars between the Arabs and the Byzantines. The exact situation of al-Ḥadath, the Ἄδατα of the Greeks, has not yet been ascertained, because the town (see below) has been utterly deserted for over six centuries, but there can be no doubt that it is to be located not far from Inekli on the Aḳsu. It is the Aḳsu that Yāḳūt (iv. 838) means by the Nahr Hūrīth, which according to him rises in the Lake of al-Ḥadath and flows into the Djaiḥān. Ibn Serapion's statement that the river flows through several small lakes, which are now called Gölük Göl, Azabli Göl and Bash Göl, is more accurate, although, as Le Strange points out, this author is wrong, when he says that the river is a tributary of the Nahr al-Ḳubāḳib (Malas). In Ramsay, *A Sketch of the Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 278, Adata is wrongly placed a short distance to the north of Germanicia (Marʿash). The fortress was captured by a body of Arab troops under Iyāḍ b. Ghanm as early as the reign of ʿOmar I; in 162 (779) it was destroyed by the Byzantines but rebuilt in the same year by command of the Caliph al-Mahdī. It was then called al-Muḥammadiya and al-Mahdiya in his honour, but these names could not supplant the old one. The town was of great strategic importance to the Arabs, because it commanded one of the great military roads from Ḥalab (ʿAintāb) to Ebulistān (Asia Minor), while another led thither via Marʿash. Al-Ḥadath was therefore garrisoned by Hārūn al-Rashīd and was reckoned one of the most important towns in the frontier provinces (al-Thughūr). The fortress proper was built on a hill called al-Uḥaidab, while the town itself was of the same size as Marʿash; it was much harassed in the campaigns of Basil I (882) and Leo VI (904). It suffered still more, when in 337 (948) Bardas Phokas burned it, which induced the inhabitants to call in the help of Saif al-Dawla [q. v.]. The latter did not hesitate to answer their appeal, won a great victory in the neighbourhood of the town in 343 (954) and had it rebuilt. But the building was not completed, because soon afterwards the Byzantines were again victorious and won the upper hand in those regions. It was not till 545 (1150) that Masʿūd, the Saldjūḳ ruler of Koniya, again won the town for the Muslims, who held it till the Armenians of Sis under Constantine, the father of Haithum, captured it. This caused Baibars to send a body of troops against it in 671 (1278), who took the town and castle, massacred the inhabitants and razed the town to the ground so that it was henceforth known as Göinük "the burned" (so the various readings in al-Maḳrīzī and al-Dimashḳī are to be emended). This name survives to the present day as that of the lake and plain where Adata once lay.

Bibliography: *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arab.*, s. Index; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 514; ii. 218 *et seq.*; iv. 838; Balādhorī, ed. de Goeje, p. 189 *et seq.*; Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, s. Indices; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 443; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliph.*, p. 121 *et seq.*; Vasilev, *Vizantia i Arabi*, i. 79 Note; the Faḍl Allāh in Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, xiii. (1838).

ḤADD (A., plural *ḥudūd*), boundary, limit, stipulation, also barrier, obstacle. As a scientific term the word is used in several senses.

In the Ḳorʾān, where it is always found in the plural, it means the "limits" laid down by God, i. e. the provisions of the Law, whether commands or prohibitions. It appears in this sense at the end of several verses, which contain legal provisions, e. g. Sūra ii. 183, where it is said after the exposition of the rules regarding fasting: "These are God's *ḥudūd* (the bounds prescribed by God), come not too near them" (lest ye be in danger of crossing them). Cf. also Sūra ii. 229 *et seq.*, where the law of divorce is laid down and other passages. According to Kazimirski (note to Sūra ii. 283) the expression recalls the *sepes legis*, the hedge drawn round the Mosaic law.

In Muslim criminal law *ḥadd* means an unalterable punishment prescribed by canon law, which is considered a "right of God" (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*). (Cf. the article ʿADHĀB, i. 132 *et seq.*). These punishments are 1. stoning or scourging for illicit intercourse (*zināʾ*, q. v.); 2. scourging for falsely accusing (*ḳadhf*, q. v.) a married woman of adultery; 3. the same punishment for the drinking of wine and other intoxicating liquors; 4. cutting off the hands for theft (cf. the article SARIḲ); 5. various punishments for robbery which differ

according to circumstances, cf. Ḳorʾān, v. 37-38. — Although the above mentioned breaches of the law are considered very serious, the criminal can nevertheless hope for the mercy of God, because he has offended against Him. If he denies the deed and refutes the accusations brought against him, the judges are recommended not to press him further, but to give him every possible opportunity to clear himself; for further details see Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes*.

In philosophy *ḥadd* means definition; the qualities that differentiate an object are called *taʿrifāt*. The definition is perfect when it gives the genus proximum and the differentia specifica, e.g. man is an *animal rationale*. There is a kind of definition, which places the object to be defined between two limits so that it is the end of one and the beginning of the other.

Ḥudūd is also the name given to the definitions which stand at the beginning of various sciences, e.g. at the beginning of Euclid's geometry; the postulates are called *muṣādarāt* (*Codex Leidensis 399*, 1. *Euclidis Elementa*, ed. Besthorn and Heiberg, 1893).

In astronomy *ḥadd* means certain areas under each sign of the zodiac, which are each allotted to one of the five planets.

Among the mystics *ḥadd* and particularly the participle *maḥdūd* means the finiteness of creatures in contrast to the infiniteness of God; man is limited and bounded (*maḥdūd*) in space and time.

(B. Carra de Vaux.)

HADENDOA, a Hamitic tribe in N.E. Africa belonging to the Bedja [q.v., i. 687b] group and closely allied to the Bishari, Ḥalanga and Banī ʿĀmir tribes. They live in the country between the river Atbara and the Red Sea and extend towards the South as far as the borders of Eritrea and Abyssinia. Politically nearly the whole tribe belongs to the Red Sea and Kassala provinces of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān.

They are a nomadic or semi-nomadic tribe of camel-owners and caravan-guides; in their general characteristics and customs they do not differ materially from the rest of the Bedja tribes with whom they also share the use of the Beḍawye language. Their claim to Arab descent must be rejected, but there is little doubt that they have at various times received considerable admixture of Arab blood. Although they have been Muslims for centuries their Islām is of the primitive African type and often only skin-deep. At the same time there are scholars among them who have acquired a certain amount of Islāmic learning through intercourse with Egypt and more especially the Ḥidjāz.

Historically the tribe has never played an independent part until the most recent times. Although the Ottoman Turks have held Sawākin since the time of Sulṭān Selīm I, they seem to have exercised little authority in the interior and have left no traces of their influence. During the revolt of Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Mahdī of the Sūdān, the Hadendoa took a prominent part in the fighting against the British and Egyptian troops and won a reputation for reckless courage and fanaticism. Their adherence to Mahdism was however less inspired by religious motives than by the personal influence of their well-known leader ʿOsmān Digna (ʿOthmān Diḳna), a man of semi-Turkish descent. Since the occupation of Sawākin and Ṭōkar by the Anglo-Egyptian troops and more especially since the defeat and death of the Khalīfa, the Hadendoa have gradually become reconciled to the new régime, under which their material prosperity has increased considerably.

Bibliography: A. E. W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdān* (London 1907); H. Almkvist, *Die Bischari Sprache Tū Beḍāwie in Nordost Afrika* (Upsala 1881—1885); L. Reinisch, *Die Beḍauye Sprache in Nordost Afrika* in *Sitzungsberichte d. phil. hist. Klasse d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.*, vol. 128 (Vienna 1893).

(S. Hillelson.)

ḤADHF, the act of cutting off, e.g., the tail of a beast, hair, or part of a garment. Then, 1. as a grammatical term, the elision especially of a weak letter (*ḥarf al-ʿilla*), e.g., *yahabu* from *wahaba*, *ḳum* from *yaḳūmu*, *yarmi* from *yarmī*; 2. the omission of part of a sentence; e.g., the subject or predicate, protasis or apodosis (Baiḍāwī on Ḳur. x, 81 and *passim*); 3. in prosody, the cutting off of a final closed syllable (*sabab khafīf*), so that *fāʿilātun* becomes *fāʿilun*, and so on.

Bibliography: Yāzidjī, *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*, III, 4; Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p. 86; Sprenger and Lees' *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, Pt. i., p. 318 *et seq.*; Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, p. 88.

(T. H. Weir.)

al-**HĀDĪ** (A.), the guide, one of the names of God, thence a favourite epithet of Shīʿī rulers, e.g. of the Imāms of Ṣanʿāʾ and Ṣaʿda; it was first adopted by the ʿAbbāsid Mūsā. The full expression is *al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ*, the guide to truth (God).

HĀDĪ SABZAWĀRĪ (Ḥādjdjī Mullā), son of Ḥādjdjī Mahdī, a Persian philosopher and poet, born in 1212 (1797-1798). He was a pupil of Ḥādjdjī Mullā Ḥusain and wrote a short treatise when only twelve years old. He then went with his teacher to Meshhed and devoted himself for five years there to study and the practice of asceticism. He spent the next seven years in Iṣpahān studying under Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī, then made the pilgrimage to Mecca and returned via Kirmān to settle in Sabzawār, where his reputation soon assembled a host of students around him. He delivered two lectures a day, of two hours each. In 1295 (1878) he died suddenly while engaged in teaching. The grand vizier had a mausoleum built over his grave before the gates of Meshhed, which is much visited by pilgrims. According to his teaching, the world is an emanation, manifestation or projection of God; it is a mirror in which the Deity regards himself, the scene on which his attributes unfold their activities. It is a brilliant ray emanating from the source of light. The further these emanations go from their source, the thinner and coarser they become until they finally form the material world. This he calls *ḳaws-i nuzūl* (descending arc); the human soul is able to re-ascend this ladder again by the different steps of the *ḳaws-i ṣuʿūd* (ascending arc). He adopted a system of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*), but only within the world of the uniform (*ʿālam-i mithāl*) in which every one assumes the form suitable to his qualities. It was mainly the teaching of Mullā Ṣadra that he continued. He laid down his views in his book *Asrār al-Ḥikma*; he took the pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) of Asrār and under

it published a collection of poems of which two lithographed editions exist (1299 and 1300). The British Museum possesses his autograph (Rieu, *Supplem.*, p. 258, n°. 52.

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p. 130—142; Comte de de Gobineau, *Religions et Philosophies* p. 99—101. (Cl. Huart.)

al-**ḤADĪD**, iron. According to the *Sūrat al-Ḥadīd* (lvii. 25) God sent iron down to earth for the detriment and advantage of man, for weapons and tools are alike made from it. According to the belief of the Ṣābians, it is allotted to Mars. It is the hardest and strongest of metals and the most capable of resisting the effects of fire, but it is the quickest to rust. It is corroded by acids; for example, with the fresh fluid of a pomegranate it forms a black fluid, with vinegar a red fluid and with salt a yellow. Collyrium (*al-kuḥl*) burns it and arsenic makes it smooth and white. Ḳazwīnī distinguishes three kinds of iron, natural iron, *al-sāburḳān* — which can only mean dark iron ores such as micaceous ore, magnetic ironstone etc. — and that which is made artificially, which is of two kinds, the weak (Pers. *narm-āhan*) or female i. e. malleable iron and hard or male i. e. steel (*fūlādh*). According to al-Kindī, however, the kind of iron called *sāburḳān* is identical with male iron; both kinds are called natural iron, while steel on the other hand is not natural. These contradictory statements cannot be reconciled here. Chinese and Indian iron are particularly esteemed. The applications of iron and iron-rust in medicine and magic are fairly numerous and varied.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 207, transl. by Ethé, p. 424; Dimishḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, p. 54; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Naturw.*, xxiv. 114; Ibn al-Baiṭār in Leclerc, *Notices et extraits*, i. 422; *Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (ed. Ruska), p. 180. (J. Ruska.)

ḤAḌĪḌ (A.), the lowest part, in astronomy, the perigee or the nearness to the earth of the sun, moon or a planet; its opposite, the apogee, or distance from the earth is usually expressed by the Persian word *awdj* [q. v., i. 517ᵃ] which corresponds to the Sanskrit *ucca* (height, highest point). These are the points in the eccentric orbit, i. e. the orbit in which the sun, or in the case of the moon and planets the centre of the epicycle, move, which are least or most distant from the earth, the terminal of the Apsis. In the later astronomers, al-Bardjandī, al-Djaghmīnī, etc., several varieties of *ḥaḍīḍ* and *awdj* are distinguished.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i., 17, 22; *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. van Vloten), p. 221; *Dictionary of the Technical terms*, etc. (ed. Sprenger etc.), s. v. *Ḥaḍīḍ* and *Awdj*. (H. Suter.)

al-**ḤĀḌINA**, a small independent territory in South Arabia, north of the Wāḥidī. It is one of the most interesting and most fertile territories in South Arabia. The products of the soil, which is artificially irrigated by canals from the Wādī ʿAbadān are *kawis* (indigo), *dhora* (a kind of maize) and *dukhn* (millet). Al-Ḥāḍina is inhabited by the tribe al-Khalīfa, which claims descent from the Hilāl [q. v.]. On the migration of the Hilāl they remained in South Arabia, whence their name Khalīfa. They number about 1000 fighting men and are ruled by an ʿAḳīl whose residence is in the little town of al-Ḥiṣābiya. In case of war they serve under the banner of the Sulṭān of the Upper ʿAwāliḳ [q. v., i. 514] in Niṣāb.

Bibliography: H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, p. 248; Comte de Landberg, *Arabica*, IV, p. 57—60. (J. Schleifer.)

al-**ḤĀDIRA** (al-Ḥuwaidira), a surname of the pre-Islāmic poet Ḳuṭba b. Aws of the tribe of Thaʿlaba (Ghaṭafān). He is said to have flourished about 600 A. D.; Ḥassān b. Thābit knew some of his verses. He exchanged lampoons (*hidjāʾ*) on several occasions with the poet Zabbān b. Saiyār al-Fazārī, who on one occasion had treated him very contemptuously. His epithet is said to be taken from a verse of the latter's in which his form was compared with that of a frog. It is also related of him that he took part in a battle between his tribe and the B. ʿĀmir.

His poems, that have survived, are very few in number; he probably composed very little altogether: it is said that he was *muḳill*. One of his *ḳaṣīda*'s has been incorporated in the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (ed. Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar Dāghistānī al-Madanī, Cairo, 1324, i. 10—12 = Engelmann's edition, p. 5 *et seq.*). His *Dīwān* was collected and annotated by the philologist Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī (died 310 A. H.).

Bibliography: *Aghānī*¹, iii., 81—84; W. H. Engelmann, *Specimen literarium exhibens al-Hutirae Diwanum*, Leiden Diss. 1858; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, i, 26. (C. van Arendonk.)

ḤADĪTH (A.) Tradition. The word *ḥadīth* means primarily a communication or narrative in general whether religious or profane, then it has the particular meaning of a record of actions or sayings of the Prophet and his companions. In the latter sense the whole body of the sacred Tradition of the Muḥammadans is called "the *Ḥadīth*" and its science *ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth*.

I. Subject-matter and Character of Ḥadīth. Even among the heathen Arabs (see I. Goldziher, *Muhamm. Stud.* i. 41, note 8) it was considered a virtue to follow the "*sunna*" of one's forefathers (*sunna* is properly the way one is accustomed to go, i. e. use and wont, ancient tradition). But in Islām the *sunna* could no longer consist in following the customs and usages of heathen ancestors. The Muslim community had to build up a new *sunna*. Every believer had now to take the conduct of the Prophet and his companions as a model for himself in all the affairs of life and every endeavour was made to preserve information regarding it.

At first the *Ṣaḥābī*'s (i. e. people who had lived in the society of the Prophet) were the best authority for a knowledge of the *sunna* of Muḥammad. They had themselves listened to the Prophet and witnessed his actions with their own eyes. Later the Muslims had to be content with the communications of the *Tābiʿūn* (i. e. "successors", people of the first generation after Muḥammad), who had received their information from the *Ṣaḥābī*'s and then, in following generations, with the accounts of the so-called "successors of the successors" (*Tābiʿū al-Tābiʿīn* i. e. people of the second generation after Muḥammad, who had mixed with the successors), and so on.

The traditions retained the form of personal statements for several generations; every perfect *ḥadīth* therefore consists of two parts. The first contains the names of the persons who have handed on the substance of the tradition to one another; this part is called the *isnād* (or also *sanad*) i. e. the "support", i. e. for the trustworthiness of the statement. He who communicates the tradition (A) says "I have heard from B (or "B has told me") on the authority of C", and so on, whereupon the whole chain of transmission should follow, beginning with A, the last authority, and ending with the original authority. The second part is the *matn* or text, the real substance of the report. For details see Goldziher, *op. cit.* ii., 6—8.

After Muḥammad's death the original religious ideas and usages which had prevailed in the oldest community could not remain permanently unaltered. A new period of development set in. The learned began systematically to develop the doctrine of duties and dogmatics in accordance with the new conditions. After the great conquests Islām covered an enormous area. New ideas and institutions were borrowed from the peoples conquered, and not only Christianity and Judaism, but Hellenism, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism also influenced the life and thought of the Muslims of the day in many respects.

Nevertheless the principle was steadfastly adhered to, that in Islām only the *sunna* of the Prophet and the oldest Muslim community could be a rule of conduct for believers. This of necessity soon led to deliberate forgery of Tradition. The transmitters brought the words and actions of the Prophet into agreement with the views of the later period. Thus numerous interested traditions were put into circulation, in which Muḥammad was made to say or do something, which was at this time considered the proper view. Christian texts, sayings from the Apostles and the Apocrypha, Jewish views, doctrines of Greek philosophers, etc. which had found favour in certain Muslim circles, appear in the *Ḥadīth* simply as sayings of Muḥammad (Goldziher, *Neutestamentliche Elemente in der Traditionslitteratur des Islam* in *Oriens Christianus*, 1902, p. 390 *et seq.*) No scruples were felt in making the Prophet expand in this form the legends or stories, only briefly outlined in the Ḳor'ān, or proclaim new doctrines and dogmas, etc. A very large portion of these sayings ascribed to the Prophet deals with the *Aḥkām* (legal provisions), religious obligations, *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* (i. e. what is "allowed" and "forbidden"), with ritual purity, laws regarding food, criminal and civil law and also with courtesy and good manners; further they deal with dogma, retribution at the last judgment, Hell and Paradise, angels, creation, revelation, the earlier prophets, and in a word with everything that concerns the relations between God and man; many traditions also contain edifying sayings and moral teachings in the name of the Prophet.

In course of time the records of Muḥammad's words and deeds increased more and more in number and copiousness. In the early centuries after Muḥammad's death there reigned great diversity of opinion in the Muslim community on many questions of the most diverse nature. Each party therefore endeavoured to support its views as far as possible on sayings and decisions of the Prophet. He who could base his view on these was certainly right and thus arose the numerous utterly contradictory traditions on the *sunna* of the Prophet. In the great partisan struggles also, both sides used to make an appeal to Muḥammad (Goldziher, *Muhamm. Stud.* ii. 88 *et seq.*). Thus for example the Prophet was said to have prophesied the foundation of their dominion to the 'Abbāsids. In general not only the course of later political events and religious movements but also the new social conditions, that only first arose out of the great conquests (the increasing luxury etc.), were made to have been prophesied in apocalyptic-prophetic form to justify them in the eyes of the community. A special branch of these prophetic traditions is formed by the sayings ascribed to Muḥammad regarding the merits of various places and districts in the lands which were only at a later period to be conquered by the Muslims (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii., 128 *et seq.*).

The majority of traditions then cannot be regarded as really reliable historical accounts of the *sunna* of the prophet. On the contrary, they express opinions which had come to be held in authoritative circles in the early centuries after Muḥammad's death and were only then ascribed to the Prophet. Scholarship is deeply indebted to I. Goldziher (see his *Muhamm. Stud.*, Halle 1890 and other works) and C. Snouck Hurgronje (cf. among other works his treatise *Le Droit Musulman* in the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, xxxvii. 6 *et seq.*) for having first clearly demonstrated the true character and historical importance of the *Ḥadīth* in this respect.

Although the invention and wanton dissemination of false traditions was condemned by Muslims, alleviating elements were recognised in certain circumstances, particularly when it was a question of edifying sayings and moral teachings in the name of the Prophet. For details see Goldziher *op. cit.*, ii. 151 *et seq.*, 153 *et seq.*; do., in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lxi. 860.

The *Ḥadīth* is held in great reverence next to the Ḳor'ān throughout the whole Muhammadan world and the scruples which were originally raised in certain circles against the dissemination and recording in writing of Muḥammad's words (cf. Goldziher, *Kämpfe um die Stellung des Ḥadīṯ im Islām* in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lxi., 860 *et seq.*), were soon overcome. In some cases it is even believed that the actual "word of God" is to be found in the *Ḥadīth* as well as in the Ḳor'ān. Such traditions, usually beginning with the words "God said" are designated *ḥadīth ḳudsī* (or also *ilāhī*, i. e. "holy" or "divine" *ḥadīth*) by Muslim scholars in opposition to the ordinary *ḥadīth nabawī* (*ḥadīth* of the Prophet). A list of such holy traditions is given in the Leiden MS. 2°. 1528 (*Catal. Cod. Or.*, iv. 98).

II. Muslim criticism of Tradition. According to the Muslim view, a tradition can only be considered credible when its *isnād* forms an unbroken series of reliable authorities. The critical investigation of *isnād*'s has caused the Muslim scholars to make thorough researches. They endeavoured not only to ascertain the names and circumstances of the authorities (*ridjāl*) in order to investigate when and where they lived, and which of them had been personally acquainted with the other, but also to test their reliability, truthfulness and accuracy in transmitting the texts, to

make certain which of them were "reliable" (*thiḳa*). This criticism of the authorities was called *al-djarḥ wa 'l-ta'dîl* (wounding and authentication) (Goldziher, *Muhamm. Stud.* ii. 143 *et seq.*). The so-called "knowledge of the men" (*ma'rifat al-ridjâl*) was considered indispensable for every student of *Hadîth*; all the commentaries on the collections of Tradition therefore contain more or less copious details concerning the authorities. Special works are also devoted to this subject, among them many of the so-called *Ṭabaḳât* works (i. e. biographies arranged in "classes" of various scholars, transmitters of Tradition and other persons. Cf. O. Loth, *Ursprung und Bedeutung der Ṭabaḳât* in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxiii. 593—614), for example the famous "class book" of Ibn Sa'd (died 230 = 844) and the *Ṭabaḳât al-Ḥuffâẓ* of al-Dhahabî (died 748 = 1347). To this class also belong the works on those "weak" in transmitting, e. g. Nasâ'î's *Kitâb al-Ḍu'afâ'* (Goldziher, ii. 141 *et seq.*) and the biographies of the *Ṣaḥâbî*'s, e. g. *al-Iṣâba fi tamyîz al-Ṣaḥâba* of Ibn Hadjar (died 852 = 1448) and *Usd al-Ghâba fi Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥâba* of Ibn al-Athîr (died 630 = 1232).

Now opinions on the reliability of the authorities might differ very considerably. The same person, whose communications might be implicitly trusted in the view of one party, was sometimes considered by others exceedingly "weak" in transmission or even as a liar. Originally even the authority of many highly respected contemporaries of Muḥammad was not generally recognised; for example the truthfulness of Abû Huraira was hotly disputed by very many. The verdict usually differed with the standpoint of the party, and this often gave rise to bitter quarrels. We must, however, remember in this connection that the substance of the transmitted statements was really always the main thing. If the truthfulness of the authorities was disputed, it was in reality almost always the bias of their substance that aroused opposition. The ultimate decision then rested not on the reputation of the authorities but rather on the substance of the accounts transmitted by them.

But at a later period, after the ritual, dogma and the most important political and social institutions had taken definite shape in the second and third centuries, there arose a certain *communis opinio* regarding the reliability of most transmitters of Tradition and the value of their statements. All the main principles of doctrine had already been established in the writings of Mâlik b. Anas, al-Shâfi'î and other scholars, regarded as authoritative in different circles, and mainly on the authority of traditional sayings of Muḥammad. In the long run no one dared to doubt the truth of these traditions; nor was it any longer possible to regard men like Abû Huraira, who had put these accounts into circulation, as liars. Even traditions which contained the most obvious anachronisms were generally considered reliable. Only such traditions were rejected as could not be brought into agreement with what had been long regarded by the majority as well established. But on the whole the inclination was to give credence to such traditions also, at least when it was possible to explain them in a conciliatory spirit. The old quarrels had now in course of time lost all practical interest for the younger generations and it was found that the majority of the traditions connected with them, although sharply opposed to one another, could very often be reconciled to one another by skilful interpretation of the contents. The rejection of a tradition thus came to be considered an extreme measure, only to be resorted to in desperation (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*); the many contradictory traditions on the same subject, which have been adopted side by side as reliable in the great collections of Tradition thus often form priceless evidence to the historian of the internal development of Islâm. The traditions were not, however, all considered of equal value by Muslim scholars, but divided into categories distinguished by definite technical terms according to the completeness of their *isnâd*'s, the reliability of their transmitters etc.

III. The classification of Tradition. *a.* In the first place the three following categories are distinguished: 1. *ṣaḥîḥ* (sound): this name is given to the utterly faultless tradition in whose *isnâd* there is no *'illa* (weakness) and whose tendency does not contradict any generally prevalent belief; 2. If a tradition is not absolutely faultless, e. g. because its *isnâd* is not quite complete, or because there is no perfect agreement regarding the reliability of the authorities for it, it is called *ḥasan* (beautiful); 3. On the other hand every tradition is considered *ḍa'îf* (weak), against which serious doubts can be raised, e. g. by reason of its contents or because one or more of its transmitters is considered unreliable or not quite orthodox.

b. Further it may happen that the value of a statement is uncertain because some remarks by a transmitter have been interpolated among the words of the Prophet and it is impossible accurately to separate these two components of the text; such a tradition is called *mudradj*. — If a tradition is transmitted by only one informant, whose authority besides is considered weak, it is called *matrûk* ("abandoned", "no longer considered"). — If a tradition is considered absolutely false, it is called *mawḍû'* ("invented").

c. All traditions do not deal with sayings or doings of the Prophet; we also find in the *Ḥadîth* information regarding the *Ṣaḥâbî*'s and Successors. In this connection a distinction is made between: 1. *marfû'* a tradition which contains a statement about the Prophet; 2. *mawḳûf*, a tradition that refers only to sayings or doings of the *Ṣaḥâbî*'s; 3. *maḳṭû'*, a tradition which does not at most go farther back than the first generation after Muḥammad and deals only with sayings or doings of the *Tâbi'ûn*.

d. The following distinctions are made according to the completeness of the *isnâd*. If a tradition can be traced through an unbroken chain of trustworthy authorities to a companion of the Prophet, it is usually called *musnad* ("supported"). If it also contains special observations regarding all the authorities (e. g. if it is expressly mentioned that all the authorities swore an oath as they handed on the tradition, or that they all gave one another the hand), the tradition is called *musalsal* (in the first case *musalsal al-ḥalf*, in the second *musalsal al-yad*, etc.). Cf. W. Ahlwardt, *Katal. der Arab. HSS. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ii. 267—273.

If the *isnâd*, although complete, is comparatively very short because the last authority only received the statement from the original authority through

the intermediary of few persons, the tradition is called *'alī*. This is considered a great advantage, because the possibility that errors have crept into the tradition is very small in this case. On long-lived transmitters of tradition cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 170, 174.

If the chain of transmitters is unbroken and complete, it is called *muttaṣil*, in the opposite case *munḳaṭi'* (in the general sense), but as a rule *munḳaṭi'* (in the particular sense) means a tradition in whose *isnād* the authority in the second generation (the *Tābi'ī*) is wanting. — *Mursal* is the name given to a tradition handed down by a *Tābi'ī* about the Prophet, when it is not known from what *Ṣaḥābī* he received his statement. The question whether such traditions are valid was answered in different ways; the older teachers such as Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik b. Anas answered in the affirmative but the later ones in the negative (cf. among others, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxiii. 595 note 3). — If two or more transmitters are lacking anywhere in the *isnād* (or, according to some other scholars, if they fail consecutively), the tradition is called *mu'ḍal*. — If the authorities in the *isnād* are only connected by the preposition *'an* (e.g. A *'an* B, i.e. A from B), it is possible that they were not personally acquainted with one another, but only heard the statement through the intermediary of other persons not mentioned in the *isnād*. In this case the tradition is called *mu'an'an* (for further information cf. Goldziher, *Muhamm. Stud.*, ii. 248). — *Mubham* is the name of a tradition in which one of the authorities is only indicated in the *isnād* as "a man", without mention of his name.

c. The following categories are distinguished according to the *ṭuruḳ* ("ways" i.e. according to the different chains of transmitters): 1. *mutawātir* is a communication handed down on many sides, which was generally known from very early times and to which objections have never been raised: 2. *mashhūr* is a statement, which is handed down by at least three different reliable authorities, or, according to another view, a statement which, although widely disseminated later, was originally only transmitted by one person in the first generation: 3. *'azīz* is the name of a statement which is transmitted by at least two persons and was not so generally disseminated as those traditions which are called *mutawātir* or *mashhūr*; 4. *āḥād* are traditions given by only one authority: 5. *gharīb* is in general a rare tradition; with reference to the *isnād*, *gharīb muṭlaḳ* means a tradition, which is transmitted in the second generation only by one *Tābi'ī* (cf. also FARD, ii. 61[b] and SHĀDHDH, ii. 141[b]); if a tradition is transmitted by only one definite person of later generations, it is called *gharīb* "in reference to that person" (*gharīb bi 'l-nisba ilā shakhṣin mu'ayyanin*). A tradition which contains foreign or rare expressions in the text is also called *gharīb* (with reference to the contents).

These technical terms were not originally understood in the same sense by all Muslim scholars. For example it is expressly mentioned that the Imām al-Shāfi'ī made no distinction between *mauḳūf* and *munḳaṭi'*; in later works also there is no absolute agreement concerning all these definitions. For details see F. Risch, *Commentar des 'Izz al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh über die Kunstausdrücke der Traditionswissenschaft nebst Erläuterungen*, Leipzig dissertation 1895; cf. Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt* (ed. G. Flügel) and: *A Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. A. Sprenger and others). The division of traditions into different categories is also discussed in the general introductory works on the principles of *'Ilm al-Riwāya* (i.e. science of transmission). Such introductory works are amongst others the three following: 1. *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (died 643 = 1245); cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 187 *et seq.*; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arab. Litt.*, i. 359; 2. *al-Taḳrīb wa 'l-Taysīr* of al-Nawawī (died 676 = 1277), with its commentary the *Tadrīb al-Rāwī* of al-Suyūṭī (died 911 = 1505); 3. *Nukhbat al-Fikr* of Ibn Ḥadjar (died 852 = 1448) with a commentary by the author himself, published by N. Lees in the *Bibl. Indica*, N°. 37 of the second series, Calcutta 1862.

IV. **The Collections of Tradition.** Numerous collections of traditions have been prepared by different scholars. Some of these works have obtained almost canonical standing among later Muslims. An official codification of Tradition, which would be exclusively valid, has however never been made.

At first traditions were not arranged according to their contents but only according to their transmitters (*'alā 'l-riḍjāl*). Such a collection was called *musnad* after the traditions with complete *isnād*'s incorporated in it. This name was thus transferred from the single tradition to the whole collection. The best know of these works is the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (died 241 = 885). For further details on this collection see Goldziher, *Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Überlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern* in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, l. 465—506.

Such *musnad*'s were also formed at a later period; some scholars, for example, arranged the traditions contained in the great collections for greater convenience in alphabetical order; others incorporated the traditions which were mentioned in the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik b. Anas or other similar works not planned as proper collections of Tradition in separate collections etc. (see Goldziher, *Muhamm. Stud.* ii., 227).

But as a rule the later collections of tradition were almost all arranged according to the content of the traditions. Such a collection arranged "according to chapters" (*'alā 'l-abwāb*) is called *muṣannaf* (i.e. arranged). Six of these *Muṣannaf* works were in course of time generally recognised by the orthodox Muslim world as authoritative; they all arose in the third century A. H.; they are the collections by 1. al-Bukhārī (died 256 = 870), 2. Muslim, (died 261 = 875), 3. Abū Dāwūd (died 275 = 888), 4. al-Tirmidhī (died 279 = 892), 5. al-Nasā'ī (died 303 = 915) and 6. Ibn Mādja (died 273 = 886). These works are usually called briefly the "six books" (*al-Kutub al-sitta*) or also "the six *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s" i.e. the "sound" (i.e. the correct, reliable collections). They were, so to speak, looked upon as sacred books of second rank next to the Ḳur'ān, God's own word. The collections by al-Bukhārī and Muslim were held in particularly high esteem. They are know as the "two *ṣaḥīḥ*'s" (*al-ṣaḥīḥān*) i.e. the two collections particularly recognised as authoritative. Only traditions which are recognised as absolutely *ṣaḥīḥ* are included in these works. In this respect, however, the *shurūṭ* (i.e. the "stipulations") of Bukhārī were not the same as those of Muslim (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii.,

247). Al-Bukhārī has besides often added fairly copious notes to the headings of his chapters, which are quite lacking in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Both trace the traditions where possible to different *ṭuruḳ* and both collections contain not only traditions relating to "canon law" and to the "permitted" and "forbidden", but also many historical, ethical and dogmatic traditions (for details, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii., 234—248).

On the other hand the traditions included in the works of the four other compilers deal almost exclusively with the *sunna*'s, i.e. use and wont. Hence their collections are usually put together as "the four *Sunan* works". They further contain not only the traditions which are considered *ṣaḥīḥ*, but also the "beautiful" ones and in general all traditions on which the learned have relied in their deduction of the law even if doubts can be raised against their *isnād*. When the collectors think that one of the traditions given by them should be rejected they usually call the reader's attention to the fact. Cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 248 *et seq.*

The prestige enjoyed by these six books in Islām is readily explained. In the third century circumstances were peculiarly favourable for the work of the collector of traditions. A certain unanimity had been attained on all questions of law and doctrine and a definite opinion regarding the value of most traditions had been formed by the majority of Muslim scholars. It was thus now possible to proceed to collect all that was recognised as reliable. The merit of al-Bukhārī and the compilers of the other *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s therefore lay not so much in the fact that (as is often wrongly stated) they decided for the first time which of the numerous traditions in circulation were genuine and which false, — for the personal opinion of the compilers would have had scarcely any appreciable influence on the prevailing opinion — but rather in the fact that they brought together everything that was recognised as genuine in orthodox circles in their time. (Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*)

Although other famous collections arose in the third century, e.g. the *Sunan* of ʿAbd Allāh al-Dārimī (died 255 = 868), these works were never permanently able to attain such great prestige in the Muslim world as the six *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s. Even the general recognition of the latter works themselves was only attained very gradually. Ibn Mādja's collection in particular was for long viewed with suspicion on account of the many "weak" traditions in it. Besides, in spite of the great authority of the "six books", it was not considered improper to criticise freely traditions, which, although included in the great collections, were not universally recognised as *ṣaḥīḥ*. ʿAlī al-Dāraḳuṭnī (died 385 = 995) for example compiled a work in which he proved the weakness of 200 traditions given in al-Bukhārī and Muslim (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 257).

Even at a later period new collections were made by many scholars. The work of these late collectors of tradition was limited chiefly, however, to the preparation of more or less comprehensive compilations in which they excerpted the contents of the "six books" (and sometimes at the same time of other famous collections like that of Ibn Ḥanbal) and arranged them in different ways. One of these is Baghawī's (died 510 = 1116) collection called *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna* (i.e. the lamps of the *Sunna*); which, on account of its fulness and convenience, has always been popular among Muhammadans. It contains a selection of traditions which are taken from older collections with the *isnād*'s omitted. The recension of this collection by Walī al-Dīn al-Tibrīzī is particularly well-known; it bears the title *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (the name is taken from Ḳurʾān, xxiv. 35 and is usually interpreted the "niche of the lamps"). Among large collections of the later period we may mention al-Suyūṭī's (died 911 = 1505) two works entitled *Djamʿ al-Djawāmiʿ* and *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*. Suyūṭī's main object was to give a comprehensive compilation of extant collections (for details see W. Ahlwardt, *Katalog der Arab. HSS. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ii. 155 *et seq.*). Other compilers confined themselves to a definite section of the traditions contained in the larger collections (e.g. to the "moral"), or to a definite number of important traditions. Thus arose, for example the numerous so-called "*Arbaʿīn*" works (i.e. collections which contain 40 important traditions).

As the substance of the *Ḥadīth* was in many respects no longer intelligible to the later generations of believers, many scholars felt compelled to prepare commentaries on the collections of Tradition. Obsolete words and expressions required explanation; in particular many contradictions had to be explained, or rendered harmless by artificial "explanation". Most commentators further dealt with the prescriptions to be deduced from the traditions and the divergent opinions which had been championed by different scholars in this connexion. Among the best known copious commentaries we may mention those of Ibn Ḥadjar (died 852 = 1448) and al-Ḳasṭallānī (died 923 = 1517) on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and of al-Nawawī (died 676 = 1277) on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (cf. C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Litt.*, i. 156 *et seq.*).

The Shīʿis judged *Ḥadīth* from their own standpoint and only considered such traditions reliable as were based on the authority of ʿAlī and his adherents. They have therefore their own works on this subject and hold the following five works in particularly high esteem: 1. *al-Kāfī* of Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Kulīnī (died 328 = 939); 2. *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḳīh* of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Bābūya al-Ḳummī (died 381 = 991); 3. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and 4. *al-Istibṣār fīmā 'khtalafa fīhi 'l-Akhbār* (extract from the preceding) of Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (died 459 = 1067); and 5. *Nahdj al-Balāgha* (alleged sayings of ʿAlī) of ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (died 436 = 1044) or of his brother Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī; cf. C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litteratur*, i. 187, 404 *et seq.*; E. Sell, *The Faith of Islām*, London 1880, p. 69, note 2; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 148, note 4; *do.*, *Beiträge zur Literaturgesch. der Shīʿa* in *Sitz.-Ber. Wiener Akad.*, *Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, lxxviii. (1874), p. 508.

V. **The Transmission of Tradition**. The general view of Muslims that a knowledge of sacred learning could only be obtained through oral instruction from a teacher, who had himself acquired his knowledge in this way (cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, l. 143), was from ancient times held to be particularly applicable to Tradition. The traditions had to be "heard" and students even used to take long journeys to attend the lectures of such

persons as were famous as reliable authorities (*ḥamala*, i. e. properly "bearers") of Tradition. In many sayings of the Prophet, travel "*fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*" (i. e. to search for knowledge) is recommended as work pleasing to God. For further information regarding these *ṭalab* journeys and their degeneration (how, for example, vain scholars prided themselves on having travelled through far distant lands to "hear" a few almost unknown traditions) see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 175—193.

In transmission, the traditions were delivered orally by the teacher. It was also very usual for one of the students to read out a copy while the others listened and the teacher when necessary improved what was read and gave explanatory notes. In this case also it was the custom to say of traditions learned in this way: N. N. (the teacher) told me (*ḥaddathanī* or *akhbaranī* namely *ḳirāʾatan ʿalaihi*, i. e. while the tradition was read in his presence). One who had heard traditions in this way under the direction of a teacher, could now in his turn again communicate them to others and often received from his teacher a so-called *idjāza* (i. e. sanction, permit, namely for further transmission of these traditions) for this purpose. The old method of transmitting traditions, however, was not always held in respect. The copying and collation of written texts often became the main object and oral transmission fell quite into disuse. The traditions were then simply copied and permission was obtained to transmit them with the usual formula *ḥaddathanī* (i. e. "N. N. told me"), just as if the contents had been acquired by direct oral intercourse from the teacher. For details of the *idjāza* custom and its degeneration in Islām cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 188—193; A. Sprenger in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, x. 9 *et seq.*; W. Ahlwardt, *Katal. der arab. HSS. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, i. 54—95.

In certain circles the copying of traditions (*taḳyīd al-ḥadīth*) was originally regarded as actually forbidden. Credence was only given to those traditions which had been preserved in the memories of reliable men and orally transmitted by them, but not to texts copied often without sufficient care or from unreliable records; cf. Ibn ʿAsākir's warning: "Strive eagerly to obtain traditions and get them from the men themselves, not from written records, lest they be affected by the disease of corruption of the text" (in Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 200). Nevertheless, scholars, who utterly abstained from paper and books, are always quoted as the exceptions only, and the recording in writing of Tradition seems to have been the general custom even in the most ancient times. At the same time it could of course be acknowledged in this connection that the writing only served to aid the memory and that the knowledge was really to be preserved "by heart" and not on the paper. For details on the writing down of *Ḥadīth* and the objections to it, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii. 194—202; do. in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, l. 475, 480; lxi. 862; A. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, x. 1 *et seq.*; do. in *Journ. of the Asiat. Society of Bengal*, xxv. 303—329.

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(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

ḤADĪTHA (A.) = Newtown, the name of several towns.

I. Ḥadīthat al-Mawṣil, a town on the east bank of the Tigris, one farsakh below the mouth of the upper (Great) Zāb. Its ruins are to be recognised in the mound of Tell al-Shaʿīr. Various accounts of its origin are given. According to Hishām b. al-Kalbī (in Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 129 and Balādhurī, ed. Bulaḳ, p. 340) Harthama b. ʿArfadja, after making Mawṣil the capital came to Ḥadītha in the reign of ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb where he found a village with two churches in which he settled Arabs. That this story is authentic (it is also given in Yāḳūt, ii. 222) is confirmed by Ṭabarī (i. 2807), according to whom in 24 Walīd spent some time in Ḥadītha on his way back from Armenia. Ḥamza says that Ḥadītha is the translation of the Persian Nōkard. If it is not an invention of Shuʿūbīya bias, the best explanation of the name would be that of Balādhurī, viz., that inhabitants of the "Newtown" of Anbār Fairūzshābūr migrated thither and transferred the name to their new abode. When Ḥamza and others ascribe the "foundation" of the town to the last Umaiyad Marwān II. b. Muḥammad or Ibn Faḳīh to his father Muḥammad b. Marwān I, these rulers may have built there but nevertheless the explanations of the name "Newtown" as "newer" than Mawṣil are inventions (cf. Yāḳūt, ii. 22, Hoffmann, *Syr. Akten pers. Märt.*, p. 178; E. Reitemeyer, *Städtegründungen der Araber*, p. 83). The town's period of greatest prosperity falls within the early ʿAbbāsid period when the Caliph al-Hādī stayed there before his mortal illness and when the rebel general Mūsā b. Bugha made it his headquarters in the reign of al-Muhtadī (Ṭabarī, iii. 578, 1827). The population remained Christian. Mār Abrahām was bishop of Ḥadītha before he became Patriarch and Katholikos (837—850). (Budge, *Thomas of Margā*, ii. 103; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, iii. 1, p. 508 note 1).

The town lay on the terraced east bank of the Tigris in the form of a semicircle. Its mosque lay close to the river and the buildings, with the exception of the mosque, were of brick. The tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was shown there but probably wrongly as he died in Medina (Muḳaddasī, p. 139; *Marāṣid*, p. 292). It is remarkable that Ḥadītha is sometimes described as

the northern extremity of Sawād, which had a greater extent than the province of ʿIrāḳ (Yāḳūt, iii. 174; Dimis̲h̲ḳī, p. 185). Elsewhere it is mentioned as a station on the postroad from Bag̲h̲dād to Mawṣil. The distances are as follows:

Bag̲h̲dād—Baradān	4	farsak̲h̲
Baradān—ʿUkbarā (now ʿUkbara)	5	„
ʿUkbarā—Bāḥamshā (now Nahr Abū Ḥamsha)	3	„
Bāḥamshā—Ḳādisīya (now Ḳādisīya)	7	„
Ḳādisīya—Surr man raʾā (now Sāmarra)	3	„
Surr man raʾā—Djabiltā (opposite Takrīt, now al-Kanāʾis)	7	„
Djabiltā—Sūdaḳānīya	5	„
Sūdaḳānīya—Bārimmā (near al-Fatḥa, really 6 farsak̲h̲)	5	„
Bārimmā—Sinn (at the mouth of the Lower Zāb)	5	„
Sinn—Ḥadītha (1 farsak̲h̲ below the mouth of the Upper Zāb, really 16—18 farsak̲h̲)	12	„
Ḥadītha—Banū Tamyān (?)	7	„
Banū Tamyān (?)—Mawṣil	7	„

But when Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī gives this itinerary in the xivth century he is only copying older figures, no longer true of his time. This is clear from the fact that the Tigris has only occupied its modern bed between Sāmarrā and Bag̲h̲dād since the beginning of the xiiith century. Ḥadītha like many other places was already in ruins by that time. The invasion of the Tatars had made an end of it.

II. Ḥadīthat al-Furāt, also called Ḥadīthat al-Nūra (Lime-Newtown) on the Euphrates, south of ʿĀna in 34° 8′ N. Lat. and 42° 26′ East Long. (Greenw.), a nāḥiya of the ḳaḍāʾ of ʿĀna. The town itself is built on an island, only the caravan stations being on the western river bank. It has very much declined since 1916, when the reefs and dams in the river were blown up in order to make way for packet-boats which have never come; it had formerly 400 houses, 2 djāmiʿ and 5 masdjid, 2 corn-mills, gardens with 1500 date palms (about 6000 in the whole nāḥiya). It was irrigated by great waterwheels called *nāʿūra*, which were put up at the rapids of the river. There are limestone quarries on the western side of the Euphrates valley which are of importance for future engineering works in the ʿIrāḳ. There are three saints' tombs of the xiith—xiiith centuries there, from N. to S.: 1. S̲h̲aik̲h̲ al-Ḥadīd (a certain Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim); 2. The Awlād Saiyid Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī; 3. a certain Nadjm al-Dīn, said to have been one of the occupants of Nūḥ's ark. As to the history of the town, Yāḳūt (ii. 223), following Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Djābir, observes that it was taken even before ʿOmar's time in the governorship of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir. It had a strong castle on the island which was of importance as late as the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim's time (*Marāṣid*, p. 292). According to Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī the inhabitants were Christians.

The place is now a usual stopping-place on the Euphrates route from Bag̲h̲dād to Aleppo, which will probably soon fall into disuse after the completion of the Bag̲h̲dād railway and therefore deserves to be recorded, more particularly because several of its stations, which are also found in the ancient itineraries, are not marked in modern maps.

The following are the distances according to my itinerary:

Bag̲h̲dād—Nukta	6	hours	
Nukta—Fallūdja	6	„	
Fallūdja—Ḳalʿat Rumādī	10	„	
Ḳalʿat Rumādī—Hīt	11	„	
Hīt—Bag̲h̲dādī	8½	„	
Bag̲h̲dādī—Ḥadītha	8½	„	
Ḥadītha—Fuḥaima	6½	„	
Fuḥaima—ʿĀna	7	„	
ʿĀna—Nuhiya	7½	„	
Nuhiya—al-Ḳāʾim	9	„	
al-Ḳāʾim—Albu Kamāl	5½	„	(frontier of the wilāyet)
Albu Kamāl—Ṣāliḥiya	7	„	
Ṣāliḥiya—Mayādīn	10½	„	
Mayādīn—Dair al-Zawr	9½	„	

(cf. the Damascus edition of the *Rahnāma-i Bag̲h̲dād*, by Senior Lieut. Muṣṭafā Ḍiyā, 1314 H.).

The old itineraries are in part badly preserved as regards names and their order, but they are mostly corrected in de Goeje's editions.

K̲h̲URDĀDHBEH, p. 73 and ḲUDĀMA, p. 217:

Bag̲h̲dād—Sailaḥīn	4	farsak̲h̲
Sailaḥīn—Anbār	8	„
Anbār—al-Rabb	7	„
al-Rabb—Hīt	12	„
Hīt—Nāwūsa	7	„
Nāwūsa—Ālūsa	7	„
Ālūsa—Fuḥaima	6	„
Fuḥaima—Nuhiya (sic!)	12	„

MUḲADDASĪ:

Bag̲h̲dād—Sailaḥīn	2	barīd
Sailaḥīn—Anbār	1	marḥala
Anbār—al-Rabb	1	„
al-Rabb—Hīt	2	„
Hīt—Nāʾūsiya	1	„
Nāʾūsiya—ʿĀna	1	„
ʿĀna—Ālūsa	1	„
Ālūsa—Fuḥaima	1	„
Fuḥaima—Ḥadītha	1	„
Ḥadītha—Nuhiya (sic!)	1	„

and so on.

While the two stations Ḥadītha and ʿĀna are omitted in Ibn K̲h̲urdādhbeh and Ḳudāma, they are interchanged in Muḳaddasī. Ālūsa and Nāwūsa still exist although not marked, or given under wrong names in modern maps.

III. Ḥadītha called Ḥurṣh or Djirs, a village in the G̲h̲ūṭa of Damascus (Yāḳūt, ii. 225; *Marāṣid*, p. 292). (E. HERZFELD.)

HADJAR in South Arabia means "town" and is therefore often found in place-names; for example there was a Hadjar in Nadjrān, one in Djāzān and several in Madhḥidj, all in South Arabia. The best known is Hadjar in southern Baḥrain, the ancient capital of the land. It lay in a fertile district rich in palms (*Hamdānī*, p. 811, v. 1: whence the proverb, *Prov. Arab.*, ed. Freytag, iii. 539) and exported a celebrated kind of date-honey. The population was very mixed (cf. Nöldeke, Ṭabarī, transl., p. 59 *et seq.*). Under Persian rule a Persian governor, to whom the Arab chief was subordinate, resided here or rather in the adjacent stronghold of Mushaḳḳar; thus in the time of the Prophet we find the Persian Sībukht here, who submitted to Muḥammad. In the great rebellion

on the death of the Prophet a man named Ghaṛūr, a member of the royal family of Ḥīra, raised the standard of revolt in Hadjar, but was overcome by al-ʿAlāʾ. During the Ḳarmaṭian troubles Abū Saʿīd conquered the towns of Baḥrain (cf. the article AL-DJANNĀBĪ), among them finally Hadjar, shortly before his death in 913-914. Abū Saʿīd's son Abū Ṭāhir made al-Aḥsāʾ [q. v., i. 207 et seq.] the capital of the land. It should be remembered that Hadjar (or with the article al-Hadjar) is very often used as the name of the land itself (instead of Baḥrain).

Hadjar should not be confused with Ḥadjr, which appears as the name of several towns, including one in Yamāma inhabited by the descendants of ʿUbaid b. Yarbūʿ (of the Banū Ḥanīfa, q. v.), cf. e. g. Nābigha p. 9,₁₄ Labīd (ed. Huber) p. 30,₁₀.

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AL-**HADJAR** AL-ASWAD. [See AL-KAʿBA.]

HADJAR AL-NASR (the eagle's rock), a fortress in the Rīf, in the land of the Ghomāra, built in 317 (929-930) by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ḳāsim b. Idrīs II. The sons of Ḳāsim, called Gennūn (Djannūn) or Hannūn (so al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, p. 129) settled here. When Mūsā b. al-ʿĀfiya had driven the Idrīsids out of all their possessions in the Maghrib, he wished to besiege this fortress also to destroy the survivors of the Idrīsid family who had taken refuge in it; but he was dissuaded from doing so by the remonstrances of the most prominent men in the Maghrib. After Mūsā b. al-ʿĀfiya's fall, one of Gennūn's sons founded a kind of kingdom with Hadjar al-Nasr as capital under the suzerainty of the Umaiyad Caliphs of Cordova. The Spanish sovereigns and the Fāṭimids disputed the suzerainty over it in turn, till the former finally succeeded in destroying all the petty kingdoms of the Idrīsids. Hadjar al-Nasr was taken by Ghālib, the Umaiyad general, and the last king, al-Ḥasan, taken prisoner to Spain. The decline of Hadjar al-Nasr dates from this time (366 = 975-976).

The fortress lay three days' journey from Ceuta on the top of a steep cliff; it could only be reached by a very narrow way which only allowed access to one person at a time. The surrounding country was very fertile and covered with gardens (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. de Goeje, p. 56; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 66 of the text).

Its situation is not exactly known. An attempt has been made (by Beaumier) to identify it with Alhucemas, but without any real evidence. According to the statements collected by Moulièras (*Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. 390-391, note), the ruins of the fortress still survive under the name "Hadjrat en-Nasour" in the district of Djabal Medjhar (Djabal Madjhar) between al-Bomas, al-Dend (Tamil) and Ṣanhādja on the summit of a very high red cliff.

Bibliography: Besides the authors quoted, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* and *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, *passim*; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, *passim*; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān al-Maghrib*, *passim*; Else Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber* (Leipzig 1912), p. 192; Salmon, *Essai sur l'histoire politique du Nord-Marocain* (*Archives marocaines*, ii.), p. 6—12. (RENÉ BASSET.)

HADJAREN (HADJARĒN), a town in Ḥaḍramūt on the djebel of the same name, S.W. of Meshhed ʿAlī [q. v.] on the Wādī Dawʿan (Dōʿan) situated in extremely picturesque country. It is surrounded by extensive palmgroves and reminds one of many mediaeval castles on the Rhine. As a centre of traffic between the coast and the interior of Ḥaḍramūt it is of importance. The houses of the town are built of bricks and are large but the streets are narrow and dirty. It belongs to the Kuʿaiṭī of Shibām [q. v.], who are represented in it by a member of their family, who bears the title *naḳīb* and lives in a splendid palace on the summit of the hill. The town probably has about 1500 inhabitants. There are relics of the ancient Himyaritic period around Hadjarēn, when the trade in frankincense still flourished in this district. Ruins of an ancient town, Raidūn, with inscriptions are still to be seen about the valley.

Hadjarēn is an old town, known even to Hamdānī; al-Hadjarain (al-Hadjarān, dual of *hadjar* "town", as he writes it), consisted in his time of two towns of Khawdūn and Dammūn lying on opposite sides of the wādī; Khawdūn was inhabited by the Ṣadaf, Dammūn by the Kinda. At the foot of the fortified hill, on which Hadjarēn lay, there were palmgroves and fields with *dhura* (a kind of maize) and *burr* (a kind of corn or wheat), which were watered by a *ghail* coming from the top of the hill.

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HADJDJ (A.), the pilgrimage to Mecca, ʿArafāt and Minā, the last of the five "pillars" of Islām.

I. THE ISLAMIC HADJDJ.

a. The journey to Mecca. — According to the law every adult Muslim, of either sex, has to perform the Hadjdj at least once in the course of his life, provided he is able to do so (cf. Sūra iii. 91). The fulfilment of the last proviso depends on various circumstances. Lunatics and slaves are exempted from the obligation; likewise women who have not a husband or a relative (*dhū maḥram*) to accompany them. The want of the necessary means of subsistence, the inability to provide beasts of burden, the precariousness of the journey are circumstances which relieve one of the obligation to perform the pilgrimage. The Shāfiʿī school further allows its followers to postpone the pilgrimage beyond the grave provided

a deputy is hired out of the estate of the deceased. This explains how the majority of Muslims die without ever having seen Mecca. Even among Caliphs and Sulṭāns many have remained at home all their lives while others have made the pilgrimage several times; even some, who were not Muslims, have taken part in the Ḥadjdj; their works are invaluable sources for our knowledge of this subject.

Since Muḥammad instituted an absolute lunar year, the Ḥadjdj runs in time through all seasons as it is fixed for certain days in the first half of the month Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. When it falls in summer the toils of the journey prove fatal to many a pilgrim. Muḥammad is therefore said to have said: „The pilgrimage is a sort of punishment" (*Sunan Ibn Mādja*, Bāb al-Khurūdj ila 'l-Ḥadjdj). These pilgrims suffer most who have to come from their homes to Mecca by land either on foot or on horseback. The steamship traffic from Djidda to other Muslim lands which was instituted specially for the Ḥadjdj, as well as the Ḥidjāz railway has however considerably diminished their number. The pilgrimcaravans only survive out of religious conservatism. The following may be mentioned.

The Syrian caravan follows the ancient trade-route from Damascus (or Constantinople) through the trans-Jordan territory, the ancient Moabitis, via Ma'ān, Madā'in Ṣāliḥ and al-Medina. It is the largest of the caravans (in 1876, according to C. M. Doughty's estimate, it contained about 6000 persons) and is accompanied by a *maḥmal* [q. v.]. Blockhouses are built at the stations where food is kept ready and facilities for refreshment provided. According to Burckhardt (*Travels*, ii. 3), the journey from Damascus to al-Medina takes 30 days.

The Egyptian caravan is likewise accompanied by a *maḥmal*; in it is the new *kiswa* [q. v.] for the Ka'ba. According to Lane (*Manners and Customs*, London 1899, p. 493), it usually leaves Cairo in the last week of Shawwāl and reaches Mecca in 37 days, following the route along the sea-coast. (A favourite route for pilgrims from Egypt and the Maghrib used to be from Cairo or somewhere else in the north to one of the harbours on the Red Sea opposite Djidda; cf. Ibn Djubair's journey and al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāzīya*², p. 27 *et seq.*).

A caravan from the 'Irāḳ makes its way across Arabia. Burckhardt, in Appendices I and II to his *Travels*, gives the stations of the caravan from Yemen as well as further geographical notes. Pilgrims from the Maghrib, Persia and Yemen, however, come for the most part by ship, not to speak of those from more distant lands.

The caravans are composed of the most diverse elements; princes, beggars, traders with their wares, Bedouins, travellers on foot and on horseback find their place there, which is usually settled by their place of origin, so that people from the same town travel together. Most pilgrims make an arrangement with a *mukawwim* who for a definite sum provides for all the necessities of the journey.

The danger of attack by Bedouins has always been an unpleasant feature of the pilgrimage; if the pilgrims submit to being plundered, they usually escape with their lives, but otherwise not always. The Meccan authorities have finally been forced to conclude agreements with the chiefs through whose lands the caravans come, whereby the pilgrims are allowed to travel freely. The authorities have to pay a fixed sum (called *ṣurra* q. v.) for this privilege. In the history of the Ḥadjdj there have been many other powers obstructing the pilgrims, e. g. the Karmaṭians, the Egyptian authorities, pirates and the Wahhābīs.

The arrival of the Syrian and Egyptian caravans with the two *maḥmal*'s is always a great event for the Meccans. Both are received with ceremony; they encamp on certain spots outside the town proper (see the plan of the town in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I); as a rule they arrive only a few days before the Ḥadjdj.

The numbers of the pilgrims who arrive via Djidda are fairly well known, since the international sanitary commission has instituted a quarantine station there. As each pilgrim has to pay a certain sum for what professes to be hygienic control, but really is quite superficial, the number of persons arriving is accurately noted. We find that in recent years the number has varied from 30,000 to 108,000 and averages 70,000. If Burckhardt could now accompany the pilgrimage again, he would not be able to repeat his observations (*Travels*, ii. 1) made in 1814 on the number of the pilgrims and the pious zeal of the Muslims.

Most pilgrims arrive shortly before the time of the Ḥadjdj; a considerable number, however, even spend the month of Ramaḍān of the year in Mecca, which is considered particularly meritorious. Many ḥādjdjīs also remain in Mecca after they have completed the Ḥadjdj, either to pursue sacred studies or to die in the holy city. The number of pilgrims is usually particularly large when it is expected that the principal day of the Ḥadjdj, the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, will fall on a Friday (*ḥadjdj akbar*). It may further be noted that the Shī'a also take part in the pilgrimage; but travellers report that the adherents of 'Alī do not always have a peaceful time in the holy city. Interesting data on the Ḥadjdj of the Shī'a are given in Kazem Zadeh, *Relation d'un pèlerinage à la Mecque* in the *Revue du Monde musulman*, xix. 1912, p. 144 *et seq.* (has also appeared separately).

b. Arrival in Mecca. The holy ceremonies are performed in a state correspondingly holy, the law therefore recommends the pilgrim as soon as he sets out from home to assume the *iḥrām* [q. v.]. But as in most cases this is not convenient, they generally enter the holy condition when they approach the holy territory. One should enter Mecca as a *muḥrim* and then perform the *'umra* [q. v.]. Almost every pilgrim does this as well as the other sacred duties, accompanied by a guide (*muṭawwif*, *dalīl*, *mutawwif*), who on each occasion pronounces the prescribed formulae, which are then repeated by his protégés. These guides further do all sorts of business for the pilgrims, who in their ignorance of the language, of local customs etc., would be for the most part quite helpless without them.

When the sevenfold circumambulation (*ṭawāf*, q. v.) of the Ka'ba and the sevenfold running (*sa'y*, q. v.) between Ṣafā and Marwa has been performed the pilgrim may cut his hair and come out of the *iḥrām*, till the Ḥadjdj proper begins. But if the *iḥrām* has been assumed for *'umra* and *ḥadjdj* (*ḳirān*), this is not allowed [on these and related questions cf. the article IḤRĀM].

c. The Ceremonies of the Ḥadjdj. On the 7th Dhu '*l-Ḥidjdja* there is usually preaching in

the mosque of the Ka'ba, by which the pilgrims are prepared for the holy ceremonies. In the evening of the same day or on the morning of the next the pilgrims leave Mecca. The 8th is called *yawm al-tarwiya* ("day of moistening"), because (according to an improbable explanation) on this day the pilgrims provide themselves with water for the following days. The two *maḥmal*'s unite outside the town and lead the way; then follows the variegated seething mass of representatives of different races, on foot and in litters, on asses and horses, perpetually pushing and struggling. The plain of 'Arafāt, where a halt is to be made (*wuḳūf*), is reached via Minā (now usually pronounced Muna) and Muzdalifa (also called Djam' and al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām). Here the representative of the caliph used to plant a standard, whose place is now taken by the *maḥmal* [see AMĪR AL-ḤADJDJ, i. 330].

The description of the thickly covered plain in modern travellers agrees in its main features with those of the old Arab annual markets in the classical authors. Tents and booths [see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, N°. 13—16, cf. also 10—12) are everywhere, in the latter the numerous traders expose their wares as in the bazaar; jugglers and fakirs entertain the crowd with their skill. Many pilgrims ascend the sacred mountain (*Djabal al-Raḥma*, see the illustration opposite and the article 'ARAFĀT), and repeat the prescribed formulae after their shaikh at the proper places; loud cries of *labbaika* [q. v.] are heard everywhere. Thus the time is passed till the evening, at which brilliant illuminations take place. Pious pilgrims spend the night in the repetition of prayers, others amuse themselves in worldly fashion.

The *wuḳūf* proper takes place on the 9th and lasts from the time when the sun has crossed the meridian to its setting. Almost the whole period is filled by two *khuṭba*'s, celebrated as a rule by the ḳāḍī of the holy city. The latter rides up to the platform on the holy hill, from which he reads pious commonplaces out of a book, which are not audible to the greater part of those present, or, if heard, could not be understood by them. But this does not prevent them being much moved and continually calling *labbaika* loudly, waving the holy garments in the air and weeping and sobbing. But as soon as the sun disappears behind the western hills, the *ifāḍa* (or *daf'*, *nafr*), i. e. the running to Muzdalifa begins. Amid the greatest confusion as the horses are spurred on by the rushing crowd, amid continual shouting and din, accompanied by military music, every one rushes to Muzdalifa. The *'alamain*, which mark the boundary of the *ḥaram* [q. v.] are passed; the evening darkness soon falls and torches are kindled; fireworks are discharged and the soldiers keep firing off their guns. In this fashion, rarely without accidents, Muzdalifa is reached, where the Maghrib and 'Ishā ṣalāt's are celebrated together and the night is spent. The mosque here is illuminated. On the morning of the 10th (*yawm al-naḥr*) *wuḳūf* is again held at the mosque before sunrise and the ḳāḍī of Mecca again preaches a khuṭba. After the completion of the morning service the crowd goes to Minā.

Here quite different duties have to be performed. Each pilgrim has on this day to throw seven small stones at one of the three so-called *djamra*'s here [q. v.], the *Djamrat al-'Aḳaba*. For this purpose he has previously gathered the stones in Muzdalifa. Amid a tremendous crush a rush is made for this Djamra, which stands at the west end of the valley of Minā. A picture of it is given in Kazem Zadeh, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 222. Only the stoning of this Djamra is prescribed for this day in the law and the turn of the other djamra's does not come till the following days. The accounts in 'Alī Bey and Burton agree very well with this prescription. It should, however, be noted that Burckhardt (*Travels*, ii. 578) and Keane (*Six Months in Meccah*, p. 161) expressly state that the pilgrims on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja throw seven stones, which they have brought from Muzdalifa, first at the eastern Djamra (*Djamrat al-ūlā*, *al-ṣughrā*), then at the middle one (*al-wusṭā*; see the picture) and finally at the western (*al-'uẓmā*, *al-akbar*, *al-'Aḳaba*); perhaps however this is an error of the two last-named travellers.

According to the Muslim explanation, this stoning is really a stoning of Satan, who is said to have appeared here to the patriarch Ibrāhīm and to have been driven away by him in this fashion. After the stoning the crying of *labbaika* ceases and the ḥadjdj proper is at an end; various ceremonies, however, have still to follow, first that of the sacrifice, which has given this day its name. Thousands of sacrificial victims, chiefly sheep and goats, are kept ready in Minā by the Beduins and merchants and sold at high prices. Only people of high rank slaughter camels. The pilgrim, who does not care to kill the animal himself, may get a butcher to do it for him. Although there is no place specially prescribed by the law in Minā for the sacrifice, a rock at the west end of the valley near the Aḳaba is preferably used for this purpose (Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii. 59; Burton, *A Pilgrimage*, ii. 240). It is considered meritorious to give the flesh of the animals sacrificed to the poor as *ṣadaḳa*; what they do not use is left lying. The sacrifice, which is celebrated on this day throughout the whole Muslim world, is *sunna* (see the article AL-'ĪD AL-KABĪR). Its omission may be made good by fasting.

It is usual to have the head shaved after the sacrifice; for this purpose there are quite a number of barbers' booths in Minā. Both the barber and the pilgrim observe certain rules during the process, such as turning towards the ḳibla etc. Thereafter the *iḥrām* may be discarded and a return made to a secular condition (*iḥlāl*); but the pilgrim is not yet allowed to transact all the business of everyday life. The series above described, stone-throwing, sacrifice, shaving, is described in the law as *sunna* (*Minhādj*, i. 331); but it should be noted that there is no time legally prescribed for the sacrifice and the two other ceremonies are only limited as to time in so far that they must be performed on the 10th day.

It is usual to return to Mecca on the same day to perform a *ṭawāf* there, on which occasion the ka'ba is seen for the first time with its new covering. Ordinary garments are donned if this has not been done in Minā already; the pilgrim bathes and washes, which is usually very desirable after being the previous "holy state". It is usual also to drink from the holy Zamzam water or to have oneself sprinkled with it; but this may as well be done on any other day.

The following days 11—13th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja are called *ayyām al-tashrīḳ* (on the explanation

of this name see below) called by Muḥammad "day of eating, drinking and sensual pleasure", are spent in Minā; the three Djamra's have each to have seven stones thrown at them each day, after midday. It is also the custom to sacrifice at a granite block on the slope of mount Thabīr (cf. Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii. 65; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla*, p. 696). Abraham is said to have prepared his son for the sacrifice here. The law itself (cf. Sūra ii. 199) permits departure from Minā even on the 12th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. It seems from the works of the travellers that this permission is usually taken and the pilgrims return to Mecca on this day. It is the custom to throw stones at the alleged grave of Abū Lahab in the vicinity of the town. Finally the *'umrat al-wadā'* (farewell *'umra*) has to be performed. For this purpose the pilgrim goes to Tan'īm, again to assume the *iḥrām*. Modern travellers thus often call Tan'īm also "al-'Umra". With the performance of *ṭawāf* and *sa'y* the Ḥadjdj is at an end. Some days later the caravans leave Mecca and go to Medina to honour the tomb of the prophet with a visit.

From what has been said above it is clear that the law divides the ceremonies of the Ḥadjdj into various categories; but it should be noted that the various schools differ from one another in almost all details. A good survey is given in the table on p. 178 of al-Batanūnī's work.

II. The origin of the islāmic Ḥadjdj.

Muḥammad's attitude to the Ḥadjdj was not always the same; in his youth he must have often taken part in the ceremonies. After his "call" he paid little attention at first to the festival: in the oldest suras it is not mentioned and it does not appear from other sources that he had adopted any definite attitude to this originally heathen custom. If many obviously polytheistic practices had been usual at it, he would hardly have been so silent about it and Tradition would probably have preserved expressions of opinion from which we could ascertain more or less clearly the ancient practices.

Muḥammad's interest in the Ḥadjdj was first aroused in al-Medina. Several causes contributed to this, as Snouck Hurgronje has shown in his *Mekkaansche Feest*. The brilliant success of the battle of Badr had aroused in him thoughts of a conquest of Mecca. The preparations for such a step would naturally be more successful if the secular as well as the religious interests of his companions were aroused. Muḥammad had been deceived in his expectations regarding the Jewish community in Medina and the disagreements with the Jews had made a religious breach with them inevitable. To this period belongs the origin of the doctrine of the religion of Abraham, the alleged original type of Judaism and Islām. The Ka'ba now gradually advances into the centre of religious worship; the father of monotheism built it with his son Ismā'īl and it was to be a "place of assembly for mankind". The ceremonies performed there are traced to the divine command (Sūra ii. 119 *et seq.*). In this period also the Ka'ba was made a ḳibla (cf. Sūra ii. 136—145) and the Ḥadjdj is called a duty of man to Allāh (iii. 91). This is the position of affairs in the year 2 of the Hidjra. It was only after the unsuccessful siege of al-Medina by the Meccans in the year 5 that Muḥammad was able to attempt to carry out his plans. The first effort was made in the expedition to Ḥudaibiya, which, although it did not bring him to Mecca, by the treaty with the Ḳuraish brought an 'umra into prospect for next year. In the year 7 Muḥammad instituted the ceremonies at the Ka'ba; but it was only after the conquest of Mecca in 8 that the opportunity was afforded of publicly celebrating the festival. But he did not take advantage of this occasion himself, for in the year 9 he sent Abū Bakr in his stead as leader of the pilgrim caravan to Mecca. While the latter was on the way, he was overtaken by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who had been commissioned to read out to the pilgrims the *Barā'a* (Sūra ix. 1 *et seq.*) which had been revealed in the meanwhile; in these verses the performance of the pilgrimage was forbidden to unbelievers except those with whom the Prophet had made special treaties.

In the year 10 Muḥammad himself led the Ḥadjdj. Tradition has much to tell on the subject of this so-called farewell-pilgrimage (*Ḥadjdjat al-Wadā'*). These accounts of the ceremonies performed by Muḥammad agree essentially with the later practice. The arrangements, which he made on this occasion, are of importance, however, for the history of the Ḥadjdj, notably the abolition of the "intercalation" (*nasī'*) and the introduction of the pure lunar year which is mentioned in the Ḳor'ān with the words: "Verily the number of months with God is twelve months in God's book, on the day when he created the heavens and the earth; of these four are sacred; that is the true religion. In these shall ye do no injustice to one another. But fight the unbelievers, as they fight you, one and all, and know that God is with the righteous. The intercalation is but an increase of the unbelief, in which the unbelievers err, for they make it (i. e. the time in which it falls or should fall) lawful one year and unlawful the next" (Sūra ix. 36 *et seq.*). On other ordinances of Muḥammad on this occasion see below.

III. The pre-islāmic Ḥadjdj.

The investigation of the original meaning of the root Ḥ-DJ goes no farther than hypotheses, some however probable. The Arabic lexicographers give the meaning "to betake oneself to"; this would agree with our "pilgrimage". But this meaning is as clearly denominative as that of the Hebrew verb. Probably the root חגג, which in North as well as South Semitic languages means "to go around, to go in a circle", is connected with it. With this we are not much farther forward however; for we do not even know whether religious circumambulations formed part of the original ḥadjdj. We do know that in the pre-Muslim period two annual markets were held in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da, in 'Ukāẓ and Madjanna. These were followed in the early days of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja by that of Dhu 'l-Madjāz and thence the people went direct to 'Arafāt. The Muslim practice of going out from Mecca to 'Arafāt is therefore probably an innovation; and Islām knows nothing of religious circumambulations in 'Arafāt and we as little.

This Ḥadjdj in 'Arafāt was not a local peculiarity; pilgrimage to a sanctuary is an old Semitic custom, which is prescribed even in the older parts of the Pentateuch as an indispensable duty. "Three times a year shall you celebrate for me a

ḥag" is written in Exodus xxiii. 14, and "three times a year all thy males shall appear before the Lord Jahwe" (ib., 17 and xxxiv. 23). But in Arabia also there were probably several places of pilgrimage where festivals like that of the Ḥadjdj of ʿArafāt were celebrated. The month of Agguthalbaeith mentioned by Epiphanius seems to presuppose a sanctuary in the north.

The Ḥadjdj of ʿArafāt took place on the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja; the most diverse Arab tribes took part in it, but this was only possible when peace reigned in the land. The consecutive months Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and Muḥarram thus formed a sacred period during which tribal feuds were at rest; weapons were laid aside in the holy territory.

It may be regarded as certain that in Muḥammad's time the sacred festival fell in the spring. Wellhausen has, however, made it appear probable that the original time of the Ḥadjdj was the autumn. If, as is probable, the above mentioned intercalary month had for its object to maintain this time of the year, the intercalation did not effect its purpose; from what cause we do not know. If the Ḥadjdj originally fell in the autumn, it is natural, when inquiring into its original significance to compare it with the North Semitic autumnal festival, the "feast of booths" (or day of atonement), a proceeding which finds further support in the fact that the feast of booths in the Old Testament is often called briefly the *ḥag* (e.g. Judges, xxi. 19; 1 Kings, viii. 2, 65). We will actually find several features in agreement.

Great fairs were from early times associated with the Ḥadjdj which was celebrated on the conclusion of the date-harvest. These fairs were probably the main thing to Muḥammad's contemporaries, as they still are to many Muslims. For the significance of the religious ceremonies had even then lost its meaning for the people. The following may be stated. A main part of the ceremony was the *wuḳūf* "the halt" in the plain of ʿArafāt; in Islām the ḥadjdj without wuḳūf is invalid. This can only be explained as the survival of a pre-Muslim notion. Houtsma has compared the *wuḳūf* with the stay of the Israelites on Mount Sinai. The latter had to prepare themselves for this by refraining from sexual intercourse (Ex. xix. 15) and the washing of their garments (Exod. xix. 10, 14). Thus they waited upon their God (נכונים, 11, 15). In the same way the Muslims refrain from sexual intercourse, wear holy clothing and stand before the deity (وقف = כון = stand) at the foot of a holy mountain.

On Sinai, the deity appeared as a thunder- and lightning-god. We know nothing of the god of ʿArafāt; but he probably existed. Muḥammad is related to have said at the farewell pilgrimage: "The whole of ʿArafāt is a place for standing (*mawḳif*), the whole of Muzdalifa is a place of standing, the whole of Minā a place of sacrifice". Snouck Hurgronje has explained these words to mean that the particular places there, where heathen ceremonies were performed, were to lose their importance through these words. A little is known of these heathen places in Muzdalifa and Minā (see below).

It is uncertain whether the day of ʿArafāt was a fast-day or not. In Tradition it is several times expressly stated that Muḥammad's companions did not know what was his view on this question. He was therefore invited to drink and he drank. The ascetic character of the Ḥadjdj days is clear from the *iḥrām* prohibitions. That these were once extended to include food and drink is clear from Muḥammad's explanation. "The Tashrīḳ days (11th—13th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) are days of eating, drinking and sensual pleasure". In early Islām ascetically disposed persons therefore chose the Ḥadjdj as the special time for their self-denials (cf. Goldziher in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxxvii. 318, 320 *et seq.*).

The *wuḳūf* lasts in Islām from the moment after midday till sunset. Tradition records that Muḥammad ordered that ʿArafāt should not be left till after sunset, while it had previously been usual to begin the *ifāḍa* even before sunset. But the Prophet is said not only to have shifted the time, but even to have suppressed the whole rite by forbidding the running to Muzdalifa and to have ordered that it should be slowly approached. But how tenacious the old custom is, is clear from the above description of the *ifāḍa*. Snouck Hurgronje thinks he sees a solar rite in the latter, a view which has been more definitely formulated by Houtsma in connection with the character of the Ḥadjdj (see below), viz. that it was originally considered a persecution of the dying sun.

The god of Muzdalifa was Ḳuzaḥ, the thunder-god. A fire was kindled on the sacred hill also called Ḳuzaḥ. Here a halt was made and this *wuḳūf* has a still greater similarity to that on Sinai, as in both cases the thunder-god is revealed in fire. It may further be presumed that the traditional custom of making as much noise as possible and of shooting was originally a sympathetic charm to call forth the thunder.

As soon as the sun was visible, the *ifāḍa* to Minā used to begin in pre-Islāmic times. Muḥammad therefore ordained that this should begin before sunrise; here again we have the attempt to destroy a solar rite. In ancient times they are said to have sung during the *ifāḍa*, *ashriḳ thabīr kaimā nughīr*. The explanation of these words is uncertain; it is sometimes translated, "Enter into the light of morning, Thabīr, so that we may hasten".

When they arrived in Minā, it seems that the first thing they did was to sacrifice; the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja is still called *yawm al-aḍḥā*, "day of the morning sacrifices". In ancient times the camels to be sacrificed were distinguished by special marks (*taḳlīd*) even on the journey to the *ḥaram*; for example two sandals were hung around their necks. Mention is also made of the *ishʿār*, the custom of making an incision in the side of the hump and letting blood flow from it; or wounds were made in the animal's skin. It is frequently mentioned also that a special covering was laid on the animals.

According to a statement in Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 76 *et seq.*), the stone throwing only began after the sun had crossed the meridian. Houtsma has made it probable that the stoning was originally directed at the sun-demon; important support is found for this view in the fact that the Ḥadjdj originally coincided with the autumnal equinox; similar customs are found all over the world at the beginning of the four seasons. With the expulsion of the sun-demon, whose harsh rule comes to an end with summer, worship of the thunder-god who brings fertility and his in-

vocation may easily be connected, as we have seen above at the festival in Muzdalifa. The name *tarwiya* "moistening", also may be explained in this connection as a sympathetic rain-charm, traces of which survive in the libation of Zemzem water. These are again parallels to the feast of booths (or day of atonement): the goat, which was thrown from a cliff for ʿAzazel, is not difficult to identify as the type of the sun-demon; and the libation of water from the holy well of Siloam was also a rain-charm, for the connection between the feast of booths and rain is expressly emphasised (Zach. xiv. 17). Further we may call attention to the illumination of the temple on the feast of booths, which has its counterpart in the illumination of the mosques in ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa, as well as the important part which music plays at both feasts.

Quite other explanations of the stone throwing are given by van Vloten (*Feestbundel .... aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje aangeboden*, 1891, p. 33 *et seq.*) and Chauvin (*Annales de l'Acad. Royale d'Arch. de Belgique*, 5th Ser., Vol. iv. p. 272 *et seq.*). The former connects the stoning of Satan and the Ḳorʾānic expression *al-Shaiṭān al-radjīm* with a snake, which was indigenous to the ʿAḳaba. The latter finds in it an example of mopelism: the object of covering the Ḥadjdj ground with stones thrown on it was to prevent the cultivation of it by the Meccans. Both these theories have been satisfactorily refuted by Houtsma. Cf. also Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 430 *et seq.* — On the significance of the shaving in connection with the history of religions, cf. the article IḤRĀM.

On the *Tashrīḳ* days some of the pilgrims dry the flesh of the animals sacrificed in the sun to take it with them on the return journey. This custom agrees with the meaning of the word *tashrīḳ*, given by the Arab lexicographers, i. e. "to dry strips of meat in the sun"; but it may be doubted whether this is the original meaning of the word. A satisfactory explanation has not yet been given. Cf. however Th. W. Juynboll, *Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Taschrîḳ* (*Zeitsch. f. Assyr.*, xxvii. 1 *et seq.*). It must also be noted that Dozy in his book *De Israëlieten te Mekka*, traces the words *tashrīḳ* and *tarwiya* as well as the whole Ḥadjdj to a Jewish origin; but his thesis may be considered definitely refuted by Snouck Hurgronje's *Het Mekkaansche Feest*.

Bibliography: On the whole subject: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (Leiden 1880); the pertinent sections in the monographs and standard works on Islām; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, passim.

On I: C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge 1888), vol. i.; *Travels of Ali Bey* (London 1816), vol. ii.; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London 1829); R. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah* (London 1857), vol. ii.; T. F. Keane, *Six Months in Meccah* (London 1881); H. v. Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka* (Leipzig 1865); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague 1888), passim; do., *De hadjipolitiek der indische regeering* in *Onze Eeuw*, ix.; do., *Notes sur le mouvement du pèlerinage de la Mecque aux Indes Néerlandaises* (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, xv.); Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*[2] (Cairo, 1329), an interesting and remarkable book; Ibn Djubair, *Travels* (ed. M. J. de Goeje); the various Fiḳh books, as well as the handbooks for pilgrims known as *Manāsik*. On the Ḥadjdj of the Shīʿa s. Kazem Zadeh in *Rev. du Monde musulman*, xix. (1912), 144 *et seq.*

On II: The biographies of Muḥammad and the works on Tradition.

On III: R. Dozy, *De Israëlieten te Mekka* (also in German); J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], p. 68 *et seq.*; M. Th. Houtsma, *Het skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Minā* (*Versl. en Meded. der Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, Ser. iv. Part vi. p. 185 *et seq.*); H. Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, Ser. ii. Vol. ii. p. 324—350; also the articles by v. Vloten and Chauvin quoted in the text. (A. J. WENSINCK.)

ḤĀDJDJ, ḤĀDJDJĪ, one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. [See AL-ḤADJDJ.]

AL-**ḤĀDJDJ ḤAMMŪDA** (B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ), an Arab historian of Tunis, accompanied ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain into exile in Algiers, during the reign of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (1740) and became his first secretary when this prince succeeded to power (1782—1799). He retained this office also under ʿAlī Bey's son, Ḥammūda Bey (1782—1814) who had been his pupil. He composed a history entitled *Kitāb al-Bāshā*, in which he gives a brief survey of the history of the Ḥafṣids and of the Turkish governors of Tunis and many details of the reigns of ʿAlī Bey and Ḥusain b. ʿAlī. The text which is still unpublished exists in numerous copies in the Great Mosque of Tunis. A section dealing with the wars of Khair al-Dīn and of ʿArūdj was published by Houdas in his *Chrestomathie Maghrébine* (Paris 1891), p. 14—96; another section dealing with the French expedition against Tunis in 1770 was translated by Rousseau (Algiers 1840) and a third dealing with Murād Bey's campaign against Constantine by Cherbonneau (*Journ. As.*, July 1851).

Bibliography: Roy, *Extrait du catalogue des Manuscrits et des imprimés de la bibliothèque de la Grande Mosquée de Tunis* (Tunis, 1900), p. 92-93. (RENÉ BASSET.)

AL-**ḤĀDJDJ ʿOMAR**, a religious fanatic and conqueror in the Sūdān, founder of the Tukulor kingdom (1797—1864). Born at Aloar in Futa in Senegal, ʿOmar Saïdu Tal began his theological studies under the direction of his father, a celebrated marabout, completed them in Walata among the Moors of Tagant and made the pilgrimage to Mecca about 1820. During his stay in the holy city he attached himself to Shaikh Muḥammad al-Ghālī, a pupil of Tidjānī's and entered the Tidjānī order. On his return to Africa he spent some time in Bornū and Sokoto and posed as a reformer of Islām there, showing himself particularly hostile to the members of the Ḳādiriya order, censuring them severely for their laxness and tolerance. He was kindly received by the sulṭāns of both kingdoms and was presented by them with wives and slaves; on the other hand on continuing his journey in Segū he was kept prisoner for a long time by the ruler of Bambāra. He then went to Futa Djallon [q. v., ii. 120[b] *et seq.*], where he won the sympathies of the Ḥalfoube, who were striving to shake off the yoke of the Pūl (Fulbe) and the Sorya faction. The zāwiya founded by him in Diegunko was much visited and he himself was soon recognised throughout the country as its spiritual leader.

From 1846 to 1848 al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar undertook a missionary journey in the lands bordering on Futa and won a great number of the tribes dwelling within the curve of the Niger and on its southern tributaries and even on the Senegal over to his teaching. Disturbed by his continually growing influence, the Almya-Almamy forbade him to enter the land of Futa whereupon al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar settled in Dinguiray. There he built a fortress, collected weapons and munitions and began to preach a holy war against the unbelievers. At this time he had at his disposal about 700 guns and a small body of men composed of his *talibe* (Arabic *ṭālib* "pupils") and *sofa* (stablemen); the latter were young slaves, converts to Islām, who began their military training by looking after the horses of the warriors. This small body was continually increased by new converts who were attracted by the hope of booty.

In less than fifteen years al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar was lord of an extensive territory. In 1849 he conquered the districts of Bure, Bambuk and Bellidugu, then turned against the Massassi of Kaarta and invaded their land after annihilating their forces. Their ruler Kandia was forced to submit with the principal chiefs of his land after a vain resistance and in 1854 the capital Nioro was occupied. The victor obliged the inhabitants of the land to adopt Islām, forbade them to keep more than four wives and divided the remainder among his soldiers. It was only after five years' hard fighting, however, that Kaarta was completely subdued. Risings broke out in many places, while the Ful of Massina besieged Nioro. Al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar had further to defend himself from the attacks of the Moors and against Aḥmadū, Sulṭān of Segū, and finally came into conflict with the French on the upper Senegal. The military station of Medine defended by Paul Holl withstood his attacks from the 20th April to the 18th July 1857, till his whole army was put to flight by Colonel Faidherbe.

When he had finally become undisputed lord of Kaarta, al-Ḥādjdj turned against the Bambara of Segū and the Ful of Massina, whose rulers had formed an alliance against him. He occupied Sansanding, defeated the allied forces of his opponents at Tio (January 1861) and entered the city of Segū on the 10th March 1861 and fortified it. After another victory over Aḥmadū, Sulṭān of Segū, and ʿAlī, sulṭān of Massina, Ḥamdallāhi, the capital of Massina, fell into the hands of the Tucolors. Aḥmadū was overtaken while fleeing across the Niger and slain, and Aḥmadū Shaykhū, son of al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar, appointed ruler of Segū.

Al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar then undertook a campaign against Timbuktu, which he gave over to plunder. Soon afterwards, however, a general rebellion broke out in Massina, instigated by several Ful chiefs, who were supported by Aḥmad Bekkai, chief of the Kunta. A second attack by al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar on Timbuktu failed and the army of his general Alfa ʿOmar, which was to revenge al-Ḥādjdj's defeat, was destroyed by the son of Aḥmad Bekkai, whereupon the rebellion in Massina assumed still greater proportions. Besieged by the rebels in Ḥamdallāhi, al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar succeeded in escaping after eight months' siege by setting the town on fire. Pursued by his enemies he fled into a cave where he committed suicide rather than fall into their hands alive. According to another story he was suffocated by them with smoke (Sept. 1864).

The kingdom founded by al-Ḥādjdj ʿOmar soon after his death broke up into the independent states of Segū, Kaarta and Massina. Aḥmadū Shaykhū endeavoured in vain to regain his father's heritage but was only successful in winning back Nioro in 1885 and Massina in 1891. In 1890 the French occupied Segū and in 1891 they took Kaarta and in 1893 Massina.

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(G. YVER.)

ḤADJDJĀDJ B. YŪSUF, an Omayyad statesman, was born at Ṭāʾif about 41 = 661, the grandson of the Thaḳafī Ṣaḥābī ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd. His father, Yūsuf b. al-Ḥakam had married the divorced wife of Mughīra b. Shuʿba. According to one tradition, which is corroborated by lampoons, he at first so far mistook his vocation as to begin life as a teacher. His early years, the history of his first appearances in public life, which are viciously travestied by hostile historians, are not much known. He left Arabia at an early period to throw in his lot with the Marwānids. When ʿAbd al-Malik undertook his campaign against Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair, the young Ḥadjdjādj succeeded in attracting the attention of the Caliph and followed him into the ʿIrāḳ. His sovereign sent him from Kūfa to the Ḥidjāz to regain this land from the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair. Ḥadjdjādj at first took up his quarters in Ṭāʾif. As soon as he had completed his preparations he advanced against Mecca and began to bombard the town from the heights of Abū Ḳubais; it soon fell into his hands. Ibn al-Zubair was shut up in the quarter of the Kaʿba and met his death there after a seven months' siege. His body was hung on the gallows (Djumādā 73 = October 692); thanks to Ḥadjdjādj's vigorous measures, the *djamāʿa* or political unity was restored throughout the empire. As a reward he was first given the governorship of the lands conquered by him, then that of Medina, of the Yemen and of the Yamāma. One of his first cares was to rebuild the Kaʿba which had been destroyed during the siege and he was careful to give it the old dimensions which it had had before its restoration by Ibn al-Zubair.

Two years were sufficient for Ḥadjdjādj to restore perfect peace in Western Arabia. After the death of his brother Bishr b. Marwān [q. v., i. 731] the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik sent him (Dec. 694) as governor to the ʿIrāḳ, which had been disorganised by the continual rebellions of the Khāridjīs. The story of his entry into Kūfa and his proclamation of his policy in the mosque there has become famous in literature. The threat which he renewed in Baṣra that he would cut off the heads of the mutineers resulted in the soldiers flocking in troops to the camp of his general Muhallab. The latter soon succeeded in inflicting a series of defeats on the Khāridjīs, in which the ringleaders perished. To dispose of the unruly and notorious Khāridjī Sha-

bīb [q. v.] Ḥadjdjādj had to call in the help of Syrian troops, as those of the ʿIrāḳ refused to act. Shabīb thereupon seized upon the absence of Ḥadjdjādj in Baṣra to advance against Kūfa. The viceroy only reached it a few hours before him and step by step he fought his way into the capital; after several days of fierce fighting Shabīb had to vacate the field and being pursued by the ʿIrāḳ cavalry was drowned in crossing the Dudjail. In the same year (77-78 = 696) Ḥadjdjādj succeeded in putting down the rebellion of a provincial governor, Muṭarrif, son of Mughīra b. Shuʿba.

He had just begun to recuperate a little after this heavy task when suddenly a rebellion broke out which was immeasurably more serious than all the earlier risings. It was fostered by the jealous aristocracy of the ʿIrāḳ and was directed not only against the viceroy but against the Umayyad dynasty; it was decidedly a separatist movement against the preferential position of Syria in the Caliph's empire. After the overthrow and death of Shabīb, the Syrian troops had remained in the country and were overwhelmed with tokens of Ḥadjdjādj's favour. The *Ḳurrāʾ* ("Ḳorʾān reciters") made common cause with the political malcontents. A leader for the dissatisfied arose in the person of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a grandson of Ashʿath b. Ḳais, [q. v., i. 56]. Sent by Ḥadjdjādj to Sidjistān at the head of 40,000 men, he rebelled against the viceroy, returned and soon had 100,000 men under him. With these he drove back the troops sent against him and captured the cities of Kūfa and Baṣra. Ḥadjdjādj had once more to appeal to Syria. Besieged in a suburb of Baṣra, he held out for a month against the onslaughts of the rebels. In the early days of March 701 he succeeded in inflicting a sanguinary defeat upon them, which was crowned by his victories at Dair al-Djamādjim and Maskin [q. v.]. The ʿIrāḳ was now utterly exhausted and lay at the feet of the powerful statesman; his tenacity had crushed the spirit of rebellion.

Thereupon (83—86) the tireless governor proceeded to found a new capital, Wāsiṭ [q. v.]. Situated almost halfway (whence its name!) between Kūfa and Baṣra it was so to speak a detached camp of the Syrian troops garrisoning the country. From the year 78 he united to his governorship of the ʿIrāḳ that of Khurāsān and the whole Arab east, a territory which had been considerably increased by the conquests of the famous general Muhallab [q. v.]. He finally incorporated ʿOmān on the Arabian peninsula in the empire, which had hitherto been independent and his generals penetrated even into the valley of the Indus. Ḥadjdjādj prepared the way for the brilliant empire of Walīd I by these extensions of territory abroad and the restoration of peace in the ʿIrāḳ. In spite of his autocratic rule he actively supported such important generals as Muhallab and Muslim b. Ḳutaiba. As a statesman his activities were not confined to reforms but were creative also. "His administrative regulations on the currency, measures and taxes and in the improvement of agriculture were epoch-making" (Wellhausen, p. 159). He has been reproached with corrupting the Ḳorʾān. But his work was limited, it appears, to a critical revision and the introduction of orthographical signs which were to prevent incorrect readings in the recitation of the sacred text. He also endeavoured to use Arabic in place of the local dialects which had hitherto been in use in the chancellery of the ʿIrāḳ. After putting down the rebellions, it was his first care "to heal the wounds, which a twenty years' war had inflicted on the prosperity of the country" (Wellhausen, p. 157). He dug new canals and restored the old ones.

His fidelity to the Umayyads knew no bounds; the grotesque manifestations of it related of him are inventions of historians writing in the service of the ʿAbbāsids. The Marwānids rewarded it by their constant favour. Ḥadjdjādj has therefore also been numbered among the "sins of ʿAbd al-Malik". His influence continued to increase under Walīd I. Ḥadjdjādj had energetically supported the candidature of the young prince to the detriment of his uncle ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q. v., i. 56ᵇ], the successor designate of ʿAbd al-Malik. Walīd delighted in seeking the advice of his lieutenant; on his death he received official expressions of condolence as if a member of the ruling house had died. Matrimonial alliances further attached the family of the powerful governor to that of the Umayyads.

Ḥadjdjādj's eloquence has become celebrated. The histories and literary collections have preserved numerous specimens. He laid great weight on purity of language and aimed at a kind of Arabic Atticism. From the point of view of religion, he impressed one as being a sincere Muslim. He protested however against the exaggerations of the extreme parties and against the disproportionate importance which even then was being accorded to Tradition. "In his life and in his death he showed a good conscience" (Wellhausen, p. 160). Did he deserve the reproach of cruelty? We read of 130,000 victims handed over to the executioner; at his death his prisons are said to have held 50,000 men and 30,000 women. Such enormous figures are their own refutation. In this period of political anarchy, of incessant risings, nothing authorises us to say that his repressive measures passed the limits of severity. "The kindest of men to good citizens, he showed himself pitiless to the rebellious" (al-Dhahabī). But even in these cases a frank confession or a show of spirit frequently sufficed to disarm in a moment, this officer of justice, who "dominated the majority of his contemporaries by the breadth of his intellectual outlook" (al-Djāḥiẓ). On the other hand his excessive vehemence rendered him liable to be impatient with his best friends (al-Mubarrad); his great general Muhallab in particular had to learn this. The whole character of Ḥadjdjādj betrayed a jealous tendency — he was the first to confess it — to concentrate all authority in his own vigorous hands. It resulted in his "showing himself brusque, sometimes harsh, but never cruel; still less mean or narrow" (Wellhausen, p. 159). He has been often compared with Ziyād b. Abīhi, minister of the Umayyads, a Thaḳafī like himself and his most famous predecessor in the ʿIrāḳ. His excess of vigour, his feverish nervousness and his crushing and provocative eloquence were not to Ḥadjdjādj's advantage. He lacked the smiling and somewhat sceptical *ḥilm*, which characterised the statesmen of the school of Muʿāwiya; whence arose complications which a more pliant nature might have avoided.

If Ḥadjdjādj at the end of a long period of political anarchy applied himself to the amelioration of the material situation of his vast vice-

royalty, his character, embittered by family bereavements, by the injustice of an unintelligent opposition, made him forget to staunch the moral wounds and to work efficaciously for the pacification of the minds of men.

The interests of the state had forced him to take harsh measures against Yazīd, son of the celebrated Muhallab. This gained him the enmity of Sulaimān [q. v.], the guardian of Yazīd and successor designate of Walīd I. Ḥadjdjādj had incurred the blame of inducing this monarch to exclude his brother from the succession in favour of his own sons; the viceroy therefore vowed not to survive Walīd. He had just completed his 52nd year, prematurely aged and worn out by the labours and disappointments of his tumultuous life when he died of a cancer in the stomach in the month of Ramaḍān 95 = June 714. He was buried at Wāsiṭ and to prevent posthumous vengeance all traces of his grave were removed. Feared in his lifetime the inexorable officer of justice was regretted by the wisest and fairest of his contemporaries, such as Muslim b. Ḳutaiba [q. v.] and Khālid al-Ḳasrī [q. v.]. The hatred in which later tradition holds him testifies to the important part he played in his lifetime; holding him up to opprobrium as the greatest supporter of the Marwānids, it places him with Yazīd I among the few Muslims, for whom it believes eternal damnation to be assured. "It is always a moral sentence of death for a governor, if he is compared to Ḥadjdjādj even in the remotest feature" (Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, Vol. i. 17). Unbiassed history gives him his place beside Ziyād b. Abīhi and reckons him among the statesmen of the Umayyad period who have deserved most of their country.

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(H. LAMMENS.)

ḤĀDJDJĪ BEG. [See RIḌWĀN BEGOVIĆ.]

ḤĀDJDJĪ-GIRĀI, the founder of an independent Tatar kingdom in the Crimea. Of his origin we only know that his grandfather Tāsh-Timūr, a prince of the Golden Horde, ruled in the Crimea for a short period (his coins are dated 797 = 1394-1395) towards the end of the viiith = xivth century. According to native tradition Tāsh-Timūr had entrusted the education of his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn to a member of the tribe of Girāi, Dawlat-Geldi; Dawlat-Geldi afterwards went on a pilgrimage to Mecca; on his return a son was born to his former pupil, and therefore received the name Ḥādjdjī-Girāi. According to Polish sources, Ḥādjdjī-Girāi was born in Lithuania, whither his family had fled and thence subdued the peninsula of the Crimea with the help of the Grand Duke Witold. In the year 1434 he won a victory over a Genoese army under Carlo Lomellino. Down to his death in 871 = 1466-1467 he appears as an ally of the Poles and Lithuanians and as the enemy of the Genoese in Kaffa and of the kingdom of the Golden Horde on the Volga. In 1465 Pope Paul II. sent an embassy to him with the singular proposal that he should declare war on Sulṭān Muḥammad Fātiḥ. Cf. also BAGHČE-SARĀI (i. 362 *et seq.*) and GIRĀY (ii. 171).

(W. BARTHOLD.)

ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA, i. e. MUṢṬAFĀ B. 'ABD ALLĀH, also known as KĀTIB ČELEBI, the famous Turkish encyclopaedist, was born in Constantinople in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1017 H. (February—March 1608). At the age of fourteen he enlisted in the picked corps of the *Silāḥdār's*, in which his father also was serving; at the same time he was admitted as a junior clerk in the so-called Anatolian audit office (*anadolu muḥāsebe ḳalemi*). From 1033—1045 H. he stayed continually but for two short intervals with the Imperial Army at the Eastern frontier of Asia Minor; he joined in the first campaign against the rebel Abāza Pasha (battle of Ḳaiṣariye end of 1033 H. = beginning of October 1624) and against the Persians (unsuccessful siege of Baghdād from Ṣafar 11th till Shawwāl 7th 1035 H. = Nov. 12th 1625 till July 2nd 1626) as well as the second and third campaign against Abāza Pasha (repeated siege of Erzerum, beginning of Moḥarram till 16th Rabī' I. 1037 H. = middle of September till Nov. 25th 1627 and from Moḥarram 6th—22nd 1037 H. = Sept. 5th—21st 1628), and only returned to Constantinople with the army at the end of Rabī' II. = beginning of December 1628. His father had in the meanwhile died in Mosul in the Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1035 H. = August 1625, during that campaign, as the army was retreating from Baghdād; at this same period he himself became a clerk in the Office of Control of the cavalry (*suwārī baḳī muḳābele ḳalemi*). In the beginning of Shawwāl 1038 H. = end of May 1629, he again joined the expedition, under the grand vizier Khosrew Pasha against Persia (conquest of Hamadhān end of 1039 H. = beginning of June 1630, and siege of Baghdād from Ṣafar 22nd till Rabī' I. 8th 1040 H. = Sept. 30th till Oct. 15th 1630) so that he only returned to Constantinople about the middle of 1041 H. = end of 1630. Finally he took part in the great expedition against Persia

1043—1045 H. (Sept. 1633 till end of 1635) under Murād IV. himself (conquest of Eriwan, Ṣafar 22nd 1045 H. = August 7th 1635). At this time he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, whilst the army was wintering in Ḥaleb (1633-1634). After his return to Constantinople a considerable fortune which he had inherited enabled him hence to give himself up entirely to his favourite hobby, his scientific studies. He gave up his post in the Office of Control in 1055 H. (1645) as he did not advance as his merits deserved, but three years later his friends secured him the post of second Khalīfa (assistant) in the same Office, and henceforth he called himself Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. He died in Constantinople in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 17th 1067 H. = Oct. 6th 1657 not yet fifty years old. The list of his works as given here, is drawn from his own autobiography, with the exception of Nº. 5 and Nº. 12, which the author does not mention for unknown reasons:

1. *Fadhlaka*, sketch of the history of about 150 dynasties, and at the same time an extract of the historical work of al-Djannābī (died 999 H.); written in Arabic in 1051. The author mentions it incidentally in his biographical encyclopedia under Nº. 2198 and 5496 (see Nº. 13); this is probably lost.

2. A compilation of two commentaries upon the Ḳor'ān, one of them being the commentary of al-Baiḍāwī (1052 H.); seems lost.

3. A commentary to the *Muḥammadiye* of 'Alī Ḳoshdjī the astronomer; this was not finished and seems likewise lost.

4. *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh*, chronological tables finished in 1058 H.; the introduction and the different appendices are written in Turkish, whilst the tables themselves relating all historical facts from the creation up to the year 1058 H. are written in Persian (see *Lex. Bibl.*, Nº. 3496); it was printed in Constantinople in 1146 H. (1733) together with the following tables that go as far as 1145 H., and other additions; Italian translation by the Venetian dragoman Rinaldo Carli, Venice 1697 (see *Zenker*, i. Nº. 924; for other translations see Rieu, *Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 33, and Pertsch, *Verzeichn. der türk. Handschr. . . . zu Berlin*, Nº. 195).

5. *Djihānnumā*, i. e. Cosmography, first edition, begun in 1058 H. and dedicated to the Sulṭān Meḥemmed IV (see *Lex. Bibl.*, Nº. 4355); this work was already considered as lost in the time of the printer Ibrāhīm (cf. below Nº. 10).

6. *Sullam al-wuṣūl ilā ṭabaḳāt al-fuḥūl*, i. e. biographical encyclopaedia of famous men, in Arabic. The fair copy of Vol. I. was finished in 1061 and 1062 H.; the holograph of the author is now to be found in the library of Shahīd 'Alī Pasha in Constantinople.

7. *Tuḥfat al-akhyār fi 'l-ḥikam wa 'l-amthāl wa 'l-ash'ār*, an anthology containing maxims, aphorisms, proverbs and poems, composed in 1061 or 1063 H., quoted in the *Lex. Bibl.*, Nº. 2537; a copy of it exists in Es'ad Efendi's library in Constantinople.

8. *Kashf al-ẓunūn 'an asāmī 'l-kutub wa 'l-funūn*, is the celebrated encyclopaedia in Arabic, the author's most important work, for which he spent over twenty years in gathering the material; Vol. I. concluded in 1064 H., standard edition published by Fluegel, Leipzig 1835—1858; and further in Būlāḳ, 1274 H. and Stambul, 1310-1311 H.

9. *Lawāmi' al-nūr fī ẓulmat atlas minor*, a translation into Turkish of Mercator's and Hondius's *Atlas Minor*, following the Arnheim Edition of 1621; this translation was completed in 1064 and 1065 H. with the help of the French renegade Ikhlāṣī Shaikh Meḥemmed Efendi; copies are to be met with in several libraries in Constantinople.

10. *Djihānnumā*, second edition of Nº. 5, founded on quite a new plan, the author having in the meantime largely used the European standard works of that epoch (Mercator, Ortelius, Cluverius). Of the original work, which the author never brought to end, we know those parts treating of Asia Minor, by the publication of the printer Ibrāhīm Muteferriḳe (*Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1145 H. = 1732, only the first part; the second part intended to contain the description of Europe, Africa and America, was never published; for translations of the printed text by Norberg, Armain, v. Hammer, Charmoy, and others see Fluegel, *Die arab. pers. u. türk. Handschr. der K. K. Hofbibl.*, Nº. 1282 and Rieu, *o. c.*, p. 111) and by two important fragments, both by the author's own hand, one of them in the British Museum (Or. 1038) and the other in the Court Library of Vienna (see Fluegel, *o. c.*, Nº. 1282). Further we possess the description of the Ottoman dominions in Europe, in several copies, three of which are to be found in the library of Rāghib Pasha, in the Mewlewī-khāne of Pera and the Kutubkhāne-i 'Umūmī in Constantinople; the fourth one is in the Court Library in Vienna; the fifth copy by the author's own hand has disappeared, and it is from this last, that von Hammer translated some parts in his *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812.

11. A translation into Turkish of the Latin translation of the Byzantine historian Khalkokondylas, or as the author himself styles it of a "Frankish Chronicle"; no copy of it extant.

12. *Rawnaḳ al-Salṭanat*, i. e. History of Constantinople, supposed to be a translation of a work originally written in Arabic by the same author; now lost.

13. A Turkish translation of *Fadhlaka* (see Nº. 1); a manuscript of it is said to exist in the library of Es'ad Efendi in Constantinople.

14. *Al-ilhām al-muḳaddas min al-faiḍ al-aḳdas*, a treatise on different rites and rules of Islām, that cannot be observed under certain circumstances. A copy of it exists in the Kutubkhāne-i 'umūmī in Constantinople.

15. *Dustūr al-'amal li-iṣlāḥ al-khalal*, a treatise on the financial reforms, written in 1063 H., but published only three years after. It was printed in Constantinople 1280 H. (1863) and translated into German by Behrnauer, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xi. 111—132.

16. *Radjm erradjīm bi-sīn wa 'l-mīm*, a collection of curious cases of law and of the different decisions given upon them.

17—19. Extracts of about 300 miscellanies (*madjmū'a*), and two small volumes containing historical and literary anecdotes: have all disappeared.

20. *Fadhlakat al-tawārīkh*, the continuation of the *Fadhlaka*, Nº. 1 and 13, in Turkish, containing the history of the Ottoman Empire from 1000 H. till beginning 1065 H.; printed in Constantinople 1286-1287 H.

21. *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, History of the Ottoman navy, written in 1067 H. (1656); published in Constantinople in 1141 H. (1728) and 1329 (1911). English translation by James Mitchell (chaps. I—IV), London 1831 (Zenker, Nº. 937, cf. 923).

22. *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ fī ikhtiyār al-aḥaḳḳ*, the author's last work written in Ṣafar 1067 H. (Nov. 1656). A treatise concerning several theological disputes of that epoch. In this treatise he breaks definitively with his first teacher, Ḳāḍīzāde, the head of the orthodox party. Published in Constantinople in 1281, 1286 and 1306 H.

Bibliography: The autobiography of the author at the end of N°. 22, very incorrectly edited by Wickerhauser, *Wegweiser* etc., p. 159—167, and the autobiographical note at the end of the first part of the *Sullam al-wuṣūl* (N°. 6); the *Manāḳib-i Kātib Čelebi*, which precedes the print of the *Taḳwīm* (N°. 4); the 158th biography in the *Dhail-i 'Aṭā'ī* by 'Ushshāḳīzāde (see von Hammer, *Osm. Gesch.*, vi. 47); *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 395; *Kātib Čelebi* by Brussali Meḥemmed Ṭāhir b. Rif'at, Stambul 1331 H.; the older European authors who treat of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and his works are quoted by Fluegel, *Handschr. der K. K. Hofbibliothek*, i. 49 and Rieu, *l. c.*, p. 33; compare also Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber* etc., N°. 570, and Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. 428.
(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤADJDJĪ PASHA (AIDINLI ḤĀDJDJĪ PASHA), whose real name was Khiḍr b. 'Alī b. Khaṭṭāb, a contemporary of Sulṭān Bāyazīd Yildirim, an Ottoman jurist and student of medicine. He went to study in Cairo where he studied under Shaikh Mubārak Shāh Muntaḳ and went through his theological and legal courses in company with Shaikh Kamāl al-Dīn and Shaikh Badr al-Dīn Simāwī. An illness, which he went through, turned his attention to the study of medicine and he soon attained fame in it. He ultimately became chief physician at the Cairo Hospital *Māristān-i Miṣr*. Returning to Aidīn he settled in Birgi on the invitation of Aidīn Oghlu Meḥmed Bey, and died there in 820 (1417). He also placed his services at the disposal of the conqueror Tīmūr and is said to have instructed his physicians. He also spent some time at the court of Prince Sulaimān in his service.

In his early days he wrote theological and legal works: e. g. a *Tafsīr fī Maṭāli' al-Anwār fī Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-Asrār* in two volumes, a commentary on Baiḍāwī's commentary on the Ḳur'ān dedicated to 'Īsā Bey, one of the sons of Aidīn, entitled *Tawāli' al-Anwār fī 'l-Kalām*, and marginal notes on Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī's commentary on the *Maṭāli' al-Anwār* (*fī 'l-Manṭiḳ*) of Ḳāḍī Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Urmawī. His medical works are more important and have maintained their authority down to modern times. The largest is the *al-Shifā'*, a work on therapeutics in Turkish written for Aidīn Oghlu Meḥmed Bey which is divided into three sections treating respectively of *a.* physiology and dietetics, *b.* foods, drinks and medicaments and *c.* causes, diagnosis and cure of diseases. A brief similarly divided handbook for the layman is his *Tashīl al-Ṭibb* (The facilitation of medicine). Both works are said to have been translated into Latin. Less known are his: *Shifā' al-Asḳām wa-Dawā' al-Ālām* ("Cure of disease and alleviation of pain"), his *Farā'id fī Dhikr al-Adwiyat al-Mufrada*, *al-Tiryāḳ* and *al-Kāmī al-Djāmi'*.

Bibliography: *Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniya*, Constantinopel 1269, p. 74; Thurayyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī* (1311), ii. 94; M. Ṭāhir, *Aidīn Wilāyetine Mensūb Meshāyikh, 'Ulemā, Shu'arā, Mowerrikhīn we Aṭibbānīn Terādjim-i Aḥwāli*, Constantinople 1324, p. 174—177; Hammer *Geschichte des Osman. Reiches*, i. 270; do., *Geschichte der Osman. Dichtkunst*, i. 73; Flügel, *Die arab. pers. u. türk. Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibl.*, ii. 536 *et seq.* (THEODOR MENZEL.)

ḤADJIEWAD, a character in the shadow-play, the inseparable companion of the *Karagöz* [q. v.].

ḤĀDJIB (from *ḥadjaba*, to prevent any one entering) is the name of the office of doorkeeper e. g. *Ḥadjabat al-Bait* (the doorkeepers of the Ka'ba, see Lane's *Lexicon*). It corresponds to the office of chamberlain in our time. We may here mention the theoretical explanation of Ibn Khaldūn that the chamberlain should protect the ruler from troublesome visitors so that he may remain undisturbed in his important labours. In the western kingdoms (e. g. in Cordova) he frequently became representative of the Caliph and chief of the viziers. The petty, practically independent kings of Spain took the title *Ḥādjib*. Among the Ḥafṣids [q. v.] he was superintendent, war-minister and as being the chief official the real ruler, among the Zaiyānids [q. v.], superintendent of the palace and minister of finance. In the eastern kingdoms (Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt) he had a position at court similar to that of chamberlain and was also given this title even if he served the ruler as commander of the army. He received quite different duties in the Mamlūk period. To relieve the Sulṭān's governor in Cairo (*al-Diyār al-Maṣriya*) and in the provinces or perhaps to diminish his influence, the *Amīr Ḥādjib* or *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb* was entrusted in Baibars' reign (658—676 = 1260—1277) with the decision of quarrels between the amīrs and the soldiers, at a later period, when the office of governor of the sultanate in Cairo was abolished, he was placed at the head of the administrative military court in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir Muḥammad and his sons. In difficult cases he consulted with the Sulṭān. He gradually from being a judge in military matters began to encroach on civil cases also which belonged to the ḳāḍī's province; the parties concerned seem to have resisted this at first, as Maḳrīzī vividly describes but they ultimately became reconciled to it and often preferred the civil jurisdiction of the Ḥādjib to the ecclesiastical of the Ḳāḍī. Ḳalḳashandī (in the time of Sulṭān Mu'aiyad Shaikh 815—824) ranks him as the eighth official, the author of the *Dīwān al-Inshā'* (in the reign of Sulṭān Barsbey, 825—842) calls him the twelfth in rank, and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (under Sulṭān Djaḳmaḳ 842—857) the seventh; and, according to him, the second Ḥādjib was *Ṭablakhāna* (Amīr of 40 Mamlūks, q. v.), the third Ḥādjib Amīr of twenty or ten Mamlūks; there were also 20 subordinate Ḥādjibs without the rank of Amīr. In the provinces, according to Ḳalḳashandī, the Ḥādjib came third next to the governor and the commander of a corps (Atābeg), and, according to Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, he was likewise third after the governor and the commander of the citadel, when there was one, and second when there was no citadel. He was the deputy of the governor in his absence, in case of his death till the appointment of a successor. The Sulṭān himself only corresponded with officers here mentioned: to the Amīr Ḥādjib of the great provinces of Damascus, Aleppo and Tripolis he called himself in the signature "his father Sulṭān

N.N.", while the Emir Hadjib in Hamā, Safad, and Ghazza had to be content with the simple "Sultān N.N."

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, transl. by de Slane, ii. 5, 7, 11—16; Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāk), ii. 219—222; *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, extract from Kalkashandī (Cairo 1906), p. 247, 323, 476, 478; *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 114, 115; *Dīwān al-Inshā'*, Paris Ms. arab. ancien fonds 1573, fol. 124ᵛ, and in Silv. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie* (extracts from Makrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* with numerous notes), Paris 1826, ii. 00—71 and 157—191; van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, i. 567, 568; Sobernheim, in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*, 1903, p. 176—205. (M. SOBERNHEIM.)

AL-HADR, the ancient Hatra, "Ατρα on the Wādī Tharthār in the desert, three short days' journey S.W. of Mōṣul, now in ruins, on which cf. the works mentioned in the *Bibliography*. The town's claim to be mentioned here is that the Arab historians give a certain amount of information about its former extent and rapid decline. Hadr, says Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 282, was built entirely of hewn stone; there were sixty strong forts there and 9 smaller ones between every two: there were a palace and a bath near every fort. During the reign of the Sāsānid Shāpūr I. (240—271) a man of the name of Saṭirūn (according to Nöldeke = Sanatruces) ruled here; the Arabs called him Ḍaizan. As the latter had made a raid on Persian territory, Shāpūr resolved to besiege him in his capital, but could not take the strong fortifications until Ḍaizan's daughter fell in love with him and betrayed to him the secret by which he could make powerless the talisman that protected the castle. He thus succeeded in taking the town and utterly destroying it. He took Ḍaizan's daughter with him to marry her, soon however he became so disgusted with her ingratitude to her father, who had certainly treated her most tenderly, that he had her bound to the tail of a wild horse so that she died a terrible death. Firdawsī and several Arab historians wrongly say that it was Shāpūr II. who destroyed Hatra, for it is certain that the town was already in ruins by 363.

Bibliography: W. Andrae, *Hatra. Nach Aufnahmen der Assur-Expedition der Deutsch. Orient. Ges.*, Leipzig 1908; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, ii. 5 *et seq.* (where the earlier literature is also given); Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 33 *et seq.* (according to Ṭabarī, ed. Goeje, i. 827 *et seq.*, with occasional references to the accounts of other writers); Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s. v.; Herzfeld in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, Vol. lxviii.

HADRA, "presence", is used broadly by mystics as a synonym of *ḥuḍūr*, "being in the presence [of Allāh]". Its correlative is *ghaiba* (q. v. with its references) "absence" from all except Allāh. On the controversy as to whether in expressing this relation to Allāh *ḥaḍra* or *ghaiba* is to be preferred — that is, which is the more perfect, final element — see especially Nicholson, *Kashf*, pp. 248 *et seqq.* The term was later extended by Ibn 'Arabī, in working out his monistic scheme, to "The Five Divine Hadarāt", stages or orders of Being in the Neoplatonic chain (cf. above, vol. I, pp. 62 *et seq.*, 980). There is a short statement of these in the *Ta'rīfāt* of Djurdjānī, p. 6 (Cairo 1321), which has been translated by Horten in his *Theologie des Islam*, pp. 294 *et seq.*, where, and on p. 151, he also gives some minor uses of the term. See, too, Massignon's *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, p. 183 with a reference to Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, and Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p. 169. In consequence, the Plotinian scheme of dynamic emanation was called in Islam *madhhab al-ḥaḍarāt* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, III, p. 69; De Slane, III, p. 100). Derwishes call their regular Friday service *ḥaḍra* (above, Vol. I, 958). The use of *ḥaḍra* (*ḥaḍrat*) as a title of respect — the Deity, saints, prophets, any educated man — belongs to the Lexicon.

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

HADRAMAWT (the חצרמות of the South Arabian inscriptions), now pronounced Hadramūt, a land in Arabia in the east of Yemen between 47° and 55° East. Long. and 15° and 19° North. Lat. It is bounded in the south by the sea, in the southeast by the land of Mahra, in the N.E., N. and N.W. by the great Central Arabian desert, in the S.W. by the land of the 'Awāliḳ [q. v.] and of the Wāḥidī [q. v.]. The name Hadramawt is according to Arab tradition derived from Hadramawt b. Ḥimyar . . . . . b. Ya'rub b. Ḳaḥṭān (Hazarmāweth, the son of Yoḳṭan in *Genesis* x. 26).

In ancient times Hadramawt was celebrated as a land of frankincense and was greater in extent than it now is. The Χατραμωτῖται (Χατραμῶται) of Strabo (Atramitae in Pliny) were one of the most powerful tribes of the great South Arabian kingdom; their metropolis was Sabbata (Sabata). According to Greek legend, the scent of the frankincense tree was deadly and the valley in which it grew was therefore called the "land of death". The Arab lexicographers also connect the name Hadramawt with the alleged unhealthy situation of the land, for they explain it as a combination of *ḥaḍr* "town, land" and *mawt* "death"; but, apart from the fact that the land has only borne the name Hadramūt in modern times, the climate of Hadramawt has always been regarded as healthy. In the pre-Muhammadan period Hadramawt was inhabited by the Ṣadaf or Ṣadif. To these the Kinda [q. v.] attached themselves, who migrated from Bahrain to Hadramawt to the number of over 30,000 men about the time of the birth of Muhammad; their most important clan at this time was the Tudjīb, who numbered 1500 men in Hamdānī's time. In the time of the Prophet princes with the title 'Abāhila ruled in Hadramawt; the Kinda prince Ḳais b. Ash'ath adopted Islām in Muhammad's time: after the death of the prophet he seceded but was soon afterwards conquered. The land is now under Turkish suzerainty, but this is merely nominal for the Porte keeps no garrisons in the country nor does it levy any taxes.

Hadramawt is a mountainous land traversed by a great valley with several wādīs of considerable size branching off from it. Along the coast there are hills. These are followed by a high chain of mountains, of which the highest is the Djebel al-Arḍa (a vast plateau). A second chain of mountains adjoins the main valley on the north and this runs up to the great desert. The two chains consist mainly of limestone and are as a rule barren; only here and there do we find small ilb (aloe)-trees, thorn-bushes and pastures.

The main wādī runs from west to east and then to the south where it flows into the sea near the fishing-village of Saiḥūt, which belongs to the land of the Mahra. The most western town in the main valley is Shabwa. From Shabwa the road runs through a sandy and sparsely populated district to the isolated mountain al-Ḳā'ima. To the left of this road to al-Ḳā'ima lie the wādīs Djābiya (well cultivated) and Sar, and on the right the wādīs 'Irma, Duhr and Rakhiya (the latter with the important town of Sāhwa [Sahwa in Wrede]; to this wādī also belongs the Bahr al-Safī mentioned by Wrede, where in the midst of the desert, according to the observations of this explorer, all that is thrown in sinks; in the S. of the W. Duhr and Rakhiya begins the land of the 'Awāliḳ). S.E. of al-Ḳā'ime lie the two towns Ḳa'aiba and Hainin (Hainan, Hähnem in Niebuhr, on the wādī of the same name, in Hamdānī's time a large village with *ḥiṣn* and a market, inhabited by the Tudjīb). South of Ḳa'aiba rise (on the right of the main wādī) the three wādīs 'Amd (formed by the union of the two wādīs Nīr and Raida Ardjin at the town of 'Amd), Daw'an and al-'Aisr (in Hamdānī also called 'Aisr). The important Wādī Daw'an (a town of Daw'an, mentioned by Hamdānī [Θαυάνη in Ptolemy], no longer exists) has a right (western) arm Daw'an al-Aiman and a left (eastern) arm (Daw'an al-Aiman and Daw'an al-Aisar); the northern part of the Wādī bears the name Hadjaren after the isolated mountain Hadjaren with the town of the same name near it [q. v.]. The wādī is thickly populated. The most important places in this wādī are: al-Khuraiba (the most southern town in the wādī), Ṣīf (Seif, Sayf in Wrede), Diḥa, Ḳaidūn (Kaidūn in Niebuhr and Wrede with the tomb of the greatest saint of Ḥaḍramūt, Aḥmad b. 'Īsā, called 'Amūd al-Dīn), Meshhed 'Alī with the so-called tombs of the kings; we may further mention of the other localities: al-Ḳarrain, 'Awra, Hoṭūn, Halbūn, Ribāṭ and Arsama. Not far from the confluence of the W. 'Amd and W. Daw'an lie the villages of 'Andal (in Hamdānī's time, an important town inhabited by the Ṣadaf), Ḳāra (in Hamdānī Ḳāra al-Ashbā) and Adjlāniya (called a large town by Hamdānī). On the Wādī 'Amd is the important town of Hawra [q. v.]. From the town of Hainin up to the ancient and still important town of Shibām [q. v.] the main valley is called Wādī al-Kasr (in Hamdānī also Wādī Kasr Kashākis or Kashākis after the town of this name built on the top of a hill), to Shibām Wādī bin Rashīd or Wādī al-Aḥḳāf (also in Hamdānī), also briefly al-Wādī (Ḥaḍramawt) or Wādī Masīla. The most important towns in the main valley east of Shibām are: al-Ghurfa, Tarīs (Tris in Niebuhr, Tarysé in Wrede, in Hamdānī's time a large town), Sai'ūn, now the largest town and chief centre of learning, the very ancient town of Maryama, Būr, Tāriba (Tarbe in Niebuhr, Tyārby in Wrede), the ancient capital Tarīm [q. v.], 'Ināt ('Einat, on the Wādī of this name) and al-Ḳasm. From al-Ḳasm Ḳabr Hūd is reached, the tomb of the prophet Hūd on the Wādī Barahūt [q. v., i. 653[b] *et seq.*]. West of Shibām in the main valley we must further mention the important town of al-Ḳaṭn. From Hawra to al-Ḳasm the valley is thickly populated and covered with date-groves, gardens, fields and many villages, from al-Ḳasm to Ḳabr Hūd it is less populated and from Ḳabr Hūd to Saiḥūt the population is very small. Of side-wādīs of the great valley there are still to be mentioned: (in the north) Widyān Sarr (with Ḳabr Ṣāliḥ), al-Na'ām, al-Ḥu'aima (both the latter east of Shibām), Madar (east of Sai'ūn), Thibbi (Thebī), 'Aidīd (with the tomb of the saint 'Aidīd), both west of Tarīm, and al-Ghabra (east of Tarīm), (in the south) the two important wādīs Bin 'Alī (east of Shibām) and 'Adim (Odim in Wrede, not far from Tarīm). The more important localities on the coast in addition to the two great harbours al-Mukallā [q. v.] and al-Shiḥr [q. v.]: are Borūm (Brūm, Berūm, with an important harbour, according to Sprenger identical with the Prionotus of Ptolemy), Fūwa (with 50 houses including a few of some size), Ghail Bawazīr (with very fine tobacco plantations), al-Ḥāmī, al-Shiḥrām and Ḳoṣai'ar. Of wādīs on the coast may be mentioned: Ḥirīha, Ḥuwaira and al-Ma'dī. The chief wādī and the side-wādīs are usually dry and only swollen with floods in the rainy season.

Among mountains in Ḥaḍramawt we may mention Ḥuwaira (on the wādī of the same name), 'Abd Allāh Gharīb, al-Fiḳra, the Plateau al-'Araba already mentioned, Ṭamḥa (all in the north near the coast), Raida al-Daiyin (in the south of the Wādīs 'Amd and Daw'an), Hasyūn, al-Ghūz, Raida al-Ma'ārra (in the south of the Wādī 'Adim), Suwaighira (with Ḥiṣn al-Ḳā', in the south of the Wādī Bin 'Alī), Ḏjahlān, Ghumdān, al-Ghaiwar (in the north of the Wādīs 'Amd and Daw'an), Ḳiḥāl al-Abtar (between the Wādī Djābia and Wādī Hainin), Djilda (with Ḥiṣn 'Arḳāb), Djithma (both south of Sai'ūn), Wap (in the north of Tarīm), al-Munaiḥaz (south of Tarīm), Ghail Bin Nemain (N. W. of Ḳabr Hūd). In the west of the northern mountain chain rises a large plateau, Raida al-Ṣai'ar (called after the ancient Bedouin tribe Ṣai'ar, a clan of the Ṣadaf, whose name was borne in Hamdānī's time by a fine breed of camel), to which a larger plateau Nadjd (Naiyid, Nadjd Āl Kathīr and Nadjd al-'Awāmir is linked up. Both bound on the great Central Arabian desert in the north. In neither of these mountain ranges is there any place of the slightest importance.

The climate of Ḥaḍramawt is dry and healthy; in summer it is very warm and in winter very cold; even in summer it freezes on the high mountains. The rainy period lasts from October to February, in which however it hardly rains four times; in many years there is absolutely no rain; in the coast the rainfall is more abundant. The products of the soil are: cereals, dhura (a kind of maize), dukhn (a kind of sago), dates, grapes, figs, nebeḳ fruit, indigo, sesame and tobacco. The irrigation of the soil is artificially performed by artesian wells. The houses are built of bricks, sometimes in the style of a ḥiṣn; they are from two to four stories high and are loopholed. The Beduins live in mud huts or caves; there are no tents in Ḥaḍramawt; nor are there coffee-houses (*ḳahwa's*) here, such as are found everywhere else in Arabia.

The ruling class in Ḥaḍramawt is the tribe (*ḳabā'il*). The chiefs of the tribes called *muḳad-dam's* live in fortified palaces and maintain small garrisons. The free citizens of the towns, who control the trade and industries of the town are *ra'iya* of the muḳaddams, who levy oppressive taxes on them. The most powerful prince on the coast of Ḥaḍramawt is the ruler of al-Shiḥr, to

whom the towns of al-Makalla, Ghail Bawazir, al-Hadjarain, Hawra, al-Kaṭn and Shibām also belong. In the interior the greatest muḳaddam is he of Sai'ūn, who bears the title Sulṭān and owns the towns of Tarīm, Tarīs and al-Ghurfa. Hadramawt is inhabited by the following tribes: I. Barāik, Bedouins with the hereditary title Shaikh in the country round Shaḥwa (a portion belongs to al-Shiḥr); II. Āl 'Amr, in the wādīs of 'Irma and Duhr; III. Bait Kinda, Bedouins, divided into: Āl Ṣafar (in the Raida al-Ṣai'ar and the mountains around) and 2. Āl Maḥfūẓ (formerly in Hadjarain, now scattered over the adjoining mountains); IV. Āl al-Karab, Bedouins around Rakbān on the Wādī Djābiya; V. al-Nahd, on the lower part of the wādī Rakhiya and in the main valley as far as Ka'ūba and Hainin (with ten subdivisions, of whom the Ḥukmān are the most important; the chief of the Ḥukmān, who lives in Ka'ūba is muḳaddam of the whole tribe); VI. Āl Ba'aith and VII. Āl Ḥaidara (both Bedouins on the upper part of the Wādī Rakhiya); VIII. al-Dju'da, almost all Bedouins, on the Wādī 'Amd; IX. Āl 'Amūd or Banī 'Īsā (called after Shaikh Aḥmad b. 'Īsā, 'Amūd al-Dīn) with the hereditary title Shaikh, on the Wādī Daw'an and on the Raida al-Daiyin (with 22 subdivisions; the most important are the Āl Muṭahhar, whose chief lives in Biṭḥa); X. al-Dhayābina (sing. Dhaibānī) and XI. Āl b. Sa'd (both Bedouins, on the Wādī 'Ain and in the surrounding mountains); XII. Āl Yāfi', on the coast and in the towns of al-Hadjarain, Hawra, al-Kaṭn and Shibām, divided into: 1. Āl Ẓobai (with 8 minor divisions); 2. Āl Lab'ūs (sing. al-Ba'sī, with 4 minor divisions); 3. Āl al-Mūsaṭah (with 8 minor divisions, of which the most important is the Ḳa'ṭa [sing. al-Ḳu'aiṭī], whose chief is head of the whole tribe); XIII. Saibān, a large Bedouin tribe, divided into: 1. Saibān proper in the north and northwest of the Djebel Ḥowaira; 2. al-Akābira (sing. al-Akbarī), in the south and S.W. of the mountain mentioned; 3. al-'Awābitha (sing. al-'Awbathānī), in the S.E. of the Wādī Daw'an; 4. Āl Baḥsan (sing. al-Baḥsanī), on the Wādī Djirba and the surrounding mountains; XIV. al-Hamūm, Bedouins in the mountains of 'Abd Allāh Gharīb, al-Fiḳra, al-'Arsha, Ṭamḥa; XV. al-Shanāfira, descendants of Shanfarī al-Hamdānī (according to the legend the first prince of Hadramawt), a large tribe, divided into: 1. Āl Kathīr (Kathīrī), between Shibām and Sai'ūn (with five large subdivisions, among them the Āl 'Abd al-Wadūd, around Ḳoṣai'ar); 2. al-'Awāmir (al-'Āmirī), in the large valley between Sai'ūn and Tarīm and the mountains to the north; 3. Āl Djābir, Bedouin tribe, in the mountains of Djilda and Djithma and the Wādīs Bin 'Alī and 'Adim; the chief of the Shanāfira is the Sulṭān of Sai'ūn; XVI. Āl Bādjaraī in the N.E. of Sai'ūn between the Kathīr and 'Awāmir; XVII. Banū Thanna (see al-Thannī), divided into: 1. Āl Tamīm, in the large valley between al-Ḳasam and Ḳabr Hūd (their chief resides in al-Ḳasam); 2. al-Manāhil (Minhālī), a Bedouin tribe on the Wādī Masīla between Ḳabr Hūd and Saiḥūt and in the mountains to the east and west (their chief lives in 'Inat); 3. Āl al-Simāḥ (sing. al-Simāḥī), a Beduin tribe in the hills to the north of Wādī 'Inat.

Besides the *ḳabā'il* and *ra'īya* there is in Hadramawt another separate class of society, the Saiyids, who represent the religious aristocracy of the land. They are very numerous and enjoy a great prestige among the people, surpassing that of the muḳaddams; the other inhabitants kiss their hands in token of respect. They are exceedingly conservative and averse to any innovation; they bear the title *ḥabīb* and are divided into families whose hereditary superior bears the honorific title *munṣib*. Many of the Saiyids are reverenced as saints and presents are lavished on them, many again enjoy a great reputation as scholars. They bear no arms and as a rule pay no taxes. They consider themselves the highest nobility in Arabia. They trace their descent from the Shaikh Aḥmad b. 'Īsā mentioned above, who in his turn is said to have been a descendant in the seventh generation from Muḥammad's grandson Ḥusain. According to tradition, Aḥmad b. 'Īsā came several centuries ago from Baṣra to Hadramawt with eighty men, who became the ancestors of the Saiyids.

The number of inhabitants of Hadramawt is not accurately known. According to Van den Berg's investigations, the total population is not more than 150,000, viz., from the Wādī Duhr to the Wādī Rakhiya 20,000, in the Wādīs 'Amd, Daw'an and al-'Ain 25,000, from Shibām to Tarīm 50,000, from Tarīm to Saiḥūt 6000, in the north of the great valley up to the Central Arabian desert 15,000, south of the great valley to the sea 16,000, Shiḥr and the neighbourhood 12,000, Makalla and the neighbourhood 6000.

The trade is of importance on the coast particularly in the towns of Shiḥr and Makalla. It extends to the east coast of Africa, British India, the Red Sea, the south coast of Arabia (particularly Aden, Masḳaṭ and Ẓafār) and the Persian Gulf. The exports are: fish-fins (to British India and China), dates, cloths dyed with indigo, gum-arabic and resin. Imports are: cereals, coconuts, coffee, sugar, rice, cotton, iron, petroleum etc. The trade by caravans with the interior is slight. It stretches on the west as far as Yemen on the one side and on the other eastwards as far as 'Omān. In the larger towns there is a market every Friday (the largest is at Sai'ūn). The tribes have their representatives at the markets of the larger localities, called *dallāl* [q.v.] (brokers, called *kilāb al-sūḳ* "market-dogs" by the people), who are appointed to sell their goods and who form a separate gild under an *'aḳīl* (superior). The chief industry is the textile, which is now on the decline on account of the competition of cheaper European products; its great centre used to be Tarīm. Besides the textile industry we may mention the manufacture of indigo and shipbuilding on the coast. Agriculture is in the hands of the Ḳabā'il and the Saiyids, who have their fields tilled by slaves. The latter are as a rule Somalis or Nubians and are usually Muslims; they bear special names, which are distinct from the usual Arab names, e.g. Mabrūk, Mundjiḥ etc.

The Hadramī's are an able, industrious people devoted to their native land. On account of the increasing poverty of the country many are forced to leave home and seek their fortune in foreign lands; many Hadramī's are to be found at the present day in the trading centres of Arabia where they earn a living as porters and petty traders, in Egypt and particularly in the English and Dutch Indies. As soon as they have acquired a modest

fortune, they return home often after an absence of twenty to thirty years. They are Shāfiʿīs and are exceedingly fanatical and superstitious; they believe in spirits, who haunt places where treasure is buried. Christians and Jews may not even make a temporary stay in their land which they call *Balad al-ʿIlm wa ʾl-Dīn* ("land of knowledge and of faith"). Their women, who (even those of the Saiyids) are as a rule ignorant of reading and writing, enjoy a better fate than their kinswomen in other parts of Arabia. Divorces are exceedingly rare; nor is polygamy practised among these Beduins.

Ḥaḍramawt was first visited in 1843 by Adolph v. Wrede, who could only explore a part of the land, as he was recognised as a European in the town of Ṣīf and only managed to escape the death that threatened him by a hurried flight. Fifty years later Leo Hirsch and Mr and Mrs Th. Bent visited the country but could not explore the land to its full extent.

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ḤAḌŪR (Ḥaḍūr Nabī [Nebi] Shuʿaib), a mountain in South Arabia, belonging to the Sarāt group of Alhān, to the west of Ṣanʿāʾ [q. v.] between the Wādī Sahām and the Wādī Surdud near the Ḥarāz range [q. v.], from which it was separated in Hamdānī's time by the Balad al-Akhrūdj (now Ḥaima [q. v.]) inhabited by the Ṣulaiḥ (a branch of the Hamdān). The name Ḥaḍūr is derived from Ḥaḍūr b. ʿAdī b. Mālik, an ancestor of the prophet Shuʿaib b. Mahdam, mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (cf. Sūra vii. 83 *et seq.* and xi. 85 *et seq.*) who was sent to preach and to warn his people on Mount Ḥaḍūr and was thereupon slain by them.

The mountain is about 9400 feet high; according to Arab tradition, Ḥaḍūr Shuʿaib was the highest of the three mountains (the other two were Djebel Shahāra [Shuhāra] and Kanin in Khawlān [q. v.]), which remained above the waters during the Deluge. The highest peak on Ḥaḍūr is the Djebel Ḳāhir, also called Djebel Bait Khawlān, on which is the celebrated tomb (with mosque) of the prophet Shuʿaib, which is always much visited (particularly by young women who hope to be cured of barrenness here); on the last day of Ramaḍān and on the festival at ʿArafāt, great festivities are arranged here. From the terrace of the mosque a splendid view is obtained over the whole Yemen. 700 yards W. by N. W. of Djebel Ḳāhir lies Djebel ʿIzzān, south of which are the mountains of Ḍalaʿ, Manṣūra and Ḍabyān (with the village of the same name and ancient ruins). Djebel Zaʿla lies to the south of Ḳāhir.

To the east of Ḥaḍūr lies the Ḳāʿa Sahmān, with the villages of Metne (Mötteme in Niebuhr), called Khān Sinān by the Turks (8000 feet above sea-level, with a *samsara* (shelterhouse) said to have been built by Sinān Pasha, which is open free to any traveller), Sahmān (also called Mirrīḥ), Bait Mahdam, Bait Radam, Dīʿez, Masyab (Masyab), Bait Ḳāhin, which now belong to the so-called *Bilād al-Bustān*.

The following localities in Ḥaḍūr may also be mentioned: al-Ḳarya ("the village"), Rakb or Rakab (north of Ḳarya), Djaʿlal (in the N. W. of Ḥaḍūr), the Sūḳ- (Hidjra-)village Ẓahīr or Ḍahār in the south. The range is traversed by numerous wādīs (among them the W. Daʿūd and W. Jāsil, which latter is often mentioned in the South Arabian inscriptions), which flow into the large Wādīs Khārid, Surdud and Sahām. In the valleys of the range excellent vines are found in addition to various fruit-trees; in the deeper parts of the Ḥaḍūr the cereals particularly grown are *dhura* (a kind of millet), barley and *burr* (a kind of wheat or corn).

On the Ḥaḍūr Shuʿaib it snows almost every winter and the snow often lies for days several feet deep so that the inhabitants cannot leave their houses.

In Hamdānī's time the Mikhlāf Ḥaḍūr comprised amongst others the districts of al-Maʿlal (so Müller, *Djazīra*, in several passages, which he equates with the [illegible] of the South Arabian inscriptions; for Glaser's Djaʿlal), consisting of Wādiʿ, Hakl Sahmān and al-Maʿlal proper [al-Djaʿlal]), Maʿdhin (including "the two gardens of Yemen", Ḍahr and Ḍilaʿ, and Riʾān or Rariʾān), Shamm (lower part), Maḍīkh, Sāḥib, al-Aghyām, Baraish, Masyab, al-Ṣayed. The hard white honey of Ḥaḍūr was famous in Arabia; it is even mentioned by Imruʾu ʾl-Ḳais in one of his poems. The people of Ḥaḍūr according to Hamdānī spoke bad and clumsy Arabic (Ḥimyaritic).

The Ḥaḍūr of the Banū Azd, called Ḥaḍūr al-Shaikh, is distinct from Ḥaḍūr Shuʿaib and is the largest mountain of the Sarāt group al-Maṣāniʿ (al-Maṣānaʿa). It is about 9500 feet high.

The Ḥaḍūr Shuʿaib and that of the Banū Azd have been visited and explored in modern times by the explorer Eduard Glaser.

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al-**ḤĀFIẒ** (A.), the guardian, the protector, one of the names of God, cf. i. 303b. When used of men a *ḥāfiẓ* is one, who knows the Ḳorʾān by heart, literally "preserves it" (in the memory).

ḤĀFIẒ, a Persian lyric poet. His real name with *laḳab* was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad.

He seems to have been born in Shīrāz, not earlier than 1320 A.D. Practically nothing is known of his parents or other relatives, he never explicitly mentions them in a way that is free from ambiguity (a sister and her children are referred to without mention of names over two centuries later in Ferishta's *History*, ed. Briggs, Bombay 1831, Vol. I. p. 577). In his youth he learned the Ḳur'ān by heart (*ḥāfiẓ*), devoted himself to the study of theology and allied subjects and obtained an excellent knowledge of the Arabic language and literature. In later years he mentions (*Dīwān*, ed. Brockhaus, Nº. 579) as a reminiscence of the reign of the Turk Shaikh Abū Isḥāḳ-i Īndjū (see the article ÎNDJÛ), king of Fārs, four notables of Shīrāz whom he had apparently known personally: 'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Īdjī, died 1355; (cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 208-209), probably his tutor; the chief judge of Shīrāz, Madjd al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Khudhādād (died 19th July 1355, *Dīwān*, ed. Brockhaus, Nº. 604; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery, ii. 54—63); the dervish, otherwise unknown, Shaikh Amīn al-Dīn, who had perhaps considerable influence on the development of Ḥāfiẓ's more liberal outlook; lastly Ḥādjdjī Ḳiwām al-Dīn Ḥasan (died 11th May 1353), a high favourite at the court, a noble spirited philanthropist, to whom Ḥāfiẓ seems to have been indebted for material support, either directly or indirectly (Brockhaus, Nº. 610; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1271 A. H., iv. 142).

In 1353 the vigorous Sulṭān Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad [q. v.] of the Muẓaffarid family conquered the province of Fārs and finally took Shīrāz also (2nd Nov. 1353) to the great misfortune of its citizens. Ḥāfiẓ himself was unable long to put up with the changed conditions. Mubāriz al-Dīn was a strict ruler who forbade the people of Shīrāz the enjoyment of wine. There was also a religious ground for discomfort in his reign. Ḥāfiẓ was a Shī'ī (*Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Calcutta 1791, text fol. 1 v—2 v), although no fanatic. 'Alī al-Riḍā is celebrated by him as Shāh-Sulṭān of Khorāsān; Ḥāfiẓ belonged to the Shī'a sect of the Twelvers (Ithnā 'Ashariya, cf. the ḳaṣīda in *Cod. Pers. Monacensis*, Nº. 69, fol. 9 r—10 v; cf. also *Cod. Pers. Monac.*, Nº. 68, fol. 138 v). In one passage his belief in the Ḳor'ān having existed from eternity (*ḳadīm*) appears (Brockhaus Nº. 686, Bait 119, which belongs to the last two years of the poet's life). Ḥāfiẓ breathed more freely when the relentless Mubāriz al-Dīn was deposed by his son Djalāl al-Dīn Shāh Shudjā' (1358) and the new government again allowed greater freedom for the free enjoyment of life. Ḥāfiẓ by this time was a notable literary figure. He had previously sung the praises of Mubāriz al-Dīn's vizier Burhān al-Dīn Fatḥ Allāh and now lamented the death of the vizier Abū Naṣr Luṭf Allāh (died 29th Oct. 1359, *Cod. Pers. Monac.*, Nº. 67, fol. 135 v). It is therefore no cause for surprise that among Ḥāfiẓ's friends was the new vizier and former master of the mint Khwādja Ḳiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī (1358-1359—26th August 1363), a man who steered the ship of state with dignity and great authority. When the minister was ultimately executed with great barbarity by his sovereign, he was lamented by Ḥāfiẓ (Brockhaus Nº. 605) although the latter is careful to avoid the wrath of the tyrant. Ḥāfiẓ was professor of Ḳur'ān exegesis in a madrasa in Shīrāz (*Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Calcutta 1791, 2nd introduction, p. 8) and tradition credits one of the two Ḳiwām al-Dīn's, either the above mentioned Ḳiwām al-Dīn Ḥasan or the minister Khwādja Ḳiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad with having given the appointment to Ḥāfiẓ.

Ḥāfiẓ excelled in the ghazal. He ultimately collected his ghazals into a *Dīwān*, which he expanded by the addition of ḳaṣīdas and other smaller poems, completing it in 770 (1368-1369) (ed. Calcutta 1791, text fol. 2 v, line 9). Now for the first time the poet's name became widely known beyond the bounds of his native town. The ruler of Hormuz (Tūrān-Shāh, according to Münedjdjim bāshi, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbār*, Turkish edition, iii. 23; for other accounts of the genealogy and order of succession see the much more reliable account of the great Portuguese historians João de Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, Vol. ii.[i], Lisbon 1559, fol. 15 v—17 r, and Couto, *Decadas da Asia*, tomo I.[i], Lisbon occidental 1876, p. 579—583) liberally showed his appreciation of the poet, while the Muẓaffarid Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yaḥyā, the ruler of Yezd (from about 1358 to 1392), noted in his life-time as a miser, would hear nothing of the impecunious singer of Shīrāz (Brockhaus Nº. 577). In the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I. (1378—1397), a ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Deccan, Ḥāfiẓ was invited to his court by his minister of justice; but Ḥāfiẓ did not in the end accept. The Ilkhān Aḥmad, himself a poet (cf. above s. v. AḤMED DJALĀIR, i. 196[b] *et seq.*), is also said to have invited Ḥāfiẓ to Baghdād. Ḥāfiẓ, who in his time had sung the praises of Aḥmad's father Sulṭān Uwais (Brockhaus Nº. 204) cautiously declined the invitation of his bloodthirsty son.

He was deeply affected in 1383-1384, when he lost his "brother" Khwādja 'Ādil at the age of 59 (Brockhaus Nº. 600). On the 9th October 1384 Sulṭān Shudjā' al-Dīn died; the period of Ḥāfiẓ's poetical activity lies practically within his reign. Ḥāfiẓ had often sung his praises and many anecdotes are related of their friendship. Before as well as after the latter's death Ḥāfiẓ was on remarkably good terms with the all-powerful vizier Djalāl al-Dīn Tūrānshāh (died 28th Aug. 1385; Brockhaus Nº. 602), who had once devotedly stood by Sulṭān Shāh Shudjā' and on his death had secured the succession for his son Zain al-'Ābidīn (1384—1387) against another claimant to the throne of Fārs. In December 1387, on the conclusion of his great campaign of conquest in Persia, Tīmūr came to Shīrāz and spent two months there. It is possible that on this occasion the celebrated dialogue about one of the poet's verses, alleged to have been held between him and Ḥāfiẓ, took place (cf. Brockhaus Nº. 8, 1). Towards the end of his life Ḥāfiẓ once more found a patron in the Muẓaffarid Shāh Manṣūr who seized the province of Fārs shortly after Tīmūr's departure and was celebrated by Ḥāfiẓ more than any of his predecessors in a tone of most devoted affection. Ḥāfiẓ who seems to have filled an office at the court of Shāh Manṣūr (ed. Calcutta 1791, 2nd Introd., p. 8, l. 8) had need of patrons of high rank; for his property had long since slipped away from him, and too many, who professed to be his friends, did not hesitate to cavil at this grey haired old man bowed down by debts (Brockhaus Nº. 639; Nº. 418, Bait 10). In 791 (1389), perhaps however not till 793 (began 20th Dec. 1389), Ḥāfiẓ died in Shīrāz.

Ḥāfiẓ clung with touching affection to his native city of Shīrāz, which he only rarely left and even then apparently only for short journeys. The story, however, that his travels abroad were confined to a journey to Yezd and the Persian Gulf seems to be a legend. He himself mentions his pilgrimage to the tomb of ʿAlī al-Riḍā in Meshhed (*Cod. Pers. Monac.*, Nº. 69, *l. c.*). Ḥāfiẓ never tires of singing the beauty of the women and boys of Shīrāz, the charm of its river Ruknābād and the promenade of Muṣallā. He is buried on the latter in a beautiful tomb.

Ḥāfiẓ is the greatest writer of ghazals and the finest lyric poet that Persia has produced. He is restrained in his love-scenes and avoids the obscene. As a singer of the joys of wine he is unequalled by his predecessors or successors in the east. Of contemporary authors Ḥāfiẓ only mentions the panegyricist Salmān (Brockhaus, Nº. 612) and of the older poets Firdawsī. The general line of thought in his poems raises the question whether Ḥāfiẓ's untiring praise of love and wine is to be interpreted in the Ṣūfī fashion as a profession of Muslim Pantheism. Apart from occasional exceptions, the answer is in the negative. It is also said that Ḥāfiẓ belonged to a Dervish order (which?); but we have no reliable literary authority on this point.

A number of Ḥāfiẓ's poems particularly of the earlier period have certainly been lost. After his death, his friend Muḥammad Gul-andām collected the scattered poems, arranged them in the original *Dīwān* and gave the whole a preface. This fact of the posthumous arrangement of the Dīwān by a strange hand explains the numerous variations in the number, the order as well as the text of the poems in the manuscripts, a circumstance which moreover is of importance for selecting the contents of the original Dīwān of the year 770 and completing the poet's biography. Relatively the most complete is the printed edition of Abū Ṭālib Khān (Calcutta 1791; 725 poems) but it is full of errors. The most carefully prepared from the point of view of textual criticism is that of Hermann Brockhaus, based on Sūdī's recension (Leipzig 1854—1863; 692 poems). Of commentaries four Persian and three Turkish are known with their authors' names (Ethé, *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 303, 304; cf. also Nos. 1142 and 1143 of the *Catalogue of the Ḥamīdīye Library* in Constantinople, 1300 A. H.). The best of all the commentaries on Ḥāfiẓ is the Turkish of Sūdī (died 1591-1592), which has been often printed; he however omitted the few Shīʿī poems of Ḥāfiẓ.

We possess three complete translations of the works of Ḥāfiẓ; two in German: 1 by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (2 vols., Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1812-1813) and 2 by Vincent Ritter von Rosenzweig-Schwannau (in 3 vols., Vienna 1858—1864) as well as 3 an English one by H. Wilberforce Clarke with valuable notes (3 vols., Calcutta 1891). Ḥāfiẓ has inspired Western literature in Goethe's *Westöstlicher Dīwān* (1819) and in Friedrich Bodenstedt's *Die Lieder des Mirza Schaffy*.

Besides his poetical works Ḥāfiẓ left glosses on Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* and on the *Miṣbāḥ* (see *Dīwān*, ed. Calcutta, 1791, p. 8).

Bibliography: Sachau and Ethé, *The Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, Nº. 815—853; the editions of Ḥāfiẓ's Dīwān in Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 628ᵇ; Muʿīn al-Dīn-i Yezdī, *Mawāhib-i Ilāhī*; Luṭf Allāh Ḥāfiẓ Ābrū, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* (neither accessible to me); ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ-i Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdain*; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Vol. iv. and vi.; Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Part. iii.; Sir Gore Ouseley, *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets*, p. 23—42; Defrémery, *Coup d'œil sur la vie et les écrits de Hafiz* in *Journ. As.*, vth Ser., Vol. xi. (1858), p. 406—425; Paul Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Litteratur*, p. 114—122; Georg Jacob, *Das Weinhaus, nebst Zubehör nach den Ghaselen des Ḥâfiẓ* in Carl Bezold, *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldeke, zum 70. Geburtstage*, p. 1055—1076.

(K. SÜSSHEIM.)

AL-ḤĀFIẒ, the eleventh Fāṭimid Caliph, whose real name was Abu 'l-Maimūn (al-Maimūn) ʿAbd al-Madjīd. He was born about the year 467 = 1074 (there is no general agreement about the exact date) at Ascalon, whither his father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad, a son of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir, had gone on account of the famine then raging in Egypt (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 468). But it was not till late in life that he began to play an active part in politics. He was a comparatively old man when in 524 = 1130 al-Āmir [q. v., i. 328ᵇ *et seq.*] fell a victim to the Assassins without leaving a male heir and he was elected regent as the prince with the nearest claim to the succession, under the name al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh but not Caliph, as the imāmat could only descend from father to son according to the Shīʿī views then prevailing and as the accouchement of al-Āmir's widow was shortly expected; in the end however she gave birth to a daughter. The new ruler had hardly taken up the reins of government when they were torn from him, when Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad, son of al-Afḍal [q. v., i. 146], known as Kutaifāt, rebelled against him with the support of the troops, overthrew the vizier appointed by al-Ḥāfiẓ and took over the office himself; he imprisoned the regent in the palace and having little regard for the legitimacy of the dynasty had prayers offered for the expected Imām and coins struck in his name. For a year he ruled supreme till ʿAbd al-Madjīd succeeded in putting him out of the way and ascending the throne as Caliph. His first vizier was the Armenian Yānis, who however soon seemed to be too powerful and was disposed of by poison after only three months of office. The Caliph now sought to govern the state alone — not unsuccessfully it appears — until the quarrels of his own sons, Ḥasan and Ḥaidara, shook his power to its very roots. The corps of Djuyūshīya took Ḥasan's side, while the Raiḥānīya championed his brother and after fierce fighting the latter were defeated. The arrogant attitude of Ḥasan, who was now practically omnipotent, and even treated his father in a most humiliating fashion, finally led to his fall and al-Ḥāfiẓ found himself forced, yielding to the clamour of the army, to have him poisoned by his Christian physician. The troops now effected the appointment of a new vizier, the Christian Armenian Bahrām, but he favoured his countrymen and fellow Christians too much, so that he was deposed after two years of office. With his exit closes the "Armenian period" of the later Fāṭimids which had begun with the rise of Badr al-Djamālī. He was followed by Riḍwān, who however likewise soon quarrelled with al-Ḥāfiẓ, as he tried to arrogate all power to

himself and being himself a Sunnī also cast doubts on the genuineness of his claim to be Imām. At the same time the Caliph was enraged because the vizier, to win popularity with the people, repealed the market dues and thus deprived him of a source of revenue. Thus new turmoils arose in which Raḍwān was finally slain. In the next year, the aged Caliph died of acute colic — the beating of a drum made of seven metals at the culmination of each one of the seven planets is said to have given him relief — at the age of about 75 (Djumādā 544 = October 1149) in the midst of a period of mutiny and unrest. His reign already shows all the signs of the approaching end of the dynasty.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), s. Index; Ibn Khallikān (Cairo 1299), i. 389 *et seq.*, transl. de Slane, ii. 179 *et seq.*; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reiske), iii. 438 *et seq.*; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 357; ii. 16 *et seq.*; El-Kairouānī, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, transl. Pellisier and Rémusat, p. 120; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, p. 300 *et seq.*; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 166 *et seq.*

(E. GRAEFE.)

ḤĀFIẒ-I ABRŪ, a Persian geographer and historian. His proper name was Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Luṭf Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Khwāfī (not Nūr al-Dīn Luṭf Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Harawī, as is stated in European catalogues following an erroneous statement of 'Abd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī). According to 'Abd al-Razzāḳ, he was born in Herāt and educated in Hamadān. From his own works we only learn that he was considered an expert chess player, was at Tīmūr's court and was on terms of personal intimacy with the sovereign himself and was able to write of the last campaigns and death of Tīmūr and probably of Shāhrukh's campaigns also as an eyewitness. In 817 = 1414-1415 he was commissioned by Shāhrukh to write a geographical compendium based on an Arabic manuscript (probably a copy of the Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī), which had come into that monarch's possession. The work (its title is nowhere given) is divided into two volumes: Vol. I contains, besides a cosmographical introduction, a description of the various lands (generally following the direction W. to E.) from the Maghrib to Kermān; in the two last chapters (on Fārs and Kermān) the geographical description is followed by a compilation of the accounts of the political history of the districts concerned down to the author's time. The author intended to deal in much greater detail in the second volume with the geography and history of Khorāsān and Mā warā' al-Nahr (the chapter on Khorāsān alone exceeds in extent the whole first volume), but no complete copy of this volume has yet been discovered; the Codex Fraser 155 (in the Bodleian Library) ends with the geography of Mā warā' al-Nahr (the history is wanting), while the other manuscripts only contain the section on Khorāsān. The cosmographical introduction was written in 820 = 1417, Vol. I concluded in 822 = 1419, while in the second volume the date of its composition is given as the following year. By command of the same ruler, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū was in 820 = 1417 to combine in one work the most important chronicles of the world's history; to prepare himself for this task he had the Persian Ṭabarī, the greater part of the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Ẓafar-Nāma* of Niẓām al-Dīn al-Shāmī copied word for word; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū himself only wrote the continuation of the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (from 703 = 1304 to the accession of Tīmūr) and of the *Ẓafar-Nāma* (events of the year 806—819 = 1403—1416) for this work. A complete copy is preserved in Constantinople (Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pāshā, N°. 919). In 826 = 1423 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū began to write a history of the world in four volumes for prince Bāisonghor (q. v., i. 596[b] *et seq.*); the two first volumes (pre-Muslim history, history of the Prophet and Caliphs) and the second part of the fourth (history of Shāhrukh to 830 = 1427) have survived, the latter (certainly the most important part of the work) exists only in one very carelessly written manuscript (Elliot 422 in the Bodleian); 'Abd al-Razzāḳ gives most extracts from the lost portions (cf. i. 63[b] *infra et seq.*). A Persian writer of modern times, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, claims to have a complete copy of the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* in his possession; but nothing has as yet been disclosed about this copy. In 828 = 1424-1425 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū by order of Shāhrukh published a new edition of the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*; the portion of the work then considered lost was replaced by the first part of the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*. The composition of his history of the world was interrupted by the death of the author on the 3[rd] Shawwāl 833 = 25[th] June 1430. As a compiler Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū incorporated much information in his work from writings which have since been lost; for the events and conditions of his time the pertinent sections of his work are an authority of the first rank. Cf. W. Barthold, *Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū i ego Sočineniya* in *al-Muẓaffariya*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 1 *et seq.*; cf. also *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, xviii. 0138 *et seq.*

(W. BARTHOLD.)

ḤĀFIẒ AḤMAD PASHA was the son of a mu'adhdhin native of Philippopoli. Owing to his rare accomplishments as a musician and a poet he was employed at the imperial Serai and became the confident (*muṣāḥib*) of the Sulṭān. After quitting the court service he was appointed *doghāndji bashi*, and appointed Grand Admiral (*ḳapudān pasha*) 22[th] Shawwāl 1016 = 12[th] December 1607, but was dismissed in 1018. After this he became Governor-General (*beglerbeg*) of Damascus and remained there till 1027 (1618). Whilst he was there the first insurrection of the Druses headed by Fakhr al-Dīn broke out and Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pasha specially distinguished himself at this period. He remained governor of several more Anatolian provinces, till we finally find him governor of Diyārbekir. In this office he managed to suppress the revolution headed by Bekir Ṣubashi, who had seized Baghdād, but he could not prevent Shāh 'Abbās from entering the city on the 28[th] November 1623. After the death of Čerkes Meḥemmed Pasha (died 18[th] Rabī' II 1034 = 28[th] January 1625) Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pasha became his successor as Grand Vizier; he was at the same time commander in chief of the Ottoman Army at war against Persia. In the following year he besieged Baghdād for 8 months (from the 12[th] Ṣafar to the beginning of Shawwāl 1035 = 13[th] November 1625—beginning of July 1626) but without success. Owing to his lack of success he was relieved of his functions and returned to Constantinople where he was made second Vizier of the Cupola. Though 60 years of age he now married a sister of the Sulṭān.

A few months after having been appointed Grand Vizier for a second time (29th Rabi' I 1041 = 25th October 1631) he was put to death in a most atrocious manner by mutinous Sipâhîs (10th Redjeb 1041 = 10th February 1632) in the presence of the Sultân himself, who had in vain tried to rescue him. Historians and men of his time specially note his strength of will, his upright and generous character, qualities that raise him far above the other statesmen of his era; it must be confessed however that both as Grand Admiral and commander-in-chief he had nothing but defeats to report.

Bibliography: Besides the short biographical notices in Hadjdjî Khalîfa, *Fadhlike*, ii. 148 *et seq.*, (on which Munedjdjimbashi, iii. 676 *et seq.*; 'Osmânzâde Tâ'ib, *Hadîkat al-Wuzerâ*, p. 73 *et seq.* is based) and in the *Sidjill-i 'Othmânî*, ii. 98 (inexact in its dates), there should also be consulted the passages relating to the history of this period in the chronicles of Pečewî, Hadjdjî Khalîfa (*Fadhlike*, *Tuhfat al-Kibâr*) and Na'îmâ, and in von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osman. Reiches*, vol. v., and Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osman. Reiches*, vol. iv.; lastly Wüstenfeld, *Fachr-ed-din der Drusenfürst und seine Zeitgenossen*, §§ 50; 125—132, 142—148.

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

HÂFIZ al-DÎN, protector of religion, an honorary title, borne, for example, by al-Nasafî [q. v.].

HÂFIZ al-MULK. [See HÂFIZ RAHMAT KHÂN.]

HÂFIZ RAHMAT KHÂN. During the latter part of the 17th century, and the first part of the 18th, extensive settlements of Afghâns were made in the fertile lands of the Ganges valley. In the troubled times which followed the death of Awrangzêb, and especially after the invasion of Nâdir Shâh, these brave and turbulent settlers began to form states under successful leaders of their own race and were generally known by the name Rohillas (properly Rôhêlâ) or Highlander, a western Pandjâbî adjective from *roh* "a hilly country"; and the territory lying between the Ganges and the Himâlaya, now comprised mainly in the Bareilly Division of the United Provinces, obtained the name of Rôhilkhand, although the intruders spread beyond its limits. Three families in particular stand out among these chiefs, the Barêč of Âônla and Bareilly, the Bangash of Farrukhâbâd, and Nadjîb Khân of Bidjnôr who was also connected with the Barêč. Among these Hâfiz Rahmat Khân Barêč was perhaps the most important. He was the son of Shâh 'Âlam, a Barêč whose family, originally from Shôrâwak (now included in British Balôčistân) had settled first in Čač Hazâra on the Indus, and afterwards in Hindûstân. A slave of Shâh 'Âlam's (his son according to some writers) named Dâ'ûd rose to a position of importance in the country of Katêhr (afterwards Rôhilkhand), and was succeeded by his son (or adopted son) 'Alî Muhammad, commonly believed to be by birth a Hindû Djât. Shâh 'Âlam followed Dâ'ûd to his new country and there Rahmat Khân was born about 1120 (1708). Four years afterwards, probably at the beginning of Farrukhsiyar's reign, Shâh 'Âlam was murdered by Dâ'ûd's orders, and Dâ'ûd himself was killed soon afterwards. 'Alî Muhammad continued to develop the new state, and after his services against the fallen Sayyids of Bârha at the siege of Djansath in 1150 (1737) he received the title of *nawwâb*. Rahmat Khân was now associated with him and by his ability and courage contributed to the increase of his dominions especially after Nâdir Shâh's invasion. 'Alî Muhammad was soon at enmity with Safdar Djang, Nawwâb of Awadh, whose influence in the Empire was now paramount, and in 1155 (1746) he was defeated and taken as a prisoner to Dihlî. Rahmat Khân however by a bold stroke suddenly appeared at the capital with all his forces at a moment when it was destitute of troops, and not only obtained the release of 'Alî Muhammad but his appointment as Governor of Sirhind, so that when Ahmad Shâh Durrânî invaded India in the following year he was in a position to recover his lost dominions. After the accession of the Emperor Ahmad Shâh to the throne of Dihlî in 1161 (1748) 'Alî Muhammad made peace with Safdar Djang to whom Rahmat Khân rendered important services in obtaining the post of Wazîr of the Empire. In this year 'Alî Muhammad died having appointed Rahmat Khân to be Hâfiz or Guardian of his sons, Dûndî Khân his cousin to be commander of the troops and other relations to other important posts. The elder sons 'Abd Allâh and Faiz Allâh were hostages with Ahmad Shâh Durrânî, and the others were minors. Hâfiz Rahmat Khân became the actual ruler, and continued so throughout his life, his recognition of the claims of 'Alî Muhammad's family being little more than nominal. Safdar Djang soon resumed hostilities, as the Rôhilla states stood in the way of his ambitions. After failing in a direct attack on Hâfiz Rahmat Khân he induced Kâ'im Khân the Bangash Nawwâb of Farrukhâbâd to attack him, offering him the *Sûba* of Katêhr as a reward. Kâ'im Khân however was defeated and slain at Badâôn, and Hâfiz Rahmat Khân annexed that part of his dominions which lay north of the Ganges. Safdar Djang without any scruple immediately began to insult and plunder the family of his late ally, and the Rôhilla chiefs incensed at this (being nearly connected with the Bangash Pathâns) joined in the war. Hâfiz Rahmat Khân himself was at first unwilling to take part in it, but did so after a force under Sa'd Allâh (a son of 'Alî Muhammad) had been defeated. The Wazîr Safdar Djang was supported by a powerful Mahrâtta army and by the Djâts, and the forces of the two Pathân States could not make head against them. Hâfiz Rahmat Khân lost Âônla and Morâdâbâd and was forced back to Lâldhang in the Terai on the skirt of the Himâlaya. The advance of Ahmad Shâh Durrânî however in 1166 (1752) induced the Wazîr to make terms, Hâfiz Rahmat Khân agreeing to pay tribute to him as ruler of Awadh, and also giving a bond for 50 lakhs of rupees to be paid to the Mahrâttas. Ahmad Shâh insisted on the recognition of the rights of 'Alî Muhammad's sons who were with him, and a partition of the territory was made, an arrangement which did not last long. Hâfiz Rahmat Khân extended his rule over Pîlîbhît (renamed Hâfizâbâd by him), and this town with Bareilly became his principal residences. After his misfortunes he soon became more powerful than before. His adversary, Safdar Djang, who had lost the post of Wazîr, retired to his dominions in Awadh and died there in 1167 (1754). His son Shudjâ' al-Dawla was for a time allied with Hâfiz Rahmat Khân, and the two combined to resist the Mahrâtta army which had been in-

stigated by the new Wazīr Ghāzī al-Dīn to attack the powerful Paṭhān leader, Nadjīb al-Dawla, in Bidjnōr. After the murder of the Emperor ʿĀlamgīr II. by Ghāzī al-Dīn, the Durrānī king again entered India, calling upon all Muḥammadan chiefs to combine in resisting the growing power of the Mahrattas. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān contributed a large force, and his son ʿInāyat Khān and his cousin Dūndī Khān took part in the battle of Pānīpat 1174 (1760). In reward the conqueror assigned the Etāwa district in the Doab to Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, but it was still held by the Mahrattas and he had to conquer it for himself. The Awadh attacks on the Bangash chiefs of Farrukhābād soon recommenced, and Nadjīb al-Dawla, now Wazīr, was allied with Shudjāʿ al-Dawla in this enterprise, but Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān took the side of Farrukhābād, and was able to prevent its accomplishment. In the following year however he allied himself with Shudjāʿ and Ḳāsim ʿAlī Khān of Bengal against the English, taking part in the attack on Patna and the battle of Buxar (Baksar). After his defeat the Nawwāb of Awadh found a refuge with Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān at Bareilly, and after his further defeat at Kōṛā he made terms with the English, but no attempt was made to interfere with Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān whose prosperity continued for some years longer, although the Mahrātta danger was never absent. His administration was good and he was especially praised for his abolition of transit duties. His position was however precarious, and no reliance could be placed on any treaty or alliance among the rulers of that period. Nadjīb al-Dawla in 1184 (1771) joined with the Mahrattas in attacking him and the Farrukhābād State, and Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān was not able to retain his late acquisition of Etāwa. His son ʿInāyat Khān rebelled against him at this period, and died soon after.

The death of his cousin Dūndī Khān was a blow to him, and the death of Nadjīb al-Dawla made matters worse, as his son Ẓābiṭa Khān to save himself became an agent of the all-powerful Mahrattas. To understand the events that followed, the universal terror inspired by the Mahrātta power must be realised. The English East India Company considered that the best course to prevent the whole of Northern India falling into the hands of this race was to establish a strong Muḥammadan State capable of resisting their perpetual raids, the Empire of Dihlī having ceased to fulfil this function, and the State of Awadh under the Nawwāb Shudjāʿ al-Dawla was the only one likely to develop the necessary power. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān to promote this object bound himself to pay 40 lakhs of rupees to the Nawwāb to be used against the Mahrattas. This agreement was made in the presence of the British General, and by the joint efforts of the allies the Mahrattas were for the time repulsed. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, however, did not pay the stipulated sum, and the dispute speedily developed into war in which the Awadh army was assisted by a British force. Some of the Rōhillas condemned their leader's action, especially Faiḍ Allāh Khān, son of ʿAlī Muḥammad, and the sons of Dūndī Khān took no part in the war. The Awadh army and the British forces after expelling the Mahrattas from Etāwa invaded Rohilkhand. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān met them at Mīrānpūr Katra, but was defeated and killed in the battle 1188 (1774). His territories with the exception of Rāmpūr were annexed to Awadh, and Rāmpūr was given to Faiḍ Allāh Khān, and continues to the present day to be ruled by his descendants.

The stories of wholesale desolation of the province which were circulated at the time by the opponents of the Governor General, Warren Hastings, are void of foundation; the mass of the population was unaffected by the change of masters, and Mustaʿdjab Khān, son of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, in the Gulistān-i Raḥmat, gives no countenance to such charges. The whole subject has been fully dealt with by Strachey.

Bibliography: *Gulistān-i Raḥmat* by Mustaʿdjab Khān (trans. C. Elliot, Life of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, O. T. F., London 1831); Saʿādat Yār Khān, *Gul-i Raḥmat* (trans. in Elliott and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, London 1877, vol. VIII); Francklin, *Reign of Shah Aulum* (London 1798); Mill and Wilson, *Hist. of India*, 5th ed. (London 1858), vol. III; Keene, *Fall of the Mogul Empire* (London 1887); Nevill, *Gazetteer of Bareilly* (Allahabad 1911); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Calcutta 1908 (Provincial Series, United Provinces and Oudh, vol. I); Strachey, *Hastings and the Rohilla War* (Oxford 1892); Hamilton, *History of the Rohilla Afghans* (London 1787).

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḤĀFIẒĀBĀD, Town in the District of Gudjrānwala, Pandjāb 32.4 N., 73.41 E. Founded by Ḥāfiẓ, a favourite of Akbar, and mentioned in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, as the chief town of a Maḥāl. Formerly the Taḥṣīl of Ḥāfiẓābād was entirely in Gudjrānwala, now partly in Djhang. The dry tracts are now irrigated from the Čināb canal, and there is also a fertile moist belt near the river.

Bibliography: *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann (Calcutta 1873); *Imperial Gaz. of India*, vol. XIII. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḤAFRAK, a district in Fārs, in the plain at the confluence of the Pulwār Rūd and the Kurr. It is only mentioned by Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (Le Strange, p. 66 and 113) and seems to be unknown to the older Arab geographers. At one time it was sought to recognise in it "Hapirak", the name of a district derived from the name of the Elamite people Ha-pir-ti. This was in the first place geographically very unsuitable, but it is now quite untenable, since V. Scheil has shown that the character "pir" in the name Ha-pir-ti is also transliterated "ta-am" and the Elamite name of the Elamites is to be read "Hatamti" and not Hapirti, cf. Scheil, *Or. Lit. Ztg.*, viii. (1905), 203 and 250 *et seq.*; *Délég. en Perse Mém.*, Vol. iii. n. xviii. and xcvii. (1911); Weissbach, *Keilinschr. d. Achaem.*, in *Vord. As. Bibl.* (1911), p. 143; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxvii. (1913), 292 *et seq.*; Nöldeke in *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 540. Ḥafrak is not identical with the district and town of the same name of Khabr, the modern Khafr (south of Sarwistān, west of Fasā) on the map compiled by Ḥadjdjī Mīrzā Saiyid Ḥasan al-Shīrāzī. From the Arabic Khabr and the modern Khafr the original name may be supposed to have been Khapr. The etymology of the name may therefore be connected with Hafrak. (E. HERZFELD.)

ḤAFṢ B. SULAIMĀN, [See ABŪ SALAMA, i. 106].

ḤAFṢ AL-FARD, ABŪ ʿAMR or ABŪ YAḤYĀ, an Arab theologian, according to the *Fihrist*, p. 180, was a native of Egypt and went to Baghdād

where he became a pupil of the Muʿtazilī theologian Abū Hudhail [q. v.]. According to another account (in al-Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf al-Sāda*, ii. 47) he had previously studied under the ḳāḍī Abū Yūsuf and afterwards went over to the Muʿtazila. He had many disputations with the Imām al-Shāfiʿī, who had little good to say of him and his *kalām* and called him *Munfarid* ("isolated, solitary" instead of Fard). (See H. Bauer, *Die Dogmatik al-Ghazālī's*, p. 19). But he is said to have afterwards returned to orthodoxy, as did al-Ashʿarī after him, and to have professed the *khalḳ al-afʿāl* (that man's actions are caused by God). The *Fihrist* (and al-Shahristānī also) numbers him with Nadjdjār to the *Mudjabbira* school (absolute determinism) and quotes six works by him, including one against the Muʿtazila and another against the Christians. Cf. also Horten, *Die philos. Systeme der spek. Theologen*, p. 499, and the literature given there.

(H. BAUER.)

ḤAFṢA, daughter of the Caliph ʿOmar and wife of the Prophet. She had first married the Ḳuraishī Khunais b. Ḥudhāfa, who had died childless in Medina soon after the battle of Badr. She must then have been about 20 years of age. Muḥammad, who wished to secure ʿOmar's co-operation, married her after the "day" of Uḥud. She was once repudiated, it is not known on what grounds, but was restored to favour by divine command in consideration of her Muslim virtues, i. e. her devotion to prayer and fasting. In reality the Prophet feared to estrange ʿOmar. In Muḥammad's ḥarīm Ḥafṣa took the side of ʿĀʾisha against his other wives and threw her whole influence into the service of the "triumvirate" i. e. the party, which was endeavouring to secure the succession to Muḥammad for Abū Bakr and ʿOmar. Like the other wives she received her share in the booty of Khaibar and on Muḥammad's death an annual revenue which was entered in the Dīwān and amounted to about 10,000 dirhems. On the whole, even in her father's Caliphate, she played a very modest part in striking contrast to the versatile ʿĀʾisha. On the occasion of the *taḥkīm*, of the "judgment" of Adhruḥ [q. v.] Ḥafṣa induced her brother, the insignificant ʿAbd Allāh, to appear as a claimant to the Caliphate. She is agreed to have died in 45 in the reign of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam aged about 60. Her marriage with Muḥammad was a childless one.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Sachau), iii. ¹, 285-286; viii. 56—60; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv. 273-274; H. Lammens, *Le triumvirat Abū Bakr, ʿOmar et Abū ʿObaida* (extract from the *Mél. facul. orientale* de Beyrouth, iii. 120); Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 321, 1001; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, p. 15, 23, 46, 56, 86; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi. 283—288; Sprenger, *Das Leben des Muḥammad*², iii. 74 *et seq.*

(H. LAMMENS.)

ḤAFṢIDS, a Berber dynasty of northern Africa, which ruled Ifrīḳiya for over three centuries (626—981 = 1228—1574). It took its name from Shaikh Abū Ḥafṣ ʿOmar, chief of the Hintāta, one of the first disciples of Ibn Tūmart and one of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's most faithful lieutenants. [Cf. the article ALMOHADS, i. 317ᵇ]. His descendants enjoyed such esteem that, according to Ibn Khaldūn, they alternated with the descendants of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin as governors of Spain, the Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya. It thus came about that Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥafṣ was appointed governor of Ifrīḳiya by the Caliph al-Nāṣir in 603 = 1207. He won great successes over Ibn Ghāniya (q. v., i. p. 285ᵇ *et seq.*) and retained his command till his death in 618 = 1221-1222. His son Abū Zaid chosen to succeed him by the Almohad chiefs in Tunis was dismissed, then replaced in office; lastly two of his other sons Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Zakariyā were given office by the Caliph al-ʿĀdil, the first being appointed governor of Ifrīḳiya and the second of Gabes.

Up till then the Ḥafṣids had remained subject to the authority of the Almohads. Abū Zakariyā cast it off and founded an independent dynasty. Appointed governor of Ifrīḳiya by al-Maʾmūn in place of his brother, who had refused to recognise this caliph, he installed himself in Tunis (1228). Soon afterwards, giving the violent deeds and heterodox innovations of the Caliph as his reason, he left his name out of public prayer and himself took the title of Emīr. In 634 = 1236-1237 he finally had prayers read in his own name. Successful expeditions won him Constantine, Bougie and Algiers. The Hawwāra, who had risen, were severely punished, Tlemcen taken (639 = 1242) and Yaghmorāsan forced to pay tribute. The Marīnids and the people of Miknāsa likewise recognised the suzerainty of the Emīr of Tunis, whose sway now extended from Tripoli to Ceuta and Tangier and from the Mediterranean to the Zāb and Sidjilmāsa. Valencia, Murcia, Seville, Xeres and Tarifa, being threatened by the Christians, summoned him to their help and placed themselves under his rule. When he died at Bōne in 647 = 1249, he was rightly regarded as the most powerful ruler in Muslim Africa.

The reign of his son and successor Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mustanṣir billāh (647—675 = 1249—1277) was not less brilliant. Emerging victorious from the rebellions raised against him by his cousin al-Liḥyānī, by the Arabs Riyāḥ, Dawāwida etc., he succeeded in maintaining Ḥafṣid authority throughout the Central Maghrib. In 1270 he successfully resisted the expedition sent against Tunis by St. Louis and Charles of Anjou. His fame spread far and wide. At his court assembled the envoys of the Marīnids, ambassadors from the King of Kānem and also Christian princes, who had sought refuge there and who took part in the expeditions into the Maghrib by the side of Muslim chiefs. While Abū Zakariyā had been content with the title emir, al-Mustanṣir took that of Caliph and Amīr al-Muʾminīn. After the capture of Baghdād by the Tatars (1258) he actually had a diploma granted him by the Grand Sharīf of Mecca designating him the heir to the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate.

The foundation of the Ḥafṣid empire assured Ifrīḳiya some years of real prosperity and made Tunis not only the political capital but also the political and intellectual centre of the whole country [cf. TUNIS]. The two first rulers of the dynasty erected numerous buildings there (palaces, mosques, zāwiyas, aqueducts and libraries). They attracted poets and scholars from all parts of the Muslim world, notably from Andalusia. The friendly relations which they maintained with the Christians, gave a new impetus to commerce between Europe and Africa. Treaties were concluded with Frederick II. of Sicily (1231), with Marseilles, Pisa (1234) and Venice and renewed in the reign of al-Mustanṣir.

This brilliant epoch was followed by one of disorder and anarchy. Al-Wāthiḳ, al-Mustanṣir's successor, was deposed by his uncle Abū Isḥāḳ (678 = 1279); the latter driven from his capital by the usurper, Ibn Abū 'Amāra, was slain near Bougie in 682 = 1283. The Ḥafṣid empire itself soon became divided into two kingdoms: that of Tunis, where Abū Ḥafṣ ruled, and that of Bougie (q. v., i. 766 *et seq.*) held by Abū Zakariyā (683 = 1284). After twenty-three years of internecine warfare, in which the Arab tribes of Ifrīḳiya, and the Central Maghrib and the 'Abd al-Wādīs of Tlemcen joined, peace was finally restored. An agreement concluded between the king of Tunis, Abū 'Aṣīda Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiḳ, and Abu 'l-Baḳā', Sulṭān of Bougie, stipulated that the whole empire should fall to one of them on the decease of the other. Abu 'l-Baḳā' was thus able to restore Ḥafṣid unity to his own advantage but only for a short time, for in 1311, Abū Zakariyā b. al-Liḥyānī, a Ḥafṣid prince, seized Tunis and slew Abu 'l-Baḳā', while another claimant, Abū Yaḥyā, set himself up in Bougie. In 718 = 1318, however, Abū Yaḥyā succeeded in regaining Tunis and reunited Ifrīḳiya and Central Maghrib under his sway. His position still remained very precarious however. Forced to fight the Kawb and other Sulaimī tribes allied with the 'Abd al-Wādīs, as well as Abū Darba, the ex-Sulṭān of Tunis, Abū Yaḥyā was driven from his capital on four occasions. He finally overcame his adversaries with the support of the Marīnids, with whom he contracted a close alliance. A Ḥafṣid princess married Abu 'l-Ḥasan, son of al-Sa'īd, Sulṭān of Fās. By the end of his reign, Abū Yaḥyā had succeeded in restoring order in Ifrīḳiya; he had reduced to obedience the towns of the Djarīd, which, taking advantage of the disorder had constituted themselves independent principalities, and, although Tripolitania slipped from him, he at least succeeded in regaining Djarba, which the Christians had seized at the end of the preceding century (cf. DJARBA, BILĀD AL-DJARĪD).

On his death in 747 = 1346, disorder broke out once more. The massacre of the Ḥafṣid princes by Abū Ḥafṣ, who had usurped the power to the detriment of the legitimate heir Abu 'l-'Abbās, provoked Marīnid intervention. Sulṭān al-Ḥasan advanced on Ifrīḳiya, occupied Constantine and Bougie and entered Tunis, which had been abandoned by Abū Ḥafṣ (748 = 1347). But being defeated in the following year near Ḳairawān by rebel Arabs, and recalled to his own country by the rebellion of his son Abū 'Inān, the Marīnid Sulṭān could not retain his conquests. Ḥafṣid princes re-established themselves in Bougie, Bōne and Constantine. One of them, al-Faḍl, even re-entered Tunis, but fell a victim to a plot led by his vizier Ibn Tāfarādjīn. The Marīnids besides were again able to invade the Ḥafṣid kingdom. Abū 'Inān seized Bougie in 1353, Constantine, Bōne and Tunis in 1357 (758), but when he attempted to check the excesses of the Arabs, who only saw in these wars a pretext for devastation and plunder, he found himself abandoned by his army and had to evacuate Ifrīḳiya. The Ḥafṣid Abū Isḥāḳ II. seized the opportunity to re-enter Tunis.

The situation of the kingdom nevertheless was still deplorable; anarchy continued. Three princes were reigning simultaneously, Abū Isḥāḳ II. at Tunis, Abū 'Abd Allāh at Bougie, Abu 'l-'Abbās at Constantine. The latter finally remained sole ruler (770 = 1368-1369). He, endeavouring during his reign to restore peace and order, placed a curb on the turbulence of the Arabs, forced the Shaikhs of the Djarīd, Gafsa and Gabes to submit to him. This restoration of Ḥafṣid power continued in the reign of his son Abū Fāris 'Azīz (796—837 = 1393—1434), who held the balance of power in the Maghrib. He was thus able to intervene at Tlemcen, first in favour of the pretender Abū 'Abd Allāh against the Sulṭān 'Abd al-Malik, and again in favour of 'Abd al-Malik himself. After the death of this king he seized Tlemcen and placed a Zaiyānī prince on the throne, who recognised the suzerainty of Tunis (1431). Reviving the tradition of his ancestors, Abū Fāris was a literary ruler and friend of the arts. Al-Ḳairawānī gives a long list of all kinds of buildings (mosques, zāwiyas, schools, libraries and hospitals), built under his auspices.

His successors, Abū 'Omar Othmān (834—893 = 1434—1488), Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā (893—899 = 1488—1494), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (899—932 = 1494—1526), patrons of literature but lacking vigour, allowed the Ḥafṣid power once more to decline. By the end of the xv[th] century Constantine, Bōne and Bougie had regained their independence; Tripoli, Gabes and the townships of the Djarīd had constituted themselves republics, and the Arab tribes of the interior refused allegiance to the Sulṭāns of Tunis.

During this period the Ḥafṣid sovereigns observed a policy towards Christians identical with that of their predecessors. The treaties of commerce concluded in the xiii[th] century with the Genoese and Pisans were renewed in the xiv[th], others were concluded with Aragon, Majorca, Montpellier, Venice and Florence. Tunis, Bōne, Bougie, Sfax, Gabes and Djarba had funduḳs (q. v., ii. 117[b]) where Christian merchants stored their goods. But the acts of aggression committed by Christian powers (occupation of Djarba, attack on Mehdiya etc.), on the one hand, and the increase of piracy on the African coast from the last years of the xiv[th] century on the other, rendered friendly relations more and more difficult to maintain. The ports of the Ḥafṣid kingdom became the regular refuge of the corsairs; the kingdom thus found itself exposed to the reprisals of the Spaniards, when they thought of establishing themselves on the most important points of the African coast.

They were, however, anticipated by the Turks. In 1534 Khairaddīn [v. KHAIR AL-DĪN], in response to an appeal by a Ḥafṣid prince, who had escaped the massacre of his brothers by Mūlāy Ḥasan, successor of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, seized Tunis. Mulāy Ḥasan was able, however, through the support of Charles V., who took Tunis in 1535, to regain possession of his kingdom, but he had to pay tribute to Spain; he was moreover only able to maintain his position in his capital with the help of the Spanish garrison of La Goulette. With the exception of a narrow strip of land between Tunis and Bizerta, the whole of Tunisia slipped from his rule. He was finally dethroned and blinded by his son Aḥmad Sulṭān (1542). This ruler retained the reins of power till 1569, when Eulj 'Alī took Tunis to prevent the Spaniards using the town as a base of operations against the Turks. As a result of the victorious expedition of Don John of Austria the

Ḥafṣids regained the throne for the last time in 1573, but the next year Sinān Pasha took Tunis and La Goulette (981 = 1574). The last representative of the Ḥafṣids, Mulāy Muḥammad was led captive to Constantinople and the Turks definitely established themselves in Tunisia.

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ḤAIḌ (A.) menstruation. Even in pre-Muhammadan times the menstruating (*ḥā'iḍ*, other terms in Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, p. 170, note 6) could not take part in feasts and sacrifices and this remained the case in Islām. During this period a woman is ritually impure, may not perform the ṣalāt nor the ṭawāf, nor fast, nor touch a Ḳur'ān, nor repeat a verse from it nor enter a mosque. Cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islām. Gesetzes*, p. 174 *et seq.* She only becomes ritually pure again on the completion of her courses after a major ablution (*ghusl*, q. v., ii. 167a). According to Ḳur'ān, ii. 222, sexual intercourse with her during this period is forbidden, but it does not, like the Jewish law (Lev. xv. 19 *et seq.*), prescribe seven days' separation.

ḤAIDAR, one of the names of the lion in Arabic, which was given him on account of the strength of his neck and forepaws (*Lisān al-'Arab*, v. 246). 'Alī's mother first of all gave him the name *Asad* after her father; she herself was called Fāṭima bint Asad; but when Abū Ṭālib returned from his journey he gave him the name 'Alī. In some poems ascribed to him he gives himself the name *Ḥaidara*, but Ibn Mukarram thinks this is only to suit the metre; nevertheless *Ḥaidar* is supported by a poem, which Ibn Abī Maiyās al-Murādī, of the same tribe as his murderer, composed on the occasion of his death (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 3466, 14). (CL. HUART.)

ḤAIDAR (SHAIKH ḤAIDAR), son of the Ṣafawī Shaikh Djunaid of Ardabīl (grandfather of Ismā'īl Shāh) and of Khadīdja Begam, Uzun Ḥasan's sister. On the death of his father, who was killed by an arrow in a battle against Khalīl, Sulṭān of Shirwān (shortly before 860 = 1456) he was recognised as his successor by his followers. His uncle Uzun Ḥasan gave him his daughter Ḥalīma Begam, who was called 'Ālam Shāh, to wife. She became the mother of Sulṭān 'Alī, Saiyid Ibrāhīm and Shāh Ismā'īl. When Uzun Ḥasan died, Ḥaidar collected his retainers ostensibly for a raid into Georgia, in reality however to wreak vengeance on Shirwān; but the ruler of this land, Farrukh Yasār, supported by his son-in-law, Ya'ḳūb Beg, offered a stubborn defence; Ḥaidar fell in battle at the head of his army in 898 = 1488. He wore a scarlet turban with twelve peaks, according to the story, on account of an appearance of 'Alī to him in a dream; whence the name *Tādj-i Ḥaidarī*, which was given to this headgear, which he also prescribed for his followers. It is from this that the Turkish term *ḳyzyl-bāsh* (redhead), applied to the Persians of the Ṣafawī period, is derived. This story, however, may be entirely an invention to give the name *ḳyzyl-bāsh* an honourable origin (Nöldeke).

Bibliography: Khondemīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. Part 4, p. 12, 16; E. Denison Ross, *Early Years of Shāh Ismā'īl* (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, April 1896, p. 253); Johannes Rota Physicus, *Vita, costumi e statura del Sofi* (Venice, s. d.), p. 1; Caterino Zeno, *Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia*, Venice 1557; Munedjdjimbashi, *Ta'rīkh*, iii. 181; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii. 76. (CL. HUART.)

ḤAIDAR B. 'ALĪ ḤUSAINĪ RĀZĪ, a Persian historian, author of the *Ta'rīkh-i Ḥaidarī*, begun in 1020 = 1611-1612 and concluded in 1028 = 1618-1619, when the author was 35 years of age: cf. Pertsch, *Verzeichniss* etc., Berlin, No. 418 (p. 408 *et seq.*); Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the Persian Catalogue*, p. 20 *et seq.* The author himself gave no title to the work and did not dedicate it to any ruler; this fact as well as its explanation in the preface shows, as Pertsch remarks, "a sense of independence remarkable in an Oriental". The arrangement of events is also peculiar in that it is not chronological but geographical; the work is divided into five parts (*bāb*), each of which is devoted to a separate area: 1. The Arab world; 2. The Persian world; 3. Central and Eastern Asia; 4. The West; 5. India. The chronological order is observed only within each bāb. The first volume which is devoted to the "Prophets, Caliphs and Sulṭāns" was to be followed by a second on "philosophers, scholars and poets". Rieu's assertion that the work contains "no original matter" but can only be described as a "comprehensive and useful compilation of standard historical works" does not quite agree with the facts; the narrative is frequently brought down to the author's time and therefore contains much information which could not have been taken from written sources. The preface was published by Wilken (*Mirchondi Historia Gasnevidarum*, p. xii. *et seq.*) The three chapters given by Ch. Schefer as an appendix to his edition of the *Ta'rīkh-i Narshakhī* (p. 230 *et seq.*) from what he calls an anonymous "*Madjmū' al-Tawārīkh*" composed towards the end of the xvith century" are in reality taken from the *Ta'rīkh-i Ḥaidarī*. No details of the MS. are given by Schefer; it is therefore not known whether it is identical with one of the two mentioned by Blochet [*Catalogue de la Collection ... formée par Ch. Schefer*, p. 69, No. 1330-1331] *Madjmū' al-Tawārīkh* (sic), which are said to contain a "history of the Mongols down to Shāh Tahmasp" (sic) or with a manuscript in the British Museum; in the latter the author's name is certainly not mentioned and the work has been given the title *Madjma' al-Tawārīkh* by the first owner of the

manuscript. Cf. also Elliot, *History of India*, vi. 574; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 37 *et seq.*

(W. BARTHOLD.)

ḤAIDAR ʿALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR, founder of the short-lived Muḥammadan dynasty of Maisūr, was born in 1722, the son of Fatḥ Muḥammad Khān, a soldier of fortune, and a Navāyat lady. He first distinguished himself at the siege of Devanhalli, captured in 1749 for the rādjā of Maisūr by his minister Nandjarādj, and was rewarded with the command of 50 horse and 200 foot. His advancement was rapid and he soon became *fawdjdār* of Dindigul and *djāgīrdār* of Bangalor. He gained great credit by the success of his operations against the Marāṭhas in 1759 and was saluted as Fatḥ Ḥaidar Bahādur. He enriched himself by indiscriminate plunder and peculation and by the enforcement of the most extravagant demands against the state which he served. He was instrumental in degrading his former patron, Nandjarādj, and after this service added four districts to his fiefs, which already included more than half of the Maisūr state. In 1760, when Ḥaidar had sent most of his troops to assist the French against the British the rādjā's party made a determined attempt to rid the state of a servant who had become its master. Ḥaidar was defeated by Khande Rāwa who had succeeded Nandjarādj as minister, and reduced to great straits, but by means of strenuous exertions and the expedient of enlisting the assistance of Nandjarādj, whom he afterwards ignored, succeeded in making himself stronger than ever, and imprisoned Khande Rāwa in an iron cage. Ḥaidar was now the real ruler of the state of Maisūr and it was only from policy that he retained the rādjā as a pageant. On his death he formally acknowledged his son, but kept him in confinement. Ḥaidar now coined money in his own name and extended his dominions westward to the coast, where he established an arsenal, but, having encroached on some districts claimed by the Niẓām and the Marāṭhas, was involved in hostilities. Though defeated by the Marāṭhas he contrived to retain his conquests, and when the allies invaded his territory he bribed the Niẓām to join him against the British. He and the Niẓām were defeated and the British compelled the latter to enter into an alliance with them. In 1769 the British made peace with Ḥaidar but during the next thirteen years he was frequently at war with them, in alliance with the French, and died in camp near Arkāṭ in Dec. 7, 1782, while invading British territory. He was succeeded by his son Tipū.

Bibliography: M. Wilks, *History of Mysore*; *Kārnāma-yi Ḥaidarī*; *Siyar al-Mutaʾakhkhirīn*; J. Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*.

(T. W. HAIG.)

ḤAIDAR-MĪRZĀ, a Persian historian, author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, born in 905 = 1499-1500, died in 958 = 1551. On his descent cf. the article DUGHLĀT (i. 1079 *et seq.*); through his mother he was a grandson of the Čaghatāi Khān Yūnus and a cousin of Bābur. Most of our knowledge of his life is gleaned from his own work; Bābur (ed. Beveridge, p. 11) devotes a few lines to him; the Indian historians Abu 'l-Faḍl and Firishta give some information about his later years. His real name was Muḥammad Ḥaidar; as he himself says, he was known as Mīrzā Ḥaidar; Bābur calls him Ḥaidar Mīrzā.

After the assassination of his father (914 = 1508) he had to flee from Bukhārā via Badakhshān to Kābul, which he reached in 915 = 1509. Received like a son by Bābur, he took part in the victorious campaigns against the Uzbegs and in the reconquest of Bukhārā and Samarḳand, but abandoned his benefactor in the black year 918 = 1512, betook himself to Farghāna to the Mongol prince Saʿīd Khān, received from him the title Gurgān (son-in-law) and went with him to Kāshghar and Yārkand. In the Mongol empire as restored by Saʿīd Khān he held a prominent position; by the Khān's orders he carried out several campaigns to distant lands like Badakhshān, Kāfiristān, Ladak and Tibet. On the Khān's death in 939 = 1533 and the accession of his successor ʿAbd al-Rashīd, who was no friend of the house of Dughlāt, Ḥaidar Mīrzā had to leave the country and go over to the Tīmūrids, against whom he had fought as recently as 936 = 1529-1530 in Badakhshān. In 948 = 1541 he succeeded in conquering Kashmīr and founding a practically independent kingdom for himself there, although his coins were struck first in the name of the native prince Nāzuk Shāh and later in the name of the Emperor Humāyūn; in 958 = 1551 he was slain during a rising of the native population.

It was while ruler of Kashmīr that Ḥaidar composed his work which was called after his former sovereign ʿAbd al-Rashīd. The second part, which describes the vicissitudes of the author's life and the events of his time, was written as early as 948—950 = 1541—1544, the first (history of the house of Čaghatāi from the accession of Khān Tughluḳ Tīmūr in 748 = 1347-1348) not till later (951—953 = 1541—1544). As Bābur testifies, the author had received a good literary training, and this is also apparent in his work; the book had a great success not only among Ḥaidar's compatriots (it was twice translated into Eastern Turkī) but in other countries also (India, Turkestān and Persia) and was used as an authority by all later geographers and historians who have discussed the events of the xth = xvi^{th} century. The historical narrative as well as the geographical sections inserted in it (descriptions of various provinces, towns etc.) give a wonderful picture of the conditions of his time. In Russia extensive excerpts from the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* have been published, in particular by Weljaminow-Zernow (*Issliedovaniye o kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*, ii. 130 *et seq.*) and Salemann (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, ix. 321 *et seq.*) while an excellent English edition has been prepared by N. Elias (*The Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt*, an English version edited by N. Elias, the translation by E. Denison Ross, London 1895; cf. the review by W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, x. 215 *et seq.*). No complete edition of the text has yet been published. Cf. also Elliot, *History of India*, v. 127 *et seq.*

(W. BARTHOLD.)

ḤAIDARĀBĀD, now the capital of the Niẓām's dominions in the Dakhan, was founded in 1590 by Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, fifth king of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda, who at first named it Bhāgnagar after his favourite Hindu mistress Bhāgmatī, but afterwards, regretting his infatuation, changed its name to Ḥaidarābād, the city of Ḥaidar, or ʿAlī. In 1591 he made it his capital and it remained the capital of the kingdom until the extinction of his dynasty in 1687.

Ḥaidarābād then became the chief town of a ṣūbah of the Mughal empire and in 1724 passed into the possession of Čīn Ḳilidj Khān (Āṣaf Djāh, Niẓām al-Mulk) who made himself viceroy of the Dakhan and established his virtual independence of Dihlī by defeating Mubāriz Khān at Shakarkhelda, renamed Fatḥkhelda by the victor, in Berār. The principal buildings in Ḥaidarābād are the *Čār Minār*, a large building originally designed as a college but now a central police station, the *Djāmiʿ Masdjid*, built by Muḥammad Ḳulī, the *Čār Kamān*, a market place, and the *Makkah Masdjid*, a magnificent mosque founded by Muḥammad, sixth king of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty, but left unfinished until after the capture of the city in 1687 by Awrangzīb, who completed it.

Bibliography: *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig; *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series: Hyderābād State* (Calcutta 1909). (T. W. HAIG.)

ḤAIDARĀBĀD (Sindh). The name of a town and district in the province of Sindh. The district lies between lat. 24° 13′ and 27° 14′ N. and long. 67° 52′ and 69° 22′ E. It has an area of 8291 sq. m., and a population of 989,030 of which 75 per cent are Musalmans, chiefly Baloč and Sindhīs of Rādjpūt and Djaṭ origin, of whom the Sammā and Sūmrā are the principal. There are also many persons claiming Arab descent. The Hindu population is concentrated in the towns. The Baločes have been to some extent naturalized and have mostly lost their original language. The Indus bounds the district to the W., and it extends eastwards to the dry tracts of Thar and Pārkar and southwards to the Rann of Kačh. The soil is barren except near the Indus where it is irrigated by the Jamrāo and Naṣrat canals.

The city of Ḥaidarābād is of modern origin. Under the Mughal Emperors Thattā was the capital of the ṣūbah of Sindh. Ḥaidarābād was founded in the middle of the eighteenth century by Ghulām Shāh Kalhōrā, and soon after his death the Kalhōras were superseded by the Tālpur Baločes, whose Amīrs made Ḥaidarābād their capital. They continued to rule there until 1843 when Sindh was annexed to British India after the battle of Miānī. The capital was transferred to the port of Karāčī, and Ḥaidarābād lost the importance it had obtained as the seat of government.

Bibliography: Postans, *Personal Observations on Sind* (London 1843); Napier, *Conquest of Scinde* (London 1845); Massy, *Chiefs and families of note in the Panjab* (Allahabad 1890), p. 619; R. F. Burton, *Sind Revisited* (London 1877). (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḤAIFA, a port at the foot of Mount Carmel. The name is not found in the Old Testament and is first found as Ἡφα in Eusebius and as Haifa in the Talmud. After the Arab conquest of Palestine Ḥaifa, which was overshadowed by ʿAkka, did not play an important part and it is not till the middle of the xi[th] century that we have a brief description of it by Nāṣir Khusraw, who mentions the many palm-groves and the large barques built by its inhabitants. In 1100 the town was taken by the Crusaders and attained some importance, as is clear from Idrīsī's account of it, during the Frankish period as the harbour for Tiberias and a good anchorage. But by 1177 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn regained it for Islām. In modern times Ḥaifa has risen at the expense of ʿAkka as a place of call for steamers and terminus of the railway. The modern town does not occupy the site of the ancient Ḥaifa but lies to the east of it.

Bibliography: Eusebius, *Onomastica sacra* (Lagarde), p. 267, 270; Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 197; *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, vii. 329; Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 381; Idrīsī, *Zeitschr. des deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, viii. 129; Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 446; Robinson, *Palästina*, iii.; *Neuere bibl. Forschungen*, p. 129; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 251 *et seq.*; *Zeitschr des deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, xiii. 175 *et seq.*; xxxi. 19 *et seq.* (FR. BUHL.)

ḤAIK (ḤĀʾIK), a piece of cloth of rectangular form, on the average about ten yards long and three broad, which is worn as a garment by men and women in North Africa. Doutté distinguishes: "1. the *ḥāik* for men, made of wool, which is worn alone or also as the principal garment; it is more frequently called *kisā* than *ḥāik*; 2. the over-*ḥāik* of silk or fine wool, which townspeople wear over their other garments; it is worn more for decorative purposes and is likewise often called *kisā* also; 3. the *izār*, likewise a rectangular piece of cloth, without seams, usually of linen or cotton, which forms the usual dress of Beduin women in North Africa; 4. the *ḥāik*, which women, particularly in the towns, wear above their other clothes when they go out." The *ḥāik* is woven in North Africa itself by men on the looms with low warp by women with high warp; but in Lyons also a highly prized ḥāik cloth (of silk and wool) is manufactured, which is destined only for North Africa and sold nowhere else, not even in Lyons itself.

On the manner in which the *ḥāik* is put on and worn, *cf.* for the men the illustrations in Doutté (*Merrâkech*, i. 255—259, Paris 1905), for women of the towns, see A. Bel and P. Ricard, *Le Travail de la Laine à Tlemcen* (Algiers 1913), p. 107.

There is an excellent treatise on the *ḥāik* in the above mentioned work of Doutté (p. 248—252). On the manufacture of the *ḥāik* by native weavers, *cf. Le Travail* etc., p. 109 and *pass.* This book as well as *Archives Marocaines* (Vol. xx, part 1) is now to be added to the excellent bibliography given by Doutté. (ALFRED BEL.)

ḤAIMA AL-KHĀRIDJĪYA ("Outer-Ḥaima", in Niebuhr Heime al-Asfal "Lower-Ḥaima"), also called Ḥadjra, a district in South Arabia, between Harāz [q. v.] and Ḥadjūr Shuʿaib [q. v.]. It is an *ʿuzla* (small district) of the *ḳaḍā* (large district) of Manākha [q. v.] and stretches from Baw'ān (probably Voān in Niebuhr, 8570 feet above sea-level, with a market) to Bait al-Mahdī. The capital is Mofḥaḳ (Mofhak in Niebuhr with ḥiṣn). North of Mefḥaḳ at Djebel Manār (8700 feet above sea-level) lies Sūḳ al-Khamīs, a spur of the Ḳarn al-Waʿl ("deer-antlers", which it resembles; highest pass 9186 feet) which is connected with the Ḥadjūr. Between Baw'ān and Sūḳ al-Khamīs on the Wādī ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (tributary of the Wādī Sahām) lies the village and citadel of Ḳumlān. Of places in Ḥaima we may also mention: ʿIdjz al-Djaḥādib, ʿAlman and Rukūmīya (the two latter now in ruins). There are few coffee plantations or corn-fields in Ḥaima. In Niebuhr's time the district of Ḥaima was rich in vines.

Ḥaima al-Dākhilīya ("Inner-Ḥaima" in Niebuhr Heime al-Aʿlā "Upper-Ḥaima") adjoins Ḥaima al-

Kharidjiya, with the villages of Yanā' and 'Urr ('Orr).

Ḥaima al-Khāridjiya corresponds to Balad al-Akhrūdj in Hamdānī. It belonged to the Sarāt Alhān and lay near the Wādī Sahām between the Ḥaḍūr and Hawzan (Harāz). It took the name Akhrūdj from Akhrūdj b. al-Ghawth b. Sa'd. The Balad was inhabited by the Ṣulaiḥ, a clan of the Hamdān, who still live in Ḳumlān. Dhāt Djirdān (which E. Glaser proposes to identify with Mef-ḥaḳ) lay in the centre of their land. Besides Dhāt Djirdān, Hamdānī mentions the villages already mentioned of al-Djaḥādil, 'Alaṣā and Yanā' (he reckons the two latter to Lower Ḥaḍūr). The language of the people of Balad al-Akhrūdj was intermediate between good and bad Arabic.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 68, 72, 72, 1, 9, 106, 12—18, 135, 7—8; K. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 250-251; E. Glaser, *Von Hodeida nach Ṣan'ā in Petermanns Mitteilungen*, xxxii. (1886), p. 38-39, 41 and Tafel 1. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤĀ'IR or **ḤAIR**, originally a place-name; for example the sacred district of Hebron (Ḥabrūn or Ḥabrā), which contains the graves of the Jewish patriarchs (Yāḳūt, ii. 195, wrongly pointed Ḥabr; Muḳaddasī, p. 172, 10); also the area sacred to Ḥusain in Kerbelā (Yāḳūt, ii. 188; *Marāṣid*, p. 282; Ṭabarī, iii. 752). The passage in Ṭabarī is also historically important as it testifies to the existence at so early a period of the cult of Kerbelā with official priests, who were supported by endowments founded by Umm Mūsā, mother of the Caliph al-Mahdī. A large quarter of Sāmarrā was also called Ḥair; it included the whole hinterland of the central town and consisted of lands which had originally formed part of Mu'taṣim's great zoological garden. The latter bore the peculiar double name of Ḥā'ir al-Ḥair (cf. Ṭabarī and Ya'ḳūbī, *passim*, Yāḳūt s. v. Ḥair). Ḥair is also found as the name of a park in the *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh* of Muḥammad b. Shākir (in Sauvaire, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1896, May-June, p. 377), where a park, Ḥair Sarḥūn, belonging to Sarḥūn b. Manṣūr al-Rūmī, Mu'āwiya's secretary is mentioned; it lay at the Kaisān-gate of Damascus and was afterwards called *Bustān al-Ḳiṭṭ*, the "Cat-garden". There was a Ḥā'ir al-Ḥadjdjādj in Baṣra and it is mentioned this was dry, with which fact is probably connected the erroneous meaning "basin", which was given to the word (according to Azharī in Yāḳūt, ii. 188 and *Marāṣid*, p. 282). There was a "day of the Arabs" at a Ḥā'ir Malham in Yamāma (Yāḳūt and *Marāṣid*, l. c.). Lastly Muḳaddasī calls the harbour of Tyre Ḥair (p. 164 Cod. C.); and according to Ṭabarī, i. 745, Bukhtnaṣṣar built a Ḥair in Ḥīra as a market for the Arab merchants there.

From these illustrations it is clear that the meaning of the word is "enclosed area, temenos", i. e. similar to that of the originally descriptive name al-Ḥirm. Ḥair might therefore also be a loanword. As is the case with loanwords the plural varies as well as the singular: *ḥīrān*, *ḥūrān*, *ḥawā'ir*. The lexicographers give the meaning "park, pen". An etymology goes back to Aṣma'ī, according to which the word means "a place with a depression in the centre and higher round the edges" (read *ḥurūf* for *ḥurūf* in Yāḳūt, ii. 188). This etymology must be described as false as well as that which attempts to explain the word from the motion of water in it (*yataḥaiyar*) or connect it with the many variants of the word *ḥīr* (cf. Lane, Freytag, s. v., de Goeje's glossaries to Balādhurī and *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iv.).

(E. HERZFELD.)

ḤAIS (HAS, HĒS), a town in South Arabia, at the foot of the Djebel Ra's at the entrance to a valley about five miles S. E. of Zabīd [q. v.]. In 1842 it consisted of 500 houses of earth and stone, 250 round huts, an old castle with a garrison of 300 men, 21 mosques, including one large one which was already falling into ruins, 10 coffee-houses and inns, several coffee-mills and potteries, the latter of which supplied the whole of the Yemen, a few dye-works and indigo factories, and numbered 2000 men capable of bearing arms among its inhabitants in addition to the male population of the twelve villages belonging to it, which amounted to about 1000 men. The market was held regularly every week. The town was of special importance because it lay on the road by which coffee was brought from the mountains, e. g. from Djebel Ra's, Beled 'Ans, sometimes also from Ta'izz [q. v.] and Ṣan'ā [q. v.]. The streets were narrow and dirty. There were date groves and fields of indigo and sesame around the town.

Ḥais is an ancient town and was known even to Hamdānī. He gives the Rakb as its inhabitants, a branch of Ash'ar, to whom the Wādī al-Milḥ also belonged; it joins the Wādī al-Nakhla at Ḳanā, one of the peaks of Ḥais, whence the latter is also called Ḥais al-Ḳanā and their waters flow together to the sea.

During Niebuhr's stay in the Yemen the town of Ḥais was of little importance; it belonged to the district of Awṣāb (Osab) al-Asfal ("Lower Awṣāb") which was bordered by those of Mokhā [q. v.] and Zabīd; the manufacture of pottery was even then the main industry of the town. Niebuhr mentions a mountain named Debās near Ḥais. The town became important when it became the residence of the brave and energetic Shaikh Ḥusain (Ḥasan) b. Yaḥyā, called Bishal al-Djibāl "pepper of the mountains", whom the Egyptian general Mehemmed 'Alī appointed his representative and governor of Tihāma with the title of Grand Sharīf of Abū 'Arīsh after the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops from the Yemen. The French botanist Paule Emile Botta, during his explorations on the Djebel Ṣabir in 1836-1837, received the most kindly welcome and support from him. For three months he showed the French scholar the greatest hospitality both at Ḥais and also at his mountain fortress of Mosmara (Mu'mara), 1½ days' journey S. E. of this town. In the year 1842 Ḥais was visited by the French naval lieutenant Passama.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 53, 20, 71, 7, 75, 1, 13, 16, 100, 20, 103, 7—8, 119, 18; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 380; K. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 224; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 749, 756, 757, 758-759, 799—802, 803—808, 809; Manzoni, *El Yemen* (Rome 1884); A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 66, 310. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤAIṢA BAIṢA, the nickname of the Arab poet SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAWĀRIS SA'D B. MUḤAMMAD B. SA'D B. AL-ṢAIFĪ AL-TAMĪMĪ. He claimed to be a descendant of Aktham b. Ṣaifī (cf. *Ḳaṣd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1286, i. 112 *et seq.*). He is said to have received the name Ḥaiṣa Baiṣa because he once used the expression (cf. *Lisān*,

viii. 274 and 285 *et seq.*; Grünert in *Verhandlungen des VII. Orient. Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, Sem. Sect., p. 202 *et seq.*) to express the great excitement of a crowd. He does not seem to have known the date of his birth himself; according to a note in *Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr*, f. 70ᵃ, 2, he was in the fulness of manhood (*fī rayʿān ʿumrihī*) in 520 (1126). He studied Fiḳh under the Shāfiʿī Ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Wazzān (cf. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿīya*, iv. 77 *et seq.*) in Raiy, but at the same time followed his inclination for belles lettres and attained a great reputation as a poet and stylist on account of the elegance of his diction. He was considered an authority on poetry as well as on Bedouin dialects and used always to speak pure Arabic; he was also fond of dressing as a Bedouin, which gave an opponent subject for a satire. He had many a "flyting" with the poet Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān [477(8)—558] celebrated as a satirist and is said to owe his nickname to him. Among his patrons special mention may be made of the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ṭarrād al-Zainabī (under the Caliphs al-Mustarshid and al-Muḳtafī). ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī's *Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr* contains a long series of fragments of his poems. In addition to a number of verses descriptive in matter, there are a large number of panegyrics addressed to Caliphs (al-Mustarshid, 512—529 = 1118—1135, al-Mustaḍīʾ, 566—575 = 1170—1180), Saldjūk Sulṭāns (e.g. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, 511—525 = 1117—1131, Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh 527—547 = 1133—1152), viziers, particularly the above-mentioned al-Zainabī, and other nobles; cf. above ii. 150ᵇ; fragments of elegies (*Marāthī*) and specimens of his letters are also preserved in al-Iṣbahānī's work.

The Berlin manuscript, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Nº. 8628, 3, contains 7 short begging letters from the poet to the Caliph and the latter's reply.

Ḥaiṣa Baiṣa died on the 6ᵗʰ Shaʿbān 574 (17ᵗʰ January 1179) in Baghdād.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), Nº. 257, 724, 780, 817 (transl. de Slane, i. 559 *et seq.*; iii. 537, 583 *et seq.*; iv. 119 *et seq.*); al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (ed. Būlāḳ, 1283), ii. 392 *et seq.*; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, *Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr*, Ms. in Leiden, 21ˢᵗ Gol. (*Cat. Cod. Orient.*, ii. 208 *et seq.*), f. 44ᵇ—75ᵃ (p. 77—138); Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. 175, 212; Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa (ed. A. Müller), i. 283 *et seq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 91, 106, 218, 300; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā (ed. Ahlwardt), p. 355.

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

AL-ḤAIYA (A.), the **snake**. When God sent the serpent on the earth, it fell on the land of Sidjistān, so that to this day there are still most snakes there. The land would be uninhabitable if large numbers were not devoured by the *ʿirbadd*, a large snake.

There are many kinds of snake. The most notable is *al-arḳam* or *al-ṣill*; it is exceedingly large and has a human face; it said to retain the same appearance for thousands of years and can slay a man by looking at him. The kind called *al-mudallaṭa* by Damīrī and *al-malik* by Ḳazwīnī, which has a little crown on its head, is most deadly. It burns up all that it crawls over; no plant grows near it, birds fall dead when they cross its path, and no animal can pass it without perishing. It kills by its hissing even a bowshot off, its look also is mortal and whoever is bitten by it dies at once. Similar things are told of other kinds.

Snakes reach the age of 1000 years; they cast their skin every year. They lay 30 eggs after the number of their ribs(!), but the ants collect on the eggs and destroy them so that only a few are hatched. The eggs of the snake are longish and dirty in hue, or green, black, white or spotted. In copulation the snakes wind themselves round one another. The female snake remains beside the eggs till the young ones are hatched, while the male is constantly crawling around disquieted. The tongue is split, so that many people think that a snake has two tongues. The snake swallows its prey without chewing it; to break bones, it winds itself firmly round a tree so that the bones are broken in its stomach. It will under no conditions eat a dead animal; if it can find nothing to eat, it lives on air. It can go for a very long time without food, particularly in old age, when it then becomes lean. It does not require water; but when it has once begun to drink, it takes too much and poisons itself with it so that death often ensues. The eye is firm and immovable like a nail in the head; if torn out, it grows again, while the fangs if taken out grow again in three days, as does the tail if cut off. When the snake becomes blind or comes blinded out of the ground, it rubs its eyes on fennels and regains its sight. Snakes are attracted by fire but flee before naked men. They have extraordinarily strong backs; for although it has neither claws nor limbs with which to hold on, no man is able to draw a snake out of its hole.

According to al-Djāḥiẓ, three groups of snakes are to be distinguished according to their poisonousness. No remedy nor treatment can avail against the bite of the first; antidotes and medicines are of use against the second, while the third kills through horror which opens the pores of the body, by which the poison takes effect. There are naturally numerous charms and amulets against snakes. He who kills a snake performs a work as meritorious as if he had slain an unbeliever. Not all snakes are aggressive, many only bite when aroused or trod upon, others are harmless. The medical applications are numerous.

Snakes play an important part in folklore and superstition, for they are one of the most usual forms in which Djinn appear.

Al-ḥawwāʾ, the snake-charmer, is the Arabic name of the 'ὀφιοῦχος' and *al-ḥaiya* the name of the snake he holds.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 432; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo, i. 230; A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients*, i. 256. (J. RUSKA.)

ḤAIYĀN B. KHALAF. [See IBN ḤAIYĀN.]

ḤAKAM (A.) "judge, arbitrator", one of the names of God.

ḤAKAM B. SAʿD AL-ʿASHĪRA, a **tribe** in **South Arabia**. They lived in Tihāma in the district of Abū ʿArīsh and were neighbours of the Ḥāshid (Ḥadjūr [see ḤADJŪR]) and Khawlān [q. v.]. Their land the Balad Ḥakam was five days' journey in length. The following places belonged to them, al-Saʿīd, al-Saḳīḳatān (or al-Saḳīḳatain, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 104, Saḳīfatān probably misprint), al-Khaṣūf (all three on the Wādī Khulab or Khilāb),

al-ʿAnkya, al-Hadjar, the group of villages of al-Makhārif (watered by the Wādīs Zaʿira and Shirya) and besides the Wādīs just mentioned, those of Ḥarad, Ḥairān, Djadhm, Djuhfa, Damad or Damid, Djāzān, al-Ḥaid, Taʿshar, Liya and Ṣabya, most of which flowed from the land of the Ḥāshid and Khawlān. The chief town of the Ḥakam was al-Khaṣūf (usually called Madīna Ḥakam); in Hamdānī's time the coast town of the Balad was Sharadja. Sprenger identifies Ḥakam with the Ἀσσιρῖται of Ptolemy. Their chiefs are descended from ʿAbd al-Djadd (Djidd or Djudd), whence their name Āl (or Banū) ʿAbd al-Djadd (Djidd).

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, Index; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 450; iii. 104, 874; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, Table 7. 13, and *Register*, p. 197; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 44-45 (§ 45), 247 (§ 379), 254 (§ 384).

(J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-**ḤAKAM**, the name of two Spanish Omayyads:

1. AL-ḤAKAM I B. HISHĀM, third Omayyad Amīr of Cordova (180—206 = 796—822), waged continual warfare for almost twenty years against the pretensions of the Faḳīh and the people incited to rebellion by them, notably their superior Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā. After the first risings in Cordova (189 = 805) and Mérida (190 = 806) had been soon suppressed and Toledo (Ṭolaiṭola), strongly fortified which was endeavouring to win independence, had finally been taken by stratagem and the treachery of the governor ʿAmrūs, a renegade (181 = 807), a second, much more dangerous, general rebellion broke out in Cordova in Ramaḍān 198 (May 814; according to Ibn ʿAdhārī and Ibn Khaldūn in 202 = 817, cf. Dozy, *Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 355 *et seq.*) which ended with the utter destruction of the southern suburb by al-Ḥakam (whence his name al-Rabaḍī "the suburber"), the massacre of the greater part of its inhabitants and the expulsion of the remainder (about 60.000) from Spain. The exiles found a new home in Egypt and afterwards in Crete [q. v., i. 879ª, and ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿOMAR, i. 87ᵇ] or in Fās [q. v., ii. 77ª]. Al-Ḥakam punished a last rising in Toledo similarly by the destruction of a quarter of the town (199 = Autumn 814). All these domestic troubles naturally favoured the advance of al-Ḥakam's enemies abroad. Alfonso II of Asturia and Galicia gradually extended his kingdom to the south and east and al-Ḥakam lost Barcelona in 185 = 801 to Alfonso's ally Louis the Pious, then Viceroy of Aquitania.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ii. 70—82 (transl. Fagnan, ii. 109—130); Maḳḳarī, i. 219—222, s. Index and Introd., p. xxxiv; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar* (edition Būlāḳ), iv. 126 *et seq.*; E. Fagnan, *Ibn al-Athīr: Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, i. 154—170; Dozy, *Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 58—86, 97; do., *Recherches*³, i. 136—139, 222; Müller, *Islam*, ii. 461 *et seq.*, 466—473.

2. AL-ḤAKAM II B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN III, called AL-MUSTANṢIR BI ʾLLĀH ("he who seeks his help in God"), the ninth Omayyad Caliph and second of Cordova (350—366 = 961—976), fought successfully against Sancho I, king of Leon and Castile, and Garcia, king of Navarra, and forced them to make a lasting peace in 355 (966). In the same year his fleet victoriously repulsed a Norman invasion on the Rio de Silves, after the latter had almost annihilated a Muslim army on land near Lisbon. The war with the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz and his allies, the Idrīsids of Tangier, ended, after the Fāṭimid governor Bulukkīn [q. v.] had unsuccessfully attacked Ceuta (360 = 971) with the conquest of Tangier by al-Ḥakam's admiral ʿAbd Allāh b. Riyāḥīn in 361 = 972 and the capture of the Idrīsids who were brought prisoners to Cordova by al-Ḥakam's general Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (363 = 974). Al-Ḥakam II thought more of the prizes of peace than of war and was an enthusiastic and liberal patron of art, science and education; indeed he was himself probably the most scholarly ruler Islām has known. The university of Cordova became the first centre of learning in the western Muslim world by his foundation of a splendid library (about 400.000 volumes); mathematics, astronomy and medicine particularly flourished there. On his architectural activity see CORDOBA, i. 878ᵇ. With al-Ḥakam's death on the 3ʳᵈ Ṣafar 366 = 1ˢᵗ Oct. 976 the decline of Omayyad power in Spain began.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, i. 236; ii. 248—269, 274—276 (transl. by Fagnan, i. 331; ii. 384—418, 427—429); Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv. 144 *et seq.* (*Hist. des Berbères*, transl. by de Slane, ii. 149—152; iii. 215 *et seq.*); Maḳḳarī, i. 247—257, s. Index and Introd., p. xxxvii.; Dozy, *Musulm. d'Espagne*, iii. 95—135, 188; do., *Recherches*³, ii. 286—299, 434—436; Müller, *Islam*, ii. 618, 621 *et seq.*; ii. 528 *et seq.*, 534—536, 540—546, 548 *et seq.*

(M. SCHMITZ.)

ḤAKĪḲA (a., pl. *ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) is (*a*) an abstract noun meaning "reality", so a thing which has no reality, *lā ḥaḳīḳa lahu*, then "the reality of a thing", meaning that by which the thing is what it is with regard to its reality (distinguish *huwīya* "individuality" and *māhīya* "quidditas") or, broadly, what distinguishes it from other things; this is called also its *dhātīya*. Then (*b*.) "a reality" in the sense of a thing which certainly exists; using the verb you say, *ḥaḳḳa-l-shaiʾ*, "the thing certainly exists." Hence *ahl al-ḥaḳīḳa* are the mystics who know the real nature of God, as opposed to *ahl al-ḥaḳḳ*, the orthodox followers of the Sunna, and *al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the last thing reached at the end of the derwish *ṭarīḳa* (W. H. T. Gairdner, *The way of a Moh. mystic*, pp. 19 and 23). Also *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* is Allāh as the stage of unity which embraces all realities, otherwise called the *ḥaḍrat al-djamʿ*, "Presence of joining" and *ḥaḍrat al-wudjūd*, "Presence of Being" (see art. ḤAḌRA). The *ḥaḳīḳa* of Allāh is distinguished by Ṣūfīs from his *ḥaḳḳ*, it indicates his Qualities (*ṣifāt*) while *ḥaḳḳ* indicates his *dhāt* (*Dict. of techn. terms*, pp. 333 *et seq.*). With this apparently connect the following definitions belonging to the system of Ibn ʿArabī, but formative for all later mysticism in Islām (*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿArabī, ed. of Cairo 1309 with comm. of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī [q. v.], *passim*, and *Djurdjānī*, p. 62). The *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of the Names of Allāh are individualisings of his essence and are its relationships to the things of the world, by relationship to these things, which are called also the Qualities (*ṣifāt*) and which are infinite in number, the primal unity is broken up. Also the *ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadīya* is the divine essence taken along with the first of these individualisings (i. e. Muḥammad); it is also the Most Great Name (*al-ism al-aʿẓam*; *Fuṣūṣ*, p. 428, l. 9). *Taḥḳīḳ* also

indicates (*c.*) a descriptive noun or phrase used in a primary or real sense as opposed to a metaphor (*madjāz*). When, however, the metaphor has been used so often as to have become conventional, the word or phrase may be called *ḥaḳīḳa 'urfiya*. (Mehren, *Rhetorik*, pp. 31, 78).

See also ḤAḲḲ.

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, Cairo 1321, p. 6 *et seq.*; *Dict. of techn. terms*, pp. 330 *et seq.*; Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, p. 125; Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 609; Horten, *Theologie des Islam*, pp. 152 *et seq.*, 295 *et seq.*; Nicholson, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, by index; Ḳushairī, *Risāla* with comm. of 'Arūsī and Zakariyā, ii. 92 *et seqq.*

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

ḤAKĪM (pl. *ḥukamā'*) the Arabic name for "physician, doctor". The root-meaning of the word, is "wise, skilled, clever"; cf. the Hebrew and particularly the Aramaic meaning of the root *ḥ-k-m*. From this original meaning *ḥākim* ("governor, judge") has developed as well our *ḥakīm*. (Cf. the French *sage-femme*, midwife, and *sage-homme*, jurist). In the same way the root of the second Arabic word for "doctor" *ṭabīb* (pl. *aṭibbā'*) is *ṭbb* "to be wise, to understand", which has been particularly developed in Ethiopic. In the older period *ṭabīb* is more frequent particularly in the literary language; in the later period and particularly in popular language *ḥakīm* is preferred, sometimes with the subtle distinction that *ḥakīm* means a "doctor", *ṭabīb* rather a "physician". In addition to the general term *ḥakīm* there are other names for specialists; e.g. *al-djarrāḥ* "the surgeon", *al-kaḥḥāl* "the oculist"; in the modern language it is usual to use compounds of *ḥakīm* for these, thus *ḥakīm al-'uyūn* "oculist", *ḥakīm al-asnān* "dentist". *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'* "history of the physicians" is the title of several works on the history of medicine, of which the best known is that of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [q. v.], which has been edited by J. Lippert (Leipzig 1903).

(E. MITTWOCH.)

ḤĀKIM (A.), he who decides, the authority.

AL-**ḤĀKIM BI AMRI 'LLĀH**, sixth Fāṭimid Caliph, his pre-accession name was Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr. To get as clear as possible an idea of the character of this enigmatical ruler three periods in his life must be sharply distinguished; first, the period of his minority, from his accession as an eleven-year-old boy till the assassination of Bardjawān in 390 = 1000; the second period runs from this event till 408 = 1017, when he declared his divinity; and the last covers the period to his disappearance in 411 = 1021.

1. 386—390 (996—1000). On the very day that al-'Azīz died in Bilbīs, his only son al-Manṣūr (born of a Christian mother on the 23rd Rabī' I 375 = 13th August 985) received homage as Caliph; he was then given the title "al-Ḥākim bi Amri 'llāh". His guardian by the will of his late father was the slave eunuch Bardjawān but he could not maintain his authority against the Maghribī Ibn 'Ammār, commander-in-chief of the troops, to whom Ḥākim had given the rank of "Wāsiṭa" and the title "Amīn al-Dawla". The way in which the general gave his kinsmen, the Kitāma, preferment among the troops, led to a most intolerable state of affairs. Finally the Turkish troops resorted to force of arms against the aggressions of their Berber comrades-in-arms, conquered them and thus brought about the fall of Ibn 'Ammār, who although pardoned, was soon afterwards disposed of by assassination. Bardjawān was now all-powerful, but becoming overbearing, he allowed his grasp of power to slacken and gave himself carelessly up to the enjoyment of his immense riches neglecting the education of his ward, whose feelings he had deeply hurt by nicknames ridiculing him. Only too soon, however, he was to learn the latter's true character; in 390 = 1000 Ḥākim made short shrift of his guardian and although after this bloody deed he appealed to the people, who had thereupon rebelled, to stand by him in his helpless youth, he soon showed that he no longer required any one to wait on him by actions which showed an alarming independence.

2. 390—408 (1000—1017). The character of the Caliph, in the form in which it developed soon after the death of Bardjawān, becomes intelligible perhaps, if we see the motives of his whole attitude in an extraordinary religious fanaticism, which endeavoured to exert itself not only in the most rigid enforcement to the utmost letter of the law of certain prescriptions of Islām in general but especially in the promotion of Shī'i-Ismā'īlī ideas in particular among the people, throughout whom Sunnī views still prevailed. If this is the striking feature of his whole attitude, it was complicated by a sense of unrestricted power, which grew more and more in this strange personality, and a boundless capriciousness, with which cruel traits were strongly mingled. The first mentioned tendencies may explain the rigorous edicts (such as the prohibition of intoxicating liquors and certain foods, as well as the regulations regarding women etc.) which were published up to 399 = 1008-1009, some obviously directed against the Sunna; they also explain the harsh and ruthless oppression of the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, e. g. the laws regarding dress passed against the latter and the destruction of their places of worship. That at the same time Christians continued more and more to fill the highest offices, shows how impossible it was even now to do without their ability. To Shī'ī enthusiasm also al-Ḥākim's buildings owe their origin: the Rāshida mosque, the mosque of al-Maḳs and the great university called *Dār al-'Ilm* (*Dār al-Ḥikma*), opened in Djumādā II 395 = March 1005. The "Ḥākim mosque" was completed in 393 = 1002 or 401 = 1010, (which had been begun by al-'Azīz). — But the Caliph always displayed a tendency to despotic deeds of brutality, of which the highest officials and officers of the kingdom, of whom hardly one died a natural death in this period, were particularly the victims. The dangers of this provocative rule of tyranny soon showed themselves in the rising of the Spanish Omayyad prince known as Abū Rakwa who threatened Egypt and the capital itself with disaster and found ready support from the Banū Ḳurra and Zanāta, driven desperate by Ḥākim's violence, and later from the Kitāma also. It was only with great difficulty that the doughty al-Faḍl was finally able to overcome this dangerous enemy (396 = 1006). Probably influenced by these events as well as by the failure of crops for several years in succession, the caliph saw the necessity for milder measures and for conciliating the Sunnis to a considerable degree, indeed he went further and abolished those customs that were peculiarly Ismā'īlī and went right over to the Sunna. We so far have the possibility of suggesting motives

for Ḥākim's actions, it is quite impossible to do so in the years that follow, which show alternately a leaning to Ismā'īlism or to the Sunna in the constantly changing stream of edicts issued by the Caliph. Only the persecution of the Christians and Jews remained unchanged and the cruel treatment of those in authority without distinction of creed.

III. 408—411 (1017—1021). At all events the Caliph carried Ismā'īlī secret doctrines to their farthest conclusions when in 408 = 1017, dominated by the influence of al-Akhram, Ḥamza al-Zūzanī [q. v.] and the Bāṭinī *dā'ī* Darazī [q. v.], he agreed to the proclamation of his own divinity. Considering Ḥākim's psychology, this step is really not very surprising; it should also be remembered that his father and grandfather before him seem at least to have claimed supernatural powers (de Sacy, *Druses*, p. cccxcvii. and Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden-Chalifen*, p. 160). — It was quite in accordance with the dogmas of the Ismā'īlīs under whose influence he was, that Ḥākim finally showed the greatest tolerance in religious matters: the penal enactments were repealed and Christians and Jews now began to breathe freely. (The Jewish story given by Kaufmann in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, li. 442 *et seq.* is characteristic). On the other hand the Muslim population rebelled against the heresies openly proclaimed by the heralds of the new teaching, and the result was that the ruler was imprisoned in his palace in which the agitator Darazī was known to be concealed. Ḥākim, however, facilitated the latter's flight to Lebanon where he founded the sect of the Druzes, who still revere Ḥākim as an incarnation of God and look forward to his return (cf. DRUSES, i. p. 1076b *et seq.*). — The Caliph did not hesitate to wreak terrible vengeance with his negro troops on the town of Fusṭāṭ, where the rebellion had originated. Fierce battles between the Turkish and Berber troops on the one side and the arrogant black soldiery on the other followed, the confusion in the capital was becoming worse and worse, when suddenly deliverance came in the mysterious disappearance of the Caliph in the night of the 27th Shawwāl 411 = 23rd February 1021. The suggestion, often put forward, that he was murdered at the instigation of his sister Sitt al-Mulk, has not sufficient basis in fact (see de Sacy, *Druses*, i. p. cccxxvi. *et seq.*); on the other hand, considering the whole development of his character, A. Müller's (i. 693) hypothesis that, recognising the impossibility of propagating his views in Egypt, he retired into concealment, is not without probability.

In Ḥākim, whose final self-deification prejudices them before hand for a fair appreciation of his personality great in its way, Muslim historians and also the naturally biassed Christian authors see only a madman and a blood-thirsty tyrant, around whose strange figure they hastened to gather a mass of stupid anecdotes, which have yet to be carefully investigated. Most European historians also are influenced by the same view; Dozy alone, and following him A. Müller, has endeavoured to give a just appreciation of his character; it combined fanatical religious enthusiasm with truly oriental notions of despotism, yet is not without its ideal trait. Many of his much abused regulations were clearly intended to check the immorality of his people, to whom he set an excellent example by his own stainless conduct and a contempt for all pomp. Even in the second period of the reign we constantly find edicts in which he orders his name to be mentioned in prayer only in the simplest manner possible and forbids the usual tokens of respect to be paid him. His liberality is nowhere denied and scenes have been preserved from the years of the low Nile for example, in which he is depicted in the midst of his people, accessible to every request and anxiously endeavouring to check the ravages of famine. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that his administration guided as it was solely from his one-sided point of view and subject to his capricious will, particularly in his last years, was on the whole, disastrous to the country.

On the political events which had their scene outside of Egypt during al-Ḥākim's reign and hardly concern us here in discussing his personality, cf. the article FĀṬIMIDS [ii. 90a].

Bibliography. The best authorities are Ibn Khallikān (transl. by de Slane), iii. 449 *et seq.*; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Bruns), p. 211 *et seq.*; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 277, 282 *et seq.*, 341 *et seq.* De Sacy's fundamental work *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, p. 278 *et seq.* gives a detailed survey of the whole oriental literature; cf. also El-K'airouânî, *Histoire de l'Afrique* (transl. by Pellissier and Rémusat), p. 116 *et seq.*; al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, *pass.*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 66; iv. 269; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, p. 164 *et seq.*; Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme* (transl. by Chauvin), p. 283 *et seq.*; Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Litteratur*, p. 184, 195 *et seq.*; A. Müller, *Geschichte des Islams im Morgen- und Abendlande*, i. 629 *et seq.*; D. Kaufmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens aus jüdischen Quellen* in *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, li. 442 *et seq.*; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 123 *et seq.* (E. GRAEFE.)

ḤAKĪM ATĀ, a Turkī saint of Khwārizm, a pupil of Aḥmad Yasawī (cf. i. 204b *et seq.*) who died in 562 = 1166-1167. His proper name was Sulaimān Bāḳirghānī and he is also called Sulaimān Atā or Ḥakīm Khodja; this Bāḳirghān is not identical with the Baghirḳān mentioned by Muḳaddasī (ed. de Goeje, p. 343, 10) but lay considerably farther north, a little below the modern town of Kungrad; the tomb of Ḥakīm Atā there is still visited by pilgrims; according to a biography of the saint, the name is said to be a corruption of Apaḳ Ḳarghāsi = "very white fortress". We find the same place-name in another part of Turkistān; at Khodjand there flows into the Sir-Daryā, the river Khodja-Bāḳirghān, on which, as the name shows, the cult of a saint has likewise been localised. We have only legends of the life of Ḥakīm Atā. The works ascribed to him (besides the collection of hymns called *Bāḳirghān Kitābi*, also *Ḥaḍrat Maryam Kitābi*, *Ākhir Zamān Kitābi* etc.) have frequently been printed in Kazan; old manuscripts have, as far as is known, not survived. Cf. C. Salemann in *Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp.* etc. 1898, Sept., ix. No. 2, p. 105 *et seq.*; cf. also W. Barthold in *Turkestan* etc., ii. 149 and *Nachrichten über den Aral-See* (Leipzig 1910), p. 33; P. Komarow in *Protokol. Turk. Kruzhk. Ljub. Arkh.*, vi. 105 *et seq.* (W. BARTHOLD.)

ḤAḲḲ. The original meaning of the root *ḥḳḳ* has become obscured in Arabic but can be recovered

by reference to the corresponding root in Hebrew with its meanings of "cut in" or "on", thence "prescribe", "fix by decree" (Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, pp. 349 *et seq.*). We have thus in Arabic to begin with the primary idea of permanence, fixity (*thubūt*) and not with that of correspondence, suitableness (*muṭābaḳa*, *muwāfaḳa*) which is essentially secondary and a discovery of the rhetoricians (*ahl al-ma'ānī*; Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, p. 61, 11 *et seqq.* of ed. of Cairo 1321). This point is unfortunately confused in Lane (s. v. pp. 605 *et seqq.*), following some of the native lexicons. *Al-ḥaḳḳ*, then, means that which is fixed, permanent, real, and is regularly paraphrased in the commentaries on the Ḳur'ān as *al-thābit*. Thus Baiḍāwī explains *al-Ḥaḳḳ*, meaning Allāh, as *al-thābitu rubūbiyatuhu*, "he whose lordship is fixed, real" (Ḳur. x. 33; Baiḍ. ed. Fleischer, i. 414, l. 8); similarly *al-thābitu ilāhiyatuhu*, "whose divinity is fixed," contrasted with that of false gods which is *bāṭil*, "vain," "unreal" (Ḳur. xxxi, 29; Baiḍ. ii. 116, ll. 10 *et seq.*); in Ḳur. xx. 113, he is *thābit* in his essence and qualities (Baiḍ. i. 607, l. 5); further, on Ḳur. xxii. 6, Baiḍ. explains (i. 628, l. 6) "because he is the *thābit* in himself by whom things become realities," *bihi tataḥaḳḳaḳu-l-ashyā'u*. On this last passage, Rāzī explains (*Mafātīḥ*, Vol. vi. p. 144, l. 3 of ed. of 1308) "he is *al-mawdjūd al-thābit*". The *Ṣaḥāḥ* (s. v.) contents itself with defining *ḥaḳḳ* as the opposite of *bāṭil*, and that is the fixed usage in the Ḳur'ān and elsewhere. This is pre-Islamic as in the well known verse of Labīd (Huber, *Dīwan des Lebîd*, xli. verse 9), *Alā kullu shai'in mā khalā-llāha bāṭilu*, "Lo, everything is vain except Allāh alone." In Semitic psychology it connects also with Hebrew conceptions of nothingness, vanity, unreality contrasted with that which is sure, real and trustworthy. So, *bāṭil* stands in Arabic over against *ḥaḳḳ* and *al-ḥaḳḳ* is most suitably a name for Allāh, the absolutely real, even as *ne'emān*, "trustworthy" is said of Yahwe (cf. *al-mu'min* of Allāh in Ḳur. lix. 23). Allāh is real of himself and of necessity (Baiḍāwī on Ḳur. xxii. 61, vol. i. p. 638, l. 15), while other beings depend for their reality on him (see Baiḍāwī above on Ḳur. xxii. 6). "The Real", or "The Reality" is therefore the nearest rendering of the word when used as one of the Names (*asmā'*, see Allāh above) of Allāh, and "the Truth" as it is often translated is misleading. All the native authorities distinguish carefully between *ḥaḳḳ* and *ṣidḳ* with its opposite *kidhb*, and lay down the rule that *ḥaḳḳ* is equivalent to *ṣidḳ* only when used of a judgment (*ḥukm*). Thus an event (*wāḳi'*) really took place, so it is *ḥaḳḳ*; but a judgment or statement about it is *ṣidḳ*, though the statement may also be called in this sense a *ḥaḳḳ*. Used as one of the Names, *al-ḥaḳḳ* is frequently explained as Creator, but for this the only basis seems to be its constant contrast with *al-khalḳ* "creation", e. g. in *Itḥāf al-sāda*, vol. x. p. 556, l. 20, *alsinat al-khalḳ aḳlām al-ḥaḳḳ*, "Vox populi, vox dei". Yet see another explanation suggested in Massignon, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, p. 174. Besides the above meanings of "reality" — used absolutely of Allāh and derivatively of his creation — and "truth" used of a statement corresponding to reality, *ḥaḳḳ* means also "right", "duty", going back to the idea of prescription. Thus, *ḥaḳḳun lī* "a right due to me" and *ḥaḳḳun 'alaiya*, "a right obligatory on me." From this comes the *ḥaḳḳ* of Allāh — as distinguished from the *ḥaḳḳ ādamī*, *ḥaḳḳ al-nās* — the punishment for trespasses against Allāh by which no man is injured in his rights (see Juynboll, *Handbuch des islām. Ges.*, p. 292 and by index). Again, just as *al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the last thing reached by the Ṣūfī on his journey, after even *ma'rifa* is passed, so *ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* is that real certainty which comes with the passing away (*fanā'*) of the creature in his *ḥāl* in the Reality after he has had visual certainty (*'ainu-l-yaḳīn*) and scientific certainty (*'ilmu-l-yaḳīn*). On this see Nicholson, *Kashf*, pp. 36, *et seq.*, Ḳushairī, *Risāla* with commentaries of 'Arūsī and Zakariyā, ii. pp. 99 *et seqq.* and Djurdjānī, *loc. cit.*, the phrase is derived from Ḳur. lvi, 95. Among Ṣūfīs the *ḥuḳūḳ al-nafs* are such things as are necessary for the support and continuance of life as opposed to the *ḥuẓūẓ*, things desired by the *nafs* but not necessary to its existence (*Dict. of techn. terms*, pp. 311, 330 and 417, ll. 10 *et seqq.*).

Bibliography: *Dict. of tech. terms*, p. 329 *et seq.*; Nicholson, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, by index; Massignon, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, by index; Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, pp. 124 *et seq.*; Horten, *Theologie des Islam*, pp. 152 *et seq.*, 295 *et seq.*; also references given above. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

HAKKĀRĪ (HAKKĀRĪ), now the name of a sandjaḳ in the wilāyet of Wān on the Persian frontier, which formed an independent wilāyet before 1876. According to Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 716, it now has an area of about 11,000 sq. miles and about 300,000 inhabitants, most Kurd or Armenian in origin. We may also mention the Syriac Christians (Nestorians), whose Patriarch lives at Kotannes, 11 miles N. E. of Djulamerg. The land is mountainous and difficult of access as much on account of the predatory character of its inhabitants as on account of the nature of the country and has therefore been little explored. The Turkish government, which only instituted a certain amount of order here about the middle of last century, has its representative in Djulamerg [q. v., i. 1001ᵃ]. With the possible exception of 'Amādiya [q. v., i. 324ᵇ *et seq.*] there are no other towns of importance.

The name Hakkārī is derived from the inhabitants, the Hakkāris, a branch of the Kurds, who have inhabited the wilāyet of Wān and the surrounding Turkish and Persian provinces with other Kurdish tribes from ancient times. They are mentioned as early as Ibn Ḥawḳal and the land is called Hakkāriya after them by Arab geographers and historians. These Hakkāris led a practically independent existence in their almost inaccessible mountain fortresses. The celebrated Atābeg Zangī was the first to attempt to bring them into subjection and took several of their mountain fortresses, to one of which he gave the name 'Imādiya (cf. 'AMĀDIYA). But the country soon returned to its previous state. The all-conquering Tīmūr alone was able to force the Hakkāris to own his sway, when he besieged their Emīr in the fortress of Wān in 787 = 1385. Later they fought with the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu, but even after the rise of the Ṣafawīs in Persia and under the rule of the Ottomans they remained the real masters of their country.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 978; 'Alī Djawād, *Mamālik-i 'Othmānīye Ta'rīkh we Djeghrāfiya Lughāti*, p. 332; Cuinet, *op. cit.*;

Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāmah*, Book ii Part. 2. Cf. also the literature to BOHTĀN [i. 739 *et seq.*].

AL-HAKKĀRĪ, see 'ADĪ B. MUSĀFIR, i. 136[b] *et seq.* To the bibliography may now be added: R. Frank, *Scheich 'Adī, der grosse Heilige der Yezîdîs* (*Türk. Bibliothek*, Vol. xiv).

HAKKĪ. [See IBRĀHĪM HAKKĪ.]

HĀL, also HĀLA (pl. *aḥwāl*, *ḥālāt*), means a "state", normally regarded as present, transitory and changeable. On its use in grammar see *Wright*[3], ii. p. 112 *et seqq.*; *Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch[2], pp. 27 *et seqq.*; *Alfiya*, ed. Dieterici, pp. 170 *et seqq.*; Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* i, by index. In rhetoric (*'ilm al-ma'ānī*) it means the situation or subject to be dealt with, and it is the object of rhetoric to show how to find verbal expression corresponding to "the requirement of the situation" (*muḳtaḍā 'l-ḥāl*, see preface to *Talkhīṣ* of Kazwīnī; Mehren, *Rhetorik*, pp. ٣٠, ٤٧, ٦٩). Compare with this *lisān al-ḥāl*, what the situation itself says. In philosophy the *kaifiyāt al-nafsāniya*, "modalities of the *nafs*" are *ḥālāt*, so long as they are transitory. When they become permanent faculties in the mind they are *malakāt* (*Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 1257, Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, p. 127). In systematic theology (*Kalām*) a *ḥāl* — for those who accept that view — is a quality (*ṣifa*) belonging to an existent thing (*mawdjūd*), but itself being neither existent nor non-existent. Things, then, are four: entities, non-entities, states and relationships (*i'tibārāt*), (Baidjūrī's comm. to the *Kifāyat al-'Awāmm* of Faḍālī, p. 59 of ed. of Cairo, 1315 and Macdonald, *Muslim Theology* etc., pp. 159 *et seq.*, 201 *et seq.*, 241 *et seq.*). Thus the *aḥwāl* are a kind of universals, and include the genera and differentiae; such *aḥwāl* exist in the essence of Allāh and are his qualities of "being a knower" (*'ālimīya*) "being powerful" (*ḳādirīya*) etc. (Ibn Khaldūn, *Proleg.* ed. Quatremère, iii. 114; de Slane's transl. iii. 157 *et seq.*). See on the whole doctrine of *aḥwāl* as opposed to *ṣifāt*, Horten, who calls them *modi*, in his *Philos. Systeme*, pp. 412 *et seqq.* and also *passim*. In the science of *Uṣūl* (Foundations) *ḥāl* means legal status (= *istiṣḥāb*, Juynboll, *Das islam. Ges.*, p. 53 *et seq.*); it indicates the taking for granted that the legal status of a person remains unchanged as long as there is no evidence to the contrary (*Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 809). In medicine there are three *ḥāls*, health, disease and an intermediate state; a lengthy scholastic discussion of this by Ibn Sīnā and others in *Dict. of techn. terms*, pp. 813 *et seq.* under *Ṣiḥḥa*. In mysticism a *Ḥāl* is a mental condition, given immediately and momentarily by divine grace, not to be gained by application or effort, consisting of joy, sorrow, depression, exaltation etc. It passes when the powers of the *nafs* get the upper hand, but may be followed immediately by another *ḥāl*. Djurdjānī teaches (*Ta'rīfāt*, p. 50) that it may continue, apparently by the effort of the *murīd* on whom it falls, and then becomes a possession (*milk*) and is called a *maḳām*. But usually the *maḳāmāt* are sharply distinguished from the *aḥwāl* as gains by human effort from divine gifts and are the stages in the progress of the *murīd* to repose in the Divine (*tamkīn*). They are reached by his intention and exertion and have a certain fixed order (Nicholson, *Kashf*, pp. 180, 370). There is much controversy as to the possibility of the continuance (*dawām*) of *aḥwāl*. To be distinguished also from the *ḥāl* is the *waḳt*. It is that "Now" of the present, with its content of presence with or absence from God, and with it alone the Ṣūfī should be occupied. It belongs to the *murīd* and is his religious experience under the effect of an ever renewed Now, while the *ḥāl* comes from God and enters that Now "like a soul in a body" (Nicholson, *Kashf*, pp. 367 *et seq.*; Kushairī, *Risāla*, ii. pp. 21 *et seqq.*).

Bibliography: References as above and also *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 359 *et seqq.*; Nicholson, *Kashf*, by index; Horten, *Theologie des Islam*, pp. 156, 298; Macdonald, *Emotional Religion in Islam* in *Journal of Royal As. Soc.* for 1901-1902, *passim*; E. Blochet, *L'Ésotérisme musulman*, p. 181 *et seqq.*; Macdonald, *Religious Attitude*, pp. 182, 188 *et seq.*

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

HALAB (ALEPPO), 1. A Turkish wilāyet in Northern Syria, bounded on the N. W. and N. by the wilāyets of Adana and Siwās, in the N. E. by the wilāyet of Ma'mūrīyat al-'Azīz, in the E. by the sandjak of Dēr al-Zōr, in the S. by the wilāyet of Damascus and in the W. by the wilāyet of Bairūt and the Mediterranean Sea. The district presents no marked geographical features; it is divided into three liwā's or sandjak's, *a*. Aleppo, with 24,000 square miles, 672,500 inhabitants; *b*. Mar'ash [q. v.] and *c*. Urfa [q. v.]; the whole wilāyet has an area of 36,000 square miles, 995,800 inhabitants (792,500 Muslims, 49,000 Armenians, 134,300 Syriac Christians, according to Brockhaus' *Conversationslexicon*). Aleppo may be considered the name of an administrative area since the time of the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla (about 420 A. H.); he was the first prince of Aleppo. From this time on the district of Aleppo (whether principality, sulṭānate or province of the Mamlūk or Ottoman empire) continued to stretch over the Euphrates to Ḥarrān, till in the last quarter of the xix[th] century its area was diminished by the creation of the independent sandjak of Dēr al-Zōr; in the south however Ḥamā was separated as early as the Fāṭimid period. It reached its greatest extent in the Mamlūk period in the ix[th] century A. H., when it stretched as far as Diwrigi in the N. E. of Asia Minor and for a time included Ḥimṣ in the south. In the Byzantine period down to the iv[th] century A. H. Ḳinnasrīn [q. v.] was the capital of the province. Antioch and the lands attached to it, which had been ruled by the Crusaders for over a century, was taken from them by Sulṭān Baibars in 668 and added to the province of Aleppo.

We have a certain amount of information collected in A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875, i. 339, 351, and in Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 43—48) about the total of the taxation, which the province had to pay in the time of the 'Abbāsid governors. The province of Aleppo and al-'Awāṣim paid, according to Ibn Khaldūn's quotation from the *Djirāb al-Dawla*, 400,000 (in another Ms. 420,000) dīnārs (the dīnār may be estimated at ten shillings following Le Strange) in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (158—170); 470,000 dīnārs (according to a quotation from al-Djahshiyārī's *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*) under the Caliph al-Rashīd (170—193); 360,000 in the year 204, according

to Ḳudāma, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*; 400,000 dīnārs in 250, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih and Ibn al-Faḳīh, 360,000 dīnārs in 371 (al-Muḳaddasī). The revenue under Nūr al-Dīn (541—569) was smaller; it is given by Carlyle from the Cambridge Ms. of the *Tawārīkh Banī Aiyūb* on p. 17 of his notes to his edition of the *Mawrid al-Laṭāfa* of Ibn Taghrībardī. He gives 402,733 dīnārs as the revenue for the whole kingdom, which included Syria as far as Damascus and Mesopotamia to Mosul, but did not include the ʿAwāṣim (for Aleppo and the immediate neighbourhood 96,186). The revenues were considerably higher in the reign of Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, they are given for the year 609 by A. v. Kremer in the *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1850, p. 245—248 in the translation of Ibn Shiḥna (on authority of Ibn Abī Ṭaiy), viz. 6,984,500 dirhems = 465,633 dīnārs for the town of Aleppo (including its fields and gardens) and at the close of the reign of Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II (about 656 A. H.) they approached 8,000,000 dirhems = 533,333 dīnārs.

As to the administration of the province of Aleppo, our authorities for the Mamlūk period are good. According to the *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣubḥ* of Kalḳashandī (cf. the article ḤADJIB (ii. 206b *et seq.*), Aleppo was the largest province next to Damascus. At the head was the governor, an Emīr of 1000 Mamlūks, the representative of the Sulṭān, with the title Malik al-Umarāʾ (Chief Emīr). Next to him came *a*.) the governor of the citadel independent of the former (an Emīr of 40, who was often promoted in this position up to an Emīr of 1000), the Atābeg, the commander of troops stationed in the province (at this period 6000 mercenaries and 500 Mamlūks); and the president of the military administrative court (*ṣāḥib al-ḥadjābāt*), who was assisted by three ḥādjibs [q. v.] of lower rank. These were the military officials, almost always chosen from the Turkish corps of Mamlūks. *b*.) The religious officials: the chief ḳāḍīs of the four recognised schools: a Ḥanafī and a Shāfiʿī military ḳāḍī, each with a muftī; the administrator of the treasury (*bait al-māl*, q. v., i. 598 *et seq*). *c*.) civil officials: the vizier, who bore the title "inspector of the province" in Aleppo, the private secretary (in Aleppo called "chief of the correspondence-office"; these two officials were of lower rank than the corresponding officials in Cairo); the chief of the commissariat; the inspector of offices; the mayor; the postmaster; the inspector of government lands; the inspector of buildings; the chief of police; the superintendent of the market (who was often chosen from among the ecclesiastical officials). *d*.) Medical officers: (*min al-waẓāʾif al-ṭibbīya*); the chief physician, the chief oculist and the chief surgeon. — This complicated administration, which was a copy on a small scale of the central government in Cairo, was based as regards the mercenaries and Mamlūks to some extent on a system of feudalism. It remained similar in constitution under the Turks, although the titles and the divisions were slightly altered. It was only after the destruction of the Janissaries in the first quarter of the xixth century and the introduction of the reforms that the administration was simplified. The province of Aleppo in the Mamlūk period was governed by sub-governors of different ranks, who were in part directly under the governor, while the more important were appointed by the Sulṭān. The frontier fortresses were under Emīrs of 1000, other towns according to their military importance under Emīrs of 40 and 10 or under officers of the mercenary troops. Two Bedouin tribes, 13 Turkoman tribes and a few tribes of Kurds were ruled by their own chiefs who were appointed by the Sulṭān. On the modern administration cf. the article TURKEY.

2. Ḥalab (Aleppo), the second largest city in Syria.

I. Topographical and General.

Aleppo is situated in 37° 2′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 36° 11′ N. Lat., 1335 feet above sea-level, on the river Ḳuwaiḳ (Gök Ṣū) on the border between the areas into which Northern Syria may be divided, mountainous west and the flatter east. The climate is cold in winter (for accurate meteorological observations see Russell's *Natural History of Aleppo*, London 1794, i. 83—96), but the spring begins in February; the heat is very great from May to September: the average temperature for the year is 68°, in winter 42°, in summer 87° Fahrenheit. Aleppo's commercial importance rests on the fact that it lies on the great route from north to south and on the roads from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia; it thus concentrates upon itself (cf. Karl Andree's *Geographie des Welthandels*, new ed. 1912, ii. 278) the trade of a great part of Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia as far as Diyārbakr and Mārdīn and on the Euphrates as far as ʿĀna. Although the commercial importance of Aleppo began to decrease after the discovery of the sea-route to the East Indies, it was still a flourishing centre of trade in the xviith and xviiith centuries. A large number of French, German, Dutch and Venetian merchants traded in exports and imports there under the protection of their consuls, chiefly through the intermediary of Jewish middlemen; the most numerous however were the English who possessed a great factory there from the reign of James I (1603—1625). In 1775 80 European firms were represented in Aleppo. In the middle of the xixth century Aleppo had almost entirely lost its prosperity and trading connections through the insecurity of the Mediterranean during the time of Napoleon I, through particularly bad government, the mutinies of the Janissaries in 1814 and 1826, the terrible earthquake of 1822 (and smaller ones in 1827 and 1832), the ravages of cholera (1832) and plague (1837), as well as the incredible misgovernment of the Egyptian officials from 1831—1837, which did not affect other parts of Syria so unfavourably (see F. Perrier, *La Syrie sous le gouvernement de Méhémet Ali jusqu'en 1840*, Paris 1842), and the return of the Turkish régime. While in 1775 the imports amounted to about 8½ million francs and the exports had risen as high as 9 millions, in 1844 the imports had declined to 5¼ million frcs. and the exports as low as 2½ millions (see Henri Guys's instructive work, *Esquisse de l'état politique et commercial de la Syrie*, Paris 1862). It was not till the eighties of last century that Aleppo began again to revive, the number of inhabitants and the totals of exports and imports are increasing and the favouring railway connections (Aleppo—Rayāḳ—Damascus—Bairūt; Aleppo—Ḥimṣ—Tripoli; Aleppo's proposed connections as a station on the Baghdād railway; and its future direct connection with the harbour

of Alexandretta) make it certain that the town is destined to have a great future.

At the present day the imports amount to $58\frac{1}{2}$ million francs (of which 20 millions is cotton etc. alone); the exports 20 million francs (sesame, liquorice, gall-apples, butter, olive-oil, wool, silk, hides etc.). Before the earthquake of 1822 the population was estimated by travellers at 150,000, after 1822 it sank to 50,000. In 1882 (Guide Joanne for 1887) it is said to have been only 90,000—100,000, in 1894 it had risen to 130,000 (Meyer's *Reisebuch*) while in 1912 the figure is estimated (Baedeker, French ed.) at 200,000—250,000, which is probably too high. The old city was a quadrangle ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles round) enclosed by walls but even by the time of the Arab conquest there were suburbs around it (see below). The city and the suburbs had gates. Of the city-gates several are well preserved, but nothing has remained of the gates of the suburbs except the inscription at the former Bāb al-Malik (Pl. 2.). The Europeans live in the ʿAzīziya quarter (see Pl. 25), the native Christians mostly in the Mushāriḳa (see Pl. 23) and Kuttāb quarters (see Pl. 22), the Jews in the Bahsita quarter (Pl. 1; also called Shaikhsita). The inhabitants are protected from rain and heat by vaulted bazaars; these are so extensive that a walk of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours' duration may be taken on their roofs. Aleppo is notorious because its inhabitants are liable to a disease, the Aleppo scab, an ulcer (*ḥabb*), which disfigures the skin. The germ of the disease seems to enter the body through slight wounds in the skin, children are particularly liable to it, while adult Europeans are seldom attacked by it. Cf. v. Luschan, *Mittteil. über die Therapie der Aleppobeulen*, in *Verhandl. d. Wien. Anthr. Gesells.*, xiv. 71; *Globus*, Vol. lvii.

II. HISTORY OF THE CITY.

1. Before Islām.

Aleppo, one of the oldest cities in existence, perhaps a Hittite foundation, is first mentioned as early as the second millenium B.C. under the name Ḫallab (Ḫallaw, or Ḫalvan) in the documents of Boghazköi, among which is a treaty with Aleppo. In Babylonian texts Aleppo is mentioned in the treaty between Ashurnirāri and Mati-ilu about the year 750 B.C.; there and in Assyrian on Salmanassar's monolith inscription of 850 the god Rammān of Ḫallab is mentioned (information supplied by E. Weidner). In Egyptian texts Aleppo (*Ḥ-r-b*) is mentioned in the xvi[th] century B.C. in the biography of the general Amenemheb (Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. p. 890 *et seq.*) and in the accounts of the battle with the Hittites at Ḳadesh in 1288 B.C. (Information supplied by Dr. Burckhardt). In the Old Testament Aram Ṣōba seems to correspond to Aleppo. In the Seleucid period it was given the name Beroia (Βέροια, Βερροία, Βεροία etc.) by Seleucus Nikator, who favoured it exceedingly. It suffered severely at Khusraw I's conquest in 540 A.D. (not Khusraw II, as is wrongly stated in Pauly-Wissowa and Baedeker). In the Byzantine period we find the old name reappearing in the Greek form Χαλέπ.

2. Under Arab Rule.

Aleppo seems to have been predominantly a Syrian town with a strong admixture of immigrant Arabs in contrast to the more cosmopolitan Kinnisrin. The suburb of Ḥādir Ḥalab of Tanūkh was entirely settled by Bedouins of that tribe. The Arabs therefore met with no strenuous opposition in 16 A.H. at their advance on Aleppo under Khālid b. al-Walīd and the city capitulated to Abū ʿUbaida without resistance. The Arabs presumably first occupied the suburb of Ḥādir Ḥalab before the Bāb Anṭākiya and entered the city through the latter. There they founded the first mosque, which later was called al-Masdjid al-Ghaḍāʾirī and al-Madrasa al-Shuʿaibiya and is now known as al-Tūt. The people of Aleppo were given the usual grant of protection which assured them security for their lives, churches and houses. A number of the Arabs embraced Islām immediately, others not till the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik. The Christians retained five churches, of which several [see below] were turned into mosques during the Crusades. The Arabs erected camps, *djund* [q.v., i. 1064; *infra*] in the conquered provinces. Abū ʿUbaida became governor of Ḥimṣ, Kinnisrin and Mesopotamia and appointed governors beneath him. After his death in 18 Muʿāwiya became governor of the whole of Syria. When he became Caliph, he separated the administration of the province of Ḥimṣ from that of Ḳinnasrin and its dependencies (according to another authority this measure is due to his son Yazīd). The governors of the Umaiyad Caliphs resided for a time in Aleppo and the neighbourhood, and their memory is still preserved in local place names, e.g. Ḥādir Ḥalab is to this day called Ḥādir al-Sulaimānī, after a palace built by the governor Sulaimān, brother of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. Other governors resided in the neighbourhood of Aleppo. During the struggle between the Omayyads and ʿAbbāsids for the caliphate, the people of Aleppo were at first won over to the side of the ʿAbbāsid general, the Hāshimī ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, but they afterwards supported Madjzaʾ Abu ʾl-Ward in his efforts on behalf of the descendants of the Omayyad Maslama; but they could effect nothing against the new rulers. On the death of the first ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Saffāḥ [q.v.] in 136 his uncle, the general ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī already mentioned, seized Syria and Mesopotamia but had to flee before Abū Muslim who was sent against him. The latter was then appointed governor general of Syria and appointed governors subordinate to him for the separate districts. In 139 he left Syria and was succeeded by the Hāshimī Ṣāliḥ, a descendant of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī. The office of governor of Syria was frequently filled by members of this family during the next century (down to 250 A.H.). Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who as heir-apparent had been governor of Syria, separated its frontier lands from the province of Kinnisrin because they had been considerably enlarged by successful wars on the Byzantines (summer campaigns, *ṣāʾifa*, q.v.). He therefore founded a new administrative area in 170 with the capital Anṭākiya [q.v., i. 359 *et seq.*] called al-ʿAwāṣim [q.v., i. 515 *et seq.*], of which the frontier defences proper, the Thughūr, were outposts.

In 258 the Turkish general Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn [q.v.] was granted the Thughūr in fief. He assisted in putting down a rebellion in Syria with numerous troops collected for the purpose, and then declared war with his army on the governor of Syria, Aḥmad al-Muwaffaḳ, brother of the Caliph al-Muʿtamid, to win Syria for himself. Without

meeting any serious resistance he occupied Damascus and Aleppo, where he was hailed as a liberator. His son Khumārawaih [q. v.] appointed Toghdj b. Djuff (father of Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd, q. v.) governor of Aleppo in 275. Khumārawaih died in 280. He was succeeded by his son Djaish, and next by his second son Hārūn. After protracted hostilities peace was finally made in 286 between the Caliph and Hārūn; Aleppo remained to the Caliph. In 290 an invasion of the Karmaṭians [q. v.] took place, they defeated the governor and besieged Aleppo but were forced to retreat after a sortie in which the troops were assisted by the citizens. To reconquer the lost provinces of Damascus and Egypt, the Caliph al-Muktafī sent a strong army under Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, which received accessions in Aleppo from the tribes of Kilāb and Tamīm. He routed the Karmaṭians in Central Syria, conquered Egypt and slew Hārūn in 292 A. H. This victory secured the Caliph's hold on Syria for a considerable time. The governors and deputy governors were changed frequently usually by force of arms. In 325 Syria became dependent on the governor of Egypt, Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd [q. v.], who appointed Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd al-Kilābī, chief of the Bedouins of the tribe of Kilāb, to be governor of Aleppo. The Kilābīs flocked thither in large numbers. The Caliph granted Syria to Muḥammad b. Rā'iḳ [q. v.] to rid it of Ikhshīdids who did not recognise his authority. Ibn Rā'iḳ drove out the Ikhshīdid governor, Aḥmad al-Kilābī, and took the field against al-Ikhshīd himself. Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd was defeated, surrendered Damascus to Ibn Rā'iḳ and fled into Egypt. In 329 Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd sent his general Kāfūr with a large army into Syria; he defeated Ibn Rā'iḳ's governor and conquered Aleppo. In the following year peace was made between al-Ikhshīd and Ibn Rā'iḳ, who now received Aleppo and Ḥimṣ also. In the same year Ibn Rā'iḳ was slain by the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla; the latter became Amīr al-Umarā', and his famous brother 'Alī received the title of honour Saif al-Dawla. The history of Aleppo for the next few years is so closely bound up with his career that we must refer the reader to the article SAIF AL-DAWLA. After the death of Saif al-Dawla in 356 (967) his descendants continued to rule there till 406 (1015) if we include the sequel of Ḥamdānid rule under the Ḥamdānid Mamlūk Lu'lu' and his son Manṣūr. During this period, the history of which is given in greater detail in the article ḤAMDĀNIDS, Aleppo had developed with the lands attached to it into a practically independent principality and was now the most important city in northern Syria. Its importance in the world's history lies in its successful struggle with the Byzantine empire. By his extraordinary abilities Saif al-Dawla had retained Syria for Muslim culture; in the above mentioned year, however, the city fell directly under Fāṭimid rule, for which it had already been prepared under the Ḥamdānids and Lu'lu' and Manṣūr.

The Caliph al-Ḥākim remitted the taxes for 407 of the province which had been so impoverished by continual warfare and appointed 'Azīz al-Dawla Fātik governor of Aleppo and its citadel. The latter built himself a fortified residence connected with the citadel and renovated the walls (see architecture). He was also able to come to good terms with the Byzantines. At this time the Emperor Basil had forbidden trade with the "infidels" in Syria and Egypt in reprisal for al-Ḥākim's cruel treatment of the Christians, but he made an exception in favour of 'Azīz al-Dawla. Relying on his twofold power as governor of the city and its citadel and a friend of the Byzantines, he showed his independence of al-Ḥākim by striking his own coins and gave up paying revenue to him. The Caliph enraged prepared to take the field against him, but before the preparations were complete he was murdered [but see the article ḤĀKIM] in 411. 'Azīz al-Dawla is said to have made peace with his successor al-Ẓāhir and Ḥākim's sister who conducted the government; but it is related that he was murdered in 413 at the queen's command. Others throw the guilt on Badr, commander of the citadel in Aleppo, who wished the power for himself. His plan miscarried however. The regent drove him out of the city with her troops and as a precaution in 414 appointed two independent governors, one for the city and another for the fortress. But no one in Syria was satisfied with Fāṭimid rule. We thus come to have in the next year the remarkable phenomenon of the chiefs of the three great Bedouin tribes of North Syria, the Kilābīs (led by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, q. v.), the Kalbīs (led by Sinān) and the Ṭaiyis (led by Ḥassān b. al-Mufarradj) uniting for joint action. Ṣāliḥ was to attack Aleppo, Sinān Damascus and Ḥassān Palestine. In face of this danger the Caliph's best general, Anūshtikīn al-Dizbirī, was sent to Palestine to put down the rebellion. Anūshtikīn was overcome by superior forces. Ṣāliḥ was thus free to advance on Aleppo and after two months the city was delivered up to him through dissension between the two governors. Ṣāliḥ left a portion of his army behind to capture the citadel, and went southwards with the remainder, again defeating Anūshtikīn and taking Ḥimṣ, Ba'albek and Sidon in 416; Raḥba, Manbidj, Bālis and Kafarṭāb in the east also submitted to him. Syria thus regained its independence. When the situation in Egypt had improved the Caliph al-Ẓāhir in 420 sent a new army to Palestine under Anūshtikīn, this time successfully; Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās fell in the battle of Uḳḥuwāna on the Jordan. His sons, who had stayed behind in Aleppo, shared his power; Mu'izz al-Dawla Thimāl received the citadel, Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr the city, but in the next year he seized the citadel also and indemnified his brother elsewhere. He again began the famous summer raids on the Byzantines and severely defeated the governor of Antioch. To revenge himself the Emperor Romanus advanced against Aleppo, but his army, which had suffered severely from the great heat of summer and the scarcity of water, was defeated and forced to retreat. The new governor of Antioch was more successful in plundering towns belonging to Aleppo and capturing numerous Muslims. Naṣr thus found himself forced to submit; he promised to pay tribute and observe peace. The next few years passed peaceably enough apart from a few trifling outbreaks. In 427 the new Fāṭimid Caliph, whose favour he had won by vast gifts taken from Byzantine booty, confirmed his investiture and granted him the highest rank of vizier. Two years later, Anūshtikīn, who had been governor of Damascus since 420, resolved to take Aleppo with Fāṭimid troops aided by the irreconcilable Kilābīs. Naṣr advanced to meet him with his followers. In the battle of Laṭmin Thimāl took to

flight and Naṣr was killed. His brother Thimāl took his place as ruler of Aleppo, but went off to Mesopotamia leaving representatives in the city and citadel. After his departure anarchy and plunder reigned there till Anūshtikīn besieged the town, which surrendered by agreement; the citadel also surrendered shortly afterwards. Anūshtikīn placed governors in Aleppo both for the city and citadel and further strengthened his power in Northern Syria. His successes aroused the mistrust of the Fāṭimid vizier, who prevented the general's family in Cairo from going to see him. Vigorous protests from Anūshtikīn widened the breach, till finally the vizier ordered Anūshtikīn's ḳā'ids to leave him and again granted Aleppo to the Mirdāsid Thimāl. Abandoned by the ḳā'ids Anūshtikīn went with a small following to Aleppo, followed by Thimāl; Anūshtikīn, despondent and ill, died in 433. His successor handed over Aleppo to Thimāl on receipt of the Caliph's firmān to that effect after fighting several battles with him. He was on good terms not only with the Caliph in Cairo, who in 439 again confirmed the firmān granting him his position, but also with the Empress Theodora, who granted him and his successors titles and presents in return for payment of a yearly tribute. He was also able to avoid war with the powerful Turkish chief al-Basāsīrī who had fled from Baghdād before the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Ṭoghrul Beg and granted him Raḳḳa. The demands of the Kilābīs continued to cause great difficulties to Thimāl and their insolent attacks hurt him so much that he exchanged Aleppo for Djubail, Bairūt and 'Akkā in 449 with the permission of the Fāṭimid Caliph. The Caliph appointed two governors in Aleppo one for the town and one for the citadel and peace reigned for three years. But in 452 the Kilābīs under Thimāl's nephew Maḥmūd collected their forces to capture Aleppo. After long fighting with varying success (Aleppo on one occasion saw three different masters in three days) Maḥmūd finally occupied the city and its citadel. But he could not long enjoy its possession; by command of the Caliph, Thimāl retook it from him in 453, without however having defeated him, as the Shaikhs of the Kilābīs decided that it was improper to support a nephew against his father's brother; Maḥmūd received compensation elsewhere. Towards the close of the reign of Thimāl fighting with the Byzantines went on continuously with varying result. About the end of 453 Thimāl fell very ill and died; during his long reign he had been able to maintain for Aleppo a fairly independent position between the Byzantine and Fāṭimid empires. Shortly before his death he appointed his brother 'Aṭiyya his successor, but Maḥmūd declined to recognise his uncle and revived his old claim to the inheritance as Naṣr's son. After four years of fighting Maḥmūd, who had obtained Turkish mercenaries with Byzantine money, succeeded in taking Aleppo in 457. In 459—462 pestilence and the continual ravages of Turkish hordes brought about destitution, famine and great loss of life in Northern Syria. By this time the power of the Fāṭimids had declined. The 'Abbāsid Caliphate, supported by the arms of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns, had won new influence, so that Maḥmūd found himself forced to mention the Caliph al-Ḳā'im and Sulṭān Alp Arslān in prayer, hoping for their effective support. While the Shaikhs understood the changed political situation and put on black ('Abbāsid) garments, the people rebelled and took the straw mats out of the mosque, saying these were 'Alī's praying carpets, Abū Bakr could get new ones for himself. Alp Arslān then demanded of Maḥmūd that he, like the other vassals, should join his army at the head of his followers. When Maḥmūd declined, Alp Arslān, although he advanced against Aleppo, contented himself with surrounding the town hoping to take it without storming it, in order not to weaken it unnecessarily so that it might serve him as a bulwark against the Byzantines. At the last moment Maḥmūd surrendered the city, but received it back at once from the Sulṭān in fief. He was sent on an expedition against Damascus and had reached Ba'albek when he had to return Aleppo to protect his kingdom from the raids of his uncle 'Aṭiyya, who had formed an alliance with the Byzantines. Against the latter Maḥmūd enlisted the leaders of Turkish mercenaries from Palestine in his service and the Byzantines retreated; 'Aṭiyya went with them to Constantinople where he soon afterwards died. In 466 Maḥmūd died; in the latter years of his reign he had become avaricious and autocratic; he was succeeded by his eldest son Djalāl al-Dawla Naṣr, a cruel tyrant. When he was slain in 468, the Turkish mercenaries chose his brother Sābiḳ as ruler, while soon afterwards the Kilābīs took the side of another brother, Waththāb, and advanced on Ḳinnisrīn. They dared not face the advancing Turks however and fled in disorder. The Turks took possession of their camp with their women, children and flocks as booty of war. Waththāb and his followers then turned for help to the Sulṭān, who was not himself able to assist them; however he granted Syria as a fief to his brother Tutush and ordered the leaders of the Turkish mercenaries to place themselves under his banner. Tutush entered Syria and made an alliance with the Kilābīs and with the 'Uḳailid chief Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim. The united forces besieged Aleppo for three months in 471 but the alliance between the Arabs and the Turks was not a close one. The Kilābīs and the 'Uḳailids kept aloof from them, Muslim returned homewards with Sābiḳ, took leave of Tutush and advised the other Kilābī chiefs to seek safety. The remaining Kilābīs went over to Sābiḳ. After further Turkish auxiliaries who were approaching Aleppo had been defeated by the Bedouins, Tutush raised the siege and went to the Euphrates. Next spring he again advanced on Aleppo, but was once more defeated and went to Damascus, which was given him by the Turk 'Atsiz. From this centre he ravaged Northern Syria and plundered the country from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān to Aleppo so that many of the inhabitants fled to Mesopotamia. As Sābiḳ felt he could no longer resist, he surrendered Aleppo at the end of 472 to the 'Uḳailid Muslim against his brother's wish. Muslim came with fresh troops and munitions and compensated the three brothers by granting them smaller towns. An Arab ascended the throne of Aleppo for the last time in the person of Muslim b. Ḳuraish [q.v.]; after he had fallen in 477 in battle with the Saldjūḳ Sulaimān b. Ḳuṭulmish [q.v.], the city was henceforth ruled only by dynasties of Turkish origin. Ibn Ḳuṭulmish proceeded to besiege Aleppo, but the inhabitants led by the Sharīf al-Ḥutaitī (who had built an outer fort at the southern side of the city wall, called "Ḳal'at al-Sharīf") resisted in the hope of receiving

support from Malik Shāh. They next sent for help to Tutush, who hurried at once to their relief; Ibn Ḳutalmish advanced to meet him. In an encounter near Aleppo his troops were put to flight and he in despair committed suicide. Tutush came up to Aleppo to occupy it as had been agreed but when Sharīf al-Ḥutaitī refused to surrender the town, he forced his way into it after a few days with the aid of traitors in the town. Sālim b. Ḳuraish, the commander of the citadel, who had been pledged by Muslim to surrender the citadel only to Sulṭān Malik Shāh himself, alone successfully resisted Tutush. Meanwhile Malik Shāh was approaching with a large army, subjecting all the strongholds on his route. Tutush retired to Damascus and Malik Shāh marched unopposed to the shores of the Mediterranean. In Aleppo he appointed his faithful friend Ḳāsim al-Dawla Aḳsonḳur [q. v., i. 226ᵇ *infra sq.*], the founder of Zangid line, as governor in 479. The trade and commerce of Aleppo [see Architecture sect. iii.] flourished under him and during almost ten years of peace security reigned and his subjects were mildly treated. Unfortunately he was taken prisoner in 487 in battle with Tutush and executed. Aleppo passed to Tutush and, on the latter's death soon after, to his son Riḍwān [q. v.].

Period of the Crusades. For the next few years devastating wars raged continuously between the rulers of Syria so that they were unable to resist the invasion of the Franks at the beginning of the Crusades in 490. How Boemund of Tarentum captured Antioch, defeated the powerful army sent to its relief in consequence of the dissension among the Syrian Emirs and founded the kingdom of Antioch, which formed a continual danger to Aleppo for many years is well known. Although Riḍwān, being hated as a member of the Ismāʿīlī sect of the Assassins, received little support from his fellow Muslims, the Crusaders were unable to take Aleppo itself while he lived. On their raids however they frequently came up to the very gates of Aleppo. He died in 507. After the short reign of his feeble-minded and debauched son Alp Arslān, who was assassinated in 508, his son, the infant Sulṭān Shāh, came to the throne under the regency of Luʾluʾ, who met a violent death in 511. In the same year Ilghāzī b. Urtuḳ [q. v.] was chosen regent, but he could not at first maintain his army in consequence of the devastation and destitution of Aleppo, so that it was not till 512 that he obtained a firm footing by alleviating the famine to some extent by a favourable treaty with the Franks. Ilghāzī, occupied in constant fighting, spent little time in Aleppo, where he had left his son Sulaimān as his representative. As the latter rebelled against his father in 514, Ilghāzī deposed him and put his nephew Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār in his place. The latter built the first madrasa (a theological school of the orthodox, Sunni creed) in Aleppo and aroused such wrath among the Shīʿī population that they are said to have destroyed by night what he built by day. Sulaimān, who succeeded to power on his uncle's death in 516, was deprived of it the next year by his uncle Balak b. Bahrām [q. v., i. 612ᵇ], when he failed to defend the province successfully against the Franks. Balak deposed the king of Aleppo, the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Shāh, and exiled him to Harrān. In this year the ravages of the Franks brought them up to the gates of Aleppo; plundering the sanctuaries they tore the sarcophagi out of their consecrated tombs. In reprisal the Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Khashshāb turned three churches in Aleppo into mosques [see ARCHITECTURE]. In the next year Balak fell at the siege of Manbidj, and his inheritance passed to his cousin Timūrtāsh [q. v.] of Mārdīn, who appointed a governor for Aleppo. Timūrtāsh was not strong enough to protect his new possessions against the Franks, who advanced on Aleppo with Sulṭān Shāh and Dubais [q. v., i. 1077 *et seq.*] of Ḥilla, the latter, a Shīʿī, hoped that the inhabitants, of whose enthusiasm for the Shīʿa we have already had two examples, would surrender to him without striking a blow. But he was deceived in this expectation; for the inhabitants led by the Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Khashshāb defended themselves valiantly. As their lord Timūrtāsh had left them in the lurch, they had applied for help to Aḳsonḳur, ruler of Mōṣul. The latter advanced with a large army and with it forced the Franks and their Muslim allies to retreat. Wisely refraining from following up the enemy's retreat, he contented himself with making his hold on Aleppo secure in the closing days of 518. His brief reign was occupied with wars with the Franks till in 520 he was murdered in Mōṣul by the Assassins. He had shortly before appointed his son Masʿūd his representative in Aleppo. The latter succeeded him in the government of his lands but, when he died the next year, utter anarchy reigned in Aleppo. Ḳutlugh, to whom Masʿūd is said to have ceded the town, took possession of it, but was thereupon besieged by the dissatisfied inhabitants in the citadel, till finally Ḳaraḳūsh, the lieutenant of the new lord of Mōṣul, the Atābeg Zangī [q. v.], arrived with an army and put an end to the strife. When Zangī himself arrived, he restored order but severely punished the culprits. In the next year (523) he was granted Aleppo by the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān. Aleppo itself was never endangered during his reign, filled with fighting as it was; security and prosperity were restored. He increased his territory by the conquest of Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ, Baʿalbek etc. When he was slain in 541 at the siege of Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar, he was succeeded by his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [q. v.] in the government of Mōṣul and Aleppo (including the Syrian appanages). He improved his position against the Crusaders, by taking Damascus from the incapable Būrid [cf. i. 800ᵃ] Abak and prepared the way for the end of the feeble Fāṭimid rule in Egypt through Saladin. His son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, who succeeded to power on Nūr al-Dīn's death in 569, had repeatedly to purchase a shameful peace from the Franks and to cede Damascus to Saladin. Ismāʿīl soon afterwards died in 577 and ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd I of Mōṣul, whom he had designated to succeed him, ceded Aleppo in the following year to ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī II of Sindjār, but the latter was not able to defend it against Saladin. In the beginning of 579 the latter again advanced on Aleppo; but although the troops offered a valiant defence against the besiegers, Zangī II finally saw that he could not hold Aleppo, as he lacked provisions and money to pay his soldiers. After secret negotiations the two princes came to an agreement whereby Zangī II received Sindjār, Nisibis and other lands, while Aleppo in return was ceded to Saladin.

The Aiyūbids (579—658). Saladin at first granted his eleven year old son al-Malik al-

Ẓāhir Ghāzī Aleppo, but a few months later he transferred the government of it to his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil [cf. i. 138b]. In 581 Saladin fell so ill that his death was hourly expected. On this occasion he became convinced that he could not trust his relatives absolutely and, when he had recovered, decided in 582 on a new division of his lands. Al-ʿĀdil was removed from his Syrian post and sent to Egypt as Atābeg of Saladin's son; Ghāzī was again granted Aleppo and betrothed to al-ʿĀdil's daughter Ḍaʾīfa Khātūn. Ghāzī, like a faithful vassal, supported his father against the Crusaders and on the latter's death recognised al-Malik al-ʿĀdil as his suzerain. The aim of his policy was to maintain the balance of power of the Aiyūbid chiefs by alternating alliances. He strengthened the defences of Aleppo to defend himself against all attacks. Ghāzī died in 615; he had previously designated as his successor his younger son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad by his marriage with al-ʿĀdil's daughter, in order to influence al-ʿĀdil in his favour. Al-ʿĀdil's son al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā took over the command of the troops in Aleppo and was successful in warding off an attack by the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Kaikāwus; the civil administration was in the hands of Ghāzī's trusted lieutenant the Atābeg Tughril (see architecture) and the famous Ḳāḍī Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād [q. v.]. Al-ʿĀdil and his son and successor al-Malik al-Kāmil each confirmed al-ʿAzīz in his throne. In 628 he took over the administration himself, appointed new officials in Aleppo and commanders in the fortresses of his vassals to strengthen his position. With the support of al-Kāmil he captured the fortress of Shaizar; he inherited al-Bīra (on the Euphrates) from his uncle al-Ẓāhir Dāʾūd (a son of Saladin's). Ghāzī and al-ʿAzīz brought great prosperity to Aleppo and extended their territories in Mesopotamia and Syria. Al-ʿAzīz died young in 634 and left the throne to his seven-year-old son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II (by his marriage with Fāṭima, daughter of Sulṭān al-Kāmil). Yūsuf's grandmother Ḍaʾīfa Khātūn [see above] became regent during a period of political crisis. Mistrusting al-Kāmil of Egypt, she formed an alliance with al-Ashraf of Damascus. She was easily able to defend herself against the Templars who were raiding her territory and her troops under the command of al-Muʿaẓẓam, son of Saladin, on several occasions inflicted such losses on them that they were forced to retire. To strengthen her power the regent made a close alliance with the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Kai-Khusraw of Rūm (Asia Minor), recognised him as suzerain (in khuṭba and on coins) and betrothed her youthful grandson to his sister. A great danger was at this time threatening Syria. The wild, warlike people of Khwārizm, driven by Cingiz-khān [q. v., i. 859 et seq.] out of their lands on the Caspian Sea had come to Mesopotamia and occupied the lands of al-Kāmil's son al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb. Unfortunately the Aiyūbid princes in consequence of their eternal rivalries were not united and when it suited their interests allied themselves with the Khwārizmīs. In 638 the armies of Aleppo were severely defeated by much superior forces, their leader al-Muʿaẓẓam taken prisoner, all their baggage fell into the hands of the enemy, who laid the whole country waste from the Euphrates to Ḥamā in their raids up and down the country; finally the Aleppo army reinforced by the king of Ḥimṣ and a body of Beduins, who had deserted from the enemy, felt strong enough to offer battle to the Khwārizmī troops. They had to follow the enemy, who evaded them, as far as al-Ruhā, and the armies met not far from there. The invaders were utterly routed and retreated via Ḥarrān to ʿĀna on the Euphrates, where they remained in the Caliph's territory. All the towns in Mesopotamia were taken from them and the captives left in Ḥarrān set free. In 640 the Aleppo troops again utterly defeated the Khwārizmīs, plundered their camp and took rich booty. A few months later the regent died; her grandson al-Nāṣir Yūsuf took over the government and extended his power over almost all Syria, but just when it had reached this zenith, the end of his kingdom was at hand. The Tatar Khān Hülägü advanced on Aleppo in 658. Sulṭān Yūsuf, who had relied in vain on help from Egypt, fled to Damascus and had afterwards to surrender to Hülägü. The latter took Aleppo, which was given over for days to plunder, conquered the Syrian cities of Ḥamā, Baʿalbek, Damascus and appointed governors in them.

Later Period. The rule of the Tatars lasted but a short time. In 659 they were utterly routed by Sulṭān Ḳuṭuz at ʿAin Djālūt [q. v.] and forced to retreat. Ḳuṭuz placed a governor in Aleppo. Soon afterwards a body of Tatar troops succeeded in taking Aleppo once more and maintained themselves in it for three or four months practising the greatest cruelties. At the end of the year they were defeated at Ḥimṣ and had to abandon Syria. Sulṭān Yūsuf is then said to have been executed by Hülägü (not after the battle of ʿAin Djālūt as is often stated). Aleppo now passed under the sway of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns; in 800 it once more suffered terribly from Tīmūr Lenk's invasion. It was restored after the retreat of the Mongols and now became a bulwark against the hereditary enemy Armenia, against which the governors waged countless wars, later against the Turkoman rulers of the Aḳ and Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and of Albistān, as well as against the Ottomans. The territory in Asia Minor conquered from time to time by the Mamlūks was always added to the province of Aleppo. The town itself was strongly fortified by its governors, notably its citadel by Aïnak, the governor of the second last Mamlūk Sulṭān Ghūrī. It passed to the Ottomans by treachery; the citadel was so strongly fortified that the rebel Djanbardī could not take it in 926 in spite of a siege of several months' duration. The scheme of its defences has remained almost unaltered to the present day. Under the Ottomans Aleppo continued to be a flourishing commercial centre although it suffered a great deal from the misgovernment of the Pashas. From 1831—1839 Aleppo was held by the Egyptians. Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v.], an enlightened man, although he had the best intentions, oppressed the city by heavy war-levies and conscriptions as well as by a system of monopolies, which were only beneficial to his officials. Matters became even worse on the return of Turkish rule. Since 1880 however the city has made great steps and will once again regain its ancient importance as a commercial centre.

III. Notes on the Architectural History.

(Based on the joint researches of Dr. Herzfeld and the writer).

Aleppo is rich in monuments of a military, religious and civil character. The majority are

well preserved and almost all bear inscriptions defining their date and origin. In addition to these we have the numerous architectural notes in the historians. The buildings of Aleppo thus afford a complete picture of the architectural development, which is authoritative not only for the town itself but for the whole of northern Syria.

1. The City-walls. Aleppo was a strongly fortified town even in the Seleucid and Byzantine period and it is probable that its walls formed a rough rectangle with a gate in the middle of each side. Khusraw I captured Aleppo on his campaign of conquest in Syria (540 A. D.) (Procopius, ii. 7, and Niceph. Kallisth., xiv. 39), and destroyed the walls but spared the citadel. Between the Bāb al-Djinān (see plan iii.) and the Bāb Anṭākiya (see plan iv.) portions of the walls built with Persian bricks, said to date from the restorations by Khusraw, were still to be seen in Ibn Shaddād's time. The name "The Ditch of the Greeks" of the ditch, which the walls now follow in the south and east, does not go back to these ancient times however, for it was dug by the Emperor Nicephorus when he besieged Aleppo in 351 A. H. When the Arabs captured Aleppo, Abū ʿUbaida entered by the Antioch Gate in the year 16 A. H., so that it is evident that the position of the main gate has not been altered. The old line of defence was apparently always followed by the wall in the first four centuries of the Hidjra, for which we have but few notices of it, while architectural remains are entirely absent.

The oldest part of the defences that still survives is the inner wall in the parapet between the two towers of the Antioch gate, built by the governor ʿAzīz al-Dawla in the reign of the Caliph al-Ḥākim (407—413 A. H.). It cannot be ascertained with certainty how much of the wall proper dates from an early period, as inscriptions only exist on the gates and towers. The architectural history of the wall is therefore based on the latter.

Saladin's son, Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, in 609 built the north gate of the city the Bāb al-Naṣr (Pl. i.), which was called Bāb al-Yahūd before his time. It has not altered: it consists of two strong towers forming a gate way, the entrance is through one of them by a zig-zag path (*barbakhāna*, *dergâh*, cf. van Berchem, *Notes d'Arch.*, p. 42, Note 2). More has survived of the restorations undertaken by Sulṭān al-Muʾaiyad Shaikh after the destruction by the Mongols under Tīmūr Lenk. The Bāb Anṭākiya (West Gate) in its present form dates from his time (823). Two inscriptions of Sulṭāns Barḳūḳ (792) and Faradj (804) replaced on the gate by al-Muʾaiyad bear witness to the restorations carried on between 807 and 823, which had been rendered necessary by earthquake and the Tatars. This gate is from the point of view of architectural technique the most advanced in Aleppo and shows the type in perfection viz., the two towers, both of which jut out with flattened corners, with lofty vaulting within, a narrow gateway and barbakhāna in the right tower, a protected way between the towers. The gateway is defended by loopholes in its three walls and machicolations. The gates had folding gates and draw gates in front of them. In the tops of the vaultings were openings through which missiles could be hurled on the enemy from the upper storey if they penetrated so far. There was a sanctuary in one of the great niches of the gate way. A portion of the Bāb Kinnesrīn (Pl. v. south gateway) also dates from the time of al-Muʾaiyad, namely the courtine between the two towers; also the second tower south of the Bāb al-Djinān (west wall) and the fine towers at the southwest corner of the city (south wall). Al-Muʾaiyad intended that his restorations, which were never completed, should cover the whole of the old line of defence. Under Barsbey (825—842) this was definitely abandoned and an outer wall which followed the "Greeks' ditch" was added to the city wall, with the Maḳām (Pl. vi.), Nērab (Pl. vii.) and Ḥadīd (Pl. viii.) [in place of the earlier Bāb al-Ḳanāt] gates.

About 893 A. H. Sulṭān Ḳāit Bey built the Bāb al-Faradj (Pl. ii.) at the south side, of it only the south tower, now quite built over, survives. Unlike the older gates the entrance is through the courtine between the two towers. The Bāb al-Maḳām also, built on the same principle, may be essentially the work of Ḳāit Bey although it also bears Barsbey's cartouches. Barsbey built the Bāb Nērab.

At the close of the Mamlūk period Sulṭān Ḳānṣūh Ghūrī, once more repaired the fortifications of Aleppo to defend it against the Ottomans. From him dates the modern form of the Bāb al-Djinān (918) and the fine Bāb Kinnesrīn which resembles the Bāb Anṭākiya; several towers of the east wall, the Bāb al-Aḥmar (Pl. viii. east gate) and the Bāb al-Ḥadīd (Pl. ix.) were entirely renewed by him (northeast corner 915). The town soon afterwards passed to the Ottomans through treachery, but they allowed its fortifications to fall into decay. Only one slight tower, the third to the south of the Bāb Anṭākiya bears an inscription commemorating repairs by Sulṭān Aḥmed (1012—1026) and on the Bāb Nērab Sulṭān Maḥmūd (1143—1168) has perpetuated his name by some immaterial improvements.

As Syrian architecture is essentially moderate in character, avoiding all superfluous ornament and only seeks effect through the solidity of its freestone work and the beauty of its proportions and disposition of its masses, we naturally find these features particularly well marked in defensive works. Apart from the inscriptions and their frames there is hardly the slightest decoration on the walls of Aleppo. A frieze on the Bāb al-Naṣr may be mentioned as quite unique; it shows an arabesque undergrowth through which a hare is running (see ARABESQUE, i. 365 *et seq.*, Pl. ii. 15). There are Mamlūk escutcheons on a number of towers, lions or leopards in the rudest relief, which can scarcely claim to be works of art but are only placed on the walls as heraldic emblems (perhaps with talismanic significance).

2. The Citadel. The citadel is a natural mound with its slopes artificially steepened and a deep ditch. Its form is oval, about 300 yards × 150 in area at the top, while the ditch encloses an area of 500 × 350 yards, its height above the bottom of the ditch is 100 feet. The mound does not lie equidistant from the city walls but near the centre of the east wall. The only entrance (Pl. x) is in the south.

The citadel was certainly in existence at a very early period, the period when we find Aleppo mentioned in Assyrian and Hittite monuments; from this time date two Hittite sculptures of lions in basalt. It is to be presumed that its sanctuaries also date from this remote age. Although Aleppo

was only a provincial town in the Byzantine period it was fortified. A relic of this period is a vast cistern almost in the centre of the citadel hewn out of the rock and covered with nine cross arched vaultings resting on four pillars. The 'Abbāsid and early Arab dynasties have left no monuments. The deep well on the north side, around whose cylindrical shaft a staircase winds, was built in the Saldjūḳ period as an inscription of Malik-<u>sh</u>āh found in a passage below, near the steps, shows.

The existing fortifications must have been rendered useless by earthquake in 565 as Nūr al-Dīn instituted great works of restoration, of which several inscriptions have survived on towers on the west side (568). In the interior Nūr al-Dīn (563) built the lower sanctuary of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl (Pl. 7) (Abraham is said to have visited Aleppo on his travels) with a splendid miḥrāb carved in wood, one of the finest examples of this branch of art. The celebrated minbar of the Aḳṣā mosque in Jerusalem was also originally designed for this sanctuary. The space on which Sulṭān Ghāzī undertook restorations already shows the type usual in the 'Aiyūbid period, a rectangle covered by a cupola between two broad girders.

In the reign of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī the citadel was entirely transformed and to him in the main it owes its present form. In the years 606—608 he deepened the moat and repaired the slopes, parts of which he probably also cemented. He built the high arched entrance bridge and the great gate (Pl. 6), which, according to the style of city-gates then in vogue, consisted of two much projecting towers close together. A well-known talismanic relief of a snake above the gate in the archway certainly dates from him. The vaulted gateway is broken into five pieces. The entrance was closed by three heavy hammered iron gates. This edifice of Ghāzī's is the most perfect example of a fortified gate in the east, nor indeed is there anything like it in the west. Considerable portions of the outer walls also date from Ghāzī, particularly in the north where there is a small sortie gate with a hammered iron door. This wall had a vaulted parapet along it and only rectangular towers projecting slightly. Inside the citadel in addition to the restorations of Maḳām Ibrāhīm in 610 Ghāzī rebuilt the great mosque with its minaret 3. It was a very ancient sanctuary and had been a church down to the time of the Mirdāsids. Nūr al-Dīn had restored it, but in 609 it had been entirely destroyed by fire. Ghāzī's building is a rare type of mosque: a large central area with a cupola between every pair of cross-vaults, and a court in front of it surrounded by barrel-vaulted halls. The minaret, like all old Syrian minarets, is square in plan and divided by ceilings into stories (here three); at the top is a gallery with a cupola supported by four pillars.

In 659 Hūlāgū captured and destroyed the fortress so that it had to be entirely restored under Sulṭān al-Ashraf Khalīl (inscriptions on the great gate of 691). By 786 the portions of the wall repaired by Khalīl required restoration, which was carried out by Barḳūḳ in anticipation of attack by the Mongols. This building was severely damaged in 803 by the Mongols under Tīmūr. In 809 the governor Djakam began to rebuild the walls, when he proclaimed himself Sulṭān in opposition to al-Nāṣir Faradj. He vaulted the gateway and above the rectangular area thus obtained he built a great hall which is still the characteristic feature of the citadel. He further built two isolated talus towers connected by the citadel by posterns in the north (Pl. 3) and south (Pl. 4). This period of the development of the citadel closes in the reign of al-Mu'aiyad about 820. In 877—880 Ḳāit Bey began improvements in the hall and built a square bastion with considerable projection in the centre of the north wall (877). Then followed the period of the decisive struggle between the Mamlūks and the Ottomans. For his defence Ghūrī repaired the citadel and the city walls in a most thorough fashion. In 910 he repaired the hall, deepened the moat in 911—915 and cemented its sides anew, repaired the bridge and built the lofty tower at its head (913). He seems to have entirely rebuilt Djakam's two talus towers (Pl. 2 and 4) (914) and in 915 built a high storey on Ḳāit Bey's north bastion. The main object of these comprehensive additions and restorations must have been to fit the citadel for the use of the new artillery.

Although the citadel was built entirely with a view to defensive operations, the architects of the various periods expended much art upon it. The splendid freestone architecture and the imposing dimensions of the buildings are enhanced by the many valuable materials used and by the use of decorative elements marked by excellent taste and artistic feeling. All things considered, the citadel is one of the most impressive and important monuments of Syrian architecture.

3. The Great Mosque (Pl. A). — The Great Mosque of Aleppo, also called the Mosque of Zachariah after a tomb in it, lies in the bazaars to the west of the citadel. It was founded in the reign of the Umaiyad Sulaimān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and is said to have been built on the cemetery of the chief church (see Ḥalawiya). No traces have survived of this early building, which is said to have built after the plan of the Umaiyad mosque in Damascus. According to a tradition (Ibn Abī Ṭaiy), partly confirmed by inscriptional evidence, the present edifice was first begun by the Ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Khashshāb under the Mirdāsid Sābiḳ Ibn Maḥmūd. In the troubled period that preceded the taking of Aleppo by Aḳsonḳur, Malik-<u>sh</u>āh's governor, little progress seems to have been made with the building. The lower storey of the minaret bears the date 483 and its inscription mentions Malik<u>sh</u>āh and the Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Khashshāb, that in the upper ceiling mentions Malik-<u>sh</u>āh's brother Tutush. The remains of an inscription in a medallion, which we found in 1908 during repairs of the east wall of the east hall belongs to the same period (since plastered over and now invisible). The architecture of the whole building and the absence of later inscriptions show that the appearance of the whole mosque has remained practically unaltered for centuries. Kalāūn built its miḥrāb (684), as the old one had been destroyed during a fire begun by the Armenians allied with Hūlāgū. Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built the minbar. Four Mamlūk maḳṣūras, which we were still able to see in 1908, have been removed except the Maḳṣūra al-Khaṭīb (746) during the repairs since undertaken. The central door of the bazaar dates from the early Mamlūk period, in spite of their later inscription (Sulṭān Murād III, 996).

The ḥaram consists of a hall of three naves each with 18 cross vaultings on solid quadrangular pillars. In Malik Shāh's time the hall is said to have had marble pillars. The miḥrāb is a simple, deep, round niche. On the left beside it in the south wall is the tomb of Zachariah. Before the ḥaram lies the splendid wide court with old decorative marble pavement, two roofed wells, a sundial and an open prayer estrade. Around it are halls similar to the ḥaram. The two-naved east hall belongs to the architectural period of Malik Shāh. The north hall with a large water reservoir has also two naves; it was restored by Barḳūḳ in 797 but he preserved the old front. The one-naved west hall is a modern building. At the northwest corner of the mosque the four cornered minaret of five stories rises above the flat roof of the halls. Entirely a work of the fifth century, with its rich classicising ornament and its inscriptions in kūfī and naskhī it is quite unique in the whole of Muslim architecture.

A work of the same period, but afterwards essentially altered is the mosque with tomb of "al-Ṣāliḥīn", south of the city built by Aḥmed, a younger son of Malikshāh designated as his successor in 479, with an old and interesting miḥrāb.

4. The madrasa al-Ḥalāwiya (Pl. W). — The Madrasa al-Ḥalāwiya lies to the west of the great mosque from which it is separated only by a narrow bazaar street. Before the Arab conquest this was the cathedral church of Aleppo. On its ancient remains Dr. Samuel Guyer writes: "The Madrasa al-Ḥalāwiya contains in the south remains of an ancient Christian ecclesiastical building. The tradition which mentions a church built by Helena, points in this direction and the exedra-like vaulting borne on pillars adjoining the main cupola in the west, which strikingly recalls similar motives in the central churches of Diyārbekr and Ruṣāfa, must on account of the form of its pillars etc. be traced to a building of the end of the vith century. According to Herzfeld's investigations, the cupola itself was built contemporaneously with this exedra and the same holds of the aisles north and south of it. We have apparently to recognise in this complex the most western part of a basilica covered by two or three cupolas, parts of the choir of which abutted on the street still running between the madrasa and the chief mosque (cf. Guyer's article in *Bulletin de l'Inst. Franç. d'Archéol. au Caire*, 1914)".

It was not till 517 that the Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Khashshāb transformed this church into a mosque in revenge for the destruction of Muslim tombs by the Crusaders. In 543 Nūr al-Dīn made it a madrasa. The first Madrasa in Aleppo was the Madrasa al-Zadjdjādjiya built by Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Ortuḳ (510—517) of which no traces have survived (a generation later than the Niẓāmiya of Baghdād). Almost at the same time in 500 the first khānḳāh, Khānḳāh al-Balāṭ was built by a freeman of Riḍwān's under Alp Arslān b. Ibn Riḍwān.

5. The Shuʿaibiya. — Close behind the Antioch gate lie the remains of a building which later writers describe as an ancient arch with a Kufic inscription of later date, called Djāmiʿ al-Tūt. In reality it is the Madrasa al-Shuʿaibiya built by Nūr al-Dīn in 545, which occupies the site of the oldest mosque in Aleppo built by Abū ʿUbaida (see history). The importance of this building with its luxurious ornament, its architectural features which seem quite archaic for so late a period and its Kufic inscriptions, lies in the fact that it is one of the chief evidences for the still unexplained radical change, which took place in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn, in the epigraphy and style of his inscriptions and in the style of architecture.

6. Aiyūbid buildings. — The whole wealth of Aiyūbid buildings in Aleppo can only be touched on here. But as even Cairo itself, otherwise so rich in monuments, is poor in religious buildings of this period, we may here at least mention the chief buildings viz.: the Mashhad ʿAlī in the west of the city, part of which is older in origin, the sepulchral mosque of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, the Sulṭāniya (Pl. H.) to the south, at the foot of the citadel, and the Ẓāhiriya in the Maḳāmāt (Pl. 48), the sepulchral mosque of Firdaus (Pl. 47) in the same place, the Khānḳāh in the Farāfra (Pl. 14) and that of Abū Riḍjā in the Kallāsa (Pl. 24) as well as the sepulchral mosque of Shaikh Fāris in the north of the city in Bābīlā.

7. Mamlūk buildings. — A large number of the buildings belong to the period of the Mamlūks and Ottomans. In addition to the many mosques, Djāmiʿ Utrūsh (Pl. J), Altunbugha (Pl. K), Tawāshī (Pl. M) with their varied minarets, which cause the prospect of Aleppo to remind one of Cairo, a beautiful Mūristān Arghūn (Pl. f) of the year 755 and a whole series of large warehouses and shops (Khān) (Pl. a—c), dwellings, baths and public wells have survived.

Bibliography: No comprehensive modern account of the history and topography of Aleppo has yet been prepared. I have collected the necessary material for the purpose of editing the inscriptions there. Dr. Herzfeld has undertaken the description of the buildings as well as the history of the architecture. The preparatory studies for Aleppo are almost completed and the volume will appear in about two years as a section of Van Berchem's *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie du Caire*. The same holds of Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ. — On the topography of Aleppo: Muḥammad Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī (not Saladin's ḳāḍī) about 674 wrote *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shaʾm wa 'l-Djazīra* (cf. Sobernheim, *Ibn Shaddād's Darstellung im Mittelalter* in *Centenario della Nascita di Michele Amari* ii. 152—163). His history of the rulers of Aleppo has been lost. The works by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriya and Ibn Shiḥna are based on him. The Ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Yamn al-Batrūnī, a teacher in the mosque of Khusraw Pasha in Aleppo, produced a version of Ibn Shiḥna in the xith century A. H. (the manuscripts of Ibn Shiḥna in Berlin, Vienna, Gotha and Copenhagen are copies of it; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litteratur*, ii. 42), printed in Beirut 1909 by the Jesuits. A. von Kremer translated several chapters in *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad. Phil. Hist. Klasse*, Vol. iv. 1850, p. 212—250 and 304—310; the anonymous Ms. 1683 in Paris is also based on an edition of Ibn Shiḥna; Blochet has translated several passages from it in his *Histoire d'Alep* (see below, p. 220—245) as is Dr. Bischof's *Geschichte von Aleppo* (Arabic, written by a Shaikh) an uncritical book without the slightest claims

to accuracy; the Turkish geography *Djihān Numā*, Constantinople 1732, p. 593, and Ritter's detailed account of Aleppo in his *Erdkunde*, Vol. xvii., part. ii. 1733—1777, were the principal older sources are quoted and digested. Plans of the city of Aleppo, prepared by Rousseau in his *Recueil des Mém. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, Paris 1825, ii. p. 194—244, by Niebuhr, published in his *Travels* and in Russell's above mentioned *Natural History of Aleppo*; as well as a new plan prepared by the engineers of the wilāyet, which is given here. On the geography cf. also M. Hartmann, *Das Liwa Ḥaleb* in *Zeitschr. d. Gesgr. Ges.*, Berlin 1894; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*.

On the History of Aleppo: on the history of the conquest by the Arabs: Leone Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Milan 1910, Vol. iii., which contains a list of the works consulted (the most important are the writings of Wellhausen and de Goeje), as well as a critical investigation of the sources. For the history to 640 'Omar b. al-'Adīm's work is the fullest; of the Arabic text there have been published: the years 16—336 by G. W. Freytag, with Latin translation, introduction and valuable notes (Bonn 1819); *Die Regierung des Saʿd al-Dawla* (356—381), *Arabischer Text mit Deutscher Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Bonn 1820); the text for the reign of Ibn Saʿīd (381—392) and for the years 634—641 in the Bonn Chrestomathia (Lokmani Fabulae) 1823, p. 41—46; the text for the years 577—588 in the *Chrestomathia Arabica*, Bonn 1834, p. 97—138; the history from the death of Ibn Saʿīd to the end of the Mirdāsids (394—472) from the same work by N. Müller, Bonn 1830, in a Latin translation often abbreviated and inaccurate; the history of the Ḥamdānids, in German in extracts by G. W. Freytag, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, x. 432—498; xi. 177—252; the years 488—569 in a French translation by Silvestre de Sacy, printed in Röhricht's *Beiträge zu den Kreuzzügen*, Berlin 1874, Vol. i. 209—246 (see also *Recueil des Historiens orientaux*, iii. 577—690); Blochet's translation of the years 541—640, entitled *Histoire d'Alep*, Paris 1900; further extracts in Defrémery, *Mémoires d'Histoire orientale*, i. 35—65; in the edition of Leo Diaconus, Bonn 1828, p. 389—391. The christian-arabic sources (Eutychius and his son Yaḥyā b. Baṭrīk) and the Byzantine are best utilised in Schlumberger, *Un Empereur Byzantin au 10ème Siècle: Nicéphore Phocas*, Paris 1890, *L'Épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, 1896—1905, 1—3. For the Crusading period: Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*; Reinaud, *Extraits des Historiens arabes*, Paris 1829; *Recueil des Historiens orientaux*, Paris, 1—5; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck 1898; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen. Also the standard works of Weil, A. Müller and Clément Huart. — Arabic authors: Ibn al-Athīr, Balādhurī, Abu 'l-Fidā, Ibn Ḥabīb (extract in *Orientalia* II by Meursinge and Weijers, Amsterdam 1846), Ibn Iyās (printed in Cairo, except the years 906—922; for this gap cf. Mss. in Paris and Petersburg); Ibn Khaldūn (particularly Vol. iii., History of the separate Dynasties); Maḳrīzī's *Sulūk* (translation from the beginning to 648, by Blochet, Paris 1908, with valuable extracts from Ibn Wāṣil); Quatremère (translation of the years 648—708 under the title *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks* with valuable notes, Paris 1837); Nuwairī (Mss. in Leiden and Paris); Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Nudjūm*, edition of the text from the beginning to 365 by Juynboll and Matthes (Leiden 1852—1861), 365—564 by Popper, Leiden 1909—1913. — For biographical notices: Kamāl al-Dīn 'Omar, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* (a few biographies printed in the *Recueil des Historiens orientaux*, iii. 691—782; Ms. in Paris); Ibn Khallikān's well-known work; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr* (Ms. in Berlin) and *al-Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt*, various portions of the Mss. in Paris, London etc.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal al-Ṣāfī* (Mss. in Cairo, Paris, Vienna). — Epigraphy in Blochet's *Histoire d'Alep*, translation of the inaccurate texts of inscriptions by Bischof. A few inscriptions in M. Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Inschriften aus Syrien: Arabische Inschriften*, edited by M. van Berchem; also Sobernheim in *Mélanges Derenbourg*, p. 379—390: *Das Heiligtum Shaikh Muḥassin in Aleppo*.

(M. SOBERNHEIM.)

al-ḤALABĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD, an Arab jurist, author of a handbook on the *Furūʿ* according to the Ḥanafī school much used in Turkey and often annotated. Its title is *Multaḳa 'l-Abḥur* (printed with Shaikhīzāde's commentary, Stambūl 1241, 1310, by al-Ḥaṣkafī, ibid., 1258, 1287, 1310; French transl. by Sauvaire, Marseilles 1882, Turkish transl. by Ḥamdī Rāghib, printed in Būlāḳ 1254, Stambūl 1269; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khal., vi. 102 *et seq.*). Al-Ḥalabī, a native of Ḥalab (Aleppo) studied in his native city and in Cairo, then came to Constantinople where he filled the offices of preacher and professor and died in 956 (1549) at the age of 90. Besides the textbook already mentioned he composed other works detailed by Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, ii. 432.

Bibliography: cf. Brockelmann, *l.c.*

AL-ḤALABĪ NŪR AL-DĪN B. BURHĀN AL-DĪN 'ALĪ B. IBRĀHĪM B. AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. 'OMAR AL-ḲĀHIRĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, an Arab author, born in 975 = 1567 in Cairo, was a professor in the Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiya there and died on the 30th Shaʿbān 1044 = 17th Febr. 1634. The best known of his numerous works is the biography of the Prophet, entitled *Insān al-ʿUyūn fī Sīrat al-Amīn al-Maʾmūn*, usually called *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabīya*, an excerpt from *al-Sīra al-Shāmīya* of Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī (died 942 = 1536), considerably expanded by numerous additions, completed in 1043 = 1633, printed in Cairo 1280, 1308. We also still possess from his pen the Ṣūfī treatise *al-Naṣīḥa al-ʿAlawīya fī Bayān Ḥusn Ṭarīḳat al-Sāda al-Aḥmadīya*, see Ahlwardt *Verzeichnis d. Arab. Handschr. der Kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, N°. 10104, and the '*Iḳd al-Murdjān fīmā yataʿallaḳ bi 'l-Djānn*, a digest of Suyūṭī's digest of Shiblī's work, discussed by Nöldeke in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* (Vol. lxiv. p. 439 *et seq.*; see also lxv. 155), see *Fihrist al-Kutub al-ʿArabīya al-Maḥfūẓa fi 'l-Kutubkhāna al-Khedīwīya*, vi. 157; vii. 302, Bibl. de M. le Baron S. de Sacy, Paris 1842, Vol. iii. Mss. p. 5, N°. 31, 2. Of the many commentaries and supercommentaries which he wrote on textbooks current in his time, the only one that has survived is that on Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī's commentary on Nawawī's *Minhādj al-*

Taḥūn, see de Slane, Cat. des Mss. Ar. de la Bibl. Nationale, 1015-1016 (Muḥibbī, iii. 123; S mentions instead of this a Ḥāshiya ʿalā Manhadj al-Ḳāḍī Zakariyā).

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat al-Athar, iii. 122 et seq.; Wüstenfeld, Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber, N°. 560; Brockelmann, Arab. Litt., ii. 307. (C. BROCKELMANN.)

ḤALĀL (A.) legally permitted, in opposition to Ḥarām [q. v.].

ḤALET EFENDI (MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD), a statesman of the time of the Ottoman Sulṭān Maḥmūd II. He was the son of the Ḳāḍī Ḥasain Efendi, a native of the Crimea. Like his father he entered the service of Sharīf Efendi, the Shaikh al-Islām; on the latter's death he became successively yamaḳ (assistant) to the mühür-dār (keeper of the seals) of Rāshid Efendi, president of the Imperial Receptions, and factor to the nāʾib (judge) of Yeñi-Shehri-Fanār (Larissa). His relations with the poet Ghālib Dede, superior of the monastery of Mewlewī dervishes at Galata, gave him the idea of devoting himself to the studies, which he had hitherto much neglected. His keen intelligence obtained him positions as secretary with different people such as Callimaki, dragoman to the Admiralty, through whom he formed associations with the gild of fanariots, and the Master of Ceremonies Muṣṭafā Rāshid, who obtained him an appointment at the Sublime Porte. There he soon became chief of the audit office. Soon after the conclusion of peace with France he was sent as ambassador to Paris (4th Ramaḍān 1217 = 29th Dec. 1802). On his return in 1807 he was appointed keylikdji (keeper of the seals) to the Imperial Dīwān and barely two months later president of the Imperial Receptions (rikāb raʾīsi); but on the 22nd Shawwāl of the same year (23rd Dec.) he was dismissed at the complaint of the French ambassador General Sebastiani, who accused him of an understanding with England, and kept a prisoner in Kutahya, where he remained for a year. He was next sent upon a mission to Baghdād, but did not succeed in collecting the sums due by Sulaimān Pasha. He revenged himself however by having the latter condemned to death, and was thus able to return to the capital in triumph with the confiscated amount (1225 = 1810).

He now became Master of Ceremonies and a few years later chief of the office of calligraphers, whose duty it was to place the ṭughra on the firmans (tewḳīʿī). But he used his power and influence for his private ends by procuring for several fanariots whom he favoured posts as woiwod of Moldau and Wallachia; he also contributed to the banishment from the empire of ʿAlī Pasha of Tepedilen and was thus the indirect cause of the revolt in the Morea. This brought about his fall; in 1238 (1822-1823) he was arrested in Ḳonia and strangled there. His body was buried there and his head brought to Constantinople and buried in the Mewlewī monastery in Galata, to which he had belonged. There also is a sebīl (public fountain) and a library founded by him. His collected poems were printed in Būlāḳ in 1842.

Bibliography: Djewdet, Taʾrīkh, vii. 274; viii. 317; xi. 5, 152, 191; xii. 64; Shānī-zāde, i. 249; Sāmī bey, Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām, iii. 1915; Cl. Huart, Histoire de Bagdad, p. 166, 170; Jouannin and Van Gaver, Turquie, p. 368, 393, 396. (CL. HUART.)

ḤĀLETĪ ʿAZMĪ-ZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI, known as ʿAzmī-zāde or by his pen-name Ḥāletī, a famous Ottoman scholar and poet, born in 977 on the 15th Shaʿbān (23rd Jan. 1570) in Constantinople, the son of Pīr Meḥmed ʿAzmī Efendi, a literary man of some importance, the tutor of Sulṭān Murād III. He had the good fortune to study under the most distinguished scholars of his time, notably the historian Khodja Saʿd al-Dīn. Under their direction he laid the foundations for his later encyclopaedic knowledge of history. He was a müderris and ḳāḍī in various places, Damascus, Cairo, Jerusalem, Brusa, Adrianople and Constantinople and reached the highest office viz. Ḳāḍī ʿAsker of Anatolia and later of Rumelia. He died on the 26th Shaʿbān 1040 (30th March 1631) and was buried in Constantinople near the Sahler Čarshysy.

Ḥāletī was one of the most cultured and best read men of his time, and rivalled ʿAlī Čelebi Ḳinālī-zāde in encyclopaedic knowledge. He left a library of 3000—4000 volumes, all of which he had annotated in his own hand. As a poet he occupies an honourable place among Ottoman poets of the second rank; to the first he does not belong, however much he may have been esteemed in his own time. His language is fine and dignified. His poems are pitched on a tender key. They are characterised by a certain pessimism of tone. Ḥāletī's main importance in poetry lies in his ḳiṭʿa and even more in his rubāʿī's (quatrains), composed after Persian models and forming a separate Dīwān, in which he successfully imitated ʿOmar Khaiyām and won a special place in Ottoman literature from which he has never been ousted. He also left a fairly good Dīwān which is still popular (printed Būlāḳ 1258), and a Sāḳī-Nāme (Book of the Cup-bearer) in Mathnawī verses, after the Persian model, a typical example of this style of poetry, and a Pend-Nāme in Mathnawī verses (moral precepts). He added a considerable number of new verses to it, although he did not complete the romantic Mathnawī Mihr u Mushterī (Sun and Jupiter), the translation of the work of the Persian poet Muḥammad ʿAṣṣār, which his father had left unfinished.

His prose works are all those of a professional scholar; marginal notes on the Menār Ibn Malik and the Durer we Ghurer, a commentary on the Mughnī ʾl-Labīb, additions to the commentary on the Hidāya, the Miftāḥ-i Shurūḥ and the Miṣbāḥ, further treatises on the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān and collections of letters (Munshaʾāt-i ʿAzmī-zāde Efendi) as models of style.

Bibliography: Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniya (1269), Dheil, p. 730—741; Tedhkere-i Laṭīfī (1314), p. 126; Thureiyā, Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī (1311), iii. p. 103; M. Nādjī, Esāmī (1308), p. 110; von Hammer, Geschichte der Osman. Dichtkunst, iii. p. 214—224; Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, iii. p. 221—232. Cf. also Rieu and Pertsch. (THEODOR MENZEL.)

ḤALF, ḤALĪF [see ḤILF.]

ḤALI (HALY, HEALY), a town in Arabia, lying to the south of Ḳonfude on the border between the Ḥidjāz and Yemen on the Wādī ʿAṣhr, with the small harbour of Marsā Ḥalī and the mountain spur of Raʾs Ḥalī (the latter according to Niebuhr in N. Lat. 18° 36′). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the town on his journey to Yemen in 1332 A.D., gives it the name Ḥalī b. Yaʿḳūb and

describes it as a flourishing seaport with fine buildings and a splendid mosque. The Sulṭān, who was at that time ruling the town, belonged to the Kināna [q. v.] and was a gifted poet and a model of Arabian hospitality. In Niebuhr's time it was a dependency of the Sharīf of Mecca, who had a bīsa with a garrison here. In 1805 or 1806 the town with the whole coast was taken from the Sharīf by the Wahhābīs [q. v.]. In 1815 Muḥammad 'Alī's Egyptian troops regained it after having been driven out in the preceding year by the neighbouring mountain tribes of 'Asīr [q. v.] and in the same year Burckhardt during his stay there found the tax-collectors of the Sharīf of Mecca again installed in it. In 1824 and 1825, on their campaigns against the tribes of 'Asīr, the Egyptian troops passed through Ḥalī. During the Egyptian campaign against 'Asīr in 1834 Ḥalī was burnt to the ground by Aḥmad Pasha's troops.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti), ii. 163—165; K. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 375; K. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, xii. 185—187, 208, 234; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 52 (§ 52), 251 (§ 382). (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤALĪ, SAIYID ALṬĀF ḤUSAIN ANṢĀRĪ, the foremost living Urdū poet, was in his youth a pupil of the poet Ghālib [q. v.]; at the age of 40 he came under the influence of Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān [q. v.], at whose suggestion he wrote his *Musaddas*, entitled *Madd u Djazr-i-Islām* ("The flood-tide and ebb of Islām"), first printed in 1296 (= 1879); this poem embodies the ideals of the reform movement in Muslim India and has exercised a wide-spread influence on contemporary thought and activity; it has frequently been reprinted and later editions have been considerably enlarged. In 1893 he published his *Dīwān*, accompanied by a prose introduction on the nature of poetry and the characteristic features of poetic literature in various languages, including Urdū. Among his prose writings are *Ḥayāt-i-Sa'dī* (1886), *Yādgār-i-Ghālib* (1897), and *Ḥayāt-i-djāwīd* (a life of Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān) (1901). He has been living for some time past, in retirement in his native town, Pānīpat.

Bibliography: Abdul Qadir, *The New School of Urdu Literature*, p. 17 *et seq.* (Lahore, 1898); G. E. Ward, *The Quatrains of Hali, edited with a translation into English* (Oxford, 1904).

AL-**ḤALĪM** (A.) the mild, one of the names of God, see i. 304[b].

ḤALĪMA, a woman of the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr, according to Tradition, Muḥammad's nurse. In a year of famine she came to Mecca with other women of her tribe to seek foster-children and finally adopted the orphan Muḥammad, who soon brought great happiness to her household. During his stay with her, two angels came to him, opened his breast and took out a black clot of blood. Although in the later accounts of Muḥammad's wars there are one or two allusions to his foster-kinship with the Banū Sa'd, the whole story is simply an evangelium infantiae, the motif of which, as the story itself shows, is that every true prophet should have once been a shepherd. The custom of sending children to Beduin nurses is occasionally mentioned (Ṭabarī, i. 851, cf. Burckhardt's *Reisen in Syrien*, p. 344 *et seq.* for the Sharīf-families), but was only practised by rich or distinguished people. The cleansing of the breast, which is placed at a different period in other traditions (Ṭabarī, i. 1154 *et seq.*, 1157) is apparently only a materialising of Sūra xciv. 1.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 103—107, 856; Wellhausen, *Wāḳidī*, p. 350, 364; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, I. i, 69—71; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 969—972, 1143; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i. 286 *et seq.*; Sprenger, *Muhammad*, i. 119, 163 *et seq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 154 *et seq.* (FR. BUHL.)

ḤALĪMA, the name of the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, king of the Ghassān, celebrated for her remarkable beauty. It was from her — or according to others, from a meadow, called Mardj Ḥalīma after her — that the *Yawm Ḥalīma*, one of the most celebrated battles of the pre-Islāmic Arabs, the *Aiyām al-'Arab* [q. v.], received its name. It was a battle between the Ghassānids led by the above named king and the Lakhmids commanded by al-Mundhir b. Mā' al-Samā'. The cause and the course of the battle are differently given in the different accounts. The fray is said to have been so fiercely fought that the dust raised hid the sun and the stars became visible by day. A well known proverb says: *Mā yawm Ḥalīma bisirr* "the day of Ḥalīma is no secret". This is said of anything which every one knows.

Bibliography: al-Maidānī, *Madjma' al-Amthāl* (Cairo 1284), ii. 189 and 334; cf. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, ii. 611, iii. 383; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronik*, ed. Tornberg, i. 400—404; Mittwoch, *Proelia Arabum paganorum* (Berlin 1899), p. 22. (E. MITTWOCH.)

AL-**ḤALLĀDJ** ("the carder") ABU 'L-MUGHĪTH AL-ḤUSAIN B. MANṢŪR B. MAḤAMMĀ AL-BAIḌĀWĪ, a Persian mystic and theologian who wrote in Arabic. He was born about 244 (858) at al-Ṭūr near al-Baiḍā (Fārs), the grandson of a fire-worshipper, or descendant, it is said, of the Ṣaḥābī Abū Aiyūb. From 260 (873) to 284 (897) he lived in retirement (*khalwa*) with Ṣūfī teachers (Tustarī, 'Amr Makkī, Djunaid). Then he broke with these and went out into the world to preach (*da'wa*) asceticism and mysticism, thus assuming the part of a Ḳarmaṭian *dā'ī*, in Khurāsān (Ṭālikān), Ahwāz, Fārs, India (Gudjarāt) and Turkistān. On his return from Mecca to Baghdād in 296 (908) disciples (Ḥallādjiya) rapidly gathered round him. He was then accused of being a charlatan by the Mu'tazila, excommunicated by a *tawḳī'* of the Imāmiya and a *fatwā* of the Ẓāhiriya, and twice arrested by the 'Abbāsid police. Brought before the vizier Ibn 'Īsā and put on the pillory in 301 (913), he spent eight years in prison in Baghdād. The patronage of Shaghab, mother of al-Muḳtadir, and of the *ḥādjib* Naṣr brought upon him the hatred of the vizier Ḥāmid, who had him executed after a seven months' trial on a *fatwā* approved by the Mālikī Ḳāḍī Abū 'Omar. On Tuesday 24[th] Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 309 (26[th] March 922) on the esplanade of the new prison of Baghdād (on the right bank of the river) opposite the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ, al-Ḥallādj was flogged, mutilated, exposed on a gibbet (*maṣlūb*) and finally decapitated and burned. This "crucifixion" gave rise, as in the case of Christ, to legends of substitution (cf. *Rev. Hist. des Religions*, lxiii., 195—207). His persecuted disciples gathered round

Abū ʿUmāra al-Hāshimī in al-Ahwāz, and Fāris al-Dīnawarī in Khurāsān. It was from this last group that the mystic revival of Persian poetry originated with Abū Saʿīd [q. v.] and of Turkish with Aḥmed Yesewī and Nesīmī [q. v.].

Madhhab (doctrines) of the Ḥallādjiya:

a. in *Fiḳh*, the five *farāʾiḍ*, even the Ḥadjdj may be replaced by other works (= *isḳāṭ al-wasāʾiṭ*).

b. in *Kalām*, God's transcendence (*tanzīh*) above the limits of creation (*ṭūl*, *ʿarḍ*), the existence of an uncreated Divine spirit (*rūḥ nāṭiḳa*), which becomes united with the created *rūḥ* (spirit) of the ascetic (*ḥulūl al-lāhūt fi 'l-nāsūt*); the saint (*walī*) becomes the living and personal witness of God (*huwa huwa*) whence the saying: *Ana 'l-Ḥaḳḳ*, "I am Creative Truth" (cf. *Ṭawāsīn*, VI, 32).

c. in *Taṣawwuf*, perfect union with the divine will (*ʿain al-djamʿ*) through desire of and submission to suffering. The *dhikr* given them by Shaikh Sanūsī is modern.

Few men in Islām have been so much discussed; in spite of the *idjmāʿ* of the judges who condemned him, popular devotion has canonised him. The following are the principal doctors who have taken part in this cause célèbre: (*k* = *takfīr*, *w* = *wilāya*, *t* = *tawaḳḳuf*).

A. Fuḳahā: Ẓāhiriya (*k*: Ibn Dāʾūd, Ibn Ḥazm); Imāmiya (*k*: Ibn Bābūya, Ṭūsī, Ḥillī, *w*: Shūshtarī, ʿAmilī); Mālikiya (*k*: Ṭurṭūshī, ʿIyāḍ, Ibn Khaldūn, *w*: ʿAbdarī, Dulundjawī), Ḥanbalīs (*k*: Ibn Taimīya, *w*: Ibn ʿAḳīl [retracted], Ṭūfī); Ḥanafiya (*t*: Ibn Buhlūl, *w*: Nābulusī), Shāfiʿiya (*t*: Ibn Suraidj, Ibn Ḥadjar, Suyūṭī, Urmī; *k*: Djuwainī, Dhahabī; *w*: Maḳdisī, Yāfiʿī, Shaʿrānī, Haitamī, Ibn ʿAḳīla, Saiyid Murtaḍā).

B. Mutakallimūn: Muʿtazila (*k*: Djubbāʾī, Ḳazwīnī); Imāmiya (*k*: Mufīd; *w*: Naṣīr Ṭūsī, Maibudhī, Amīr Dāmād); Ashʿarīs (*k*: Bāḳillānī; *w*: Ibn Khafīf, Ghazālī, Fakhr Rāzī); Sālimiya (*w*); Māturīdiya (*k*: Ibn Kamālpāshā; *w*: Ḳārī).

C. Ḥukamā: *w*: Ibn Ṭufail, Suhrawardī Ḥalabī.

D. Ṣūfiya: *k*: ʿAmr Makkī and most early writers except (*w*) Ibn ʿAṭā, Shiblī, Fāris, Kalābādhī, Naṣrābādhī, Sulamī, and (*t*): Huṣrī, Daḳḳāḳ, Ḳushairī; then *w*: Ṣaidalānī, Hudjwīrī, Abū Saʿīd, Harawī, Fārmadhī, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī, Baḳlī, ʿAṭṭār, Ibn al-ʿArabī, Rūmī, and most moderns except (*t*) Aḥmad Rifāʿī, ʿAbd al-Karīm Djīlī.

Among European scholars different verdicts have been passed upon him. A. Müller and d'Herbelot think him to have been secretly a Christian: Reiske accuses him of blasphemy, Tholuck of paradox; Kremer makes him a monist, Kazanski a neuropath and Browne "a dangerous and able intriguer". Ḥallādj, a dialectician and ecstatic (cf. Lullius, Swedenborg), endeavoured to bring dogma into harmony with Greek philosophy on a basis of mystic experience; he was in this a precursor of Ghazālī; and although he would have repudiated their cautious quietism, the Ṣūfīs have made him their "martyr" par excellence. — Of his works (cf. *Kitāb al-Fihrist* I, 192) there remain the *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn* (ed. Massignon, Paris 1913), 27 *Riwāyāt* of the year 290 (902); 400 fragments in prose and 150 in verse of rare beauty.

Bibliography: v. Kremer (*Herrsch. Ideen*, p. 70, 78) and Browne (*Lit. hist. of Persia*, I, 361, 428) no longer suffice. A detailed list of sources, notices by historians and hagiographers, report of the last trial by Ibn Zandjī, monographs by Sulamī, Ibn Bākūya (v. *Quatre textes inédits relatifs à la biographie d'... al-Ḥallāj*, publ. by L. Massignon, Paris 1914), Khaṭīb, Ḳazwīnī, Ibn al-Djawzī, Dhahabī, metrical legends by ʿAṭṭār (*Hilādj-nāme*), Maḳdisī, Niyāzī Miṣrī, is given in *Der Islam*, iii. (1912), 248-249 and in the ed. of *Ṭawāsīn* (cf. supra) — cf. Goldziher in *Der Islam*, iv. (1913), 165—169.

(Louis Massignon.)

ḤAMĀ (also called Ḥamāt or Epiphania) is built on both sides of the Orontes (Nahr al-ʿĀṣī); the larger part of the town lies on the left bank (cf. Plan), which in places rises as high as 120 feet above the river. Three bridges connect the two sides. No traces remain of the mediaeval citadel and only a mound of ruins marks the site of the palace. Their stones are said to have been used to build the palace of the family of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī which immigrated from Baghdād; in this palace and also in that of the palace of the ʿAẓm family there are two fine *ḳāʿa* (rooms built for the hot season) ornamented with wood carvings. The water of the Orontes is led to the gardens and fields through aqueducts, to which it is raised by water wheels (*naʿūra*), whose singing noise has a peculiarly soporific effect. There are also similar naʿūras in Antioch. (The Crusaders brought them to Germany, where they are still used in a little valley in Franken near Bayreuth). In Abu 'l-Fidā's time there were 32; now there are about 9 such water wheels. Ḥamā has 51,000 inhabitants (about 6000 Christians, the remainder Muslims); it is connected by railway with Aleppo, Ḥimṣ (whence there is a branch line to Tripolis) as well as with Damascus and Bairūt. A high road leads to Lattaḳiya via Djisr al-Shughr. On the prospects of Ḥamā see M. Hartmann's *Reisebriefe aus Syrien* (Berlin 1913), p. 50—57.

Historical. Ḥamā was first settled by Hittites; it is the most southerly place where Hittite inscriptions have been found. In the wars against Salmanassar II in the years 854 and 849 B.C. king Irkhulini of Ḥamā took part as an ally of Hazaël of Damascus; in 738 king Eni-El paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser. In 720 a rebellion by king Ilu-Bidi was put down by Sargon and the town incorporated in the Assyrian empire. Ḥamā called the "great" in the Bible is frequently mentioned there. In the Hellenistic period it received the name Epiphania from Antiochus IV Epiphanes. In 16 A.H. (unlike Ḥimṣ it was a little town of no importance) it was surrendered to the Muslims and remained till the 10th century under the administration of the *djund* (military district) of Ḥimṣ. In the time of the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla (333—356, q. v.) it was incorporated in the administrative district of Aleppo in which it remained till the death of Riḍwān, in 507. The ruler of Damascus the Atābeg Ṭughtikīn [q. v.] seems then to have taken the town. It was taken from him in 509 by the Saldjūḳ general Bursuḳ and given to Khīrkhān ibn Ḳarādja, governor of Ḥimṣ [q. v.], who transferred it to his brother Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. During his reign the Franks in 511 took advantage of an eclipse of the moon, to penetrate into the suburb of Ḥamā but they had to retire without taking the town itself. When Maḥmūd died in 518, Ṭughtikīn at once marched his troops into the town and took possession of it. On his death in 522 his son Būrī [q. v.] succeeded him. In 524 Būrī made an alliance

with Zangī and sent the governor of Ḥamā, his son Sewindj, to his support. Zangī treacherously imprisoned him, entered Ḥamā with Khīrkhān and handed the city over to the latter, as had been agreed, but soon afterwards made him a prisoner in order to gain Ḥamā for himself; once more he lost the city for a brief period. Būrī's son Ismā'īl took possession of it in 527 and held it till 529. Zangī again took it in the latter year and placed a strong garrison there. The ownership of the city next passed to Nūr al-Dīn and to his son Ismā'īl, till Saladin took it in 572. Two years later he granted Ḥamā in fief to his nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, whose descendants retained it in their possession and made it their aim to keep on good terms with the great Aiyūbid rulers. Recognising their weakness they did not attempt to resist Hūlāgū Khān and after his defeat had to acknowledge the Mamlūk Sulṭāns as overlords. The main line became extinct in 698; the nephew of the last Sulṭān was the celebrated author Abu 'l-Fidā Ismā'īl [q. v.] who accompanied Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir on his campaigns and was bound to him by ties of the closest friendship. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad granted him Ḥamā with the rank and title of Sulṭān. Under him the town enjoyed great prosperity. His tomb is still preserved in Ḥamā (see Graf Mülinen in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 1908, p. 657—660). His son al-Malik al-Afḍal Muḥammad drew the wrath of the Sulṭān upon himself by his incompetence and was finally banished to Damascus. After his death (742) Ḥamā was ruled by governors of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns. In importance it was overtaken by Tripolis and about 750 was considered a governorship of the second class. Under Ottoman rule Ḥamā at first continued to be a province under a Pasha. At the present day it is a sandjak under a mutaṣarrif of the wilāyet of Damascus.

The Great Mosque. The Ḥaram has been evolved from a Christian basilica of unusual form: 3 naves of different breadth, 8 supports with 5 cupolas in the centre and covered by five cross vaultings on each side. The west wall seems to have been the narthex wall of the church. The south wall dates from the pre-Christian period so that, as in Damascus, the building is temple, church and mosque. In the east, standing alone, is an old four cornered minaret with Kufic inscription, probably of the v[th] century.

The beautiful court is surrounded by vaulted halls, an estrade with two miḥrābs before the ḥaram, a second with a basin and isolated miḥrāb at the north hall, a khazna on 8 ancient pillars. In the east hall a turbe and a hall of prayer with heavy bronze windows of the Mamlūk period. From the west hall one enters through a room the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar III (683—698) with splendid cenotaphs carved in wood; a second minaret rises outside in the centre of the north hall; its form and inscription proclaim it a Mamlūk building. A peculiar feature of the architecture of Ḥamā finds marked expression in the mosque: the adornment of the walls by mosaic effects in colour by the alternation of black basalt and white limestone.

The Djāmi' al-Nūrī is built on the left bank of the Orontes on sloping ground and high substructions. The building was founded by Nūr al-Dīn and, in spite of the many alterations, still contains considerable portions of the old building, for example, the long ḥaram, the cross vaulting of which belongs to a later period, three cupolas of different forms in the east hall, the substructions of the east and north sides and the north outer wall of the mosque. The lower part of the minaret with its square white blocks is perhaps also old. The mosque contains the beautiful remains of a wooden minbar given by Nūr al-Dīn, and a richly decorated miḥrāb with decorated marble pillars given by Malik al-Muẓaffar Taḳī al-Dīn (626—642) and in the eastern ante-room a miḥrāb of marble columns the capital of which bears an inscription of Abu 'l-Fidā.

Bibliography: See under ḤALAB. Some of its numerous inscriptions have been edited by van Berchem in Freih. v. Oppenheim's *Syrische .... Inschriften* (see under ḤALAB), p. 22—34.

(M. SOBERNHEIM.)

HAMADHĀN, the Hagmatāna of the Old Persian inscriptions, אַחְמְתָא of the Bible (Ezra vi. 2), Ἀγβάτανα in Herodotos, Ecbatana in the classical authors, lies in a fertile plain at the foot of Mt. Elwend [q. v.]. This is not the place to discuss its pre-Muslim history for which the reader may be referred to Pauly-Wissowa, v. 2155, and Streck in *Zeitschr. für Assyr.*, xv. 367 *et seq.* Perso-Arabic tradition still knows of the age and ancient greatness of Hamadhān. A Persian author quoted by Yāḳūt (cf. *Mu'djam*, iv. 983) says that Djem created Sārū (Sārū, Sārūḳ is the name of the citadel of Hamadhān), Dārā surrounded it with a girdle, Bahman b. Isfandiyār completed it, i. e. Djem (Djamshīd, Yima) built the citadel (in the old Persian tradition also Yima is the builder of the castle, *Vara*), Darius fortified it with walls and Bahman, the ancestor of the Sāsānids, completed it. According to another tradition, Darius rebuilt the city, which had been lying in ruins since the time of Bokht-Naṣṣ in order to have a safe asylum for his harem and treasures during the war with Iskandar. For this purpose a palace was built in the centre of the town with not less than 300, according to others, as many as 1000 treasure-chambers and 8 double iron doors 18 ells high. Whether the later citadel of Hamadhān actually dated back to such early times, must remain uncertain; it is certain, however, that it was destroyed by Āghā Muḥammad Khān in 1789 and that the remains, now called al-Muṣallā (the place of prayer) are to be seen outside the town.

Another monument of ancient times, of which the Arabs give an account is the Lion Gate (Bāb al-Asad), which gave entrance to the town from the Elwend side and was adorned by a colossal figure of a lion. The inhabitants looked on this figure as a talisman, which protected the town from misfortune and cold, so that no small commotion was aroused when the Caliph al-Muktafī ordered it to be brought to Baghdād in a car drawn by elephants. Fortunately they were able to convince him of the impossibility of carrying out his plans so that the lion remained in Hamadhān. Shortly afterwards (319 = 931) the Bāb al-Asad was destroyed by the rude Dailami warriors of Merdawīdj and the lion thrown down (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, ix. 21). The inhabitants, however, to this day esteem a figure of a lion lying outside the town as a talisman against hunger and cold (Curzon, *Persia*, i. 568). Cf. the picture in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 197.

Other old buildings mentioned by the Arab geographers were not in Hamadhān itself but in the neighbourhood, e. g. the fire-temple of Barāhān or Furdagān which was destroyed by the Turk Burun in 282 (895) (cf. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, i. 540; iii. 870); buildings erected by Bahrām Gūr at Djuhasta, 3 parasangs from Hamadhān, with Persian inscriptions and others besides. The fullest account of them is given by the geographer Ibn al-Faḳīh, a native of Hamadhān (ed. de Goeje, p. 217 *et seq.*). Old Persian inscriptions of Artaxerxes II have, it need hardly be mentioned, been found in Hamadhān and others of Darius and Xerxes on Mount Elwend.

As the centre of a well populated district Hamadhān developed at a very early period and is said to have been four parasangs in length and in breadth to have stretched as far as where later the villages of Zainawābād, Sangābād, Barshiḳān etc. lay. After the battle of Nehāwand in 23 = 644 the town fell into the hands of the Muslims (cf. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 309 *et seq.*) but continued to be the market of the country round. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, it was one parasang square and consisted of the town proper and suburbs (*rabaḍ*). Four gates led into the town. The cold climate and the heavy snowfalls during the long winters did not make it a very inviting residence so that it played the modest part of the chief town of a province until, in the last years of Saldjūḳ power, it was chosen as a residence by these Turks, who were used to a cold climate. Royal palaces were then built in the city, but nothing has remained of these. They were all apparently destroyed by the Mongols when they took and sacked Hamadhān in 617 (1220) (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 248 *et seq.*). The town however afterwards recovered, as is clear from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's description, but remained what it had been under the Arabs and still is, the market place of a fertile district. The local industries are leather and metal (gold, silver and copper) work. According to Ker Porter, the population in the beginning of the xixth century was about 40.000, according to Curzon in 1889, there was no more than 20,000. Among these are a considerable number of Jews (1500—2000), who are attracted not only by the favourable conditions of trade, but also by the alleged grave of Mordecai and Esther in the middle of the town, not far from the Mesdjid-i Djum'a to which also many Jews from other countries make a pilgrimage, cf. *Jewish Encycl.*, v. 233; at Hamadhān there is also the tomb of the celebrated philosopher Avicenna who died here in 428 (1037). Cf. the picture in Brugsch, *Reise nach Persien*, i. 362.

Bibliography: *The History of Hamadhān* by Abū Shudjā' Shīrūya b. Shahrdār has unfortunately not survived. Cf. also: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, particularly Vol. v. 217 *et seq.*; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 981 *et seq.*; Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 323 *et seq.*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī in Schefer, *Siasset-nameh Suppl.*, p. 198 *et seq.*, and Le Strange in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1902, p. 246. The older travellers in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 98 *et seq.* and Curzon, *Persia*, i. 568, Note 2; Brugsch, *Reise nach Persien*, i. 362 *et seq.*; J. de Morgan, *Expédition scientif.* etc., iv. 235 *et seq.*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 194 *et seq.*; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 144 *et seq.*

HAMADHĀNĪ (358—398) ABU 'L-FAḌL AḤMAD B. AL-ḤUSAIN B. YAḤYĀ B. SA'ĪD B. BISHR, called Badī' al-Zamān, poet and elegant writer. He studied at his native place Hamadhān with the grammarian Aḥmad b. Fāris and others, and in 380 went to Raiy, where he for a time secured the favour of the Ṣāḥib b. 'Abbād, thence to Djurdjān where he found a patron in Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Manṣūr. In 382 he went to Nīsābūr, which he reached destitute, having been attacked by brigands on the way; he was less warmly received than he had hoped by Abū Bakr Khwārizmī, the leading *adīb* of the time, and was presently invited to compete with this personage in public in the various branches of *adab*; in the account which he gives of the match (translated by v. Kremer, *Kulturgesch.*, ii. 471 *et seq.*) he represents himself as victor; but though this appears doubtful, the affair brought him credit and when Khwārizmī died in the following year he succeeded to his honours. He found patrons in the various cities of Khorāsān, Sidjistān, and Ghazna, and finally settled at Herāt, where he married the daughter of al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Khushnāmī.

Of the works by him which have come down to us the *Maḳāmāt* would seem to have been dedicated to Khalaf b. Aḥmad, prince of Sidjistān, whose honourable treatment of the author is also described in the *Letters* (nº. 173). The word *Maḳāma* which before his time seems to mean "sermon" (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, v. 421) or "discourse" (Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā*, p. 218, ..) from its employment as the title of Hamadhānī's compositions came to mean something like the Greek *Mime*, i. e. an entertaining dialogue. Hamadhānī claims to have composed 400 of these, no two alike; this boast is not borne out by the surviving collection, which numbers 51 pieces, some of them duplicates. The subject is ordinarily *kudya*, i. e. ingenious devices for obtaining money, wherein the hero displays some learning, eloquence or wit; some however might better be described as scenes of contemporary life in Baghdād, while some are placed in the past, e. g. one in which the poet Dhu 'l-Rumma figures, one which deals with Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Saimarī (died 275), and one which reproduces a scene in the life of Saif al-Dawla (died 356). The subjects include theological discussions, sermons, poetical puzzles, as well as the devices of beggars and thieves. According to Ḥuṣrī (*Zahr al-Ādāb*, i. 254, ²305) they were suggested by the *Arba'īn* of Ibn Duraid.

The collection of *Letters* (233 in number) consists mainly of private communications, written however with sufficient elaboration to justify publication. The persons to whom they were addressed were in most cases men of some eminence, though only a few are still remembered, e. g. the historian Ibn Miskawaih, and the *adīb* Abū Bakr Khwārizmī. The contents are usually only of private interest, e. g. requests for the loan of books, or complaints of the amount of his *kharādj*; some however deal with matters of more general importance, e. g. nº. 167 which describes the spread of the Shī'ī heresy.

Selections from his poems were made by Tha'ālibī (*Yatīma* iv, 195—214), and some others are inserted by Yāḳūt in his biography; the *dīwān* which has been published (Cairo 1903 by 'Abd al-Wahhāb Riḍwān and Muḥammad Shukrī) hˢlls

84 pages only. The odes are mostly encomia upon patrons.

Editions of the *Maḳāmāt*: Constantinople 1298; Beyrūt, 1307 (expurgated) with commentary by Muḥammad 'Abdo; Cairo (about 1910) with notes by Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Rāfi'ī.

Editions of the *Letters*: Constantinople 1298; Cairo 1304 (margin of Ibn Ḥidjdja's *Khizānat al-adab*); Beyrūt 1890 with Commentary by Ibrāhīm Aḥdab Ṭarābulusī.

The European literature on Hamadhānī is enumerated by Brockelmann (i. 94). The biography by Yāḳūt (*Udabā* i. 94—118) is based chiefly on Tha'ālibī, but also on Shīrūya's *History of Hamadhān*. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.)

ḤAMĀ'IL, talismans. The use of amulets is very widespread in the lands of Islām. In North Africa they are called *ḥurz*, among the Arabs in the East *ḥamāya* or *ḥijāb*, *'ūdha* or *ma'ādha*, and in Turkey, *yafta*, *muskha* or *ḥamā'il*. They are often carried in little bags, lockets or purses, which are worn round the neck or fastened to the arm or turban. Among rich people they are of gold or silver. Children are given these amulets as soon as they are forty days old; the crudest articles may be used as amulets, such as a shell, a piece of bone, sewn into leather and fastened under the left arm (see Emily Ruete, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess*, transl. by L. Strachey (New York, 1904), p. 68). Bedouin girls have an amulet which they call *ḥurz* and prize highly; it is a book of prayers 7 cm. long and 4·5 broad enclosed in a gold or silver box and is worn as a brooch.

The prayers, signs and figures on these talismans are of very different origin and their investigation offers great difficulties. We find on them divine names, names of angels, verses from the Ḳor'ān, astrological symbols, Kabbalistic letters magic squares, signs of geomancy, figures of animals and men (cf. DJADWAL, i. 992[b] *et seq.*). According to Muslim tradition, God has 99 names, which in reality are only epithets, such as "the Great", "the Wise", "the Knowing", "the Merciful", some authors like Tirmidhī and Ibn Mādja enumerate them all. (They are also given in Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 200; see also Redhouse in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1880; cf. the article ALLĀH, i. 302[b] *et seq.*) These names may be used as one pleases or arranged according to the numerical value of the letters composing them. Besides these, God has a name not to be spoken, which men do not know but which is revealed only to prophets and saints.

The names of the angels are also numerous. The best known are those of the four archangels Mīkhā'īl, Djabrā'īl, 'Azrā'īl and Isrāfīl, which are found on many amulets. Besides these there is a host of others, which are given in the angelologies. There are several works of this kind in Arabic which are ascribed to suppositious authors like Andjrān or Andahriash; they contain a doctrine, which is derived from the notion of the gnostic aeons. There are angels who preside over the planets; others preside over the months or the days of the week. Seven are given for each day; their names, barbaric in their sound, frequently appear in pairs e.g. Ṭalikh and Ilikh, Ḳaiṭar and Maiṭar, Kīniṭash and Yākiniṭash, a kind of combination such as we find in the Gog and Magog of the Bible and the Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj of Arab Tradition. An angel very prominent in the world of magic, who presides sometimes over the planet Jupiter and sometimes over Mercury, and whom the Arabs seem sometimes to have confused with Mīkhā'īl, is Miṭaṭrūn. He is one of the great figures in Kabbalistic literature. We find him also in the Zohar, where he fills the part of a kind of demiurg. (Cf. Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 247, note 4; *Les Apôtres*, p. 170; Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélogie*, p. 170). — Two other angels, who have a history of their own, are also mentioned in the Ḳor'ān likewise appear on talismans, namely Hārūt and Mārūt (q. v.). — Besides the angels, several mythical beings are also invoked, notably the seven sleepers (*Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*, q. v., i. 478[b] *et seq.*).

Of the verses of the Ḳor'ān the most efficacious as amulets are the short sūras cxiii. and cxiv.: "Say: I take refuge (*a'ūdhu*) in the lord of the dawn etc. — Say: I take refuge in the lord of men, the king of men etc.". These two sūras are called *al-mu'awwidhatān* ("the two who preserve"). In the first the evil women are mentioned "who blow upon knots"; it is believed that it is particularly efficacious against the ills of the flesh; the other is credited with more power against psychic afflictions. Besides these the Sūra *Yā-sīn* is highly esteemed by pious Muslims. This is also true of the *Fātiḥa*, the *Āyat al-Kursī* (Sūra II. 256) and the throne-verse, *Āyat al-'Arsh* (Sūra IX. 130). Other verses than these are also used in special circumstances.

The astrological signs, the signs of the planets and of the zodiac are well-known; they are naturally used for talismans. We often find quite peculiar signs which may be traced to different Kabbalistic alphabets; these frequently turn out to be transformations or corruptions of Hebrew or Kufic letters. Kabbalistic alphabets are given by Ibn al-Waḥshīya in his *Kitāb Shawḳ al-Mustahām*. Small circles, or rings or ornaments are often found behind the Hebrew letters; these scrolls are called "little moons" or "crowns". According to the *Sefer Yeṣīrā*, every letter in a talisman ought to have its crown (*Sepher Yetsira*, transl. by Mayer Lambert, p. 114).

Geomantic figures formed by points arranged in different groups are also sometimes used. Geomancy, Arabic *'Ilm al-Raml*, is divination from points formed in sand. Four lines are drawn in the sand, points marked at regular intervals and some of them wiped out at random. The remainder form definite figures to which names and different meanings have been given. These figures are used on talismans; for further details see RAML.

Magic squares (*wafḳ*, *wifḳ*, q. v.) are also often met with. They consist of 9 or 16 compartments. Usually the same number is added to each of the 9 or 16 numbers of which they consist. This gives the thing a more learned look. Thus they begin with 9 instead of 1 and run from 9 to 24 instead of 1 to 16. Instead of numbers, letters are often written in the squares, e. g. the four letters of the name Allāh, *allh*, four times in different order. The problem of magic squares has been thoroughly studied by the Arabs, for we see from the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā that squares of 9 columns were known.

Forms of men and animals are rarely found in North Africa on talismans; but in the East we find them on amulets and charms, which have been produced under the influence of Persian art. Looking-glasses, cups and seals in which magic

power is ascribed, are often adorned with them. For this purpose figures of angels or animals, particularly griffins with human heads or the signs of the zodiac are used. A talisman, which Reinaud saw, represented a man drawing something out of a well; this talisman had the peculiar property of helping to locate hidden treasure. Several other examples are given in Herklots, *The Customs of the Musulmans of India*, p. 339 *et seq.*).

The human hand is a very popular symbol among Muslims. It is carried around the neck, cut out of gold or silver or engraved on a medallion; it is said to avert the evil eye. This charm is usually called "the hand of Fāṭima". The Shī'is interpret the five fingers as the five saints: Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain.

To sum up, it may be said that the subjects used, except the verses from the Ḳor'ān, may for the most part be traced back to Gnostic or Talmudic sources. According to Arab tradition, Adam himself discovered or rather revealed the talisman. According to the *Abrégé des Merveilles* (transl. Carra de Vaux, p. 142), 'Anāḳ, the son of Adam, stole from Eve, while she slept, the charms she used to conjure spirits; but he made a bad use of them. Solomon was a great magician, according to Muslim belief; his ring plays a great part in Talmudic legends and Arabian tales. The djinn, who appears in the story of the fisherman in the "Arabian Nights", was confined in a vase, which had been sealed with Solomon's ring. The talisman, still known as Solomon's seal and worn by Muslims and Jews alike, represents a six pointed star. The Berbers also, according to the *Abrégé des Merveilles*, were very skilled in magic and, when they threw their talismans into the Nile, they were able to bring numerous plagues upon Egypt.

In Arabic literature, there are various treatises on the science of talismans. The most celebrated writers on this subject are Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (died 1007 A. D.), who brought the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā to Spain, the "forger" Ibn al-Waḥshiya, the author of the "*Agriculture of Nabataea*", and al-Būnī (q. v., i. 793). A number of amulets preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are ascribed — certainly wrongly — to the great theologian al-Ghazzālī.

Muslim theology, which prohibits sorcery, tolerates the use of amulets. They are usually prepared by dervishes, who belong to various brotherhoods, and are only of value when they are received from their hands.

Bibliography: Reinaud, *Monumens arabes, persans et turcs du Cabinet du Duc de Blacas*, 2 Vol., Paris 1828; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909; Ismael Hamet, *Les Amulettes en Algérie*, in *Bulletin des séances de la société philologique*, 1905; *Magasin pittoresque*, reproductions of talismans, 1872, p. 64 and 272; Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries religieuses*, p. 140; Abdes Selam b. Cho'aib, *Notes sur les amulettes chez les indigènes algériens* (Tlemcen 1905); Desparmet, *Enseignement de l'arabe dialectal*³ (Alger 1913), part i. p. 40-41. On Magic squares: Paul Tannery, *Le Traité manuel de Moschopoulos sur les Carrés magiques*, Greek text and translation, Paris 1886; on Cabbalistic alphabets: Gottheil, *Journal Asiatique*, 1907; on the processes of incantation: Carra de Vaux, *Journal Asiatique*, 1907. (B. Carra de Vaux.)

al-**ḤAMAL** (A.), the Ram (Aries), the first constellation of the zodiac, after the Greek *κριός*. It contains 13 stars which make up the figure and five others outside it. The ram is represented with its body facing the west but its head is turned back. The two bright stars on the horn (β and γ) are called *al-Sharaṭān*, "the two signs", because they betoken the approach of the equinoxes; the bright star α outside the ram is called *al-Nāṭiḥ*, "the butter"; sometimes it is included with α and β under the name *al-Ashrāṭ*, "the signs". The stars ε, δ in the tail, which form an equilateral triangle with 3 ρ on the thigh, are called *al-Buṭain*, the belly, i. e. of the ram. *Al-Sharaṭān* and *al-Buṭain* are also the names of the first two stations of the moon.

Bibliography: Kazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 33, 42; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung der Sternnamen*, p. 132. (J. Ruska.)

al-**ḤAMĀM** (A.), the dove, particularly the ring-dove. A distinction is made between tame doves which live in dove-cots and wild doves. The dove is one of the cleverest of birds, for it can find its way home from the most distant parts. To find its bearings, it flies upwards in spirals like a man climbing a minaret; when it finds the direction of its home, it darts off thither in a straight line and reaches its goal in the shortest possible time. Only clouds, which obscure its view, or birds of prey can cause it to lose its way.

According to Muthannā b. Zuhair, there are no tokens of love between man and woman which are not also to be observed in doves. The cock knows the brooding-place of the hen and alternates with it in sitting on the eggs; they also build the nest together in proportion to the size of their bodies, by first scraping a hole and filling it with straw and leaves. The dove lays two eggs after fertilisation, one containing a cock, the other a hen. The feeding of the young is done principally by the cock. Even the young ones can distinguish between eagles and hawks; if they see a white hawk (*ghiṭṭaṭ*), they die of fright. The worst enemy of the doves is the marten (*al-dalaḳ*). It enters the dove-cote and leaves not a dove alive, although there be hundreds of them.

Allāh sent two wild pigeons to the opening of the cave in which Muḥammad was concealed; the pigeons of the sacred area in Mecca are descended from these. Proverbial expressions are "safer than the doves of Mecca" and "tamer than the doves of Mecca". The use of pigeons as lettercarriers and as objects of the chase is often mentioned. Hārūn al-Rashīd is said to have been very fond of doves. The medical applications are numerous.

Bibliography: Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, ed. Bombay, ii. 133; Kazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 410; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo, i. 215; Ibn al-Baiṭār, in Leclerc, *Notices et Extraits*, i. 457; G. Jacob, *Studien in arab. Geographen*, ii. 104. (J. Ruska.)

HĀMĀN, the Persian minister hostile to the Jews in the book of Esther, according to the Ḳor'ān (xl. 25) acted with Ḳārūn (Korah) on Fir'aun's council and filled the office of grand-vizier. These two learned of the approaching birth of Mūsā and advised that the boys should be slain and the girls allowed to live. When Mūsā appeared as a prophet of God, they called him a liar. Fir'aun said: "O Hāmān, build me a tower, on which I shall reach the paths, the paths to

heaven and ascend to the god of Mūsā" (Sūra xl. 38 *et seq.*). That Muḥammad places Hāmān in this period betrays his confused knowledge of history, of which many other examples may be found in the Ḳor'ān. Indeed the Talmud (*Sotah* 106) and Midrash (*Exodus R.* 18) contain a similar anachronism when they make Balaam, Job and Jethro all members of Pharaoh's great council which advised that Moses should be disposed of. Another passage in the Midrash (*Num. R.* 22) describes Hāmān and Ḳorah as the richest men in the world. The Ḳor'ān commentary on the above passages (xl. 25 and xxviii. 38) is interesting; it gives the following account of the building of the tower by Hāmān: 50,000 masons worked for seven years on the building and when it had reached an extraordinary height Djibrīl overthrew it. In any case it is remarkable that neither Ḳor'ān nor commentary nor the Arab historians know anything of the true Hāmān of the book of Esther. It must be presumed nevertheless that the story of Hāmān was not quite unknown in Arabia. This is irrefutably established from the frequent mention of the name Hāmān.

Bibliography: The Commentaries of Zamakhsharī and Baiḍāwī; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1213, p. 110-111; al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 212—214. (J. EISENBERG.)

ḤAMĀSA (A.), bravery. Poems, which celebrate valour in battle, form a considerable portion of the ancient Arab poetry and therefore occupy pride of place in anthologies: the collections by Abū Tammām [q. v.] and al-Buḥturī [q. v.] are therefore briefly called *Ḥamāsa*.

ḤAMAWAND, a notorious tribe of Kurds, which rendered the banks of the Tigris south of Mōṣul unsafe by their robberies in the second half of last century. According to Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 768 they migrated thither from Southern Persia; according to Curzon, *Persia*, i. 557, they are a small body of the settled Kurds of Kermanshāh. It was only after several expeditions that the Turkish authorities succeeded in putting an end to their depredations.

Bibliography: In addition to Cuinet: Cholet, *Arménie, Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, p. 298 *et seq.*

ḤAMAWĪ, SA'D AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MU'AIYAD B. ḤAMMUYA, died in 650 (1252) in Khorāsān, a famous Arab mystic. His *'Ulūm al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ* were published in Kurdī's *Madjmū'at al-Rasā'il*, Cairo 1328 (p. 494 theory of *Lāhūt* and *Nāsūt*). Cf. Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, p. 492 *et seq.* (LOUIS MASSIGNON.)

ḤAMD (A.) Praise. Cf. the article ḤAMDALA.

ḤAMD ALLĀH MUSTAWFĪ. [See AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ.]

AL-**ḤAMDALA** means the saying of the formula, *al-Ḥamdu lillāh* (for the different vocalizations — *du, di, da* — see *Lisān*, iv. 135 ll. 7 *et seqq.*). "Praise (in its whole genus and of every species) belongs to Allāh"; for from him all praiseworthiness proceeds and to him it returns. *Ḥamd* is the opposite of *dhamm*, being praise for something dependent on the will of him who is praised and it differs in this from *madḥ* which is not so limited; it is thus different from, although it may be an expression of *shukr*, "gratitude", the opposite of which is *kufrān*; *thanā'*, often rendered "praise", more exactly "taking account of", is used both of praise and dispraise. The phrase is formally *khabarī* or *ikhbārī*, "narrative" but in its use it is *inshā'ī*, "assertive", for the speaker makes it an expression of the praise which he at the moment directs towards God (Muḥammad 'Abduh in *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*, Cairo, 1323, p. 28; see, too, the elaborate discussion by Baidjūrī in his *Ḥāshiya* on the *Kifāyat al-'Awāmm* of Faḍālī, p. 3 *et seq.* of ed. of Cairo, 1315). In Lane's translation, "Praise be" (*Lexicon*, p. 638) he meant an emphatic affirmation, not a *du'ā'*; this is plain from his letter to Fleischer on the translation of *tabāraka* etc. in the *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.*, xx. p. 187. But this use of "be" is misleading and hardly defensible as English. Perhaps the *inshā'ī* force could be indicated by a mark of exclamation as Palmer does in his translation of the Ḳor'ān. As the phrase occurs twenty-four times in the Ḳur'ān, besides other forms such as *lahu 'l-ḥamd*, it naturally became frequent in Muslim usage. All things come from Allāh, and for all things, pleasant or grievous, he is to be praised. Yet the verb *ḥamdala* does not seem to belong to the classical language and is thus later than *basmala*, which may even be pre-Islamic. In the *Ṣaḥāḥ* and the *Lisān* it does not occur, though *basmala* is in both, in the latter fortified with a verse from 'Omar b. Abī Rabī'a (Schwarz, *Dīwān*, N°. 413, ll. 241); the evidence for the line and the usage is fuller in the *Tādj*, s. v.). In the *Miṣbāḥ* (finished A. H. 734) *ḥamdala* is mentioned, but only under *basmala*; it has no entry of its own. Finally, it is entered in its place in the *Ḳāmūs*; so slowly did it win recognition as a word. Besides its broad, devout usage the phrase is statedly a part of the *ṣalāt* and of the supplemental *tasbīḥ* being repeated thirty-three times in the latter (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. iii.; *Lexicon*, 1290[b]). Further, as one of the seven *Mathānī*, in the sense of the verses of the *Fātiḥa*, it has part with the *Fātiḥa* in various mystical and magical usages and meanings. Thus it is the *Mathnā* assigned to the first of the seven stages of the Rifā'ite *ṭarīḳa* (W. H. T. Gairdner, *Way of a Mohammedan Mystic*, p. 12, 25). Even in orthodox tradition the *Fātiḥa* has begun to have magical value; cf. in Bukhārī (*Kitāb al-Tafsīr*; *Bāb Fātiḥat al-Kitāb*) the story of the man who used it as a charm (*ruḳya*) against snake-bite, and the Prophet approved. For later elaborate developments in magic, see al-Būnī, *Shams al-Ma'ārif*, Faṣl X, and Aḥmad al-Zarḳāwī, the modern Egyptian magician, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, p. 175. But the *Ḥamdala* does not seem to be used by itself in magic as is the *Basmala*. Again, the tendency to use the phrase as an introductory formula soon expressed itself in a tradition from the Prophet: "Whatever speech (or thing of importance) is not begun with praise of Allāh is maimed!" (cf. *Basmala*). Thus the *Ḥamdala* became one of the three required things at the beginning of any formal writing. But this requirement was distinctly later, for, while the use of the *Basmala* in this way held from the earliest times, we do not find the *Ḥamdala* prefixed to the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām nor to the *Aghānī* nor even to the *Fihrist*. See on this usage and the traditions supporting it, the commentary of the Saiyid Murtaḍā on the *Iḥyā'*, i. 53 *et seq.* On the praiseworthiness of this exclamation see, especially *ibid.*, v. 13 *et seqq.* (*Kitāb al-Adhkār*).

Bibliography: References as above and also Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 5, ll. 20 *et seqq.*;

Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i. 45 *et seq.*; Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, i. 115 *et seqq.* (ed. of Cairo, 1307).

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

HAMDĀN (המדן of the South Arabian inscriptions), a large Arab tribe, belonging to the Yemen group. Their genealogy is Hamdān (Awsala) b. Mālik b. Zaid b. Rabīʿa b. Awsala b. al-Khiyār b. Mālik b. Zaid b. Kahlān.

Their land, the Balad Hamdān, a centre of civilisation in ancient Arabia, was five days' journey in length and breadth and lay to the north of Ṣanʿā [q. v.]; it stretched eastwards as far as Maʾrib [q. v.] and Nadjrān [q. v.], northwards to Ṣaʿda [q. v.] almost up to the desert and westwards to the coast (Abū Arīsh). It was divided into two parts, the east belonged to the Bakīl and the west to Ḥāshid, who still form two powerful groups of tribes in their ancient abodes [cf. ḤĀSHID and BAKĪL]; but Ḥāshid clans also lived in the land of the Bakīl and vice versa. In addition to the Balad Hamdān proper there were also Hamdān in Ḥarāz ([q. v.], the clan of Nashḳ), on the Djebel Barʿ (in the south of the Ḳoḥriya country on the Wādī Sahām), in Ḥaḍramūt (e. g. in the village of al-Maḥāʾil and in the large fortified town of al-Ḳāza [the clan of Nashḳ]), in Ḳaḥma (a town near Zabīd), al-Yaḥṣibūn (belonging to the South Arabian Mikhlāf al-Saḥūl), Thulā (a fortified town in the Mikhlāf Shibām Aḳyān [Upper Sharaf, the Lower Sharaf belonged to the Ḥāshid]; inhabited by the clan of Marrān) and Faladja, which belonged to the district of Damascus. The land which now bears the name Balad Hamdān is only a portion of the great area once known by this name (cf. E. Glaser in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, xxxii., 1886, Table 1).

In the time of Djāhiliya the Hamdān worshipped the idols Yaghūth and Yaʿūḳ. The idol Yaghūth was the cause of a battle at Maldjā (Razm, in the Djawf) in the land of the Murād between the latter, who were carrying off Yaghūth, and the Hamdān, on the same day as the battle of Badr (17th or 19th Ramaḍān 2 = 624). The Hamdān with their allies, the Balḥārith (Ḥārith b. Kaʿb [q. v.]), inflicted a severe defeat on the Murād; another battle between them and the Murād was fought at al-Kāʾ (in the Djawf). On the "second day of Kulāb", fought between the Balḥārith and the Tamīm tribes Ribāb and Saʿd b. Zaid Manāt, the Hamdān fought on the side of the Balḥārith along with the Kinda and Ḳuḍāʿa. When the Abyssinian ruler Abraha (in the "year of the elephant") tried to destroy the Kaʿba, the Hamdān at the instigation of the Yemen chief Dhū Nafar took the field against him with other tribes whom Dhū Nafar had roused to defend the house of God. In the "year of the deputations" (9 = 630-631) a deputation from the Hamdān under Mālik b. Namaṭ and Abū Thawr, called Dhu 'l-Mishʿār, was among those that appeared before the Prophet. In the year 10 (631-632), when the greater number of tribes had already been subdued, the Hamdān were among the few who did not yet absolutely recognise the Prophet. Muḥammad therefore sent ʿAlī against them at the head of an army, whereupon they submitted without resistance. In 37 (659) 12,000 of the Hamdān fought on the side of the Caliph ʿAlī in the ʿIrāḳ. In the same year with the aid of the Hamdān, whom he called his "spear and cuirass", ʿAlī revenged the death of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, who had fallen in battle against the Irāḳīs. Under the Caliphs ʿOmar, ʿOthmān, ʿAlī and under the Umaiyads the Hamdān numbered with the Madhḥidj and the Ḥimyar "a seventh" (Ṭabarī, i. 2495) of all the Arabs.

Bibliography: In addition to that of the articles ḤĀSHID and BAKĪL cf. also Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 49, 53, 54, 67, 85, 86, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 115, 125, 132, 183, 190, 194, 198; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 129; ii. 153, 407, 478, 776; iii. 115, 283, 413; iv. 38, 301, 438, 751, 1022; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1983, 1994, 2489, 2495, 3310, 3321 and Index; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 52, 950, 963—964; *Aghānī*, iv. 152; x. 82; xiv. 26; xv. 73 and Index; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, i. 202, 268—280; ii. 582; iii. 294—295, 308, 313; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, T. 9, and *Register*, p. 200; O. Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert*, in the *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, xxiii. 562.

(J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤAMDĀN ḲARMAṬ B. AL-ASHʿATH, an Ismāʿīlī missionary, the founder of the Karmaṭian sect, was a peasant in the neighbourhood of Kūfa; his nickname *karmīṭāh*, which belongs to the Aramaic dialect spoken in that district seems to mean "man with red or fiery eyes" (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii. 2125). He was converted through meeting Ḥusain al-Ahwāzī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn's missionary, whom he succeeded at his death. He settled in Kalwādhā near Baghdād, from which he could easily keep in touch with the mission in Khorāsān and with the Grand Master, who resided in ʿAskar-Mukram (261 = 875); near Kūfa he built himself an official residence called *Dār al-Hidjra* (place of refuge); this became a centre around which his followers settled and from which they undertook their raids (277 = 890). He was a man of keen intellect, who was never at a loss, of engaging manners, very capable and full of ambition. On the death of ʿAbd Allāh he declined to recognise his son Aḥmad as Grand Master and remained faithful to the Imām Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. He went to Syria where he died soon after. His brother-in-law ʿAbdān who composed most of the sacred books of the sect was murdered soon afterwards by Zikrawaih, one of Aḥmad's followers. To obtain funds Karmaṭ had introduced a series of taxes, each heavier than the preceding; first the *fiṭr*, a silver piece per head, then the *hidjra*, one gold piece per head, which was changed to the *bulgha* or seven gold pieces; finally he demanded *ulfa* or community of wives and property.

Bibliography: See the article ḲARMAṬIANS.

(CL. HUART.)

AL-**HAMDĀNĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD B. YAʿḲŪB B. YŪSUF B. DĀWŪD B. SULAIMĀN DHU 'L-DUMAINA B. ʿAMR B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. ABĪ DJAHSH(?) B. MUNḲIDH (according to al-Djanbalī, *op. cit.*), called IBN AL-ḤĀʾIK, a versatile South Arabian scholar. He was also called Ibn Abī (or Dhī?) 'l-Dumaina after his ancestor, for the quotations from Ibn (Abī) al-Dumaina al-Hamdānī in Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, see Index), who elsewhere quotes our author as al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad and most usually as Ibn al-Ḥāʾik, are almost all to be found in the *Djazīra*. According to al-Khazradjī quoted in al-Suyūṭī, he was born — the

year is not given — in Ṣanʿāʾ and grew up there. He then went on his travels, spent some time in Mecca, afterwards returned to Yemen and settled in Ṣaʿda. He is said to have been thrown into prison there on the accusation of the local poets that he had composed a lampoon on the Prophet. From the Berlin MS., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, Nº. 9664 (fragment of the *Chronicle* of Muslim al-Laḥdjī, cf. Strothmann, *Die Litteratur der Zaiditen* in *Der Islam*, i. 363 *et seq.*), f. 45ᵇ *infra*, 46ᵃ *supra*, it is clear that he was in prison in the time of the Zaidī Imām Aḥmad al-Nāṣir (died 315?) and Asʿad b. (Abī) Yaʿfur al-Ḥiwālī (died 332) in Ṣaʿda or Ṣanʿāʾ and that he appealed for assistance from his cell to Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, the son of the Karmaṭian dāʿī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥasan al-Manṣūr (the latter died in 302; cf. al-Djanadī in Kay, *Yaman* etc., p. 140 *et seq.* of the text) and dedicated panegyrics to him, which are said to be in his *Dīwān*. From f. 217ᵇ *infra*, 218ᵃ *supra* of the Paris MS. Bibl. Nat. (Blochet, *Catal. de la Coll. . . . . Schefer*, Paris 1900) Nº. 5982, said to contain the *Chronicle* of al-Laḥdjī, but giving amongst others a synopsis only of the Berlin fragment, it may be deduced that his imprisonment was connected with the desertion of two of al-Nāṣir's officers and the rebellion of the people of al-ʿAshsha. A reference is here made to a detailed account, which appears no longer to exist.

Al-Hamdānī died in 334 (945-946) in prison in Ṣanʿāʾ, according to tradition. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that he had been continuously deprived of his freedom since the time of al-Nāṣir.

Al-Hamdānī crowned himself with honour in several fields of knowledge. He had a reputation as a philologist, poet, historian and genealogist (he is also given the name *al-Nassāba*) and had also studied astronomy and geometry. His native land was the focus of his interests and his works are of the utmost importance for the study of the geography and tribal relationships of Arabia and particularly South Arabia. In his *Iklīl*, of the 10 books of which only viii. [ed. and annotated by D. H. Müller in *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien, phil.-hist. Cl.*, xciv. (1879), p. 335 *et seq.*; xcvii. (1880), p. 955 *et seq.*] and x. have survived, he discussed the ancient history, genealogies of the tribes and antiquities of Yemen [cf. D. H. Müller, *Südarab. Studien* in *Sitz.-ber.*, Vol. 86 (1877), p. 108 *et seq.*]. His "*Geography of the Arabian Peninsula*", *Ṣifa Djazīrat al-ʿArab* (ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—1891) was written after the *Iklīl* and at the earliest in the reign of the al-Nāṣir already mentioned (cf. p. 58, 4 *et seq.*). Al-Hamdānī's poetical works formed a *Dīwān* in 6 volumes, which was collected and annotated by Ibn Khālūya (died 370) (al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*); in addition to this there is also mentioned his *al-Kaṣīda al-Dāmigha* (according to Yāḳūt "*fī faḍl Ḳaḥṭān*", according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa "*fi 'l-hidjā*"), on which he himself wrote a very full commentary. On astronomy he left tables (*Zīdj*); his work *Sirr* (*Sarāʾir*) *al-Ḥikma* (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *op. cit.*) dealt with the science of the heavens. He also wrote a *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān al-muftaris*, *al-Yaʿsūb fi 'l-Ḳaws* (to his *Kit. al-Ḳaws min al-Yaʿsūb* he refers in *Djaz.*, p. 203, 21, 22) *wa 'l-Ḳanaṣ wa 'l-Sihām wa 'l-Niṣāl* and *Kit. al-Ḳawā*. Except the two books of the *Iklīl* and of the *Ṣifa Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, all these works seem to be lost.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, p. 163; al-Dhahabī, cod. Warn. 654, iii., p. 26 (Excerpt from Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāʾ al-Ruwāt*, cf. *Cat. Cod. Arab.*², ii. 126 *et seq.*); al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Lughawīyīn wa 'l-Nuḥāt* (Cairo 1326), p. 217 (already published in D. H. Müller, *Südarab. Stud.*, p. 170); Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (Gibb Mem., vi. 3), iii. part 1, p. 9; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel), Nr. 1110, 5370, 6975, 7111, 9461, 10080, 12896, 14458; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, i. 229, and the literature there given. (C. VAN ARENDONK.)

ḤAMDĀNIDS. The Ḥamdānids took their name from Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, a member of the great tribe of Taghlib (cf. his genealogy in Wüstenfeld's *Tabellen*, C. 32). We find him as early as 272 (885) a close ally of the Khāridjī Hārūn and a few years later in possession of the fortress of Mārdīn. When in 281 (894) the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid advanced against this town, he found Ḥamdān no longer there; he had escaped, leaving his son Ḥusain [q. v.] behind. The latter opened the gates of the fortress of Dair al-Zaʿfarān to the Caliph, who soon afterwards captured Ḥamdān also. Cf. Ibn al-Muʿtazz in Lang, *Muʿtaḍid als Prinz und Regent* in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.*, xli. 243. The Caliph kept Ḥamdān a prisoner in Baghdād as long as the Khāridjī Hārūn was in the field, but when he was defeated by Ḥusain in 283 (896) and rendered harmless, Ḥamdān was pardoned and honours were heaped on his sons, notably Ḥusain. This was the beginning of the future greatness of the Ḥamdānids. Ḥusain distinguished himself in the wars against the Karmaṭians, but had to become a refugee in the reign of al-Muḳtadir, as he had taken the part of the unfortunate poet ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz against the Caliph. Through the intervention of his brother Ibrāhīm, he was pardoned by the Caliph and received the governorship of Ḳum and Kāshān, which he had administered by a deputy. In 303 (915) he again quarrelled with the Caliph and ended his days in prison in 306 (918-919).

His brothers Abu 'l-ʿUlā Saʿīd, Ibrāhīm, Dāwūd and Abu 'l-Haidjāʾ ʿAbd Allāh [q. v.] prospered no less than he during the nominal reign of the insignificant Caliph al-Muḳtadir. Honoured with important governorships, they did as they pleased and thus occasionally came in conflict with the Caliph, but at once pretended to submit and were left in their offices or received others not less important. The swashbuckler Abu 'l-Haidjāʾ distinguished himself most; by 293 (905) he was appointed governor of al-Mawṣil and ruled this important city with short interruptions till his death in 317 = 929, although from 308 (920) he entrusted the actual administration to his son Ḥasan. Ḥasan, who afterwards received the title of honour, Nāṣir al-Dawla [q. v.] was able to keep his position there till his death in 358 (968) and to extend his power over the whole of Diyār Rabīʿa and Diyār Muḍar. He was succeeded in al-Mawṣil by his son Abū Taghlib Faḍl Allāh, better known under the name al-Ghaḍanfar [q. v.], but he became involved in the conflict between the various Būyid rulers and was unfortunate in the struggle so that he had to vacate Mesopotamia and soon afterwards met his death in Syria (369 = 979). The rule of the Ḥamdānids in al-Mawṣil seemed to have come to an end with him, for al-Ghaḍanfar's brothers,

Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusain, entered the service of the Būyids. After Sharaf al-Dawla's death, however, they obtained Bahā al-Dawla's permission (379 = 989) to return to al-Mawṣil and, although the Būyid at once saw the false step he had made, they succeeded in obtaining the city with the help of its inhabitants. But their rule did not last long, for they had to fight with the Kurds and ʿOḳailids; in the struggle Abū Ṭāhir and his sons were taken prisoner by Muḥammad b. al-Musaiyib and slain in 380 (991). Abū ʿAbd Allāh had before this been taken prisoner by the Marwānid Abū ʿAlī and was only liberated on the intercession of the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz, who sent him to Syria. The last we hear of him is that he plundered Tyre in 386 (996); his descendants, however, long occupied high positions at the Fāṭimid court till in 465 (1072-1073) the last of them, Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū ʿAlī and his son Fakhr al-ʿArab fell victims to a conspiracy.

The Ḥamdānids did not however rule al-Mawṣil and Mesopotamia only; by 333 (944) they had extended their rule over Ḥalab and Northern Syria also. It was ʿAlī, the brother of Ḥasan, afterwards famous as Saif al-Dawla [q. v.], who won the first-named town and Ḥimṣ also from the Ikhshīdids of Egypt in this year. But it was some years before the Egyptians under Kāfūr left them in peaceful possession of Northern Syria. Saif al-Dawla, however, owes his fame to his wars with the Byzantine unbelievers. Even before 333 he had made raids into Byzantine territory, but it was not till he had made his position secure in Ḥalab that he devoted himself entirely to war on the infidels, with varying success, it is true, as is detailed in the article SAIF AL-DAWLA; here we will only mention further that another member of the Ḥamdānid family, the famous poet Abū Firās [q. v.], cousin of Saif al-Dawla, also distinguished himself on these campaigns. Saif al-Dawla's claim to fame as a patron of Arabic literature and science is no less great, than as a warrior; but this also is dealt with below. Saif al-Dawla died in 356 (967). (EDITORS).

His sole surviving son, Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf, who afterwards received the title of honour Saʿd al-Dawla from the Caliph in Baghdād, was at once recognised by Karghūya and the other chiefs and went from Maiyāfāriḳīn, where he had buried his father in the family tomb, to receive homage in Aleppo. He then advanced against his father's cousin and companion-in-arms Abū Firās, his vassal in Ḥimṣ whose subjects had lodged complaints against him. They met at Ṣadad where the latter was slain; Ḥimṣ was then taken by Saʿd al-Dawla. The first encounter with the Byzantines took place in the second year of his reign. Byzantine troops attempted to surprise Aleppo; Karghūya who went against them was himself captured but managed to escape. Soon afterwards the Emperor Nicephorus, with a large army, took all the towns between Aleppo and Ḥimṣ and conquered Lattakiya and Djabala. In the beginning of 358 he blockaded Antioch, occupied Baghrās and fortified it as a supporting base for the Byzantine troops. He returned to Constantinople and left Petrus Phokas (in Arab authors Ṭorbasī or Abrabasī, probably derived from ταξιάρχης) in command of the towns conquered in Mesopotamia and Michael Burtzes in command of Baghrās. Saʿd al-Dawla went via Bālis to his mother in Maiyāfāriḳīn, as Karghūya prevented him from returning to Aleppo in order to rule there himself and appointed Bakdjūr joint ruler. Saʿd returned to besiege Aleppo with the troops who had remained faithful to him; skirmishes took place between his and Karghūya's troops, who had appealed for help to Ṭorbasī. Ṭorbasī set out for Aleppo with his troops; meanwhile Michael Burtzes was summoned by the Christians to Antioch, where discord reigned. As he was in danger of being captured by his adversaries who occupied a tower, he sent for Ṭorbasī and with his help took Antioch at the end of 358. The town remained Byzantine till 477. After this success Ṭorbasī went to Aleppo, delivered it from Saʿd al-Dawla's siege only in order to besiege it himself. A treaty was made between Karghūya and the Byzantines in the beginning of 359, in which the Emperor was recognised as suzerain and the payment of considerable tribute by the towns in the administrative district of Aleppo was agreed upon. This interesting treaty contains, in addition to the list of towns and villages, detailed regulations for the exchange of prisoners, the treatment of escaped slaves, change of religion, as well as for customs, the guidance of caravans etc. In the meanwhile Saʿd al-Dawla had entrenched himself in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and declined to recognise the treaty. To force him to do so, the Byzantines destroyed Ḥimṣ. But Saʿd received reinforcements, rebuilt Ḥimṣ and succeeded in having his name mentioned in the khuṭba in Aleppo. In spite of the raids and devastations of John Tzimisces no change seems to have taken place in these conditions for a time (it is hardly possible to win certainty from the contradictory accounts), until at the end of 364 Tzimisces left Syria and the ambitious Bakdjūr imprisoned Karghūya in order to exercise power alone. Saʿd, the nominal overlord, would not tolerate this deed of violence but advanced against Aleppo. As the Byzantines, in spite of his entreaties, did not come to Bakdjūr's help, the city of Aleppo fell into the Ḥamdānid's hands in 365. The citadel continued to hold out for two years. In 367 (977) Bakdjūr was allowed to march out with all the honours of war and was granted Ḥimṣ. In this year Saʿd recognised the real ruler of Baghdād, the Būyid Sulṭān, in addition to the Caliph and abandoned the annual tribute to the Emperor. The Byzantines tolerated this for a time; but when in 371 the Domesticus Bardas Phocas found his hands free after suppressing the rebels in Asia Minor, he advanced on Aleppo. Saʿd at once agreed to renew the treaty recognising Byzantine suzerainty and to pay tribute and, when in 373 Bakdjūr revived the old plan of taking Aleppo with the help of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-ʿAzīz, Saʿd received help from Bardas Phocas as soon as he applied for it, for the latter saw the importance of Aleppo as a bulwark against the Fāṭimids. The Domesticus forced Bakdjūr to retreat and took Ḥimṣ from him to deprive him of his last stronghold. (Kamāl al-Dīn's story that the Domesticus appeared before Aleppo with a large army after the conquest of Ḥimṣ is a confusion with the campaign of 375). Presumably to punish Saʿd al-Dawla for a refusal to pay tribute the Domesticus took Killis in 375 and then laid siege to Apamea. Saʿd, who dared not venture so far with his troops, resolved to divert the Domesticus; he sent his tried general Karghūya to destroy the celebrated monastery of

Ḳalʿat Simʿān and take its monks as prisoners to the slave market. A roar of rage went up from the whole Byzantine world. Bardas Phocas at once raised the siege of Apamea and advanced on Aleppo. Saʿd was unable to offer any serious resistance, had to submit and peace was only granted him in 376 on condition that he paid all the arrears of tribute. Bardas Phocas treated him very leniently, as he wished to be free for the war against the Bulghārs. Saʿd had peace for five years, till in 381 (991) Bakdjūr, who after a quarrel with the Fāṭimid Caliph had been living peaceably in Raḳḳa, once more marched on Aleppo, in the vain hope of obtaining the support of the Fāṭimid Governor. Saʿd and his general Luʾluʾ defeated him with the aid of Byzantine reinforcements at Nāʿūra and had him executed on the spot. Soon afterwards Saʿd in 381 fell sick of a colic. To some extent recovered he held his triumphal entry into Aleppo but died the same night, as he had not taken sufficient care of himself. He was succeeded by his son Saʿīd al-Dawla under the regency of Luʾluʾ, whose daughter he afterwards married. His reign was occupied with battles with the Fāṭimid troops under Bandjūtikīn (Mangutegin), whom he defeated with the help of the Byzantines. He had to sustain long sieges. When he was hard pressed in 384, he appealed for help to the emperor Basil, who, although occupied with the Bulghār war, arrived with incredible rapidity before the walls of Aleppo with 17000 men and this alone was sufficient to disperse the enemy. Although Saʿīd could have offered him no serious resistance, the Emperor remained faithful to the treaty and scorned to occupy Aleppo. Saʿīd on his side also observed the treaty till his death in 392 (1002); he with his wife was poisoned by the latter's father Luʾluʾ, who coveted the throne for himself. At first he ruled in the name of Saʿīd's sons, but two years later he sent them with the whole Ḥamdānid harem to Cairo and made his son Manṣūr his co-regent. When in 399 (1008) Luʾluʾ died at a great age, he was succeeded by Manṣūr under the name Murtaḍā 'l-Dawla, a title granted him by al-Ḥākim (*Journ. As.*, ix. 160), when he began to mention the latter's name in the khuṭba, so that Fāṭimid rule in Ḥalab may be said to date already from this time, although Manṣūr afterwards quarrelled with Ḥākim. A brother of Saʿīd rose against him with the help of the Kilābīs but was defeated, when Manṣūr won the latter to his side with bribes and promises, and fled to the Byzantines. To get rid of the Kilābīs, who pressed him to fulfil his promises, Manṣūr invited their chiefs to a great feast, at which he seized them. Many perished in the noxious dungeons, half-starved; Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās alone succeeded in escaping. He then led his Bedouins against Manṣūr and forced him to make terms favourable to the Kilābīs which he once more did not observe. Through all this he aroused great dissatisfaction; Fatḥ, the commander of the citadel, abandoned him and by a stratagem made him believe that Ṣāliḥ had entered the town; Manṣūr fled in terror to the Byzantines. On the further history of Ḥalab see the article ḤALAB [ii. 229 *et seq.*].

Bibliography: The sources for the history of the Ḥamdānids are detailed by Freytag, *Geschichte der Ḥamdaniden* in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, x. 190 *et seq.*, xi. 1 *et seq.*; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2141 *et seq.*; Arīb, *Ṭabari continuatus*, p. 8 *et seq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. and ix.; M. Wickerhauser, *Wegweiser zum Verständniss der türk. Sprache*, p. 11 *et seq.*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 496 *et seq.*; Müller, *Der Islam* etc., i. 562 *et seq.*; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 328 *et seq.* Cf. also the bibliography to the articles ḤALAB, ABU 'L-HAIDJĀ, AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ, NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA and SAIF AL-DAWLA.

(M. SOBERNHEIM.)

ḤAMDĪ, ḤAMD-ALLĀH ČELEBI, the youngest son of Shaikh Aḳ Shams al-Dīn (cf. i. 226a), a famous Ottoman poet. He was born in Göinik about 852 (1448), 12 years before his father's death in 864 (1459-1460). The early death of his father proved detrimental to his education, for his brothers bore him no goodwill. At first he devoted himself to a theological-legal career but had only advanced in the official hierarchy as far as the office of mudarris in Brusa, when he went into retirement to enjoy a life of quiet meditation and follow up his literary inclinations and the study of mysticism and poetry. He is said to have obtained the means for his modest subsistence by copying his own chief work. Little esteemed in his life-time, which explains the scanty notices of him in the biographers, he died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 914 (February-March 1509, according to others in 900 or 909) and was buried beside his father in Göinik.

His earliest works are a number of mystic tracts *Medjālis al-Tefāsīr* (the reunions of the commentaries); a treatise on a ḥadīth, taken from the New Testament, that God has prepared for the believer "what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard etc." and another, "The sweetness of this world is bitterness for the next and the bitterness of this world is sweetness for the next". Of much more importance are his poetical works. He was not a great creative genius, but rather an industrious and clever imitator and editor. When he relies entirely on himself, his usually so brilliant language begins to halt. He does not seem to have composed a regular *Dīwān*, unlike the usual practice of scholars, but only a collection of ghazels. His fame as a poet is based almost entirely on his romantic mathnawīs, of which he is said to have written five in imitation of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*: *Yūsuf u Zelīkhā*, *Leilā u Medjnūn*, *Mewlid-i Nebī* (*Mewlid-i djismānī* and *Mewlid-i rūḥānī*), *Tuḥfat al-ʿUshshāḳ* and *Muḥammediye*.

Yūsuf u Zelīkhā marks an epoch in the history of the Ottoman mathnawī. It has become by far the most popular and best known Turkish mathnawī. From the point of view of language it is the most perfect work in Ottoman literature up to the appearance of Fuḍūlī's *Leilā u Medjnūn*. In the first part it appears to be a version of Firdawsī's simple work of the same name, while the second part is a brilliant translation, expanded by additions and lyrical pieces scattered through it, of the almost contemporary work of Djāmī, the head of the rhetorical and allegorical school in Persia. The subject "the story of Joseph", taken from the Ḳurʾān, which has always been popular throughout the east on account of its Ṣūfī interpretation, was particularly popular in this version, as Ḥamdī followed the most scrupulous commentators on the Ḳurʾān. The work, which was completed in 897 (1491-1492), bears no deli-

mation. Ḥamdī is said to have fearlessly withdrawn the dedication to Bāyazīd II. It has never been printed but numerous manuscripts exist.

His *Leilā u Medjnūn* is the oldest version of this likewise popular motif after Niẓāmī's Persian model, but it was soon displaced in popularity by Fuḍūlī's work. Copies of the Mathnawī, *Mewlid-i-Nebī* are very rare. The only one of his works that can lay any claim to originality is the *Tuḥfet al-ʿUshshāḳ* (Present for Lovers) which is distinguished by simplicity of language.

His much praised and popular *Ḳiyāfet-Nāme* is also written in simple Turkish mathnawī verses; it is a book on the science of physiognomy for the discernment of character, which seems to be the oldest of its kind. An *Esrār-nāme* is also ascribed to him.

Bibliography: *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmānīye*, Constantinople 1269, p. 250-251; *Tezkire-i Laṭīfī* (1314), p. 136—139; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāmesi* (1314), i. 135; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ* (1281), i. 5; Thüreiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* (1311), ii. 243; M. Nādjī, *Esāmī* (1308), p. 126; Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, i. 151—156, 179; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 138—225. Cf. also the Catalogues by Flügel, Pertsch, Rieu.

(THEODOR MENZEL.)

ḤĀMĪ, a coast-town in Ḥaḍramūt, about 18 miles N. E. of Shiḥr [q. v.], near Raʾs Sharma in a very picturesque and fertile district. Like Makalla and Shiḥr it belongs to the Ḳuʿaiṭī of Shibām [q. v.] and has, as the name shows, thermal wells of the temperature of boiling water. The houses of the little town are low and built of mud; in the centre of the town and on the shore there are two important ḥiṣn. The inhabitants are mainly fishermen; and their number was estimated by Capt. Haines at 500 in 1839. Behind the town lie thick palmgroves and fields with luxurious crops of Indian corn.

Bibliography: Captain S. B. Haines, *Memoir to accompany a chart of the south coast of Arabia* etc. in *Journal of the London Royal Geogr. Society* (ix.), 1839, p. 153; K. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, xii. 635, 639; Van den Berg, *Hadhramout* (Batavia 1886), p. 11; Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-arabien, Mahraland und Hadramūt* (Leiden 1897), p. 11, 37, 38; Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *South Arabia* (London 1900), p. 210, 211.

(J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤĀMID B. AL-ʿABBĀS ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, born in 223 (837), died 311 (923), according to the satirist Ibn Bassām, in early life a waterseller and vendor of pomegranates, was one of the ablest financiers of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs al-Muwaffaḳ and al-Muḳtadir. He combined the collection of the *kharādj* and *ḍiyāʿ* of Wāsiṭ (from 273 = 886) with that of Fārs (from 287 = 900) and Baṣra. In 306 (918) he was appointed vizier, and afterwards was given ʿAlī b. al-Djarrāḥ as his *nāʾib*. His financial administration resulted in riots in Baghdād and his strong measures with dissenters like the Karmatians, Ṣūfīs (execution of al-Ḥallādj [q. v.]) and particularly the Imāmiya (imprisonment of Ibn Rūḥ, the Imām's *wakīl*) finally brought about his fall. He was tortured by the new vizier's son, Ibn al-Furāt and put in the pillory; he died in Wāsiṭ soon afterwards, apparently of poison.

Bibliography: Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Historical Remains*, ed. Amedroz, Index s. v. (In his preface, p. 18, the editor gives us a vivid picture of this cunning and ruthless financier).

(LOUIS MASSIGNON.)

ḤAMĪD (the Μαντιος of Khalkokondylas, p. 65, 66, and Μελιας of Phrantzes, p. 82; for Ḥamīd al-Dīn?), was the founder of the dynasty called after him Ḥamīdoghlu. He had been the leader of the Turkoman tribes on the Byzantine frontier of the Seldjūḳ kingdom of Ḳōnia, "in the mountainous region between Adalia and Ḳōnia" (Abu 'l-Fidā), corresponding to the ancient Pisidia; we find him finally independent by the end of the viith century of the Hidjra. Of his successors we know: 1. his son Felek al-Dīn Dündār Bey, who took up his residence in Egerdir, since then known as Felekābād. In 724 H. Timurtāsh, the governor of Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd Bahādur in Asia Minor, put an end to his rule. Shortly before this Khiḍr b. Ḥamīd had conquered Adalia (Abu 'l-Fidā), which remained under the rule of the Ḥamīd-oghlus till the Teke-oghlus took possession of it; 2. Khiḍr bey, son of Dündār. During his reign, which began in 728 H., he conquered the districts Akshehir, Beyshehr and Seidishehr. We suppose him to be identical with Seif al-Dīn Khiḍr, mentioned in the *Kitāb al-inshāʾ*, *Not. et Extr.* xiii. 361, Note 3), and his name-sake the governor of Adalia quoted by Shihāb al-Dīn reigning in 728 H. Nedjm al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ, son of Dündār. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited him in Egridür (*Voyages*, ii. 267), as well as his brother Meḥemmed Čelebi who was residing in Göl-ḥiṣār. 4. Elyās Bey who was continually at war with his neighbours, the Ḳaramān-oghlus, and was defeated by them several times. 5. Kemāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Bey, son of Elyās, who sold the greater part of his dominions to Sulṭān Murād I in 783 H. The latter's successor Bāyazīd I put an end to Ḥusain Bey's rule in 793 H. Of his son Muṣṭafā we know only that he had been following Murād I a year before, and that he fought in the battle of Kossova. The provinces in the Eastern part of the country with the cities of Akshehir, Beyshehr and Seidishehri were then occupied by the Ḳaramān-oghlu and afterwards formed a source of continual dispute between them and the different Ottoman Sulṭāns. During the invasion of Asia Minor by Tīmūr (1402—1403) the country was devastated several times by his troops, and Tīmūr ended his expedition by storming the fortresses of Uluborlu and Egerdir (Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ẓafarnāme*, ii. 448, 456, 464, 484 *et seq.*). Under Turkish government the dominion of the Ḥamīdoghlus was formed into a sandjaḳ of the eyālet Anadolu called Ḥamīd-eli, and Isparta became the residence of the Sandjaḳ-bey (cp. the description in the *Djihānnumā*, p. 639). Nowadays it figures as a sandjaḳ of the wilāyet Ḳōnia under the name of Ḥamīd-ābād. After Isparta we may mention as towns of importance Uluborlu, Egerdir, Burdur, Kečiborlu, ʿAṣī Ḳara-aghač (= Aghlasūn) and Yalowač; then the lake of Burdur and the lakes of Egerdir and Hairan, and the lake of Beyshehr, the country being an important lake district. The chief products of the country are "Ḥamīd-wheat", opium, tobacco, tragacanth (*kitre*), carpets, cotton and cloths of mixed fabric (*alādja* and *bogharī*), leather and silver goods.

Since the continuation of the Smyrna—Dinair Railway the country has been opened up to commerce and civilisation, as far as the lake district.

The numerous mosques and madrasas in Isparta, Egirdir, Olubarlu, Burdur and the collections of manuscripts in these towns belong to the older period.

Bibliography: *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane*, p. 938—947 (History of the Ḥamīd-oghlus by Meḥemmed 'Ārif); Shihāb al-Dīn in the *Notices and Extraits*, xiii. 338, 352, 360, 372; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie*, Vol. ii., Part 2, p. 132 of Reinaud's edition; *Djihānnumā*, p. 639; Munedjdjimbashi, ii. 559; iii. 35 *et seq.*; Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i. 470—501; ii. 340—368; Friedrich Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 118—170.

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

ḤAMĪDĪ, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr 'Omar b. Maḥmūd Balkhī, a Persian writer of maḳāmas, died in 559 (1164); he wrote his maḳāmas, some of which are to be considered *munāẓarāt*, in 551 (1156) on the model of his Arab predecessors al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī. Their number is 23 or 24; printed, Cawnpore 1268 (1852), Lucknow 1879, Teherān (1873).

Bibliography: Ethé in *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 228; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 346 *et seq.*; Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 747.

ḤĀ-MĪM b. Mann Allāh b. Ḥarīz b. 'Amr, of the Berber tribe of B. Zerwāl in the Rīf, known as al-Muftarī (the forger). He attempted to introduce a new religion among the Ghomāra, which, although not exactly in its practices, at least in its dogmas proceeded from Islām. His period of activity covered the years 313—325. Of the canonical prayers he only retained those at sunrise and sunset; he abolished the fast of Ramaḍān and replaced it by fasting on the three (or ten) last days of this month, on two days in Shawwāl and on the Wednesday forenoon and Thursday of each week. The breach of this rule was punished by a fine of 6 head of cattle. He abolished pilgrimage, purification and complete ablution and allowed the eating of pork; on the other hand, he forbade the eating of fishes, which were not killed in the lawful fashion; the heads of all animals and birds' eggs were likewise forbidden food. To this day the Tuareg and the Berber tribe of Shenūa near Tipasa will not eat hens' eggs. Hā-mīm wrote a book which the Muslim historians call a Ḳur'ān. His aunt Tangīt (var. Talyah, Taba'ith) was supplicated in the prayers of the faithful and regarded as a prophetess, as was her sister Dadjdjū. He won many adherents and fell in a battle with the Maṣmūda near Tangier in 319 or, according to others, 329. But the religion which he founded did not die with him.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik* (Text), p. 100-101; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās* (ed. Tornberg), i. 62-63; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (ed. Kremer, Wien 1852), p. 80; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Kitāb al-Bayān* (ed. Dozy), i. 198; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, vi. 216; al-Nuwairī, in the appendix to *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii. 402-403; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, ii. 156; R. Basset, *Recherches sur la religion des Berbères* (Paris 1910), p. 47-48; v. Kremer, *Gesch. der herrsch. Ideen des Islam*, p. 383; Goldziher in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.*, Vol. xli. 55.

(René Basset.)

ḤAMMĀD, a Berber ruler, founder of the Ḥammādid dynasty, son of the Zīrid Bulukkīn [q. v.], chief of the Ṣanhādja and governor of the Maghrib under the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mu'izz, was given the governorship of Ashīr [q. v., i. 482b *et seq.*] in 377 (987-988) by his brother al-Manṣūr, Bulukkīn's successor. For several years he valiantly championed the cause of the Ṣanhādja, continued the war against the Zenāta, who had invaded the central Maghrib, with the aid of his brother Ibāṭwefi, and in 391 (1000-1001) put down the rebellion of his uncles Māksin, Zāwī and Halal, whom he besieged in Shenwa and forced to submit [cf. BĀDĪS ABŪ MENNĀD, i. 556b *et seq.*]. In 395 (1004-1005) he raised the siege of Ashīr which the Zenāta, the allies of the rebels, were trying to take, thus restoring the supremacy of the Ṣanhādja throughout Central Maghrib and in 398 (1007-1008) built himself a strong mountain fortress, al-Ḳal'a [q. v. and ALGERIA, i. 265b], as a secure place of refuge in case of another hostile invasion. But soon afterwards his feudal lord Bādīs Abū Mennād, successor of the Zīrid al-Manṣūr, wished to rescind Ḥammād's governorship of the district of Tīdjis and Constantine in favour of his son al-Mu'izz, the latter thereupon rose against Bādīs, at the same time revoking his allegiance to the Fāṭimids and declaring himself a vassal of the 'Abbāsids. Bādīs marched against the rebel and shut him up in al-Ḳal'a, but died during the siege (406 = 1016). The war continued between Ḥammād and al-Mu'izz, the son and successor of Bādīs, and was concluded by a treaty, which was negotiated by al-Ḳā'id, a son of Ḥammād, (408 = 1017-1018). It resulted in the dismemberment of the Zīrid kingdom: Ḥammād received Mīla, Ṭobna, the Zāb, Ashīr and all the lands of the central Maghrib, which he was likely to conquer. "From that hour" writes Ibn Khaldūn "the two rivals laid down their weapons and allied themselves by marriages, after dividing the kingdom between them. The Ṣanhādja dynasty was thus divided into two lines, that of al-Manṣūr in Kairawān and of Ḥammād in al-Ḳal'a". Ḥammād died there in 419 (1028).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii. 16 *et seq.*, 43; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, ii. (G. Yver.)

ḤAMMĀD al-RĀWIYA, i. e. the transmitter, namely of old Arabic poetry. He was born in 75 (694-695; Ibn Khall.: 95) in Kūfa; his father, whose name is differently given (Hurmuz, Maisara, Sābūr) and who bore the *kunya* Abū Laila, was a Dailamī prisoner of war. Ḥammād's speech also betrayed his origin.

He won great fame from his comprehensive knowledge of pre-Islāmic as well as of Islāmic poetry, of battles and Beduin dialects. It is even said of him that he could recite ḳaṣīdas of the Djāhiliya of considerable length, rhyming in each letter of the alphabet, a hundred for each letter, and that he could *at once* decide whether a poem was old or modern. Great value was placed on his judgment on poets and poetry. He was almost always able to detect plagiarism and borrowings. He himself was less conscientious however in transmitting and used his gifts to smuggle verses of his own into ancient poems, a proceeding for which al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī censured him and for which al-Mahdī took him to task (*Agh.* [1], i. 172, 10 *et seq.*).

As Nöldeke has pointed out, Ḥammād's great merit is that he collected the *Mu'allaḳāt* [q. v.].

He was one of the three Ḥammāds (with

Ḥammād ʿAdjrad and Ḥammād b. al-Zibriḳān), who, bound by ties of closest friendship, caroused and worshipped the Muse together and were all suspected of *zandaḳa*. Among his friends were also the poets Muṭīʿ b. Iyās and Yaḥyā b. Ziyād.

He enjoyed the favour of the Caliph Yazīd II; he was afraid of Hishām, but the latter also is said to have once invited him to court and richly rewarded him. This story, however, is doubtful on account of an anachronism and features similar to those of an anecdote related of Walīd II. This last Caliph in particular often entertained himself by listening to Ḥammād's recitations. — Ḥammād expected little good from the ʿAbbāsids. He was one of the poets who left Baghdād in the reign of al-Manṣūr "to seek a livelihood"; he then went to Kūfa; the Caliph however is said to have invited him back to Baghdād from Baṣra. But the latter's son Djaʿfar, into whose presence Ḥammād allowed himself to be taken by his friend Muṭīʿ at the latter's sollicitation, treated him shamefully, when a verse recited by the poet proved distasteful to his superstitious notions.

The date of his death is differently given: 155 (Ibn Khallikān), 156 (*Fihrist*) or in the Caliphate of al-Mahdī, i. e. 158 or later: in *Agh.*, iii. 80 *infra*, he is even associated with al-Rashīd.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 169, 268, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wal-Shuʿarāʾ* (ed. de Goeje), p. 157, 482 *et seq.*, 490; *Fihrist*, p. 91 *et seq.*; *Aghānī*[1], v. 164—175, and *passim*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd* (ed. Cairo 1316), iii. 96; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), i. 126 *et seq.*; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), Nº. 204 (transl. de Slane, i. 470 *et seq.*); *Khizānat al-Adab*, iv. 128 *et seq.*; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, p. xx. *et seq.*, and *Encycl. Brit.*[11], xviii. 633[b]; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, i. 18, 63. (C. VAN ARENDONK.)

ḤAMMĀDA (also called *gada* in the Saharan Atlas and *hmīd* in Berber), a form assumed by elevations of the ground in the Ṣaḥara, according to E. F. Gautier (*Sahara Algérien*, Chap. I), "the form assumed by the desert in the plateaus", usually appears as a broad flat surface which is sometimes slightly undulating but rarely traversed by ravines. The edge of the plateau often consists of long series of steep slopes with rather well marked contours which are called *kaf* or *djebel*. The upper surface is devoid of vegetation on account of the utter absence of soil and covered with stones, which sometimes are broad and flat and sometimes consists of small splinters which are formed by the breaking up of the rocks through the sudden changes of temperature and severely impede the progress of men and animals. The Ḥammāda thus forms an almost insurmountable barrier to traffic through the Sahara, so that the caravans prefer to go round rather than cross them. The most important Ḥammāda are, the Ḥammāda al-Harishs, west of Tawdeni, the Ḥammāda of Tinghert, south of the Eastern Erg, the Ḥammāda of Murzūḳ and notably the Ḥammāda al-Ḥamrāʾ in the south of Tripolitania, which is 140 miles broad and 400 long, and reaches an elevation of 1600—2000 feet.

Bibliography: See the article SAHARA. (G. YVER.)

ḤAMMĀDIDS, a Berber dynasty in Central Maghrib, which was founded in 405 (1014) by Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn [*q. v.*] and overthrown in 547 (1152) by the Almohads. They had to wage continual warfare on the Zenāta, who threatened them from the west, the Zīrids, the former lords of the central Maghrib and lastly from the second half of the xith century onwards against the Hilālī Arabs also. Al-Ḳāʾid, Ḥammād's successor (419—446 = 1028—1054-1055), defeated Ḥammāma, son of Muʿizz b. Zīrī b. ʿAṭiya and forced his cousin, the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, the ruler of Ḳairawān, who had besieged him in al-Ḳalʿa to sign a trace (432 = 1040). To show clearly his independence of his Zīrid cousin, when al-Muʿizz had cast off the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid Caliph, he had the khuṭba read in the latter's name. Soon afterwards the invasion of the Hilālī Arabs by destroying the power of the Zīrids of Ḳairawān in 443 = 1051, assured the supremacy of the Ḥammādids in the Maghrib. After Bulukkīn b. Muḥammad, second successor of al-Ḳāʾid had suppressed the rising of the Beni Kommīa of Biskra [*q. v.*, i. 732], he penetrated to the extreme Maghrib and seized the town of Fās, the notables of which he carried off as hostages. On his return from this campaign he was murdered by his cousin al-Nāṣir, whose sister Tamīmt he had put to death.

The reign of al-Nāṣir b. ʿAlennās (454—481 = 1062—1088-1089, on the variants of the name ʿAlennās, see *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, transl. by Fagnan, i. 445, note 3) and that of his successor al-Manṣūr (481—498 = 1088-1089—1104-1105) form the golden age of the Ḥammādid dynasty. After al-Nāṣir had become lord of Algiers, Miliyāna, Ḥamza, Nigāus and Constantine, the government of which he entrusted to his sons or brothers, he endeavoured to extend his kingdom eastwards by taking advantage of the feuds that had broken out among the Arab tribes. For a time he was recognised as their ruler by the people of the districts of Ḳasṭīliya, Ḳairawān, Sūsa, Sfax and Tunis. After his defeat at Sbeïtla in 457 = 1064, however, he could not prevent the devastation of the districts of Zāb and Ḥodna by the Hilālī Arabs and their allies, the Maghrāwa of Tripoli, led by al-Muntaṣir b. Khazrūn. In the end, however, al-Nāṣir won the upper hand; the Zāb was reconquered and Ḥammādid troops penetrated to the Sahara as far as Wargla. These successes made him the most powerful ruler in the whole Maghrib. To raise the prosperity of his subjects by increasing trade, he eagerly endeavoured to attract Italian merchants to Bougie [*q. v.*, i. 766 *et seq.*] which had been founded by him. He also corresponded with the Pope Gregory VII through the intermediary of the priest Servandus, afterwards Bishop of Bōna.

Al-Manṣūr, al-Nāṣir's successor, moved his residence to Bougie in 483 = 1090-1091, being continually threatened in al-Ḳalʿa by the inroads of the Arab Bedouins. He regained the cities of Bōna and Constantine, which the Ḥammādid rulers had given over to the Zīrids, subdued the Kabyls of the district round Bougie and paid particular attention to the defence of his lands against the Almoravids. When the latter had taken Tlemcen (474 = 1081-1082) they won the Benū Wamennū, who had till then defended the western Ḥammādid frontiers, to their side and threatened the central Maghrib. Al-Manṣūr, who had taken bands of Hilālī mercenaries into his service, took the field

repeatedly against them, till the defeat of the Almoravid general Ibn Tinamert at Djebel Tessala and the recapture of Tlemcen by al-Manṣūr 496 = 1102 checked the progress of the Almoravids. Successful campaigns against the Berbers, who had risen in several districts, finally completed the restoration of order.

Soon afterwards however, the decline of Ḥammādid power began. The successes of al-ʿAzīz (498—515 = 1104—1121), al-Manṣūr's successor, whose fleet captured Djerba and who defeated the Arabs who had invaded Ḥodna, were only temporary. His successor Yaḥyā, devoted to women and the chase, proved utterly incapable of coping with the ever increasing danger that threatened his kingdom from without. In 1136 the Genoese plundered Bougie, the Berbers again became restive, the Hilālī Arabs continued their raids, and finally the Almohads invaded the central Maghrib. On the approach of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the Ḥammādid al-Ḳāʾid, governor of Algiers, abandoned the city without offering any resistance. Sabʿ, another brother of the Sulṭān, suffered a defeat at Bougie, while Yaḥyā himself fled from his capital which was thereupon occupied by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [q. v., i. 51ᵇ] without opposition. After its fall al-Ḳalʿa was razed to the ground by the invaders. Yaḥyā, who had first of all fled to Bōna, and then to Constantine, finally surrendered to the conqueror without striking a blow (547 = 1152). He was taken a prisoner to Marrākush and then to Sale, where he died in 558 (1163).

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE ḤAMMĀDID DYNASTY.

List of the Ḥammādid rulers.

Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn . .	405—419	(1014—1028)
al-Ḳāʾid, son of Ḥammād	419—446	(1028—1055)
Muḥsin, son of al-Ḳāʾid .	446	
Bulukkīn b. Muḥammad .	447—454	(1055—1062)
al-Nāṣir b. ʿAlennās . . .	454—481	(1062—1088)
al-Manṣūr, son of al-Nāṣir	481—498	(1088—1104)
Bādīs, son of al-Manṣūr .	498	
al-ʿAzīz, son of al-Manṣūr	498—515	(1105—1122)
Yaḥyā, son of al-ʿAzīz . .	515—547	(1122—1152)

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Vol. ii. p. 43 *et seq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil at-Tawārīkh*, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Vol. ii., appendix v.; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875, Vol. ii.; E. Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Vol. i. Chap. xiii. Vol. ii. Chap. ii.—vii; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, I, 264, 287, 308—310 (Trans. by Fagnan, i. 375, 411, 445—450); E. Fagnan, *Ibn al-Athīr: Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne* (Alger 1898), p. 402, 454, 471—479, 532 *et seq.*, 604; Müller, *Islam*, II, 621 *et seq.*, 629—631, 649. (G. YVER.)

ḤAMMĀL (Ar. *ḥamala* "to carry"), messenger, porter. In countries where the roads and means of transit are still very primitive, the porter is indispensable for the transport of all kinds of goods. In Muslim lands the *ḥammāl* are therefore numerous and much employed; sometimes they carry burdens, which in other countries would only be dispatched with the help of beasts of burden or conveyances. The simplest equipment used by the *ḥammāl* is a fairly thick rope which he ties round the object to be carried and thus keeps it firm on his back. But where the *ḥammāl* are organised into gilds as in Constantinople, they carry on their backs a padded saddle (*semer*) covered with leather resting on a piece of leather on the back (*arḳalyḳ*). On this the weight of the burden rests and it takes the place of a porter's crate. If however the burden is too heavy for one man, several work together by taking a long stick (*sırıḳ*) between each two from which the trunk or bale is hung by ropes. — When the ḥammāl are going through a crowd carrying burdens they push and shove the people aside, at the same time calling out in Arabic: *Oʾa ẓahrak* (*ḍahrak*) "Mind your head (or back)", or in Turkish: *Dokunmasyn* (look out) or *varda* (Ital. *guarda*). In Pera the European women are carried in sedan-chairs (*sedia*), like those which were used in Europe in the xviiiᵗʰ century; this service also is in the hands of the *ḥammāl*. (CL. HUART.)

ḤAMMĀM (lit. "heater", Ar. *ḥamma* "to heat", Hebr. *ḥāmam* "to be warm"), a hot steam-bath. These are isolated buildings communicating with the street or market place by more or less imposing door; they consist of a number of large rooms surrounded by little chambers and crowned by domes pierced with holes to admit the light, which filters through little glass bells like bottle-bottoms. The first room to be entered is the *maslakh* (*apodyterium*, *spoliatorium*), where the clothes are taken off and put up into a bundle which is entrusted to the owner of the bath; in the centre is a basin with a jet of water (*fasḳiya*). The *ḥarāra* (*caldarium*, *sudatio*) is next entered, a large room filled with steam; to avoid touching the superheated marble floor, wooden shoes or slippers with high heels are worn (*ḳabḳāb*). Here the bather stays till he perspires; the attendant then takes him into one of the little chambers with a basin (*maghṭas*, *piscina*), which surround the *ḥarāra*, or into one where there are hot and cold taps (*ḥanafiya*), and rubs his body, after making all his joints crack, with a horse hair-glove (*kīs*), which removes the epidermis in grey rolls, and covers him entirely with frothy soap, beaten up to a lather by means of a *līf* (palm-fibres), till he is quite clean. All that is now to be done is to wash in hot water, dry and wrap oneself up, including the head, in clean linen and go back to the *maslakh* to rest there smoking and drinking lemonade or coffee. On days, when the bath is reserved for women, a piece of cloth is hung across the outer door. In winter, the clothes are taken off in a room between the *maslakh* and the *ḥarāra*, which corresponds to the *tepidarium* and is called *bait awwal* (first room).

In Persian the *ḥammām* is called *garm-āb*, the apodyterium *bīne* (H. Feriā, *Journ. As.*, 8ᵗʰ Ser., vii. 391, note 2) and in Turkish *djāmekān* (Pers. *djāme-kan*).

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 41 *et seq.*; Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*⁷, (1910), p. xxviii. (CL. HUART.)

ḤAMMŪDIDS. The Ḥammūdids are the successors of the two sons of the descendant of the Prophet Ḥammūd b. Maimūn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbaid Allāh b. ʿOmar b. Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who are connected with the Idrīsids of Morocco (172—375 = 788—985) through Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh [q. v.] founder of the dynasty. In the confusion of the civil war that preceded the fall of the Umaiyads

of Cordova, the elder brother, al-Ḳāsim, obtained the governorship of Algeciras [q. v.] and his ambitious younger brother ʿAlī that of Tangier and Ceuta. After conquering Malaga the latter overthrew the feeble Umaiyad Sulaimān al-Mustaʿīn (407 = 1016) and made himself Caliph in Cordova. After his assassination the brother al-Ḳāsim did the same (408 = 1018), in 412-413 = 1021-1022 he was driven from the throne by his nephew, Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, but regained it in 413-414 = 1022-1023, at the same time ruling Malaga 1018—1021 and 1022—1025. ʿAlī's descendant's (8) maintained themselves in Malaga from 1025 till 1057, when it passed to the Berber Zīrid prince Bādīs [q. v.] of Granada, while Algeciras remained under the sway of al-Ḳāsim's son Muḥammad al-Mahdī (431—440 = 1039—1048) and his grandson al-Ḳāsim al-Wāthiḳ (440—450 = 1048—1058), when it was taken by the ʿAbbādids [q. v.] of Seville. ʿAlī's son Yaḥyā ruled Malaga 416—427 = 1025—1035 and was succeeded by Idrīs I al-Mutaʾaiyad 427—431 = 1035—1039, Ḥasan al-Mustanṣir 431—434 = 1039—1042, Idrīs II al-ʿĀlī 434—438 = 1042—1046, Muḥammad I al-Mahdī 438—444 = 1046—1052, Idrīs III al-Muwaffaḳ 444-445 = 1052-1053, Idrīs II (second reign) 445 = 1053, and lastly Muḥammad III al-Mustaʿlī 446—449 = 1054—1057.

Just as the half berberised early *Ḥammūdids* shared a glory reflected from the dying Caliphate of Cordova, a century later the dynasty has the darkness into which it was sinking illumined by the scholarship of the court geographer of the Norman Roger II of Sicily in Palermo, al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī [q. v.], the grandson of the kindly but feeble Idrīs II of Malaga.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iii. 312 *et seq.*; iv. 299; Guillen Robles, *Málaga musulmana*, Málaga 1880, p. 58—124; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 188 *et seq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, iv. 152—155 (following him Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*, vii. 229 *et seq.*); Abdolwâhid al-Marrêkoshî, *The History of the Almohades*, p. 40 *et seq.*; Codera, *Tratado de numismática arábigo-española*, Madrid 1879, p. 113—130; De la Rada y Delgado, *Catálogo de monedas arábigas españolas*, Madrid 1892, p. 74—78; Antonio Vives y Escudero, *Monedas de las dinastías arábigo-españolas*, Madrid 1893, p. 98—107; Nützel, *Catalog der orientalischen Münzen*, Berlin, ii. (1902), 66—82; Codera, *Estudios críticos de historia arabe española* (= *Colección de estudios árabes*, vii. 301—322: Hamudíes de Málaga y Algeciras, noticias inéditas de Abenhazam).

(C. F. Seybold.)

HAMRĪN, in Yāḳūt (iii. 7) Ḥamrīn, the later name for the older Bārimmā [q. v.]: a chain of low hills (600—1000 feet) about 500 miles long, which begins in Mesopotamia about the latitude of Ḥaḍr, separating the Assyrian plains from the Mesopotamian, in the south the plains of Khūzistān from those of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, and finally loses its identity in border ranges of South Īrān. The remarkable length of this quite homogeneous range is well known to the Beduins and fellahin, and has given rise to fanciful notions, e. g. as early as Yāḳūt, who speaks of the *Djabal al-muḥīṭ bi 'l-Arḍ*, as of an ocean surrounding the earth. Besides in Yāḳūt the modern name of the range is also found as early as 758 A. H. in the great waḳfīya inscription of the Madrasa al-Mirdjānīya (cf. L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, *Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Orient.*, Cairo 1912, p. 16 and 28). In the Turkish work (not yet printed) *Djāmiʿ al-Anwār fī Manāḳib al-Akhyār* of Saiyid ʿĪsā ʿAbd al-Ḳādirī al-Naḳshbandī al-Bandanīdjī of 1077 A. H. a tomb not yet identified of Mādjid al-Kurdī (died 567) is mentioned on the Ḥamrīn as a well known place of pilgrimage (cf. *o. c.*, p. 60).

(E. Herzfeld.)

HĀMŪN. A name given in E. Persia, Afghānistān and Balōčistān to the salt swamps, which sometimes swell into extensive lakes, occupying the depressions of the Irānian plateau. The most important of these is the Hāmūn of Sīstān. The northern part of this is a permanent lake which expands towards the south in seasons of flood. The water when floods are exceptionally high flows, into the Gōd-i Zirah, a depression at a still lower level. This then forms a lake which surrounds Sīstān to the south and usually meets the Helmand River. This overflow occurs on an average once in ten years. The hill on which the fort of Kōh-i Khwādja stands is surrounded by the Hāmūn, and becomes an island at times. The Helmand, Khāshrūd, Farāh-rūd and Harūd-rūd fall into this Hāmūn. Other important Hāmūns are that of Djāz-Moriān in Persian Balōčistān and that of Mashkēl in Balōčistān.

Bibliography: Ferrier, *Caravan journeys* (London 1857); Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris* (London 1875); Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (London 1901); Mac-Mahon, *Survey and exploration in Sīstān* (in *Geogr. Journ.*, xxviii.); Molesworth Sykes, *Fourth journey in Persia*, do. xix.

(M. Longworth Dames.)

HAMZA (A.), lit. "compression", is the name given to the glottal stop or toneless guttural explosive, which is said to be almost equal in value to ʿ*ain* among the Tamīmīs [q. v., i. 299a] and, indeed the sign for *hamza* is derived from that for ʿ*ain*. For further details see the articles ALIF and ʿAIN, ʿAINA and the literature there quoted.

(H. Bauer.)

ḤAMZA, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, uncle of the Prophet, and his fosterbrother, as Tradition adds in the effort to glorify this hero of the earliest days of Islām, otherwise so little known. Ignorant panegyrists make him at the same time take part in the Fidjār wars [q. v.], but this statement is a fiction, according to the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. At first, like the other Hāshimīs, he adopted a hostile attitude to the new creed. But revolting against the extravagant attitude of Abū Djahl, he is said to have attached himself to the Prophet two (according to others, six) years after the first revelation. He migrated with him to Medina and at first led an obscure and miserable existence there. One day he so far forgot himself under the influence of intoxication as to make an onslaught on ʿAlī's camels with his sword. For the rest Ḥamza is described to us as a valiant soldier. This quality won him the title of "Lion of God and his Prophet", which soon found a place in poetry. Muḥammad made use of his services by sending him at the head of a small column to hold up a Ḳuraish caravan. His fame as a soldier is particularly associated with the battle of Badr, where he and ʿAlī shared the honours. He also took part in the siege of the Medina Jewish clan of Ḳainuḳāʿ. He met his fate

at the battle of Uḥud where he wrought wonders of valour. The negro Waḥshī pierced him with a javelin, tore his breast open and brought his still beating heart to Hind, the mother of Mu'āwiya, who buried her teeth in it. So at least says one story hostile to the Umaiyads and without much support. Ḥamza is said to have been about 57—59 years old. But if our view is correct, that ten years should be deducted from the 60—65 years usually given to the Prophet, it will be necessary to make Ḥamza ten years younger also. None of Ḥamza's children left issue. Cf. also the articles ḤARB and UḤUD.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Sachau) iii. [1], 3—11; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (Egyptian edition), i. 353-354; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, p. 23, 25, 30, 45, 46, 138; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 69, 126, 184, 232, 322, 344, 419, 433, 442, 485, 516, 563, 657; Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt, *Dīwān* (ed. Rhodokanakis), Nr. xxxix. 20; *Aghānī*, iv. 25; xiv. 15, 22; xix. 81-82; Sprenger, *Das Leben des Mohammad*[2], ii. 69, 81, 88; iii. 100, 120, 172, 180; H. Lammens, *L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la Sīra* (*Journ. Asiat.* 1911[1], p. 209—250). (H. LAMMENS.)

ḤAMZA b. 'ALĪ b. AḤMAD, founder of the theological system of the Druses and author of several treatises, which have obtained a place among the sacred books of the Druses. Little is known of his life with certainty. According to al-Nuwairī, he belonged to Zawzan (Zūzan) in Persia and was by trade a maker of felt (*labbād*). In 410 (1019) he is said to have first publicly put forward his doctrines but, according to Ḥamza's own statements, this took place two years earlier in 408 (1017), from which year the Druses date the manifestation of the divine incarnation in the person of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim b. Amr Allāh (q. v. ii. 225[a]) and the beginning of the Druse era. It is not certain when he came to Egypt, possibly in 405 or 406. But after he publicly proclaimed his doctrines in a mosque in Cairo, a riot broke out and Ḥamza had to remain in concealment for a time under the Caliph's protection. What became of him after the latter's disappearance (411 = 1020) is unknown. He plays a still greater rôle in the religious system of the Druses as *Ḳā'im al-Zamān* or last incarnation of the universal intelligence (*'aḳl*). According to al-Makīn and other authors, he was usually called *al-Hādī* i. e. *Hādī 'l-Mustadjībīn*, leader of those who obey (the divine call).

Bibliography: De Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, *Introduction* p. 387 *et seq.*, *Texte* i. 98 *et seq.*, ii. 2 *et seq.*; Blochet, *Le Messianisme*, p. 94 *et seq.*

ḤAMZA, called the Silîḥdâr, was born about 1140 in the district of Dewelü Ḳaraḥiṣār, the son of a landed Agha, called Meḥemmed; he began his career in 1156 in the *ḥalwa-khāne* (honey-bakery) of the Imperial kitchen (cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung* etc., ii. 31), but soon his gifts won him a position among the pages (*enderūn-i humāyūn*), where he won the favour of Muṣṭafā III. When the latter came to the throne in the 21[st] Ṣafar 1171, he at once appointed Ḥamza his *silīḥdār* (sword-bearer, see v. Hammer, *l. c.* ii. 238 note), afterwards granted him the rank of vizier and betrothed him to the infant princess Hibetallāh, who died however on the 15[th] Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1175. From 1172—1182, he filled in quick succession no fewer than twelve governorships in Rumelia and Anatolia, in accordance with the system then in force of annual change of office; in this period he fell into disgrace for a few months in 1178 and was banished to Demotica with loss of his rank. As wālī of Egypt in 1179 he came into conflict with the Mamlūk Emirs and the celebrated *Shaikh al-Balad* 'Alī Bey (v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, viii. 292) and was finally driven out of the country by them. When in 1182 (1768) the Sulṭān was eager for a breach with Russia, but found his bellicose plans opposed by the Grand Vizier Muḥsin-zāde Meḥemmed Pasha and the Shaikh al-Islām, he dismissed the former on the 21[st] Rabī' I 1182 and appointed in his place his old favourite the Silīḥdār Ḥamza, who was at that time governor of Anadolu. A few days after his arrival in the capital the new grand vizier had the ultimatum to Russia approved at a great council and imprisoned the Russian resident Obreskow, who declined to fulfil the demands of the Porte, in the Seven Towers (4[th] and 6[th] October 1768, see v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, viii. 314 *et seq.*); in consequence the unfortunate war with Russia broke out, which was only concluded by the peace of Küčük Kainardja in 1774. Ḥamza Pasha did not live to see the beginning of hostilities; he was suddenly dismissed from office on the 8[th] Djumādā II 1182 (20[th] Oct. 1768), the reason given being insanity, but others say at the instigation of the Khān of the Crimea and sent to Crete as governor of Canea; on his way thither he died at Gallipoli in the same month.

Bibliography: *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā*, continuation of Aḥmed Djāwid, p. 16 *et seq.*; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 254 (biography); *Chronicle* of Aḥmed Wāṣif; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, viii. passim. (J. H. MORDTMANN).

ḤAMZA ḤĀMID PASHA, son of a merchant of Dewelü Ḳaraḥiṣār, named Aḥmed Agha, was born in Constantinople in 1110 and entered upon his official career in the offices of the Sublime Porte. Owing to the protection of the celebrated Rāghib Pasha (Grand vizier 1170—1176), whose pupil he was in the elaborate prose of the official style, he received a secretarial appointment to the Grand Vizier on the 19[th] Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1153 (5[th] January 1741), which he held for many years. On the 15[th] Muḥarram 1169 he was appointed *Ra'īs al-Kuttāb* (i. e. Minister of Foreign affairs) and, in addition to other high offices in the years following, three times filled the office of *Kiḥya* to the Grand Vizier, i. e. Minister of Home affairs, but only for short periods and without further distinguishing himself. After being appointed "vizier of the dome" in Rabī' II 1176 he took the place of the Grand Vizier Rāghib Pasha, when the latter fell severely ill in Ramaḍān 1176, and on his death (24[th] Ramaḍān 1176 = 8[th] March 1763) he succeeded him. But he was not a strong enough man for this position, for, as his biographers say, he was slow in coming to a decision and was too fond of ease and comfort. The only note-worthy event of his period of office was his sending Aḥmed Resmī Efendi to the court of Friedrich II in response to Graf Rexin's embassy (cf. Zinkeisen, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, V, 897 *et seq.*). After less than a year of office he was deposed on the 24[th] Rabī' II 1177 = 2[nd] Nov. 1763 and sent to Crete, where

he remained, except for a brief interval, till 1183. In this year at his own request he was given the governorship of Djidda and Ḥabesh and died in Mecca in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1183.

Bibliography: Biography in the *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzerā*, continuation of Aḥmed Djāwīd, p. 8 *et seq.*; *Sefīnet al-Ru'esā*, p. 93 *et seq.*; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 255; Wāṣif's *Chronicle*, passim; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, viii. 259—262. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤAMZA AL-ḤARRĀNĪ, a prominent family in Damascus of 'Alid descent, which for many centuries filled the office of *Naḳīb al-Ashrāf* there, so that the family is sometimes simply called Bait al-Naḳīb. Muḥibbī *Khulāṣat al-Athar* (ii. 105) gives the complete genealogy down to the xith (xviith) century. As early as 330 (941-942) a member of this family, Ismā'īl b. Ḥusain al-Naṣīf, was *Naḳīb*, and this office has passed from father to son to the present day. Several members of the family distinguished themselves by their learning and literary gifts, as may be seen from Muḥibbī, ii. 105 *et seq.*, 125 *et seq.*, iv. 124 *et seq.* One of the best known members of the family in later times was Maḥmūd Ḥamza, born in Damascus in 1236 (1821), who became Mufti of Syria and won the thanks of the oppressed Christians during the massacres in his native town (1860) by his conduct. He was the author of an imposing series — 35 titles are enumerated — of writings, mostly on theological-legal subjects, of which several have been printed. He was also an excellent calligrapher: in his leisure-hours he used to amuse himself by writing the *fātiḥa* on a grain of rice or the names of those who fell at Badr on the stone of a signet ring. Maḥmūd Ḥamza died in 1305 (1887).

Bibliography: G. Zaidān, *Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, ii. 165 *et seq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, ii. 466.

ḤAMZA AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ. This is the shorter name by which the philologist and historian ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH ḤAMZA B. AL-ḤASAN AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ is usually known. He was born in the viiith decade of the third century A. H. in Iṣfahān in Persia and spent his life — except for a few journeys for purposes of study — in his native town, where he died between 350 and 360 (961—971). Although on his journeys he attended the lectures of the most important traditionists of his time, his own special field was philology and history. His „Annals", which became known comparatively early in Europe, have caused him to be described almost exclusively as a historian. The majority, however, of his works deal with questions of philology and lexicography. Of the twelve works, which he is known to have written, three have survived to us viz. "the Annals" (*Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium libri x*, ed. I. M. E. Gottwaldt, Tom. i., Text. Arab., Tom. ii., Transl. Lat., Petrop.-Lipsiae, 1844—1848), the *Kitāb al-Amthāl 'alā Af'al*, is a collection of proverbs in the form of comparisons (e. g. more liberal than Ḥātim) preserved in the Munich *Codex Aumer* 642, and his edition of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās (Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, Nr. 7531, and Cairo, iv. 239, besides 3 incomplete MSS.).

Ḥamza's writings are characterised by a strong personal note. A characteristic of his is his habit of paying particular attention to Persian affairs, readily explained by his Persian origin. He did this in his "Annals" as well as in his philological works, in which he delights to discuss Persian words that have found their way into Arabic, and Pehlevi etymologies. All his works moreover bear evidence of a critical attitude, which often expresses itself very pithily. His criticism however is not, one might perhaps expect, one-sided or directed against the Arabs and Ḥamza cannot be described as a representative of the linguistic Shu'ūbiyya, the "philological reaction against Arabic influence". — Ḥamza's works soon found approval and have been much copied. In particular al-Maidānī has copied almost literally Ḥamza's collection of "comparative" proverbs in the second section of each chapter of his *Madjma' al-Amthāl*.

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 209—215; Brockelmann, i. 145; Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī's* (*Mitteil. d. Sem. f. orient. Sprachen*, 1909, Abt. ii. p. 109—169); do., *Altarabische Amulette und Beschwörungen nach Ḥamza Iṣbahānī* (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxvi., 1911, p. 270 *et seq.*); do., *Abergläubische Vorstellungen und Bräuche der alten Arabern nach Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī* (*Mitteil. d. Sem. f. orient. Sprachen*, 1913, Abt. ii.). (E. MITTWOCH.)

ḤANAFĪS. The Ḥanafīs are those Sunnī Muslims who follow the teaching founded by Abū Ḥanīfa (died 150 = 767, see above i. 90b *et seq.*) which has been collected and contained in several authoritative, more or less detailed writings of his pupils. Abū Yūsuf [q. v., i. 114a] and al-Shaibānī [q. v.] in particular were the direct pupils of Abū Ḥanīfa who developed the system of Fiḳh on their master's principles and placed the Ḥanafī school on a firm basis. Although rival systems arose in opposition to the Ḥanafī school, at once in the case of the school of Mālik and later in that of Shāfi'ī, which found more support in certain parts of the Muslim world, it was always able to assert itself in the eastern lands of the Caliphate and finally to attain an unchallenged supremacy in the Ottoman empire. In Central Asia also and in British India the majority of the Sunnīs belong to it.

The necessary preparatory work for a history of the Ḥanafī school has not yet been done, so that we will not here attempt to define the relationship of this school to the others. The usual view, however, is certainly wrong, namely that the Ḥanafīs represent more liberal views than the other schools; as regards principles they are on exactly the same ground as the others. For the rest the reader may be referred to the article FIḲH [ii. 103]. The Arabs have been content to collect biographical and bibliographical data in the so-called *Ṭabaḳāt* (class-books) among which the best known is Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā's [q. v.] compendium edited by Flügel. Cf. *Die Klassen der Hanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten* by G. Flügel in *Abhandl. der Kön. Sächs. Gesell. der Wissensch.*, vol. 8, Leipzig 1861. For works of the kind cf. Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, s. v. It may therefore be sufficient to mention here a few of the most famous legal compendiums, which are considered authoritative within the madhhab and whose authors are all dealt with in separate articles. Such are the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* of Abū Yūsuf, the *Djāmi' al-ṣaghīr* of al-Shaibānī, the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī, the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī and its commentaries notably the *Wiḳāya* of Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the *Farā'iḍ* of al-Sadjāwandī, the *Kitāb Madjma' al-Baḥrain* of Ibn



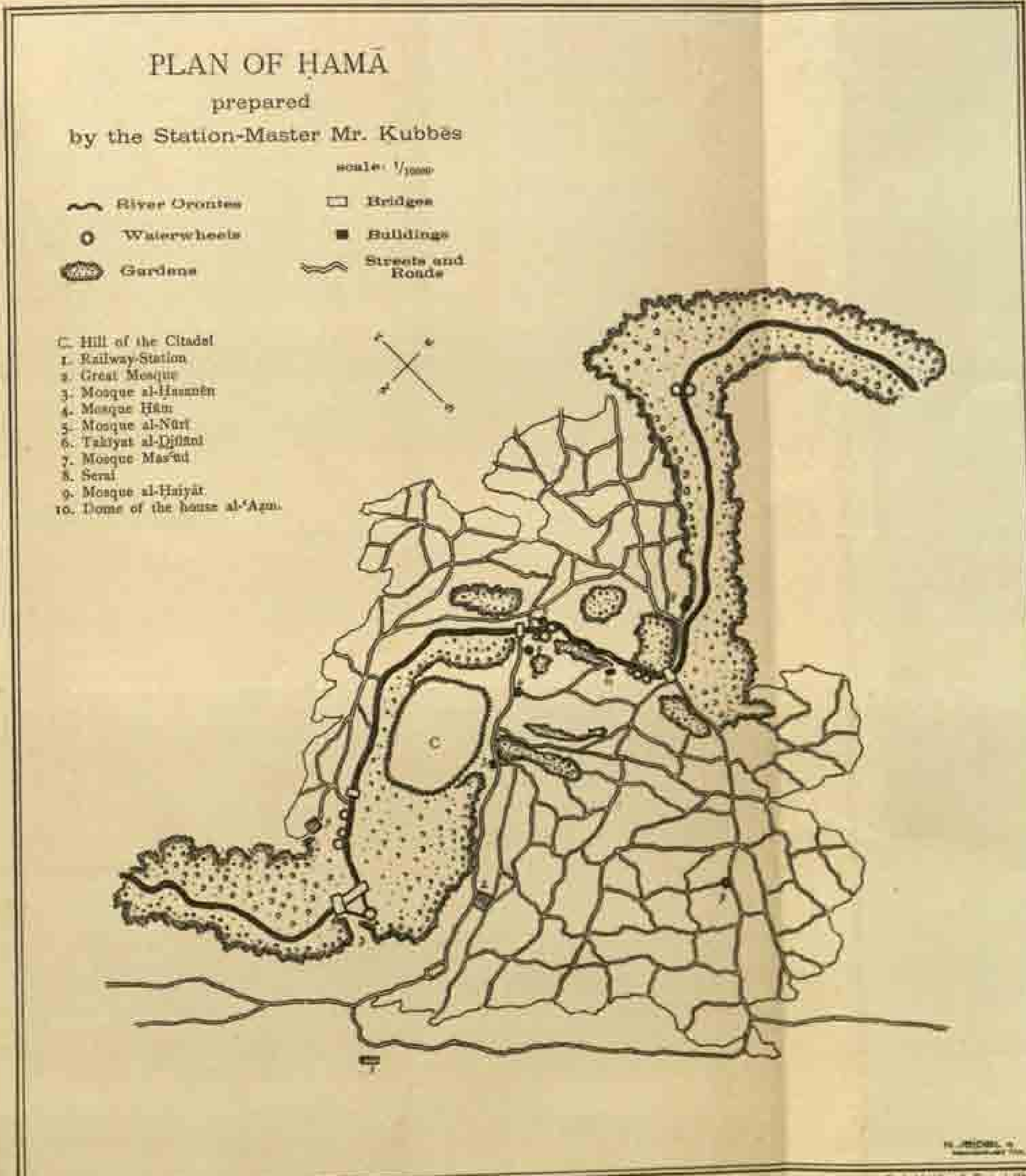
The Masdjid al-Khaif and the pilgrims' camp in Minâ.



Pilgrims throwing stones at the Djamrat al-Wusṭā in Minā.



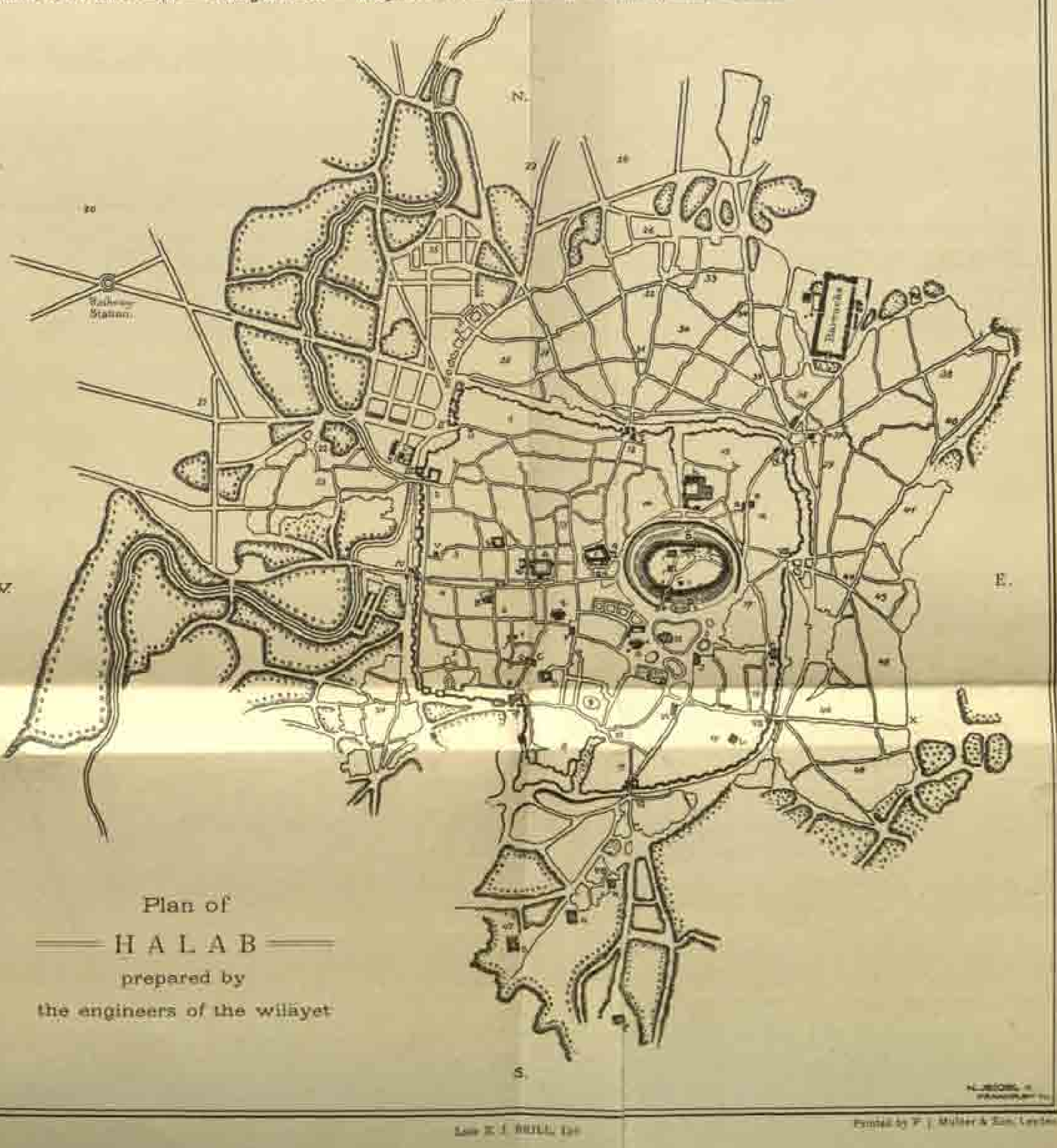
The Djebel al-Raḥma in ʿArafāt covered with pilgrims.



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Bahsita	1	Oghlu Bey	17	Almadji	33	Bāb al-Naṣr	I	ʿĀdiliya	G	Khān al-Ḳaṣṣābiya	a
Bāb al-Djinān	2	Bundān	18	Aḳyol	34	" al-Faradj	II	Salṭāniya	H	" al-Ṣābūn	b
ʿAḳaba	3	Ḳastla	19	Kharābkhān	35	" al-Djinān	III	Uṭrūsh	J	" al-Wazīr	c
Bāb Anṭākiya	4	Djedīd Selemiya	20	Aryān	36	" Anṭākiya	IV	Alṭunbughā	K	" Khairbey	d
Djalūm al-kubrā	5	ʿArīḳ Selemiya	21	Bānḳūsā	37	" Ḳinnisrīn	V	Sikkākīnī	L	" al-Ḳāḍī	e
Djalūm al-ṣughrā	6	Kuttāb	22	Karliḳ	38	" al-Maḳām	VI	Ṭawāshī	M	Māristān Arghūn	f
Bāb Ḳinnisrīn	7	Mushārika	23	Khān al-Sabīl	39	" Nīrab	VII	Maḳāmāt	N	Ḥammām Djawharī	g
Ḳalʿat al-Sharīf	8	Kallāsa	24	Ḳāḍī ʿAskar	40	" al-Aḥmar	VIII	Firdaus	O	Government Offices	h
Ismāʿīl Pasha Serāy	9	ʿAzīza	25	Aghādjīk	41	" al-Ḥadīd	IX	Ṣāliḥīn	P	Outer Gate of the Citadel	α
Sāḥat Bizzā	10	Ḥamīdiya	26	Ṣafā	42	" al-Malik	X	Khaiyāṭ	Q	Inner " " " "	β
Bāb al-Maḳām	11	Sulaimān Čelebi	27	Balāṭ taḥtānī	43	Great Mosque	A	Mekteb Hamawī	R	Mosq. of lower Maḳām Ibrāh.	γ
Bāb al-Naṣr	12	Ṣaliba	28	Balāṭ fōḳānī	44	Bahrāmiya	B	Sarawī	S	" " upper " "	δ
Suwaiḳat Ḥātim wa ʿAlī	13	Djadaida	29	Tatarlar	45	Kurtmiya	C	Bānḳūsā	T	Barracks	ε
Farāfra	14	Shār Aṣṣās	30	Bāb Nīrab	46	Rūmī	D	Bahsita	U	Formerly Bath and Magazine	ζ
Shāhin Bey	15	Ḳasṭal Mushṭ	31	Firdaus	47	Khusrawiya	E	Ḳiḳān	V	South. Tower below the scarp	η
Baiyāḍa	16	Ḳasṭal Ḥaramain	32	Maḳāmāt	48	Saffāḥiya	F	Ḥalāwiya	W	North " " " "	ϑ

Quarters of the town 1—48. — Town-gates I—X. — Mosques A—W. — Khans a—h. — Buildings inside the Citadel α—ϑ.



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al-Sīwāsī, the *Kanz al-Daḳā'iḳ* of al-Nasafī and the *Multaḳā 'l-Abḥur* of al-Ḥalabī.

Bibliography: as far as not contained in the article itself, see the article FIḲH, ii. 105b and ABŪ ḤANĪFA, i. 91.

ḤANAFĪYA, a portable waterholder, with a cock, placed upon a stand and used for ritual ablutions; the name comes from the Ḥanafīs, who must use running water for washing or at least water which runs from a receptacle at least 10 ells in height and breadth. These vessels are usually of copper gilt; after use the water runs into a copper basin. The Turks have similar water-vessels but of marble; they are called *musluk*. They are also found in baths. As the most important part of them is the water-cock, the word *ḥanafīya* has also received this meaning.

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*[2], i. 94 *et seq.* (with illustration), ii. 48.

(CL. HUART.)

ḤANBALĪS, the adherents of the school of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [q. v., i. 188 *et seq.*].

HANDASA, or *'Ilm al-Handasa* is the name given by the Arabs to Geometry, one of the four propaedeutic sciences [cf. the article ḤISĀB]. The word is derived from the Persian verb *andāḫtan* (or also *andāzīdan*) = to throw, to project, thence also to take the measure; to measure; from this is derived the substantive *andāza* = size, measure, value, which was then used for "geometry" also; the geometrician is called *al-muhandis* in Arabic.

The Arabs became acquainted with pure (theoretical) geometry through the *Elements* of Euclid, which were first translated by Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar (c. 790), later they came to know most of the geometrical works of Archimedes and the *Conic Sections* of Apollonius; for the later geometry they also used the Greek name *djūmaṭrīya*. From the Indian Siddhāntas and afterwards from the writings of Hero they learned applied (practical) geometry, i. e. the measurement of surfaces and bodies, the elements of trigonometry and mensuration.

Of works on pure geometry by Arabs, i. e. such as call in the aid neither of arithmetic nor algebra and are based partly on Greek and partly on Indian models, we can only mention two: the first is the work of the three brothers, Muḥammad, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan, the sons of Mūsā b. Shākir (the eldest, Muḥammad, died in 873) entitled: *The Book of the Science of Measuration of plain and spherical Figures*; it was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, and from this a German translation was published by M. Curtze (*Der liber trium fratrum de geometria*, in the *Nova acta der kgl. Leop.-Carol. Akademie d. Naturforscher*, vol. xlix. N°. 2; cf. also H. Suter, *Über die Geometrie der Söhne des Mūsā b. Shākir*, in *Biblioth. mathem.*, 3d Series, iii. 259—272). This treatise contains eighteen theses which deal with the estimation of the area of the circle, of the triangle from its three sides, of the surface of the cone and the truncated cone, the surface and the contents of the sphere with the problems of two mean proportions and the trisection of an angle. We class this book among the works on pure geometry, because it proceeds exactly according to the method of the classical Greek geometricians, i. e. excluding any application of arithmetic and algebra and giving no numerical examples. — The second work is the *Geometry* of Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzdjānī [q. v.], which has not survived in a work from his own pen, but in a Persian version by one of his pupils (cf. F. Woepcke in *Journ. As.*, 1855, i. 218—256, and 309—359, and *Extrait*, Paris 1855, p. 1—89); it contains a large number of geometrical problems, from the fundamental constructions of plane geometry to the construction of the corners of a regular polyhedron on the circumscribed sphere. Of special interest is the fact that a number of these problems are solved by a single span of the compasses, a condition which we find for the first time here. In other points many problems show a pronounced Indian influence. — In addition to these two treatises however we possess a whole series of smaller works by Arab mathematicians on various branches of geometry e. g. on the construction of regular polygons, particularly the heptagon and nonagon, which lead to equations of the third degree, on various portions of conic sections, of which we may specially mention the estimation of the area of the ellipse and parabola and the cubical content of the paraboloid, and the construction of conic sections by means of the "conic circle".

In the use of arithmetic and algebra in geometry and vice versa the solution of algebraic problems with the aid of geometry, the Arabs far outstripped the Greeks as well as the Indians. To the Arabs is due the honour of having recognised and emphasised as an obstacle the strict distinction between arithmetical (discontinuous) and geometric (continuous) magnitudes, which had so severely impeded the fruitful development of mathematics among the Greeks. Even al-Khwārizmī used algebra to solve geometrical problems, when he estimated the height of a triangle from the three sides by introducing an unknown quantity and forming an equation. The great user of this algebraic treatment of geometry is the Egyptian Abū Kāmil Shudjā' b. Aslam (c. 900) who in his treatise "On the Pentagon and Decagon" (only extant in a Hebrew translation, ed. in Italian by G. Sacerdote, in *Festschrift z. 80. Geburtstag M. Steinschneiders*, Leipzig 1896, and in German by H. Suter in *Bibl. Mathem.*, 3rd Series, x. 15—42), solved twenty problems in geometry with the help of linear, pure and mixed quadratic and reducible biquadratic equations, which are almost all incorporated in the works of Leonardo of Pisa. As a champion of the use of geometry in the solution of algebraic problems, we may here mention only the Persian 'Omar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaiyāmī [q. v.], whose solution of cubic and biquadratic equations with the help of conic sections is probably the most advanced work of Arabic mathematics that has survived to us.

Trigonometry is also to be reckoned among the applications of arithmetic to geometry, in which Arabs made the greatest advance on their Greek and Indian predecessors; a constant stream of workers from al-Battānī [q. v.] to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [q. v.] finally built up a system of trigonometry, on which Regiomontanus and Copernicus would have been able to make further developments at once, if they had known the works of Naṣīr al-Dīn on this subject. The Arabs became acquainted with the sine, cosine and versed sine from the Indians, then added the other functions to these, found the chief relationships (formulae) between the various functions, completed the trigonometric tables and finally solved

all cases of the plane and spherical triangle with the aid of the rules discovered (rule of the four quantities, theorem of tangents, rule of the plane and spherical sines etc.).

On purely practical geometry (mensuration, geodesy) the Arab mathematicians as a rule did not write special treatises, but discussed such problems in their works on the construction and use of the astrolabe and quadrant, on which cf. E. Wiedemann's work quoted below.

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ḤANDŪS (i. e. brass or base silver), the name of the base small money of the Maghrib in the viith to viiith centuries, the debased copies of the square Almohad silver coins, which had long enjoyed great popularity and were struck by many Christian rulers as *monetae miliarenses*, *millares*. — The *ḥandūsīya* are small, irregularly cut little coins of base silver weighing from 7 to 14 grains. As a rule they bear neither ruler's name, mint nor date, but only a religious legend (a variant of Ḳur'ān, xl. 47) and probably owe their origin to the Zīrid, Ḥafṣid, Marīnid and other rulers of North Africa and the smaller Spanish dynasties of this period. They attained a certain importance as a standard coin in the petty commerce of the western Mediterranean and were therefore also imitated by the Christian mints of Spain and southern France.

Bibliography: *al-Bayān* (ed. Dozy, i. 265, transl. E. Fagnan, i. 376); De Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, ii. 354; H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux* etc., i. 152; Longpérier, *Oeuvres*, v. 320; H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies musulmanes, Espagne et Afrique*, Préface, p. xxxvi. and p. 292; Dozy, *Supplément*, i. 331. (E. v. ZAMBAUR.)

HĀNĪ b. ʿURWA, one of the principal chiefs of the Banū Murād in Kūfa, in the early years of the governorship of ʿUbaid Allāh, son of Ziyād. He was a devoted adherent of the ʿAlīds and was numbered among the *ḳurrā'*, or distinguished reciters of the Ḳur'ān. When Muslim b. ʿAḳīl, the cousin and secret agent of Ḥusain b. ʿAlī in Kūfa, learned of the arrival of the new governor ʿUbaid Allāh in this city, he hurriedly left his previous place of refuge, the house of Mukhtār, to find a new asylum with Hānī b. ʿUrwa. The latter had, although unwillingly, to agree to receive the fugitive for whom the authorities were searching. But he was denounced to ʿUbaid Allāh and a few days later hanged beside Muslim b. ʿAḳīl on the public square of Kūfa.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, xiii. 37; xiv. 98; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), ii. 229, 266-267; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (ed. Guirgass), p. 247 *et seq.*; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, p. 144, 145, where further references are given. (H. LAMMENS.)

HANĪ'AN (A.) "May it do you good", is said by one who declines an invitation (made by saying *tafaḍḍal* or *bismillāh*) to a meal. The omission of this wish would be not only a gross discourtesy but would expose the meal itself to the danger of the evil eye; so Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chap. v. — According to Hartmann, *Arab. Sprachführer*[2], p. 39, in Syria, people, who still retain old customs, say to one who has drunk, "*haniyan*", whereupon the latter answers *hannāk allāh* or *alla yhannīk*. — An invitation to eat is declined in Syria with the word *afḍalt* or *afḍaltū* "thou art (you are) very kind".

(H. BAUER.)

ḤANĪF (pl. *ḥunafā'*) appears repeatedly in the Ḳor'ān as the name of those who possess the real and true religion; e. g. in Sūra, x. 105; xxii. 32; xxx. 29; xcviii. 4 etc. It is used particularly of Abraham as the representative of the pure worship of God. As a rule it contrasts him with the idolaters as in iii. 89; vi. 79, 162; x. 105; xvi. 121, 124; xxii. 32; but in one or two passages it at the same time describes him as one who was neither a Jew nor a Christian; e. g. ii. 129: they (the *Ahl al-Kitāb*) say, become Jews or Christians that ye may be rightly guided! But thou shalt say: the religion of Abraham as a *ḥanīf*; he was not one of the polytheists, and iii. 60: Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but *ḥanīf muslim* and was not one of the polytheists. The simple collocation of *ḥanīf* and *muslim* found in this passage is sufficient to show that for Muḥammad the word was not the name of a particular religious body, which is still clearer from the phrase *ḥunafā' li-llāhi*, xxii. 32, so that the existence of Ḥanīfism as an organised body as insisted particularly by Sprenger has no support in the Ḳor'ān itself. Sūra, xxx. 29 is of special importance for the understanding of the Ḳor'ān meaning of the word, where is said: "Turn thy face towards religion as *ḥanīf*, (namely) Allāh's creation (*fiṭra*) according to which he has created man; there is no change in the work of Allāh"; cf. also vi. 79; x. 105. It is clear here that the word means the original, innate, primitive religion in contrast to the particular which arose later, polytheism on the one hand and the in part corrupt religions of the possessors of scriptures. As to the period of composition of the passages quoted, they may be mainly ascribed with certainty to Medina, only in vi. 79, x. 105, xcviii. 4, is it doubtful, but here also we must consider the possibility that they were afterwards put into another form.

The later Islāmic application of the word depends on the linguistic usage of the Ḳor'ān. The Ḥanīfīya (very rarely Ḥanafīya) means the religion of Abraham, e.g. Ibn Hishām, p. 143, 8, 147, 4, 822, 1. But as Muḥammad renovated the pure religion of Abraham, *ḥanīf* is frequently used in the sense of *muslim* (Muḥammadan), e.g. Ibn Hishām, p. 982, 18, 995, 11, cf. also p. 871, 5, where *ḥanīf* is used of religion itself in the sense of "pure, orthodox" as well as the obscene verse of Farazdaḳ, *Naḳā'iḍ*, i. 378, 11, where the variant offers a different reading.

In various traditions the Prophet describes the religion proclaimed by him as *al-ḥanīfīya al-samḥa*, the mild or liberal Ḥanīfism, in opposition to ascetic movements, e. g. Ibn Sa'd, i. 1, 128, 11; iii. 1, 287, 26. The verb *taḥannuf* sometimes means the purer exercise of religion in the pagan period (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 156).

sometimes it is practically the equivalent of "to adopt Islâm", *Kâmil*, p. 526, 1 (a poem by Djarîr); *Lisân al-ʿArab*, x. 404, 17. It is the same with the verb *taḥannuth*, which Hirschfeld and Lyall as previously E. Deutsch, wish to derive from the Hebrew *teḥinnôth*, but it perhaps rather derived from *taḥannuf* (cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur Semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 72); for the latter is explained by Ibn Hishâm p. 152, 9, and Ṭabarî, i. 1149, 16, by *tabarrur*, to practise piety, but means also, to become Muhammadan, Ṭabarî, i. 2827, 12.

The above mentioned passage also (Sûra, xxx. 29) where the word means the innate religion is again found in later Arabic authors; e.g., *Kâmil*, p. 244, 5: What is a *ḥanîf ʿala 'l-fiṭra* ...? or Diyârbakrî, ii. 177; If I die *ʿala fiṭrati 'l-Ḥâki*. Connected with this, but at the same time remarkably modified is the use of the word by some authors as the designation not of the pure primitive religion but of the ancient paganism, which preceded the later separate religions. Thus Yaʿḳûbî calls the Philistines, who fought against Saul and David, *ḥunafâʾ* and adds that they worshipped the stars; and particularly Masʿûdî in his *Tanbîh* uses the word as identical with *ṣâbiʾûn* [q.v.] of the people of Persia and the Roman empire, before they adopted Mazdaism and Christianity respectively, and distinguishes this step in religious development as the first *ḥanîfiya* from the pure *ḥanîfa* religion. At the same time he says that the word is an arabicised form of the Syriac *ḥanîfâ*, in which connection it should be remembered that the Syriac *ḥanfe* is actually used particularly of the Ṣabians (e.g. Barhebraeus, *Chronic.*, p. 176).

If we now inquire into the origin and earliest history of the word *ḥanîf*, the first thing to do is to look for passages which may possibly contain a use of the word independent of the Ḳorʾânic usage. But unfortunately most of such passages present great difficulties either because their genuineness is doubtful or because they are so indefinite and uncertain that different interpretations are possible. Scholars have thus arrived at utterly different results, e.g. Wellhausen deduces from such passages, that *ḥanîf* originally meant a Christian ascetic, de Goeje explains the word by "heathen", and D. S. Margoliouth thinks the word everywhere means Muslim. This last meaning undoubtedly best fits an oft quoted verse of the first century A. H. (Yâḳût, ii. 51; *Kitâb al-Aghânî*, xvi. 45 etc.), where the *ḥanîf* is distinguished from the Christian priest and the Jewish rabbi. On the other hand, it is doubtful if this meaning is also found in the story of the death of the Bakrî Christian Bisṭâm, the scene of which is laid in northeast Arabia (*Kâmil*, p. 131, 4; *Naḳâʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, i. 314). Bisṭâm called, when his brother wished to return to him: I shall become a *ḥanîf*, if thou wilt return! However, Mubarrad shows, by his remark to the effect that Muḥammad had then appeared as a Prophet, that he understood *ḥanîf* to mean Muslim; but the sense is much more forceful if one translates it by "heathen" (Nöldeke) or "apostate". In Ṣakhr's verse (*Hudhail*, Kosegarten, xviii. 11), where the wine-drinking Christians are making a noise around a *ḥanîf*, one of the scholiasts suggests Muslim; but the passage would equally fit an ascetic who refrained from wine. The same holds of the *ḥanîf* in the verse of Dhû Rumma, *Lisân al-ʿArab*, xiii. 206, who turns to the west when praying, unlike the Christians, cf. the commentary. The Hudhailî verse, *Lisân al-ʿArab*, vi. 133, where there is a reference to a stay for worship made by a *ḥanîf* is quite colourless. Greater value might, on the other hand, be attached to some verses where the verb *taḥannuf* appears in the above mentioned sense of performing acts of worship. One is by a heathen poet Djirân al-ʿAwd of the Hawâzin tribe of Numair in Nadjd (*Lisân al-ʿArab*, x. 404, cf. *Khizânat*, iv. 198), and mentions *al-ʿâbid al-mutaḥannif*, who observes his prayers (*ṣalât*), by which he can only mean an Arab ascetic; Djarîr (*Naḳâʾiḍ*, ii. 595, 12) must also be thinking of such a one when he says of a tribe, that they have allied themselves with shame as the Christians with the religion him who *yataḥannafu*. The poems, which are ascribed to certain contemporaries of Muḥammad, would bring us an essential step forward, if their genuineness were only to some degree certain, but this is unfortunately not the case. This is particularly true of the verses placed in the mouth of the Awsî opponent of the Prophet, Abû Ḳais b. al-Aslat, in which he invites the foundation of a *dîn ḥanîf*, a pure faith (Ibn Hishâm, p. 180, 2), and contrasts this primitive religion to Christianity and Judaism (ibid., p. 293). The genuineness of the poem of Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, which speaks of the *dîn al-ḥanîfiya* as the only religion which will survive the resurrection (see Schulthess, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, viii. 3, 7, 13), is, to say the least, very doubtful. Even if we set aside these poems, however, the verses quoted above are sufficient to show, what must be considered quite certain, namely that Muḥammad in his use of this word was simply following a recognised usage, and it may be suggested as highly probable that *ḥanîf* even before his time denoted the people, who, although influenced by Christianity, had refused both Christianity and Judaism in favour of a simpler and more primitive religion. But the historical development of such a movement is wrapped in an obscurity, which cannot be cleared up with the material at present available. That it was connected with the religious movements of South Arabia, as modern scholars suppose, is possible, but by no means certain, as the most reliable of the verses quoted belong to the north.

As to the etymology of the word, as has already been mentioned, even Masʿûdî had seen in it an Aramaic loanword and his opinion has also a number of champions in modern times, who derive the word from the Canaanite-Aramaic *ḥanef* "hypocrite, godless, heathen, heretic". That this view would find substantial support, if the meaning "heretic" in the above-mentioned story of Bisṭâm were correct, is illuminating. The word would then be a foreign name for heretic, which those to whom it was applied, had somehow adopted in Arabia in a good sense. In any case, we should have to be content with this derivation from the Aramaic, as the corresponding Ethiopic word to which H. Winckler proposes to trace it, is a foreign loanword only found in literature. Schulthess has, it is true, rightly pointed out that the Aramaic *ḥanef*, *ḥanfâ* cannot become the Arabic *ḥanîf*, but this probably only shows that we must presuppose an intermediate form, and this is supported by the form of the word in Mandaean, cf. the Syriac abstract noun *ḥanfû*, mentioned by Masʿûdî. Besides we might, if forced, attain the meaning "secessionist" from the Arabic *ḥanafa* "to break off" which would give a similar development of mean-

ing; and of course the possibility must not be excluded that new South Arabian texts may throw light on the word and its history.

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ḤANĪFA B. LUDJAIM, an important branch of the great North Arabian tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil [q. v.], consanguineous to the ʿIdjl. During the Djāhiliya they were in part heathen, in part Christian. The pagans honoured an idol in the form of a cake of butter and honey, which they used themselves to consume in time of famine.

They led a settled life in Yamāma, where they built the fortified town of Ḥadjr, which later became the capital. The Wādī ʾl-ʿIrḍ and among others the following places belonged to them: al-ʿAwḳa (inhabited by the clan ʿAdī), Faiḥān (belonging to the clan ʿĀmir), al-Kirs (on the lower Wādī ʾl-ʿIrḍ, inhabited by ʿAdī), Khiḍrima (a large town with many villages, inhabited by the Suḥaim and ʿĀmir along with the ʿIdjl), Ḳurrān (belonging to the clan Suḥaim), al-Manṣif (a fortified town, belonging to the ʿĀmir), Talaʿ b. ʿAṭā (inhabited by ʿĀmir), al-Thaḳb (so Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 141, 7; *Djazīra*, p. 162, 25 has al-Naḳb: al-Naḳb and al-Thaḳb appear to be identical and there is either a misprint or error in the manuscript; the place belonged to the ʿAdī), Taʿām (in common with the Azd and ʿAbd al-Ḳais), Ubāḍ (a battle took place here between Khālid b. al-Walīd and Musailama) and ʿUthāl. There was also a settlement of Ḥanīfa in Iḍān, the mines of the Numair b. Kaʿb.

Historical. In the last years of the Basūs war [see BAKR B. WĀʾIL] the Ḥanīfa separated from the Bakr and went over to their opponents, the Taghlib, on whose side they then fought. Like the Taghlib, they recognised the sovereignty of the Lakhmids [q. v.] in Ḥīra, the vassals of the Sāsānids. In the famous battle of Dhū Ḳār between the Bakr and the Persians [see BAKR B. WĀʾIL] the Ḥanīfa took no part.

Hawda b. ʿAlī, chief of the Ḥanīfa, resided in Ḥadjr. He had to lead the Persian caravans coming from ʿIrāḳ to Yemen to protect them from attack on the way. On one such occasion he was attacked by the Tamīm in the Dahnā. This was by no means the only occasion on which the Ḥanīfa had to fight the Tamīm. When the ʿAmr, who migrated to Yamāma to the Ḥanīfa after the battle of Habāʾa (with the Dhubyān) quarrelled with the chief of the Ḥanīfa Ḳatāda b. Maslama, they went to the Saʿd b. Zaid Manāt of the Tamīm and found asylum with them. In the battle of Sitār Ḳais b. ʿĀṣim of the Tamīm slew Ḳatāda. Of other battles with the Tamīm there may be mentioned that of Khuthaiba (near Yamāma) and that of al-Ẓahr.

In Muḥarram 6 = 628 the chief of the Ḥanīfa, Thumāma b. Uthāl, while on his way to Mecca to visit the holy places (*ʿumra*), was surprised by thirty Muslims and taken prisoner. He adopted Islām and was released. Through his influence over the Ḥanīfa, out of friendship for the Prophet he prevented supplies of provisions reaching the Ḳuraish in Mecca from Yamāma whence they were wont to obtain them. In the "year of the deputations" (9 = 631) the Ḥanīfa appeared before the Prophet under Hārūn b. Ḥabīb, called Musailama, who later appeared as a rival to the Prophet and proclaimed himself a companion and future successor of Muḥammad. When he, whom Muḥammad called *al-Kadhdhāb*, the "liar", appeared on the scene in 11 = 633 at the same time as the false prophets Aswad al-ʿAnsī and Ṭulaiḥa, a large section of the Ḥanīfa followed him, encouraged by their chief Radjdjāl b. Unfūwa, who declared he had heard the Prophet with his own lips in Medina designate Musailama as his colleague and successor. The majority remained faithful to him in the caliphate of Abū Bakr also. ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl, who took the field against Musailama, was defeated. An attack by Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana was also repulsed by the Ḥanīfa. Musailama thereupon collected his forces at ʿAḳrabā, a place near Ḥadjr. Here a famous battle was fought with the Muslims under Khālid b. Walīd, which ended in the utter rout of the Ḥanīfa. Their two leaders, Muḥakkam b. Ṭufail and Radjdjāl b. Unfūwa fell in battle and Musailama was put to death; the Ḥanīfa are said to have lost 10,000—20,000 men on this day. When Khālid b. Walīd proceeded to besiege Ḥadjr, the Ḥanīfa submitted on the intervention of Mudjāʿ and agreed to adopt Islām and deliver up all their movable property, which was divided among the Muslim soldiers.

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HANSALĪYA, plural of *hansali*, the name given to the members of the *ṭarīḳa* or religious brotherhood, founded by Sīdī Saʿīd b. Yūsuf al-Hansalī (known in Morocco as Sīdī Saʿīd Ahansal). The epithet Ahansal or Hansali is said to be derived from his birthplace Hansala, a Berber village of the tribe of Benī Mṭīr (in the Moroccan Atlas).

He belonged to a family of marabouts, whose most important ancestor, Sīdī Saʿīd al-Kabīr, is buried in Dades (southern Morocco), where his tomb is visited by many pilgrims. After the example of this holy man Sīdī Saʿīd b. Yūsuf spent the whole of his youth in studying the teachings of the Ṣūfīs in the most important zāwiyas of Morocco. After spending periods in Fās, Ḳṣar al-Kabīr and Tafilelt, where the strictness of his conduct became everywhere proverbial, he went to the east, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet. He spent a considerable time in the East and studied successively in Medina and Cairo, where he completed his education in mysticism under the direction of Shaikh Sulṭān, who was popularly believed to have been inspired by the king of the djinn. He then went to Damietta and there became a pupil of Sīdī ʿĪsā al-Djunaidī. He received the *dhikr* (prayer peculiar to the order) from the latter. This *dhikr* is a kind of poem of great inspiration, usually called *damyāṭiya*. He then went to Alexandria to visit the tomb of the famous Muslim mystic Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Marsī. While he was reading the Ḳurʾān one evening by this grave, the saints of the Paradise appeared to him with the Prophet at their head. The latter gave him a whip, to drive away the evil spirit and ordered him to win converts in his native land. Sīdī Saʿīd now returned to Morocco and visited the principal zāwiyas; he finally settled in Tedla, in the zāwiya of the Djazūliya and became their *muḳaddam*. He afterwards founded a zāwiya for his own followers in the land of the tribe of Ait-Messat between Tedla and the land of the Berāber, on the road to Marrākesh, in the upper valley of the Wādī Drāʿa. There he died on the 1st Radjab 1114 (1st Nov. 1702). He had been able to win great prestige and considerable influence over the Berbers of the Atlas by his conduct.

He was succeeded as head of the brotherhood by his son Yūsuf, under whom it developed considerably. Feeling secure in his power he was not afraid to afford shelter to Aḥmed Dhahabī, the rebellious son of Sulṭān Mūlāy Ismāʿīl of Morocco. But this action and the jealousy of the sherifs of the influential marabouts, who were competing with them, cost him his life. His followers were persecuted and some of them entered the other brotherhoods of Morocco.

Yūsuf's successor Sīdī Saʿdūn fled before his persecutors and found safety in the east of the regency of Algiers; there he won a vast number of adherents. His successor was Sīdī Muʿammar, who was buried among the Talaghma, a tribe in the neighbourhood of Constantine. On his death Sīdī Zwāwī became head of the order; he belonged to an old and distinguished family of Constantine and already had a zāwiya near this town on the hill of Shettaba. Sīdī Zwāwī's descendants have since directed the fortunes of the Hansalīya order in an unbroken line. The majority of the adherents of the Hansalīya are to be found in the province of Constantine and the High Atlas.

The chief centres of the influence of the order are: in Morocco the mother zāwiya among the Ait-Messat and that of Dades; in Algeria the zāwiya of Shettaba, near Constantine, and that of Kef in Tunis.

The Hansalīya, like several other religious orders, devote great attention to peculiar songs and dances, which produce ecstacy by their effect on the nerves. They also practice flagellation. Their assemblies are secret and only members are admitted. The people credit them with a mysterious power over the *djinn*. They are therefore often invited to the houses in cases of sickness to drive away the evil spirits, which cause the illness. In Morocco the influence of the head of the zāwiya is so great among the Ait-Messat, that in the time of the explorer de Foucauld it was sufficient to afford the traveller protection from Marrākesh to Sūs.

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(A. Cour.)

HĀNSĪ. An ancient town situated 29° 7' N. 75° 58' E. in the Ḥiṣār district of the Pandjāb. Population (in 1901) 16,523. It is the centre of the taḥṣīl of the same name, a tract partly under irrigation and partly sandy waste, which has a pop. of 128,783.

Hānsī was possibly a foundation of the Kushāns, but the Tomara Rādjpūts held it when historical information is first available. It had passed into the hands of the Čauhāns before it was taken by Masʿūd I, the Ghaznawid invader, in 427 (1036). It was recovered by the Čauhāns and rose in importance until its conquest by Muʿizz al-Dīn in 588 (1192). It was the capital of the country known as Sawālakh until the rise of Ḥiṣār. It does not play an important part in history until it became the headquarters of the soldier of fortune George Thomas in 1798. Thomas ruled a considerable district and struck coins at Hānsī till defeated by Sindia's army under Perron in 1801. From 1803 till 1857 it was a British military station. Masʿūd's first conquest is commemorated by the Shahīd-gandj mosque.

Bibliography: *Imp. Gazetteer of India, Pandjāb*, i. 243; Fraser, *Military Memoir of Colonel Skinner* (London 1851).

(M. Longworth Dames.)

ḤANẒALA b. Mālik, an Arab tribe belonging to the Maʿaddī group. Its genealogy is Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm. Among its more important subdivisions were the Barādjim (to which the poet Farazdaḳ belonged), Dārim and Yarbūʿ. The poet ʿAlḳama b. ʿAbada traced his descent from the Ḥanẓala.

They dwelled between the two sandhills of Djurād and Marrūt near Ḥimā Ḍarīya in Yamāma. The villages of al-Ṣammān (with many wells, cisterns and irrigation works), al-Raḳmatān, the Wādīs al-Ghumaim and al-ʿIry, the lakes Khabī (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 203, probably by error, Djabī) and al-Lawāhis, and the mountain Kurfa belonged to them.

Historical. The Ḥanẓala played an important part in the 'Aiyām al-ʿArab. On the second day of Uwāra" (in the Dahnā near Baḥrain) the Lakhmid king ʿAmr b. Hind had a hundred Ḥanẓala of the clan Dārim buried alive, because one of his brothers, who had been entrusted to the guardianship of the chief of the Dārim, Zurāra b. 'Udas, was slain by the latter's son-in-law Suwaid b. Rabīʿa (Amr's epithet al-Muḥarriḳ "the consumer" dates from this event). When Zurāra's

lour. The more Somali blood there is in them, the more closely they approach a bright black. The early conquest by Abyssinian kings gave the Amharic language a firm footing in these lands and even when the population had long been Muslim, the Amharic dialect was still retained. This is spoken there to the present day, but it has borrowed more and more from the Galla, the Somali and particularly from the Arabic. It is doomed to decline, as it cannot hold its place against these languages. Quite recently the Shoan Amharic, the language of the governing classes and of polite intercourse in modern Abyssinia has penetrated to the town.

In the period in which the power of the Abyssinian empire stretched far to the south, southeast and southwest, Harar also passed under its sway; but we possess no reliable historical accounts of this period. The fact that an Amharic dialect is spoken in Harar and Maḳrīzī's statement that Arabic and Abyssinian were spoken in these lands, show that the Abyssinians ruled there in early times; the date may be the xith, xiith and xiiith century; for by the xivth century a wave of Islām had begun to roll westward and, although often repulsed, gradually gained ground till for a time in the xvith century it covered all Abyssinia. If we go by tradition, Shaikh Abādir is the earliest figure we meet with in the history of Harar. In reality, however, the name Harar is first found in an Abyssinian chronicle, that of King 'Amda Ṣiōn (1314—1344); there the governors of Harar are mentioned, who had allied themselves with many others against the Christian king of Abyssinia (Perruchon, *Histoire des guerres d'Amda Ṣyôn*, Paris 1890, p. 58 and p. 150). At this time Harar belonged to the emirate of Zaila' and the chronicle of Harar counts the first Emirs, who were still residing in Zaila', as Emirs of Harar also. The first, to be mentioned in the chronicles, is 'Omar Walashma who may have reigned about 1150. In 1457 Harar appears on Fra Mauro's map, with the name much corrupted however. In 1521 the Emir Abū Bakr transferred his official residence from Zaila' to Harar; he was probably forced to do this by the advance of the Turks, who at that time under Selīm I were occupying Yemen and the whole African coast to Cape Guardafui and soon naturally came into conflict with the Portuguese, in Zaila' also. Meanwhile another man had arisen, who soon seized all power for himself. This was Aḥmed called Grāñ. This epithet which means "left-handed" was perhaps given him by Christian Abyssinians. He was born about 1505; nothing is known of his origin. He served as a horseman in the Emir's army, but then hatched a conspiracy against him and rebelled. By his victories he made himself independent and forced the Somalis also to follow his standard. His future greatness is said to have been foretold him by a miracle with a swarm of bees and his memory still lives in the popular tales of Abyssinia. He became actual ruler of Harar, but he seems neither to have taken the title *Emīr* nor *Sulṭān*, but to have contented himself with the title *Imām*. Beginning in 1576 he waged unceasing war on Abyssinia, soon subdued the whole country, burned monasteries, churches and manuscripts, plundered the treasures of the churches and carried off women and children into slavery. Many Christians must have then lapsed to Islām, so that later a special ritual had actually to be prepared in the Abyssinian church for the re-baptism of the apostates, who returned to their original faith. In 1543 Grāñ fell in battle against the Abyssinians, who were supported by the Portuguese under Christopher da Gama. In 1550—1551, Harar was burned by the Abyssinian general Fānū'ēl. Several Muslim generals had hostile encounters with the emperor Claudius (1540—1559) and were usually defeated; these battles are celebrated in an old Amharic ballad in praise of the emperor. But Claudius himself fell in battle against Nūr, then Emir of Harar. But Nūr could make no further progress against the Abyssinians, and at the same time the Galla hordes were pressing forward with all their forces and occupying the lands of Harar. The power of the Emir thus became gradually limited to the town of Harar and the once so mighty kingdom of Zaila'. Harar now became an insignificant principality till 1875. In this year Ra'ūf Pasha of Zaila' set out against Harar at the instigation of the Egyptian government, while at the same time Prince Ḥasan operated against Abyssinia in the north and Munzinger Pasha advanced from Tadjura. The two latter expeditions failed in their object, but Ra'ūf installed himself securely in Zaila' and Harar and began to reorganise the country. The Emir Muḥammad 'Abd al-Shakūr was pensioned, but murdered in 1876. In 1878 Ra'ūf was dismissed by Gordon Pasha (General Gordon), as the latter feared that Ra'ūf might establish himself in Harar independent of Egypt. After several other Pashas had ruled there, it was decided in 1884 to vacate these lands. In 1885 Riḍwān Pasha handed over Harar to the Emir 'Abd Allāh. But Menelik II of Shoa soon attacked Harar and in the battle of Tshalanko, west of Harar, 'Abd Allāh was slain on the 26th January 1887. The correspondence on the occupation of Harar between Menelik II and the king of Italy was published in the *Documenti diplomatici* (Rome 1871), p. 295 *et seq.* Harar now came once more into the hands of the Abyssinian Christians, who had been driven out of it some 600—700 years before. The celebrated Ras Makonnen was installed as governor, a very capable, clever, energetic and cultured man. He died in 1906; a beautiful church-like tomb was built for him outside the walls of Harar.

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AL-**HARAWĪ** [See AL-HERAWĪ.]

ḤARĀZ (HARAS, HARRAS, HARRĀZ), a high mountain range in South Arabia, lying to the west of Ṣan'ā' [q. v.] between the Wādī Sahām and the Wādī Surdud near Ḥadjar Shu'aib [q. v.]. It is composed of basalt and is over 8500 feet high.

The following mountains belong to the Ḥarāz:

Lahāb (with Djebel Melḥat, Djebel Madharre, Djebel Shukruf, Djebel Lakama), Hawzan (חוזן of the South Arabian inscriptions, with the Djebel Kāmil and Kāhil) and Shibām, Masār and joined to the latter, Ṣa'fān. Of places in Ḥarāz we may mention the large town of Manākha (southeast of Shibām with 3000 inhabitants, residence of the ka'immaḳām of Ḥarāz, Ḥaima [q. v.] and the Djebel 'Anīz southeast of Ḥarāz), 'Attāra (between Masār and Hawzan, formerly the residence of the dā'ī of Yām [Nadjrān]) the large village of Masār (on the mountain of the same name), Ḥumaid, Mitwah (both on Mount Ṣa'fān), Shibām (on the mountain of that name), Lakama (north of Shibām with many Jews), Mawza (three hours from Manākha), Kaḥil (on the mountain of that name near Masār), Birāz (Birār, near the latter), Eudja or Ḳuwaiba (on the Hawzan); at the foot of the Ḥarāz lies the town of Ḥudjaila. Among wādīs there are Hār, Idrūb (both west of the Ṣa'fān, in the land of the Banū 'Arrāf) and Ḥidjān (near the village of Birār). There are extensive coffee plantations on the mountains which yield an especially fine quality of coffee. The fruits (apricots, peaches, a small kind of pear, several kinds of grapes and walnuts) are famous far and wide. The people of Ḥarāz are some Shāfi'is and some Ismā'īlīs.

The Ḥarāz is at present divided as follows: 1. Banū 'Arrāf (on the Ṣa'fān); 2. Ṣa'fān proper; 3. Masār; 4. al-Maghāriba (north of Masār); 5. Banū Ismā'īl (northwest of Masār); 6. Hawzān (on the Wādī Daiyān, a tributary of the Surdud); 7. Hawzan; 8. Lahāb, 9. Thulūth (besides Lahāb); 10. Ya'āhir (south of Manākha); 11. Mukārib (adjoins Thulūth); 12. al-'Uḳmar (southeast of Manākha).

Down to 1763 the Ḥarāz was (nominally) under the Imām of Ṣan'ā. In this year, however, it was taken from the Imām by the Makramī dynasty of Nadjrān (Yām) which had just arisen. In 1872 the citadel of the dā'ī of Yām, Aḥmad al-Shibāmī, at 'Attāra was destroyed by the Turks, whereupon the Yām made peace with the Turks and retired to the lands of their tribe in Nadjrān.

In Hamdānī's time the Mikhlāf Ḥarāz comprised the following seven parts: Hawzan, Kurār (כרר of the South Arabian inscriptions, Glaser: Kurār, Yāḳūt: Kirār), famous for an excellent breed of cattle, Ṣa'fān (Yāḳūt, Ṣa'ḳān, a misprint), Masār (with fortress, well and irrigation works), Lahāb, Madjnaḥ (Yāḳūt: Madjnaḥ) and Shibām (with a fortress and a large mosque). The inclusive name for all these was Ḥarāz and Hawzan, also called Ḥarāz al-Mustaḥriza or briefly Ḥarāz (in Djazīra, p. 105, l. 9—11, to make seven, Ḥarāz al-Mustaḥriza and Hawzan have to be counted as one; in Djazīra, p. 68, l. 17—19, Shibām and Ṣa'fān are omitted, but instead Ḥarāz and Ḥarāz al-Mustaḥriza are given as two). It was very fertile and rich in cornfields, honey and sesame. Among places in Ḥarāz, Hamdānī mentions al-Taum, al-Idrūb, 'Adjab, al-Ahnūm, al-Dhanabār, al-'Arūḍ, al-Ma'ḥūr, Ṣawlāna (a fortified place). The market of Ḥarāz was al-Mawza. As inhabitants Hamdānī gives the Ḥarāz and Hawzan whom he describes as two Ḥimyaritic stocks; in Ḥarāz there were also Ḥanatila, La'f and Nashk, of the Hamdān [cf. ii. 246]. The language of the people of Ḥarāz was midway between good and bad Arabic.

In recent times Ḥarāz has been visited and explored by the traveller Eduard Glaser.

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(J. Schleifer.)

ḤARB, a powerful Arab tribe of Yemeni origin in the Ḥidjāz between Mecca and Medina. They are divided into two great bodies, the Banū Sālem and B. Mosrūḥ. To the B. Sālem belong amongst other clans, al-Ḥamda, al-Ṣubḥ, 'Amr, Ma'ara, Weind Selim, Tamīn (not the celebrated great tribe of this name), Muzaina, al-Ḥawāzim (Awāzim, Ḥāzim), and Sa'ādīn (Saadin, sing. Saadani); to the Mosrūḥ, amongst others: Sa'dī (Sa'adi), Laḥābba (all robbers of pilgrims), Bishr, al-Ḥumrān, 'Alī, al-Djahm, Banū Ḥameyn (all Ashrāf), and Banū 'Amr.

Doughty gives amongst others the following villages of the B. Sālem (between Medina and Yanbu' and on the great Wādī Ferā' (probably Ferra'a), Djedeida, Umm Theiyān (Daiyān), Kaif, Dār al-Ḥamra, al-Kiṣa, al-Khorma, al-Wāsiṭa, al-Hassānīe, al-Ṣafra (with extensive date-palm groves and a large market; besides the chief article of commerce, the date, which is here sold very cheaply and the excellent honey from the adjoining mountains, genuine Mecca balsam is sold here, and is found genuine nowhere else in Arabia except at Badr), al-'Alī, Djedai, Beddir (Bedr?), Medāss, Shatha (Sweyka); of Mosrūḥ: al-Khuweybey (near Mecca), Kleyā, Rābuḳ (not far from here the traveller Charles Huber was murdered by his retinue, the Ḥarb), al-Swerkiye. A portion of the Ḥarb also live in the great Wādī al-Ḥamḍ (al-Ḥamḍ near Wadi Ramma), the small harbour of Līth and the Djebel Figgera (Fikkera between Medina and Yanbu', belonging to the B. Sālem). The Ḥarb, who make the pilgrims' route between Mecca and Medina unsafe by their ambushes and are therefore held in terror by the Syrian pilgrims, came from Yemen to the Ḥidjāz (a clan of the Wādi'a of the Ḥāshid [q. v.] bears the same name) in the Muslim period. In the beginning of last century they succeeded only after hard fighting in overcoming the Wahhabis [q. v.]. During Palgrave's stay in Nedjd, in 1862, the Shammar chief Ṭalāl b. Rashīd in person led an expedition against the Ḥarb tribes and conquered a portion of them. Palgrave gives the number of the Ḥarb who were under the Shammar chiefs as 14,000; Doughty on the other hand only 2000.

In his *Djazīra* Hamdānī mentions the Ḥarb as neighbours of the Bali [q. v.] and Djuhaina [q. v.] in the country between Khaibar and Medina and near Mecca.

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i. 125, 128, 144, 235; ii. 20, 21, 24, 85, 114, 174, 308, 309, 461, 478, 511, 512-513. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤARBA, (plur. *ḥirāb*) spear. According to the Arab lexicographers, the *ḥarba* is smaller than the *rumḥ* and larger than the *ʿanaza* [q. v.]. It has the same function as the latter in Muslim ceremonial: we therefore find in some traditions that in Muḥammad's time an *ʿanaza*, in others a *ḥarba* was used as *sutra* [q. v.] (cf. the chapter *sutrat al-muṣallī* in the different collections of tradition). It has been supposed that the erection of a *sutra* at the *ṣalāt* had originally a protective object; in agreement with this is the fact that, according to some traditions, when the Prophet went out to relieve nature he had an *ʿanaza* carried behind him (Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Wuḍūʾ*, Bāb 17; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, with Nawawī's commentary, Cairo 1283, i. 337); for it was just on these occasions that one was most exposed to demoniacal influence. On the ceremonial significance of the *ḥarba*, cf. further Rhodokanakis in *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morg.*, xxv. 75 *et seq.*

On the use of the *ʿanaza* by the *khaṭīb* cf. the article ʿANAZA. A spear is also used by the *khaṭīb*, e. g. in Celebes (cf. Adriani and Kruyt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes*, i. 329 *et seq.*).

The spear is the attribute of the commander, the chief of a tribe, etc. It is related that Hāmān, the leader of Firʿawn's troops, held a *ḥarba* in his hand [Thaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ* (1290), p. 172]. Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, I, 1214, 18, 1215, 10) relates that Usaid b. Huḍair when acting as chief of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal took the *ḥarba* in his hand and that Saʿd b. Muʿādh, taking his place, took the *ḥarba* out of his hand. Lane tells us that a long spear is stuck in the ground in front of the tent of the Amīr al-Ḥadjdj [q. v.] in Cairo, perhaps also as a sign of his rank (*Manners and Customs*, London 1899, p. 443).

The story that Muḥammad received ʿanaza or *ḥarba* from Abyssinia as a present, gains in probability when one reflects that such staffs are used to this day in Abyssinian ceremonial (Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, p. 50, 54, 56).

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted in the text, cf. the bibliography to ʿANAZA [i. 346a]. (A. J. WENSINCK.)

ḤARBĀ (with *alif* or *yā*), now Djisr Ḥarba, a ruined town in the Dudjail district, ½ hour S. W. of the palmgroves of Balad, on the west bank of the ancient Tigris bed, the Shuṭaiṭ, in about Lat. 34° N.

The name and the town date from pre-Muslim times. According to Yāḳūt (i. 187), an older name was Ukhshīnāya, which sounds Babylonian. The Sāsānian authorities reckoned the northern boundary of Sūristān or Dil-i Erānshahr, the later Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ, from Ḥarbā in the *ṭassūdj* Maskin (the modern Tell Maskin) and ʿAlth (or ʿIlth, the modern ʿAlth) lying opposite it on the east in the *ṭassūdj* Buzurgshāpūr. In the north it adjoined the province of Āthūr. These frontiers were maintained in the early Muslim period down to the ʿAbbāsids, for example in ʿOmar al-Khaṭṭāb's survey (cf. Khurdādhbih, p. 14; Yaʿḳūbī, p. 104; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 38; Yāḳūt, iii. 174). Another early mention of the place is found in Ṭabarī, ii. 916, year 76, where the Khāridjī leader Shabīb on his march against al-Ḥadjdjādj crosses the Tigris at Ḥarbā (an anecdote with pun on *Ḥarbā* and *ḥarb*). In Ḥarbā there were flourishing manufactures of heavy cotton goods, which were exported everywhere (Yāḳūt, ii. 235 and *Marāṣid*, p. 295). That pottery was also a highly developed manufacture is clear from the quantity of shards strewn among the ruins; it is usually a ware, identical with the so-called Raḳḳa-ware and belonging to the xiith—xiiith centuries.

When the great change in the course of the Tigris began in the beginning of the reign of al-Mustanṣir billāh and the river left its ancient bed just above Ḥarbā and forced a way into the bed of the canal Ḳāṭūl Abu 'l-Djund, its modern course, the Caliph began to build great irrigation-works to irrigate the land rendered waterless. Apart from the fact that at least the whole of the present Dudjail canal is a relic of his scheme, the ruins of the Mustanṣir canal above Ḥarbā and the great bridge at Ḥarbā, after which the place is now called Djisr Ḥarbā are further witnesses of his enterprise. The bridge has already been examined by J. F. Jones and described in the *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, xliii. (1857), but I have studied it in greater detail. It is solidly built of baked bricks and spans the ancient canal on four arches, 180 feet long and about 40 broad. An inscription about 300 feet long on both sides gives the date of its erection as 629 A. H. and is of particular interest on account of its detail and the unusual, from the orthodox point of view almost blasphemous eulogies. The ruins are rendered conspicuous by the cupola of the tomb of a Shaikh or Saiyid Saʿd, visible afar off. (E. HERZFELD.)

ḤARF, the side or edge of a thing. Hence 1. a letter of the alphabet (being the edge of the syllable or word), e. g. *ḥurūf al-madd* = *alif*, *wāw*, *yā*, and so on; 2. as a grammatical term, one of the three parts of speech, whatever is neither a noun nor a verb (*ism* or *fiʿl*), whether consisting of one letter or more, as *bi*, *ḥattā*, etc.; 3. in prosody, the letters *alif*, *wāw*, *yā* when they may not be employed as *rawī* are called *ḥurūf al-iṭlāḳ*; 4. a dialect of the Arabs in the ḥadīth "The Ḳurʾān was revealed in seven dialects (*aḥruf*)"; or this may mean according to seven readings (*ḳirāʾāt*); cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i. 48 *et seq.*; 5. as a Ṣūfī term *ḥarf* is defined to be the language or the medium through which the Truth speaks to man; and the *ḥurūf al-ʿāliyāt* potential realities such as that of the palm tree in the date stone; 6. in the cabalistic sense ʿ*ilm al-ḥarf* (*ḥurūf*) means disposing the letters in magic squares, etc.

Bibliography: Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal* by index; Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, etc., ed. Flügel, p. 90, 293; Freytag, *Darstellung der arab. Verskunst*, p. 310; Lees' *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, Pt. I, p. 318 *et seq.* (T. H. WEIR.)

ḤARFŪSH, a family of Emīrs in Baalbek, which professed the doctrines of the Matāwila [q. v.] and during the Ottoman period held the power in their hands there till the Turkish system of administration was reorganised in the middle of last century. How and when the Ḥarfūsh attained their influential position has not been made clear; we only possess detailed information for the Emīrs Mūsā b. ʿAlī and Yūnus, who lived in Baalbek in the time of Fakhr al-Dīn. Cf. al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, iv. 432; Wüstenfeld,

Fakhr al-Dîn der Drusenfürst und seine Zeitgenossen, p. 79 *et seq.*; Tannûs b. Yûsuf, *Akhbâr al-A'yân fî Djabal Lubnân*, p. 253 *et seq.*; Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, i. 36. Cf. also the bibliography to the article BAALBEK.

ḤARÎB, a district in South Arabia, about two days' journey east of Ma'rib [q. v.] probably identical with the Caripeta of Pliny, the place from which the Roman general Aelius Gallus on his expedition to Arabia Felix began his retreat to the coast. Ḥarîb, a centre of ancient Arab civilisation, is traversed by a large wâdî, the Wâdî 'Ain, which receives on its left bank two small wâdîs, the Wâdî Mukbal and Wâdî Ablaḥ. Two hours' journey before reaching Wâdî 'Ain rises Mount Mablaka, to which a series of steps four yards long and fifteen yards broad, hewn out of the rock (by a certain Barghâl, according to tradition) leads, at the end of which is a large South Arabian inscription. At the junction of the Wâdî 'Ain and the Wâdî Ablaḥ lies the isolated hill Ḳarn (about 1200 feet high), on which the Banû 'Abd, who are mentioned as early as the South Arabian inscriptions, dwell. On this hill is the tomb of the saint Uwais al-Murâdî al-Ḳaranî, a contemporary of the Prophet, to which pilgrimages are made from distant districts. From the Wâdî Ablaḥ, Timna', the ancient capital of the Ḳatabâns, the Thamna or Thumna of Pliny, חמנע of the South Arabian inscriptions, is reached in a wide plain; a portion of the plain, called al-Djufra, which belongs to the tribes al-Kabasa and al-Ṣibr, is full of imposing ruins, which bear the name al-Muṣaina'a; in their midst rises a large building whose walls still stand with many inscriptions.

The capital of Ḥarîb is Darb Âl 'Alî situated between the Wâdî 'Ain and the Wâdî Mukbal. It is mainly inhabited by Ashrâf (notables), about 750 in number (apart from their wives and slaves), who are divided into four families of whom the most important is the Âl 'Alî b. Ṭâlib, from whom the Emîr of Ḥarîb, is always chosen; his residence is in Darb and he is held in great honour by all the people of the land. Besides the Ashrâf there are a few merchants, labourers and artisans (called *ḥirwân*, plur. of *ḥarawî*) in Darb. Half an hour's journey from Darb Âl 'Alî lies the little town of Darb Bâ Ṭuhêf (Ṭuhaif), belonging to the independent tribes (*ḳabâ'il*) Âl 'Alî Ṭuhêf, who claim descent from the Hilâl [q. v.]. An hour's journey from here is a field covered with ancient ruins, called Hadjar Ḥarîb. Of places on the Wâdî 'Ain (right side) there may be further mentioned: Darb Âl 'Amr, inhabited by the Âl 'Amr and Âl Mas'ûd, clans of the Banû 'Abd (on the Djebel Ḳarn) and their *ra'îya*, with the ancient Ḥiṣn Ḥabbâ and the Ḥiṣn Hidjrân (the latter belonging to the Emîr of Ḥarîb, who incarcerates in it those who refuse to pay their tithes), and the village of al-Sâḥa, inhabited by the Âl Ghuthaim, who enjoy a great reputation throughout South Arabia for a kind of padlock (*ḳufl ghuthaimî*), made by them which is sold everywhere.

We may also mention the ruined town of Hadjar Hinû at the foot of the hill Ḳarn 'Ubaid above the Wâdî 'Ain from the centre of which rises a large building the forecourt of which still stands, and which bears long inscriptions. The ruins are also called Hinû al-Zarîr (Zarîr) after a certain al-Zarîr b. Sa'ab, who according to tradition was once king here. Possibly it is connected with the fortified town (citadel) הגרן of the South Arabian inscriptions. According to a legend this town was once inhabited by smiths (*ḥaddâd*), *ra'îya* of the Sabaeo-Himyars.

Ḥarîb is mentioned by Hamdânî in his *Djazîra*. He mentions the Djebel Ḳarn of which he says that it is described as belonging to Ma'rib [q. v.], Ḥarîb, Baiḥân [q. v.] and also to the Radmân. As inhabitants he gives the tribes of Murâd, Rabî', Khalaf and 'Udhr, who speak good Arabic. Of these tribes the Murâd still live on the borders of Ḥarîb, the Rabî' in Ḥarîb and Baiḥân al-Kaṣâb; traces are left of the Khalaf in the district of Ṭîn al-Khalîf, where there is also an isolated hill called Haid al-Khalîf.

Besides these, Hamdânî also mentions a Ḥarîb of Nihm of the Hamdân, which probably corresponds to the Ḥarîb of the Radmân, and one of the 'Ans. There is a Wâdî Ḥarîb al Ṣirwâḥ between Ma'rib and Ṣan'â. In the inscriptions the subject of this article is called Ḥarîb Ḥaḍramût.

Bibliography: Hamdânî, *Djazîra* (ed. Müller), p. 80, 11, 81, 9, 95, 6, 103, 6, 109, 4, 110, 7, 134, 20; E. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Ma'rib* (*Mittheil. der Vorderas. Ges.*), Berlin 1897, p. 32, 44, 54, 58; do., *Die Abessinier* (München 1895), p. 112, 113, 115; Comte de Landberg, *Arabica*, V (Leiden 1898), p. 81—119). (J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-**ḤARÎḲ** (AL-HARYK), a province in Nedjd in the South of Yamâma lying on the edge of the great desert (Dahnâ). The mountain range of this very warm district is said by Palgrave to be about 60—70 miles long. Ḥûta is the most important place in the country. During the Wahhâbî wars after the conquest of Dar'îya [q. v.] Ḥarîḳ was subdued by Ibrâhîm Pasha. After the Wahhâbîs had regained Nedjd and the Ḥidjâz, a rebellion broke out against the chief 'Abd Allâh b. Sa'ûd in Ḥarîḳ as in the adjoining Yamâma. 'Abd Allâh advanced against Ḥarîḳ with an army, put down the rebellion with great cruelty and laid the whole country waste with fire and sword; the town of Ḥûta was practically burned to the ground, and the women and children massacred; only 130 are said to have survived of the male population, which previously numbered 10,000. Palgrave gives from the official records in Riyâḍ [q. v.] the war contingent from Ḥarîḳ as 3000 men for the year 1863; he estimates the population of the sixteen townships of this province at 45,000; but this figure appears to be too high, for F. Mengin, relying on the accounts of Muhammad 'Alî's military expedition of 1823, gives only 3000 warriors and 9000 others (women, children and old men), while W. Schimper estimates the population at 15,000, on the authority of a Wahhâbî in 1836.

Bibliography: K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii. 311, 522, 523; W. Palgrave, *Journey in Arabia*, 1865, ii. 46, 128. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤÂRIM, a fortress in northern Syria often mentioned in the Crusading period (Castrum Harenc or Harench), 22 miles east of Anṭâkiya, now the capital of a ḳaḍâ' with 1636 inhabitants (Cuinet). The Crusaders took it during the siege of Anṭâkiya in 491 (1098) and rebuilt the castle. In 559 (1163) in its neighbourhood Nûr al-Dîn won a great victory over the Christians, as a result of which Ḥârim again became Muslim. The

Christians more than once attempted to regain it but it remained permanently in the hands of the Muslims. In 630 (1232) the Aiyūbid al-ʿAzīz built a strong castle on an artificial mound there, the ruins of which still exist.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 184; ʿAlī Djawād, *Mamālik ʿothmān. taʾrīkh ve djoghrāfiya etc.*, p. 317; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 1643 *et seq.*; v. Kremer, *Beiträge zur Geogr. des nördl. Syr.*, p. 35; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 211; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, p. 449.

ḤARĪM (A.), forbidden, particularly the womens' apartments and their occupants (harem). — Certain pieces of ground, which are withdrawn from cultivation or building without the owner's consent, are likewise called *ḥarīm*, such as the *Ḥarīm Dār al-Khilāfa* and the *Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī* in Baghdād, which included whole stretches of the town.

ḤARĪRĪ (born 446, died 6 Redjab 516), ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤARĪRĪ, grammarian and elegant writer, was born and brought up at Mashān near Baṣra; he also studied at Baṣra, though the name of his teacher seems wrongly given by the authorities as al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣbānī, since this personage died 444. At Baṣra he held the office of *ṣāḥib al-khabar*, i. e. head of the intelligence department (cf. Ṭabarī iii. 1260, 13) to the court; and this office remained with his descendants till the time of ʿImād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, who visited Baṣra in 556. Ḥarīrī's house was in the quarter of the Banū Ḥarām, but his office at Mashān. He repeatedly visited Baghdād (e. g. in the year 504), and is likely to have performed the pilgrimage; other travels of his do not appear to be recorded. His office brought him into connexion with many of the notables of the metropolis.

His most famous work is the *Maḳāmāt*, a collection of fifty pieces modelled on those of Badīʿ al-Zamān Hamadhānī, wherein the adventures of one Abū Zaid of Sarūdj are narrated by al-Ḥārith b. Hammām. The historian Ibn al-Dubaithī asserted that this Abū Zaid was a real personage named al-Muṭahhar b. Sallām to whom Ḥarīrī addressed verses, but this is doubtless a fiction similar to those which are found in connexion with other celebrities of romance. According to one of Ḥarīrī's friends and correspondents, Hibat Allāh b. Ṣāʿid b. al-Tilmīdh, the *Maḳāmāt* were commenced in 495 and finished by 504; the first date seems correct since they mention the taking of Sarūdj by the Franks in 490; but the last seems too early if Ibn al-Athīr be right in stating that the Asadī Dubais was a youth in 503; since this personage is mentioned in the work as a well-known man. Different theories were held concerning the person at whose request the tales were composed; the viziers of Mustarshid Abū ʿAlī b. Ṣadaḳa (512) and Anūsharwān b. Khālid (cf. I. 357) are both named in this connexion.

The *Maḳāmāt* became classical in the author's lifetime, and he claims to have himself "licensed" 700 copies; in spite of detractors (such as Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and the author of the Fakhrī) they maintained their popularity; and an early commentator, Shuraishī (died 601), told Yāḳūt that he had been created in order to demonstrate the surpassing excellence of Ḥarīrī; for he had found himself unable to rival the *Maḳāmāt*, after outdoing all other monuments of Arabic literature. They fall far short of Hamadhānī's in originality, but excel them in facility, command of the Arabic language and poetical ability. Their popularity spread beyond the Muslim community to Jews and Christians who translated or imitated them in Hebrew and Syriac. Some specimens were rendered into Latin in the eighteenth century by Schultens and Reiske, and a monumental edition of them was produced by de Sacy in 1822; this was followed by numerous editions both Oriental and European, and translations have been published in several modern European languages, e. g. by Rückert in German (*Die Verwandlungen des Abu Seid von Serug*, 1826, etc.) and by Chenery and Steingass in English (London, 1898).

Of Ḥarīrī's *correspondence* a selection was made by ʿImād al-Dīn, which is embodied in his *Kharīda*; another selection is reproduced by Yāḳūt in his life of the author (*Muʿdjam al-Udabāʾ*, vi.). Two of the epistles, called *Shīnīya* and *Sīnīya*, because in one every word contains the first of these letters and in the other the second, are also printed in Arnold's Chrestomathy. Some of the correspondence preserved by Yāḳūt deals with the grammatical poem *Mulḥat al-Iʿrāb*, composed at the request of the above-mentioned Ibn al-Tilmīdh.

His remaining treatise, *Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ*, is a collection of strictures on the erroneous use of various expressions; an extract of this treatise was published by de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, and the whole has since been printed; to the Constantinople edition of 1299 there is attached the commentary of Shihāb al-Dīn Khafādjī, who disputes many of the author's assertions.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Udabāʾ* vi. 170—184; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iii. 490—494. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.)

ḤARĪRĪYA, a sect of the Rifāʿīya in the district of Damascus founded by ʿAlī b. Abī ʾl-Ḥasan al-Ḥarīrī al-Marwazī who died in 645 (1247) at Bosra in Ḥawrān. His extreme pantheism, as it finds expression in his poet Nadjm al-Dīn b. Isrāʾīl, was banned by Ibn Taimīya in a very important fatwā (vol. xxvii. nº. 2 of the collection *Tafsīr al-Kawākib al-Darārī*, formed by Ibn ʿUrwa, manuscript in Damascus, Tafsīr, nº. 151). Cf. also al-Fārūthī (died 694 = 1294) in Abu ʾl-Hudā, *Ḳilādat al-Djawāhir*, Stambul 1302, p. 326.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON.)

AL-ḤĀRITH, DJEBEL. [See ARARAT.]

ḤĀRITH B. KAʿB, usually called Balḥārith, an Arab tribe belonging to the Yemenī group. Their genealogy is: al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. ʿUla b. Djald b. Madhhidj (Mālik).

They lived in the district of Nadjrān [q. v.] and were neighbours of the Hamdān. The following places amongst others belonged to them: al-ʿArsh, al-ʿAdh, Baṭn al-Dhahab, Dhu ʾl-Marrūt, al-Furuʿ [pl. Afrāʿ, between Nadjrān and the Djawf), Hadūra (Khadūra), ʿIyāna, al-Khuṣūṣ (between Ḥidjāz and Tihāma), Ḳurrā, Saḥbal, Ṣamʿar, Saḥān or Sanḥān, Maʾān or Maʾmān, Shaʿb Ziyād (belonging to the clan Ziyād); wādīs: al-ʿAwbal al-aʿlā and al-ʿAwbal al-asfal, al-Nudhrat, Thadjr; waters: Ainā, al-Baḥra, Dhiʾb, al-Djafr, al-Ḥazīr, Ḥimā, Yadūmā, al-Ḳawāḳib, Khaṭma (Khuṭma, a well in the sand), Khulaiṣ, al-Maḥḍa, Māwa, Shuʿā, al-Shalīla (belonging to the clan Dāʿir); mountains: Takhīma

Sections of the Balḥārith lived also in Ḳaldat al-Ṣal'ar in Ḥaḍramūt, in the town of Radā' (inhabited by the 'Ans and Khawlān), in the villages of al-Ṣamā' and Hadaḳān, which belonged to the Bakīl, and in al-Faladja near Damascus.

In the Djāhiliya a section of the Balḥārith worshipped the idol Yaghūth. Another section professed Christianity. The 'Abd al-Madān b. al-Daiyān, a prominent family of the Balḥārith, built a large church, Dair Nadjrān, also called the Ka'ba of Nadjrān (according to many authorities, a tent composed of 300 pieces of hide).

Historical. The idol Yaghūth was the cause of a battle between the Balḥārith and the Murād, who claimed Yaghūth for themselves, at al-Ruzm (in the south of Nadjrān, in the land of the Murād) on the same day as the battle of Badr (17th or 19th Ramaḍān of the year 2). The Balḥārith, allied with the Hamdān, inflicted a severe defeat on the Murād and Yaghūth remained in their possession. On the "second day of Kulāb" (in the Dahnā') the Balḥārith (under Nu'mān b. Djassās) fought against the Tamīm tribes Ribāb and Sa'd b. Zaid-Manāt (under Ḳais b. 'Āṣim). On the side of the Balḥārith were Hamdān, Kinda, Ḳuḍā'a and other tribes, in all about 8000 strong, divided into four divisions, with four leaders, who all bore the name Yazīd and were under the supreme command of 'Abd Yaghūth b. Ṣalāt. In this battle the Balḥārith were defeated. The chiefs of the allied armies fell and 'Abd Yaghūth was wounded. Of other battles of the Balḥārith we may mention that of Ḥidjra (in Tihāma) against the Daws, in which the Balḥārith were again defeated, and that of Baṭn al-Dhahāb.

We find the Balḥārith already in possession of Nadjrān when the 'Azd, with whom they had many a feud, left the Yemen under 'Amr b. 'Āmir Muzaiḳiyā' after the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib. When Muḥammad's call had gone out through all Arabia, the Christians among the Balḥārith (about the year 8 = 630) sent a deputation to the Prophet in Medina, which consisted mainly of ecclesiastics, including a bishop, Abu 'l-Ḥāritha. They arranged an interview with the Prophet at a place near Medina, where they were to undergo a trial by the ordeal called *mubāhala* or *li'ān* (ceremony of objurgation). But when they were convinced of Muḥammad's mission and feared a defeat, they begged the Prophet to cancel the arrangement. The Prophet agreed on condition that they paid a larger tribute. In Rabī' I of the year 10 (630) Muḥammad sent Khālid b. Walīd with 480 men to the Balḥārith to demand that they should adopt Islām. Those who were heathen and a number of the Christians also submitted and Khālid remained among them to instruct them in the Ḳor'ān and the institutions of Islām. After some time Khālid returned with a deputation of the Balḥārith (among them two members of the Christian family of 'Abd al-Madān) to the Prophet. Muḥammad gave each member 10 ounces (400 dirhams) and appointed one of them, Ḳais b. al-Ḥuṣain, emir of the Balḥārith. When in 11 = 633 the false prophet Aihala b. Ka'b, usually called al-Aswad al-'Ansī, appeared, the Balḥārith influenced by his emissaries, followed him. They drove out the governor of Nadjrān ('Amr b. Ḥazm), and al-Aswad entered the town in triumph. The Muslims remained faithful to Islām under Abū Bakr, and the Christians renewed the treaty.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt; *Mu'djam*, Index; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 53, 8—10; 67, 14—15; 82, 1—2; 83, 3—10; 85, 25; 91, 24; 93, 5—8, 19—22; 97, 1—4; 102, 13—22; 109, 22—23; 116, 19—117, 2; 125, 9; 130, 7—8; 136, 3; 169, 7—8; 189, 2—7; 201, 15; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 1724—1727 and Index s. v.; *Aghānī*, x. 82; xiv. 26; xv. 73 and Index s. v.; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 958—960; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 68; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, Sect., i. Table 8, 26; do., *Register*, p. 210; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, i. 123—124, 159, 202, 209; ii. 582—591; iii. 275—277, 312, 346, 391; W. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, i. 227, 228; ix. 224—225; O. Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert* in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, xxiii, p. 562. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤĀRITHA b. BADR, of the Tamīm family of the Banū Ghudāna, a general and friend of Ziyād b. Abīhi. He must have been born about the time of the Hidjra. He is said in his early days to have been a follower of the prophetess Sadjāḥ [q. v.]. At the battle of the Camel he was on the side of 'Alī's opponents but afterwards entered the latter's service. He early became attached to Ziyād, afterwards viceroy of the 'Irāḳ. He was an orator and poet, particularly learned in the ancient history of the Arabs, and was of tried valour. He distinguished himself in society by his lovable nature no less than by his intellectual gifts. The combination of so many rare qualities in him won him the name Dāhiya (a term applied to a distinguished man). The only thing with which he is reproached is the vice of drinking. He owed it to his friendship with Ziyād that, although a Tamīmī, he was entered in the tribal lists of the Ḳuraish, a distinction which carried with it a considerable increase in his emoluments. 'Ubaid Allāh, son and successor of Ziyād, did not show himself so ardent a friend of Ḥāritha. In the political turmoils which followed the death of Yazīd I, Ḥāritha fought with varying success against the Khāridjīs; his failures were usually caused by the lack of discipline among the Baṣra troops. In the course of one of these campaigns he fell ill in 66. It is not correct, as one source states, that he lived into the reign of Walīd I.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 160; *Aghānī*, vi. 4—5; viii. 166, and particularly xxi. 20—44; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 322; ii. 25, 78, 449, 580—582, 585; H. Lammens, *Ziād ibn Abīhi*, p. 120—121, in the *Rivista degli Studi orientali*, iv., where further references are given. (H. LAMMENS.)

HARKARN, a Persian stylist, son of Mathurādās Kanbū of Multān; was for many years *munshī* (secretary) to Nawwāb I'tibār-Khān, a eunuch in the service of the Moghul emperor Djahāngīr and was then appointed *ṣūbadār* (governor of Akbarābād (Agra) (1031 = 1622). He is the author of a collection of letters (*inshā'*), divided into seven sections, which bears his name and contains model letters as well as official documents (ed. with English transl. by Francis Balfour, Calcutta 1781, [2]1804, reprinted 1831; lith. Lahore 1869). The work was used by the English authorities as a model for official correspondence conducted in the Persian language with the Indian

sovereign. The Paris manuscript is dated 1062 A. H. and is entitled *Irshād al-Ṭālibīn*.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catal. of Pers. Mss.*, ii. 530; Preface to the *Forms of Harkarn*, p. 3; E. Blochet, *Catal. des Mss. persans*, ii. 277. (CL. HUART.)

ḤARRA, a basalt desert, "a district covered with black broken stones, which looks as if it had been burned by fire". Such ḥarras, which owe their origin to subterranean volcanoes which have repeatedly covered the undulating desert with a bed of lava, are found particularly in the east of Ḥawrān and stretch from there to Medīna. Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-Wafā' bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. Mecca, 1316, p. 38 gives a detailed description of a great earthquake at Medina which began on the 1st Djumādā II 654 (26th June 1256) and lasted several days. Cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte von Medyna*. There is perhaps, as Wetzstein has suggested, an allusion to these fearful stony wastes in Jeremiah xvii. 6 (חררים). Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 247 *et seq.*, details no less than 29 of these ḥarras with their names (cf. *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxii. 365 *et seq.*), among which the Ḥarra Wāḳim at Medina has obtained a place in history on account of the bloody victory won by the Umaiyads there over the Medinese in 63 (683). An accurate map with an index of names to the whole territory, in which ḥarras are found is published in the *Zeitschr. des Deutsch. Palästinavereins*, vol. xii., in the narrative of A. Stübel's journey to Diret it-Tulūl and Ḥawrān (1882). The same author has also discussed the supposed origin of such deserts of stones in *Die Vulkanberge von Ecuador* after v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, i. 90, note 5; so has v. Oppenheim himself in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1896 (*Aus Routenkarte meiner Reise von Damaskus nach Baghdād in den Jahre 1893*). Cf. also the literature quoted in the first named work of v. Oppenheim, i. 89 *et seq.*

ḤARRĀN, a very old town situated in the Djazīra province of Mesopotamia, near the sources of the Balīkh river, between Edessa and Ra's 'Ain. It is familiar as the home of Abraham and Laban, but is especially famous as the chief seat of the Ṣābians and of their religion. To the Greeks it was known as Κάῤῥαι, to the Romans as Carrhae, to some Church Fathers as Hellenopolis ('heathen city'), to the Muhammadans as Ḥarrān or Arrān. In its long history Chwolsohn distinguishes five periods, the Biblical, the Greek, the Roman, the Christian and the Muhammadan. The form of the name found on the cuneiform inscriptions, Ḥarrānu, that is 'route', points to the importance of the place as a trading emporium; but it is chiefly famous all down its history as the seat of the worship of the moon-god Sin, whose temple was adorned by more than one of the Assyrian kings. The overthrow of the Chaldaean supremacy and the rise of Persia wrought no change in the circumstances of the City, but from the time of Alexander a large Macedonian population settled in northern Mesopotamia, which became known as Mygdonia, and the deities worshipped in Ḥarrān received Greek names. Rome, on the other hand, left little trace of her sway in Asia: it was the Eastern civilization which influenced the western conquerors. About the beginning of the Christian era the indigenous Syrian population of northern Mesopotamia, was largely mixed with Macedonians and Greeks, as well as Armenians and Arabs. As a frontier town Ḥarrān was treated with indulgence by the earlier Emperors, and it was not until Christianity became the religion of the state, that efforts were made to suppress the cult of which Ḥarrān was the chief seat. These attempts were not carried to extremes, no doubt owing to the fact that in Ḥarrān, as in other places, the people depended for their livelihood upon the temple. Hence the Church-fathers speak of Ḥarrān as a heathen city, and, although bishops of Ḥarrān were appointed, the place continued a seat of idolatry, even after the country had become a province of the Caliphate. The same commercial necessity may account for the existence here from the beginning of the sixth century of a Monophysite community with a bishop at their head. The majority of the people, however continued heathen.

Ḥarrān capitulated to 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm in the year 639 A. D., at which time it was the chief town of Diyār Muḍar. It was the favourite residence of Marwān, the last Umaiyad Caliph (744—750), and here Ibrāhīm the 'Abbāsid was imprisoned and put to death. The people, however, appear to have been allowed to continue the practice of their religion, but under Rashīd a violent persecution arose, from which the Ḥarrānians sought to free themselves by means of bribes. It was in 830 A. D. that Ma'mūn offered the Ḥarrānians the choice between Islām, the adoption of one of the tolerated religions, and extermination. They claimed that they were Ṣābians; and by this device they saved themselves from extinction [see ṢĀBIANS]. Towards the end of the 10th century Muḳaddasī describes Ḥarrān as a pleasant town, defended by a fort built of finely cut stone. When Ibn Djubair visited it in 1184 it acknowledged the sovereignty of Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), and its people were noted for their hospitality towards strangers. By Abu 'l-Fidā's time (d. 1332), however, it had fallen into decay. At the present day the site is marked by a village of sugar-loaf cottages and ruins of ancient buildings of basalt.

In addition to the worship carried on there, Ḥarrān was noted for its honey and for the preserve called Ḳubbait, as well as for the purity of the Syriac spoken there. Chesney states that splendid crops of maize, tobacco and cotton are raised on the plain; but its fame will always rest on the long line of philosophers and men of science who flourished there, of whom Thābit b. Ḳurra, and his sons and grandsons, and al-Battānī are the best known.

Bibliography: Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* I, cap. x.; Ibn Djubair (ed. de Goeje), p. 244 *et seq.*; Chesney, *Expedition to Euphrates and Tigris*, Vol. I, p. 112 *et seq.*; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 217 *et seq.* (T. H. WEIR.)

HARRAR. [See HARAR.]

HARŪD, A river in Afghānistān which rises in the Siyāh Kōh and flows southwards past Sabzawār and Zakīn, discharging itself into the Hāmūn or Lake of Sīstān. It has been identified by Tomaschek with the Pharnakotis of Pliny and the Hvarenahaiti of the Avesta.

Bibliography: Holdich, *The Gates of India* (London 1910); Tomaschek, *Sitz.-Ber. der Wien. Akad.*, 1883; A. Stein, *Ind. Antiquary*, 1886, p. 22; Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys* (London 1857). (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

HĀRŪN b. ʿImrān, the Aaron of the Bible, born 3 years before Mūsā, when Firʿawn's command to slay the male children was given (Thaʿlabī, p. 100; Ṭabarī, i. 448). When Mūsā received the command of God to effect the deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt from Firʿawn, he asked for a companion of his own kin (Sūra, xx. 30—40). Hārūn, who sat on Firʿawn's council (al-Kisāʾī, p. 211, and *Tanchuma Exodus*) was entrusted with this position. He served Mūsā as spokesman as he had an eloquent tongue (Sūra xxviii. 34—35). He took the greatest share in the erection of the golden calf (Sūra, vii. 134—136: xx. 90—95 and *Exodus*, xxxiii. 1—7). According to the Talmud (*Sanh.* 77) he had been forced to do this by fear of the Israelites who would have slain him. But other legends show that the Israelites were particularly attached to Hārūn. For example al-Kisāʾī, p. 238, Thaʿlabī, p. 146 and Ṭabarī, i. 502 give the following story in almost identical words: Mūsā and Hārūn once noticed a cave from which light streamed. They went in and found there a golden throne with the inscription "destined for him whom it fits". As Mūsā proved too small, Hārūn sat upon it. The angel of death at once appeared and received his soul; he was 127 years old. When Mūsā had returned to the Israelites, they asked where Hārūn was. "He is dead", said Mūsā. "Thou hast slain him", they answered. Angels then at once appeared with Hārūn's bier and cried: "Do not suspect Mūsā of such a crime". According to another tradition (Thaʿlabī, *ibid.*, Ṭabarī, i. 503), Mūsā led the Israelites to Hārūn's tomb, where he called him back to life, and Hārūn confirmed the story of his death. Midrasch, *Jelamdenu*, *Yalkut*, 764, *Aboth d' R. Nathan*, 32, *Pirke d' R. El.*, 12, also give this Arabic legend.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 448, 471—473, 502; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1312, p. 100, 123—125, 146; al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, p. 222 *et seq.* and 238; Eisenberg, *Moses in der arabischen Legende* (1910), p. 48.

(J. Eisenberg.)

HĀRŪN al-Rashīd, the most celebrated of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, born in al-Raiy in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 145 = March 763 or, according to another, in itself more probable authority, in Muḥarram 149 = February 766. His father was the Caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdī, his mother a slave named Khaizurān, whom Mahdī set free and married in 159 = 775-776. After Hārūn ascended the throne in Rabīʿ I 170 = Sept. 786, he appointed the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid as vizier with unlimited power, and during the following seventeen years the latter is said with his two sons al-Faḍl and Djaʿfar to have been the real ruler of the great empire; the catastrophe of Muḥarram 187 = January 803 [cf. barmakids and djaʿfar b. yaḥyā] was thus all the more unexpected. In 176 = 792-793, an ʿAlid, named Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh, raised the standard of revolt in al-Dailam and won numerous followers, so that the Caliph had to send a great army against him under al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā. The latter entered into negotiations and, when he gave Yaḥyā rich presents and Hārūn promised to pardon him, Yaḥyā surrendered. But when he arrived in Baghdād, Hārūn in spite of his promise had him thrown into prison. About the same time a bitter feud between the North Arabians and the Yamanīs in Syria blazed up into open war and it was not till 180 = 796-797 that Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā was able to restore peace. In 178 = 794-795 the Egyptians rebelled against the governor Isḥāḳ b. Sulaimān; but when Hārūn sent his able general Harthama b. Aʿyan against the rebels, they were soon routed. Unrest broke out in Kairawān also, but this was quieted by Harthama, for a time at least, but after his return in 181 = 797-798 the unruly populace rebelled again. Order was restored by the governor Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, who however soon made himself independent, and in 184 = 800 Hārūn had to grant him the country as an hereditary fief on payment of annual tribute. Like so many of his predecessors, Hārūn had also much hard fighting with the Byzantines. At the very beginning of his reign he had the frontier towns fortified and almost every year his governors made raids into hostile territory without however winning any permanent advantages. In 181 = 797-798 the Caliph himself took the field, but soon returned. As usual war again broke out the next year; the Empress Irene, however, on account of internal disturbances in Constantinople had to make peace and pay tribute. Peace only lasted till the accession of the emperor Nicephorus in 186 = 802, who sent the Caliph a scornful letter and demanded the return of the tribute that had been paid. Hārūn at once took the field and forced the emperor to pay a new tribute. The latter, however, paid no attention to the agreement and the war was continued. In 190 = 806 Hārūn took Heraclea and forced the emperor to pay not only a new tribute but also a kind of poll-tax for himself and his family; in the following year however Yazīd b. Makhlad was defeated by the Byzantines and the efforts of his successor Harthama proved equally unavailing. The years of warfare therefore left the state of the parties in the end practically unchanged. According to western historians, Hārūn was on the other hand on terms of friendly intercourse with Charlemagne and mention is often made of embassies from one to the other. There is however no mention of this in Arab sources and the truth of these statements has even been seriously doubted [on this point cf. Schmidt, *Karl der Grosse und Harun al-Raschid* in *Der Islam*, iii. 409—411, Barthold, *ibid.*, iv. 335 *et seq.* and the literature there quoted]. The governor ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā had made himself generally hated by his extortions in Khorāsān. When the people complained, the Caliph went in person to al-Raiy in 189 = 805, but allowed himself to be fooled by ʿAlī and confirmed him in his office again. About the same time Rāfiʿ b. Laith rebelled in Samarḳand. He was defeated by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā; the complaints of the people of Khorāsān about the latter's boundless greed became louder and louder and Hārūn had finally to transfer the governorship of Khorāsān to Harthama. By this time Rāfiʿ was lord of all Transoxania and as the situation was rapidly becoming more serious, the Caliph resolved to take the field himself and sent his son al-Maʾmūn in advance to Merw. On reaching Ṭūs, Hārūn fell ill and died, according to the usual account, on the 3rd Djumādā ii. 193 = 24th March 809. He had a long time previously made arrangements to secure the succession for his son al-Amīn, but these in the result proved most unfortunate [cf. the article al-amīn, i. 327b *et seq.*].

Hārūn took a great interest in art and science

and his brilliant court was a centre for all branches of scholarship. In spite of occasional outbursts of Oriental despotism he was undoubtedly one of the best of the Abbāsids; nevertheless it is from his reign that the beginning of the decline of the dynasty dates. In legend and tradition however he has always been looked upon as the personification of oriental power and splendour and his fame has been spread throughout East and West by the "Arabian Nights".

Bibliography: Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), iii. passim; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), cf. Index; Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 491—524; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reiske), ii. 44 *et seq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, iii. 217 *et seq.*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 120—172; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 478 *et seq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, 3rd ed., p. 477—488; Palmer, *Harun Alraschid of Bagdad*; Lindberg, *Hârûn Arraschîd och hans närmaste Samtida*; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, passim; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 292—298; Bouvat, *Les Barmécides d'après les Historiens arabes et persans*.

(K. V. Zetterstéen.)

al-HĀRŪNĪYA 1. a village in al-'Irāḳ near Djalūlā. Yāḳūt says that an ancient Persian bridge built of stone with leaden joints stood here.

2. One of the chain of frontier fortresses (*thughūr*) between Asia Minor and Syria. The exact position is not known, but it stood one day's march to the west of Mar'ash in the hill country between it and 'Ain Zarba. It was founded by the Caliph after whom it was named in the year 183 (799). The fort was ruined by the Byzantines in 348 (959-960), when 1500 Muslims were captured (Yāḳūt, s. v.). In spite of this it was a flourishing town a few years later when Ibn Ḥawḳal apparently visited it. The town was rebuilt by Saif al-Dawla the Ḥamdānid of Aleppo (d. 356 = 967). Thereafter it was retaken by the Christians and included in the kingdom of Little Armenia.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 62, 128 *et seq.*

(T. H. Weir.)

ḤARŪRĀ', Ḥarawrā, the meeting place of the first Khāridjīs, not far from Kūfa, when they publicly disclaimed allegiance to 'Alī and were soon afterwards almost exterminated in the bloody battle of Nahrawān. From it comes the name Ḥarūriya for the early Khāridjīs [q. v.].

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 246; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 3348 *et seq.* and the other Arab chronicles in the passages quoted in Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, p. 16 *et seq.*, and Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, p. 4 *et seq.*; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 86 *et seq.* etc.

HĀRŪT and **MĀRŪT**, two angels who are mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (Sūra 2, 96) in the words "and it was not Sulaimān that was an unbeliever but the devils, who taught men sorcery and that which had been revealed to the two angels in Bābil, Hārūt and Mārūt; but they taught no one without saying "we are but a temptation, therefore be not unbelieving". People learn from them means by which they may separate man and wife" etc. A number of stories are attached to this passage, the main outlines being as follows. When the angels in heaven saw the sinful children of men, they spoke contemptuously of them before Allāh. But He said: "If you had been in the same position you would not have done any better". They did not agree to this and received permission to send two of their number to earth as an experiment. The two chosen were Hārūt and Mārūt, who were ordered to abstain from grievous sins such as idolatry, whoredom, murder and the drinking of wine. But when they saw a wonderfully beautiful woman they were soon led astray and, when they were discovered, they slew the man who had discovered them. Then Allāh asked the angels to look down at their brethren on the earth; then they said: "In truth, Thou wast right." The pair were given the choice between punishment in this world or the next. They chose the former and were incarcerated in Bābil, where they have since suffered grievous torments.

A. Geiger has already noted that these elements are in the main also found in a Jewish midrash; and it can now be added that many are found as early as the New Testament (*2 Petr.*, ii. 4; *Jude*, v. 6) and the Book of Enoch, in connection with *Genesis* vi. This is clear from the following.

The incident is said to have taken place, according to a Muslim version, "when men were multiplying and sinning". In the same circumstances the sons of God descend to earth in *Genesis* vi.; "and they took to themselves wives". The two angels are called Shamḥazai and 'Azael in the midrash. These names are found in a corrupt form even in the book of Enoch. Tha'labī gives the following story: Three angels descended, Hārūt, or عزا, Mārūt or عزايا, and عزرائيل. The latter on the very first day felt himself too weak for earthly temptations and was at his own request again taken up to heaven. According to one version, Hārūt and Mārūt are said to have flown up to heaven at the end of each day; but when they had sinned their wings were disabled. A connected motif is found in the *Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, 68-69), where the sons of Seth are no longer allowed to climb the holy mountain after their sin. It is also stated that the disabled ones begged their contemporary Idrīs to intercede with Allāh for them. According to Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 61), the derision of men by Hārūt and Mārūt took place while Adam was still alive. As to the woman her name is given as Zuhra, Anāhīd (Bāhīd) and Bīdukht: in the midrash she is called Istehar, in other Jewish legends Na'ama (the lovely): this all points to Venus. According to some, she was an ordinary woman who brought a dispute with her husband before Hārūt and Mārūt, who had to administer justice among men. When they both tried to seduce her, she begged them to act contrary to the divine command and tell her the word of might (in the midrash the name of God) by virtue of which they were able to ascend and descend. When she had learned it, she made use of it; but when she was in heaven, Allāh made her forget it and changed her into a star. Hārūt and Mārūt however remained in Bābil and taught sorcery (cf. Enoch, Chap. 8, v. 9, 7). It is also related that they were kept imprisoned in a well in Demāwend. Their tortures are painted in vivid colours: they are kept in chains, as is already related of the fallen angels in the Book of Henoch (Chap. 14, 5; 69, 28) and in the Jubilees (5, 6). (Cf. also the Syriac Apokalypse of Baruch, ed. Ceriani, p. 152, col. 2, alb. = Chap. 56, v. 13). Water

also is held in front of their mouths but they cannot reach it (cf. Tantalus). Mention is even made of several Muslims who have seen them by magic means; the prisoners are said to have rejoiced, when they heard of Muḥammad's coming as the end of their tortures was believed to be at hand.

In a legendary history of Egypt, translated by Wüstenfeld in *Orient und Occident* (i. 329) it is related that Hārūt and Mārūt lived in the time of the Egyptian king ʿAryāḳ.

The names Hārūt and Mārūt are connected by de Lagarde with Haurvatāt and Ameretāt. But it is remarkable that the pair of names shows a strong analogy to other such pairs, found in the Ḳurʾān, such as Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, Tālūt and Djālūt. One of each of these pairs may be traced to pre-Muslim tradition, the other was formed by Muḥammad by altering the first consonant of the former. Mārūt is quite a common Syriac word for power, it possibly contains a remembrance of עזאל.

On the use of the two names in magic cf. Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 391.

In Persian *hārūt* has become a word for magician.

Bibliography: The commentaries on Sūra 2, 96; Thaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (1282), p. 52 *sqq.*; Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*², p. 104—106; Grünbaum in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxi. 224 *sqq.*; de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 14 *sqq.*; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (ed. Fleischer), p. 232; E. W. Lane, *The 1001 Nights*, Chapter iii. note 14. (A. J. WENSINCK.)

ḤASĀ, HASSA. [See AL-AḤSĀʾ.]

ḤASAN (A.), beautiful, good; a technical term in the science of Tradition, see above ii. 191ᵇ. Cf. also Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, p. 106.

AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH. [See NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA.]

AL-ḤASAN B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ, a prominent figure in the first century of the Hidjra. During the wars of conquest his father was carried off as a slave from Maisān and brought to Medina. There he became a client of the celebrated Zaid b. Thābit [q. v.] and married a client of Umm Salama [q. v.] named Khaira. Ḥasan was born of this marriage in 21 (642). Brought up in Wādi 'l-Ḳurā, he afterwards settled in Baṣra. There he won a great reputation for strength of character, piety, learning and eloquence. While other men, who were held in great esteem, such as Ibn Sīrīn and al-Shaʿbī, being questioned on Yazīd's succession did not dare give their opinion, Ḥasan frankly expressed his disapproval. He showed the same freedom of speech in his letters to ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥadjdjādj, so that later authors, like al-Shahrastānī, who thought they detected a leaning towards the doctrine of free will in them, preferred to ascribe them to Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ [q. v.]. He was considered the equal of his contemporary al-Ḥadjdjādj as an orator; he was highly esteemed as a transmitter of tradition, because he was believed to have been personally acquainted with 70 of those who took part in the battle of Badr, although his chief authority was Anas b. Mālik [q. v.]. He exercised a lasting influence on the development of Ṣūfism, by his ascetic piety, which shone all the more by contrast, as by his time a worldly spirit had penetrated all classes in Islām. Numerous pious sayings are placed on his lips and the Ṣūfīs see in him a predecessor, whom they quote as often, as do the orthodox Sunnis. But the Muʿtazila also openly reckon him one of themselves not only because the first representatives of their doctrine, ʿAmr b. ʿUbaid and Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ, were among his pupils, but because he himself like them inclined to the doctrine of free will. That Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ afterwards separated from him, does not alter the case. In this way almost all religious movements within Islām go back to Ḥasan and we cannot be surprised when we are told that, when he died full of honour on the 1st Radjab 110 = 10th Oct. 728, the whole city of Baṣra attended his obsequies.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 183; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 155; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *al-Muʿtazilah*, ed. Arnold, p. 12 *sqq.*; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, p. 32; al-Hudjwīrī, transl. Nicholson (Gibb Mem., Vol. xvii.), p. 86 *sq.*; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ*, ed. Nicholson, i. 24 *sqq.*; v. Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islam*, p. 22 *sq.*, 58 *sq.*; Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme*, etc., p. 120 *sq.*

AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ, the last Zīrid ruler of Mahdiya (515—543 = 1121-1122—1148-1149). He was still a child when his father ʿAlī died and had to leave the administration to his freemen. They were particularly occupied with warding off the attacks of the Normans of Sicily. In 1122 Admiral George of Antioch seized the island of Cossira (Pantellaria) and the castle of Cape Dimas and began to lay siege to Mahdiya, but was forced to return to his ships after severe fighting in which he lost heavily. In 1135 the Christian fleet again appeared before the Zīrid capital, this time however to protect al-Ḥasan who, being attacked by land and water by the Ḥammādids, had appealed for help to Roger II. The Muslim ruler rewarded the Christian sovereign for his assistance by allowing him to impose his authority on the chiefs of the coastlands and making over to him the yield of the customs in his land. A new naval demonstration, made before Mahdiya by Admiral George of Antioch in 536 = 1141-1142, forced al-Ḥasan to accept the conditions imposed by Roger II, by which he became to some extent his vassal. This humiliation however did not save the Zīrid kingdom. Under pretext of defending the rights of the sons of Yūsuf b. Djāmiʿ, lord of Gabes, who had been dispossessed at the request of the inhabitants themselves, Roger II once more sent George of Antioch against Mahdiya. Abandoned by its ruler and a number of its inhabitants, the town was occupied by the Christians without a blow being struck, at the end of 543 = 1148-1149. Thus spoiled of his lands, for the rest of Ifrīḳiya had some years previously cast off the Zīrid yoke, al-Ḥasan took refuge among the Riyāḥ, then in Bone, and finally at Bougie whose king interned him in Algiers. He lived here till it fell into hands of the Almohads (547 = 1152-1153). He was kindly treated by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, to whom he had made his submission and, after Mahdiya had been regained from the Christians in 555 = 1160, al-Ḥasan returned to his former kingdom as governor. He was later recalled to Morocco by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and died at Alar Zalla in the province of Tamesnā in 563 = 1167-1168.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii. 26 *et seq.*; Ibn al-Athīr,

Kāmil, ed. Tornberg, x. et xi. (in de Slane, *op. cit.*, T. ii. appendix v.); al-Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, transl. A. Rousseau, *Journal Asiatique*, 1852-1853; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, liv. vi.; Pellissier, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Algérie* (Paris, 1844), p. 179—183.

(G. Yver.)

AL-ḤASAN b. ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ḥusain al-Kalbī, an Arab general, was sent to Sicily in 948 (336 or the beginning of 337) by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr [q. v.] to put an end to the unrest there, which he did successfully. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 340 (May 952) he won a great victory over the Christians in Calabria, as a result of which the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII made a truce and allowed the exercise of the Muslim religion in Calabria. Ḥasan himself then returned to Rhegium and built a great mosque there. Al-Manṣūr however died about this time and Ḥasan at once went over to Africa leaving his son Abu 'l-Ḥusain Aḥmad as his deputy in Sicily. He was confirmed in the office of governor of Sicily by al-Muʿizz, al-Manṣūr's successor, and held the appointment till his death in 354 (965). The rule of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusain was firmly established in Sicily by his resolute and energetic action.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 354 *sqq.*, 371; transl. in Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula*, i. 419 *sqq.*; do., *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ii. 244 *sqq.*; Müller, *Der Islam* etc., ii. 617 *sqq.*; Vasilev, *Vizantia i Arabi*, ii. 303 *sqq.*

AL-ḤASAN b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the eldest son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. The exact date of his birth (the year 3 or 4?) depends on the date still to be settled of the marriage of his parents. The *Sīra* represents him as a particular favourite of his grandfather. An abundant apocryphal literature has grown up around this subject, taken from the domestic life of Muḥammad. Sensuality and a lack of energy and intelligence seem to have been the fundamental features of Ḥasan's character. After the premature death of Fāṭima, he was not on particularly good terms with his father and brothers. He spent the best part of his youth in making and unmaking marriages; about a hundred are enumerated. These easy morals earned him the title *miṭlāḳ* "the divorcer" and involved ʿAlī in serious enmities. Ḥasan moreover proved a thorough spendthrift; he allotted to each of his wives a considerable establishment. We thus see how the money was scattered during the caliphate of ʿAlī, already much impoverished. He was present at the battle of Ṣiffīn, without taking an active part in it; he took no further interest in public affairs during the lifetime of his father.

After the assassination of ʿAlī, Ḥasan was proclaimed Caliph in the ʿIrāḳ. His partisans tried to persuade him to renew the war against the Syrians. Their importunities upset the plans of the indolent Ḥasan, and he henceforth thought only of treating with Muʿāwiya. They led to a rupture between himself and the ʿIrāḳīs. The latter ended by severely wounding their nominal sovereign. From this time on, Ḥasan's one idea was to come to an arrangement with the Umayyads. Muʿāwiya left to himself the task of fixing his price for the renunciation of the Caliphate. Besides a pension of two million dirhams for his brother Ḥusain, Ḥasan asked for himself a sum of five millions and the revenues of a district in Persia during his lifetime. The ʿIrāḳīs later opposed the execution of this last clause. All his demands were granted and the grandson of the Prophet had the impertinence to express publicly his regret that he had not asked for double. He left the ʿIrāḳ amid the jeers of the people to retire to Medina.

There he resumed his life of pleasure and foolish dissipation. Muʿāwiya agreed to pay the expense, only stipulating in return that Ḥasan should not disturb the peace of the realm. At a meeting at Adhruḥ [q. v.] he had previously forced him to renew publicly his renunciation of power. Henceforth Muʿāwiya ceased to trouble about him, being reassured by his negligible and indolent personality. Dissension continued to reign among the ʿAlids however. Ḥasan was not on good terms with Ḥusain, while both were in league against Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [q. v.] and the other children of ʿAlī.

Ḥasan died at Medina of consumption, probably hastened by his excesses. An attempt has been made to throw the responsibility for his end on Muʿāwiya; in addition to the stain, which would thus be thrown upon the Umayyads the object of this charge was to justify the title *Shahīd* (martyr) and "*Saiyid* of the martyrs" given in compliment to Fāṭima's insignificant son. Only Shīʿī writers, or those particularly favourable to the ʿAlids dare openly voice such a grave accusation. It at the same time gave an opportunity to implicate the family of Ashʿath b. Ḳais [q. v. i. 481b sq.] detested by the Shīʿa on account of his share in the coup of Ṣiffīn. Muʿāwiya was not the man to commit an unnecessary crime and the frivolous Ḥasan had long become quite inoffensive. His life was a burden only on the treasury of the Umayyads, which was beset by his constant appeals. The sigh of relief heaved by Muʿāwiya on hearing of his decease can be readily understood. He probably died in 49 A. H. at the age of about 45. By his death his brother Ḥusain became head of the ʿAlids. In the later history of this faction we generally find that the numerous descendants of Ḥasan have to give way to the more enterprising Ḥusainids. The two families did not agree any better than their ancestors had done.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (ed. d'Égypte), i. 328—331; *Aghānī*, xi. 56, 57; xv. 47; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae* (ed. Houtsma), ii. 254—259; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), ii. 1—105; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (ed. Guirgass), p. 153, 154, 163, 194, 209; the rest of the literature is given in H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, p. 127, 140—154, 443; do., *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, p. 41, 49, 53, 87—93, 95, 96, 97, 107, 111, 113, 116, 125, 126, 128; do., *Le Berceau de l'Islam; l'Arabie occidentale à la veille de l'Hégire*, i. 98.

(H. Lammens.)

AL-ḤASAN b. ʿAlī. [See al-ʿaskarī, ibn mākūlā, niẓām al-mulk, al-uṭrūsh.]

AL-ḤASAN b. Hānīʾ. [See abū nuwās.]

AL-ḤASAN b. al-Khaṣīb, Abū Bakr, an important Arab astrologer, of Persian descent, often quoted in astrological works of the Christian middle ages under the name Albubather. He flourished about the middle of the third century A. H., for Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr (died 280 = 893) mentions him in his *Kitāb Baghdād* as a contemporary. A *Liber de Nativitatibus* (beginning:

Dixit Albubather magni Alchasili Alcharsi filius) by him was translated into Latin by a certain Canonicus Salio(?) in Padua in 1218 and printed at Venice in 1492 and again in 1501, and in 1540 at Nürnberg. The words Alchasili Alcharsi are very probably corrupted out of Alchasibi Alfarsi, indeed a Munich manuscript has Alchasibi. It has not yet been established with which of the works mentioned by the Arab biographers this is identical; two works *fi 'l-Mawālīd* ("on births") which are in the Escurial (Casiri, n°. 935 and 973), ascribed the one to Ibn 'Azrā al-Khaṣībī, and the other ascribed to Ibn al-Khaṣīb al-Kūfī, are perhaps by this astrologer, although the first may be by Abraham b. 'Ezrā.

Bibliography: Fihrist (ed. Müller), i. 276; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (ed. Lippert), p. 165; *Kitāb Baghdād* (ed. Keller), Arab. text, p. 192; Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, etc. in *Sitzungsber. der K. Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien*, phil.-hist. Klasse, Vol. 149, Nr. 4, p. 75; Suter, in *Abhandlgn. z. Geschichte d. math. Wissensch.*, x. 32, xiv. 162.

(H. SUTER.)

AL-ḤASAN B. MAKHLAD. [See IBN MAKHLAD.]

AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD. [See AL-MUHALLABĪ.]

AL-ḤASAN MULAY ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD, Sulṭān of Morocco, fourteenth of the dynasty still ruling there, the Ḥasanī [q. v.] Sherīfs of Sidjilmāsa, also called Filālī Sherīfs or 'Alawīs.

After the death of his father Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (18th Radjab 1290 = 12th Sept. 1873) Mūlāy al-Ḥasan was chosen Sulṭān by the most prominent members of the Moroccan court, then in Marrākesh. But disturbances at once broke out on all sides; Fās, the capital of northern Morocco, drove out his governor Ḥadjdj Muḥammad al-Madanī Bennīs; the people of Azemmūr killed their governor Aḥmad b. Faradj; Mūlāy 'Abd al-Kādir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the Sulṭān's uncle, supported by the Berber tribes Banū Mṭīld, 'Aīt Yūsi and Aīt Aiyāsh set up as a claimant to the throne and occupied the town of Meknes with the surrounding country. Mūlāy al-Ḥasan then set out on his long series of campaigns to subdue the various rebellious elements in his kingdom. He turned his attention first to Azemmūr, put down the rising and levied a heavy indemnity on the people. He then marched through the Shāwiya territory, collected the arrears of taxes and reached Rabāṭ, one of the three most important cities of northern Morocco, where he met with a friendly reception during a festival. Here he visited the most prominent religious leaders and scholars and made them presents. He also gave considerable sums for the benefit of the public libraries and madrasas. This was a clever stroke of policy, to seek his chief supporters among the Sherīfī clergy to which his ancestors had belonged and among the educated citizens.

In the meanwhile his uncle 'Abd al-Kādir had been surprised and captured among the Aït Yūsi and delivered up to him. The Sulṭān now suppressed the rebellion of the Arab Banū Ḥasan who lived in the plains of the lower Sbū and then made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Idrīs I on Mount Zarhūn. No Moroccan sovereign had previously prepared himself for his campaigns as did Mūlāy al-Ḥasan by visiting the tombs of saints in the great zāwiyas, particularly those administered by sherīfs. The pilgrimages to the great sanctuaries showed his zeal for religion and thus increased his prestige among the fanatical masses and assured him the support of agents, who established peace among the tribes or supplied valuable information. Mūlāy al-Ḥasan for example began his campaigns in Northern Morocco by visiting the tomb of Sīdī 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (1300 = 1888), those against Tadla and the High Atlas by visiting the marabouts of Ibn 'l-Djaʿd (1307 = 1889), the campaigns against Tafilelt by visiting the tombs of his ancestors (1310 = 1892) etc.

But it was almost always force alone that enabled him to win the upper hand over tribes little inclined to submit and objecting to the payment of badly distributed taxes. To collect the taxes and keep the tribes under control, Mūlāy al-Ḥasan's father, Sulṭān Muḥammad, had tried to create an army on modern lines, on the European model. The wars with France (campaign of Isly in 1844) and with Spain (Teṭwān war of 1860) had determined him to this measure by showing him the strategic inefficiency of the Djīsh [q. v., i. 1047 sq.] contingents. Mūlāy al-Ḥasan benefiting by his father's efforts further developed them by entrusting the instruction of his troops and the creation of an arsenal to bodies of English, French or Italian officers. The new army, the *'asker* enabled him with the help of the *Djīsh* to put an end to the interminable rebellions and pursue the collection of taxes. Throughout his reign the Sulṭān never ceased to march his army or *maḥalla* up and down his territory. In his twenty-one years' reign he made over thirty military expeditions, often of long duration. His army used to encamp in a district and, after cutting off numerous heads, eat up the country (to use the Moroccan expression) till the imposts levied had been completely paid. This procedure, more feared than actual battle, soon prevailed with the tribes or towns forced to maintain the Sulṭān's troops during their stay with them.

There were nevertheless times when the Sulṭān's troops were unfortunate. In 1305 (1887) notably, his army under the command of his uncle Mūlāy Sghīr was utterly routed by the marabout 'Alī b. al-Makkī Mahaūsh and the Berbers in the High Atlas. This marabout slew the Sulṭān's uncle with his own hand.

The expeditions against the Banū Snassen in (1291-1292 = 1874-1875), those of the Spaniards in the Rīf, the settlement of the English at Cape Juby in 1305 (= 1887) brought the Sulṭān into negotiations with France and other European powers. Numerous embassies were sent to him to seek all sorts of industrial or commercial concessions in Morocco. Resuming the policy of his most illustrious ancestors, but only after a public consultation with the official jurists (1304—1886) on the possibility on religious grounds of commerce with Christians, he increased the number of ports open to commerce and organised the Sherīfī customs in them. He thus established a source of revenue more stable and reliable than the *razzias* on the tribes for the collection of taxes.

This ruler, one of the most remarkable for energy and intelligence that Morocco has known, recalls by more than one side of his character the founder of his dynasty, the great Mūlāy Ismā'īl. Like the latter he was a great builder. In Fās he

built a palace imitated, according to Muslim writers, from the Alcazar in Seville. He built roads, bridges etc. He devoted all his care to the development of Muslim teaching.

He never would grant to Europeans industrial concessions as he feared that their influence would thereby find opportunity to penetrate into the interior of Morocco. Jealous of his rights and authority, all reforms, all improvements that he made, were carried out in the name of the Makhzen [q. v.], even those executed by foreign agents. They were thus as transitory in their effects as the persons enforcing them.

Mulāy al-Ḥasan died on Thursday, the 3rd Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1311 (9th June 1894), on the way back from a campaign against the Berbers of the High Atlas. He was succeeded by his son, Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Bibliography: al-Salāwī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā* (Cairo 1312), iv. 125 to end; Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui* (Paris 1905), passim.

(A. COUR.)

AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ṢABBĀḤ, *founder of the order of Assassins*. According to passages in the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, the *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* and in Mīrkhwānd, based on the *Sargudhasht-i Saiyidnā* (cf. i. 491a) his genealogy was Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Dja'far b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī. Ḥasan claimed to be descended from the ancient Ḥimyarite kings, but Mīrkhwānd quotes on this point a statement of Niẓām al-Mulk that the people of Ṭūs alleged the contrary and said that his ancestors had been peasants in their country. While Ḥasan is said to have further alleged that his father migrated from Kūfa to Ḳum, we find him simply called Rāzī, i. e. native of Raiy, in Ibn al-Athīr. The date of his birth is unknown, but he was still a young man when he was won over for the Fāṭimid propaganda. The chief Dā'ī in Persia was then Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh; the latter commissioned him in 464 (1072) to go to Cairo to the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir. In 471 = 1078 (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 304, gives the date as 479) he arrived there after first travelling through Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria. In the struggle as to who was to succeed the aged ruler, he took the side of Nizār, while others preferred another of Mustanṣir's sons, who actually occupied the Egyptian throne on his father's death under the name al-Musta'lī. He then returned to the east and eagerly advocated Nizār's cause in different places. Finally, in 483 (1090-1091), he gained possession of the strong mountain fortress of Alamūt [q. v.] although the stories in the *Sargudhasht-i Saiyidnā* (also in the *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*) on this point are legendary. According to Ibn al-Athīr, x. 216, he was able to win the confidence of the commander, an 'Alid, and then had him seized by his men and taken to Dāmaghān. The same thing happened, although by different means, with other fortresses, probably by Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh's orders, whose son, likewise usually called Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh, himself resided in the fortress of Shāhdiz near Iṣpahān. As long as the latter lived, Ḥasan played no prominent part, although the famous Saldjūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk had already long suspected him on account of his frequent meetings with Egyptian missionaries. The well-known story of the early friendship of these two men, in which 'Umar-i Khaiyām appears as a third, even if, as Browne has shown, it is accepted by Rashīd al-Dīn also, is however a fable. Cf. *Recueil de textes rel. à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. Introduction, p. 14, note. To make this dangerous opponent harmless, the Assassins resorted to assassination, a means they were so often to use in the years following. Niẓām al-Mulk was to be first to fall, being murdered in 485 (1092). It is probably also in this period that the organisation of the Assassins into a secret society falls; on their organisation and aims, cf. the article ASSASSINS (i. 491 *et seq.*). It has also been pointed out there that conditions were then favourable to them and that it was only after the death of Barkiyāruḳ that Sulṭān Muḥammad could seriously think of putting an end to the Assassins' reign of terror. After Shāhdiz has been taken in 500 (1107) and Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh executed, the other robbers' nests fell one by one: and finally Alamūt too. During the siege Muḥammad died (511 = 1118) and his troops as a result ran away; Ḥasan, who after the death of Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh had presumably been recognised as Grand Master of the Assassins, was saved. Seven years later (518 = 1124) he died after arranging that Kiyā Buzurg Umīd Rūdbārī should succeed him.

If Ḥasan is considered the founder of the Assassins, it must not be supposed that the main object of his life was to secure his personal power by planning assassinations; it is not even proved that he recommended or used this detestable means. Assassination had, as is pointed out in the article ASSASSINS (i. 491a) already for long before Ḥasan's time been commended as a religious duty by the leaders of certain sects, and shortly before Ḥasan's public appearance it had been practised wholesale, notably in Iṣpahān. Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, x. 214. Ḥasan's importance lies much rather in the fact that he gave the Assassins' power a central stronghold in Alamūt, so that it maintained itself there even after his death also. He also devoted his activities to authorship and composed several works in Persian, which were all unfortunately destroyed at the capture of Alamūt by the Mongols. The quotations from them given by Shahrastānī and others go no farther than well-known Shī'ī doctrines; the fact expressly emphasised by the authorities that he did not publicly proclaim his teaching to the people, also agrees entirely with the Shī'ī principle of *taḳīya*. He only differed from other Shī'is in that he recognised Nizār, son of al-Mustanṣir, as Imām even after he had been incarcerated by al-Musta'lī in 488 (1095). How far he was responsible for the organisation of the sect as a secret society cannot be ascertained from the lack of exact details. That he was held in great reverence by his followers is proved by the title *Saiyidnā*, "our lord", by which he was called by them.

Bibliography: In addition to works quoted in the article ASSASSINS, Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, p. 150 *sqq.*; Schefer, *Siasset Nameh, Supplem.*, p. 48 *sqq.*; Müller, *Der Islam*, ii. 97 *sqq.*; Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulm.*, p. 105 *sqq.*

AL-ḤASAN B. SAHL B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-SARAKHSĪ, *one of al-Ma'mūn's governors*. Like his brother, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, al-Ḥasan was originally a fire-worshipper; but the two adopted Islām. In 196 = 811-812, when al-Ma'mūn entrusted the administration of the eastern provinces to al-Faḍl with almost unlimited power, he appointed al-Ḥasan minister of finance. After al-

Amīn's assassination in 198 = 813, he was appointed governor of Arabia and the 'Irāḳ through his brother's influence, while the Caliph himself stayed in Marv. But al-Ḥasan, as a Persian, was unable to win the sympathy of the Arab population and trouble soon broke out. An adventurer, named Abu 'l-Sarāyā, appeared in Kūfa in 199 = 815, and allied himself with an 'Alid, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, whom he persuaded to set up as a pretender. The government troops were defeated; but Ibn Ṭabāṭabā died suddenly and al-Ḥasan turned for help to the tried general Harthama b. A'yan, who blockaded Abu 'l-Sarāyā in Kūfa. When the latter tried to escape he was captured and beheaded in Rabī' I 200 = October 815. Soon, however, the mercenaries of Baghdād mutinied, but had to surrender after three days' fighting; but after the murder of Harthama b. A'yan in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 200 = June 816 the governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid joined the rebels and advanced against al-Ḥasan in Wāsiṭ. Muḥammad was defeated and died soon after of his wounds. Meanwhile, however, al-Manṣūr, a son of the Caliph al-Mahdī, had been recognised as al-Ma'mūn's representative in Baghdād. His troops were defeated however by Ḥumaid al-Ṭūsī and, as he drew his adherents mainly from the lowest classes and the town as a result was given over to all possible excesses, the more thoughtful elements of the population sided with Ḥasan and put an end to the rule of the mob. But peace did not last long. When Ma'mūn in Ramaḍān 201 = March 817 proclaimed the 'Alid 'Alī b. Mūsā, called al-Riḍā, as his successor, a rebellion broke out in Baghdād and Ibrāhīm, another son of al-Mahdī, was proclaimed Caliph. In Radjab 202 = February 818 the rebels attacked al-Ḥasan in Wāsiṭ, but were defeated and had to retire to Baghdād. After the murder of his brother al-Faḍl in Sha'bān 202 = Febr. 818, al-Ḥasan became insane. He recovered however and in Ramaḍān 210 = 825-826, his daughter Būrān married al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ḥasan was much esteemed for his liberality to poets and scholars. He died in Sarakhs on the 1st Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 235 (16th June 850) or 236.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii. see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vi. 134—322; vii. 35; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, iii. 241 *sqq.*; Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 536—594; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reiske), ii. 100 *sqq.*; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), Nº. 176 (de Slane's transl., i. 408 *sq.*); Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 140, 184, 200 *sqq.*; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 502 *sqq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, 3rd ed., p. 498 *sq.* (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

AL-ḤASAN B. USTĀDH HORMUZ ABŪ 'ALĪ, the son of Abū Dja'far Ustādh Hormuz [q. v. i. 832], became even in the lifetime of his father leader of the Dailamī troops under Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. After the murder of the latter in 388 (998), Ḥasan entered the service of the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla, who sent him as governor to Khūzistān in 390 (1000) and gave him the title 'Amīd al-Djuyūsh. He later sent him in the same capacity to the 'Irāḳ and there he waged several wars with his predecessor Abū Dja'far Ḥadjdjādj, Abū 'l-'Abbās b. Wāṣil, who had rebelled in the swamp country [see BAṬĪḤA], Badr b. Ḥasanwaih [q. v.] and others. He died before his father at the age of 49 in Baghdād in 401 (1010-1011) and was entombed in the burying-place of the Ḳuraish. The famous poet al-Sharīf al-Raḍī dedicated an elegy to his memory.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 67 *sqq.*

AL-ḤASAN B. YŪSUF B. 'ALĪ B. AL-MUṬAHHAR AL-ḤILLĪ AL-SHĪ'Ī DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MANṢŪR, known as 'ALLĀMA, born 648 (1250) at Ḥilla, was the greatest Shī'a jurist of his day. He successfully represented the Shī'a sect in a discussion which once took place with the Sunnis in the court of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Uldjaitu Khudābandah Muḥammad (703—716 = 1304—1316) and the Sulṭān was so impressed with his arguments that he adopted the Shī'a doctrines in many respects. He died in Ḥilla in 726 (1326) and his dead body was taken to Mashhad and buried there.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī in his work *Amal al-Āmil*, p. 40, enumerated no less than 67 works of this learned author of which the following may be mentioned: 1. *Kashf al-Yaḳīn fī Faḍā'il Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, a short treatise on the excellence of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. 2. *Minhādj al-Ṣalāḥ fī 'khtiṣār al-Miṣbāḥ*, a work on religious duties especially prayer [an abridgment of Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ṭūsī's (d. 460 = 1068) *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahadjdjid*]. 3. *Minhādj al-Karāma fī Ma'rifat al-Imāma*, a vindication of the Shī'a doctrine on the Imāmate. 4. *Minhādj al-Yaḳīn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, a treatise on the Fundamental Principles of the Shī'a Creed. 5. *Ma'āridj al-Fahm*, a commentary by the author on his own work *Naẓm al-Barāhīn*. 6. *Nahdj al-Ḥaḳḳ wa Kashf al-Ṣidḳ*, a refutation of the Theology and Legal System of the Sunnis. 7. *Naẓm al-Barāhīn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, a work on scholastic theology. 8. *Tadhkirat al-Fuḳahā'* a work on Shī'a jurisprudence in three volumes.

Bibliography: *Muntaha 'l-Maḳāl fī Asmā' al-Ridjāl*, p. 105; *Amal al-Āmil*, p. 40; *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt fī Aḥwāl al-'Ulamā' wa 'l-Sādāt*, p. 171; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.* ii. 164. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

AL-ḤASAN B. ZAID B. ḤASAN, a great-grandson of 'Alī. He was a pious man, who, following the example of his father and grandfather, abandoned all political aspirations and reconciled himself to 'Abbāsid rule. His daughter became the wife of the Caliph Abu 'l-'Abbās, while he himself lived at the Caliph's court, and is even said to have occasionally communicated the views of his 'Alid relatives and their dependants to al-Manṣūr. In 150 = 767 al-Manṣūr made him governor of Medina, but in 155 = 772 he aroused the Caliph's wrath and was dismissed, imprisoned and had his property confiscated. But restitution was made to him by al-Manṣūr's successor, al-Mahdī, who gave him back all that he had lost, after al-Manṣūr's death. He died in 167 = 783 at al-Ḥādjir, while on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and was buried there.

Bibliography: *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, iii. 144, 149, 258, 358 *sq.*, 377, 400, 453 *sq.* and 2518 (variants); Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae* ed. Houtsma, ii. 456; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, v. 420, 454; vi. 4, 21 *sq.*, 53. (FR. BUHL.)

AL-ḤASAN B. ZAID B. MUḤAMMAD, a great-grandson of the preceding, founder of an 'Alid dynasty in Ṭabaristān. The high-handed and ruthless rule of the Ṭāhirids produced such resentment in this country that a number of men, under the

influence of the strong 'Alid sentiment in these regions, looked around for a man of 'Alī's line to whom they could entrust the government. They therefore turned to Ḥasan who was living in Raiy and had been recommended to them by another 'Alid; the choice proved a fortunate one, for Ḥasan possessed an energy and sturdy resoluteness of purpose rare in an 'Alid. He was summoned to power by a section of the Ṭabaristānīs and a number of Dailamī chiefs; he succeeded in defeating the Ṭāhirid troops and seizing the town of Āmul and Sāriya and, after an unsuccessful attempt, Raiy also. But Ḥasan had to be perpetually on his defence against attacks on all sides and was more than once driven out of the country, on which occasions he found it very useful to have a secure refuge in friendly Dailam. From there he always returned and fortune often favoured him so that in 257 = 871 he was able to take Djurdjān and in 259 = 873 Ḳūmis. In this latter year a new and dangerous enemy arose against him in the person of Ya'ḳūb [q. v.], the "coppersmith", whom Ḥasan, not without humour called al-Sandān, "the anvil". He succeeded in being commissioned by the Caliph to punish the rebellious 'Alid and easily found a *casus belli* when Ḥasan would not deliver up the Sidjistānī 'Abd Allāh who had sought asylum with him. Ḥasan was not strong enough for so powerful an opponent and was again forced to retire to Dailam but was saved by tremendous rains, which in these lands are particularly dangerous, and brought Ya'ḳūb to such a plight that he could only get out of the country with great loss. Ḥasan returned and remained for a period unharmed, till in 266 = 880 a Khudjistānī, named Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh, invaded Djurdjān and conquered a part of it. While Ḥasan was fighting with him there, another 'Alid, in order to have himself proclaimed ruler, spread the news in Ṭabaristān that Ḥasan was slain, but on Ḥasan's return he was defeated and killed. Ḥasan died in 270 = 884 in possession of his territory and his family continued to rule in Ṭabaristān till 316 = 928. Personally he was a deeply religious man with a taste for poetry and the various branches of jurisprudence and allied sciences.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1523—1533, 1583—1586, 1698, 1737 *sq.*, 1840, 1873, 1880, 1883—1885, 1940, 2104; *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, p. 570—574; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, vii. 85—88, 109, 138, 166, 171 *sq.*, 177, 180, 183—185, 199, 208, 233, 280; Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vii. 342 *sqq.*; viii. 353; Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, transl. Browne, p. 162 *sqq.*; Aug. Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 542, 545; ii. 27—32; Th. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 184–185. (FR. BUHL.)

ḤASAN ABDĀL, A small town situated in the district of Atak (till lately part of Rāwal Pindi) in the Pandjāb. Extensive ruins and Buddhist remains in the neighbourhood were supposed by Cunningham to represent the site of Taxila, but recent discoveries make it probable that Taxila was situated at Kāla Sarāi, more to the East. The sacred spring of Elapatra visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang in the 7th cent. A. D. is no doubt identical with the spring at Ḥasan Abdāl now dedicated to the Saint Bābā Walī of Ḳandahār. It is full of sacred fish which may not be killed. This spring according to Hiouen Thsang was 70 li from Taxila to the northwest. The Sikhs as well as the Muḥammadans have a shrine near the spring, named Pandja Ṣāḥib from the supposed impression of the fingers (pandja) of the Gurū Nānak on a stone. Here was a halting place of the Moghal Emperors, from Akbar onwards, in their journeys to Kashmīr, and a tomb surrounded by cypresses is assigned by tradition to Lāla Rukh, daughter of Awrangzēb. Akbar followed this route certainly and Djahāngīr on one occasion after arriving at Ḥasan Abdāl turned back to Kalānūr and entered Kashmīr by the Bhimbar route. Bernier's memoirs show that later emperors preferred the Bhimbar and Pīr-Pandjāl route. Yet a tomb at Ḥasan Abdāl is by tradition assigned to Lāla-Rukh, daughter of Akbar, who is the heroine of Moore's well-known poem, one of the scenes in which takes place at Ḥasan Abdāl. Descriptions will be found in the travels of Elphinstone, Moorcroft, Burnes and Hügel, and a notice by Cunningham in the *Archaeological Survey of India*. The name Ḥasan Abdāl is undoubtedly, as supposed by Elphinstone, the true name of the Saint now called Bābā Walī, although Cunningham doubted the fact, and said that Bābā Walī was a saint from Ḳandahār, while Ḥasan the Abdāl (or religious madman) was a Gudjar whose tomb was at the foot of the hill. The mention of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl in the *Ta'rīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī* shows that he was born at Sabzawār and accompanied Shāh Rukh, son of Tīmūr, to India and afterwards died and was buried near Ḳandahār, where his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. Mīr Ma'ṣūm, the author of this history, lived in Akbar's reign and claimed descent from Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl. The town bore his name already in Akbar's time, for the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* records (p. 445, Blochmann's trans.) that Shams al-Dīn built himself a vault there, and that Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ was buried in this vault by Akbar's order, also that Akbar himself visited the tomb on his return journey from Kashmīr.

Bibliography: Blochmann, *Trans. of Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (Calcutta 1873); *Ta'rīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī* (in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, vol. i, London 1867); Elphinstone, *Caubul*, vol. i (London 1839); Moorcroft, *Travels* etc., London 1841); Hügel, *Travels in Kashmir* etc. (Eng. trans.) (London 1845); Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. i. (London 1834); Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. ii. (Simla 1871); Price, *Trans. of Memoirs of Djahāngīr*, p. 137 (London 1829). (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḤASAN AGHA, Khalīfa of Khair al-Dīn in Algiers. He was born in Sardinia and had been taken prisoner by Khair al-Dīn on a raid and enrolled among his eunuchs. He soon won the confidence of his master who made him *kaya* (major-domo) and entrusted him with the government of Algiers during his campaign against Tunis [see KHAIR AL-DĪN]. When Khair al-Dīn was recalled to Turkey in 1636, he left the government in his hands and Ḥasan filled his office to the general satisfaction. "To this day", writes Haëdo, "many of those who knew him say that there never was a more just Pasha".

Charles V's attack on Algiers fell within the period of his administration (1541). According to Haëdo, Ḥasan showed exceptional valour and personally contributed to the defeat of the imperial

troops. According to contemporary historians, on the other hand, Ḥasan's attitude was rather ambiguous. They say that he had been won over by the proposals of Count d'Alcaudète, governor of Oran, and only the resistance of several generals prevented him handing over the city to Charles V. In any case, after the collapse of the Spanish expedition, Ḥasan marched against the king of Kuko, who had made an alliance with the Christians, and forced him to pay tribute and deliver up his son as a hostage (1542). According to Haëdo, he undertook a campaign to the West to protect the king of Tlemcen against the Spaniards in Oran, but this campaign is rather uncertain. Soon afterwards Ḥasan fell suddenly into disgrace, retired into private life and died unnoticed in 1549 at the age of 58. He was interred in a *ḳubba*, which his *ḳiaya* had built near the Bāb al-Wād and the inscription is preserved in the Algiers Museum (G. Colin, *Corpus des Inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie, département d'Alger*, Algiers 1900, n°. 202).

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ḤASAN BABA, Dey of Algiers (1682—1683), usually called Baba Ḥasan. He was previously a *raʾīs* (corsair captain) and took part in the revolution of 1671, which put an end to the rule of the Aghas and replaced it by that of the Deys. As son-in-law of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, who was the first to fill the office of Dey, he held the actual power in name of his father-in-law. He made many enemies by his arrogance, mistrust, and cruelty but suppressed with a strong arm all attempts at rebellion. In 1680, under the pretext of restoring the order broken by the rivalry of the sons of Murād Bey, he attacked Tunis; in 1681, he fought in the West against Mūlāy Ismāʿīl's troops. When in 1682 Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad fled to Tripoli on hearing that the French had sent a fleet against him under Duquesne, Ḥasan Baba took over the reins of government. During the first bombardment of Algiers (20th Aug.—12th Sept. 1682) he ruled the town with a rod of iron and executed without mercy every one who dared complain or speak of negotiations. In the following year Duquesne again appeared before the city. After several days' bombardment (26th—29th June) the Dey was brought to negotiate with the French admiral. He handed over the chief of the Raʾīs, Ḥādjdj Ḥusain (Mezzo Morto), as hostage and released the Christian prisoners. As an agreement could not be reached regarding the indemnity to be paid to the French, Mezzo Morto was allowed to go on shore, as he said he would hasten the negotiations. Scarcely had he disembarked however when he called the Raʾīs together, forced an entrance to the Djenina, had Ḥasan Baba murdered, and was thereupon elected Dey (22nd July 1683).

Bibliography: Cf. the bibl. to the articles ALGER, ALGÉRIE. (G. YVER.)

ḤASANBEYZADE, a Turkish historian, son of Küčük Ḥasanbey, who had been secretary of state (*raʾīs al-kuttāb*) during the grand-vizierate of Khādim Mesīḥ Suleimān Pasha (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 993—25th Rabīʿ II 994 = 1585), adopted his father's career and took part in the Hungarian campaigns during 1598—1603 as secretary to Serdār Saṭūrdjī Meḥemmed Pasha, later as *tedhkeredji* and, after 1601, as *raʾīs al-kuttāb* to his successors, the grand-vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha (died 9th Muḥarram 1010 = 10th July 1601) and Yemishdji Ḥasan Pasha (dismissed 27th Rabīʿ II 1012 = 4th Oct. 1603). In 1018 we find him *Anadolu defterdāri* (superintendent of the finance office of Anatolia); according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Lex. Bibl.*, N°. 2160, he died in 1046 (1636-1637). The first part of his history of the house of ʿOsmān (*Tārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOsmān*), dedicated to Sulṭān Murād IV, is merely an extract from Saʿd al-Dīn's well known *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*; the second part, covering the period from the accession of Suleimān I to the second accession of Muṣṭafā (1032) is in its later sections based on his own researches and is often quoted by the Turkish historians Pečewī, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Fedhleke*) and Naʿīmā as a valuable authority. Manuscripts of this work are not common (Vienna Library, N°. 1036—1040, of which 1040 is complete, and 1040 has a continuation down to 1045 A. H.). There is a biography of Ḥasanbeyzāde in Aḥmed Resmī's *Safīnet al-Ruʾasā*, p. 26 *sq.* (copied word for word by Djemāl al-Dīn, *Āina-i Ẓurafā*, p. 21 *sq.*). (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤASAN BUZURG, TĀDJ AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN B. ḤUSAIN GURGĀN B. AḲBUĠA B. ILKĀN NOYAN, usually called SHAIKH ḤASAN, the founder of the Djalāʾirid dynasty in Baghdād after the death of the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd. He attained a high position while the latter was still alive, as his mother was a daughter of the Ilkhān Arghūn. He was therefore spared when accused, probably falsely, in 732 (1332) of having designs on the life of the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd and the death sentence was commuted to banishment to Kamakh. In the following year he received the governorship of Asia Minor. After the death of Abū Saʿīd 736 (1335) a struggle for the throne soon broke out; the newly elected Khān Arpa lost his throne and life in battle with ʿAlī Pādishāh, governor of Baghdād, who had paid homage to another descendant of Hūlāgū, named Mūsā. Shaikh Ḥasan then rose against him and put forward another claimant, Muḥammad. The two rivals met at Alāṭāgh near Karadere on the 14th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 736 (24th July 1336); Shaikh Ḥasan was victorious and made Tabrīz his headquarters, while Mūsā retired to Baghdād. But as it was not only a feud between Ḥasan and Mūsā but between two Mongol tribes, Djalāʾir and Uirat, the Emirs of Khorāsān chose a new Khān Togha Timūr, to whom Mūsā submitted. But they were defeated by Shaikh Ḥasan in a battle near Marāgha in 737 = 1337. Mūsā was taken prisoner and slain. In the meanwhile a new rival to Ḥasan had appeared in "Little" Ḥasan (see ḤASAN KÜČÜK), who won a battle and even succeeded in capturing and putting to death Muḥammad, the Khān recognised by Shaikh Ḥasan. Shaikh Ḥasan had saved himself in time by fleeing to Tabrīz and was able to come to terms with his rival, while he thought to gain new support by paying homage

to Togha-Timūr. But when the latter proved unreliable, he looked around for another *roi fainéant* and paid homage to Shāh Djahān Tīmūr, a descendant of Abaḳa. He then went to Baghdād (740 = 1339-1340) and establishing himself securely there made away with Shāh Djahān Tīmūr and reigned independently till his death in 757 (1356). We cannot here detail the wars which he had still to wage during these years; it is sufficient to remark that he succeeded in maintaining his position and was careful to show his devotion to the 'Alids by restoring the sanctuary at Nedjef. His son Uwais [q. v.] succeeded him.

Bibliography: Mirkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, ed. Lakhnau 1891, ii. 281 *sqq.*; Khwāndemīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 1, 130 *sqq.*; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 714 *sqq.*; Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, p. 10 *sqq.*; Markov, *Katalog djelairidskikh monet*.

ḤASAN ČELEBI Ḳinali-zāde, a famous Ottoman scholar and biographer of poets. Born in 953 (1546-1547) in Brusa, the son of Ḳinālī-zāde Mewlānā 'Alī Čelebi b. Emr-Allāh, famous as a poet and scholar, then muderris in the Hamza-Bey-Medrese. Ḥasan, like his father, devoted himself to the study of law and theology. After an active and honourable career as mudarris and ḳāḍī in Brusa, Adrianople, Aleppo, Cairo, Gallipoli, Eyyūb and New Zagra, he died ḳāḍī of Rosetta in Egypt on the 12th Shawwāl 1012 (14th March 1604).

Ḥasan Čelebi was, as is the custom with Turkish scholars, also a poet, although only an imitator. He wrote marginal notes on the *Durar we Ghurar* as well as additions and notes on some important theological works and certain other writings. But his great work, which was to bring him lasting fame, is his great collection of 607 biographies of poets, the *Tedhkiret al-Shu'arā'*, which is dedicated to the historian Khōdja Sa'd al-Dīn and was completed in 994 (1586). The work is of inestimable value for its biographical details and the numerous quotations. Of the many Ottoman biographies of poets it is considered the best in spite of its pompous style, its affected bombast and its fondness for anecdotes. Ḥasan Čelebi discusses the poets from the earliest times under three heads, *a)* Sulṭāns, *b)* princes and *c)* other poets. His little weakness for enshrining all members of his family in his work as poets is not to be taken too much amiss.

Bibliography: *Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'mānīye*, Konstantinopel 1269, *Dhail*, p. 491—492; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke* (1286), i. 240; *Tezkere-i Laṭīfī* (1314), p. 131; Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī* (1311), ii. 127; Hammer, *Geschichte des Osm. Reiches*, 2nd ed., ii. 575, 593; Id., *Geschichte der Osm. Dichtkunst*, i. 44, iii. 131; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 199 *sq.*; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Handschriften . . . zu Wien* (1865), ii. 387; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts*, London 1888, p. 77 and 94. (Theodor Menzel.)

ḤASAN DIHLAWĪ, Amīr Najm al-Dīn, styled the Sa'dī of Hindustān (Baranī, p. 360), was born in 651 (= 1253) at Dihlī, whither his father 'Alā' al-Dīn Sīstānī, known as 'Alā-i-Sandjarī, had settled. Together with his friend, the poet Amīr Khusraw, he spent five years at Multān in the service of Muḥammad Sulṭān, the eldest son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [q. v.] and subsequently became one of the court-poets of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khildjī (695—715), in honour of whom most of his panegyrics were written. At the age of 53, he became a *murīd* of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā [q. v.], in honour of whom he wrote a *mathnawī*; he also wrote down the saint's discourses from day to day during the years 717—722 and collected them in a work entitled *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* (Rieu, p. 972). In 714 (= 1314) he completed his *Dīwān*, which is said to contain about 10,000 verses; he also wrote prose works (e. g. *Siyar al-Awliyā*), which appear to have been lost. When Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ moved the population of Dihlī to Dawlatābād Ḥasan accompanied the Sulṭān to his new capital and is said to have died there in 727 (= 1327); but the date of his death is variously given by different authorities.

Bibliography: Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* (*Bibl. Ind.*), 67, p. 359—360; Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* (*Bibl. Ind.*), p. 201; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, (ed. Nassau Lees), p. 711—712; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'* (ed. E. G. Browne), v. Index; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, p. 618; 'Abd al-Muktadir, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Bankipore*, i. 196—197.

ḤASAN KÜČÜK, "little Ḥasan", so-called to distinguish him from his contemporary and rival Shaikh Ḥasan (cf. ḤASAN BUZURG, p. 279b *sq.*), was a son of Tīmūrtash b. Čoban [q. v.] and after his father's overthrow remained in hiding in Asia Minor until the struggle for the throne on the death of Abū Sa'īd in 736 (1335) afforded him the opportunity of playing a leading part. He pretended that his father had not perished in Egypt but had escaped from prison and reached Asia Minor again after long wanderings and made a Turkish slave play the part of his father. The members of the once powerful Čobanid family soon gathered round this false Tīmūrtash and also the Mongol Ulus, who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Djalā'irid Shaikh Ḥasan. He thus became powerful enough to challenge Shaikh Ḥasan and defeated him in 738 (1338) near Nakhdjuwān. But after this victory he nearly fell a victim to his guile, for his pretended father tried to dispose of him by assassination. He escaped however and sought refuge with the princess Satibeg, daughter of the Ilkhān Ūldjaitū and widow of Čoban and Arpakhān, whom he now recognised as Khān, at the same time coming to terms with Shaikh Ḥasan and disposing of the false Tīmūrtash. When Shaikh Ḥasan soon afterwards had homage paid to Togha Tīmūr, he began to intrigue with the latter also and promised him the hand of the princess Satibeg. Togha Tīmūr fell into the snare and was at once betrayed by Ḥasan himself, so that the only course open to him was to fly as swiftly as possible to Khorāsān. But as Shaikh Ḥasan soon found another *roi fainéant* Shāh Djahān Tīmūr, Ḥasan Küčük thought to imitate him and paid homage to another Hulagid, Sulaimān Khān, to whom he married Satibeg. He next waged war, not unsuccessfully, on Shaikh Ḥasan and Togha Tīmūr, but was murdered by his own wife 'Izzat Malik on the 27th Radjab 744 (15th Dec. 1343) on a campaign against Baghdād. His place was taken by his brothers Ashraf and Yaghībasti, but they soon quarrelled; Ashraf had his brother slain and ruled alone till his fate overtook him and he met a violent end in 756 (= 1355).

Bibliography: See the article ḤASAN BUZURG.

HASAN PASHA, Beylerbey of Algiers. He was the son of Khair al-Dīn [q. v.] and a Mooress. His father's influence with the Porte obtained him the office of Pasha of Algiers in 1544 and he was entrusted with the task of restoring Turkish power in western Algeria where it had been considerably weakened. In 1546, Hasan conducted a campaign against the Spaniards in the Tlemcen district, but just as he had come face to face with the Christian troops near Arbal he had to return to Algiers as his father had died. He succeeded him as Beylerbey and soon afterwards undertook a new western campaign, this time against the Moors, who had occupied Tlemcen in 1551. An army composed of Janissaries under the command of Hasan Corso and Kabyls under the Sulṭān of the Benī ʿAbbās (Sulṭān of Labes in the European authorities) defeated the Moors, followed them up to the Mulūya and regained Tlemcen (1552). During this time Hasan was carrying out important works in Algiers; he increased the fortifications, built the Burdj Mūlāy Hasan (Fort l'Empereur), on the Kudyat al-Ṣābūn, erected public baths and a hospital for the Janissaries. His hostility to French policy, however, induced the Porte to recall him to Constantinople and replace him by Ṣalāḥ Raʾīs (1552—1556).

In 1557, he returned to Africa. The disturbances that followed on the death of Ṣalāḥ Raʾīs, notably the rebellion of Hasan Corso and the murder of Pasha Tekelerli forced the Sulṭān to send him once more to Algiers as Beylerbey. In the west the Sharīf Muḥammad al-Mahdī had taken advantage of this unrest to invade the Tlemcen country again and to occupy the city; in Meshwar alone a Turkish garrison held out under the command of Kāʾid Saffa. After Hasan had restored peace in Algiers he took the field against the Moors who vacated Tlemcen on his approach. The Turks pursued them up to the walls of Fās, where they inflicted a disastrous defeat on them. The Beylerbey had however to retire hurriedly lest he should be cut off by the Spaniards in Oran (1557). When the latter besieged Mostaghanem in the following year, Hasan came to its aid and routed the Spaniards (26th Aug. 1558). The Christians had now to confine themselves to Oran and ceased to be dangerous to the Turks.

Now that Hasan had peace in this direction, he planned the subjection of the Kabyls. In order to be secure against any insubordination among the Janissaries he organised a force of Spanish renegades. By his marriage with the daughter of the Sulṭān of Kuko he secured the assistance of a number of Kabyl tribes and thereupon undertook a campaign against Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī, the chief of the Benī ʿAbbās. The latter was beaten and killed in an encounter at the Ḳalʿa of the Benī ʿAbbās. His brother Mokrani continued the war but became a Turkish tributary in 1559.

The intrigues of the Sharīfs and the naval preparations of the Spaniards prevented Hasan from completing the subjection of the Kabyls. He therefore resolved to leave the latter opponents alone for the moment. After the destruction of the Spanish fleet under the Duke of Medina Coeli by Piali Pasha at Djerba (15th March 1561) the Beylerbey was able to devote his whole energies to the Moors. He was just about to begin the war with them when the Janissaries, who were discontented with the creation of new Kabyl troops, seized him and sent him in chains to Constantinople.

It was not difficult for Hasan to clear himself of the charges against him laid before the Porte. He then returned for a third time to Algiers where an envoy of the Sulṭān had already restored order and executed Agha Hasan, the ringleader of the conspiracy against the Beylerbey. Hasan was now determined to clear the Spaniards out of the country and set about the capture of Oran and Mars al-Kabīr. At the head of an army of 30,000 men he began the siege of these two towns, while his fleet blockaded them from the sea (April 1563). After two months of vain essays and repeated assaults, in which the Beylerbey himself risked his life, the arrival of a relieving fleet of Spaniards forced the Turks to retreat. Hasan was not able to resume his plan again. Soon afterwards he had to lead the Algerian galleys to Malta which the Turks were besieging. Here he lost a portion of his ships, but the fighting qualities which he showed on this occasion won him the rank of Ḳapūdān Pasha (1567). He died in 1570 and was buried beside his father Khair al-Dīn in Büyük Dere.

Bibliography: Haedo, *Epitome de los Reyes de Argel* in *Topographia e Historia general de Argel* (Valladolid 1612; fol. 47 sqq.), Chap. vi., transl. by de Grammont in *Rev. Africaine*, 1880; A. Cour, *L'Etablissement des Dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la Régence d'Alger*, T. xxix.; Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, Paris 1848—1860, T. i.; Diego de Torres, *Histoire des Chérifs*, trad. du duc d'Angoulême, Paris 1650; De Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger*, p. 73—77, 86—103; E. Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran sous le gouvernement du comte d'Alcaudète*, Paris 1900, = *Publications de l'Ecole des Lettres d'Alger*, Vol. xxiii., Chap. ix.—xiv.; cf. also the bibliographies to ALGIER and ALGERIE. (G. YVER.)

HASAN PASHA, known as YEMISHDJI (the greengrocer) was a native of Albania and entering the service of the Serai rose from *zülfü baltadji* (halberdier) to *ḳapudji bashi* (chamberlain). His countryman, the grand vizier Sinān Pasha made him an agha of the Janissaries in the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1002 (8th July 1594) during the Hungarian war; in Rabīʿ II 1003 (December 1594), he was dismissed, but reinstated in Shawwāl 1003 (June 1595); in Djumādā I 1004 (January 1596) he became wālī of Shirwān and on his return from there Wazīr of the Dīwān. In this office he carried out the currency reform of Rabīʿ I 1009. On the 1st Shaʿbān 1009 (5th February 1601) he was appointed deputy (*ḳāʾimmaḳām*) for the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha during his absence in the field and appointed his successor when Ibrāhīm died on the 9th Muharram 1010 (10th July 1601). As Serdār he continued the campaign in Hungary (defeat at Stuhlweissenburg on the 15th Oct. 1601; relief of Kanischa; recapture of Stuhlweissenburg on the 29th August 1602; capture of Pest and siege of Ofen by the Archduke Mathias late in the autumn of 1602) and only returned in January 1603 on hearing of the unrest in the capital caused by the Sipāhīs. Although he succeeded in suppressing the riots, he was nevertheless dismissed through the intrigues of his enemies on the 27th Rabīʿ II

1012 (10th Oct. 1603) and strangled by the Sulṭān's orders on the 12th Djumādā I (18th Oct.) of the same year.

Bibliography: Biographies in the *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā* of 'Osmān-zāde Tā'ib, p. 50, and in the *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 126 *sq.*; cf. also the pertinent sections in Peçewi, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Fedhlike* and *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīkh*), Na'īmā and von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. iv. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤASAN PASHA, son of Ḥusain, governor of the Yemen for nearly a quarter of a century, whence he received the name Yemenli, was a native of Albania and held the office of *bostāndji-bashi* in Constantinople when Sulṭān Murād III sent him in Djumādā I 988 (June 1580) to the Yemen to restore Ottoman prestige in this province, the greater part of which had fallen into the hands of the Zaidī Imām Muṭahhar. In the course of five years he succeeded in subduing the unruly Sherifs partly by force and partly by guile and regained the fortresses which they had seized. To prevent further risings he deported the Āl Muṭahhar to Constantinople at the end of 1584, where they were kept in custody to the end of their lives. In the next few years he subdued a number of smaller strongholds and conquered the Yāfi' and other districts so that by 1591, the land could be considered pacified. Six years later a new and dangerous rebellion broke out among the Zaidīs led by the Mahdī al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad; the latter occupied the district of Kaukabān and the fortress of Thulā and was only driven out in 1598 after fierce fighting, but continued to hold out for some years more in Shahāra. At the end of Redjeb 1012 (beginning of 1604), Ḥasan Pasha was recalled at his own request and returned to Constantinople. At the end of Ṣafar 1014 (middle of July 1605) he became governor of Egypt, which post he filled till the end of Muḥarram 1016 (end of May 1607). A few months after his return from there he died in Constantinople on the 9th or 16th Redjeb 1016 (beginning of November 1607).

Bibliography: Selanīkī, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 214, 222, 223; Na'īmā, *Ta'rīkh*, i. 122, 197, 249; Kātib Čelebi, *Taḳwīm*, p. 220; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 128 (Biography); dealing particularly with the campaigns in Yemen: Rutgers, *Historia Jemanae sub Hasano Pascha*, Lugd. Bat. 1838; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh-i Yemen we Ṣan'ā*, i. 153—187; Wüstenfeld, *Jemen im XI. (XVII.) Jahrhundert*, p. 35—41. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤASAN PASHA. [See SOKOLLI and ḲALA'IĶLI ḤASAN PASHA.]

ḤASAN PASHA AL-SEIYID, a native of a village in the district of Ḳarahiṣār-i sharḳī, entered the Janissaries, in 1146 attained the rank of *ḳul-kaya* (lieutenant-general), took part in the Persian campaigns and in the middle of Rabī' I 1151 (beginning of July 1738) during the war with Austria was promoted to be agha of Janissaries. After receiving the rank of pasha of three tails for his bravery in this war, he was appointed Grand Vizier on the 4th Sha'bān 1156 (23rd Sept. 1743) in spite of the fact that he could neither read nor write. The continuation of the war with Nādir Shāh, the cessation by the convention of 18th January 1744 of the border warfare with Austria, which had been going on intermittently since the Peace of Belgrade (1739), and various diplomatic steps, which were instigated by the celebrated adventurer Bonneval Aḥmed Pasha [q. v.] with a view to the reception of the Porte into the European Concert, all fell within his period of office. As a result of Serai intrigues he was dismissed on the 22nd Redjeb 1159 (10th Aug. 1746) and banished to Rhodes. In the following year the governorship of Itchil and a little later that of Diyārbakr was given him, and he died in the latter town at the end of 1161 (1748).

Bibliography: *Ta'rīkh* of 'Izzī, fol. 187 vo. *sq.*; *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā*, continuation of Dilāwerzāde 'Omer Efendi, p. 71 *sq.*; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 152 *sq.* (Biographies); cf. also *Ḥadīḳat [al-Djawāmi']*, i. 89, and v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, viii. 39, 46—75. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤASAN PASHA SHERIF (in Wāṣif, ČELEBI ZĀDE AL-SEIYID ḤASAN) was the son of Rusčuk Čelebi al-Ḥādjdjī Suleimān Agha, who is mentioned in the year 1770 as leader of the troops of Rusčuk, Silistria and Giurgewo in the war against Russia (1769—1774). He himself took part with distinction in the Krim-Khān Girāi's raid into the Ukraine in the winter of 1769 which was become celebrated in Baron Tott's description (*Mémoires*, iii. 171—201), as *serden geḍi aghasi* (chief of volunteers). In the course of the campaign he was rewarded for the financial support which he had given the Grand-Vizier Muḥsinzāde by being granted the rank of *ḳapudji bashi* and on the 23rd Djumādā II 1187 (11th Aug. 1773) was appointed commander of Rusčuk with the rank of vizier. After the conclusion of peace (1774) he fell into disgrace, lost the rank of vizier and spent a number of years in exile in Philippopolis and Salonica. After the outbreak of war with Russia at the end of 1201 (autumn 1787) he was again given various military commands on the Danube and, after the death of Djazā'irli Ḥasan Pasha on the 1st Sha'bān 1204 (16th April 1790), he was appointed Grand-Vizier and generalissimo in his place. While his brother Seiyid Meḥemmed was able to inflict a considerable reverse on the Austrians and their Russian allies on the 25th Ramaḍān 1204 (8th June 1790), his own campaign against the Russians was most unfortunate; towards the end of the year the latter captured in rapid succession the fortresses of Kilia, Tulča, Isaḳdja and Ismā'īl and, as Sherif Ḥasan Pasha had moreover brought suspicion upon himself by all kinds of arbitrary actions and the frankness of his reports, he was surprised in the night of 9th Djumādā II 1205 (12—17th February 1791) in his quarters in Shumla and shot by the Sulṭān's orders.

Bibliography: *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā*, continuation of Aḥmed Djāwid, p. 41 *sq.*; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 160 (Biographies); *Ta'rīkh* of Wāṣif, Vol. ii. *passim*; *Ta'rīkh* of Djewdet, iv. 352—447; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, vi. 768, 796—841. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤASANĪ, in the plural *Ḥasaniyūn*, a kind of patronymic, or *nisba* given to the 'Alid [q. v.] Sherifs, descendants of al-Ḥasan son of 'Alī and Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad. *Ḥasanī* is used in opposition to *Ḥusainī*, the surname of the Sherifs, who trace their descent from al-Ḥusain the second son of 'Alī and Fāṭima.

In Morocco, however, the surname Ḥasanī is particularly applied to the Sherifs descended from Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya, to distinguish them

from their cousins the Idrīsids [q. v.]. These Sherifs, formerly located particularly in the south of Morocco, have played a considerable part in the history of N.-W. Africa. The date and cause of their installation in the country is not known. Legend says that they arrived there at the time of the rise of Marīnid dynasty. A number of pious Muslims of Sidjilmāsa, a town in the south of the Great Atlas, returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca are said to have stopped at Yanbuʿ, a town on the Arabian coast, to the west of Medina. There they became friendly with a Sherif named al-Ḥasan. Appreciating the spiritual advantages of attending his discourses and the heavenly benefits obtained by his intervention they persuaded him to follow them and settle with them in their own country. This individual was surnamed *al-Dākhil*, i. e. he who introduces his family (into a country). The expectations of the devout Muslims were fulfilled: al-Ḥasan and his sons were a source of blessings to their new country.

At this time the people of the Wādī Draʿa found to their grief that their palms were dying and the fruit would not ripen. It was said to them: "If you bring a Sherif to settle among you as the people of Sidjilmāsa have done, your fruits will undoubtedly be as good as theirs". The people of Draʿa took this advice and brought from Yanbuʿ the Sherif Mūlāy Zīdān b. Aḥmad, cousin-german of al-Ḥasan al-Dākhil through his father. Al-Ḥasan's descendants spread throughout Tafilelt and formed the stock of ʿAlawī Sherifs, so called after their ancestor ʿAlī al-Marrākushī. Those of Zīdān lived in the Wādī Draʿa and were the ancestors of the Saʿdī Sulṭāns, so called after an ethnic group, the Banū Saʿd b. Abū Bakr, among whom the sons of Zīdān had settled together.

No less turbulent than the Idrīsid Sherifs of northern Morocco, the Sherifs of Sidjilmāsa or the Banū Saʿd had frequently quarrels to settle with the Marīnids. But being farther from the seat of the central government, behind the formidable natural rampart of the High Atlas, they were more easily able to organise themselves either to render themselves independent or to extend their influence. Supported by solidly constituted Arab groups, aided by the religious faction, controlled entirely by the Sherifs of different origins, the Saʿdīs succeeded in overthrowing the Berber Emir dynasties of Morocco and in guiding the destinies of the country for over a century (1553—1664). Seven years after their disappearance from the centre of turmoil, about 1671, Mūlāy Ismāʿīl was the true founder of the Sherifi dynasty which still rules Morocco.

Bibliography: al-Ḳādirī, *al-Durr al-sanī*, Fez 1309, *passim*; Idrīs b. Aḥmad, *al-Durar al-bahīya*, 2 vols., Fez 1300, *passim*; Muḥammad al-Dilāʾī, *Natīdjat al-Taḥaḳḳuḳ*, Fez 1309, *passim*; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fez, n. d., p. 125; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fez, 3 vol., i. 218, ff.; al-Salāwī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1312, iii. 3 *sqq.*, iv. 4 *sqq.*; Cour, *Établissement des Dynasties des Chérifs*, Paris 1904, *passim*; Massignon, *Le Maroc*, Algiers 1906, p. 169.

(A. Cour.)

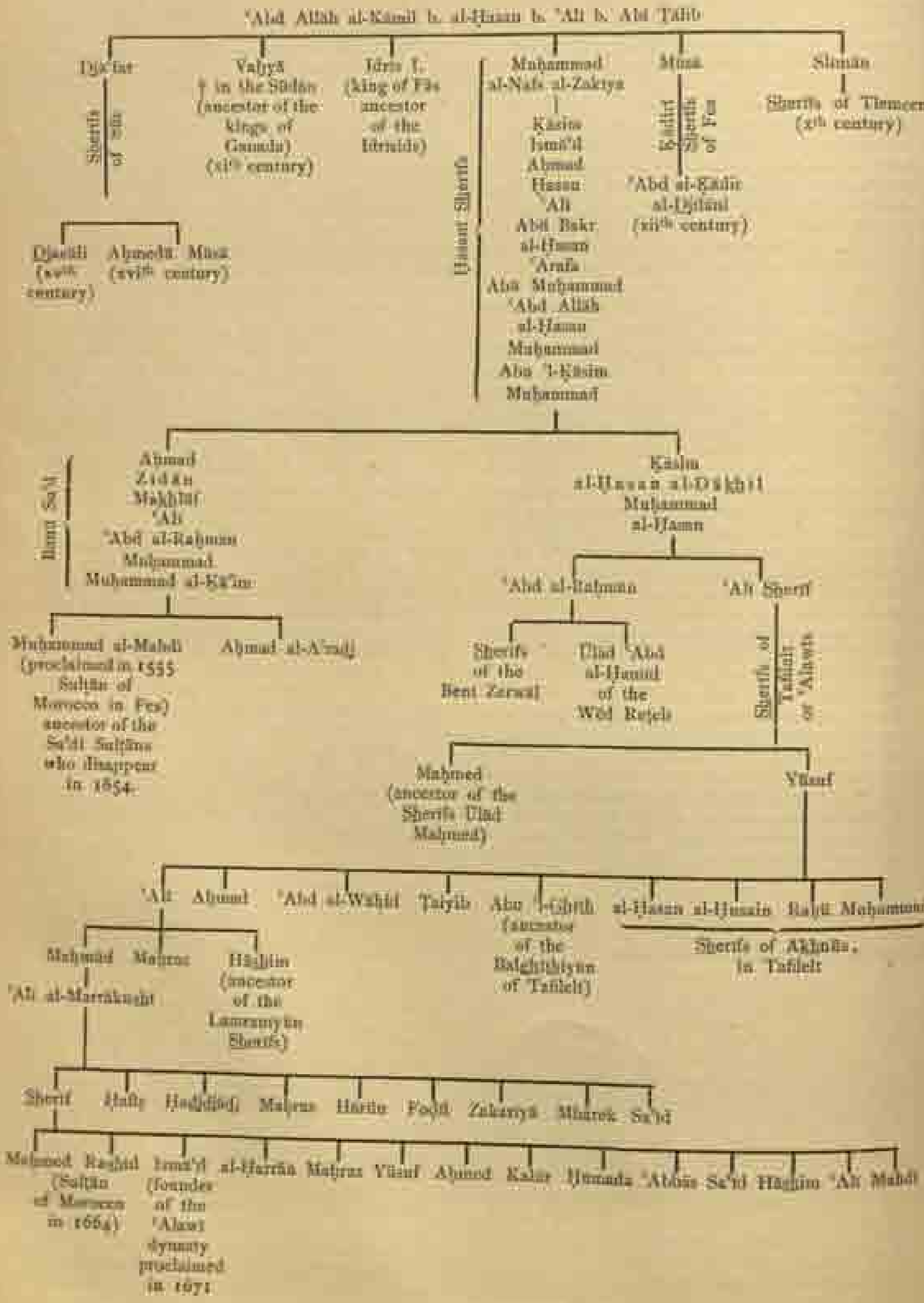
ḤASANWAIH b. al-Ḥusain al-Barzīkānī, a Kurd chief, founder of a dynasty which bears his name, which maintained itself for about half a century. Two other chiefs of his tribe, the brothers Wandād and Ghānim were also particularly distinguished. When Wandād died in 349 = 960-961 he was succeeded by his son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who had soon to cede his territory to Ḥasanwaih. The power of the latter now increased more and more. His rule extended over a great part of Kurdistan and included the towns of Dīnawar, Hamadhān and Nahāwand. Although he forced caravans to pay heavy tribute and made the roads unsafe by his raids, Rukn al-Dawla did not trouble about him, as Ḥasanwaih supported the Dailamis in their wars against the Khorāsānians. But in Muḥarram 359 = Nov.-Dec. 969 Rukn al-Dawla had finally to send an army under the vizier Ibn al-ʿAmīd against him. The latter died on the road and his son had to make peace with Ḥasanwaih. After the death of Ḥasanwaih in 369 = 979-980, his son Badr [q.v.] was recognised as governor of Kurdistān by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla. In 405 = 1014-1015 Badr was murdered and the dynasty of the Ḥasanwaihids disappeared with his grandson Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir) b. Hilāl, who succeeded him but was defeated and thrown into prison in the same year by the Būyid Shams al-Dawla.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 445 *sq.*, 518—521; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, iv. 445, 454, 512 *sqq.*; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 138.

(K. V. Zettersteen.)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Ḥasanī Sherīfs of Morocco.



ḤĀSHID and **BAKĪL**, a large confederation of tribes in South Arabia. The genealogy of the Ḥāshid is given by the Arabs of South Arabia at the present day as Ḥāshid al-Asghar b. Djusham b. Nawf b. Ḥāshid al-Akbar b. Djusham b. Hamdān. Bakīl is held by them to be the son of Ḥāshid al-Akbar. Their land, called by Niebuhr Balad al-Ḳabā'il "land of the tribes", lies near Ṣan'ā' [q. v.] and stretches eastwards to Ma'rib [q. v.] and Nadjrān [q. v.] and northwards right up to the desert as far as eastwards of Ṣa'da [q. v.].

The Ḥāshid, who number 22,000 warriors, are divided into three main groups: al-Khārif (with three subdivisions [*thulth*, "third"]: Djubar, Kalbiyīn and al-Ṣayad), Banū Ṣuraim (north of the Khārif, with nine subdivisions [*tis'e* "ninth"] including Khamr) and al-'Usaimāt (Usemel in Niebuhr) to the north of the latter up to two days' journey from Ṣa'da with three subdivisions, including the 'Usaimāt al-Wazn). At the present day the Beled Hamdān (north of Ṣan'ā') and Sanhān (s. w. of Ṣan'ā') are also reckoned to the Ḥāshid.

The following are included in the lands of the Ḥāshid, the Ḳā'a Shams, Ḳā'a Hais (with an ancient cistern and Ḥimyarite cemetery), and the Ḳā'a al-Bawn (parts of the Wādī Hirrān), Djebel Dhū Bīn (Debin in Niebuhr), with the Wādī of the same name (a tributary of the Wādī Shuwāba [Hirrān]), the villages of Ḥūt, Araḳet (in Ṣayad), Khamr (an ancient Ḥimyarite town, according to Hamdānī, the birth-place of As'ad Tubba'), the ruins of Tafir (on the north bank of the Wādī Shuwāba with mosque and tomb of a saint. Near the Bawn at Djebel Tanlin (Thalin in *al-Iklīl* of Hamdānī), on the northern peak of which is a very ancient Ḥimyarite mausoleum (with many inscriptions), the tomb of the saint Khālid, to which the Ḥāshid still bring offerings, lies the famous ruin of Nā'iṭ (Nā'aṭ, נעמם of the South Arabian inscriptions, formerly with 20 palaces, among them Dhū La'wa), which Hamdānī calls the most splendid that he had ever seen.

The Ḥāshid have a bad name throughout South Arabia. The explorer E. Glaser, who visited their territory, on the other hand describes them as frank and kindly in their nature. Unlike the Bakīl there is a certain tribal spirit among them and many gifted poets are still to be found among them, whose productions are not inferior to those of a Neshwān.

The Bakīl (בכלם of the South Arabian inscriptions), who live to the east of the lands of the Ḥāshid, include the following tribes: Bal-Ḥārith [q. v.], Bilād al-Bustān (between the Ḥaḍūr Shu'aib and Hamdān [s. ḤAḌŪR]), Khawlān [q. v.], Djibr, Arḥab (north of the Bal-Ḥārith), Nihm (Nehm, east of Arḥab), 'Ayāl Soreḥ (Soraih, west of Arḥab), al-Djawf [q. v.], Nawf, Dhū Muḥammad (in Niebuhr Dōm Muhammed), Dhū Ḥusain, Sufyān, Marhiba (Merhebe, the two latter north of Arḥab), Wadi'a (Wāda'a, Wadey in Niebuhr, north of Nadjrān), Hamdān (different from that at Ṣan'ā'), 'Ayāl Sālim, Wā'ila, 'Amālisa and Ahl Ammār (perhaps identical with the Al-Ammār, which Miles [in a letter to Sprenger] mentions among the tribes of the Wādī Dawāsir). Ṣan'ā' itself was at one time considered to belong to the Bakīl. The Bakīl are said to number 80,000 warriors.

Of the tribes mentioned we have detailed accounts in modern times of the Arḥab whose land was visited and explored by Glaser in 1885. It is a small territory but rich in ancient monuments. It is bounded on the south by the Balḥārith, on the east by the Nihm, on the north by the Sufyān, Marhiba and Ḥāshid (al-Khārif, the subdivisions Djubar and Sayad) and in the west by the 'Ayāl Soreḥ and Hamdān. It is divided into two main groups, Zuhair (with five subdivisions) and Dhaibān (in Niebuhr Dalfān) with Ḥiṣān (with seven subdivisions, among them the Ahl Manṣūr and Ḥakam). In the land of the Zuhair are the following places, Djirbet, Shamarim, Zabbād (with Ḥimyarite ruins, often mentioned in South Arabian inscriptions), Sirwāḥ (different from that near Ma'rib [q. v.]), rich in ruins; in this district at the so-called Hadjar [stone of] Arḥab, the Arḥab hold their assemblies on important occasions), Khubba (with the ruins of al-Medīnetēn and Ḥiṣn Sanad, near the basalt cone of Ḍurb), the famous village of Madar (south of Sirwāḥ), Shirā', Darafūt, Bait Marrān, Shāhir, Bawsan, and Radjaw. In the land of the Dhaibān lie the famous ruins of Itwa (Etwa) and Riyām; in Ḥiṣān is the large village of Ḥizam (with the tribe of the same name). Among the wādīs in the land of the Arḥab may be mentioned the great Wādī Khārid. The plateau of Arḥab is volcanic in character. The west of the land is studded with basalt cones like the land of the Hamdān and Ayāl Soreḥ.

Like the other once flourishing lands of the Ḥāshid and Bakīl, Arḥab is now poverty-stricken and deserted; in the lower parts poor crops of cereals (wheat and barley) are found, in the higher, perhaps dhura (a kind of millet). The once splendid vine-groves of this district have long since been utterly ruined. In Hamdānī's time Arḥab was famous for an excellent breed of cattle.

The Ḥāshid and Bakīl belong to the Zaidī sect and are mostly independent (only the Balḥārith, Bilād al-Bustān, Khawlān and Ayāl Soreḥ are under Turkish suzerainty). On account of the increasing impoverishment of their lands many of the Ḥāshid and Bakīl have been forced to leave their territory; we thus find Ḥāshid in the district of Djebel Bura' (in the south of Kuḥriya land [q. v.]) and Dhū Muḥammad in the land of Ta'izz [q. v.]. They usually enter the armies of the neighbouring rulers (the Imām of Ṣan'ā', and the Sherīf of Mecca). Even in India they are sought as mercenaries.

During Glaser's stay in Ṣan'ā' in 1885, a fierce war was raging between the Bakīl and the Ḥāshid. The feud was caused by the Bakīl (Sufyān) who carried off two women of the Ḥāshid, whereupon the latter began massacres in the villages of the Sufyān in Khaiwān. The settlement of the dispute was conducted by the governor-general of Ṣan'ā', 'Izzet Pāsha, who thereby won a certain influence over these tribes.

Hamdānī in his *Djazīra* gives us a detailed account of the Ḥāshid and Bakīl. He mentions the most of the above-named tribes. In his time they inhabited the same districts as at the present day. They lived in the "Balad Hamdān" [q. v.], which was divided into two parts, the east belonging to the Bakīl and the west to the Ḥāshid: in the lands of the Bakīl there were a certain number of Ḥāshid and vice versa.

In Hamdānī's time the land of the Ḥāshid included Ruḥāba (chiefly inhabited by the Wadi'a),

the great plain of al-Bawn (in common with the Bakīl), with the villages of Raida [with the citadel of Talfum], Ḥammda, ʿAthār, al-Ghail, Ḳāʿa, Urhaḳ, Zilma, the latter belonging to the Ḥājib of al-Kharif), the two ruins of Irwa and Riyām, Ukānit ([illegible] of the inscriptions, a large town, in common with the Bakīl), the ruin of Madar (Madr, in common with the Bakīl and Yām), Athāfit (called Durna in the Djāhiliya; here the poet al-Aʿshā of Hamdān used to live during the date-harvest), the Balad al-Ṣayad (with al-Khashab, Dhū Bīn [[illegible] of the inscriptions], Yanāʿa or Yunāʿa), al-Kharif ([illegible] of the inscriptions, with the market Hanal or Ḥimil dating from heathen times and the villages of ʿAsnaʿin and al-Ḥafr or al-Ḥafar), the Balad Wādiʿa (with Sanām, Ḥumdān, [so Djazīra, p. 112, 2, the index on the other hand has Ḥamadān], Tamuʾ), Ḥind and Ḥunaida, Balad Khaiwān (the largest district of the Ḥāshid, the east was inhabited by the Bakīl), Khamir, Lāʿa (the beginning of the Ḥāshid in the south, with the two mountains Akhūf [between the Wādī Lāʿa and Wādī Surdud] and Aḥnum or Aḥzam and the villages of Tais, Nadjar, Shāhiḥ, al-Bakir, the markets of Tamān and al-ʿArīḳa), Balad Ḥadjūr (with 40,000 inhabitants; with the villages of al-Djerab [large market for Tihāma, Mecca, and all Hamdān, which used to be visited by 20,000], Saḥbān, Ḥairān and Djadhān), ʿUdhar Shaʿb, Ḥinwam (a very fertile district, rich in palms and honey; was inhabited by the brave and distinguished clan of al-Aḥnūm, which numbered 5000 warriors), the two fortified hills of ʿAjljān and Shuhara or Shahāra, with the precious stone called Saʿwānī, after Wādī Saʿwān near Ṣanʿāʾ [a black stone with white veins], the Djebel Ḥadidja, Mawlak and the great mountain Sharaf (lower part) (the markets of al-Kalābidj), Bira (both belonging to the Djabar), Ṣāfir, al-Faḳīʿa, Kuṭāba.

The lands of the Bakīl included: al-Ṣummʿ, Ḥadaḳān (both in the west of the Raḥba of Ṣanʿāʾ), Madjra ʿUdhar or ʿUdhar Madjra (with numerous wādīs, which flow into the Kharid, and with many cornfields and vineyards), the Djebel Dhaibān, rich in vines (inhabited by the brave and distinguished group of tribes Dhaibān b. ʿAlyān), Harīb al-Radjrādj (with silver-mines; on the boundary between the Nihm, Murhiba, Balharith and Upper Khawlān), the Wādī Maḥram (inhabited by the Murhiba and Nihm), the Upper Djawf (with the villages of Sharaba, Hirrān [on the tributaries of the Kharid of the same name], Ṣawlān, the Djebel Warwar (with market), which belong to the Sufyān b. Arḥab), al-Sahr, the villages between Khaiwān and Ṣaʿda (including al-Khaiwiya, ʿIyān, Birkān or Barkān), the Balad Shākir b. Bakīl (with the great mountain of Barat [with a very healthy climate, rich in cornfields, inhabited by the clan Duhma, presumably the Dahheme or Dom Mūsā of Niebuhr], Djadim, Ṭalāḥ [Ṭalaʿ]; the Wādīs of this Balad, which flow to the Ghāʾil, Djawf and Nadjrān, were rich in wild asses), al-Ḥaḍan, (inhabited by the Wāʾila b. Shākir). Markets of the Bakīl were the Warwar already mentioned, Ghuraḳ and Raida (the latter in the land of the Ḥāshid).

According to Yāḳūt, a very poisonous plant grows in the land of the Ḥāshid and Bakīl, which is known only to them and is found nowhere else. The Ḥāshid and Bakīl therefore guard it carefully and use it very sparingly, as the Egyptians do with the plants from which they press balsam. Several kings of the Banū Nadjāḥ died of this poison.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, 66, 6—23, 68, 13—69, 20, 81, 3—9, 107, 16, 109, 13—113, 20, 124, 21—23, 135, 11—23, 154, 16, 167, 14, 169, 3—7, 193, 20—195, 7, 200, 14—17, 201, 11—26, 202, 19—22, 224, 6—25; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 706—707; iv. 458; Kay, *Yaman* (London 1892), p. 107, 175 (translation); K. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 181, 258—266, 280; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London 1829), i. 446; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 714—715, 735, 954—955, 1009; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 158—159, 179—180, 305; E. Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Ḥâschid* in *A. Petermanns Mitteilungen*, xxx. [1884], p. 170—183, 204—213, and xxxii. [1886], Table I. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

HĀSHIM B. ʿABD AL-MANĀF, ancestor of the Hāshimids. The tradition that Muḥammad belonged to this family is confirmed by several ancient poems e.g. Aʿshā in Ibn Hishām, p. 256, 5, who calls Muḥammad Hāshim's son, cf. also p. 633, 18; 799, 12. But whether Hāshim really was ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's father and Muḥammad's grandfather, as tradition avers, is by no means so certain, as the association of the Banū Hāshim with the Banū Muṭṭalib, *ibid.* p. 536, 14, or the enumeration of the Meccan families in Ḥassān b. Thābit (*Kāmil*, p. 141, *sq.*) do not exactly corroborate it. In any case, all that the Arabs tell of his life is mere legend. He is said to have supervised the provision of water for the pilgrims and to have been a merchant honoured alike by the Emperor and the Nadjāshī, who first instituted the two annual caravans of the Meccans. He received his name because he had broken (*hashama*) bread for the hungry during a famine. His wife Salmā bint ʿAmr belonged to the Khazradj family of al-Nadjdjār, but this is probably one of the many fictions of the Medinese to make their relationship with the Prophet tenable (cf. the articles ĀMINA and ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB). According to tradition, Hāshim died in Ghazza [q. v.] and was buried there.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, p. 68 *sq.*; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1082—1084, 1088—1091; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, i. i. 43—47; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i. 256 *sq.*; Wüstenfeld, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, vii. 28—31; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 109 *sq.* (FR. BUHL.)

ḤĀSHIYA (A.) 1. is identical with ḤASHW [q. v.] in its third, fourth and fifth senses; 2. the margin of a page; hence a marginal note, a super-commentary upon a commentary (SHARḤ, q. v.) upon a text (MATN, q. v.). The whole text is comprised in the *sharḥ*, but only a word or two in the *ḥāshiya*, though the latter may be more extensive than the original text. For other meanings of *ḥāshiya* see Lane, *Lexicon*, and Dozy, *Supplément*. (T. H. WEIR.)

HASHMET, an Ottoman poet, son of the Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker ʿAbbās Efendi, a contemporary and favourite of Rāghib Pasha. He chose a career in law and theology. But before he had passed through the various grades of the Müderrisat, he was banished to Brusa with the poet Nevres Efendi for his satirical verses in 1175 (1761-1762) and afterwards alone to Rhodes, where he died in 1182 (1768-1769) and was buried beside Murād Raʾīs.

Hashmet was as good a marksman and swords-

man as he was an excellent poet. His great strength lies in ingenious imitations and adaptations to the ideas and language of his predecessors, not in original works. In him the characteristic feature of Ottoman poetry in general, great skill in imitation, (a parasitical kind of poesy, flourishing only on a foreign growth of assured reputation), became a veritable genius for adaptation. In his *ḳaṣīdas* he imitates Nafʿī, in his g̲h̲azals a number of poets. He is only entitled to a modest place as an original poet, which he also tried to be. A vigorous and robust tone marks his more independent poems. The boldness with which he attacks his highly-placed enemies is striking.

His *Dīwān* was not published by himself but by the Brusa scholar, Seiyid Meḥmed Saʿīd Imāmzāde, with a laudatory preface from the latter's pen in 1180 (1766-1767). It was printed in four parts at Būlāḳ in 1257 (1841). Of his prose works there have survived: *Intisāb al-mulūk* (The Service of the Kings), a vision which Hashmet professes to have had on the accession of Muṣṭafā III; a *Sūr-nāme* or *Wilāyet-nāme*, the description of the festivities on the occasion of the birth of the princess Heibet Allāh 1172 (1759); the *Sened al-S̲h̲uʿarā*, a work dedicated to Rag̲h̲ib Pas̲h̲a and accompanied by a metrical introduction by him; lastly the explanation of a sūra of the Ḳurʾān and of the Ḥadīt̲h̲s transmitted in metrical form.

Bibliography: M. Nād̲j̲ī, *Esāmī* (1308), p. 121; T̲h̲uraiya, *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī* (1311), ii. 233; Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 322; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 140—150; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 204. (Theodor Menzel.)

ḤAS̲H̲R (A.), assembly, particularly that on the day of resurrection (*yawm al-Ḥas̲h̲r*). Cf. the article ḲIYĀMA. — Title of Sūra lix.

ḤAS̲H̲W, the stuffing of a pillow, cushion, vegetable, etc. Hence: 1. 'Medial'. You say "its *alif* has become medial (*ḥas̲h̲wan*)". 2. A relative clause. Sībawaihi calls a *ṣila* a *ḥas̲h̲w* (*Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, p. 57). 3. A parenthesis, with which nothing in the sentence is syntactically connected, synonymous with *iʿtirāḍ* (Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. De Sacy, p. 85, 86). 4. A redundancy or tautology or otiose expression, as *ṣudāʿ al-raʾs* (headache of the head). It differs from *taʾkīd* in that the latter always serves to remove a doubt (Ḥarīrī, *loc. cit.*). 5. In prosody, the portion of either hemistich of a verse between the first and the last foot. (Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p. 119, 346, 527). A verse consisting of the foot *mafāʿīlun* repeated four times would have no *ḥas̲h̲w*.

Bibliography: Sprenger and Lees, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, Pt. i. p. 395 *sq.*; Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, p. 31 and 92. (T. H. Weir.)

ḤAS̲H̲WĪYA, also ḤAS̲H̲AWĪYA or AHL AL-ḤAS̲H̲W, a contemptuous term for those among the men of Tradition (*Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīt̲h̲*, q. v.), who recognised the coarsely anthropomorphic traditions as genuine, without criticism and even with a kind of preference, and interpreted them literally. A few names of individuals who made themselves notorious in this way and who belonged neither to the Karrāmiya nor to those S̲h̲īʿīs who did the same, are mentioned by al-S̲h̲ahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 77. The Sālimiya also (cf. Goldziher in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.*, lxi., 79) are among them. The Muʿtazila accused the whole of the Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīt̲h̲ as Ḥas̲h̲wiya because they tolerated anthropomorphic expressions, although without the lack of good taste of the Ḥas̲h̲wiya proper and often with the retention of the "how" (*bilā kaifa*).

Bibliography: Van Vloten in *Actes du 11e Congrès internation. des Orientalistes*, 3e Section, p. 99 *sq.*; M. Th. Houtsma in *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, xxvi. 196 *sqq.* (where further references are given).

ḤĀSIK (HASEK), a town in the Mahra country [q. v.], east of Mirbāṭ [q. v.] in 17° 21′ N. Lat. and 55° 23′ E. Long., at the foot of the high mountain of Nūs (Lūs), the *Ἀσίχων* of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Before the town lies the "bay of herbs" (Djūn al-Ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲), the bay of Ḥāsik (Raʾs Ḥāsik), also called Kurya and Murya Bay after the two islands lying opposite (K̲h̲uryān and Maryān in Idrīsī). Idrīsī describes Ḥāsik as a small fortified town four days east of Mirbāṭ, with many inhabitants, who are fishermen. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa landed here on his way through to ʿOmān and found the houses built of fishbones with roofs of camelskins. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's and Idrīsī's time there was great intercourse between Ḥāsik and the island of Sokoṭrā [q. v.] to the south. The frankincense, which was produced in the Mahra country, was exported through Ḥāsik. The town is now quite ruined. It is called Sūḳ Ḥāsik and is inhabited by the Korah (or Koreh) and other tribes of the frankincense country.

Opposite Ḥāsik, according to Miles about 20 miles from the coast, lie the "seven isles of Zenobia" (the *ἑπτὰ νῆσοι*, *αἱ Ζηνοβίου λεγόμεναι* of the *Periplus*), the K̲h̲uryān and Maryān group of Idrīsī, called the Djazāʾir Ibn Khalfān, after a prominent Mahrī family, by the Arabs of the south coast. The most westerly of the islands and the one nearest the coast bears the name Ḥāsikī or Ḥāsikiya i. e. the island belonging to Ḥāsik (the Portuguese, who visited this island in 1888, called it Hequiye). Like the most easterly of the islands, Ḳibliya, it is covered by a large number of peaked hills mainly composed of red and streaked granite and inhabited by pelicans and diving birds. Hulton, who visited the islands in 1836, found only one of them, Hallaniya, inhabited by men, twenty-three ichthyophagi. He found that their language resembled that of Sokoṭrā. The huts in which they lived consisted of loose stones above which were laid fishbones covered with seaweed. They belonged to the Bait (Banū) Djenabe (Djenabi = Zenabios of the *Periplus*) to the same tribe as lived on the coast between Ḥāsik and Raʾs al-Ḥadd. Their ancestors are said to have migrated hither several centuries ago, after being driven from Ḥāsik and Mirbāṭ as a result of feuds with their neighbours. Ptolemy and Pliny call the people of these islands *Ἀσχιται* or Ascitae, a name doubtless connected with Ḥāsik, although the ancients connected this name with *ἀσκός* "wine-skin".

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra* (ed. Müller), p. 52, 1; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti), ii. 214—215; Hulton, *Account of the Curya Murya Isles near the south-eastern coast of Arabia* in the *Journal of the London Royal Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. xi. (1841), p. 156—164; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 264, 305, 306, 311, 312, 335—347, 656—657; A. Sprenger, *Die*

alte Geographie Arabiens, p. 95, 98—99, 313—314. (J. Schleifer.)

ḤASSĀN b. Mālik, grandson of the Kalbī chief Baḥdal b. Unaif [q. v.] and uncle of the Caliph Yazīd I. These qualifications as well as the prestige of his family and of the powerful tribe of Kalb procured him in the reigns of Mu'āwiya and Yazīd the post of governor of Palestine and the Jordan territory. He had previously distinguished himself in battle in the Syrian army at Ṣiffīn. He then accompanied the young Yazīd, when the latter went to Damascus to ascend the Caliph's throne. During the reign of his nephew he was the most influential person at court. On Yazīd's sudden death and the succession soon after of Mu'āwiya II, his grandnephew, Ibn Baḥdal — as he was usually called — became governor of the Djund of Jordan, the only one which, through his intervention, had remained faithful to the Omayyad cause. He now advanced against Damascus to be able to follow events on the scene and to champion the interests of the younger sons of the Caliph Yazīd, who had been entrusted to his guardianship. He took up his abode with them in Djābiya. From here he is said, by a series of clever manoeuvres, to have succeeded in unmasking Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳais [q. v.] who was a traitor to the Omayyad cause. Another story however, given by Ibn Sa'd, ascribes this diplomatic success with more justice — as Fr. Buhl has shown — to the able 'Ubaid Allāh, son of Ziyād. The latter also persuaded Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to come forward as a claimant to the vacant throne. When Ḥassān took up the candidature of his grandnephew Khālid b. Yazīd, the Omayyads and their supporters were forced to come to him at Djābiya. There an assembly was held under the presidency of the Kalbī chief [cf. DJĀBIYA, i. 988 sq.].

After 40 days' negotiations Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was chosen Caliph. But before Ibn Baḥdal recognised him, he extorted his consent to the succession of the young Khālid after Marwān's death, important privileges for his tribe, and the confirmation of all the privileges which his family had enjoyed under the Sufyānids. Henceforth his influence began to decline. When Marwān died, he is said to have pledged him to recognise 'Abd al-Malik as his successor. On 'Amr al-Ashdaḳ's [q. v.] rebellion, Ḥassān took 'Abd al-Malik's side and was among the Omayyads at the murder of this rebel. After this event the name of this Kalbī chief, who had held the fortunes of the Omayyad dynasty in his hand for a long period, is no longer mentioned.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (ed. Guirgass), p. 184; Ya'ḳūbī, *Hist.* (ed. Houtsma), ii. 301, 304, 306; *Aghānī*, xvii. 111; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), ii. 468—470, 472, 474, 476, 478, 483, 576, 577, 588, 785, 787); *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, xxvii. 50—54; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Mo'âwia Ier*, p. 287; do., *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, p. 109. (H. Lammens.)

ḤASSĀN b. al-Nu'mān al-Ghassānī, governor of Ifrīḳiya. After Zuhair's departure (which is not to be explained by the religious scruples to which it is usually attributed), and his defeat and death at Barḳa, Ifrīḳiya remained without a governor, the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik being wholly occupied with his struggle with Ibn Zubair. On the conclusion of this war Ḥassān was sent to Ifrīḳiya to pacify or rather to reconquer it. He first of all attacked Carthage, which still belonged to the Byzantines. The city was taken by storm but a number of the inhabitants were able to escape to Sicily. The fall of Carthage produced great consternation at the court of Constantinople. The emperor Leontios equipped a fleet, which appeared before Carthage under the patrician Johannes in 697. Ḥassān could not oppose it; he had just been beaten on the banks of the Wādī Nīnī by the Berbers, who had risen under the prophetess celebrated under the Arabic name of Kāhina [q. v.] and were cooperating with the Greeks. Ḥassān and the few of his followers who had survived the disaster were hard pressed to Gabes and did not stop till they reached Barḳa. There he awaited help from the Caliph. In 698 Carthage was besieged by the Muslims from land and sea and again taken and the patrician Johannes returned to the east with the remnants of his fleet. Ḥassān conquered all the fortresses in Ifrīḳiya occupied by the Greeks and then took the field against Kāhina. As usual the Berbers after their first success had been unable to agree among themselves; the heroine was thus defeated by treachery and killed in Awrās at a well which afterwards bore her name (according to others at Tabarca). Ḥassān was next proceeding to levy *kharādj* on the whole of the conquered country when he was suddenly dismissed by 'Abd al-'Azīz, the governor of Egypt, and deprived of all his estates. He died in 80 (699-700). The chronology of his campaigns against Carthage and the Berbers was uncertain even by al-'Idhārī's time; here that of Diehl is followed.

Bibliography: Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (ed. de Goeje) p. 229; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, i. 18—24; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Arab text (Algiers 1857), p. 7-8, transl. by De Slane (Paris, 1859), p. 20—23; al-Tidjānī, *Voyage dans la régence de Tunis*, transl. Rousseau (Paris, 1853), p. 63—69; al-Nuwairī, in *Histoire des Berbères*, Vol. i., appendix, p. 338—343; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*, ed. and transl. Desvergers (Paris, 1841), text, p. 5—6, transl., p. 24—28; *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (ed. de Būlāḳ), vi. 109; *Histoire des Berbères*, trad. de Slane, i. 213—219; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mūnis* (Tunis, 1286 A. H.), p. 17-18; Moulay Aḥmed, *Riḥla* (Fās, 2 vols., n. d.), i. 47—52; French transl. (Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le Sud de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1846), p. 232—234; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i. 237—224; A. Müller, *Der Islam etc.*, i. 420—422; Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris, 1896), p. 581—586, and the sources quoted; Audollent, *Carthage romaine* (Paris, 1901), p. 138—141. (René Basset.)

ḤASSĀN b. Thābit of the tribe of al-Khazradj both on his father's and mother's side, was born at Madīna about the year 563, being thus some seven or eight years older than Muḥammad. He was the most eminent city poet of his age. He attached himself as court poet to the kings of Ghassān at Djillīḳ, the sons and grandsons of al-Ḥārith al-A'radj. Here he met with al-Nābigha and 'Alḳama, and for his panegyric upon 'Amr, recited in their presence, was rewarded with a pension. This did not prevent him from visiting al-Nu'mān Abū Ḳābūs of al-Ḥīra. The visit aroused

the jealousy of the Ghassānid, but Ḥassān succeeded in allaying his suspicions. On the return of al-Nābigha to the favour of al-Nu'mān, Ḥassān prudently withdrew. At the fair of 'Ukāẓ his claim to preeminence had been rejected by his Badawī rival, and his inferiority demonstrated. He is said to have been about sixty years of age when he deemed it prudent to throw in his lot with Muḥammad, who was fast winning his way to the front. This did not alienate the friendship of the Ghassānids, though Ḥassān, in view of Muḥammad's raids, did not deem it prudent to visit his old friends. To Muḥammad the services of Ḥassān were invaluable in replying to the lampoons of the unbelieving poets; and the Prophet showed his appreciation of them by presenting him with an estate and the Egyptian slave Sīrīn, sister of Mary the Copt, and even forgave the part he played in the matter of 'Ā'isha and Ṣafwān. His most notable service to Islām was perhaps the conversion of Tamīm, whose champions he worsted in a contest of verse. He survived not only Muḥammad but also Abū Bakr and 'Umar, upon all of whom he has some fine elegies; but he was especially devoted to 'Uthmān, who had lived in his brother's house in Madīna after the Hidjra [q. v.], and the guilt of whose murder he laid at the door of 'Alī. He is said to have died at the age of 120 years; his family became extinct.

Ḥassān was the founder of the religious poetry of Islām. His verses abound with Ḳur'ānic phrases, but they are also full of the boasting (*fakhr*) of the Ignorance. His forte, however, was satire and scurrility. It was these qualities which made him a useful instrument to Muḥammad. To European taste his poetry is preferable to that of the desert poets; but its chief value is as a source for the history of Islām.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, Tunis 1864, Bombay 1865, Leyden 1910 (ed. by Hartwig Hirschfeld, Gibb Memorial Series); Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, by index. (T. H. Weir.)

HĀTIF (A.) means one who cries out, summons, proclaims, with a voice harsh, high, strong. The root is also used to express the ringing sound of a bow, the yearning of a pigeon, a moaning wind, rolling thunder. For these forces see *Lisān*, xi. 259, but *hatūf* in the sense "thunder-cloud" is found only in *Asās al-Balāgha* and connects with the modern Arabian use of *hattāfī* in the sense "steady rain" (Socin, *Dīwān aus Centralarabien*, i. 188, l. 11). More narrowly it is used to describe a voice which comes, while the speaker remains invisible, bringing mysterious information, or warning, or summoning, or inspiring with poetry. The last is common in Persian, e. g. in Niẓāmī, see W. Bacher, *Niẓāmī's Leben u. Werke*, p. 11, note 12, p. 41, note 5. It brings tidings of death (*Aghānī*, xxi. 126, l. 2); is heard in connection with a family of *kāhins* (*Aghānī*, xv. 76, l. 28); by it a serpent-*djinnī* (*shudjā'*) shows its gratitude (*Aghānī*, xix. 86, l. 2). It is thus a method by which the djinn manifest themselves, and may be contrasted with the *ṭā'if* or *ṭā'if al-khayāl*, which is seen, while the *hātif* is only heard, and which had apparently satanic associations (*Aghānī*, vii. 131, last l., and Lane, *Lexicon*, 1905c-1906a). Yet in *Aghānī* viii. 65, l. 16, a *ṭā'if* is heard but not seen. The narrative in *Aghānī*, vii. 131, of how a *hātif* brought to Buthaina news of the death of Djamīl is detailed and psychologically very suggestive. As an auditory hallucination, veridical or otherwise, it could easily be paralleled in Gurney and Myers' *Phantasms of the Living* (also *Encycl. Brit.*[11], xii. 862) and explained on their hypothesis. But for the *hātif* other words were quite commonly used in older Arabic (*munādī*, *ṣā'iḥ*, *dā'ī*) and so, while the phenomenon is closely parallel to the Hebrew *Bath ḳōl* (cf. *Bat ḳol* in *Jewish Encycl.*, ii. 588 *sqq.*) the word *hātif* is only one descriptive among others and not a specific name. Goldziher (*Arabische Philologie*, i. 210 *sqq.*) distinguishes the more frequent *ʿazīf*, or unintelligible sounds of the djinn from these rarer voices carrying a meaning, and Wellhausen even thinks of the *hātif* as a later development under the influence of the civilisation of the towns (*Reste*, p. 139, note). For a later sceptical attitude, with a rationalistic explanation, see the Mu'tazilite Mas'ūdī in *Murūdj*, iii. 323 *sqq.* But this attitude made little way and the *hātif* in later, and especially in religious literature, lost its vagueness and became more and more defined and frequent. The stories of the lives and experiences of the saints (*awliyā'*) are so full of occurrences that separate references are needless. *Hātif*'s gave many testimonies to the truth of the prophetship of Muḥammad, and according to Sprenger (*Leben*, iii. 57), there were at least two books written on these under the title *Hawātif al-Djinn* by Abū Bakr al-Kharā'iṭī and Ibn Abi Dunyā (d. 281). See on the latter Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*sub tit.*) and Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, i. 154; the *Fihrist* (p. 185) does not mention this book in dealing with him. In magic such voices can be sent at will by the use of certain rites. This is called *irsāl al-hawātif*, and the messages committed to them will be heard by the persons mentioned in the spell (Aḥmad al-Zarḳāwī, *Mafātīḥ*, pp. 175, 198). Finally, we have, in Persian and Turkish, the Perso-Arabic compound *hātif-i-ghaib* "inward monitor" (Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 513). The mediaeval usage in the sense of "herald" belongs to the lexicons, see Dozy, *sub voce*.

Bibliography: It has been given in the article. The important passages are in Goldziher, *Arabische Philologie*, i., especially p. 212 and in Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 139. Cf. Sprenger, *Leben*, i. 216. (D. B. Macdonald.)

HĀTIF, Saiyid Aḥmad Hātif, a Persian poet of Iṣfahān, died in 1198 (1784). He is the author of a famous *tardjī'* (poem with a refrain) translated by Schlechta-Wssehrd in the *Ztschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, v. 80 *sqq.*, and was celebrated as a writer of ghazals. Specimens of the latter are given in Bland, *A Century of Persian Ghazals*, p. 38 *sqq.* Manuscripts of his *Dīwān* are rare; there is one in the Bodleian Library, cf. Ethé, *Catalogue*, N°. 1188.

Bibliography: Defrémery in *Journ. Asiat.*, 5th Series, Vol. vii. 130 *sqq.*; Ethé in the *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 313 *sq.*

HĀTIFĪ, 'Abd Allāh, a Persian poet, son of Djāmī's [q. v.] sister, born at Khardjird in the district of Djām, which belonged to Herāt, and died in 927 (1521). He celebrated the conquests of Tīmūr in an epic entitled *Tīmūr-nāmah* (also *Ẓafar-nāmah*), lithogr., Lucknow 1869. He also intended to compose a "five" (*khamsa*), i. e. a collection of five long poems, but never carried his plan into operation. We possess however a

Laila u Madjnūn (ed. Sir William Jones, Calcutta 1788, and lithogr. Lucknow 1879), which was to form a part of it, as well as a *Haft Manẓar*. He was visited by Shāh Ismāʿīl when the latter returned from the conquest of Khorāsān in 917 (1511) and was commanded to compose a poem on this event; but he only composed about a thousand verses of it; the *Shāh-nāmah* of the Ṣafawids, which it was intended to be, was never completed.

Bibliography: Luṭf ʿAlī beg, *Ātesh-kede*, p. 65; Riḍā-Ḳulī-Khān, *Medjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, ii. 54; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 3, 346; Bābur, *Mémoires*, p. 227 (transl. Pavet de Courteille, Vol. i. p. 409); Hammer, *Redekünste Persiens*, p. 355; Ouseley, *Notices*, p. 143; Rieu, *Catal. Persian MSS.*, p. 652; Ethé, *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii. 237, 239, 246—248, 579, 580-587. (CL. HUART.)

ḤAṬĪM. [See KAʿBA].

ḤĀTIM AL-ṬĀʾĪ b. ʿABD ALLĀH b. SAʿD, a knight and poet of the pre-Muhammadan period, who lived from the last half of the sixth into the beginning of the seventh century, a contemporary of the poets al-Nābigha, Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, and ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ. He displayed in a high degree the virtues of the *Murūwa* [q. v.], particularly hospitality and liberality, in the practice of which he paid no regard to his own needs. This tendency to extravagant generosity was revealed in him even as a youth; the consequence was that his grandfather, under whose guardianship he had lived since the early death of his father, abandoned him. Legend pictures him as the ideal type of the pre-Muhammadan Arab. (For further particulars of him and his relations with the kings of Ḥīra see Schulthess *op. cit.*, introduction).

His generosity became proverbial (*adjwad min Ḥātim*) and he was called al-Djawād or al-Adjwad. It is even related that after his death he used to attend to those who appealed to his hospitality at his grave (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i. 234). This grave was probably on a mountain (ʿUwārid, Yāḳūt, iii. 740) in Tūnghā on the Wādī Ḥāʾil (in al-Masʿūdī *Tūnghā* should be read for *Baḳḳa* and *Ḥāʾil* for *al-Khalīl* following Yāḳūt, i. 880) where he is said to have lived. On the right and on the left of his tomb, according to al-Masʿūdī (cf. Dīwān, Nº. xiv., and Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, new ed., ii. 295 *sq.*), there were four stone figures representing maidens with dishevelled hair mourning over his grave. At his tomb there was also shown the remains of the large kettle out of which Ḥātim used to feed his guests. According to Palgrave's *Narrative*, i. 224 *sq.*, the grave seems still to be known in this district.

His verses are for the most part concerned with the praise of generosity and unselfishness. His *Dīwān*, which in its present form probably contains a number of verses that are not his, was possibly originally much larger (*Fihrist*, p. 132, *penu.*, about 200 *waraḳa*). Ḥātim became a very popular figure in Arab literature. In Persia he became the hero of a very popular romance, *Ḳiṣṣa-i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī* (also *Ḳiṣṣa-i haft Sair* (*Sairī*)-*i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī*), transl. by D. Forbes (London 1830, O. T. F.) from a version which differs markedly from the Calcutta editions (ed. J. Atkinson, 1818, and 1827) (see Forbes, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. vii.); the *Haft Inṣāf-i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī* forms a continuation.

A briefer account of Ḥātim's life and deeds was given by Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (died 910 = 1504-1505) in *Ḳiṣaṣ u Āthār-i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī* or *Risāla-i Ḥātimīya*, ed. Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, i. 173 *sqq.* There is also a Turkish version of the romance, *Dāstān-i Ḥātim Ṭāʾī*, (Constantinople 1272). A number of editions of a Hindūstānī translation of the *Ḳiṣṣa-i Ḥātim*, entitled *Ārāʾish-i Maḥfil*, are given in the *India Office Catalogue*, ii. 2, *Hindūstānī Books*, by J. F. Blumhardt, p. 135 *sq.*, cf. also Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litt. Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, i. 552 *sq.*; on a metrical version of the romance in Hindī and Hindūstānī, cf. Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, i. 497, iii. 148.

Bibliography: *Der Dīwān des arabischen Dichters Ḥātim Ṭej*, ed., transl. and annot. by Dr. Fr. Schulthess (cf. Barth, *Zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dīwāns Ḥātim Ṭejjs* in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lii. 34 *sqq.*) and the bibl. quoted in the Introduction; *Kitāb Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrānīya* (ed. Cheikho), i. 98—134; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-Shuʿarāʾ* (ed. de Goeje), p. 123—130; al-Masʿūdī, Paris ed., iii. 327—331; *Aghānī*[1], xvi. 96 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, *l. c.*, and i. 312, 790; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, i. 26 *sq.*, and bibl. there given. — On the Persian romance cf. H. Ethé, *Catal. Pers. MSS. India Office*, Nº. 780—785, and Catalogues quoted there; Browne, *A Catal. of the Pers. MSS. .... Cambridge*, Nos. 319, 333, p. 399, 420—422; *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 310 *sq.*

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

ḤAṬṬĪN or **ḤIṬṬĪN**, in the Talmud Kefar Ḥaṭṭiye, a village to the west of and above Tiberias on a fertile plain, the southern border of which is formed by a steep limestone ridge. At both the western and eastern ends of the ridge there is a higher summit called Ḳurūn Ḥaṭṭīn. A tradition, known in the xiith century, the origin of which is uncertain, places the tomb of the prophet Shuʿaib (Jitro) here; the little chapel, which has been rebuilt in modern times and is annually visited by the Druses, lies on an elevation in a rocky valley at the western summit. On the uneven tableland southeast of the rocky ridge was fought the battle which destroyed the power of the Crusaders, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn won a great victory over the Christians on the 5th July 1187. After the Frankish troops, tormented by heat and thirst, had been some cut down, others put to flight, the remainder retired to the eastern summit, where many were thrown over the steep southern side. In memory of this the victor built a small chapel on the summit, called Ḳubbat al-Naṣr.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 291 *sqq.*; Dimishḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, p. 21, 1; R. Hartmann, *Ḥalīl al-Ẓāhirī*, p. 48; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 450 *sq.*; Ibn el-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 352—355; Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, iii. 2, 275 *sqq.*; Robinson, *Palestine*[2], ii. 378; iii. 341, 342; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 193; Frei, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*, ix. 142 *sqq.*

(FR. BUHL.)

HAUSAS, a negro people in the Sūdān. They occupy the zone included between the Sahara on the north, Bornu on the east, the bend of the Niger on the west and the coast countries

of the Gulf of Guinea (Togo, Dahomey, Benin and the Cameroons) on the south. It is one of the largest ethnic groups in Africa; according to Robinson it numbers about 15,000,000 souls.

The Hausas are very clearly distinguished in physique from other black races. As a rule they are tall; their hands and feet are small, their features regular and their physiognomy intelligent. They are active and quick-witted and are fond of sport and war. Their physical qualities and their bravery make the Hausas excellent soldiers. Therefore the English in Nigeria and the Germans in Togoland and the Cameroons recruit their police forces from among them.

The Hausas live by agriculture, industry and commerce. The soil, tilled by the hoe and improved by manuring, produces rice, millet and especially cotton, which is manufactured in the country itself. Industry indeed is well developed and bears witness to the relatively high degree of civilization which the inhabitants have attained. The textile industry is particularly flourishing. The cotton thread spun by the women is dyed in various colours, then woven into long narrow strips, which are used to make different articles of clothing (robes, shirts, trousers and burnuses). These clothes are famous for their fineness and are exported all over the Sūdān. Basketwork, tanning, shoemaking and saddlery are equally prosperous as well as goldsmithery and the manufacture of metal goods for domestic use or ornament. In all these works the Hausa show a well developed artistic sense.

They are also able and enterprising merchants. Their towns, particularly Kano, have very frequent markets. Every year their caravans make the three months' journey across the Sahara, carrying to Tripoli the products of the Sūdān, clothstuffs, leather, ivory, and ostrich feathers, and returning laden with European products. Other caravans go to Upper Egypt and the shores of the Red Sea. Lastly the pilgrimage to Mecca, methodically organised, furnishes the Hausa with the opportunity and excuse for lucrative trading operations. They were at one time great slave traders but European intervention has considerably reduced this traffic. Colonies of Hausa merchants, numbering sometimes 2000—3000 individuals, are established not only in the principal places of the Sūdān but also at Ghadāmes, Ghāt, Tripoli, Tunis, Cairo, Massawa and in the majority of the towns of the Atlantic coast (Lagos, Akra, Freetown etc.).

Islām is now the religion of the Hausas. Introduced in the xv^th century, it made considerable progress in the xix^th as a result of the conquest of the country by the Pīl (Fulbe) who imposed it by force on the conquered people. Only the tribes of the forest or mountain districts have remained fetish-worshippers. In religious matters however the Hausas show a singular lukewarmness. According to Robinson, mosques are hardly found, except in Sokoto and Kano. "In the large towns" writes the same author, "perhaps half the population are nominally Mohammedans, whilst the rest can hardly be said to have any definite form of religion at all" (*Hausaland*, p. 184). If the idols have disappeared, overthrown by the Fulbe, ancient superstitions have survived, such, for example, as the belief in lucky and unlucky days, the use of talismans to cure diseases, a custom exploited by the Ḥādjdjīs returned from Mecca, who are credited with possessing the power of writing infallible charms. In spite however of the rather unorthodox character of these practices the Hausas are none the less active propagators of Islām among their fetish-worshipping neighbours.

At the same time as their religion they spread around them the use of their language, which has become the *lingua franca* of the Sūdān and even of certain parts of the Sahara. The character and classification of this language has been often discussed since Schön made the first specimens of it known to European scholars. Some philologists (e. g. Müller and Lepsius) relying on certain morphological analogies which it presents with the Berber dialects, proposed to class it in the Hamitic family. According to another view put forward by M. Delafosse and supported by M. Lippert, "Hausa is a language of negro origin on account of its very large number of radicals and vocalic terminations. This negro language has been profoundly influenced in grammar by the languages of the Hamitic family and has borrowed a considerable number of radicals and roots..... Semitic influence on this language has been almost nil; not more remarkable, in any case, than on any language spoken by Muslims and equal to the influence of the European languages on the dialects of the coast (importation of foreign words designating new objects)". The literature consists of a number of chronicles, tales and popular songs which have been collected and published by Europeans.

History. The origin of the Hausas is very uncertain. Barth identifies them, but in a very hypothetical fashion, with the Atarantes of Herodotos. One fact is certain: the Hausas used to live in a more northern region than that which they now occupy, which corresponded to Damergu and the oasis of Air. The Hilālī invasion brought into these lands Tuaregs driven southwards by the Berber tribes of Northern Africa. For some time these two races lived in harmony and their intermarriage produced half-castes, the ancestors of the servile tribes who now live in dependence on the Tuareg. Then, the resources of the oasis becoming insufficient, the Hausas migrated southwards and founded various states of which the most ancient appears to be that of Biram. According to a mythical genealogy given by Barth, Biram is actually considered the ancestor of the Hausas. His descendants, Gober, Kano, Rano, Katsena and Segseg (Zaria) were the creators of the kingdoms which still bear these names and which are called the seven legitimate Hausas (*Hausa bokoi*). The other states, the population of which has become much mixed with foreign elements (Yoruba, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Bautshi, Zanfara and Kebi), were known as bastard Hausas (*Hausa banza bokoi*). These kingdoms varied in extent. The oldest, Biram and Kano, were not much larger than their capitals, the others attained a considerable development. The Sulṭāns of Gober and later those of Katsena, Kano and Zaria conquered vast territories and were able to put in the field armies of 2000 horsemen and 10,000 foot-soldiers.

The earliest mention of a Hausa kingdom, Gober, is found in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. When this traveller visited the Sūdān (1353), the Hausa were still pagans. Although certain legends ascribe the introduction of Islām to missionaries sent by the Caliph 'Omar, this religion was in reality brought to the Hausas

at the end of the xivth century by merchants coming from the countries of the central Niger and Bornū, which had long been islamised. Their propaganda was perhaps strengthened by the preaching of the celebrated marabout of Tuāt, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghīlī. In any case, by the end of the xvth century Kano and Katsena had become recognised centres of intellectual culture. Many marabouts of Djenne and Timbuktu stopped there on their return from the pilgrimage to Mecca and taught theology and Mālikī law there to the native students. The conversion of the Hausas was not complete however and even in the xviiith century the people of Gober relapsed for a time into paganism.

We know very little about the history of the different Hausa states. Their material prosperity seems however to have been remarkable in spite of the bloody wars they had to wage against their neighbours, notably the Songhai and the people of Bornū. As a result of the Moroccan conquest Katsena inherited the economic importance of Gao and, according to Barth, had more than 100,000 inhabitants; Kano became and has remained to the present time the most important market in the whole Sūdān.

The political organisation of the country was profoundly modified in the beginning of the xixth century. Till then the various states had remained independent of one another. They were now incorporated in the vast empire the foundations of which were laid in 1802 by the Fulbe marabout ʿOthmān dan Fodio (cf. the article FUL). In fifteen years all the Hausa country was conquered, the local sulṭāns were dethroned and replaced by governors dependent on the Sulṭān of Sokoto, the capital built by ʿOthmān. On the latter's death the empire was divided into two sultanates with Sokoto and Gando as capitals and the various provinces were shared between the two sovereigns. The conquerors were however in part absorbed in and assimilated to the conquered. The Fulbe established in the towns mixed with the Hausa and gradually lost their own language and civilisation by this intercourse. The extension of the conquest even developed the spirit of initiative and enterprise in the Hausas. They broke their original bounds on all sides and introduced their language and the Muslim religion into the neighbouring countries. This is why we find them settled in large numbers in Togoland, in Adamawa and the Cameroons. Lastly, in the last quarter of the xixth century, Europeans, informed by travellers of the richness of the country, have endeavoured to submit it to their rule. The French and English disputed access to the Hausa country at the same time as to the lands of the lower Niger. The English were successful and the Anglo-French treaty of the 5th August 1890, completed by the agreements of the 12th July 1893, the 14th June 1898, and the Anglo-German agreement of 15th November 1893, left practically the whole of the Hausa country in the sphere of British influence.

Bibliography: Barth, *Travels and Discoveries*; do., *Sammlung und Bearbeitung central-afrikanischer Vocabularien*, Gotha 1862; M. Delafosse, *Manuel de langue haoussa*, Paris 1901; Le Roux, *Essai de dictionnaire de la langue haoussa*, Algiers 1886; Lippert, *Haussa-Märchen*, Berlin 1905 = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, viii; do., *Über die Stellung der Haussasprache unter den afrikanischen Sprachen*, *ibid.* ix., Berlin 1906; do., *Über die Bedeutung der Haussanation für unsere Togo- und Camerun Kolonie*, *ibid.* x., Berlin 1907; Lippert and Mischlich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Haussastaaten*, *ibid.* vi., Berlin 1903; A. Mischlich, *Über Sitten und Gebräuche im Hausa*, *ibid.* x., xi., xii., Berlin 1907, 1908, 1909; Mockler Ferryman, *Up the Niger*, London 1892; Monteil, *De Saint Louis à Tripoli par le Tchad*, Paris 1894; R. Prietze, *Haussa Sprichwörter und Haussa Lieder*, Kirchhain 1904; Robinson, *Hausaland*, London 1896; do., *Nigeria*, London 1900; do. and Brooks, *Dictionary of Hausa Language*, London 1899; do. and Burdon, *Hausa Grammar*, London 1905; Landeroin and Tilho, *Grammaire et contes haoussas*, Paris 1909; do., *Dictionnaire haoussa*, Paris 1910; Edgar, *Litafina Tatsuniyoyi na hausa*, Belfast 1911, 2 v.; Mischlich, *Wörterbuch der Hausasprache*, i. Berlin 1906; Schön, *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, London 1876, 2 v.; Staudinger, *Im Herzen der Haussa Länder*, Leipzig 1891; Schön, *Magana hausa*, London 1885; do., *Hausa Reading Book*, London 1877; do., *Hausa Grammar*, London 1862; Miller, *Hausa Notes*, London 1901; Seidel, *Die Haussasprache*, Heidelberg 1906; Merrick, *Hausa Proverbs*, London 1905; Westermann, *Die Sprache der Haussa*, Berlin 1911; Mischlich, *Lehrbuch der Hausa-Sprache*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1911; Fletcher, *Hausa Sayings and Folklore*, Oxford 1912; Marré, *Die Sprache der Hausa*, Vienna n. d.; Brooks, *Batu na abubuan Hausa*, London 1903; Harris, *Hausa Stories*, Weston n. d.; Charlton, *A Hausa Reading Book*, Oxford 1908; Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions*, London 1913; Rattray, *Hausa Folk-lore, Customs, Proverbs*, Oxford 1913, 2 v.

(G. YVER.)

ḤAWĀLA (A.), literally "turn"; in Muslim law the transference of a debt from one person to another. The *ḥawāla* is an agreement by which a debtor is freed from a debt by another becoming responsible for it (N. Seignette, *Code Musulman par Khalîl*, p. 173). This transference of the obligation is the angle around which this legal mechanism "turns".

The word *ḥawāla* then comes to denote the document by which the transference of the debt is completed and next receives the meaning of cheque, or order to pay, to a public chest also.

Bibliography: N. de Tornauw, *Das Muslimische Recht aus den Quellen dargestellt*, Leipzig, p. 139 *sqq.*; A. Querry, *Droit Musulman* (Shīʿī), i. 480.

(CL. HUART.)

ḤAWĀRĪ, apostle. The word is borrowed from the Ethiopic, where *ḥawārya* has the same meaning (see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 48). The derivations from the Arabic "he who wears white clothes" etc. are erroneous. Tradition delights to give foreign epithets which were current among the "people of the scripture", to the earliest missionaries of Islām. Abū Bakr is called *al-Ṣiddīḳ*, ʿUmar *al-Fārūḳ*, al-Zubair Ibn al-ʿAwwām *al-Ḥawārī*.

At the same time we find the collective name al-Ḥawāriyūn for twelve individuals, who are said to have been appointed *naḳībs* of the Medinese at the "second ʿAḳaba" by Muḥammad (or by those present) as "surety for their people just as the apostles were sureties for ʿĪsā b. Maryam

and I (Muḥammad) am for my people". Christian influence is also found elsewhere in the account of the "second 'Aḳaba", the total number of those present being usually given as 70 or 72, apparently on the analogy of the Evangelical accounts of the 70 or 72 apostles (St. Luke, x. 1, 17).

Of these twelve Ḥawārīyūn 9 are said to have belonged to the Khazradj and 3 to the Aws. They were: Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, As'ad b. Zurāra, Sa'd b. al-Rabī', Sa'd b. Abī Khaithama, Mundhir b. 'Amr, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, Abu 'l-Haitham b. al-Taiyihān, Usaid b. Ḥuḍair, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, Rāfi' b. Mālik.

According to an other account however, the Ḥawārīyūn belonged exclusively to the tribe of Ḳuraish *viz.*, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ḥamza, Dja'far, Abū 'Ubaida b. al-Djarrāḥ, 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaid Allāh, al-Zubair b. al-'Awwām (cf. *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, p. 344). From these accounts it is again clear how the rivalry between Anṣār and Muhādjirūn has influenced Tradition.

The tradition regarding these twelve Muslim apostles has perhaps, like so many traditions, arisen as a deduction from a statement in the Ḳur'ān. In Sūra 3, 45, 61, 14 Jesus says: "Who are My Anṣār for God ('s cause)?" and the Ḥawārīyūn answered: "We are the Anṣār of God".

The parallel with Muḥammad's own position is here clear enough and it is obvious that Muslim Ḥawārīyūn were found to be a necessity alongside of the Muslim Anṣār.

There are statements in several Muslim writers regarding the disciples of Jesus, which for the most part go back to passages in the Apostles. Cf. the articles 'Īsā and MATTHIAS.

(A. J. WENSINCK.)

ḤAWĀSHĪ. [See ḤĀSHIYA.]

HAWĀSHIM or HĀSHIMIDS is the name given to those Sherifs of Mecca, descendants of a Ḥasanid named Abū Hāshim Muḥammad, who ruled there from 455 (1063) to 597 (1201). Their names are Abū Hāshim Muḥammad till 487 (1094), his son Abū Fulaita Ḳāsim till 517 or 518 (1124), Fulaita b. Ḳāsim till 527 (1133), Hāshim b. Fulaita till 549 (1154) according to other statements till 551 (1156), Ḳāsim b. Hāshim till 556 (1161) 'Īsā b. Fulaita till 570 (1174-1175). The latter's sons, Mukthir and Dā'ūd, as well as Manṣūr b. Dā'ūd then disputed the succession, till finally another Ḥasanid named Ḳatāda [q. v.] took advantage of this family quarrel to seize the town of Mecca and transmitted the Sherifate to his descendants. None of these Hawāshim did anything remarkable; at first their ambiguous attitude on the question, whether the Fāṭimid or 'Abbāsid Caliph was to be mentioned in prayer, more than once brought great misfortune on the Meccans. For further details cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka*, p. 224 *sqq.*, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 62 *sqq.*, where the native sources are also given.

HAWĀZIN, a large North Arabian tribe. Their genealogy is Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Ḳais 'Ailān b. Muḍar. Among the important clans of the Hawāzin may be mentioned the Thaḳīf in Ṭā'if northeast of Mecca where there is still a powerful tribe of them, the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a [q. v.], the Djusham, the Sa'd b. Bakr (Ḥalīma b. Abī Dhuwaib, the nurse of the Prophet, was descended from them) and Hilāl. They were of the same stock as the Sulaim. During the Djāhiliya they worshipped the idol Djihār in 'Ukāẓ, the large and much frequented market of the Thaḳīf between Ṭā'if and Nakhla, where the poets used to recite their poems on the public market-place.

They were scattered through Nedjd (on the Yemen border) and the Eastern Ḥidjāz near Mecca. Among places which belonged to them may be mentioned: Amlaḥ, 'Adn al-Manāḥil, al-Danā, al-Dab'ān, Faif al-Rīḥ; among wādīs, Awṭās, Liya, Turaba and Ẓabya (in Yāḳūt *Mu'djam*, ii. 917; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 50, 9 gives Runiya and Turaba as belonging to the Hilāl, but as the Hilāl are a clan of the Hawāzin and as in other districts places which had once belonged to the Hawāzin or their clans were later inhabited by the Hilāl, e. g. Ṭā'if, Runiya and Ẓabya may be identical in which case there is a misreading between *r* and *z* or *b* and *n*); among waters, Dhu 'l-Ḥulaifa and Tiyān (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 220, Tayān); among mountains, al-Madaiyiḥ.

Towards the middle of the sixth century after the collapse of Yemeni suzerainty over the Ma'addi tribes, the Hawāzin had to pay tribute to the chief of the Ghaṭafān, Zuhair b. Djadhīma of 'Abs. When the latter was slain on the day of Nafrawāt by the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a in revenge for a massacre which he had instigated among one of their clans, the Ghanī [q. v.], the Hawāzin became independent. After the conclusion of peace between the 'Abs and Dhubyān, they united for common action against the Hawāzin (Djusham, 'Āmir and Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya) and the Sulaim their allies. Among the resulting battles were Raḳm, Nabā' and Liwā in which the Hawāzin were defeated.

In the ninth decade of the sixth century the Fidjār or sacrilegious wars began (so called because they took place chiefly in the sacred month Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da, by which the latter was profaned) between the Hawāzin on the one side and the Ḳuraish and other Kināna tribes on the other. The cause of the first Fidjār day, which took place on the market place of 'Ukāẓ was the aggressive attitude of Badr b. Ma'shar of the tribe of Ghifār, a branch of the Kināna, towards Aḥmar b. Māzin of the Hawāzin and the insulting of a man and woman of the Hawāzin by the Ḳuraish and Kināna soon after. After a cessation of hostilities for some time, war broke out again when 'Urwa al-Raḥḥāl, an important member of the Hawāzin (of the clan of Kilāb), who was leading a caravan of Nu'mān b. Mundhir, king of Ḥīra, to the market of 'Ukāẓ, was treacherously murdered by Barrāḍ b. Ḳais, a client of Ḥarb b. Umaiya, chief of the Ḳuraish, in the land of the Ghaṭafān. The Ḳuraish, who were in the market of 'Ukāẓ at the time, hearing of the murder, left 'Ukāẓ surreptitiously before the conclusion of the market to return to Mecca. They were pursued by the Hawāzin and the battle of Nakhla resulted. The Ḳuraish, fewer in numbers than their opponents, retired to the sacred district of Mecca (*ḥaram*) and thus escaped being followed up by their pursuers. The Prophet is said on this day to have been engaged in collecting the arrows shot by their enemies on the battlefield for his relatives, the Ḳuraish, being then according to some 14 and, according to others, 20 years of age. In the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da of the following year, the Hawāzin, reinforced by the Sulaim,

were the first to arrive at the market of ʿUkāẓ and took up a position on the hill of Samṭa. The Ḳuraish, who appeared soon afterwards on the battlefield under Ḥarb b. Umaiya, at first won the upper hand over their opponents but had finally to retire. The fortune of war again proved favourable to the Hawāzin a few months later in the battle of Abla (near ʿUkāẓ). This was followed by a battle on the field of ʿUkāẓ itself. In order not to be able to run away and to make good former defeats, a number of the Ḳuraish had their feet tied together (among them the five sons of Umaiya, who thence received the name *al-ʿAnābis* the "lions"), a strategem repeated in modern times in the war between the Egyptians under Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha and the Wahhābīs, in which a great many of the Arabs were found dying in this position. They thus withstood the enemy and the Hawāzin had to retire. The last battle between the Hawāzin and Ḳuraish, which was followed by definite peace, was that of Huraira, in which the Hawāzin put their enemies to flight.

When Muḥammad conquered Mecca in 8 = 630, the Hawāzin decided to march against Mecca under Mālik b. ʿAwf. On Mālik's advice they were followed by their women, children and cattle. Muḥammad, warned by spies of the intended attack, went to meet them with an army of 4000 men. They met in the valley of Ḥunain [q. v.] (about 10 miles from Mecca behind Mount ʿArafa). The Hawāzin suddenly fell upon the rear of the Muslims, who began to flee in panic. Inspired by the Prophet, who collected his most intimate companions (including his uncle ʿAbbās, Abū Sufyān, Abū Bakr and ʿOmar) around him and as in the battle of Badr [q. v.] cursed his enemies by throwing a handful of dust against them with the words "may your face be covered with destruction", the Muslims took courage and attacked the enemy. The Hawāzin were put to flight and left many dead upon the field; their women, children and cattle fell into the hands of the Muslims and were brought to Djiʿrāna. A number of the Hawāzin then retired to the valley of Awṭās. Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who went against them, drove them to seek refuge among the hills. They then fortified themselves in Ṭāʾif. Muḥammad besieged the town, but had to raise the siege after twenty days (on account of a dream, it is said) and returned to Djiʿrāna. Here the Prophet received a deputation of the Hawāzin who offered the submission of the tribe, if their families and possessions were returned to them. Muḥammad offered them the choice between their families and their possessions. The Hawāzin chose the former and peace was made: Mālik b. ʿAwf was then chosen *ʿāmil* of the Hawāzin. During the general secession under Abū Bakr, a number of the Hawāzin rebelled but submitted to Khālid b. al-Walīd after the battle of Buzākha in 11 = 32, like the Sulaim and other tribes.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, Index; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, Index; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1636, 1654—1686, and Index s. v.; *Aghānī*, xiii. 3, 4, 67; xix. 74—82, and Index s. v.; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 117—120, 840—880; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme* (Paris 1847-1848), i. 296—317; ii. 409—425, 537—540, 551—556; iii. 244—262, 295, 345, 363, 468; W. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, i. 224; ii. 1—6; iv. 136—155; do., *The early Caliphate*, p. 26; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, ii. Abt., Table G., and *Register*, p. 219—220; O. Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert*, in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxiii. p. 586; A. Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 155—158. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤAWĪZA, earlier ḤUWAIZA (diminutive from Ḥūz), a town in the swamp-country (*Khōr al-ʿazīm*) east of the Tigris in a very unhealthy situation. The town and its Nabataean population had a bad reputation even among the Arabs, as is clear from Abu ʾl-Walīd ʿAbd b. Khudkān's words quoted by Yāḳūt; he draws a repulsive picture of both in language imitated from Korʾānic phraseology. The older Arab geographers do not mention Ḥawīza, because, as Yāḳūt says, Dubais b. ʿAfīf al-Asadī, who died in 386 (996), was the first to build there, while Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī ascribes the foundation of the town to Shāpūr Dhu ʾl-Aktāf; according to the latter, in the viiith century it was one of the most flourishing towns in Khūzistān. Ḥawīza is still a centre of the Mandaeans. Cf. above, i. 678ᵃ *supra*.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 371 *sq.*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 241.

ḤAWRA, see AL-ḤIRYĀN (ḤIMṢ).

ḤAWRA (ḤŌRA), a town in Ḥaḍramaut, N. E. of Ḥaḍjarīn [q. v.] on the Djebel of the same name. The little Wādī Ḥōra flows past it, running for the earlier part of its course parallel to the large Wādī ʿAin (see ḤAḌRAMAWT, p. 208ᵇ) and then joining it. At the upper end of the town there is a large *ḥiṣn* with seven stories, flanked by corner towers, which commands the town. Here the ḥākim resides; he is appointed by the Ḳaʿaiṭī of Shibām [q. v.], to whom the town belongs. Hawra possesses a small bazaar and two mosques and is surrounded by gardens and fields, on which corn, indigo and tobacco are grown. The streets of the town are narrow and dirty. Leo Hirsch estimates the population at 2000. The figure given by Wrede for the population of this town, 8000, is much exaggerated like other figures given by this otherwise very meritorious explorer.

Bibliography: H. Fr. v. Maltzan, *Adolph v. Wrede's Reise in Hadhramaut*, p. 235; Van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout*, p. 13; Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Südarabien, Mahraland und Hadramût*, p. 179, 183; Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, p. 210, 211. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤAWRĀN, the חַוְרָן of the Bible, Ḥawrānu of the cuneiform inscriptions, Αὐρανῖτις of Josephus etc., is a district on the other side of Jordan, which has no well marked boundaries. Ḥawrān proper is the Djebel Ḥawrān with the plain of al-Nuḳra; in the wider sense the name covers the land up to the district of Djaidūr, the Nahr al-ʿAllān, a tributary of the Yarmūk, the Wādī ʾl-Shalāla and southwards as far as al-Balḳā [q. v.] and the steppes (*al-Ḥammād*). The Turkish *mutaṣarrifliḳ* of Ḥawrān however also comprises the district of Djaidūr, as well as Djawlān (Gaulanitis), Adjlūn (Gilead) and al-Balḳā. The governor (*mutaṣarrif*) resides at Shaikh Saʿd; Buṣr al-Ḥarīrī, al-Suwaidā, al-Ḳunaiṭira, Derʿāt (Edrei), Irbid and al-Salṭ are the headquarters of the ḳāʾimmaḳām's subordinate to him. Under the Mamlūks of Egypt the province was called al-Ḳibliya and the residence of the wālī was at Derʿāt. At an earlier period the ancient Boṣrā [q. v.] was the capital.

Ḥawrān is entirely a lava formation and is exceedingly fertile, the plain of al-Nuḳra being the granary of Syria; on the other hand, the adjoining tradhon of al-Ledjā is a dreadful desert. The Ḥawrān range (the Asalmanos of the ancients, usually called Djebel al-Durūz after its present inhabitants, is the highest elevation of the east Jordan country and attains a height of 6000 feet.

Historical. Ḥawrān is rich in historical associations. In so far as these reach back to remote times or belong to the Roman and Byzantine periods, they need not be dealt with here. That even before the Arab conquest there was an Arab kingdom here under Byzantine protection has already been mentioned in the article GHASSĀN [q. v.]. The capital of Boṣra was the first town to be conquered by the Arabs (634) and after the institution of the *djund* [q. v.] Ḥawrān belonged to the Djund Dimashḳ, as it has always since, although this military system of division afterwards fell into disuse and with the introduction of civil administrative divisions the name Wilāyet Dimashḳ appeared. The history of Ḥawrān thus coincides with that of Syria. For a time it attained greater importance during the Crusades, when the Muslims driven out of Palestine migrated hither and were able to make a stand against the Christians here. After the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem, these immigrants returned to their old homes and Ḥawrān had only a scattered population of Arab tribes left, who are included under the general name of 'Urbān al-Djebel.

In the xviiith century the resettlement of Ḥawrān by the Druses of Libanon began. It was brought about by the victory of the Shihābids over their opponents, the Yemenis, in 1711, whereupon the latter migrated to Ḥawrān. At their head was the Ḥamdān family whose abode was in Suwaidā. These migrations became more and more frequent in the xixth century, when the condition of Libanon became worse and worse for the Druses. In Ḥawrān on the other hand, they led quite an independent existence, paid no taxes, and in consequence of the fertility of the soil soon attained great prosperity. When the Ḥamdān, who had hitherto taken first place among the leading Druse families, became extinct, the Atrash took their place. Finally, in 1852, the Porte decided to send troops thither to bring them into submission but they were again withdrawn on the outbreak of the Crimean War. Midḥat Pasha [q. v.] therefore sought to come to an arrangement with the Druses peacefully, and appointed one of their shaikhs ḳa'immaḳām of Ḥawrān with his headquarters in Suwaidā; the latter succeeded in arranging the administration of the province on the Turkish fashion, but, although the Shaikhs were quite satisfied as they had now the support of the Ottoman government behind them, the peasants were very discontented and became rebellious, so that utter anarchy soon reigned again in Ḥawrān and the Druses in 1595 even besieged the Muslim population of the village of al-Ḥarāk in the Nuḳra, who had taken refuge in the mosque, forced them to surrender and destroyed the mosque. The Porte had again to intervene and bloody battles were fought, which did not however lead to the final pacification of the country, until finally 'Abd Allāh Pasha's strong measures succeeded in breaking the resistance of the Druses and introduced a tolerable state of affairs.

Bibliography: The older Arabic literature is given in Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 32—34; 'Alī Djawād, *Mamālik-i 'Othmān. Ta'rīkh, Djoghrafiya, Lughāti*, p. 350 *sqq.*; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *al-Ta'rīf bi 'l-Muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* (Cairo 1312), p. 177 *sqq.*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv.; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 1 *sqq.*; Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* i. 132 *sqq.*; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über den Haurān und die Trachonen*; *Zeitschr. des Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. xii. xx. xxi.; Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, i. 87 *sqq.*; Buhl, *Geographie des alt. Palest.*, s. Index; *Palestine and Syria* (Baedeker).

ḤAWSHABĪ (plural *Ḥawāshib*), a tribe in South Arabia, of pure Himyarite descent. Their land lies roughly between $44^{\circ} 45'$ and $45^{\circ} 5'$ East Long. (Greenw.) and between $13^{\circ} 11'$ and $13^{\circ} 30'$ North Lat. and is bounded in the south by Laḥdj (Laḥedj) [q. v.], in the west by the land of the Ṣubaiḥī (Sobāḥi) [q. v.] and of the Ḥudjriya [q. v.], in the north by the land of the Djā'da [q. v.] and in the east by the lower Yāfi'. The climate is tropical, the land fertile, producing wheat, coffee and cotton. Among the mountains may be mentioned Djebel Shi'ab (about 6000 feet high). The Wādīs Nūra and Bana (Banna) bound the land in the west and east. The capital and seat of the Sulṭān (Shaikh, 'Āḳil) is Raha, with a hiṣn and many stone houses. The Sulṭān receives an annual revenue from England and has to provide 1500 men when called upon. The inhabitants of the country, which is reputed unsafe, are Ḳabā'il (independent tribes) who only obey the Sulṭān in case of war. They are Shāfi'is and mainly cattle-rearers. They are constantly fighting with their neighbours. In 1870 they went to war with the Yāfi'ī, in 1871, with the Ṣubaiḥī. They are said to number 12,000—15,000. Hamdānī mentions them as inhabitants of the Djebel Ṣabir (Ṣabr).

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 78, 17; 99, 19; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 367; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 676; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, p. 350—352. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-ḤAWṬA, the name given in South Arabia to a district which is considered holy and regarded as a place of refuge. The substantive *ḥawṭa* denotes a place surrounded by a wall, then a place under the protection of a saint, who is buried there. The most important Ḥawṭa in South Arabia is that at 'Ināt ('Aināt [q. v.]) in Ḥaḍramawt, where the famous Shaikh Manṣab Abū Bakr b. Sālim is buried. The second in importance is the Ḥawṭa in the land of the Wāḥidī [q. v.]. The name Ḥawṭa is also borne by the capital of the land of the 'Abdalī, Laḥdj (Laḥedj) [q. v.], because several saints are buried there. Cf. Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 205-206. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-ḤAWṬA (HŌTA), a town in South Arabia in the land of the Upper Wāḥidī [q. v.] on the Wādī 'Amaḳīn. It has over 1000 inhabitants who belong for the most part to the Mashā'ikh of the family of Muḥammad b. 'Umar, who is said to be descended from 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (flourished in the vith century), about 100 fortress-like houses and in addition to a large mosque has seven smaller ones, a large market with shops, many looms and a considerable cotton industry. Al-Ḥawṭa is a free, independent town and pays no taxes. Next to 'Ināt [q. v.] it is the most

important place of refuge in South Arabia. The saint of al-Ḥawṭa who is buried in the great mosque, is the *faḳīh* 'Alī b. Muḥammad, a contemporary of the famous Shaikh Abū Bakr b. Sālim of 'Ināt. The *faḳīh* 'Alī is said himself to have planned this town to be a city of refuge and to have laid out its boundaries. The boundary stones (*manṣ'a*, plur. *manāṣi'*) still stand upright. On the birthday of the Mawlā of al-Ḥawṭa, which is celebrated on three days (Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday), after the appearance of the "fifth autumn star" at the beginning of the northeastern monsoon, a great market is held in the town, which is visited by people from great distances, e.g. from Ḥarīb [q. v.] and 'Omān. The neighbourhood of al-Ḥawṭa is very fertile. A mountain of some size rises above the town, where chamois, which are numerous there, are hunted.

Bibliography: H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, p. 130; Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 189—192. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤAWWĀ, the wife of Adam, created in Paradise out of a left rib from her sleeping husband, which operation caused him no pain. Otherwise no man would cleave to his wife (Tha'labī, p. 18; Kisā'ī, p. 31). As she was formed from a living being, he called her Ḥawwā (ibid., also Ṭabarī, i. 100; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 24; cf. *Genesis* 2, 23). As Adam was created out of dust and Ḥawwā out of a bone, man becomes more beautiful with increasing years but woman more ugly (Tha'labī, *ibid.*, agreeing with *Deut. R.*, 6; *Genesis R.*, 14 u. 17). Ḥawwā (Sūra vii. 20) bore the main guilt of the first sin, as, tempted by Iblīs, she ate of the tree of evil. Tradition relates that Ḥawwā offered her husband first wine, then the forbidden fruit and so became the cause of original sin (Tha'labī and *Gen. R.*, ibid.). Wine is therefore considered the source of all evil. Another tradition says that this meal plunged mankind into eternal grief. (Tha'labī and the Midrash, ibid.). Ten punishments, including menstruation, pregnancy and travail, remind the daughters of Eve of their mother's trespass. To console her, Ḥawwā received the assurance that every pious woman, devoted to her husband, would share Paradise in recompense for the mortal agonies of travail. If she died in child-bed, she would be enrolled in the body of martyrs and united with her husband in Paradise. Jewish and Arab sources mention in almost the same words the marriage of Adam and Ḥawwā at which God, Gabriel and the other angels were present (*Baba B.*, 75; *Sanh.*, 8. *Erubin*, 18, *Gen. R.*, 11, 17; *Levit. R.*, 20, *Koheleth R.*, 8 and Kisā'ī, p. 35). After the expulsion from Paradise Adam and Ḥawwā made the pilgrimage to Mecca, observed several ceremonies and Ḥawwā had her first menstruation. Then Adam stamped on the ground and the well of Zemzem burst forth and she used it for a bath of purification. Ḥawwā died two years after Adam and was buried beside him.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 109 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 24—25; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Cairo, 1312, p. 18—20; Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 30—78; Grünbaum, *Beiträge*, p. 64 *sqq.*; Weil, *Bibl. Legenden* etc., p. 17—30. (J. EISENBERG.)

AL-ḤAWWĀ' (A.), Snakecharmer, name of the constellation Ophiuchos (see above ii. 222ᵇ).

ḤĀYIL (AL-ḤAYEL, HAIL, HÄYYL), the capital of the land of Djebel Shammar [q. v.] in western Nedjd in the centre of a long plain called Sāhila al-Khammathiya, which lies between the parallel ranges of Adjā' (M'ant) and Salmā (Fitti) about 5000 feet above the level of the sea. The town, which is one of the main stations on the route for Persian pilgrims to Mecca, is surrounded by walls about 20 feet high and round and square towers. It is divided into eleven quarters and has a large mosque, a fortified palace with two towers of imposing hight, an important market with many warehouses and shops, in which in addition to foodstuffs (rice, meal, spices, coffee etc.) there are exposed clothstuffs, garments, weapons, tools (spades, crowbars), ores (iron, tin, lead ingots) etc., and large parks and gardens. Clothstuffs are imported from Manchester and Bombay, garments from Djawf and Baghdād, tools and ores from Europe. The trade of Ḥāyil is important, but industry (chiefly carried on by women, embroidery and needlework) very insignificant. Artisans (smiths, metalworkers, carpenters) are few in number in the town. The houses are well built and mostly of one storey, and the streets clean. Outside the town there are many gardens, palmgroves and single houses, which belong some to the chief citizens of the town, some to the members of the royal family of Shammar. According to Palgrave, the population is 20,000—30,000, while Doughty puts it at only 3000.

The suburb of Ḥāyil is Swaifle (Suwaifle). About the year 1867 after a famine a pestilence raged here which carried off about 200 individuals in a period of two months. During Doughty's stay here the houses were almost empty and the palmgroves quite abandoned. Wāsiṭ, a second suburb of Ḥāyil, was likewise uninhabited and falling into ruins as a result of this pestilence, when Doughty visited it; the palmtrees had shrivelled up and died as a result of this period of neglected irrigation. In Ḥāyil itself 700—800 are said to have died of the plague; after the plague a pernicious fever raged in the town for two years. Behind Wāsiṭ is the Maḳbara (cemetery) of Ḥāyil, the tombstones in which after the Bedouin fashion are devoid of ornament or decoration and usually contain only the name of the deceased. Between the Maḳbara and the town is a small colony of nomads, Shammar Bedouins, some of whom are related to the ruling family and stay here only during the spring.

In the beginning of last century the government of Ḥāyil was in the hands of the family of Bait 'Alī. Towards the year 1820 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd, a rich and distinguished chief of the prominent family of Dja'afir, attempted to win the throne for himself with the help of his numerous and influential kinsmen. War resulted; 'Abd Allāh lost and had to go into exile but after about ten years he returned to Ḥāyil with the help of the Wahhābī chief Faiṣal, who owed the conquest of the province of Ḥasā [q. v.] to 'Abd Allāh and was appointed hereditary governor (Emir) of Djebel Shammar by the Wahhābī chief out of gratitude for his services. The Bait 'Alī were driven out of the town and almost exterminated by 'Abd Allāh's elder brother 'Ubaid (Abeyd, called "the wolf"). 'Abd Allāh built the great palace. A period of prosperity for Ḥāyil began under his son and successor Ṭalāl, who reigned twenty years,

dying in 1864; Ṭelāl improved the defences of the town, built the great mosque and market, and laid out the beautiful gardens of the town; in order to improve trade and industry he invited merchants from Baṣra, Wāsiṭ and other towns, artisans from Medina and Yemen and entered into commercial relations with the other towns of Arabia and Persia. During Doughty's stay in Ḥāyil, Muḥammad b. Rashīd, then the richest horse-owner in Nadjd, (Doughty estimates the value of his horses at £ 250,000), was Amīr.

Hamdānī mentions a Wādī Ḥāyil in Ḥimā (Ḍariya), which may be identical with our town. Yāḳūt mentions Ḥāyil as a wādī between two ranges of the Ṭaiy (i. e. Adja and Salmā) and as a large district, according to some between Yamāma and the Bilād of the Bāhila, according to others in Yamāma itself, inhabited either by the Kushair or the Numair and the Banū Ḥimmān (Ḥummān) of the Tamīm. Sprenger identifies Ḥāyil with the *Ἄββα Κώμη* in Ptolemy.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 145, 148, 182; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 191; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii. 343, 354, 355, 468; Corancez, *Histoire des Wahabis* (Paris 1810), p. 118, 214; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 171; W. Palgrave, *Narrative* etc., Index; Ch. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge 1888), i. 593—613, 614—619; ii. 1—4, 5—6, 7—8, 9, and Index s. v.; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i. 173—240. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

HAZADJ, the sixth metre of the prosody of the Arabs, has as its scheme two *mafā'īlun* (originally, or rather in accordance with the system, three) in each half-verse. It has one *'arūḍ* and two *ḍarb*:

Mafā'īlun, mafā'īlun, mafā'īlun, mafā'īlun
fa'ūlun (= *mafā'ī*).

The suppression of the *n* (*kaff*) is, except in the *ḍarb*, very usual, while that of the *ī* (*ḳabḍ*) is rare; but the loss of one necessitates the retention of the other. We also find, though rarely, that *ma* is omitted at the beginning of a poem. This last omission (*kharm*) is called *shatar* or *kharab*, when it is combined with *ḳabḍ* or *kaff*.

In Persian, Turkish, and Hindustānī a *hazadj* is found, which usually consists of 4 or 3, rarely of only two feet in the half verse. This metre also shows numerous other irregularities, particularly in Persian, but these cannot be discussed here. For the bibliography, cf. the article *'arūḍ*. (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

HAZĀRA, HAZĀRADJĀT (Afghānistān). The name Hazāra is applied to the race which inhabits the mountain country north and west of the valleys of the Helmand and Tarnak, extending northwards to the Hindūkush and Koh-i Bābā and westwards nearly to Herāt and the Harīd-valley, but the most westerly tribes in this area are known as the Čahār Aimāḳ and are distinguished from the Hazāra proper by creed and language, being Turki-speaking Sunnīs, while the Hazāra are Shī'is and speak Persian. They are however predominantly of Mongolian blood as their features clearly show, although no doubt mixed with the original Ghūrī stock of these mountains from which they acquired the Persian language. They are supposed by some to be the descendants of the army of Mangū, but evidence is lacking as to the actual facts. It cannot be doubted however that after the Mongol irruption which fell with extreme violence on the Ghūrīs, who offered a determined resistance, the depopulated tracts were occupied by Mongol settlers, and that both strains are represented among the Hazāras of the present day. They are still a hardy and industrious race, and often seek employment as navvies or labourers in other work where physical strength is required; they have also shown a desire for military service in British India. They are on bad terms with the Afghāns under whose rule they dwell, and in 1891-1892 they rebelled against the Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān, but were ultimately suppressed.

The name 'Hazāra' is no doubt a Persian version of the Turkish *ming*, and refers to the 'thousands' in which the invading Mongol armies were organized. The whole country is known from its inhabitants as Hazāristān and also as the Hazāradjāt or 'the thousands'.

Bibliography: Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys* (London 1857), Chap. xvi.; Elphinstone, *Caubul* (London 1839), Vol. i.; Holdich, *Gates of India* (London 1910). (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

HAZĀRA, a district till lately included in the Pandjāb, now part of the north-west Frontier Province of British India. It consists of a number of valleys and mountainous tracts at the base of the western Himalaya between Kashmīr and the Indus from lat. 33° 44′ to 35° 10′ N. and long. 72° 33′ to 74° 6′ E. Area 3062 sq. m. Population 528,666, almost entirely Musalman of the Sunnī persuasion. Hindūs number only 4 per cent. The most northerly part is the long narrow valley of Kagan watered by the Kunhār R. a tributary of the Djehlam. The remainder of the district is drained by tributaries of the Indus. The Indus is the western boundary in the south, but to the north-west lies a block of mountain country between the district and the Indus. This block known as the Black Mountain is inhabited by independent Paṭhān tribes. Within the district the population consists partly of Paṭhān tribes (Djadūn, Tarīn, Utmānzai, Mishwānī, Swātī and Dilāzāk), and partly of tribes which were at one time Hindūs by religion (Gakhar, Tanāolī, Gūdjar, Awān, Karral, Dhund and some minor tribes). There is also a small tribe known as Turk, believed to be the descendants of the Ḳarlughs whom Tīmūr brought into the district. The Gakhars, Gūdjars and some of the others, are probably descendants of the Scythian (Kushan and Ephthalite) invaders who entered India between 100 B.C. and 500 A. D. The common language of the country is Hindkī, a dialect of the Lahndā or western Pandjābī, but Pashto is spoken by the Mishwānī and some of the Utmānzais, Swātīs and Tarkhelis. The Gūdjars speak a dialect of their own (see GŪDJAR).

The ancient name of the country was Urasha (still found in the valley of Rash near Abbottābād). Ptolemy mentions it under the name of Arsa, its ruler in Alexander's time was called Arsakēs according to Arrian. It formed part of the dominions of Asoka, whose edicts in the Kharoshṭhī character are found at Mānsahra. In Hiuen Thsang's time (7th cent. A. D.) by whom it is named Wu-la-shi it was dependent on Kashmīr, and is frequently mentioned in the *Rādjataranginī*. The town of Pakhlī on the Indus has been thought to represent the Paktyikē of Herodotus, and under the Mughal Emperors according to the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* the whole country between Kashmīr and the Indus

was comprised in Pakhli. Invasions from Kashmir continued up till the 12th century. The Mongol invasions do not seem to have affected Hazāra directly, but the Ḳarlugh Turks who were associated with the Shāhs of Khwārizm and established a principality in Bannū and the Kurram valley, seem to have spread into the country along the Indus farther north, and were known in Mongol fashion as the Ḳarlugh 'Ming' or Hazāra. The name of Hazāra seems undoubtedly to be derived from their settlement, as were those of the neighbouring tracts of Čač Hazāra and Takht Hazāra in the Atak district from similar settlements of Mongol or Turkish 'Hazāras'. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* asserts that Tīmūr left the Ḳarlughs as a garrison in Pakhli (Blochmann's trans. p. 454) but it does not seem that he introduced them into the district. He probably found them already established and made them his garrison, as a race of his own kindred. The evidence shows that their first settlement on the Indus was two hundred years before his time. As time went on the Afghān tribes from beyond the Indus, especially the Swātīs and Tanaulīs, invaded the country and made important settlements. The power of the Gakkhar chiefs and of the Ḳarlughs declined in proportion. From 1748 Hazāra formed part of the Durrānī kingdom, and in 1819 was annexed by Randjīt Singh to the Sikh monarchy. Perpetual wars with the tribal chiefs followed. After the first Sikh war in 1845-1846 Abbott was deputed by the British Government to organize the country and he continued his labours with great success after the annexation in 1849. Abbottābād, the headquarters of the district, was founded in 1853 and named after him. It is now a town of 8000 inhabitants and the site of a military cantonment. Since his time the district has continued to prosper, but there have been frequent troubles with the independent tribes of the Black mountain, and expeditions against them were undertaken in the years 1852, 1868, 1888 and 1891 besides some minor operations.

Bibliography: M. A. Stein, *Ancient Geography of Kashmir* (Calcutta, 1899), p. 130; McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander* (Westminster, 1896), p. 129; S. Julien, *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes* (Paris, 1857), i. 166; *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1870), p. 454; Longworth Dames, *Mint of Kurramān*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1908; Watson, *Gazetteer of the Hazara District* (London, 1908).

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

HAZĀRASP, a town not far from Khiva but nearer the Oxus, with which it is connected by a canal. According to al-Muḳaddasī, the town was of the same size as Khiva and surrounded by a ditch. It was peculiarly suited to be a fortress on account of the latter and the many canals, which cut up the surrounding country and rendered access difficult. Atsïz sought refuge here when he rebelled against Sandjar but the town was taken by the Saldjūḳ sulṭān after a two months' siege in 542 (1147). In the time of Yāḳūt, who visited it in 616 (1219), Hazārasp was a well fortified and rich town. It still exists to-day under the same name.

Bibliography: al-Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 289; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 471; Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 45, ii. 331; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 450 sq.

HAZĀRASPIDS, a name given to the Banū Faḍlōya, who ruled for two centuries in Great Luristān (543—740 = 1140—1339). For details see the article LUR.

ḤAZĪN, Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, was born at Iṣfahān in 1103 (1692). After visiting many countries of Arabia and Persia, he finally settled in India in 1146 (1733). He died at Benares in 1180 (1766). Among his works the following may be mentioned: A *Dīwān* in Persian; *Faras Nāma*, a treatise on farriery; *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān*, or *Tadhkira Ṣanīya*, a treatise on Zoology; *Tadhkirat al-Aḥwāl*, memoirs of his own life, with an account of his travels (translation by F. C. Balfour, *The life of Sheikh Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn*, 1830); *Tadhkirat al-Muʿāṣirīn*, notices on some poets who lived in Persia during the author's time.

Bibliography: *Siyar al-Mutaʾakhkhirīn*, p. 615; *Riyāḍ al-Shuʿarāʾ*, foll. 138—150; *Naghmai ʿAndalīb*, foll. 65—70; Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. Br. Mus.*, p. 372b; Ethé in *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie* ii. 310. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

ḤAZĪRĀN, name of the ninth month of the Syrian year.

HEBRON. [See AL-KHALĪL.]

HELMAND, The principal river of Afghānistān. The name also takes the forms Hirmand and Hilmand; it is the Etymandros of Arrian, the Erymanthus of Polybius and the Haētumat of the Avesta. It rises in an elevated valley on the western side of the Paghmān range, which is part of the lofty system of mountains to the west of Kābul connected with the Hindū-Kush and Kōh-i-Bāba, and after a long course through the unexplored valleys of eastern Hazāristān in a south-westerly direction emerges into the open plains of S. Afghānistān near Girishk. Below Girishk, near the ruins of Bust it receives the joint stream of the Arghandāb, Tarnak and Arghasān which drain S. E. Afghānistān. On approaching Sīstān it suddenly turns north and finally flows into the Hāmūn or Lake of Sīstān (see art. HĀMŪN). The irrigation of the plains of Sīstān is drawn from the Helmand.

Bibliography: Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris* (London 1857); Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys* (London 1857); Holdich, *Gates of India* (London 1910); MacMahon, (in *Geogr. Journal*, ix. and xxviii.) *Survey and Exploration in Seistan*, Molesworth-Sykes, (in *Geogr. Journal*, xix.), *Fourth Journey in Persia*.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḤENNĀ, the henna shrub, *Lawsonia inermis L.*, a tall slender shrub, reaching a height of 9—12 feet, occasionally becoming practically a tree, belonging to the family of *Lythrarieae*, with white clustered flowers yielding a pleasant odour and smooth, entire leaves; it is grown in congenial soil all over North Africa, Persia and India.

The flowers are used to prepare fragrant essences and oils. With the powder made from the dried leaves the nails, the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are dyed orange-yellow throughout the east, in Persia also the hair of the head and beard. Dark hair assumes a cochineal shade, while light hair becomes a burning red. The powder is mixed with lukewarm water and, after the hair has been carefully cleaned, applied as a paste; it must remain at least an hour. If a deep black colour is desired, it must be next dyed with paste

made from *rang*, an indigo plant. To preserve the peculiar lustre produced by the *henna* the hair is often again treated with *henna* for another quarter of an hour after the application of the *rang*.

The tails of the royal horses are also dyed with *henna* and white horses are turned to dun coloured, or painted with tassels and tufts with stencils.

The flowers, fruit and leaves of the *henna* have of course many applications in medicine.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Baiṭār, quoted by Leclerc in *Notices et Extraits*, i. 669; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs*, i. 44; Polak, *Persien*, i. 357; G. Jacob, *Studien in arab. Dichtern*, iii. 50. (J. Ruska.)

HENOCH. (See Idrīs.)

HERĀT, an ancient city in Afghānistān, situated 34° 22′ N. and 62° 9′ E. It gives its name to a province and is the centre of the administration and trade of a large district. Population from 15,000 to 20,000. The Great Mosque built in the 15th cent. is celebrated for its beauty. The Muṣallā a group of buildings outside the walls was destroyed for defensive purposes when fortifications were under construction in 1885. The history of Herāt begins in the Avesta. It is undoubtedly the Haroyu or Haraēva of the Vendīdād, the Haraiva of the Achaemenian inscriptions and the Areia of the Greeks where Alexander founded Alexandria Arion. It retained its importance under the Sāsānians and the Khalīfat. After the conquest of Persia Herāt took part in the general rising against the Arabs in ʿOthmān's reign, and was taken in Ibn ʿĀmir's expedition in 31 (652). Its importance continued under the Sāmānids, Ghaznavids, and Saldjūḳs. It suffered greatly under the Mongol invasions. It was taken by Tūlī son of Čingiz Khān in 619 (1222) and the Muslims population massacred. The chiefs of the Kurt family, who were of Tādjīk descent, retained possession of Herāt and ruled the surrounding district under Mongol supremacy till 706 (1307) when the Mongols took the town, but Ghiyāth al-Dīn regained the favour of Ūldjāītū, and restored the prosperity of Herāt. The Kurts held it until its final destruction by Tīmūr in 785 (1383). The Tīmūrids under Shāh Rukh made Herāt their capital after Tīmūr's death, and prosperity began to return to it. Many fine buildings were erected during this period and the town became a centre of art and learning. Shāh Rukh's reign lasted from 807 (1404) to 850 (1447) and after some short reigns Ḥusain Baiḳarā obtained the power and ruled from 873 (1468) to 913 (1507), and throughout this period Herāt was a great and prosperous centre. Towards the end of his reign the defection of the Arghūns and the invasion of Shaibānī weakened Ḥusain's kingdom, and Herāt was taken by Shaibānī in 913 (1507). Bābar tried in vain to recover it, but it did not remain long in the possession of Shaibānī, who was defeated and slain in 916 (1510) by Shāh Ismāʿīl who had just founded the Ṣafawī dynasty and established the Shīʿa creed in Persia. He enforced it with severity in Herāt, which had hitherto been Sunnī. Henceforward Herāt remained under Persian rule, but did not enjoy security at first, for it was sacked by the Shaibānids under ʿUbaid Allāh in 941 (1535). After the decay of the Ṣafawid rule Herāt was included in the kingdom of the Durrānīs under Aḥmad Shāh and his descendants who held it even after they had lost the rest of Afghānistān. Maḥmūd Shāh was succeeded by his son Kāmrān who was murdered in 1258 (1842). The Persians had long had designs on Herāt and were, it has been supposed, encouraged by the hope of Russian assistance. In 1837 Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār besieged Herāt. The defence was organized by E. Pottinger, a young English officer, and after the siege had lasted a year it was abandoned. After Kāmrān's death however in 1258 (1842) the Persians renewed their attack and this time with success. The town remained in their possession till 1280 (1863) when Dōst Muḥammad retook it, dying himself while in camp before its walls. During the wars between Shēr ʿAlī and his brothers Herāt remained faithful to him and was held by his son Yaʿḳūb. After Shēr ʿAlī's death and the accession of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān another son of Shēr ʿAlī ʿAiyūb still held Herāt and there collected an army with which he attacked the English force at Ḳandahār. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān fortified the town strongly in 1885 during the events which followed the Boundary Commission of that year, and it was during this process that the Muṣallā was destroyed as Holdich has related.

Bibliography: Minhādj-i-Sirādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, trans. Raverty (London, 1881); Muʿīn al-Dīn, *Chronique de Hérat*, trans. Barbier de Meynard, *Journ. As.*, 5th Series, xvii; Mohan Lal, *Travels in the Panjāb* etc. (London, 1846); Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*. (London, 1857); Holdich, *Gates of India* (London, 1910); Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (London, 1857); H. G. Raverty, *The History of Herāt* (to be published shortly). (M. Longworth Dames.)

al-**HEREWĪ**, Abū Ismāʿīl ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr b. Matt al-Anṣārī al-Herewī al-Ḥanbalī, a descendant of Abū Aiyūb al-Anṣārī, was born in 396 (1005) in Ḳuhandiz, the Ḳaṣaba of Herāt, and died there in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 481 (1089).

He visited Baghdād and al-Ḥaiy and attended the lectures of Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djārūdī, the expositor of the Ḳurʾān Yaḥyā b. ʿAmmār al-Sidjzī, Abū Dharr al-Herewī etc. His most notable pupils were Abu 'l-Waḳt ʿAbd al-Awwal b. ʿĪsā al-Sidjzī, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḳāsim. He was a great traditionist, a defender of Ḥanbalī orthodoxy and a bitter opponent of the *bidʿa*; he was further an expositor of the Ḳurʾān and an inspired preacher, he had also a sound knowledge of history, literature, theology and Ṣūfism. He was banished for a time to Balkh for his continual warfare on the enemies of the Sunna, and was five times threatened with death. Accused of anthropomorphism, he only owed his escape to his devotion to the Ḳurʾān and Sunna.

He it was also who induced the people of Herāt to use names of the form ʿAbd combined with a divine attribute.

Of his works the following have survived: 1. *Kitāb Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*, Ṣūfī treatise. Berlin, *Verzeichn.*, nº. 2826—2827, Brit. Mus., *Cat. Cod. Orient.*, nº. 753; Ind. Off., Loth, *Catal.*, nº. 599, Bibl. Khed., *Catal.* vii. 556; 2. *Kitāb Dhamm al-Kalām wa Ahlihi*, against speculative theology, Brit. Mus., 1571; *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiya*, a collection of Ṣūfī biographies, an improved and extended edition of Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥam-

and b. al-Ḥusain al-Sulamī's work, also preserved in the Persian translation of Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Djāmī (*Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Ḳuds*).

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Haidarābād, n. d., iii. 375; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Gottingae 1833, xiv. 27; do., *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mufassirīn*, Leiden 1839, Nº 45; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, i. 433.

(Moh. Ben Cheneb.)

HERĪ (or **HARĪ**) **RŪD**, a large river in Afghānistān which rises in the Kōh-i Bābā and flows westwards through a long narrow valley between the Siyāh Būbak and Safēd Kōh Mts. to Herāt and Ghoriān, where it turns to the North. At Zū 'l-fiḳār it leaves Afghan territory and flows by Sarakhs into the Tedjend oasis where it finally disappears, the water being mostly used in irrigation. It forms the boundary for part of its lower course between Persian territory on the left bank and Afghānistān and Turkistān on the right.

Bibliography: Holdich, *The Gates of India*.

(M. Longworth Dames.)

HERSEK i. e. Herzegowina. [See bosnia.]

HIBAT ALLĀH b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭṭalib, Madjd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī, vizier of the caliph al-Mustaẓhir. Hibat Allāh was appointed vizier in Muḥarram 501 = Aug.-Sept. 1107 but dismissed in Ramaḍān at the instigation of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh. The caliph restored him his office soon after on condition that he pledged himself not to take any *dhimmī* into his service, but he was again dismissed in 502 = 1108-1109 or 503 = 1109-1110 and forced to seek asylum for himself and his family with the Sulṭān.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), x. 303, 309, 318, 330, 335.

(K. V. Zetterstéen.)

ḤIDĀD (a.). A widow's mourning garment. [See ʿidda.]

HIDJĀʾ (a.), a lampoon. "The *hidjāʾ* is originally a charm or curse; the word itself, the etymology of which is not quite clear, perhaps means something like incantation. The origins of the *hidjāʾ* are connected with the old notion that words solemnly uttered by individuals qualified or authorised to do so have a permanent effect on the persons or objects to which they refer. In the original *hidjāʾ* the poet thus appears with the magic power of his verse inspired by the Djinns". Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur Arab. Philologie*, i. 27 *sqq.*, who gives the words of Balaam as the oldest example of *hidjāʾ* and *op. cit.*, p. 69, note 4 compares the Arabic word with the Hebrew הגה (Is. viii. 19). The *hidjāʾ* as a branch of poetry was particularly cultivated by the Arab poets; several poets were masters in this kind of verse but Djarīr [q. v.] may be awarded the palm.

ḤIDJĀB (a.), any partition which separates two things; whence in medicine the diaphragm (Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 156; P. de Koning, *Trois Traités d'Anatomie*, p. 350, 816). — In the Ḳurʾān it has the sense of "curtain, veil", e. g. one should speak with women from behind a curtain (Sūra xxxiii. 53); in the next world the elect and the damned will be separated by a curtain (vii. 44); the term here seems to be synonymous with *aʿrāf* and was therefore early explained as "wall" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii. 126; Baiḍāwī, i. 326) in allusion to Ḳurʾān lvii. 13. The unbelievers said to the Prophet: "There is a *ḥidjāb* between thee and us" (xli. 4). It is not possible for a man to hear God speaking unless by a revelation or from behind a curtain (xlii. 50), as was the case with Moses (Asbāṭ, according to al-Suddī; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxv. p. 43). Among the mystics *ḥidjāb*, meaning "all that veils the end", signifies the impression produced on the heart by the phenomena constituting the visible world, which prevents it admitting the revelation of truth (Djurdjānī, *Definitiones*, p. 86; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Technical Terms*, p. 35, nº. 116). The passions (*nafs*) are the main cause of the obscurity; but each limb has a special passion that gives rise to a particular veil: substances, accidents, elements, bodies, forms, and qualities are so many veils which conceal divine secrets. The higher truth is hidden from all men except saints (*walī*) alone. The opposite of *ḥidjāb* is *kashf*; the condition of soul in the former case is called *ḳabḍ* (contraction) in the second *basṭ* (expansion). Mystic love (*maḥabba*) is aroused on account of the obstacle opposed to it in the first case (occultation), and satisfied by contemplation in the second (revelation). These expressions are borrowed from the Gnostics (*Pistis Sophia* in E. de Faye, *Gnostiques et gnosticisme*, 1913, p. 269).

Bibliography: ʿAlī b. ʿOthmān al-Djullābī al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson (Gibb Memorial), p. 48, 140, 325, 374, 414; Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Exegesis of the Qoran*, p. 43.

(Cl. Huart.)

al-**ḤIDJĀZ**, a territory in Arabia on the Red Sea, with indefinite boundaries, which is at once understood when we reflect that the word *ḥidjāz* means 'barrier' and is applied in Arab topography to the mountains of Sarāt, which shut off the highlands (Nedjd) from the flat coastlands (Tihāma). As the name of a district, Ḥidjāz is limited to that part of the west coast, which does not belong to Yemen, to be more exact, to that stretch of land which extends from ʿAḳra to al-Līth on the Red Sea with the corresponding hinterland. Neither the highlands of ʿAsīr [q. v.] in the south nor the ancient land of Madyan and Ḥismā in the north belong to the Ḥidjāz proper, although they are often included in it, cf. above i. 367ᵃ *infra sq.* In the Turkish administrative system, the Ḥidjāz is a wilayet whose capital is Mecca, and is divided into 3 sandjaks, Mecca, Medina and Djidda. Although this division was never actually carried out in detail and the Turkish institutions and officers existed for the most part on paper only, it is useful as establishing the area of the Ḥidjāz proper. Recently however the Porte has made the sandjaḳ of Medina into an independent mutaṣarriflik which is governed by the Shaikh al-Ḥaram and a Muḥāfiẓ, the commander of the Turkish troops. For further information see the article medina.

Al-Ḥidjāz consists of two very different parts, the flat, barren and hot coast land (Tihāma) and the mountainous hinterland. In Tihāma, which is almost devoid of vegetation — for there are no large wādīs in this part of Arabia — the few permanent settlements are on the coast, with the exception of Mecca, which owes its existence to the ancient holy places there (e.g. the Zamzam well). On account of the many coral banks there are no good harbours on the coast, only more or less available anchorages, which in ancient times suf-

fixed for small ships and were then more visited than at the present day. Some, like Leukekome, which Sprenger has recognised in al-Ḥawrā', and Djār [q. v. i. 1016a], the ancient harbour of Mecca, are now quite deserted, while on the other hand Yanbu' [q. v.], the present harbour, and particularly Djidda [q. v. i. 1041], have developed into important towns on account of the pilgrims landing there. The scanty population is in general dependent for its livelihood on fishing.

The mountainous hinterland is in places not unfertile, for example in the volcanic district of Medina and particularly in the beautiful oasis of al-Ṭā'if [q. v.] which from ancient times has been a favourite summer resort of rich Meccans on account of its wealth of fruit and its cooler climate. The hills themselves, the Djebel Kara east of Mecca, reach a height of 6000—6500 feet. The highest are the hills of al-Ṭā'if (6168 feet) and Djebel Raḍwā west of Medina (5900 feet). Only the date-crops are of any importance; the land would not be able to sustain its inhabitants if imports from Europe, Egypt and India did not come to its help. The exports are insignificant.

The Ḥidjāz owes its real importance to the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, which occupy quite a special position in the Muslim world and will be dealt with in special articles. In addition to the coast-towns and al-Ṭā'if already mentioned, the Arab geographers give the following, Korh, Khaibar [q. v.], al-Marwa, al-Ḥawrā', al-Suḳyā, al-Awnid, al-Djuḥfa, and al-'Uṣhaira and of minor importance Badr [q. v.] Khulais, al-Ḥidjr [q. v.], al-Suwāriḳiya, al-Fur', al-Saira, Djabala, Mahāyi' and Ḥadha. Besides these there is a fairly long list of names, which owe their fame to the circumstance that Islām has consecrated them — when they were not already sites of primitive cults — either through historical associations or as outposts of the sacred territory (*ḥaram*) of Mecca. It would be useless to detail these here: when they are of sufficient importance for religious reasons they will be found either in the articles MECCA and MEDINA or in special articles.

The population of al-Ḥidjāz consists of Arab Bedouins, except in the large towns where it is more or less mixed, particularly in Djidda, less in Mecca itself. The old Arab tribal names Thamūd [q. v.], Aws [q. v.], and Khazradj [q. v.] in Medina, Ḳuraish [q. v.] in Mecca, have their place in history while Thaḳīf [q. v.] and Hudhail [q. v.] are still known as the inhabitants of Ṭā'if and the southern Ḥidjāz. We may also mention Bali [q. v.], Djuhaina [q. v.], Sulaim [q. v.], Hutaim [q. v.], and Ḥarb [q. v.].

The various pilgrim-routes which meet in Mecca have lost most of their former importance with the development of steamships, which has caused the majority of pilgrims to travel via Djidda, and will be still more deserted when the Mecca railway, which now runs from Damascus to Medina reaches the holy city. Cf. M. Hartmann, *Die Mekkabahn* in *Orient. Litteraturzeitung*, 1908, p. 1 *sqq.*

The history of the Ḥidjāz is the history of Mecca and Medina so that the reader may be referred to these articles.

Bibliography: Cf. the notes above i. 372b on the geographical literature of Arabia and also the bibliographies to the articles on MECCA and MEDINA. Of recent literature we may mention al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*2, Cairo 1329; Abd al-Maḥsin, *al-Riḥla al-Yamaniya li-Ṣāḥib al-Dawla Ḥusainpāshā, Amīr Mekka*, Cairo 1330, and Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 9 *sqq.*

AL-**ḤIDJR** (HADJER, HADSCHER, HODSCHER, AL-HEDJR in Ritter) a town in Arabia, a day's journey from Wādi 'l-Ḳurā [q. v.] south of Taimā [q. v.] identical with the ancient commercial town of Ἔγρα in Ptolemy and Egra in Pliny. The town no longer exists. At present the name al-Ḥidjr is given by the Bedouins to the flat valley between Mabrak al-Nāḳa (Mabḥam) and Ibn al-Ghannām which stretches for several miles and has a fertile soil with many wells at which numerous Bedouins encamp with their herds. Two roads lead from al-Ḥidjr to Mecca, the Nadjd road, the modern pilgrim route, and the Marw road, which was in ancient times the road followed by the pilgrims to Mecca. To the west of al-Ḥidjr is a mountain of five isolated sandstone cliffs, called Athālith (in Doughty, *Travels*, always written Ethlib), on which are carved a large number of artistic monuments (including the Ḳaṣr al-Bint, Bait al-Shaikh, Bait Akhraimāt, Maḥall al-Madjlis, and Dīwān, which are adorned with numerous sculptured figures of birds and animals and many inscriptions). Ch. M. Doughty, the first European to visit Ḥidjr (1876-1877) and to examine closely the cliffs with their carvings, found the latter (except one, the Dīwān) to be exclusively tombs (family vaults) with niches and remains of human bodies. Pilgrims going to Mecca rest on Mount Athālith for a day and offer up prayers here. In ancient times there lived here a godless and arrogant cave-dwelling people, the Thamūd [q. v.], of whom it is related in the Ḳur'ān that they hewed their houses out of rock. To convert them God sent a kinsman of theirs, the prophet Ṣāliḥ [q. v.], to them, who made a camel and her young one arise out a cleft in the rock as evidence of his divine mission. But when they continued in their idolatry and slew the camel which Ṣāliḥ begged them to spare, God sent an earthquake which destroyed them. The sandstone cliffs of al-Ḥidjr with the monuments carved in them are also called *Madā'in Ṣāliḥ* "Ṣāliḥ's towns" after Ṣāliḥ. According to the Arab legend, the patriarch Abraham, by Gabriel's command, abandoned Hagar and her son Ishmael in al-Ḥidjr. Ishmael is also said to be buried here beside his mother. Al-Ḥidjr also finds a place in the history of the Prophet. When Muḥammad was going through Tabūk towards Damascus in the year 9 (631) he came with his army into the neighbourhood of al-Ḥidjr. The troops wanted to rest here to refresh themselves at the wells but the Prophet would not allow them to enter this place that had been visited by the wrath of God. In modern times the Wahhābī chief Sa'ūd wished to build a town here but the scheme fell through on account of the vehement objections of the 'ulamā' to rebuilding on a site cursed by God. Ḥidjr, since Doughty's visit, has been twice visited by the Alsatian C. Huber, in 1879 and again (with Euting) in 1884.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 215, 217, 244—251, 278—279, 352; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 898—899; Hamdānī, *Djazīra* (ed. Müller), p. 131, 14—17; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 208; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 154—157, 162; xiii. 205—206, 418, 436, 440—442; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme* (Paris 1847-

1848), i. 24—25, 212, iii. 285; W. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (London 1858), i. 138 Anm.; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, v. Index s. v.; Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéol. en Arabie*, i. 107 *sqq.*; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, ii. 215 *sqq.*; E. Renan, *Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie par M. Charles Doughty*, Paris 1884 (in a special volume of the *Académie des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*); Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. 23, 81—85, 93—96, 102—123, 133—136, 180—188 and Index s. v. el-Hejr and Medáin Sálih. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-HIDJR, a district in Arabia near Bīsha [q. v.] and the land of the Khath'am. It is called after Ḥidjr b. al-Azd. The land of al-Ḥidjr was very fertile and rich in fields of wheat and barley and had many fruit-trees (apples, peaches, figs, plums and almonds). Among the clans of Ḥidjr Hamdānī mentions the 'Āmir (with the subdivisions 'Abd), Aṣhbigha, Rabī'a, Shahr (with the divisions al-Aslam, Banū 'l-Ḥārith, Mālik, Naṣr and Nāila). Among places in the land of al-Ḥidjr he mentions Adhdjān (very important), al-Bāḥa, Djalwa (the largest town in al-Ḥidjr), Halalā, al-Khaḍrā', Nadda, Raḥab, Zanāma, among wādīs Ald, Bāḥān, Dhahab, Ḥill (with the village of Ḥabal), Karib, Khū, Nibyān (with many fruit-trees) Rayamā, Sadawān and Tanūma (with 60 villages).

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, (ed. Müller), p. 70, 122—123, 257. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

HIDJRA, the name of a village (indeed of several) in South Arabia which is exclusively inhabited by *Sāda* or *Ashrāf* ("lords", "notables", descendants of the Prophet) and is considered sacrosanct. These villages (e. g. Ḥaifa in Arḥab [cf. ḤĀSHID and BAKĪL] may not be overrun in war. The members of the Hidjra, who are chiefly judges (*ḳuḍāt*) and jurists (*fuḳahā'*) receive from the tribe to which they belong a certificate of their membership of the Hidjra and enjoy great esteem, which surpasses that of a shaikh. Individual members are also found scattered throughout the villages as writers and preachers.

Another Hidjra different from the preceding is that of Djebel Ḏīn (see ḤĀSHID and BAKĪL) of a more nomadic character, whose members attend to the tomb of the saint (*walī*) Kudam b. Kādim on this hill. Cf. also the article ḤAWṬA.

Bibliography: E. Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Hāshid* in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, B. xxx. (1884), p. 174. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

HIDJRA (HEGIRA), the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, the starting point of the Muhammadan era.

The Prophet, not having succeeded in overcoming the resistance of the Ḳuraish and on the other hand having already won friends among the people around Medina (then called Yathrib), resolved to remove to the latter town. The Arabic word *hidjra* should not be translated "flight", for the idea of fleeing is not properly expressed by the verb *hadjara*. This verb means "to break off relations, to abandon one's tribe, to emigrate". At the present day in Muslim countries the name *Muhādjir* is still given to Muslims who have quitted countries in which Christian powers have become established. The word does not imply that there has been precipitate flight but only difficulty in living or repugnance to living in the country abandoned.

Muḥammad, according to Mas'ūdī (*Tanbīh*), had ordered his followers to migrate to Medina; they set out in small parties. Among the first to reach Medina was 'Omar, afterwards Caliph. This migration had certainly been preceded by negotiations with the people of Medina, as Ṭabarī's *Chronicle* (Persian synopsis ii. 437 *sqq.*) relates. The Prophet himself set out accompanied by Abū Bakr. He left 'Alī behind to return some property entrusted him to their owners. 'Alī remained three days behind in Mecca and then joined the other emigrants.

A very popular legend is associated with the Prophet's migration. The Ḳuraish wished to slay him and appeared in the morning at his house; but they met only 'Alī who drove them back at the sword's point. They then rushed off to pursue Muḥammad on the road to Medina. When the latter heard of this, he hid with Abū Bakr in a cave and God willed that a spider should spin its web at the entrance to this cave. When the Ḳuraish saw the web, they thought it impossible that any one could be inside and passed by. This story explains the allusion in Sūra ix. 40: "when the two were in the cave and he said to his companion: Be not afraid, see! God is with us". (Cf. R. Basset, *La Bordah du Chaikh el-Bousiri*, p. 81—86, and the parallels given there).

Along the road the Anṣār came flocking up to the Prophet; they took the reins of his camel and begged him to settle among their tribes. But Muḥammad answered: "Let my camel go; it is obeying God's command". (Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, iv. 139).

The traditions regarding the erection of the first mosque and institution of the Friday service are also connected with this journey. The Prophet is said to have entered the house of Sa'd b. Khaithama in Ḳubā and to have had a mosque built there. He is said to have performed the solemn Friday service (*ṣalāt al-Djum'a*) for the first time with the Banū Sālim, when he came among them on his way. Arriving in Medina he took up his abode with the Anṣārī Abū Aiyūb.

Authorities are not agreed on the exact date of the Hidjra. According to the most usual account, it took place on the 8th Rabī' I (20th Sept. 622). But this would not be the date of the departure from Mecca but of the arrival in Medina. According to other versions, it was the 2nd or the 12th Rabī' I. Al-Bīrūnī says that the Jews were just celebrating the 'Āshūrā festival (Day of Atonement) when the Muslims arrived in Medina.

The 8th was preferred as it was a Monday. According to a tradition, the Prophet is said to have answered when asked why he observed Monday especially, "on this day was I born, on this day I received my prophetic mission and on this day I migrated".

The fixing of the Hidjra as the beginning of the Muhammadan era dates from the Caliph 'Omar. The traditions which try to trace it to the Prophet himself are devoid of all probability. According to another tradition, Ya'la b. Omaiya, Abū Bakr's governor in the Yemen, was the first to use it, but the view that it dates from 'Omar is by far the most prevalent.

It is related in various forms that 'Omar after

having regulated the administration of finance and made up the registers and the levies of taxes found himself embarrassed about the dating, or rather he was reproached for not dating at all. According to a tradition quoted by al-Bīrūnī, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī wrote to him saying: "Thou art sending us letters undated". The Caliph discussed the matter with his officers and after investigating the customs of the Greeks and Persians it was decided to establish an era. Some proposed to date from the birth of the Prophet, but this date was not certain. 'Alī is then said to have proposed to take the Hidjra as the beginning of the era, as it marked the date when the Prophet began to assume sovereign power. This decision was come to in the year 17 or 18, some however say 16, but the general view is the year 17.

Before fixing this date the Muslims gave their years names such as "year of the permission", "year of the earthquake", "year of the farewell" etc. (Cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 35). When Muḥammad began his preaching, the Arabs were reckoning from the "year of the elephant".

The year of the Hidjra was then chosen as the year 1; but as the calendar was already fixed by the Ḳur'ān, the months were retained and Muḥarram was retained as the first month because business is resumed then after the pilgrimage. The era thus began, not with the day of the Hidjra but with the 1st day of the moon of Muḥarram of the Hidjra year. This first day fell upon a Friday and corresponded to the 16th Tammūz (July) 933 of the Seleucid era, and 622 of the Julian calendar.

Bibliography: L. Lacoine, *Table de concordance des dates des calendriers*, Paris, 1891; Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Berlin, 1826; Ulysse Bouchet, *Hémérologie*, Paris, 1868; Ginzel, *Handbuch der math. und techn. Wissenschaften*, Leipzig 1906, i. 258 *sqq*. See also the biographies of Muḥammad, and especially Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Vol. i., Milan, 1905.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX.)

ḤIKĀYA has had a varied history, of importance not only lexicologically but also in the development of Arabic literature. In Lane (pp. 618 *sqq.*) the history is unfortunately confused, but when we turn to the native lexicons (e. g. *Lisān*, xviii. 207 *sqq.*) we are met with the paradox that the meanings are not those found in the great mass of later Arabic writings and that the commonest later meaning, "story", "narrative", occurs hardly at all. The root does not come in the Ḳur'ān (there *ḥadīth* is commonest as a noun and *ḳaṣṣa* and *nabba'a* as verbs; on *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* see Sprenger, *Leben*, ii. 390 *sqq.*) and as used in traditions it means to imitate an action, usually in a bad sense (*Lisān*, *loc. cit.*). *Ḥikāya* is therefore *μίμησις*; and from that all follows. In the first instance it is mimicking for purposes of amusement; the professional *ḥākiya* is a mimic. Then imitation of speech may be reproduction; thus *ḥakaitu 'anhu 'l-ḥadīth* "I reproduced from him the tradition". It can also involve simple resemblance as though one thing reproduced another by being like it. So the meanings remained for at least the first four centuries. Theologically the distinction lasted much longer. In the *Kulliyāt* (xvii. cent. A. D.; quoted in *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, i., 431b) *ḥakā* cannot be said of Allāh since there is nothing like his speech; but see Baiḍāwī on *Ḳur*. xxxviii. 164 and Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Fākihat al-Khulafā'*, ed. Freytag, p. 108, l. 25. In the *Fihrist* (latter part of iv. cent.) narratives are *akhbār*, sometimes *aḥādīth*, and stories told for entertainment are *asmār* or *khurāfāt* or *aḥādīth* but never *ḥikāyāt*; see, for example, the well known passage on the history of *The 1001 Nights* (pp. 304 *sqq.* and cf. p. 313). *Asmār*, of course, may also be historical, e. g. *al-asmār al-ṣaḥīḥa* (p. 305, l. 9) while *ḥadīth* has been, from beginning to end, the broadest word of all. But *ḥikāya* in the *Fihrist* means only a reproduction of a statement, a transcript, e. g. p. 275, l. 20 *ḥikāya min khaṭṭ* .... "a transcript from the handwriting of ...", l. 21, *mā hādhihi ḥikāyatuhu*, "of which this is a transcript". It may often be translated "statement", and is in *oratio recta* when there is nothing to the contrary. In Ḥamza of Iṣpahān (early part of fourth century) the usage of the root is the same, e. g. p. 17, l. 12, p. 64, l. 1, p. 65, l. 15, p. 201, l. 4 of ed. Gottwaldt. In the *Aghānī* (Abu 'l-Faradj d. 356) *ḳiṣṣa*, *ḥadīth* and *khabar* seem to be used indifferently for narrations, but *ḥikāya* as in the *Fihrist* and by Ḥamza, e. g. ed. Būlāḳ, i. p. 4, l. 20: *hādhā mā sami'tu min Abī Bakrin ḥikāyatan mal-lafẓu yazīdu wa-yanḳuṣu* "this is a general reproduction of what I heard from Abū Bakr although the expression may not be exactly in his words". Yet the verb *ḥakā* occurs in the meaning "narrate". See vol. viii. p. 162, ll. 7 and 10, where the verb and *ḥikāya* come side by side, the latter in the sense "imitation". Apparently the noun retained the original meaning longer. In Mas'ūdī's (d. 345-346) well known passage on the *Nights* (*Murūdj*, iv. 89 *sq.*; de Sacy in his *Mémoire* on the origin of the *Nights* gives the passage in four forms) *khurāfa* is the word used for such tales; *ḥikāya* does not occur. It may be said generally that the older translations of this word (e. g. by Gottwaldt, Kosegarten, Barbier de Meynard) are misleading. Thus in Mas'ūdī, viii. 16 *sq.* it is mimicking that is meant and not story-telling. But when we reach Ḥarīrī (d. 516) *ḥakā* is used at the beginning of the *Maḳāmāt* indifferently with *ḥaddatha*, *akhbara* and *rawā* in the sense "to narrate". But he also (ed. de Sacy², vol. ii, p. 420) uses *ḥakā* in the old sense of "resemble" which later became so archaic that the commentators had to explain it. With Ḥarīrī the change of meaning is complete, and when we turn to the oldest Mss of the *Nights* (both the Galland Ms and that of the "Story of Sul and Shumul" at Tübingen are of the early xivth cent. A. D., after A. H. 700) we find *ḥikāya* in normal use for a story told for entertainment. See Seybold's *Geschichte von Sul u. Schumul*, p. 164, and my "Story of the Fisherman and the Jinni", in the Nöldeke-*Festschrift*, passim. Of the words for such tales used in the *Fihrist* and by Mas'ūdī, *asmār* has fallen back to its original use of conversation and tales told at night in the desert life, and *khurāfāt* has developed to mean only ridiculously impossible stories, as opposed to those which are fictitious but pleasing; thus in Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, i. 185, l. 31 of ed. of Cairo 1313, *khurāfāt al-ru'yā*, and ii. 101, l. 25, *khurāfāt al-'arab*. Only in Tripoli, apparently, is it still the normal word for "story"; see Stumme, *Märchen aus Tripolis*.

We are now left with two questions. Can this

change of meaning be in any way bridged and explained? and, What must have been the character of the first *ḥikāyāt* in the new sense? There have always been stories in Arabic from those told in the Ḳur'ān and the competing translations from Persian by Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith (Ibn Hishām, p. 191), to the modern *ḥadūta* or Märchen, told in colloquial and, so far, reduced to writing and print only by European scholars and some eccentric Egyptians and Syrians. The very multiplicity of names for the different kinds of the story shows how they have been cultivated and how keenly they have been distinguished. Some of these names have been given above. Others are *riwāya* which began by being the oral recital of a narrative or a poem by a *rāwī* and has now become an ordinary word for "story" and the normal word for a play, comedy or tragedy, with or without *tamthīlīya* added; *mathal* (*amthāl*), the story as an example or illustration of some situation or precept, e. g. *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and all beast-fables (*'alā alsinati-l-ḥayawān*); *sīra* (*siyar*), "manner of life" and then "biography"; *nawādir*, unconnected anecdotes; *ḳiṣṣa* (*ḳiṣaṣ*), a story of any kind but specialized by Ḳur'ānic usage and that of the professional *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 161 *sqq.*) to legends of the past and stories about the prophets. To these last the first *ḥikāyāt* formed an exact opposite. They were not stories of the past but pictures of the present. This is made plain by the only example so far printed, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī*, edited by Adam Mez under the title, *Abulḳâsim ein bagdâder Sittenbild*. The author, Muḥammad Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, shows in his preface that he knows that he is producing a new literary form. It is not to be a poem or a *risāla* or a *maḳāma* (he must have known those of Hamadhānī) but a realistic transcript of Baghdād manners and phrases in the person of a, for us, very disreputable representative who, however, seems to be regarded by the author as of literary refinement. Story there is none, but a day is filled with a dinner party and with scraps of verse and of ornate prose in the current forms of rhetoric, but all concrete and direct, written not for the sake of playing with words but of producing a picture of life. The use of a single figure to mirror the ideas and ways of a city he defends with a long quotation from Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, ed. Cairo, p. 31, ll. 12—24) who seems to have been the first to take pleasure in pictures of classes of the people. Yet it is only a new application of the realism of the old poetry of the desert to the artificial town life, marked, however, with all the coarseness of language and idea which distinguished the town from the desert and the new from the old. Of the *ḥikāya badawīya*, meant probably as a contrast, which the author says (p. 2, l. 16) he has added we have no trace left.

But *ḥikāya* in the quotation from Djāḥiẓ is evidently used of a mimic and not of a literary artist who creates a representative figure. The development which produced so striking a literary genre as that of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar calls, therefore, for explanation, and I would suggest that it was due to the influence of the Aristotelian doctrine of *μίμησις* in art (*Poetics*, i.—iv.). Djāḥiẓ died in A. H. 200 and Abu 'l-Muṭahhar wrote after 400 (Mez, p. xv.). But it is evident that the Poetics of Aristotle found translators and attention only slowly. There was a *Mukhtaṣar* by al-Kindī (d. about 247; *Fihrist*, p. 250, l. 5 and 257, l. 6) but no full translation until that of Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 328; *Fihrist*, pp. 250 l. 4, 263, last l.) and his pupil Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (d. 364) wrote a *tafsīr* on it (*Fihrist*, pp. 250 l. 4, 264, l. 14). In that translation (ed. by Margoliouth in his *Analecta Orientalia*) the word used for *μίμησις* is *ḥikāya*. The conception of literary art as an "imitation" of life may thus, when translated into Arabic forms, easily have resulted in Abū 'l-Muṭahhar's new literary type. The next development into "story" must have come very rapidly for we find that Ḥarīrī (d. 516) has forgotten so completely the earlier uses that he can apply *ḥikāya* even to such *amthāl* as the apologues in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (ed. de Sacy[2], l. 13). When he implies in the same passage that his own *maḳāmāt* are also *ḥikāyāt* he is much nearer the true meaning, for they are certainly renderings of contemporary life though treated with artificial rhetoric and a playing with words for the sake of word-play. On this side they are the nearest that the Arabic of literature ever reached toward that life of the open road and of living by one's wits that is the mark of the picaresque novel. But in popular Arabic the same motif was taken up and extended in such tales as the cycle that surrounds the name of 'Alī al-Zaibaḳ. On the picaresque side these are true reproductions of life; there is an abbreviated recension of them in the *Nights* and much longer independent forms have been printed at Beyrout and Cairo.

But before *ḥikāya* reached the possibility of being used for any story it must have passed through a stage in which it meant a fictitious story, not of wonderful happenings in the past or in distant lands or by the agency of the djinn and of talismans, but of such life as its readers themselves knew. Examples would be the cycles in *The 1001 Nights* known as "The Hunchback" or, very differently, "Alī b. Bakkār and Shams al-Nahār". In this way a specifically new thing entered Arabic literature. There is no trace of it in the *Fihrist* even as there is no trace of the beginnings of the *maḳāma* as developed later by Hamadhānī and Ḥarīrī. We have record there of professional entertainers (*muḍḥikūn*, *mukamī'*, pp. 151—155), of wonderful tales, love-stories and stories of the djinn (pp. 304 *sq.*), but of nothing which can be identified as belonging to this particular genre. To Abu 'l-Faradj, the author of the *Aghānī*, Ibn Khallikān, in Wüstenfeld's text (n°. 451) ascribes a "Book of *ḥikāyāt*", but this elsewhere is read *al-ḥānāt*, "taverns", (Kosegarten, *Prooemium* to his ed. of *Aghānī*, p. 190, and so, decisively, Wright, *Chrestomathy*, p. 87, l. 11 from the autograph Ms.).

We have thus the appearance, practically at the same time between the fourth and the fifth centuries of the Hidjra, of two new forms which in their beginnings were closely akin but which quickly separated into two widely different types. The *maḳāma* was at first practically a *ḥikāya* in the original sense, and the *ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar is practically such a monologue, though not one delivered standing as was the *maḳāma*. But to Abu 'l-Muṭahhar his new form was distinct from the *maḳāma* and was rather a development from the mimetic *ḥikāya*. The intention in the two forms was different and the difference is expres-

sed in the names applied to them by their authors. The *maḳāma* was an oration and therefore ran out in rhetoric; the *ḥikāya* was a reproduction and therefore turned to action and life. The latter transformation must have been aided by the rapid development in the verb *ḥakā* of the meaning "narrate". So *ḥikawātī* now means "public story-teller" and *ḥikāya* came to be applicable to any tale, while still retaining even in the colloquial (see Dozy, *sub voc.*) the possibility of the original meaning. And probably even in the *ḥikawātī* there is still some feeling left of the mimic, as the oriental story-teller always acts out his tale. Yet the terms are sometimes curiously confused. Thus in *Nuzhat al-Abṣār wa 'l-Asmā' fī Akhbār Dhawāt al-Ḳinā'* (date?) there is (pp. 82—89 of ed. of Cairo, 1305) a short realistic story *fī dhamm al-nisā'* which is called a *maḳāma*.

Only one consideration remains. This development has been conditioned and limited by a constant factor. The professed littérateur, at least in Arabic Islām, has always, with few and individual exceptions, looked down upon the story and refused to recognize it. He has never condescended to a narrative of fictitious facts and events told for its own sake. Such he left to professional entertainers, buffoons and the vulgar in general. The only stories recognised as forming part of polite literature have been those with an ulterior object. They have been apologues (*amthāl*) as in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *Fākihat al-Khulafā'*, *Sulwān al-Muṭā'* and the like; or simply vehicles for poetry and rhetorical prose, like *Law'at al-Shākī* and the whole range of *maḳāmāt*; or collections of historical and literary anecdotes like *I'lām al-Nās*, *al-Faradj ba'd al-Shidda* and *Maṣāri' al-'Ushshāḳ*; or stories with ethical or mystical purpose, as *Salāmān and Absāl* and *Ḥaiy ibn Yaḳẓān* of Ibn Sīnā and the *Mukhaiyalāt* of 'Alī 'Azīz of Crete. Yet Muslim writers were early in contact with stories in good literary standing which came to them from without. They had translations of Greek romances and of Persian and Indian tales (*Fihrist*, pp. 305 *sq.*; Ḥamza of Iṣpahān, p. 41 *sq.*). In the time of the compiler of the *Fihrist* also it was evidently possible for a reputable author to write stories; on p. 306, ll. 9 *sq.* he gives the names of several. See, too, (p. 304, ll. 21 *sq.*) how Djahshiyārī, a writer of distinction, could occupy himself with the compilation of a collection similar to *The 1001 Nights* and a brother of Shāfi'ī could transcribe it. But the popularity of such things under the 'Abbāsids was so great that the *warrāḳūn* took to writing them and that naturally affected their standing (p. 308, ll. 9 *sqq.*). The relation also to the professional jester and entertainer was too close; see on these pp. 140 *sq.* and especially on Abu 'l-'Anbas and his standing, partly as astronomer and partly as *nadīm* of al-Mutawakkil and purveyer of *bāh* literature, p. 151, ll. 23 *sqq.* So stories tended to be anonymous and to be classified with dubious subjects — stories of the *baṭṭālūn*, of Djuḥā, of *bāh* (pp. 313 *sq.*). This is well illustrated by *The 1001 Nights*. We have there stories showing in their structure a technical skill beyond any public reciter; but they are as anonymous as *Märchen*: their authors did not dare to own them. Such are "Ḳamar al-Zamān and Budūr", "The Three Ladies of Baghdād", "The Three Apples" and the realistic novels. The romances of chivalry, on the other hand, in so far as they professed to be biographies (*siyar*) and not *ḥikāyāt*, required the support of the authority of stated authors, but the names given are usually unknown to us and probably always false; cf. above on 'ANTARA, i. 362 and on BAIBARS, p. 589ᵃ *sq.*

The above holds of Arabic-speaking Islām. In Turkish, apparently, and still more in Persian, stories retained a position of higher literary respect and were treated with greater care as to style, although there also they tend to anonymity. Further, the Turkish *meddāḥ* corresponds closely to the old Arabic *ḥākiya*, and in the modern development of a new Turkish literature the art of the *meddāḥ* is influencing the realistic novel. For many specimens of *meddāḥ*-stories — strikingly resembling in type the *ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar — see Georg Jacob's *Türkische Bibliothek*, passim, and on the whole subject the introduction to vol. i. 6 *sqq.* and Paul Horn, *Gesch. d. türk. Moderne*, pp. 12 *sqq.*

Bibliography has been given in the course of the article; but the first reference must always be to the *Einleitung* of Mez to his *Abulḳâsim*.

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

ḤIKMA, (Hebr. *ḥokhmā*, Syr. *ḥekhmethā*), "wisdom". In the ancient portions of the Ḳur'ān the term is applied to the Prophet's preaching (xvi. 126; liv. 4), then it is used as synonymous with "sacred, revealed book" (iii. 43. 75. 158; iv. 57; v. 110; xvii. 41; the "Gospel" xliii. 63) and applied to the Ḳur'ān itself (ii. 231; iv. 113; xxxiii. 34; lxii. 2). Its original acceptation is found in ii. 272; applied to David, ii. 252; xxxviii. 19, and to the sage Luḳmān, xxxi. 11. In this last passage it is explained by Ṭabarī, (*Tafsīr*, xxi. 39) as "knowledge (*fiḳh*) of religion, reason and truth" and by Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, ii. 113, 2). "*Ḥikma* in the conventional language of the learned means the perfecting of the human mind by the acquisition of the speculative sciences and complete faculty for doing excellent deeds according to the ability possessed". The same idea of wisdom is already found in the Ḳatabān inscriptions where *Ḥ-K-M* is an epithet of the moon-god (Ditlef Nielsen, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lxvi. (1912), p. 592, l. 25; H. Derenbourg, *Revue d'Assyriol.*, v. (1902), p. 117 *sqq.*). The lexicographers define *ḥikma* as "the knowledge of the best thing by means of the best science" (*Lisān*, xv. 30); "to be just in a judicial decision, to know the truth of things as they are and to act according to the requirements thereof" (*Tādj al-'Arūs*, viii. 253); "the science in which is sought the true nature of things, as they are in themselves, as far as is humanly possible (Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Lex. Bibl.*, iii. 84). The word has practically come to be synonymous with *falsafa* [q. v.], which originally meant Greek philosophy set forth in Arabic (Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, Būlāḳ, i. 399; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, iii. 89).

Ḥikmat al-Ishrāḳ, a kind of neo-Platonic mysticism, is the philosophy of illumination (*mashriḳīya*) [see FALSAFA, p. 50ᵇ *infra*]. Practised as early as the time of Avicenna who wrote a work entitled *al-Ḥikma al-Mashriḳīya*, it had at that time a secret character which it has since lost. The Alchemists call their science *ḥikma* (cf. *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, p. 256).

Bibliography: Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (ed. 1289), i. 87; Sprenger, *Technical Terms*,

i. 370; Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, p. 136, 141, 147, 151—153; *Gazali*, p. 226 *sqq.*; *Journ. As.*, IXth Ser., Vol. xix, 1902, p. 63 *sqq.*; A. von Kremer, *Herrschende Ideen*, p. 89—97; M. Horten, *Philosophie der Erleuchtung* (Halle 1912); Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. (Cl. Huart.)

HĪLĀDJ (or Hailādj), a Persian word adopted into Arabic, as astrological term, associated with *kadkhudā* by Ibn al-Rūmī (died 284 = 897) in a celebrated verse. According to the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* s. v., where it is derived from the Greek, it means "chair of life". By its assonance to Ḥallādj, the word has given ʿAṭṭār a title for his *Hīlādj-Nāmah*, a long Persian poem, which describes the ideal of mystic union in the form of the story of a martyr.

Bibliography: Khafādjī, *Shifāʾ al-ʿalīl*, Cairo 1282, s. v.; Rieu, *Catal. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, p. 577a—b; *Lughat al-ʿArab*, iii. (Baghdad 1913), 314—317. (Louis Massignon.)

HILĀL, an Arab tribe belonging to the Maʿaddī (Ismāʿīlī) group. Its genealogy is Hilāl b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin ..... b. Kais ʿAilān. During the Djāhiliya they worshipped at Tabāla the idol Khalaṣa, called the Kaʿba of the Yemen, which was also worshipped by the Badjīla, Ḥārith b. Kaʿb and Khathʿam.

They lived in Nadjd (on the Yemen border) and were neighbours of the Sulaim [q. v.]. The following places belonged to them, al-ʿAblāʾ, Buraik (with the *Ḥarra* of the Banū Hilāl), Bamī, al-Furuḳ, al-Kuraiḥa (the two latter were already ruined by Hamdānī's time), Ghurwah, Marrān (a large town on the road to Baṣra with numerous wells, palms, and cornfields), Ṣariḥa or Ḍariḥa and the famous market place of ʿUkāẓ (in Hamdānī's time); the following wadis: Lyidhān, Kuniya, and Turaba (near Mecca, very fertile; shared with the Ḍibāb and ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa), and the following mountains: Baiḍāʾ [with the lake al-Naḳʿāʾ; in Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 224, wrongly Boss and al-Baḳʿāʾ (Baḳʿāʾ)] and al-Kuīn. There were also many Hilāl at Bīsha [q. v.]. According to Hamdānī, they spoke good Arabic.

Historical. In the pre-Muḥammadan period, Ḍamra b. Māʿiz, chief of the Hilāl, on a raid slew several of the Azd; the chief of the Azd, the poet Ḥādjiz, then made war on them and took many prisoners. On the 'day' of al-Waḥīda (al-Waḥīdāt) between the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and the Tamīm, the Hilāl fought on the side of the former and lost nearly 80 men killed. During the 'Fidjār' [q. v.] battles between the Ḳuraish and Kināna on the one side and the Hawāzin on the other we find the Hilāl on the side of their kinsmen, the Hawāzin [q. v.]. Just before the conclusion of peace between the Hawāzin and Ḳuraish and the Kināna, at the instigation of Wahb b. Muʿattib, the chief of the Thaḳīf, a tribe related to the Hawāzin, they made a raid upon the Banū Laith, a clan of the Kināna and stole their cattle, under the leadership of Kaiʿa b. Abī Ẓabyān in connection with other tribes of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. When, after the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet in 8 = 630, the Hawāzin and the Thaḳīf advanced against Muḥammad in Mecca under Mālik b. ʿAwf, the Hilāl also joined them. In the third year of the reign of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Wāthiḳ (230 = 844-845) his general Bughā al-Kabīr sent an army against the Hilāl, who were then with the Sulaim creating unrest in Medina, and had three hundred of the malcontents thrown into prison in Medina; they attempted to escape from here along with the Sulaim prisoners but were prevented by the Medinese and, when they resisted, were massacred to a man. The tribe afterwards migrated to Egypt where they settled at first in the Nile Delta, but were afterwards conquered by the Fāṭimid Sulṭān al-ʿAzīz (365—386 = 975-996) and forced by him to take up their abode in Upper Egypt, as they had taken the side of the Ḳarmaṭians. Maḳrīzī tells us that in 797 they lived in the Aswān district in the province of al-Ṣaʿīd; among their clans in Egypt he mentions the Banū ʿAmr, Rifāʿa, Ḥadjir or Ḥudjair, Ḳurra (at Ikhmīm), ʿUḳba or ʿAḳaba (Wüstenfeld, *Maḳrīzī* (see Bibl.) p. 464 erroneously: Corra) and Djamūla near Aṣfūn (Uṣfūn; Wüstenfeld, *l. c.*: Asfun, a misprint) and Asnā. In the year 444 = 1052, at the instigation of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir (427—487 = 1035—1094), they migrated to North Africa (Ḳairawān) where after considerable fighting they conquered the Ṣinhādja, the former governors in the Fāṭimids, then the real lords of the country. Many tribes in Africa trace their descent from Hilāl.

The migration of the B. Hilāl to Africa and the wars which they had to wage during the conquest of the country form the historical background of a collection of heroic tales and love stories, the romance or rather epic, *Sīra Banī Hilāl* (History of the B. Hilāl) which exists in two recensions (*Sīra al-Shāmīya* and *Sīra al-Ḥidjāzīya*) containing three cycles.

The first cycle describes the history (the *Sīra* proper) of the B. Hilāl in Bilād al-Sarw wa ʿUbāda. Two sons, Djābir and Djubair, are born to al-Mundhir, son of Hilāl, by his two wives Hadhbāʾ and ʿAdhbāʾ on the same night. Djubair goes off with his mother and afterwards becomes Sulṭān in Nadjd. — The Emirs Ḥāzim and Rizḳ of the line of Djābir rule in Bilād al-Sarw. Rizḳ marries al-Khaḍrā, the daughter of the Sherif of Mecca, whom he had sided against the king of Rūm. She bears him a son, the dark Barakāt, afterwards called Abū Zaid (Zēd). Ḥāzim's successor is his son Sirḥām (Sarḥān); the latter is succeeded by his son Ḥasan, who marries Kharmā, queen of the Yemen, after conquering the fire-worshippers in the land of Bardhakhīt, against whom Kharmā had appealed for help. India is conquered with the help of Abū Zaid and Ḥasan then goes with Kharmā to Bilād al-Sarw wa-ʿUbāda.

The second cycle deals with the migration (*riḥla*) of the Banū Hilāl to the land of Nadjd. A famine drove the Hilāl from Bilād al-Sarw to Nadjd, where they were received in the most kindly fashion by king Ghānim and his sons Dhiʾāb (Diyāb, of the line of Djubair) and their people, the Banū Zughba. The Hilāl conquer the king al-Haidabī, who was chief of the seven rulers of Nedjd; Ḥasan, who marries al-Nāʾila, sister of Dhiʾāb, then rules in Nedjd with vassal kings. A war breaks out between Dhiʾāb, who kills two of Ḥasan's brothers, and Abū Zaid; Dhiʾāb submits and peace reigns.

The third cycle deals with the migration of the Hilāl to the west (*Taghrība*) and their wars with the Zanātī Caliph in Tunis. In 460 = 1068 Abū Zaid with his retinue goes to Tunis to seek a more productive dwelling-place on account of the famine reigning in Nadjd. Saʿda, the daughter of the Zanātī Caliph, who falls deeply in love with

Mir'ī (Mar'ī), one of Abū Zaid's companions, uses her influence on their behalf. Abū Zaid then returns to Nadjd and the Banū Hilāl begin their migration westwards. After many adventures (the expedition into the land of the Persians with the seven Sulṭāns and their battles there, the capture of al-Māriya, daughter of the Ḳāḍī Budair, the battles with al-Ghaḍbān, king of the Kurds and Turkomans, with al-Bardawīl b. Rashīd (Baldwin I, 1109—1118) al-Serkasī Ibn Nāzih, al-Firmand, the ruler of Egypt, al-Māḍī, the king of Bilād al-Ṣa'īd, etc.) they enter the land of the Zanātī Caliph. Al-Zanātī advanced against the Hilāl and kills two of Dhi'āb's brothers. After al-Zanātī had been killed with the help of Dhi'āb, the struggle begins for the possession of the seven thrones and the fourteen citadels of the western land. Ḥasan and Abū Zaid are treacherously murdered by Dhi'āb. The orphans endeavour to avenge these murders. Under the leadership of Buraiḳ', son of Ḥasan and nephew of Dhi'āb, and al-Djāziya, Ḥasan's sister, they go out against Dhi'āb and slay him, after he has killed Djāziya by a kick. Buraiḳ', who thus takes the throne, by his tyrannical rule arouses a general rebellion among the B. Zughba in which he loses his life at the hands of Naṣr al-Dīn, son of Dhi'āb.

Of the two chief heroes of the romances, Abū Zaid and Dhi'āb, only the latter is found in history, but there he plays only an unimportant part, like Roland, the hero of the epic of the Charlemagne cycle.

The brief synopsis here given only covers the main outlines of this romance, so highly valuable for philology and the history of Arab culture, which contains a great number of separate stories. Cf. M. Hartmann, *Die Benī Hilāl-Geschichten* in the *Zeitschr. für afrikan. und ocean. Sprachen*, iv. 289 *sqq.*

Bibliography: Besides the *Bibl.* to ABŪ ZAID: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 50, 9, 84, 19; 119, 11—13, 121, 4—5, 136, 1, 263, 12—13; Bakrī, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, p. 149, 275, 354, 603, 694—695, 751, 764; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, Index; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1591, 1655; iii. 1338, 1339 and Index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ii. 131, 199; vii. 9, 12—13; viii. 476; ix. 388—390; x. 30—31; xi. 122, 139; *Aghānī*, xii. 50, 52; xix. 77, 81 and Index; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, i. 27, 29; Maḳrīzī, *Abhandlung über die in Ägypten eingewanderten arab. Stämme* (ed. Wüstenfeld) in *Göttinger Studien*, 1847 (ii.) p. 421, 424 and 461, 464; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, i. 310, 316; ii. 476; iii. 245; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, Part. ii., Table F. 15, and and *Register*, p. 223—224. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

HILĀL AL-ṢĀBĪ. [See AL-ṢĀBĪ.]

HILĀLĪ, the pen-name of BADR AL-DĪN. Of Čaghatāi origin and born at Astarābād he was educated at Herāt, and was patronised by 'Alī Shīr. The fullest account of him is by Sām Mīrzā who was a friend of his. (See Silvestre de Sacy in *Not. et Extraits*, iv. 285). The account there given of his begging to be put to death by a certain young man is not in the B. M. copies of the *Tuḥfat-Sāmī* and may be an interpolation. Hilālī's best known poem is the *Shāh u Darwīsh* (*Shāh u Gadā*). Bābur severely criticises its morality, and Rieu, II, 656, seems to take the same view, but Professor Ethé claims it to be a spiritual poem, and has translated it into German verse, *Morgenländ. Studien*, p. 197—282. See *India Off. Cat.*, N°. 1426, p. 785. Hilālī was put to death as a Shī'a heretic by 'Ubaid Allāh (Shaibānī's sister's son) in 939 (1532-1533).

Bibliography: Sām Mīrzā's biographies; Sprenger's *Cat. Libraries of the King of Oudh*; Bābur's *Memoirs*, trans. Erskine, p. 196, and Pavet de Courteille, i. 411; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, ed. Bombay, Part iii., vol. iii. 350, where he is called Mawlānā Nūr al-dīn; Ethé in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 228, 246, 297, 301. (H. BEVERIDGE.)

ḤILF (A.), a league or confederacy, originally of tribes or clans, which had previously formed more or less closed units. The ceremonial act by which the alliance was usually completed seems to have had for its object the unification of the previously separated groups. Cf. Joh. Pedersen, *Den Semitiske Ed* etc., Copenhagen 1912, p. 10, 20—32 (German ed., *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 1914, p. 7, 21—31), where it is made probable that the idea of "swearing" is not the fundamental notion in the root *Ḥ-L-F* but has developed out of the notion of confederacy.

The parties, by the league, became *ḥulafā'* (sing. *ḥalīf*) to one another; a single individual could also enter into a *ḥilf* with a tribe. In this case the conception of *ḥilf* coincides often with that of *djiwār*.

Some confederacies are worthy of special mention, e.g. the *Ḥilf al-Muṭaiyabīn*, the league which 'Abd Manāf formed with several Ḳuraish clans against the 'Abd al-Dār, when the latter declined to give up their privileges. The name *al-Muṭaiyabūn* (the perfumed) is said to be derived from the fact that the confederates dipped their hands in a vessel of *ṭīb* (perfume) at the Ka'ba and then rubbed the Ka'ba. The *Muṭaiyabūn* are mentioned in a letter of Muḥammad to the Khuzā'a. — The 'Abd al-Dār on their part formed a league with other clans and were called *al-Aḥlāf* (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 84, *sq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 294; al-Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 287 *sq.*; al-Mas'ūdī, Paris edition, iii. 120 *sq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. Introd., §§ 85—87, ii. 1, anno 8, §§ 20—21 and other sources and works given there).

Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl was the name of a league of several Ḳuraish clans, who banded themselves together to intercede on behalf of those who were treated unjustly. At the formation of this confederacy Zamzam water, with which the edges of the Ka'ba had previously been washed, was drunk. The meaning of *al-Fuḍūl* is uncertain; the most varied explanations are given by the Arab authorities. Muḥammad is said to have been present at the conclusion of this alliance and to have esteemed it very highly (this is also told of the *Ḥilf al-Muṭaiyabīn*, e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v. 35 *supra*). It is related of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī that he once threatened an Umaiyad governor of Medina with the militia of the *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl*. (*Aghānī*[1], xvi. 63—71; Ibn Hishām, p. 85 *sq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *l. c.*; al-Mas'ūdī, iv. 122 *sqq.*; Caetani, *o. c.*, i. introd. §§ 146, 147). Cf. also the *Ribāb* (sing. *Rubbā*, cf. al-Ṭabarī, i. 1914, 11 2221, 3, 15; Ibn Duraid, *Kit. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 111; *'Iḳd*, Cairo 1316, ii. 41, cf. 39, 2 *sqq.*; *Aghānī*, s. Ind.; Caetani, *o. c.*, i. ii. s. Ind.), the "bloodlickers" (*La'aḳat al-Dam*; Ibn Hishām, p. 125; *Aghānī*, vii. 26, 28; Caetani, *o. c.*, i. Introd. §§ 160, 170), the *Aḥābīsh* (al-Ya'ḳūbī, i. 278 *sq.*; *Aghānī*, xix. 76 *sq.*; Caetani, *o. c.*, i. Introd. § 305, and *passim*) etc.

A hereditary right of the *ḥalīf* confirmed by Ḳur'ān iv. 37 (according to another view it refers to the brotherhood of the Muhādjirūn and Anṣār) was abolished by xxxiii. 6; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v. 31—35; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p. 239 note.

In Islām which was to make all its adherents brothers the *ḥilf* was condemned; the Prophet is made to say: *lā ḥilfa fi 'l-Islām*, but he is said to have recommended the fulfilment of obligations of alliances contracted in the Djāhiliya (cf. also al-Ṭabarī, *o. c.*, v. 34, *sq.*).

On leagues of the modern Arab tribes cf. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 149 *sqq.*, and on the *ḥalīf* in Bilād Arḥab (Yemen) see E. Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Hāschid*, in *Peterm. Mitth.*, 1884, p. 177[b].

Bibliography: In addition to the works already mentioned, *Lisān*, s. v. *ḥlf*, *fḍl* (p. 42), *rbb* (p. 388), *ḥwḍ* (p. 166); Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes* etc., i. 254 *sq.* (*al-Muṭaiyabūn*); i. 330—335 (*al-Fuḍūl*); ii. 287 N., and *passim* (*al-Kiḥāb*); i. 253 *sq.*, and *passim* (*al-Aḥābīsh*); W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*[2], p. 53 *sqq.*, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3], p. 314 *sqq.*, 479 *sq.*; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], p. 125 *sq.*, 128 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i. 63—69.

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

ḤILL. [See ḤALAL.]

AL-**ḤILLA**, a town in the wilāyet of Baghdād, the capital of the sandjaḳ of the same name, with 30,000 inhabitants (Cuinet), was founded in 495 (1101—1102) by Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr al-Maryadī and given the name Ḥillat Banī Maryad (settlement of the B. Maryad). The site was happily chosen by the vigorous Arab emīr on the site which had once been occupied by the famous city of Bābel, ruins of which still exist some miles up the river. The river, which flows past the town and which has since about the vi[th] (xii[th]) century been regarded as Euphrates proper, was regarded by the Arab geographers as an arm of the main stream and was called Nahr Sūrā al-Asfal. Even before the foundation of Ḥilla there was a flourishing town here, called al-Djāmi'ain, on the left bank, while Ṣadaḳa built his town on the opposite side. The bridge of boats, by which communication between the two banks was carried on, soon became the main passage across the river on the road from Baghdād to Kūfa, which had previously led via Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubaira. Ḥilla as a result rapidly began to flourish and down to the present day has always been a centre of great importance, from the military point of view also.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 322 *sq.*; Ibn Djubair, ed. de Goeje, p. 214; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 97; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 783 *sqq.* (where the older travellers are given); Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 71; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 160 *sqq.*

AL-**ḤILLĪ**, ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. SARĀYĀ, an Arab poet, born on the 5[th] Rabī' II 677 (26[th] Aug. 1278) at Ḥilla on the Euphrates, settled at the court of the Urtuḳids of Mārdīn and sang their praises. In 726 (1326) he went to Cairo to the court of al-Malik al-Nāṣir but soon returned to Mārdīn and died in 750 (1349) or 752 (1351) in Baghdād. As a rule he only follows in the footsteps of his predecessors in his very numerous poems. Only in popular poetry did he introduce an innovation by inventing a kind of *muwashshaḥ*, called *mudjammam*.

The collection entitled *Durar al-Nuḥūr*, in which the fame of the Urtuḳid al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Mārdīn is sung, contains 29 poems each of 29 distiches, all of which begin with the same letter and end with the letters of the alphabet in order. A poem entitled *al-Kāfiya al-badī'iya* is devoted to the praise of the Prophet and was annotated by the author himself. The *Kitāb al-'āṭil al-ḥālī* is a treatise on the metres of popular poetry called *zadjal*, *mawālī*, *kānkān*, and *ḥūmā*. His *Dīwān* was printed in Damascus (1297—1300) and Bairūt (1300); a poem in honour of Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Abu 'l-Makārim was translated by G. H. Bernstein into Latin (Leipzig 1816).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Geschichte d. arab. Litteratur*, ii. 159 *sq.*; Huart, *Arabic Literature*, p. 323; I. Pizzi, *Letteratura araba*, p. 321; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 449-450; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i. 279—287 (356—366 ed. 1283); Weijers, *Orientalia*, ii. 293; M. Hartmann, *Das Muwaššaḥ*, p. 76.

(CL. HUART.)

AL-**ḤILLĪ**, the native of Ḥilla [q. v.], the name of three esteemed Imāmiya theologians.

1. Nadjm al-Dīn Dja'far b. Muḥammad, called al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, died about 674 (1275), author of the *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, the standard handbook on Shī'ī law (translated into Russian by Kazembeg, into French by Querry).

2. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar, called 'Allāma, died in 726 (1326); author of the *Khulāṣat al-Aḳwāl*, besides other treatises.

3. Aḥmad b. Fahd, died in 806 (1403), "Shaikh al-Muta'akhkhirīn".

Bibliography: Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, lith. Teheran 1307, pp. 20, 145, 235; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litter.*, i. 406; ii. 164.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON.)

HILMEND [See HELMAND.]

ḤIMĀLA [See ḤAMĀ'IL.]

AL-**ḤIMĀR** (A.), the ass. Tame (*al-ahlī*) and wild (*al-waḥshī*, *al-fara'*) are distinguished. Some of the tame asses are beasts of burden, others are ridden; many of the latter are very swift. The ass can find its way again by a road even though it has only traversed it once before; its hearing is keen and it suffers little from disease. The ass is of special importance in Persia, Syria and Egypt. Many Arabs will not ride an ass out of pride, and it is not considered proper to mention the ass by its real name in good society. Its bray is exceedingly repulsive; the dog howls with pain when it hears it. When an ass brays, it has seen a devil; when a cock crows, it has seen an angel. If a stone be tied to an ass's tail, it will not bray. When an ass sees a lion, it stands still or runs at the lion; it is said to be saved thereby. If a man is bitten by a scorpion, he should sit backwards upon an ass and the pain then passes to the ass. The uses of various parts of the ass in medicine are innumerable.

Wild asses are so like one another that no man can distinguish them. The he ass is very jealous; when he sees a young male, he tears his testicles out with his teeth for fear he should cover a she ass, when he grows up. The she ass knows this and therefore shortly before foaling she goes to some inaccessible place and does not return to the herd until her foal has hard hoofs

and can run swiftly. It is further remarkable that individuals never separate from the herd, even though there are thousands of them. Hunting wild asses is therefore very easy. The hunter hides in a narrow pass and waits till a wild ass comes along and then kills it. The others could escape if they fled back, but as they remain together, the hunter is able to slay as many as he cares. This however does not agree with the descriptions of hunting scenes collected by G. Jacob from the poets.

There is a breed called *Akhdariya*, called after a stallion of Kisrā Ardashīr which bred with wild asses or those that had run wild. These are the finest and swiftest among wild asses. According to some authors, the wild ass reaches an age of 200, according to others, 800 years.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 376; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo, i. 200; Ibn al-Baiṭār, see Leclerc in *Notices et extr.*, i. 458; Jacob, *Studien in arab. Dichtern*, iii. 115; Polak, *Persien*, ii. 99; Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, p. 73.

(J. RUSKA.)

ḤIMṢ (pronounced Ḥoms) is situated in the great Orontes plain of Central Syria, about a mile from the Orontes (Nahr al-ʿĀṣī) on a canal connected with it. The town, which has 50,000 inhabitants (of whom 15,000 are orthodox Greeks), is the capital of a Liwā' under a ḳā'immaḳām and belongs to the wilāyet of Damascus. It is connected by railway with Tripolis, with Ḥamā and Aleppo, and with Damascus via Rayāḳ.

Ḥimṣ (called 'Emesa' by the Greeks and Romans; on the various forms see the article 'Emesa' in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencycl.*) is not one of the towns founded by the Seleucids; the town is first mentioned by Pliny; in the time of Pompey the adjacent Arethusa (Restan) was the seat of an Arab dynasty (see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 245). Emesa was the birthplace of the Emperor Elagabalus, who rebuilt with great splendour the famous temple of the sun-god here from whom he took his name, and furthered the prosperity of the town in every way by granting it privileges. In the Byzantine period also when we already find the name Χέμψ, it was a flourishing city and the see of a bishop.

At the end of the year 13 the inhabitants concluded a treaty with the Arabs by which by paying a sum of money they secured peace to protect their trade. In the beginning of 14, with the help of a Byzantine garrison, they were able to ward off an attack on the town but it fell to the Arabs at the end of the year after a two months' siege. They seem to have left the town again next year, at least, it is several times said that it surrendered to Abū ʿUbaida in 16 and received a grant of protection. On the division of Syria into military districts Ḥimṣ became the capital of a *Djund* [q.v.] It rebelled under Marwān II, was taken by storm and severely punished. As a rule the *Djund*'s of Ḥimṣ and Aleppo were administered by the same governor. We possess information on the revenues of Ḥimṣ for various periods [cf. ḤALAB]. While the figures for Ḥimṣ are wanting in the *Djirāb al-Dawla* and in al-Muḳaddasī, we still possess al-Yaḳūbī's and al-Iṣfahānī's figures. The yield of the taxes of Ḥimṣ (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 44—48) (reckoning the dinār at 10 shillings) was:

a. for the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170—193), according to a quotation from al-Djahshiyārī's *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, 320,000 dinārs and 1000 camel-loads of dried grapes (the vineyards of Ḥimṣ were famous and were only destroyed during the Crusades).

b. for the year 204 (Ḳudāma's *Kitāb al-Kharādj*) 118,000 dinārs (the same sum is given by al-Iṣfahānī, quoted by Ibn Khurdādhbih).

c. for the year 250, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih, 340,000 dinārs.

d. for the year 278, 220,000 dinārs (al-Yaʿḳūbī, who wrote about this time).

The low figures given by Ḳudāma, al-Iṣfahānī and al-Yaʿḳūbī are due to a different method of calculating the revenue; they have perhaps deducted the salaries of the officials or other administrative expenses in their calculation.

Under the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla [q.v.] Ḥimṣ passed under the rule of the kings of Ḥalab and was frequently granted by them as a fief. Among those who there held it we may mention Saif's cousin, the famous poet Abū Firās ʿAlī, whom Saʿd al-Dawla deprived of the town. In 367 he granted Ḥimṣ to his general Bakdjūr, whose government of it was highly praised; a minaret of architectural interest (with Kūfic inscription) dates from his time. During this period Ḥimṣ suffered from the repeated ravages of the Byzantines. In 475 it belonged to the notorious Bedouin chief Khalaf b. Mulāʿib (cf. M. Hartmann, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal. Vereins*, xxiv. 49—66), who recognised the Fāṭimid caliph as his overlord. Enraged at this and moved by the complaints of Khalaf's subjects against his cruelty, the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān ordered the Emīr of Syria to take him prisoner. He was besieged in 483, captured and brought in a cage to Iṣfahān. Ḥimṣ was granted to Sulṭān Tutush from whom his son Riḍwān inherited it. He granted Ḥimṣ in 491 to his stepfather Djanāḥ al-Dawla, who was murdered by the Ismāʿīlites in 491. Later we find an Emīr Ḳaradjā (perhaps identical with the vassal lord of Ḥarrān, one of Malikshāh's mamlūks. After his death in 506 his son Khirkhān [see ḤAMĀ] succeeded him and died in 525. His children, who were still minors, suffered a great deal from Zangī's efforts to conquer Ḥimṣ, till their guardian in 530 exchanged the city for Palmyra and Raḥba with Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, king of Damascus. The latter at first granted it in fief to his vizier Onör, but after long negotiations finally transferred it to his stepfather Zangī in 532 (Önör received other towns in compensation). Nūr al-Dīn inherited it from Zangī and his son Ismāʿīl from him, till Saladin received it in 570. Four years later he appointed his cousin Muḥammad b. Shīrkūh ruler of it. With one interruption (it was taken by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II of Aleppo in 646 and ceded to him, but seems only to have remained a short time in his possession), his descendants remained rulers of Ḥimṣ till 661; they had readily opened their gates to the Mongol Khān Hūlāgū. From 661 it was governed by deputy-governors, sometimes attached to Ḥamā, sometimes to Damascus. In the xvii[th] century an aghā of a native family ruled there, independent of the Pasha of Damascus. In the xix[th] century Ḥimṣ passed, like Aleppo, under Egyptian rule (1831—1840) but it suffered so much from the arbitrary conduct [cf. ḤALAB] of the officials that a rebellion broke out, which was with difficulty suppressed.

Only a few insignificant ruins of the city wall (see plan) and gates survive, while of the citadel, which was destroyed by Ibrāhīm Pasha, a tower with an inscription of the year 594 of Saladin's cousin, Muḥammad b. Shīrkūh, and a gate still stand (see plan). The mausoleum of the great general Khālid b. al-Walīd and his wife Faḍḍa (plan 15) has recently been rebuilt. (The valuable inscriptions were previously copied by van Berchem, Freiherr v. Oppenheim and M. Sobernheim). A number of mills on the Orontes belong to Ḥimṣ, of which one, as the Arabic inscription shows, belongs to the year 824 A.H. and another with Turkish inscription to the year 975 (N.B. this is the only Turkish inscription of this period in Syria). The most interesting building is the great mosque (plan 11), in which half of the cathedral is said to have been incorporated at the beginning of the period of Muslim rule. Herzfeld writes the following note on it: The great mosque lies in the centre of the bazar and is entered from the south of it. The main entrance, on the west side, leads through a vaulted passage into the court, and a side entrance on the east leads directly into the ḥaram. The ḥaram is an oblong space with two naves each with 13 cross-vaultings. There is a small dome above the bay before the simple miḥrāb. In the west is a second, older miḥrāb with gold mosaic, which seems to belong to the earliest Muslim period. The court façade of the ḥaram shows that the plan has undergone many alterations. This wall was apparently originally the wall between the main and side nave of a basilika church of quite an unusual type: 4 large arches alternating with 3 double-storied sections, each of 5 small arches. The columns and capitals, of which many lie in the court of the mosque are remains of the ancient building. This court is oblong, surrounded by narrow cloisters, quite unadorned. An estrade with basin and miḥrāb almost fill it. Beside it, on the west, is a well with a cupola resting on six antique columns.

Bibliography: See the article ḤALAB. Epigraphy: some inscriptions have been discussed by v. Berchem in *Inscriptions de Syrie*, Cairo, 1897, p. 54—56 and in Frhr. v. Oppenheim's *Inschriften aus Syrien* etc., p. 4—13.

(M. SOBERNHEIM.)

ḤIMYAR, the name of an ancient stock in South Arabia. The form Homeritae, Ὁμηρῖται, in the classical authors suggests a diminutive formation; the Arabic form now usual is only found in Theodorus Anagnostes (6th century A.D.), *Hist. eccles.*, ii. ch. 58 (cf. Nicephorus Callistos, *Hist. eccles.*, xvi. ch. 37) in the form Ἀμεριται, or Ἰμεριται. Nonnosos, who went to Aksūm and South Arabia as the envoy of Justinian, and following him, Malalas use the form Ἀμερῖται, which goes back to the Ethiopian Ḥemēr. The form found in inscriptions is Ḥ-m-y-r-m with mimation and the plural '-ḥ-m-r-n, which presumably is to be pronounced Aḥmūrān (= al-Aḥmūr).

According to the Arab authorities, the Ḥimyar, who were divided into a number of smaller tribes, lived around Laḥdj, in the district of Ẓafār and Ridā' and also to the east in Sarw Ḥimyar and Nadjd Ḥimyar. The Homeritae are first mentioned in Aelius Gallus's account of his expedition to South Arabia in 25 B.C., preserved in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. § 161, with the note that they are "the most numerous tribe" (*numerosissimus est*); according to Strabo, xvi. ch. 4, § 21, at the time of the Roman invasion Mariaba, i.e. Ma'rib, the capital of Saba', belonged to Ilasaros who ruled over the Rhammanites. This statement most probably refers to Ilīsharaḥ Yaḥḍub, king of Saba' and Dhū Raidān, i.e. of the Sabaeans and Himyarites, who is known from inscriptions. When the anonymous *Periplus Maris Erythraei* was written (about 70 A.D.), the Ḥimyarites ruled the greater part of South Arabia, namely, the coast of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean up to the frontiers of Ḥaḍramawt, with the corresponding interior, including the land of the Sabaeans; they also held a portion of the East African coast (Azania). Their king Charibaël "the legitimate ruler of the Ḥimyarites and Sabaeans" resided in Ẓafār (Ẓ-f-r in inscriptions; in addition to the form with T — Ταφάρ, Ταφαρον, Τάφαρα, Τάφαρ and Taphra — the spelling with S, Sapphar, is also found, in Pliny and Ptolemy; Ethiopian Ṣafār; not to be confused with the port of the same name on the Indian Ocean), which remained the chief city of South Arabia till the Persian occupation. This ruler was on friendly terms with the Romans. He seems to be identical with the Karib'īl W-t-r Yuh'im king of Saba and of Dhū Raidān, of the inscriptions, coins of whom are also known, struck in Raidān. The passing of the hegemony of South Arabia from the Sabaeans to the Ḥimyar took place about the end of the second century B.C. and may have been partly brought about by the discovery of the sea-route to India by the admirals of the Ptolemies, whereby Saba' lost its importance as the centre of the overland trade of South Arabia. Greek and Roman sources are alike silent regarding the further history of the Ḥimyarites down to the 4th century; the inscriptions so far discovered give a series of kings' names but without precise dates. In the reign of the Emperor Constantine II. (337—361) Christianity was introduced by the Indian Theophilos, a native of Dīū; he built churches in 'Aden and Ẓafār and other towns; even at this time there were numerous Jewish communities there (Philostorgius, *Hist. eccles.*, iii. ch. 4). According to another account in Theodoros Anagnostes, *l. c.*, the conversion of the Ḥimyarites did not take place till the reign of Anastasius (491—518). About the middle of the 4th century the Abyssinians, the '-ḥ-b-sh-n of the inscriptions, i.e. the rulers of Aksūm, found a firm footing in South Arabia and Aeizanas, the king of Aksūm, a contemporary of Constantius II, in his inscriptions includes among his titles that of "king of the Ḥimyarites and of Raidān". The Abyssinian invasion seems to date back as early as the third century; Marcianus (beginning of the 5th century) calls the Homeritae an Ethiopian people, and this description is often repeated in the older Byzantine writers. The Roman emperors were in regular communication with them (see *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxxv. p. 73), partly in the interests of trade and partly to secure their support against the Sasanians who were endeavouring to penetrate into South Arabia through 'Omān. About 521 the native princes under Dhū Nuwās (Dunaas, Damnos, Damianus of the Greek sources) aroused a serious rebellion against the Abyssinian invaders. Dhū Nuwās, who is said to have professed Judaism and to have organised the persecution of Christians in Nadjrān, which has become famous through

the martyrology of St. Arethas, fell in 526 in battle with Kaleb Ela-Aṣbaḥa, king of Aksūm, and the land passed under the sway of an Abyssinian dynasty, whose founder, Ela-Abraha, made himself independent of Aksūm a few years after the withdrawal of Kaleb Ela-Aṣbaḥa. We possess an authentic source for his history and his relations with Byzantium, Persia and Abyssinia, as well as with the Ghassānids and other Arab princes, in the great inscription of Ma'rib of the year 540, in which he also gives an account of the restoration of the great dam. In this period arose the "laws of the Ḥimyarites" and other apocryphal works, which are associated with the name of St. Gregentios, bishop of Ẓafār under Ela-Abraha, and his successor (Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, vol. 86, i. coll. 563—784). In the reign of the Emperor Justin II, about 570, the Ḥimyar chiefs invited the Persians into the country. Masrūḳ, the last ruler of the dynasty of Ela-Abraha (corrupted to Sanaturkes in Theophanus Byzantius), fell in battle with the Persians, who placed the country under military occupation, leaving the various districts (*mikhlāf*) under native princes. The Persian governors (*marzubān*) resided in Ṣan'ā'. When Muḥammad sent his first envoys to the Yemen, the kingdom of the Ḥimyar, as such, had long ceased to exist and the new religion was adopted without appreciable opposition by the Ḥimyar chiefs, as well as by the descendants of the Persians, the so-called Abnā'.

The inscriptions hitherto found in South Arabia in the local alphabet, which we usually call Ḥimyaritic inscriptions, belong to widely varying periods, from about 700 B. C. to about 550 A. D. and only a few fragments among them owe their origin to the Ḥimyar in the narrower sense of the word. Linguistically they fall into two main groups, the Sabaean and Minaean Inscriptions; the Ḥimyar texts belong to the former group. The coins hitherto discovered — almost all silver — apart from a few of the earlier issues, are on the other hand mainly to be ascribed to the Ḥimyar. The alphabet (called *musnad* by the Arabs, which however in the inscriptions only means 'inscription'), a variety of the Phoenician alphabet adapted to the Ethiopian, contains all the consonants of the Arabic language with the addition of a variant of the sibilant س. The Sabaean-Ḥimyar language is an Arabic dialect which is distinguished from northern Arabic by certain grammatical peculiarities (mimation instead of nunation, replacement of the article by the affix *-ān*, *haf'al* for *'af'al* in the 4th form of the verb) and also in vocabulary. On the other hand the supposition of the Arab philologists that the later South Arabian dialects or even the dialects of Mahra and Ḳāra are offshoots from the ancient language of the Ḥimyar has proved incorrect, although they have preserved in their vocabulary many roots and words, which are not known to Northern Arabic, but which are found in the inscriptions.

Before the discovery of the inscriptions the accounts of the Arabs formed, with the scanty records in ancient and Byzantine authors, our only source for the ancient history of South Arabia. The *tubba'*'s of the Yemen are already mentioned in the Ḳur'ān and the kings of the Ḥimyar were henceforth known in history by this name; we now know from the inscriptions that the kings of the Sabaeans and Ḥimyar always called themselves *malik* and that *tubba'* is a corruption of the name of the powerful family of Baṭa' of the tribe of Hamdān. The same inscriptions teach us that the statements in the literary sources on the Ḥimyar *ḳail* and *adhwā* (kings and feudal lords) are for the most part based on misunderstandings. The lists of kings handed down in this way to us and the doings of individual *tubba'*'s are still more unreliable. In the Ḳur'ān we find allusions to the Old Testament story of the queen of Sheba, to persecution of the Christians by Dhū Nuwās in Nedjrān (not certain, see *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxv. 610 *sqq.*) and to the expedition of a *tubba'* against Mecca. At quite an early period the expositors of the sacred book and the story-tellers at the court of the first caliphs began to devote attention to the ancient history of the country (Ibn 'Abbās, Ka'b al-Aḥbār, Wahb b. Munabbih, 'Abīd b. Sharya); although several of them belonged to Yemen, they made less use of genuine popular tradition than of foreign legends, e. g. the Alexander romance and Jewish traditions, and added other matter of their own invention.

The last traces of this kind of historical research are popular works still eagerly read like the story of Bilḳīs and Dhu 'l-Karnain, the *Sīra Saif b. Dhī 'l-Yazan*, etc. The works of three natives of South Arabia are much more serious however: *al-Tīdjān fī Mulūk Ḥimyar* of Ibn Hishām, the celebrated biographer of the Prophet, the *Iklīl* and the *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab* of al-Hamdānī, as well as the so-called 'Ḥimyarite ḳaṣīda' with commentary, and the lexicon *Shams al-'Ulūm* of Nashwān (died 573); they read the ancient *musnad*'s, although their language was no longer entirely comprehensible to them, and used them in their genealogical and historical researches; how far they worked from old native traditions has still to be investigated, but in any case they were also independent of the scholars already mentioned. Only the information regarding the last century before Islām can be used for the writing of history proper.

Bibliography. A bibliography, particularly of epigraphy down to 1893, is given in F. Hommel, *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, p. 63 *sqq.*, continuations to 1908 in O. Weber, *Studien zur Südar. Altertumskunde*, iii. 71—101. On the older history of the Ḥimyar cf. the essays by O. Blau and others in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxii. 654—673; xxiv. 559—592; xxv. 525—592; xxvii. 295—363; xxx. 320—324; xxxi. 61—74; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens* (1875). On the Abyssinian invasion: George, *De Aethiopum imperio in Arabia Felici* (Berlin 1833), A. Dillmann, *Über die Anfänge des Axumitischen Reiches*, Berlin 1879; *Zur Geschichte des Axumitischen Reichs vom IV. bis VI. Jahrhundert*, ibid. 1880, and *Bemerkungen zur Grammatik des Geez und zur alten Geschichte Abessiniens* in *Berliner Sitzungsber.*, 1890, i.; W. Fell, *Die Christenverfolgung in Südarabien und die himjarisch-äthiopischen Kriege nach abessinischer Überlieferung* in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxv. 1—74, thereon ibid., 693—710; J. Guidi, *La lettera di Simeone, vescovo di Bêth-Arśâm, sopra i martiri Omeriti* (Roma 1881); E. Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika* (1895); Carlo Conti Rossini, *Un documento sul Cristianesimo*

nello Yemen (Roma 1911); lastly the royal inscriptions of Aksūm (most recently in vol. iv. of the "*Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*", 1913). In addition to the publications of inscriptions, indicated by Hommel and Weber, *op. cit.*, and many articles, which have since appeared in the learned journals, there should also be noted the continuation of the Paris *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and Martin Hartmann, *Der Islamische Orient*, vol. ii.: *Die Arabische Frage mit einem Versuche der Archaeologie Yemens* (Berlin 1909). The Himyaritic Coins are described by G. Schlumberger, *Le Trésor de San'a*, Paris 1880; Barclay V. Head, *Num. Chron.*, *N.S.*, xviii. 273, 284; xx. 303—310; D. H. Müller, *Südar. Alterthümer im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum* (Vienna 1899), p. 65—78. The Arab traditions have been collected by A. Schultens, *Historia Imperii Joctanidarum*, Harderovici Gelrorum 1786, and Caussin de Perceval in his *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*; cf. also the pertinent passages in Ibn Isḥāḳ, Ibn Ḳutaiba, Ṭabarī, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, Mas'ūdī, Ibn Khaldūn. On Nashwān and Hamdānī: v. Kremer, *Die Himyarische Kasideh*, Leipzig 1865, *Über die Südarabische Sage*, ibid. 1866, and *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volkssage von Yemen*, ibid. 1867; D. H. Müller, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxix. 620—628, *Südarabische Studien*, Vienna 1877, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, i. and ii., ibid. 1879—1881, with supplement in the *Südarab. Alterthümer* etc., p. 80—95; Captain W. F. Prideaux, *The Lay of the Himyarites*, Sehore 1879. The main source for the historical geography is the *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab* of al-Hamdānī (ed. by D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—1891); cf. also the extracts from Ibn al-Mudjāwir in Sprenger's *Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864; on the South Arabian dialects see the *Études sur les Dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale* of Count Landberg, vol. i., ii., Leiden 1901 *sqq.*, and the works of A. Jahn and D. H. Müller on *Die Mehri- und Soḳoṭri-sprache* in *Südarabische Expedition* etc., iii. and iv. (Vienna 1902).

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

HIND, daughter of the Meccan 'Utba b. Rabī'a, of the family of 'Abd Shams, which was related to the Hāshimids. She was the wife of Abū Sufyān, to whom she bore several children including Mu'āwiya, afterwards Caliph. Tradition seems to take a special delight in drawing an unusually repulsive and no doubt caricatured picture of the short, stout woman, who certainly had a very passionate temperament. Her hatred of Muḥammad was increased by the fact that Ḥamza killed her father in the battle of Badr. With other women she accompanied the Meccans on their expedition against Medina in the year 3 and was one of the most ardent in urging on the men to battle; when Ḥamza fell in the conflict on the hill of Uḥud, she is said to have mutilated his body and bitten his liver. When the Prophet attacked Mecca in the year 8, she stormed against her cautious and far-seeing husband who wished to hand over the city without striking a blow. According to some narrators, the Prophet on this occasion condemned her and a number of other people to death but afterwards pardoned her; this is probably only a malicious invention, as other writers make no mention of it and in some traditions she makes a very stormy appearance at the paying of homage; it is moreover very improbable that Muḥammad would have injured by such an order the feelings of Abū Sufyān, who had met his overtures halfway. Besides she had every reason to be content with the new regime as her son was made governor of Syria; according to one story, she took part in the battle of the Yarmūk with undiminished vigour by urging on the Muslims to circumcise with their swords their uncircumcised opponents. In the end Abū Sufyān divorced her and she is said to have vigorously revenged herself by various intrigues. Some traditions make her die in the reign of 'Umar, others under 'Uthmān.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 466, 536 *sq.*, 557, 562 *sq.*, 580 *sqq.*, 815; Wellhausen, *Wakidi*, p. 102, 128, 133, 324, 334, 344, 350; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, ii. 1, 98; viii. 4; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1348, 1386, 1400 *sq.*, 1415 *sq.*, 1642 *sq.*, 2766 *sq.*; Beladhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 135; Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 48, 61; *al-Aghānī*, iv. 820—822.

(Fr. Buhl.)

HIND, The general name for India in Arabic and Persian chronicles and geography. The earlier writers generally make a distinction between Sind and Hind; the first name being confined to the countries bordering on the Indus and Mihran, and the other to India beyond the limits of the Muhammadan conquest. This is the use in Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Hawḳal and al-Bīrūnī, and is clearly shown in Ibn Hawḳal's map (reproduced in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I. p. 32). In later times the name Hind was extended to embrace the whole of India, the term Hindūstān being restricted to the Northern plain of the Ganges and Djamnā, and such is the modern use. After the invasions of the Ghaznawids and Ghūrids it became less usual to speak of Sind as a separate country from Hind. The name Hind is originally identical with Sind, the Skr. *sindhu* 'a river' becoming *hendu* in the Avesta, and having first been applied to the R. Indus was extended to the country adjacent to it.

Bibliography: Al-Mas'ūdī's *Encyclopaedia* (transl. Sprenger), O. T. F., London 1841; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, Vol. I. (London 1867).

(M. Longworth Dames.)

HINDĀL MĪRZĀ, fourth son of Bābur, born early in 1519. His real name was Muḥammad Abu 'l-Nāṣir, but the name Hindāl "Taker of India" was bestowed upon him by his father who was then meditating the conquest of India. Hindāl's mother was Dildār Begam, so that he was the full brother of Gulbadan Begam, the Memoirs-writer. He proved unstable and foolish, rebelled against his elder brother Humāyūn, and had the faḳīh Bahlūl brutally murdered in order to show his adherents that he would always be an irreconcilable rebel. He was killed in eastern Afghanistān, in November 1551, in a night-attack made by his brother Kāmrān on Humāyūn's camp. By this time, Hindāl had become reconciled to Humāyūn, and died, fighting for him. The good-natured monarch was inclined to lament his death, but Mun'im Khān coolly told him that he was bewailing his own gain, for now he had one enemy the less (Bāyazīd Biyāt's Memoir quoted by Erskine). Hindāl was buried at Kābul, near his father. His daughter Ruḳaiya Begam was Akbar's

first wife, but had no children. She brought up Shāh Djahān, and died in Agra at the age of 84 in January 1626. (Blochmann 309).

Bibliography: Bābur's *Memoirs*; Gulbadan Begam's do.; the *Akbarnāma*; Djawhar's *Memoirs*; Erskine, *History of Bābur and Humāyūn*; Mu'tamid, *Iḳbāl nāma*, Calcutta 1865, p. 251.

(H. Beveridge.)

HINDĪ, a modern Indo-Aryan vernacular, descended from an earlier Prakrit, and comprising two distinct languages, 1. Western Hindī, spoken by more than 40 millions of persons inhabiting the Gangetic Dōāb and the country to the north of it, and 2. Eastern Hindī, spoken by 22 millions in Awadh (and throughout India wherever men from Awadh have wandered in search of employment), Baghelkhand and Čhattīsgarh. The chief dialects of Western Hindī are Hindūstānī [q. v.], Bangarū, Bradj Bhāshā, Kanawdjī and Bundēlī; only the first of these, under the appellation Urdū [q. v.] has been extensively used as a literary medium by the Indian Muhammadans. The names of a few Muhammadans are recorded who occasionally wrote verses in Bradj Bhāshā. Abu 'l-Faiḍ (commonly known as Shaikh Faiḍī), the friend of Akbar, and Faiḍī's younger brother, Fahīm, and Akbar's great general, Khān Khānān Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm, all wrote Hindī *dōhā's* (or couplets), doubtless under the influence of the strong interest which the emperor took in Hindu thought and literature. Less illustrious poets of the same period were Saiyid Mubārak 'Alī Bilgrāmī (b. 1583), Saiyid Ibrāhīm (b. 1573) who became a Vaishṇava and was known by the name of Ras Khān, and his pupil, Ḳādir Bakhsh. Such instances however are rare, and when Muhammadan poets, such as Amīr Khusraw, are said to have written Hindī verses, the dialect they employed was Urdū rather than any form of Bhāshā. (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* XXII, 443). The legend that Sa'dī ever wrote verses in Hindī has been shown to be without historical foundation (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* xxi. 513 *et seq.*).

Eastern Hindī has three chief dialects, Awadhī, Baghelī and Čhattīsgaṛhī. Works in Eastern Hindī by Muhammadan writers are rare; the most notable is the Padumāwatī of Malik Muḥammad Djā'isī, written in the Awadhī dialect about 1540; it is a romantic epic founded on the story of the taking of Čitōr by 'Alā' al-Dīn Khildjī in 1303; the poet himself explains that the story is an allegory of the search of the soul for true wisdom.

Up to the early part of the nineteenth century all Hindī literature was in poetry; Hindī prose first took its rise under the influence of English officials, but the cultivation of it has been almost exclusively confined to Hindu writers and any account of it would therefore be out of place here.

Bibliography: G. A. Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (Calcutta, 1889); *Linguistic Survey of India*, vols. vi, ix (Calcutta 1904 *sqq.*); *The Padumāwatī of Malik Muhammad Jaisi*, ed. by G. A. Grierson and M. M. Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivēdī. (Calcutta, 1911).

HINDŪ-KUSH, a lofty and extensive range of mountains which forms an extension of the Himālaya to the south-west from the region of the Pamir. It extends from about 73° E. and 37° N. to about 66° E. and 35 N. The continuation of the range further west bears various names (Kūh-i-Bāba, Siyāh-Bubuk etc.) this portion being generally known to modern geographers as the Paropamisus, although the Paropamisus of the ancients no doubt included the Hindū-kush. The name Caucasus was also used by the Macedonians, the name according to Arrian having been bestowed upon this range by Alexander's soldiers in flattery. The north-eastern part of the Hindū-Kush rivals the Himālaya in the height of its peaks and the extent of its glaciers, some peaks being over 25 000 feet in height, among these Rakhipōsht south of Hunza and Tirachmir west of Čitral are among the best known. The extreme north-east Hindū-kush at its point of junction with the Pamir forms the boundary between three systems of drainage, those of the Indus, the Oxus and the Tarim, while further west it forms the watershed between the Indus and the Oxus, and can be traversed by several passes. From Hunza the Kilik Pass leads to Sarikōl and Yārkand, and also to upper Wakhān. From Yāsin and Mastūdj the Barōghil Pass leads also into Wakhān, and other passes from Čitrāl into the same country. The most important pass from Čitrāl is the Dorāh Pass leading into Badakhshān by the Warōdj and Kōkča valleys, and the Mandal Pass gives communication also between Kāfiristān and the Kōkča valley. North of Kābul the best known passes are the Khawāk, Kaushān, (or Ghōrband) and Bāmiān passes, by one of which Alexander crossed Bactria from Kābul and back again to that region on his Indian expedition. The central block of the mountains between the Kābul and Kunar river to the south and Badakhshān, up to the high range between the Mandal and Khawāk passes, is occupied by the wild and inaccessible country of Kāfiristān. This has now come under Afghān rule since its conquest by 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and the countries of Badakhshān and Wakhān to the north are also under the same rule, but in the north-eastern part of the southern slopes Čitrāl, Yāsin, Hunza-Nagar and Gilgit are politically attached to British India, and the Chinese empire embraces the nothern slopes from the Pamir eastwards. The pass of Bāmiān was traversed in the 7th cent. A. D. by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang who saw the gigantic Buddhist figures on the face of the cliff which modern travellers have found still in existence. Invaders of India and Afghānistān have usually preferred the easier route over the passes near Herāt, but the passes near Kābul have been used from time to time. Tīmūr travelled by Bāmiān on his return from India. Bābur came from Kundus to attack Kābul in 910 (1504) probably by the Kaushān Pass, and Humāyūn followed the same route in 953 (1547). Shāh Djahān's army under Rādja Djagat Singh met with disaster in crossing the Hindū-kush to attack the Uzbags in 1056 (1645), and tradition ascribes the name *Hindū-kush* "Hindū-slayer" to the losses undergone by his Rādjput troops. Awrangzēb two years later experienced great hardships in his retirement from Balkh in the same region and lost 5000 men. Bābar gives a fairly minute description of the Hindū-Kush passes in his memoirs. He came into Ghōrband from the Andarāba valley, evading the army sent to watch for him in the Pandjshīr valley, by which he would have come out of the mountains if he had made use of the Khawāk Pass. It may be added that Bābar uses the name Hindū-kush which proves that the legendary ex-

planation of the word mentioned above is without foundation. In more modern times these passes have been frequently traversed by Afghān armies. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān crossed the Hindū-kush in the middle of winter and his army suffered severely. According to Burnes the name Hindū-Kush was originally used for one peak only, which is visible from both Kābul and Kunduz.

Bibliography: Hiouen Thsang (trans. S. Julien) in *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, Vol. i. p. 36 (Paris 1857); *Bābar's Memoirs*, transl. Erskine (London 1829), pp. 133, 139; Erskine, *Lives of Babar and Humāyūn* (London 1854) i. 211; ii. 333; Burnes, *Bokhara* (London 1834), Vol. ii.; Masson, *Travels in Baluchistan* etc. (London 1844), ii. 15; Mohanlal, *Travels in the Panjab* etc., London, p. 86; Inâyat Khān, *Shāh Djahān-nāma* in Elliott and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, London 1877. Vol. vii.; Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, 5th ed. London 1866, p. 585 (quoting Khāfī Khān); Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta 1880; Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, London 1901; do., *The Gates of India*, London 1910; Robertson, *The Kāfirs of the Hindūkush*, London 1900. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

HINDŪSTĀN. [See INDIA.]

HINDŪSTĀNĪ is the name given by European scholars to that dialect of Western Hindi [q. v.] whose original home is the Upper Gangetic Doāb. As this dialect was in general use in the neighbourhood of the city of Dihlī at the time of the Muhammadan conquest, it came to adopted by the invaders as a *lingua franca* and was by them carried into all those parts of India in which Muhammadan rule prevailed. The various forms of this dialect are by native authors called by different names, but as employed by the Muhammadan invaders it was called *zabān-i-Urdū* (the language of the camp) or *urdū-i-muʿallā ki zabān*; on to the original dialect as they found it used by their Hindu subjects, they grafted a vocabulary which was to a very large extent Persian, with a certain admixture of Arabic and Turkī words. As thus modified this dialect is known to those who speak it and write it only by the appellation Urdū, (the name Hindūstānī never being used except under European influence); the reader is therefore referred to the article Urdū for an account of the language and literature.

HINGLĀDJ, a *shrine* of great antiquity situated in the western part of the state of Las-Bēla in Balūčistān on the river Hingōl not far from its mouth. It may possibly be the temple of Mahēshwara mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hüan Tsang in the 7th century as existing in the principal town of Adhyavakila (Las-Bēla). In modern times it is a Muhammadan shrine and Hindu temple of Durgā, the consort of Siva (Mahēshwara). The Muhammadan dedication is to Bībī Nānī, a female saint who is venerated in other parts of Balōčistān, and whom Masson, with some probability, identified with the Nanaia of the Kushān coins, the Anāhita of Babylonia. There are said to be figures carved on the rocks in an inaccessible site.

Bibliography: Masson, *Travels in Baluchistan etc.* (London, 1844), Vol. iv. 391; Hughes, *Baluchistan* (London 1877); Holdich, *The Gates of India* (London 1910).

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

HIPPOKRATES. [See BUḲRĀṬ.]

AL-ḤĪRA, the *capital of the Lakhmid kings*, 3 Arab miles south of Kūfa, an hour's ride southeast of Nadjaf (Meshhed ʿAlī), on the lake of Nadjaf, now almost dry close to the edge of the desert. The name is Aramaic (corresponding to the Syr. *ḥertā*, and Hebr. *ḥāṣēr*) and means literally "camp" but was transferred as a proper name to the permanent camp of the Lakhmid chiefs under Persian suzerainty, from which the city gradually developed. The date of its origin, placed by the Arabs in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, cannot be accurately fixed; bishops of al-Ḥīra are mentioned at the synods as early as the beginning of the fifth century A.D. For further information see the articles LAKHM and DJADHĪMA (now found in inscriptions, see *Florilegium de Vogüé*, p. 389, 463 *sqq.*). The situation was a favourable one as the country between Nadjaf and the Euphrates was intersected by canals and rich in cornfields and date-groves. The air is also celebrated for its salubrity. Among the inhabitants, as the mention of bishops shows, there were a number of Christians who professed the Nestorian creed. Among them were the family of the Ḥīra poet ʿAdī b. Zaid. The Lakhmid princes themselves finally adopted Christianity and Hind, the mother of king ʿAmr (reigned after 550), founded a monastery in the city. Near Ḥīra were a number of strongholds including the 'white citadel', built by a Persian king, Ibn Bukaila's citadel and the citadel of the ʿAdasīs of Kalb; cf. also the article AL-KHAWARNAḲ. Among the products of the city the saddles of al-Ḥīra are mentioned by the ancient poets (Imruʾ al-Kais, 4, 39, Nābigha, 5, 25). The town had reached a certain stage of civilisation and poets gathered eagerly round the court of the kings. Traditions also relate that the art of writing was well known in Ḥīra and spread from there to Arabia. After the death of Nuʿmān III (602) the Persian kings incautiously abolished the system of Lakhmid vassals and placed Persian governors in the city, to whom the Arab princes were subordinate. This was still the arrangement in 633, when Khālid attacked Ḥīra at the head of the Muslim army. The town surrendered without a battle and pledged itself to pay a considerable tribute. Its importance henceforth ceased, although it existed till much later and is occasionally mentioned. The ʿAbbāsids did not choose it as a residence and the rise of Kūfa threw it more and more into the background. The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd however made a short stay in Ḥīra and erected buildings there, but this aroused great resentment in Kūfa, so that he left the town. Under Muḳtadir (908—932) it suffered like the rest of the Sawād from the raids of the Bedouins, so that the government had to send an army thither. In the last half of the 10th century, it is described as extensive but thinly populated. The decline of the whole district afterwards affected Ḥīra severely so that in the end it utterly disappeared from the face of the earth. Its site is now pastureland where only a few low mounds and heaps of sherds recall its past.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 821 *sqq.*, 853, 2016 *sqq.*, 2038 *sq.*; iii. 645 (see also the Index); Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 241 *sqq.*; Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgas, p. 117; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vi. 105; viii. 131; Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 375—379; *Bibliotheca Geograph. Arabicorum*, i. 82; ii. 163;

vii. 192, 309; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Sasaniden*, p. 25, 348; Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden*, p. 12—40, 138; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 38 *sqq.*, 68 *sq.*; Meissner, *Von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Ḥīra und Ḥuarnaḳ* (*Sendschriften der Deutschen Orient. Gesellschaft*), 1901. (FR. BUHL.)

ḤIRĀ' (also written Ḥarā', and without hamza), a mountain some three Arabian miles from Mecca in a N. E. direction, facing Thabīr [q. v.], so that these two are often mentioned together, and sometimes compared to two waves of the sea. Both are without water or vegetation other than a few thorns. Ḥirā' is higher than Thabīr, and is crowned by a steep and slippery peak, which the Apostle with some companions once climbed. Muḥammad was in the habit of staying here with his wife, and it was in a cave of this mountain that he received his first revelation. Hence the present name Djabal Nūr. The cave is still shown. On his return from al-Ṭā'if Muḥammad also hid himself here until he could enter Mecca.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, p. 152, 251; Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, 426 *sq.*; Ali Bey, *Travels*, II, 65; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i, 320 *sq.* (T. H. WEIR.)

ḤIRZ or **ḤURZ** (A.) Amulet. [See ḤAMĀ'IL.]

ḤISĀB or 'ILM AL-ḤISĀB, is the name given by the Arabs to the whole field of arithmetic; *al-ḥāsib*, also *al-ḥassāb*, is the calculator, arithmetician. Arithmetic was one of the four propaedeutic or mathematical sciences (*'ulūm riyāḍiya* or *ta'līmiya*), which, as in antiquity, comprised arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. It is divided into two parts, theoretic or speculative (*naẓarī*), which was sometimes also given the Greek name *arithmāṭīḳī*, and is essentially based on the vii.th—ix.th books of Euclid, and practical (*'amalī*), arithmetic proper.

About the year 770 Hindu scholars brought, along with their siddhāntas (astronomical works), arithmetical lore to the court of Baghdād, notably the Hindu numeral system with the zero (Sanskr. *śūnya*, Arab. *ṣifr* = empty). Recent researches (cf. F. Nau, *Note d'Astronomie syrienne* in the *Journal Asiatique*, 10th series, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 258 *sqq.*) however make it possible that a knowledge of the Hindu numerals with the zero had reached Syria even earlier, and that the Omayyad conquerors of North Africa and Spain perhaps brought the older so-called Ghubār figures (*al-ghubār* = dust (on the counting-board) to the west from Syria, before the newer numerals spread in the east from Baghdād.

But although these Indian numerals were known in certain circles of the learned, the great majority of Arab arithmeticians and astronomers were reluctant to have anything to do with this ingenious Indian invention, just as at a later period in the Christian middle ages the Arabic numerals made very slow progress against the Roman. The majority of the authors of Arabic arithmetics in the xi.th century still wrote all the numbers out. Among the representatives of this conservative school we may mention al-Karkhī (Abū Bakr Muḥammad, c. 979—1036) with his *al-Kāfī fi 'l-Ḥisāb* (the essentials of arithmetic); there is a manuscript of it in Gotha, of which A. Hochheim has published a German translation (Halle 1878—1880). Others, especially the authors of astronomical tables, made use of the old Semitic and Greek practice of using the letters of the alphabet as numerals (Arab. = *Ḥisāb al-Djumal*), cf. the edition of al-Battānī's tables by C. A. Nallino, 3 parts, Milan, 1899—1907. As a champion of the use of Hindū numerals in reckoning we may mention Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (780—840), the author of the oldest Arabic arithmetic known to us (only in a translation however) as well as of the oldest work on algebra and of the oldest astronomical tables. This arithmetic was translated into Latin, by whom is not known, and this translation edited by B. Boncompagni, *Trattati d'arithmetica*, i., Rome 1857. — Among these users of Hindū numerals was a contemporary of al-Karkhī, 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī (c. 980—1040), who wrote *al-Muḳni' fi 'l-Ḥisāb al-Hindī* [the satisfying (account) of Hindu arithmetic]; this work has not yet been published in its entirety; on it cf. F. Woepcke in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1863, i. 492 *sqq.* and N. Suter in *Biblioth. Mathem.*, 3rd series, Vol. vii. (1906), p. 113—119. In these two contemporary works, the *Kāfī* and the *Muḳni'*, the two schools of arithmetic were striving for supremacy; it seems that in the east the Hindū arithmetic was for long neglected while in the west it was able to hold its own. — Of arithmetical works by Arabs of the west, we may mention the *Kitāb al-Ṣaghīr fi 'l-Ḥisāb* (the "little book on arithmetic") by Abū Zakariyā Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣṣār, who probably lived in the xii.th century, of which the present writer has published a translation of the most important sections in *Biblioth. Mathem.*, 3rd series, Vol. ii. (1901), p. 12—40, the *Talkhīṣ*, a synopsis of the preceding work by Ibn al-Bannā' (c. 1260—1340) of which A. Marre has published a French translation (Rome 1865, first appeared in the *Atti dell' accad. pontif. de Nuovi Lincei*, Vol. xvii, 1864); lastly the *Kashf al-Asrār 'an 'Ilm al-Ghubār* (revelation of the secrets of the art of the Ghubār i. e. of counting with the numbers used by the Arabs of the west) by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Kalaṣādī (died 1486 in Tunis), of which F. Woepcke has published a French translation in the above mentioned *Atti etc.*, Vol. xii, 1859; it was published in Arabic in Fez in 1315 = 1897-1898.

We cannot here go into details of the methods of counting as space is limited but shall only emphasise a few points that differ from modern procedure. We may first mention that Muḥammad b. Mūsā, unlike the Hindūs, begins addition and subtraction on the left hand side; the erasion of the left hand figures required for this purpose was facilitated for the Arabs by their custom of counting on the dust-board; al-Ḥaṣṣār also still begins subtraction (not however addition) on the left; al-Kalaṣādī was the first to begin both operations on the right; it thus required six centuries for the simplest and most natural way entirely to supercede the others, but we do not doubt that in the interval practical arithmeticians had here and there adopted the natural way.

Al-Nasawī still did not use a horizontal line to indicate fractions being content, like the Hindūs, simply to place the numerator over the denominator; al-Ḥaṣṣār was the first to write fractions in our present form with a horizontal line. — Astronomers in their calculations chiefly used sexagesimal fractions as the Babylonians and the Greeks had done before them; e. g. $3\frac{5}{8}$ would be written thus = 3 partes, 37 min. 30 secs. (3° 37' 30") i. e. $= 3 + \frac{37}{60} + \frac{30}{3600}$.

The square root was extracted in the same way as at present; the Arabs expressed surds approximately in the usual fractional form, as they were not yet acquainted with decimals. A sign for the square root is not found till al-Ḳalaṣādī, who uses the initial letter of *djidhr* (= root) for it.

The Arabic arithmetics also contain applications of the principal operations to everyday and commercial purposes, and even to geometry also, i. e. calculation of areas and volumes. — To the domain of the theory of arithmetic but usually also included in the practical handbooks belong the tests of the correctness (proofs by casting out sevens and nines) of calculations, summation of arithmetical and geometrical series, of square, cubic and biquadratic numbers, the theorems regarding perfect and related numbers, etc.

We cannot here go into any details of certain branches of arithmetic like *ḥisāb al-khaṭāʾain* (*regula duorum falsorum*), *ḥisāb al-dirham wa 'l-dīnār* (calculation of drachms and dinars) etc., which in any case belong rather to the realm of algebra. Finally, we have still to mention that the Arabs, besides counting on paper or on the dust-board, had also a system of counting on the hands, fingers or "air" (*ḥisāb al-yad* or *al-hawāʾ*). There are a number of MSS. in existence on this form counting, cf. Suter, *Die Mathem. u. Astron. d. Araber*, and *Nachträge* (*Abhandlungen z. Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 203; xiv. 181), and the review *al-Mashriḳ*, iii. 1900, p. 171—174.

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ḤIṢĀR (A.), castle, fortress, citadel (from the Arabic *ḥaṣara*, "to compress, to surround in order to capture"; *ḥāṣara* "to enclose, to besiege").

Anadolu Ḥiṣār is the name of the fortress, now in ruins, built by the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I Yildirim on the Bosphorus between Kandilli and Gök-Ṣu ("the sweet waters of Asia") to facilitate the siege of Constantinople; in conjunction with Rumili-Ḥiṣār, which Muḥammad II Fātiḥ built in 1452 opposite it, it completely commanded the passage and the latter actually earned its name Boghāz-Kesen (throat-cutter). [see BOGHĀZ, i. p. 737[b]].

Ḥiṣār is further found as a component of many place-names in Asia Minor: Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib (the minister's black fortress), official name of Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār in the province of Khudāwendigār; Shābīn Ḳara Ḥiṣār (black alum fortress) in the province of Trapezunt; Aidin Güzel Ḥiṣār (the beautiful palace of prince Aidin), the ancient Tralles; Aḳ Ḥiṣār (white castle), Thyatira in Lydia; Arab Ḥiṣār (Arab fortress), Alabanda; Ḳoč-Ḥiṣār (Ram castle), near the salt lake of Tuzgöl, near Aḳ-Serai; Kilise Ḥiṣār (Church fortress), south of Nigde on the site of Tyana; Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Dewelü, a village in the ḳaḍā of Dewelü (sandjaḳ Ḳaiṣariya, province Angora) between Nigde and Ḳaiṣariya, where may still be seen the ruins of an ancient castle, called Zendjibār; Eski Ḥiṣār (old castle) is a village with ruins at Gebice, the ancient Lybissa; also the site of the ancient Laodicea ad Lycum, north of Denizli; Ḥiṣār-djiḳ (little castle) is a village in the nāḥiya Ala-ḳam (ḳaḍā Bafra, sandjaḳ Sāmsūn, province Trapezunt); lastly Ḥiṣārliḳ, in the sandjaḳ Bigha, marks the site of Troy.

Bibliography: Alī Djewād, *Lughāt-i Djoghrāfiye*, p. 329, 330, 603. (CL. HUART.)

ḤIṢĀR, on Russian maps Gissar, a district in Bukhārā. The capital of the same name lies in a fertile and well tilled, but damp and unhealthy area on the bank of the Khānaka which flows into the Kāfirnihān; not far from Ḥiṣār the Kāfirnihān leaves the broad valley and enters a narrow ravine. Cf. the view of Ḥiṣār in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, p. 233. The site of the town approximately corresponds to that of the Shūmān of the Arab geographers, cf. AMŪ-DARYĀ (i. 340[a]). The name "Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān" or simply "Ḥiṣār" is first found in the history of Tīmūr as the residence of one of the most powerful Turkish-Mongol kings who divided the country among themselves during the troubled times that followed the death of the Emīr Ḳazāghan (759 = 1358) (*Ẓafar nāmah*, Ind. ed., i. 40), and later as an arsenal (*sarrādjkhāna*) of Tīmūr (*ibid.*, p. 451). Under the Tīmūrids as well as under the Uzbegs Ḥiṣār owed its importance to its being a strong fortress and the residence of actually independent kings or chiefs. The area ruled from Ḥiṣār attained its greatest extent in the second half of the ix[th] = xv[th] century under Maḥmūd Mīrzā (son of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd, cf. i. 105 *sq.*) whose kingdom included all the lands up to the Hindū-Kush (*Bāburnāmah*, ed. Beveridge, fol. 26[b]); yet even in the time of the Tīmūrids Ḥiṣār was considered a small and poor country (*ibid.*, fol. 56[b]). On the great misfortune, which overtook Ḥiṣār during the last battles between the Tīmūrids and the Uzbegs (only 60 men are said to have left out of the population of the town) cf. the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. by E. D. Ross, p. 262. When the kingdom of the Uzbegs in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr had collapsed after the decline of its first dynasty (cf. ABU 'L-KHAIR, i. 25), Ḥiṣār passed under the sway of the Turkoman tribe of Yūz. From the beginning of the xviii[th] century till 1869 the rulers of Bukhārā were only able to enforce the homage of the Beg of Ḥiṣār by force of arms and for brief periods at a time only; only under Russian suzerainty did the Emīr Muẓaffar succeed in breaking the power of these hereditary rulers and permanently uniting the district with Bukhārā (cf. BUKHĀRĀ, i. 782[b]). About the middle of the xviii[th] century the inhabited land of Ḥiṣār, as Muḥammad Wafā Karmīnagī (*Tuḥfat al-Khānī*, Ms. of the Asiatic Museum, c. 581[b], f. 196[a]) tells us, began at the village of Mīr Shādī in the valley of Surkhān; in the xix[th] century districts further to the west, like Bāisūn and Shīrābād were also reckoned to Ḥiṣār; in the south, besides the ancient Čaghāniyān [q. v. i. 811], Ḳabādiyān and a portion of the ancient Khuttal with Ḳurghān-Tübe also belonged to Ḥiṣār; on account of the great extent of the former Ḥiṣār territory the range, which forms watersheds between the Zarafshān and the upper Amū-Daryā, is called the Ḥiṣār range by the Russians. The Beg of Ḥiṣār now only rules the land between the upper Surkhān and the Wakhsh; this office is usually filled by a son of

the Emir or by another prince of the ruling house. The people still frequently rebel against the government. The cultivation of saffron mentioned by the Arab geographers is no longer pursued; the chief products are cereals and flax and the land is of some economic importance for Bukhārā, although the only method of transport is still by beasts of burden; vehicles are quite unknown. The land was first opened to European exploration by the Russian Ḥiṣār expedition of 1875 ("Gissarskaja ekspedicija"). (W. BARTHOLD.)

ḤIṢĀR FĪROZA, an ancient town in the Pandjāb, the headquarters of the district of Ḥiṣār, the centre of a tract of country formerly known as Hariāna, which formed part of the province of Sawālakh. The district lies in the dry belt between the Satladj and Djamnā on the northern fringe of the Rādjpūtāna desert. Part of it is sandy waste but part is irrigated by a branch of the Western Djamnā Canal. It lies between lat. 28° 36′ and 30° N. and long. 74° 29′ and 76° 20′ E., has an area of 5271 sq. m. and pop. (in 1901) of 781,717. The western part of the district (Sirsa) is inhabited by the Bhaṭṭī Rādjpūts and was formerly known as Bhaṭṭiāna. The town of Sirsa (formerly Sarsuti) derives its name from the river Saraswatī. The Ghaggar river, which receives the now shrunken Saraswatī in seasons of flood, still flows near Sirsa, and its waters have been utilized in modern irrigation works. The Musulmān population (202 009) is mainly of Rādjpūt origin, and is locally known by the name of Rāngar. Besides Ḥiṣār the capital and Sirsa the principal towns are Bhiwānī, a large trading centre, Hānsī [q. v.] and Fatḥābād (like Ḥiṣār founded by Fīrūz Shāh). Fīrūz Shāh Taghlāḳ took especial interest in this district, the home of his mother, who was of Bhaṭṭī Rādjpūt descent, and he founded here the town of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza, which took its name from him, in the year 757 (1356), and, to irrigate the dry tract in which it stood, constructed a canal from the Djamnā. There was no doubt an older town on the spot, as the fort built by Fīrūz Shāh is to a great extent constructed of fragments of Hindū buildings. Ḥiṣār was long a place of importance. It was taken by Bābur in 932 (1526) and bestowed by him (with the district, which yielded a kror of rupees) on his son Humāyūn. Humāyūn in his turn assigned it for the maintenance of Akbar, and put the 'foster-father' (*atgah*) Shams al-Dīn in charge. Under Akbar it became the headquarters of a *sarkār*, and was a mint for the coinage of copper under Shēr Shāh Sūrī, Humāyūn and Akbar. At the end of the 18th century it came into the power of George Thomas (see under HANSI) who built a fort named Georgegaṛh, now corrupted into Djahādj. In 1857 the district fell into anarchy for a time during the mutiny.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xiii. 144; s. v. *Panjāb*, p. 228; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. iii. (trans. of *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirādj); Thomas, *Chronicles of Pathān Kings of Dihlī*, p. 274; Erskine, *Bābar's Memoirs*, p. 302; Blochmann, *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī*, trans., p. 321. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḤISBA, a technical term in administrative law, the meaning of which is, act of counting, office of *muḥtasib*. The word then acquired the special meaning of police, and finally the police in charge of the markets and public morals. It is in this latter, the narrowest, meaning that *ḥisba* is used by those authors who deal with Muslim law (Māwardī, Ibn Khaldūn, Maḳrīzī etc.), but there can be no doubt that *ḥisba* meant something more than the office of *muḥtasib* in the narrower sense. Occasional references in historians (*Dār al-Muḥāsaba wa 'l-Mawārīth* or *wa 'l-Mawārīṯ*) show that *ḥisba* was the name of the registry office, where deaths and births were registered and estates and the funds for orphans administered. We also find the *ḥisba* as office of weights and measures (= *Dār al-ʿIyār*), as well as the supreme audit office, and finally as army commissariat. [Cf. also the article MUḤTASIB].

Bibliography: Enger, *Mawerdii Constitutiones Politicae*, Bonnae 1853, last (xx.) chapter; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Bairūt 1886, p. 196; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo 1324, ii. 342; Hammer, *Länderverwaltung*, Berlin 1835, p. 21, 148 *sqq*.; von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, Wien 1875, i. 190; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1912, i. 363—366; Behrnauer, *Mémoire sur les Institutions de Police*, *Journ. As.*, Ve série, t. xv. and xvi. 1860-1861. (E. V. ZAMBAUR.)

HISHĀM B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, ʿUmaiyad Caliph, son of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Hishām b. Ismāʿīl, governor of Medina. He was proclaimed Caliph in Shaʿbān 105 = January 724 and began his reign by dismissing ʿUmar b. Hubaira, governor of the ʿIrāḳ. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī was appointed his successor and ruled the province for nearly fifteen years and earned the gratitude of the populace by its peaceful development under him. His enemies, however, ultimately succeeded in bringing about his downfall. In Djumādā I 120 = May 738 the Caliph dismissed him and gave the vacant office to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī. Khālid was thrown into prison and only released in Shawwāl 121 = September 739. About the same time, Zaid b. ʿAlī, a great-grandson of the Caliph ʿAlī, set up as a pretender in Kūfa and readily gained numerous adherents among the volatile people of that city. But his plans were betrayed; when he was about to raise the standard of revolt, he had to give way to superior forces and was mortally wounded.

In 106 = 724-725 Asad, Khālid's brother, had been appointed governor of Khorāsān, where feuds between the Arab tribes and the activities of ʿAbbāsid emissaries caused him great trouble. In 109 = 727-728, Asad, who had only held his office under the control of his brother, was replaced by Ashras b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī, who became involved in war with the Soghdians and the Turks and could only hold his position for two years. He was succeeded by al-Djunaid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [q. v.], who continued the war against the Turks.

During his long reign Hishām continued the war against the Byzantines vigorously but with varying success. Naval enterprises were undertaken every summer on a large scale, in which ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUḳba and later ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Maryam commanded the fleet, while the Caliph's two sons Muʿāwiya and Sulaimān, conducted the land operations. In 122 (740) the Arabs under ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṭṭāl were severely defeated at Akroinos in Phrygia and al-Baṭṭāl himself fell in the battle. But when the Byzantines in the following year attacked the capital of Melitene the Caliph himself hurried to its assistance and they had to

retreat. On the Caspian shores the Turkish tribes gave the Caliph's troops much trouble. In 112 = 730-731 the latter were defeated at Ardabīl. Hishām's brother, Maslama, then carried out several successful expeditions, but the final triumph of Muslim arms was particularly due to Marwān b. Muḥammed, afterwards Caliph.

At the same time ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāfiḳī, governor in Spain, defeated Eude, Duke of Aquitaine, but was in turn defeated by the Franks under Charles Martel, in Ramaḍān 114 = October 732, between Tours and Poitiers. Further the Berbers were discontented, because they were not treated by the Arabs as fellow-citizens on equal terms but as vassals paying tribute, and the Khāridjī propaganda poured oil on the flames. In the end a great rebellion broke out and in 123 = 741 Hishām had to send a Syrian army under Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ against the Berbers. But the Syrians suffered a fearful defeat: Kulthūm fell and his nephew Baldj b. Bishr escaped to Spain with only a third of his army.

Hishām died in al-Ruṣāfa on the 6th Rabīʿ II 125 = 6th February 743. He was an upright and conscientious Muslim. He particularly endeavoured to look after the finances of the state but his economy occasionally degenerated to parsimony. Besides foreign foes, ʿAbbāsid emissaries and Khāridjī agitators were gradually undermining Umaiyad power and in spite of his merits the Caliph could not prevent its increasing decline.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), passim, particularly v. 92—201; Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Yaʿḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 378—396; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (ed. Reiske), i. 448 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, iii. 80 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. 616—637; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 445—452; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, 3rd ed., p. 393—411; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern*, p. 443—445 (= *Nachr. von der Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Kl.*, 1901) and *Das arabische Reich*, p. 203—218; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 272—275. (K. V. Zettersteén.)

HISHĀM B. AL-ḤAKAM ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, one of the most distinguished Shīʿī theologians of the earlier period. He was a client of the Banū Shaibān and spent his youth in Kūfa, although his actual birthplace is believed to have been Wāsiṭ; he moved to Baghdād in 199 (814-815) but died soon afterwards (according to one tradition however, he is said to have lived into the reign of al-Maʾmūn). He was held in great esteem by the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid and presided at all the disputations which were held in his presence; he was also acquainted with Hārūn al-Rashīd himself. He seems at first to have been a pupil of Djahm b. Ṣafwān [q. v.]. His acquaintance with the ʿAlid Djaʿfar who died in 148 (765) made him one of his followers, so that he became one of the most intimate friends of his son Mūsā b. Djaʿfar. Henceforth the Shīʿī doctrine of the Imāmate was the central point of his belief and doctrine around which his views on other theological and philosophical questions grouped themselves. His teaching was frankly anthropomorphic as in his view God could not otherwise influence material things. The question of the creation or non-creation of the Ḳurʾān was in his view an idle one, as the Ḳurʾān is the word (*kalām*) of God and therefore a quality (*ṣifa*), which cannot be defined by other qualities. The same of course holds in his opinion with regard to the other *ṣifāt*. It is not quite clear what his attitude was to the question of the freedom of human action but, according to the express testimony of Ibn Ḳutaiba, (*Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*), he belonged to the Djabariya, which attitude is probably to be traced to his early intercourse with Djahm b. Ṣafwān.

Hishām wrote a number of works, the titles of which are detailed in *Fihrist*, p. 175 *sq.*, but they are all lost. The Arab authorities mention his disputations with the Muʿtazilī Abū 'l-Hudhail [q. v.] and state that his teaching was further developed by his pupils, not however without deviations in many points.

Bibliography: Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekul. Theologie im Islam*, p. 170, note 2; the passage there quoted from al-Baghdādī is to be found in Muḥ. Badr's edition, p. 48 *sq.* (cf. Index). Cf. also *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenl.* Vol. iv. p. 226.

HISHĀM I, ABU 'L-WALĪD AL-RAḌĪ or AL-ʿĀDIL, son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [q. v.], was the second Umaiyad Emīr of Cordova (172—180 = 788—796). Although more humane, just and pious than his energetic, cunning father, he was able to maintain himself against his rebellious brothers and to carry the Muslim arms once more, after an interval of several decades, into the Christian lands to the north and even into southern France, as far as Astorga, Oviedo, Gerona, and Narbonne. It was he who first gave a stimulus to the influence of the stricter school of law and theology of the contemporary Medina teacher Mālik b. Anas in Spain and thus prepared the way for the narrow-minded fanatical views of the Spanish faḳīhs. He completed the great mosque of Cordova which had been begun by his father and restored the bridge (Alcántara), built by the governor al-Samḥ [q. v.] over the Guadalquivir, which had fallen into ruins. This capable ruler died all too soon at the age of 37 and was succeeded by his son al-Ḥakam I (796—822) [q. v.].

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii. 62—70, trad. 96—109; *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, p. 120—124; al-Marrākoshī (ed. Dozy)[2], p. 12; Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Būlāḳ), iv. 164 *sq.*; Maḳḳarī, i. 216—219; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 54—57; do., *Recherches*[3], i. 127—139; (Gayangos, *History*, ii. 95—100); Aug. Müller, *Der Islam etc.*, ii. 460; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, p. 277—279; (Lembke, *Geschichte von Spanien*, i. 356—364). (C. F. Seybold.)

HISHĀM II, ABU 'L-WALĪD AL-MUʾAIYAD B. AL-ḤAKAM II AL-MUSTANṢIR, was the tenth Umaiyad of Cordova (366—399 = 976—1009 and again from 400—403 = 1010—1013). While under his nine predecessors on the throne of Cordova the whole administrative power had been actually in the hands of the rulers (Amīrs and Caliphs) themselves, Hishām II's personality falls into the background and disappears as a mere shadow behind the all-powerful chancellor, the Ḥādjib (grand vizir) Almanzor [cf. AL-MANṢŪR] the great statesman and general (died 1002) and his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [q. v.], (died 1008), while Al-

manṣūr's second and incapable son 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchol was soon overthrown (1009). Hishām II was placed in tutelage immediately on his accession, when only ten years of age, by his unnatural mother, the Basque Ṣubḥ (= Aurora), al-Ḥakam's favourite wife, in conjunction with her favourite and lover Almanzor, educated to bigotry, and finally interned in the new Royal residence al-Zahra west of Cordova, till he became the veriest puppet in their hands, whereby a way was prepared for the rapid decline of monarchical power and the speedy fall of the once brilliant caliphate of Cordova. A pseudo-Hishām, alleged to have reappeared (he was said to have disappeared during the massacre by the Berbers in Cordova in 1013) also served the unscrupulous 'Abbādid [q. v.] Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad I b. Ismā'īl of Seville as a figurehead to deceive the people.

HISHĀM III, al-Mu'tadd, son of the incapable, ephemeral Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān IV al-Murtaḍā (408 = 1018) great great-grandson of the great 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (912—961), was the sixteenth and last feeble Umaiyad of Cordova, who could not prevent the breaking up of the great caliphate into smaller and smaller local kingdoms (Span. *Reyes de Taifas*, arab. *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*) which had been going on since the beginning of the xith century: 418—422 = 1027—1031 (died 1036).

Bibliography: Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iii. 131 *sq.*, 177 *sqq.*, iv. 18 *sqq.*; Aug. Müller, *Der Islam etc.*, ii. 544 *sqq.*; *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (transl.), ii. 391, 395, 411—419; al-Marrākoshī, (ed. Dozy)², p. 17—28, 40 *sq.* [See also al-Manṣūr.] (C. F. Seybold.)

ḤIṢN (a.), fortress, citadel.

ḤIṢN al-AKRĀD, originally called Ḥiṣn al-Safḥ, 'castle on the slope', see van Berchem, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1902, p. 446 *sq.*, now often pleonastically called Ḳal'at al-Ḥiṣn, is situated on the plateau of al-Buḳai'a, which is bounded on the south by Djebel 'Akkār and Lebanon, on the north by the Nuṣairī hills. It is the official residence of a ḳā'immaḳām. It takes its name 'castle of the Kurds' from a Kurdish garrison established there by Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr, king of Aleppo, in the first half of the fifth century A. H., who were granted the surrounding lands and forests in fief on condition that they protected the important road between Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ, the great towns of the Orontes plain, and Tripolis, from the enemy. The castle of the Kurds is said to be identical with one built there by Rameses II. It was taken during the Crusades by Tancred of Antioch in 503 (this date is not quite certain) and transferred to the knights of St. John in 537 by Raymond II of Tripolis. The knights had more and more cause to feel insecure as the position of the Crusaders in Syria became weaker. Their situation was all the more dangerous because they had been excluded from the ten years' truce of 626 between the Emperor Frederick II and Sulṭān al-Malik al-Kāmil, as they had not taken the side of the Emperor who had been excommunicated by the Pope. They had therefore every reason to strengthen the defences of the castle more and more; Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin had endeavoured in vain to capture Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. The citadel is protected by two lines of defences, an outer and an inner. It lies on the top of the hill which slopes to the north and east. On the west it is protected by a ditch which is continued round on the south side at no great depth. Thus defined it is approximately a trapezium, of which the south is the most vulnerable. The strongest defences had therefore to be built there. From the description of the capture of the fortress it appears that further earth- and wood works were raised outside the outer surrounding wall, which would have perhaps become quite gigantic, if the Sulṭāns had not kept the Knights from increasing them by agreements and threats (the Emperor Frederick II had actually pledged himself to see that the defences of castle of the Kurds were not strengthened). On the north and west it is surrounded by ramparts which at certain distances are strengthened by round towers.

The hall in the tower vaulted with pointed arches and lit by great embrasures is built to accommodate ballistas and a gallery runs along the ramparts provided with protruding sentry boxes. Over this gallery is a pinnacled parapet with shotholes in the middle. The door of the entrance tower was difficult to take, for in consequence of its low situation it could be defended through the three small rooms projecting over it with openings in the floors. Through the gateway one enters a covered gallery, which turns to the south but turns again on reaching the south of the corner tower and ascends to the upper entrance at the east tower.

A portion of the west side of the open space between the outer and inner lines of defence is so built as to collect water in it. It is connected with the cisterns which are below the castle. The inner defences rise on the south and west side above a masonry escarpment of great strength obviously an escarpment lining the natural rock, while on the north and east side the rock is not escarped. A great open staircase leads from the courtyard to the terrace.

The Knights of St. John were able to maintain a garrison of 2000 men in this strongly fortified castle. With their help they forced the princes of Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā to pay tribute in return for freedom of passage for their caravans. They had afterwards to give this up and their situation became more and more precarious. Sulṭān Baibars, who wished to free Syria entirely from the Crusaders, decided to take Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. After taking advantage of a stay in Syria to make a reconnaissance in person accompanied only by 40 horsemen, he led a great expedition against the fortress next year in 669. On the first day of the attack, 19th Radjab 669 = 3rd March 1271, he took the weakly defended outer works; next he soon succeeded in making a breach in the wall and capturing the entrance tower, which was now exposed to attack from the inner gallery as well as the outside. On the 15th March the second tower was taken, on the 29th Baibars fought his way into the courtyard and erected balistas there to attack the donjon. On the 8th April the Knights were reduced to surrender and were granted a safe conduct to Tripolis. Sulṭān Baibars remained there till the end of the month and conducted the restoration operations in person. Ḥiṣn al-Akrād was selected as the residence of the governor of the Syrian 'conquests' and it was not till the capture of Tripolis in 686 by Sulṭān Ḳalā'ūn that the governor's residence was transferred to the latter town. After peace and security had been

restored to Syria with the departure of the last Franks Ḥiṣn al-Akrād gradually lost its importance. It suffered nothing from Tīmūr Lank's invasion (about 803). The fortress, which is the residence of a ḳā'immaḳām, is still for the most part well preserved.

Bibliography: The architectural history of the castle has been studied in great detail by Baron Rey, to whom the accompanying plan is also due, in his *Étude sur les Monuments de l'Architecture militaire des Croisades en Syrie*, Paris 1871, p. 46 *sqq.*; extracts from it are contained in A. v. Essewein's *Die Romanische und Gothische Baukunst*, iv., 1, Military Architecture.

The Arabic inscriptions in the castle (only briefly discussed by Ch. Schefer in Rey) have been fully edited by van Berchem in *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897 (p. 64—69) and in Freiherr v. Oppenheim's *Inschriften aus Syrien etc.*, with an account of the capture of the Ḥiṣn by Baibars. All the inscriptions of the fortress and town with their history (with extracts from the sources and bibliography) have been edited by Sobernheim in the *Corp. Inscr. Arab.*, ii. 14—35 (with a plan of the mosque and illustrations). (M. SOBERNHEIM.)

ḤIṢN AL-GHURĀB ('Raven Castle'), a hill with a fortress upon it in South Arabia, near the harbour of Bīr 'Alī Madjdiba in 30° 59′ 20″ North. Lat. and 45° 24′ 30″ East. Long. in the land of the Wāḥidī [q. v.]. The harbour of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb in ancient times was the well-known Cane Emporium (Κανὴ ἐμπόριον) of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and of Ptolemy, the קנא of the South Arabian inscriptions), a very important centre for the frankincense trade of the neighbourhood and an intermediate station for the trade between Egypt and India. The name Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb is derived from the black colour of the hill, which is about 1500 feet high, of volcanic origin and composed of different formations such as basalt, sandstone, trap, and slates. Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb was probably in very early days an island; now it is connected with the mainland by a isthmus of sand, on which a town used to stand, of which now only the ruins are to be seen in the form of huge pieces of basalt lying scattered at the foot of the hill. Ruins of houses, walls and defensive works are also found towards the top of the hill. On the topmost slope is a quadrangular tower. The hill can only be ascended from one side; the route is by a zigzag way (*manḳal*) hewn out of the rock.

Not far from Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb is a group of small, uninhabited islands, of which the most important are Sikha, also called Kanbūs, and Barrāka. The little island of Hillāniya with pearl-fisheries is quite near Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb on the west side. Opposite Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb rises the isolated hill of Shawrān, at the foot of which lies a plain, called Maidān, covered by hundreds of small black, probably volcanic mounds called *ḥadh'a*. On the summit of the Djebel Shawrān is a very deep round crater called Ḳarif (Basin) of Shawrān, surrounded by shrubs.

In the rocky face of the hill four South Arabic inscriptions are engraved of which the most important is the well-known ten-line inscription of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb which belongs to the time of the Ḥimyar-Ethiopic kings and was inscribed to commemorate the fortification of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb. It is of particular importance, as it is dated (640 = 525 A. D.). From the inscription it seems that Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb in ancient times was known as 'Urr Māwiyat.

Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb was first visited by Captain Haines and J. Wellstedt in 1834. Wellstedt, Cruttenden and Hulton made the first copies of inscriptions the same year. In 1870 Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb was visited by Miles and Munzinger who took new and more reliable copies. Lastly Comte de Landberg took photographs as well as copies of the inscriptions when he visited Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb on the 21st February 1896 along with General Cunningham.

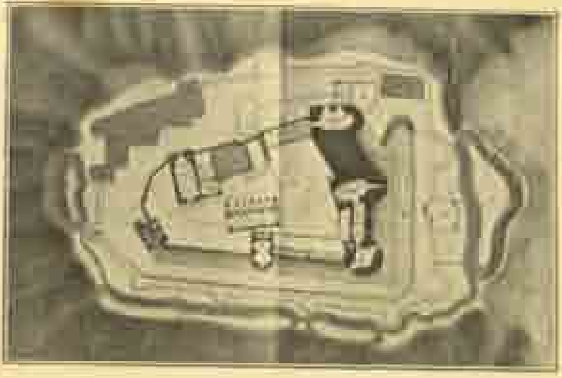
Editions elucidations and translations of the inscriptions are to be found in Gesenius (*Hallische Litteraturzeitung*, 1841, p. 396), Rödiger (in Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien*, Halle, 1842, ii. 355, 359), Fresnel (*Journal Asiatique*, iv. Series, vol. vi. [1845], p. 191), Praetorius (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxvi. [1872], 436—440; J. H. Mordtmann (ibid., xxxix. [1885], 230—334) and xliv. [1890], 176); Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, i. 8 *sqq.*; do., *Die Abessinier*, p. 131—134.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already mentioned, J. R. Wellstedt, *Account of some Inscriptions in the Abbyssinian character, found at Hassan Ghorab* etc. in the *Journal of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal* (Calcutta), Vol. iii. (1834), 554—556; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 312—322, 624, 862—863; H. Freiherr von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, p. 225—227 (also contains translation of the inscriptions); A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 83 (§ 101, 102); Comte de Landberg, *Arabica*, iv. (Leiden 1897), p. 63—76 (and appendix with photograph of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb and neighbourhood and the large inscription) and *Arabica*, v. (Leiden 1898), 181. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ḤIṢN KAIFĀ, a town in the Djazīra (Mesopotamia), on the right (south or east) bank of the Tigris, in 37° 40′ N. Lat. and 41° 30′ East. Long. (Greenw.), about halfway between Diyār Bakr and Djazīrat Ibn 'Umar, about 3 days' journey (60—70 miles) from either.

Ḥiṣn Kaifā dates from very ancient times. The many ancient caves and grottos still in existence belong to the pre-Armenian (Chaldean) period and show that there was a settlement here as early as about 800 B. C. In the border wars between Romans and Persians during the later Empire the town (Κῆφας, Cepha) played an important part on account of its commanding fortress. As the see of a Syrian bishop it is mentioned at the council of Chalcedon (451); Muḳaddasī (*c.* 345 = 985) particularly notes the numerous churches there. Ḥiṣn Kaifā during the middle ages also enjoyed no mean strategic and commercial importance. The former was due to its strong citadel, the latter to its position as a centre of trade between Diyār Bakr and Djazīrat Ibn 'Umar. Since about the 12th century a fine bridge has existed over the Tigris, the traffic over which had probably been busy for centuries.

When the 'Abbāsid power gradually declined, the real authority in Mesopotamia as in other provinces of the Caliphate passed into the hands of prominent local dynasties. Ḥiṣn Kaifā in this way passed in turn to the Ḥamdānids, Marwānids and Urtuḳids. Under the latter, who had their



Plan of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād according to Rey.

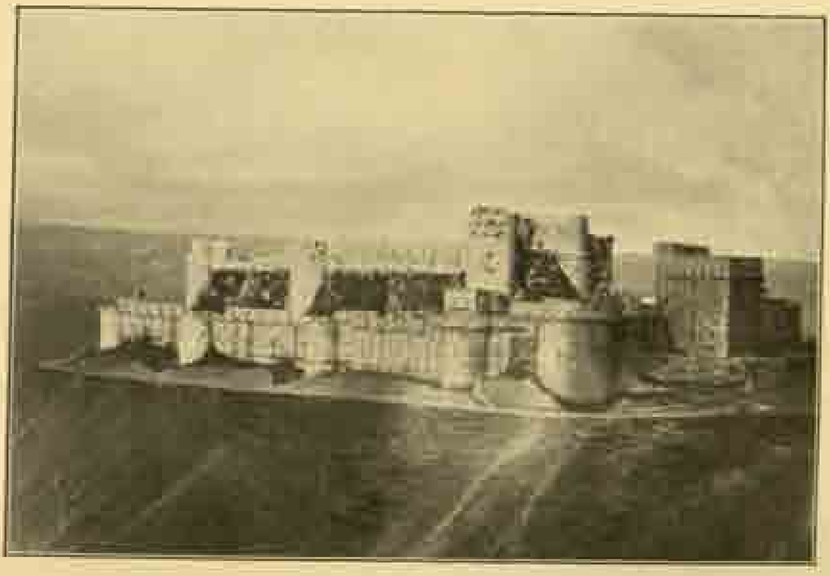
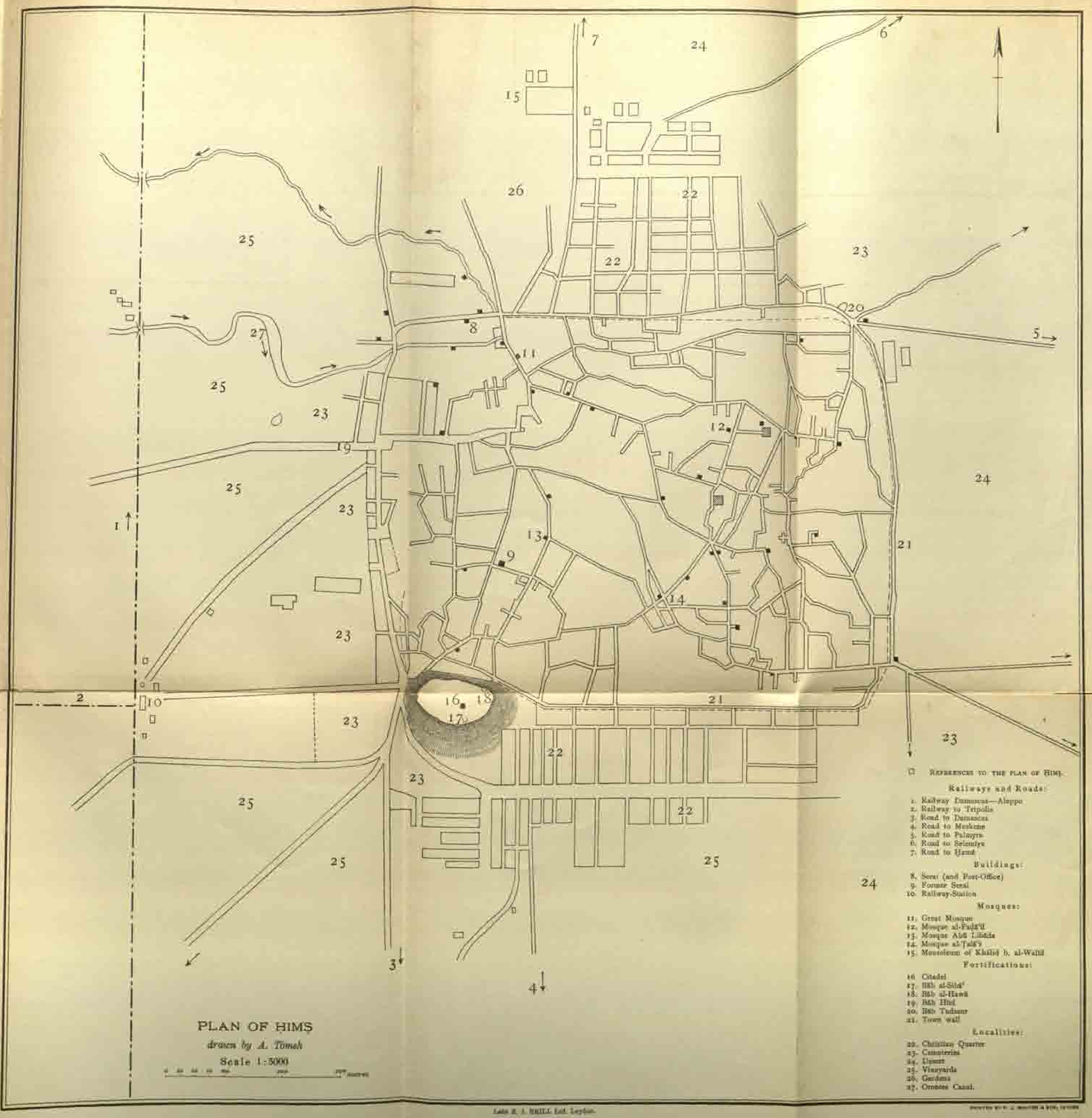


Photo van Berchem

View of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād.



Reconstruction of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād according to Rey.



Late E. J. BRILL Ltd. Leyden.

capital here from 495 (1101), the town reached the zenith of its prosperity. For over 130 years it was the political centre of a power, which, although in nominal dependence on the Saldjūḳs, ruled for a time extensive areas in Mesopotamia and Armenia, particularly the districts of Diyār Bakr, Mārdīn (Mardin) Mayyāfāriḳīn, Naṣībīn (Nisibis) and Kharpūt. Cf. the article ORTOḲIDS.

In the year 629 (1232) the Aiyūbids overthrew the Ortoḳid kingdom of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, on this dynasty cf. Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāme*, Book ii., section 5. In 658 (1260) the town was taken and destroyed by the Mongols; since then it has continued to decline. When Mustawfī wrote (about 740 = 1340) it still had a considerable population, but was already for the most part in ruins. It seems to have revived somewhat under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlū [cf. i. 225], particularly under the sons of Uzun Ḥasan, if we may judge from the buildings still standing. This agrees with the account of the Venetian J. Barbaro, who visited the town in 1471 and describes it as quite imposing (see Ritter, *op. cit.*, xi. 89). For the rest, Ḥiṣn Kaifā henceforth shared the vicissitudes and political changes of the rest of Mesopotamia. According to the Turkish administrative system of the time, Ḥiṣn Kaifa belongs to the ḳaḍā of Awīnah of the sandjaḳ of Mardin in the wilāyet of Diyār Bakr and lies on the border between the ḳaḍās of Awīnah and Midyād; cf. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. (1891), p. 519. The present inhabitants of the town are Armenians (the majority) Kurds, Syrian Christians, and Turks.

Impressive architectural remains still bear eloquent testimony to the great prosperity which Ḥiṣn Kaifā repeatedly enjoyed during the Islāmic period of the middle ages. They have only recently been studied for the first time by Miss Bell and S. Guyer; but some of the inscriptions and reliefs still await more detailed study. Of these monuments the following deserve particular mention: 1. the citadel (*ḳal'a*) with remarkable gates which crowns the town on a rocky eminence; 2. the Djāmi' al-Malik, the mosque in the centre of the town with a tall minaret, on which is a long and important inscription (a decree); 3. a mosque, much ruined, near the bank of the Tigris, a fine building, also with a tall, slender minaret and an inscription on its erection by Khalīl b. Uzun Ḥasan, the sixth ruler of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlū dynasty (died 883 = 1478); 4. the ruins of an ancient madrasa near the east wall of the lower town. The four buildings mentioned are all on the south (or east) of the Tigris; on the north (or west) bank of the river are 5. a *turbe* in the Persian style with the mausoleum of Zeinab Beg, a son of Uzun Hasan (about 1500); 6. a *ziyāra* with fine details of ornament. Another important piece of architecture is 7. the old bridge over the Tigris, now allowed to fall into ruins, which probably owes its origin to the Ortoḳid Ḳarā Arslān (or his father). It consists (or rather once consisted) of a large arch thrown clear over the river and two smaller arches at each side supported by pillars. Yāḳūt describes it as the finest erection of its kind that he had ever seen.

Lastly we may mention the slopes on the north shore with their numerous caves and tombs often dating back into remote antiquity. The inhabitants of the village of Kaṣr there almost all live in these caves. Ḥiṣn Kaifā may without contradiction be described as the troglodyte capital of Mesopotamia.

The name Ḥiṣn Kaifā = the fortress of Kaifā (or rock fortress) seems, if we think of the name of a district or people, Cephenia, Kephenes (Assyr. probably Kipani), preserved by ancient writers, to describe the town originally as the centre or the military centre of a district of the same name. In Syriac literature, the place is called Ḥeṣnā (d') Kēphā. In place of Ḥiṣn Kaifā we frequently also find an abbreviated form Ḥiṣn Kaif; cf. also the place-name Tell Kēf north of Mōṣul. At the present day the most usual form of the name of this town seems to be Ḥasan-Kēf; according to some traditions, a Persian named Ḥasan founded the town. This corruption and explanation of the ancient name Ḥiṣn Kaifā is clearly only the result of a popular etymology. Equally worthless are the Turkish etymologies Ḥasankēf = Ḥasan's "delight" and Ḥisn (Ḥuṣn)-Kēf = "good (beautiful) humour".

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(M. STRECK.)

ḤIṢN MANṢŪR, the capital of the ḳaḍā of the same name in the sandjaḳ of Malatia; usually called ADIYAMAN, with about 10,000 inhabitants, mainly of Armenian origin. The name Ḥiṣn Manṣūr is derived from an Omaiyad Emīr Manṣūr b. Dja'wana who was slain in 141 (758) by command of the 'Abbāsid al-Manṣūr. Hārūn al-Rashīd afterwards had the citadel fortified and placed a garrison in it. Ḥiṣn Manṣūr or Adamān was thus the successor of the ancient adjacent town of Perre, the site of which is still traceable by aqueducts and rock-tombs. It is nevertheless only rarely mentioned in later times; in the 6th (xiith) century it belonged to the Ortoḳids.

Bibliography: al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 192; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 278 *sq.*; 'Alī Djewād, *Ta'rīkh Djoghrāfya* etc., p. 331; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 885; Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, p. 139 *sq.*; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*,

p. 454; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 123.

ḤIṢN ZIYĀD. [See KHARPUT.]

ḤISSAR. [See ḤIṢĀR.]

ḤISSARLIḲ, an eminence celebrated as the site of the ancient Troja, as has been established by Schliemann's investigations in 1870—1890. Cf. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, Athens 1902. [See ḤIṢĀR.]

HĪT, a town in the most westerly part of the 'Irāḳ (Babylonia), situated in about 33° 35′ N. lat. and 42° 48′ E. long (Greenw.), on the right bank of the Euphrates on an eminence which is perhaps of artificial origin. The mediaeval Arab itineraries estimate the distance between Hīt and Baghdād at 33 parasangs (about 130 miles) or 3½–6 days' journey; cf. Streck, *Babylonien nach den Arab. Geographen*, i. (1900), p. 8. Some Arab geographers like al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal already include Hīt in Djazīra (Mesopotamia); on the whole, however, it has generally been considered a frontier town of Babylonia. In al-Muḳaddasī's time (xth century) it was of some importance; at the beginning of the xiiith century Yāḳūt describes it as a little place; at the beginning of the xixth century Olivier estimated the number of its inhabitants at about 1000 (see Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 752), Černik about 70 years later at 2000; Chesney counted 1500 houses. The situation of Hīt is described as picturesque; the walls and two gates have survived; otherwise there is no prominent building. There Yāḳūt mentions the tomb of the distinguished jurist 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who died in Hīt in 181 = 797 on his way through it; cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), vi. 294, 503, and the reference in Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vi. 508.

Hīt is a very ancient settlement; it is mentioned under the name Id as early as the beginning of the ixth century B. C. in an Assyrian inscription (Annals of Tukulti-Ninib II); see Scheil, *op. cit.* Herodotos and apparently also Isidor Characenus know the town as "Is, in Zosimus it is called Ἴζα; Hīt is the Syriac form of the name, which has been adopted by the Arabs. The name is apparently derived from its most characteristic product, asphalt (*Assyr. iddū, ittū*). In 16 (629) Hīt passed into the power of the Arabs; in 334 it was taken by the Ḥamdānids (see Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 695).

Hīt is a town of considerable commercial and industrial importance. The caravans trading between Babylonia and Syria, particularly between Baghdād and Ḥalab cross the Euphrates here. This circumstance has given rise to a flourishing transport business and a busy trade. Even in ancient times the district of Hīt was celebrated as being exceedingly productive of asphalt and naphtha; there are a whole series of wells there which yield this product: even the above quoted Assyrian text commemorates this feature of the town. A place, called 'Ain Kaiyāra (= spring of bitumen) near Hīt is mentioned, e. g. in Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iv. 241. A small river which flows into the Euphrates near Hīt carries down with its current many blocks of asphalt. Bitumen is used in different ways in Hīt: for example ships are caulked with it or it is burned in kilns for lime. From ancient times asphalt has been used in Babylonia as a cement; cf. also Abu 'l-Fidā (*Geography*, *op. cit.*). There is a considerable export trade in bituminous products from Hīt; they are carried down the river in boats and the busy shipbuilding trade of Hīt is also directly due to the asphalt. South of Hīt are several quarries which were worked even in ancient times; at the present day there is a line of rails from them to the Euphrates; cf. A. Musil in the *Anzeig. der Wien. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1913, i (I. N. E. Arabia and Southern Mesopotamia, p. 11). The Arab geographers of the middle ages also note the wealth of datepalms and the extensive cultivation of cereals around Hīt. It was further noted for its excellent wine; cf. the poems of Abū Nuwās (ed. Kremer, n°. 12, p. 46), and R. Geyer's *Mā bukā'u* of al-A'shā (*Sitz. Ber. d. Wien. Akad.*, Vol. 149, vi.), p. 145, 14. Near Hīt a ruined area, called Ulāya al-Maḳlūba (= "the transformed city"), is pointed out; there is a legend attached to it which, as Mez in the *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, xxiii. 220, points out, strikingly recalls the Frau Hitt legend in Innsbruck.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), passim (s. the quotations in Vol. iv. 146); Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 997; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Géographie* (ed. Paris), i. 298 *sq.* 328; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 186; Balādhurī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (ed. de Goeje), p. 179, 299; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliphate* (1905), p. 65; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 7, 143; xi. 749 *sqq.*; V. Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip II* (Paris 1910), p. 38—40 (with reproduction); Černik in Petermann's *Geograph. Mitteil.*, Ergänz.-Heft, N°. 44 (1875), p. 23 *sqq.*; J. Peters, *Nippur or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, I (New York 1897), 159—164; Miss G. L. Bell, *The western Bank of the Euphrates from Tell-Ahmar to Hit* (in *Geographical Journal*, 1901); Viollet, *Descript. du Palais d'al-Moutasim* = *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript. et Bell. Lettr.*, t. xii. (1909), part ii. 575 *sq.* (with pl. iv. 1).

(M. STRECK.)

ḤIZB (A., pl. *aḥzāb*) means "a party, faction, division". It is probably an Ethiopic loan-word, the original Arabic meaning of the root being "to befall" of a misfortune (*aṣāba*) and "to be rough, coarse" (*ghaluẓa*); so formerly Nöldeke (*Neue Beiträge*, p. 59, note 3). In the Ḳur'ān the word is used of confederates and mostly in a bad sense. Thus the *Sūrat al-aḥzāb* (xxxiii) deals with the siege of Medina by the Jewish tribes confederated with those of Mecca, Nadjd and Tihāma (Ibn Hishām pp. 668 *sqq.* *Ghazwat al-khandaḳ*). In a good sense it occurs of the *ḥizb Allāh* in Ḳur. v. 61, lviii. 22. But from „portion, division" it soon acquired the same technical meaning as *wird* i.e. a set portion of the Ḳur'ān, or of devotional formulae of any kind, imposed by any one upon himself for recitation; for cases of this use in the traditions see *Lisān*, i. p. 299 ll. 9 *sq.* As applied to the Ḳur'ān this developed in some Muslim countries until there was a normal division of the text into sixty *aḥzāb*, like that into the thirty *adjzā'*. So in Egypt; see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xxvii, *Arabian Nights*, chap. v. note 38. But apparently this did not and does not hold everywhere. Al-Ghazālī, in the *Iḥyā'*, in dealing with the recital (*tilāwa*) of the Ḳur'ān (Book viii of Quarter I. Bāb ii.; ed. with comm. of Saiyid Murtaḍā iv. pp. 470 *sq.*) speaks of the thirty *adjzā'*, but of *ḥizb* only generally; the

number of aḥzāb depends upon the usage of each worshipper. So still in India, for Hughes' *Dict. of Islam* does not recognise the word nor, apparently, does the *Dict. of Techn. Terms*. With the rise of the darwīsh fraternities the word became peculiarly associated with them. In Egypt each fraternity is a *ḥizb* (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii) and *ḥizb* is also used of the "office" of each fraternity recited at the regular Friday service (*ḥaḍra*) in the *zāwiya* or *takiya*, and consisting of extended selections from the Ḳur'ān and of other prayers (see DHIKR above). From this apparently, came a narrower use as applied to forms of prayer (*du'ā'*) drawn up by conspicuous saints and to be recited, either regularly or in special cases of need. Islām has always treasured such forms. The latter part of Book ix. of Quarter i. of the *Iḥyā'* (*Kitāb al-adhkār*; cf. above, vol. v. pp. 62 *sq.*) consists of a collection of such celebrated *ad'iya* of authorship from Adam to the Ṣūfī saints; see, too, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, ii. 127 *sqq.* of ed. of Cairo 1313. But to judge from the *ḥizb*'s described by Brockelmann (*Gesch.*, index under *ḥizb*, vol. ii. pp. 622 *sq.*) and by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (III, pp. 56—60) the word *ḥizb* was not applied to such prayers until well on in the sixth Muslim century. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505 = 1111) speaks only of *du'ā*'s and the first recorded *ḥizb* is by 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561). After that there are many: by Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638), Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675), al-Nawawī (d. 676), *etc.* The most famous of all is the *ḥizb al-kabīr* by al-Shādhilī, called also *al-ḥizb al-ṣaghīr*, to distinguish it from one longer but less celebrated by the same author. It is a favorite with travellers, especially those by sea, as it is in great part a „subjecting" (*taskhīr*) of the sea to them. It was written in 656, the year of his death, by inspiration from the Prophet, and contains the Most Great Name of Allāh. That same year Baghdād was taken by the Mongols, and al-Shādhilī is asserted to have said that it could not have been captured if his *ḥizb* had been recited there. The text is given in full by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (vol. i. pp. 40 *sqq.*; cf. also *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* vol. vii. p. 25; the transl. by Burton, *Pilgrimage*, chap. xi. is very incomplete) and is poor devotionally, but has many Ḳur'ānic references and quotes repeatedly the mysterious letters which occur at the beginnings of certain sūras. This has given it talismanic value and ensured its popularity. A plural, *ḥizāb*, occurs in the *Fihrist*, p. 307, l. 7 (see also *note*) with the meaning "spells", but the text is uncertain. The authority for Ahlwardt's assertion (*Verzeichnis*, iii. p. 325) that the *aḥzāb* are so called because the invocations of Allāh in them are arranged "in gewissen Gruppen" he does not give.

Bibliography: Add to references above Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Handschr. zu Berlin*, vol. III. pp. 407—414.

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

ḤIZḲĪL (EZEKIEL) b. BŪZĪ, whose mother when advanced in years prayed to God for offspring and had her prayer granted, was the successor of Kālib. He is not mentioned by name in the Ḳur'ān but in Sūra ii. 244 ("Didst thou not see those men who abandoned their dwellings in their thousands from fear of death? and God said "Die!" Then he restored them to life") an allusion to Ezekiel xxxvii. 1—10 is generally recognised.

Of the various traditions in Tha'labī, p. 148 and Ṭabarī, i. 536, 538, the following, which are of Talmudic origin may here be mentioned. In the days of Ḥizḳīl a plague carried off numerous Israelites. Many corpses could not be buried and became food for birds and beasts. By God's command Ḥizḳīl proclaimed "Ye dead bones, God commands you to assume again the flesh that covered you!" At once the bones clothed themselves with flesh and once more had skin, blood, veins, and arteries. Ḥizḳīl continued "O breath of life, make these bodies live again". They were breathed upon by the spirit of life and rose in their dead clothes. They returned to their people again, founded families and multiplied (Sanh., 92; Gen. R., 14; Cant., 7).

According to Tha'labī, p. 101, one of the members of Fir'awn's council in Egypt was likewise called Ḥizḳīl, while Kisā'ī calls him Ḥarbīl. He was originally a carpenter. Mūsā's mother applied to him to make a small box in which to place her new born son and throw him into the sea; but he hurried to the royal police to tell them of it. His tongue then became paralysed and he lost the power of speech. He only regained it after swearing that he would betray nothing. Henceforward he honoured Mūsā in secret and protected him from all danger. (Cf. Ḳur'ān, 40, 29).

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(J. EISENBERG.)

AL-ḤODAIDA (Hodīde, Hudīda), a seaport in Arabia, on the Red Sea about 110 miles N.N.W. of Mokhā [q. v.], the most important port for the coffee trade in Yemen and a landingplace for pilgrims to Mecca from Central Africa. It is under the protection of a patron saint, Shaikh Ṣadīḳ, whose festival is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the month Sha'bān. In the time of Niebuhr and Seetzen, al-Ḥodaida belonged to the Imām of Ṣan'ā'. In 1837 Ibrāhīm Pasha was commander in the town. Since 1899, al-Ḥodaida, which was previously a part of the great wilāyet of Yemen, has been a separate wilāyet. The town is fortified and is surrounded by many palmgroves and other fruit trees. It has a considerable garrison and possesses a post and telegraph office, a military hospital and a powder magazine. The streets are small and irregular but densely populated. Most of the houses are straw huts, only the houses of rich merchants being of stone. The bazaar is small and very dirty but well stocked with all necessaries. In the suburbs live, besides Arabs, many Banians, Somalis, Persians, Jews and Abyssinians. The climate of al-Ḥodaida is healthy and the town free from fever. The temperature which is always very hot reaches its height in April, May, August, and September. Among the articles brought to this port to be exported are besides the staple, coffee, (the export of which, however, has now considerably diminished particularly on account of the vast supplies exported from Brazil), goat- and cowhides (to Europe, America and Australia), millet and materials for packing coffee, dried fruits, dates, frankincense, resin, clothstuffs and mother-of-pearls; which are obtained among the reefs of al-

Ḥodaida, were also at one time exported. The imports include English, American, and Indian silk and woollen goods, sugar (from India, China, France and Austria), tobacco (from Egypt, Turkey and Persia), petroleum (at one time mainly from America, now from Batum), rice (from India) raisins, dates and honey, which are transported hence to other towns, particularly Ṣan'ā'. The trade with al-Ḥodaida is mainly carried on by British Indian ships; in recent years Greek and particularly Italian ships have had an increasing share in it. Manzoni in 1883 estimated the number of inhabitants of al-Ḥodaida at 20,000; according to other statements, the town has nearly 50,000 inhabitants.

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(J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-**HODH** (Ḥōḍ), a semi-desert region in Western Africa. It is a plain, lying to the east of Timbuktu between the Sahel on the south and the Tagant on the north, stretching over a distance of about 200 miles. A zone of steppes called Mrīya (mirror) separates the Hodh from that part of the western Sahara known by the name of al-Djūf. Three well-defined divisions may be distinguished in the Hodh. In the south is a region of sand and thorny brushwood, fairly rich in wells and sustaining quite a numerous population of Fūl and Sarakole as well as Moorish herdsmen. To the north of this lie rocky plateaus, often ferruginous, separated by valleys with black soil bottoms, which the winter rains turn into impassable marshes. Lastly, the northern part is covered with white sand dunes, separated by basins of black earth. Arab or Arabicised Berber tribes, of whom the chief are the Aghelal, the Ulād al-Nāṣir, the Ida Budjellan of whom some, like the Namadi, are only Muslim in name, roam freely over the Hodh. Lying outside the main caravan routes, the Hodh is still one of the least known regions of the Sahara.

Bibliography: Barth, *Travels*, v.; *Le Sahel soudanais et le Hodh* in *La Géographie*, xii. (1905) 130 *sqq.*; Arnaud, *Chasseurs et pêcheurs du Tagant et du Hodh* in *La Géographie*, xiii. (1906), 148 *sq.*, Marquart, *Benin Sammlung* .... Leyden 1913, p. clxi. *sqq.* There is further information on Hodh in two chronicles still inedited, recently discovered in the Sūdān, the *Ta'rīkh of the Kunta*, by Sīdī Muḥammad b. Sīdī al-Ḥabīb and the chronicle known as the *Chronicle of Ibn 'Arabī*.

(G. YVER.)

ḤODJAILA, a village in South Arabia, at the foot of Ḥarāz [q. v.] about 1900 feet above the sea level, a border village of the Tihāma. It belongs to the ḳaḍā of Manākha [q. v.] and to the mudīrlik of Mitwaḥ on Djebel Ṣa'fān (Ḥarāz). It has a market and Turkish barracks. The low cottages (*'arīsh*) of the village are built of large unhewn stones without mortar. The people of Ḥodjaila are of a chestnut brown colour and resemble gipsies; they belong some to the tribe of Khawlī, others to the Ziyādīnī. Around the village many partridges are found whence its name. Moreover a kind of wild duck called *Khulal* is found in the waters of the neighbourhood and there are also many other kinds of birds. The women of Ḥodjaila dress their hair in a peculiar fashion; they twine the plait around their ears. Glaser proposes to identify Ḥodjaila with the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥadjal of Hamdānī (*Djazīra*, p. 105, 18).

Bibliography: E. Glaser, *Von Ḥodeida nach Ṣan'ā* in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Vol. xxxii. (1886), p. 5—6.

(J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-**HOFHŪF** (HOFUF, FOOF), a town in Arabia, capital of the province of Ḥasā (Ḥaṣā [see AL-AḤSĀ]. The town, which is surrounded by extensive gardens and datepalm groves, is divided into three parts: 1. the Kōt (fortress) in the northeast); 2. the Rafīya (Refey'iya, "eminence" so called on account of its rising ground, in the northwest and west); 3. the Na'āthar (in the south and west). The Kōt, a large fortress with very high, thick walls and towers (about 16 on each side with winding stairways) is about 500 yards long and 400 broad and surrounded by a deep ditch; it contains 2000—3000 people. The governor of Ḥasā (during Palgrave's stay in Hofhūf he was a negro named Bilāl) resides in the Kōt and the Nadjdī zealots (the fanatical members of the Wahhābī sect) dwell there also; in it is the Wahhābī mosque. A second isolated fortress dating from the xviii[th] century, called Khuṭaim ("muzzle") is situated near the southern gate of the town. The Rafīya quarter is inhabited by old and aristocratic families, hostile to the Wahhābīs; its situation is a very healthy one and it contains many fine houses and broad, clean streets. In this quarter is the market place, a long pillared hall with an arched roof, *al-ḳaiṣāriya*, with workshops of shoemakers, smiths and carpenters, and shops containing weapons, clothes, embroideries, gold and silver ornaments and other wares, partly imported from Baḥrain, 'Omān, Persia and India. The Na'āthar quarter is the most thickly populated; it occupies about half the town and contains a large mosque: its population is a mixed one, consisting chiefly of merchants, small tradesmen, weavers, artisans and including also strangers from Persia, 'Omān, Baḥrain, Ḥarīḳ [q. v.] and Ḳaṭar [q. v.]. In the centre of the town opposite the market place is the public square, a long quadrangle about 300 yards by 80, where the stands of the barbers and the workshops of numerous smiths and shoemakers stand and dates (the fine *khalāṣ* kind, the best in Arabia, which are grown only in Ḥasā), vegetables, firewood, smoked locusts, etc are sold in numerous booths. The weekly market of Hofhūf is held on Thursdays on an open space before the north gate of the town. Here coarsely woven cloaks, old brass vessels, old swords, sandals, camels, dromedaries and asses are sold by the country people, while bracelets and anklets, looking glasses, European drinking glasses, strings of beads, also cereals and fruits (corn, meal, *khalāṣ* dates, sugarcane), coal, wood, etc. are sold by the regular traders. According to information supplied to W. Schimpers by a Wahhābī, in 1836 the town had 40,000 inhabitants; W. Palgrave gives the figure of 23,000—24,000 for the year 1862.

In the tenth century Hofhūf like the rest of Ḥasā was the scene of the Ḳarmaṭian wars; it was from here that the Ḳarmaṭian leaders undertook their raids into Syria and Mesopotamia. In the beginning of last century Hofhūf fell into the power of the Wahhābīs who as elsewhere introduced their views here by force. The rule

of the Wahhābīs was a heavy burden on the town and the people of Hofhūf as of the rest of Ḥasā enthusiastically welcomed the Egyptians when Nadjd was conquered by Ibrāhīm Pasha; the oppressive taxes which the Egyptians levied on them as well as the servile treatment with which the citizens of the town were treated soon brought about a general rising not only in the town but throughout the country which put an end to Egyptian rule for ever and restored its independence to Hofhūf as to the rest of Ḥasā. After the reconquest of Nadjd by the Wahhābīs Hofhūf was only taken after stubborn fighting. The walls of the town, like those of other towns, were partly destroyed, the fortress levelled to the ground, new mosques built and old ones restored.

Before the conquest of Ḥasā by the Wahhābīs, Hofhūf was a flourishing emporium of trade. It had busy relations with ʿOmān, Persia and India on the one side and Baghdād and Damascus on the other. Hardware, cloths of the poorer qualities, silk, gold and silver thread, ironmongery, swords, spears, earthenware, and other articles were imported. Besides *khalāṣ* dates (which still are a lucrative article of export, particularly to India) and sugar-cane, the robes of Hofhūf highly prized on account of their excellent quality and fine make, were exported and brought the merchants rich profits; the copper and silver vessels (coffee-pots) manufactured in Hofhūf also used to enjoy a great reputation. On account of the fanatical hatred with which the Wahhābīs in the provinces under their rule put down all that is connected with fine raiment (particularly silk) and adornment, trade has now quite declined. The people of Hofhūf before Wahhābī rule had been accustomed from ancient times to make excursions, particularly in autumn, often for longish periods to the Djebel Moghūr, situated to the northeast of Ḥasā, where they sought to recuperate themselves with music, song, and other recreations after their strenuous labours; now Wahhābī fanaticism forbids them to do this openly, under penalty of fines or even imprisonment.

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(J. SCHLEIFER.)

HOLWĀN. [See ḤULWĀN.]

HORMUZ (ORMAZD, AHURA MAZDA, the name of the supreme being of the Zoroastrians, at a much later period applied to the planet Jupiter), the name borne by five kings of the Sāsānian dynasty.

Hormuz I, son of Shāpūr, reigned for only a year (272—3). He had previously been governor of Khurāsān and had distinguished himself in war with the Romans; he is also said to have given Mānī when persecuted a place of refuge in his palace in Dastagird.

Hormuz II (308—9), son of Narses and grandson of Shāpūr I, was killed by the Arabs after he had defeated them. He was the father of Shāpūr II, who was born after his death and of a prince named Hormuz; the latter was kept in confinement but managed to escape after thirteen years and went to Constantinople from which he accompanied the Emperor Julian on his Persian campaign. The ruins of the palace of Hormisdas (the Greek form of his name) are still pointed out in Stambul, in the wall which separates the city from the sea of Marmora.

Hormuz III was the son of Yezdegird II and succeeded his father. During his brief reign, (457—9) he had to fight his younger brother Fīrūz, who had procured the assistance of the Hayāṭila (Hephthalites, White Huns) by ceding them the cities of Ṭāleḳān and Tirmidh in Bactria. Fīrūz was victorious and killed his brother. During this war Dīnak, the mother of the two brothers, took over the government in Ctesiphon.

Hormuz IV (578—590) was the son of Khusraw Anūshak-Rawān and the daughter of the khāḳān of the Turks, whence he was called Turkzād (scion of the Turks), (Ṭabarī, *Annals*, i. 965; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 123). According to the Byzantine sources, he was a haughty and foolish ruler, who imprisoned the Emperor's envoys and only released them under pressure from the Magi. His troops were several times defeated in battle by the Romans (586). The rebellion of Bahrām Čōbīn also took place in his reign. Hormuz was deposed, thrown into prison and strangled without his son Khusraw Parwīz preventing it.

Hormuz V, grandson of Khusraw Parwīz, fought against his aunt Azarmī-dokht and maintained his position till the first year of Yezdegird III's reign, when he was put to death by his own soldiers in Nisibis (632).

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(CL. HUART.)

HORMUZ (HURMUZ, ORMUS), in the middle ages the most important commercial port of Persia, situated at the entrance to the Persian Gulf; about 1300 the name was transferred to a small island opposite the ancient town and is still attached to it. Hormuz was of importance for the lands on the Indian ocean as trade between Western Asia and India passed through its port; traffic by sea had also been established between China and Hormuz. A district of Ἁρμόζεια is first mentioned by Nearchus, who explored the Persian coast from the mouth of the Indus (Arrian, *Indica*, 32—35; Onesikritos in Juba's *Epitome* in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VI, 27-28). The location of this district is established by the fact that the Anamis (Andania) flowed into the sea here. The town (Harmuza) is mentioned by Cl. Ptolemaeus Marcianus (*Peripl. Maris extern.*, 27); the Hermopolis of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII, 6, 40) is probably identical with it. The situation of the town is wrongly given in Ptolemy; Marcianus agrees with Nearchus and is perhaps indirectly dependent on him.

The district of Hormuz, the land of Caramania, was very rich in agricultural products (wine, wheat, barley, rice and indigo) and in minerals (gold, silver, copper, iron, cinnabar, and salt); but it had no importance in the world's commerce. It was the Arabs who first opened up this district to foreign trade, whereupon Hormuz attained its great importance in the XIV—XVI[th] century. The mediaeval accounts, European as well as Oriental, show that Hormuz was a port of world wide

fame. The foundation of the town is ascribed to Ardashīr Pāpakān (224—241), founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, but it was only after the Arab conquest that it attained prominence. From it horses were exported to India as was the case as late as the xvth century. The fact that China under the T'ang dynasty (627—961) attained great importance, at the same time as the Arab empire, brought about closer relations between Western Asia and China, in which trade played an important part. The Arabs visited India mainly by the sea route while in return Indian and Chinese ships came to the Persian Gulf to Hīra and Hormuz. Hormuz is mentioned by Ibn Khordādhbih as a calling-place on the route from Basra to China. A Chinese account (of circa 785—805) describes the sea-route from Canton to the Persian Gulf and mentions as the most westerly point the "important market of the Ta-Shi (Arabs)" the harbour of Mo-lo, which Rockhill and Hirth take to be Hormuz, while A. Herrmann identifies it with Basra.

Of the older Hormuz on the mainland, we learn that it was situated one parasang (four miles) from the sea on a river, which ships ascended to the town. Idrīsī, Iṣṭakhrī and Maḳdisī describe the town as the chief market of Kirmān. Indigo is mentioned as the most important product of the district. Yāḳūt particularly notes that Hormuz had attracted all the trade with India.

After about 1100, Hormuz was under Arab rulers, of whom Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd (1246—1277) is known to us from Marco Polo. A full history of the dynasty is given from a lost Persian source in Teixeira, *Relaciones de P. Texeira d'el origen descendencia y succession de los Reyes de Persia y de Hormuz*, etc. After 1262 Hormuz was under the rule of the Ilkhāns of Persia. It cannot be certainly ascertained what brought about the transference of the town from the mainland to the torrid, barren island. Abu 'l-Fidā' says that the old town was destroyed by 'Tatars'. But the Mongols hardly touched the coast of Kirmān. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa expressly distinguishes between the Hormuz of the mainland and 'New Hormuz', an island 3 parasangs from the coast. The references of Marco Polo, who twice visited the place (1272 and 1293) are to the Hormuz on the mainland. He describes the business of the port in a striking fashion and particularly notes the export of horses to India. The island town founded by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was, in spite of unfavourable natural conditions, a thriving centre of the world's commerce from the xivth to the xviith centuries. The appearance of the Portuguese in India decided the fate of Hormuz: in 1507 the island was taken by a Portuguese fleet, but the Portuguese allowed the native rulers to remain on condition that they paid tribute. With the help of an English fleet Shāh 'Abbās the Great won Hormuz from the Portuguese, which, apart from an interval under the rule of 'Omān, has ever since belonged to Persia. It was the will of Shāh 'Abbās that his new foundation Bender 'Abbās [q. v. i. 694 sq.] should take the place of Hormuz. The decline of Hormuz dates from this time and now it no longer exists as a town.

We have brief accounts of the island town in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who stayed there in 1331 and in 'Abd al-Razzāḳ. The town was very frequently visited by European travellers, first in 1321 by Odorico of Pordenone. He was followed by Odoardo Barbosa, Caes. Frederick (1589) and Jos. Salbancke. The account of the Russian merchant Afanasiy Nikitin (c. 1580) is of particular interest. The information afforded by these sources on the nature of the town, its trade and its highly developed civilisation, have been collected by R. Stübe in his monograph mentioned below.

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(R. Stübe.)

HORMUZAN, Hormuzdān. [See hurmuzān.]

HORUK. [See arūdj.]

HOSHANGSHAH GHURI, the second king of the Ghūrī dynasty of Mālwa, ascended the throne in 1405-1406. In 1407 Muẓaffar I of Gudjarāt invaded Mālwa, defeated and captured Hoshangshāh, and imprisoned him on the ground that he had poisoned his father, who had been Muẓaffar's friend. Hoshangshāh was released and regained his kingdom but throughout his reign was engaged in constant hostilities with Gudjarāt, from which his kingdom suffered severely. In 1420 Hoshangshāh annexed the Gond state of Kherla to his kingdom, as a feudatory state, and in 1422 led a most daring raid to Djādjnagar (perhaps Djādjpūr) in Orissa, captured the rādja by an artifice and

compelled him to surrender several elephants as the price of his freedom. On returning to his kingdom he discovered that Aḥmad I of Gudjarāt was besieging his capital, Māndū. Hoshangshāh, seizing a favourable opportunity, threw himself into Māndū, whereupon Aḥmad Shāh raised the siege and marched towards Sārangpūr. Hoshang followed and attacked him but was defeated and shut himself in Sārangpūr. He was again defeated when following Aḥmad, who retired from Sārangpūr. Later in the same year Hoshang made a rash and ineffectual attempt to seize the strong fortress of Gwāliyār. In 1428 Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī of the Dakhan appeared before Kherla, which he claimed as an appanage of Berār, but retreated when he heard that Hoshang was marching to relieve the place. Hoshang followed him and forced an action, in which he sustained a severe defeat. In 1433-1434 Hoshang marched against Kālpī and Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharḳī of Djawnpūr marched to oppose him, but was recalled by the news that Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī was advancing on Djawnpūr, and Kālpī fell, without a blow, into Hoshang's hands. On his way to Māndū, Hoshang punished some Hindū marauders who had invaded his dominions and then hastened on his way to compose the quarrels between his sons, which embittered his later years. Disputes and intrigues regarding the succession were so virulent as to disturb the unfortunate monarch's last moments and hasten his end. He died on July 6, 1435, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghaznīn Khān, entitled Muḥammad Shāh.

Bibliography: Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*.

(T. W. HAIG.)

HŌT, a Balōč tribe, one of the five main divisions of the race. The tribe is still found under this name in Makrān, but those who invaded the Pandjāb in company with the Rinds and Dōdāīs are better known by the names of the tribes formed at a later date, such as part of the Khōsa tribe and the Bilōčānī section of the Mazārīs. The Hōts ruled as Nawwābs at Dēra Ismā'īl Khān for two hundred years until they were conquered by Afghāns. Hōts are still numerous throughout the South Pandjāb.

Raverty alludes to them as Hūts, but confounds them with the Dōdāīs, from whom they were distinct.

Bibliography: Hughes, *Balochistan*, (London 1877); Raverty, *Notes on Afghānistān*, (London 1880), p. 4; Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race*, (London, 1904); Bray, *Baluchistan Report, Census of India* 1911, § 268.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

HUBAL, the name of an idol, which was worshipped at Mecca in the Ka'ba but otherwise is only known from a Nabataean inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Semit.*, ii. n°. 189 = Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission Archéol. en Arabie*, i. 169, 170) where it is mentioned along with Dushara and Manōtu. It is thus probable that the tradition according to which 'Amr b. Luḥaiy [q. v.] brought the idol with him from Moab or Mesopotamia, is correct in retaining a memory of the foreign, to be more accurate Aramaic, origin of Hubal, although the substance of the tradition is otherwise quite legendary. The name cannot be explained from the Arabic for the etymologies in Yāḳūt etc. condemn themselves, but Pocock's supposition that Hubal is equivalent to הבעל, although defended by Dozy, is hardly better founded. Another tradition indeed relates that Hubal was an idol of the Banū Kināna, worshipped also by the Ḳuraish, and had been placed in the Ka'ba by Khuzaima b. Mudrika wherefore it used to be called Hubal Khuzaima. It is further related that the idol was of red carnelian in the form of a man; the Ḳuraish replaced the right hand which was broken, by a golden one; it was the custom to consult the idol by divination with arrows; this was done for example by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with reference to his son 'Abd Allāh, etc. We learn nothing further about the cult of this idol and the legends are quite worthless for the comprehension of the real nature of the deity. After the conquest of Mecca Hubal shared the lot of all other idols and the image was removed from the Ka'ba and destroyed.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 50 *sq.*; Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i. 58, 73, 107, 133; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 949 *sq.*; Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 295; Ṭabarī, ed. Leiden, i. 1075 *sq.*; Pocock, *Spec. Hist. Arab.*, ed. White, p. 98; Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorisl. Araber*, p. 90; Osiander in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vii. 493; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i. 215 *sqq.*; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p. 75, 221.

HŪD, the prophet who, according to the Ḳur'ān, appeared among the 'Ād [q. v.]. He is represented as one of their kinsmen (*akh*) and his genealogy (which is transmitted in various forms) therefore coincides in part with that of their founder 'Ād. He is also identified with 'Ābir (the Biblical 'Eber, the ancestor of the Hebrews); in another reference he is called the son of 'Abd [q. v.]. His figure is even more shadowy than the picture of his people and like every warner he is represented in the same position as Muḥammad in Mecca, i. e. he found only infidelity and pride among the people and his followers were few. God therefore punished the 'Ād with a three years' drought, as the later legend tells us. A deputation was sent to Mecca to pray for rain there. God made three clouds appear in the sky, one white, one red and one black. One of the deputation, called Ḳail, was given the choice of one of the three by a voice from heaven. He chose the black one with the result that a terrible storm broke over the 'Ād and destroyed the whole people with the exception of Hūd and his followers (Sūra, 69, 7). Hūd is said to have lived 150 years. There are various traditions regarding his grave. There is a Ḳabr Hūd not far from Bi'r Barahūt [q. v.]. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris, i. 205, ii. 203) it is mentioned that the grave of Hūd is in the great mosque at Damascus; according to other traditions he rests near the Ka'ba with 98 other prophets.

In the article 'Ād attention has already been called to the fact that the existence of a tribe of 'Ād is problematic. This is still truer of Hūd. The word Hūd in the Ḳur'ān is a name for the Jews as a body (Sūra, ii. 105, 129, 134, and the verb *hāda* means to profess Judaism (ii. 59, iv. 48 etc.). The proper name looks as if it had been derived from the verb and the noun; the tradi-

tional identification of Hūd with the ancestor of the Hebrews probably points in the same direction. Hirschfeld is perhaps correct when he calls Hūd an allegorical figure (*Beiträge z. Erklärung des Korān*, Leipzig 1886, p. 17, note 4). Von Kremer's suggestion (*Über die südarabische Sage*, p. 21 *sq.*), that the crater of Baraḥūt was the immediate cause of the rise of the Hūd legend is worthy of note.

Bibliography: Besides the works mentioned in the text and in the articles ʿĀD and ḤAḌRAMŪT: the commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, particularly on Sūra vii. 63, xi. 52 *sqq.*; xxvi. 123 *sqq.*; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (1290), p. 63 *sqq.*; Sale, *The Koran, Preliminary Discourse*, p. 8; Marracci, *Refutationes* (Patavii, 1698), p. 282 and the older literature there given; Geiger, *Was hat Muḥammad aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*[2], p. 111 *sqq.*

(A. J. WENSINCK.)

HŪD. After the assassination of Mundhir II b. Yaḥyā (cf. 1035/18) in the year 430 (1039) Abū Aiyūb Sulaimān b. Muḥammad seized the government of the town of Saragossa and became the founder of a dynasty which ruled there and, according to Codera, in Lerida, Calatayud, and Tudela also till 503 (1110). The dynasty is known as the Banū Hūd, because Hūd, one of the Arabs who came to Spain at the conquest, was the ancestor of the family. There are various forms of the genealogy of Hūd preserved. The founder of the dynasty was commander of the Christian troops at Lerida in Mundhir's reign and when he became lord of Saragossa took the name al-Mustaʿīn. According to Codera, *Estudios criticos de Historia Arabe española*, p. 362 *sqq.*, he divided his power among his sons so that each of them became governor of one of the above mentioned towns, when Sulaimān died in 438 (1046—7). Of the rulers of Saragossa alone do we possess further details. In it there reigned in succession Aḥmad al-Muḳtadir till 474 (1081), his son Yūsuf al-Muʾtamin till 478 (1085), his son Aḥmad al-Mustaʿīn (ii.) till 503 (1110). The last-named's son ʿImād al-Dawla ʿAbd al-Malik lost his throne to the Almoravid ʿAlī b. Yūsuf in 503 (1110); authorities differ as to how this happened. ʿImād al-Dawla escaped to Rueda and lived there till 524 (1130). Cf. also the article MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. HŪD.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 204; al-Marrākushī, ed. Dozy, p. 50; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulm. d'Espagne*, vol. iv.; do. *Recherches*[3], i. 231 *sqq.*, and the accompanying texts in the appendices; Codera, *op. cit.*; Müller, *Der Islam* etc. ii. 385, 638.

ḤUDAIBIYA, a valley a short day's journey (*marḥala*) from Mecca, *i. e.* about 9 miles distant. A portion of it was included in the *ḥaram* of Mecca, which extended farthest in this direction. About the time of the Hidjra this barren valley was the centre of a local cult with a well and a sacred tree. A modest village afterwards arose here as the centre of the surrounding lands, which were rich in subterranean water.

It was towards the last months of the year 6 A. H., after the destruction of the Jewish clans and the humbling of the *munāfiḳūn* in Medina, that Muḥammad was able to consider himself master of the situation. He therefore thought the moment had arrived for conducting a demonstration against Mecca as an answer to the siege of the Khandaḳ which had been attempted by the Ḳuraish. His persistent policy had made all preparations. He had assiduously concentrated the attention of his people on the metropolis of Mecca; the alteration of the *ḳibla*, the application of the legend of Abraham, who was represented as the builder of the Kaʿba, and the obligation to pilgrimage, which was now laid upon all believers, had no other object. The Prophet seems at first to have meditated a military demonstration; 1400—1600 armed men were to have accompanied him. He then altered his plan and expressed his intention of performing the *ʿumra* (lesser pilgrimage); the sacrificial animals taken with him were to complete the illusion. He would enter Mecca as a sovereign or force the Ḳuraish to negotiate with him. His military escort was strong enough to gain the respect of the Meccans but too small to suggest thoughts of an attack. The Ḳuraish took no risks and occupied the approaches. Muḥammad had scarcely entered the sacred territory when he came upon their outposts. Before this resistance he retired to Ḥudaibiya and entered into negotiations with them. He limited his demands to a request to be allowed to visit the national sanctuary with his followers, which was at first refused. Long and wearisome negotiations followed. As ʿOmar did not dare to go to Mecca as plenipotentiary, ʿOthmān was chosen for the purpose, as the prestige of his family, the influential Omaiyads, protected him. When the rumour of his death became current, Muḥammad collected his followers at the sacred tree of Ḥudaibiya and demanded the oath of fealty from them. This is the *baiʿa* of Ḥudaibiya, also called the "*baiʿa* of the tree" or *baiʿat al-riḍwān* ("*baiʿa* of the agreement"), an ambiguous allusion to a passage in the Ḳurʾān (xlviii. 18) which is traditionally said to allude to these events. All the participators bear the name *Shadjarī* in the history of Islām, from the tree under which the ceremony took place. A few days later ambassadors arrived from Mecca. The treaty to be concluded was discussed clause by clause and word by word. In the protocol Muḥammad had to refrain from using the formulae of Islām and the title of Prophet. He even pledged himself henceforth to send back deserters from the Ḳuraish, while the Meccans made no such pledge with respect to Muslims. As to the *ʿumra*, they were to be allowed to perform this in the following year provided they came without weapons except the swords by their sides.

This agreement severely disillusioned the companions who had already become impatient of the long period of inactivity and the want of booty. In reality, however, in his struggle against Mecca the Prophet had here obtained an important diplomatic success. While on his side he surrendered no rights that he had won but only simple claims, he brought the Ḳuraish oligarchy to negotiate with him on equal terms. He was for the first time recognised before all Arabia as a power in the land. The Ḳuraish entered into negotiations with the former fugitive and leader of a body of fugitives, who had broken all bonds with their homes and the *Dār al-Nadwa* [q. v.] entirely blotted out the past. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim would take full advantage of it and be able to make full use of the freedom of movement now guaranteed him by a formal agreement. Medina had nothing more

to fear from Mecca. A means would be found to get round the burdensome concessions and to rescind the treaty. In the meanwhile Muḥammad decided to slay in Ḥudaibiya the sacrificial animals he had brought with him and added certain ceremonies of the pilgrimage to the rite.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (Egyptian ed.) iii. 233—4; Bekrī, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 128, 272, 521, 813; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*¹, ii. 64, 65, 91, 92; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Sachau), ii. i. 69, 70—3, 76; iv. ii. 40; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 350, 355, 384, 396, 420, 486; iv. 48, 49, 322; v. 326; Caetani, *Annali*, iii. 139; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 740, 743, 745, 746; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī* (ed. Wellhausen), p. 242, 244, 260; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv. 59. (H. LAMMENS.)

HUDHAIL, a large Arab tribe, belonging to the North Arabian group. Their genealogy is Hudhail b. Mudrika b. al-Yās b. Muḍar. They were a brother tribe of the Khuzaima. They inhabited the mountains of Sarāt Hudhail, which bear their name, between Mecca and Medina and were neighbours of the Sulaim [q. v.] and Kināna [q. v.]. In the time of Djāhiliya they worshipped the idol Suwā' (destroyed by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in 8 = 630) at Ruhāṭ and, like the Ḳuraish, Khuzā'a, and other tribes, also Manāt (destroyed in 8 = 630 by Sa'd b. Zaid) at Ḳudaid, mentioned in Ḳur'ān liii. 19, 20. The Hudhail produced a great many poets, of whom the most important are the contemporaries of the Prophet, Abū Dhu'aib [q. v.] and Abū Khirāsh.

The following places are mentioned, with others, as belonging to the Hudhail: Athīl (in Tihāma), 'Aḍh, al-Athāthīth (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 233: al-Athātt), Aḥrad, 'Ain, al-Anwāṣ, 'Aly, Alinna, al-'Ardj (a large town near Ṭā'if), Baslim, Baṭn 'Anf, Baṭn Nu'mān, Djadad, al-Djadjr, Huthum, al-Ḥarāḍa, al-Ḥikāb, Haiyara, Dūn Farwā', Dabāb, Khalṣal, al-Kurūb, al-Liṯh, al-Manḥat, al-Muntaḍā, Nimr (several villages), Rāya, Rahā Bīṭān, Raḥb, Rakhmān, Rutaila, Ruhāṭ (3 miles from Mecca, also given as a wādī), al-Tilā', and 'Urna; mountains: Arāl, 'Adr, al-A'ẓam ('Uẓm in Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 133, given both as a mountain and a village), al-Fuḍl, Faḥl, Ghazwān (a very high peak, on which the town of Ṭā'if stands, rich in game and honey), Habl, Kabkab, al-Karās, Khanthal, Kinthil, Kurāsh, Laban, Ma'īd (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, *l. c.* Ma'īd), Makā, Numār, Nabā'i, (also given as a wādī), Salām, Sal', Ṣudā'id, Shumnuṣīr, Uḍhar, al-Watar, Yasūm, Zara'; the wādīs include: al-Ḍaḥī, Dulāk, Ḥudaiba, Halya (Halbe), Sa'ya (according to some, a mountain), Udām (all in common with the Kināna), al-Ḍadjan (al-Ḍadjn), Kāfir, Nakhla 'l-Shāmiya (two wādīs, which unite at Baṭn Marr), Shadjna, Wādī 'l-Ḳaṣāṣ, and Tadjāri'.

Historical. The Hudhail endeavoured to tempt the Tubba' Abū Karib to rob the Ka'ba when he came to Mecca, in order that he might thereby incur divine punishment. Abū Karib, warned of this by two learned Jews, had the instigators beheaded. When the Abyssinian king Abraha (in the "year of the elephant") tried to destroy the Ka'ba, the Hudhail, along with the Kināna, Ḳuraish and other neighbouring tribes, took up arms against him unsuccessfully; 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Khuwailid b. Wāthila, the chiefs of the Hudhail, and Ya'mar b. Nufātha, chief of the Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt, then offered to cede him the third part of Tihāma, if he would spare the Ka'ba and leave the country, but Abraha declined.

After the battle of Uḥud in 4 = 626, the Banū Liḥyān, a clan of the Hudhail, assembled at 'Urna with other tribes around Mecca under Sufyān b. Khālid, to conspire against Muḥammad. The Prophet, being told of this, had Sufyān murdered by 'Abd Allāh b. Unais. 'Abd Allāh brought his head to the Prophet and was presented by him with a stick which, according to the Prophet, was to serve as a mark of recognition on the day of resurrection. 'Abd Allāh is said to have been buried with this stick, which he carried all his life. In the same year a number of Hudhail fell upon six companions of the Prophet at the watering-place of Radjī'; they were on their way from Muḥammad to the 'Aḍal and Ḳāra to instruct them in the principles of Islām. The Hudhail slew four and brought the others to Mecca, where they sold them to the Ḳuraish. After the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet in 8 = 630, a number of the Khuzā'a fell upon a section of the Hudhail and slew one of them: the Prophet, learning of this, during the midday service next day before the Ka'ba made an appeal to the Khuzā'a, urging them to refrain from further bloodshed.

The Hudhail still exist on the Djebel Kora, a number of ranges round Ṭā'if, on one of which is the village of Ra's al-Kora, according to Burckhardt, the most beautiful spot in the Ḥidjāz, and far famed for the quality of its water. Here they encamp with their numerous herds and grow wheat and barley in the very charming valleys of these hills. Their clean little houses, scattered over the plain in groups of four or five, are built of stone or earth. There are also settlements of the Hudhail at Mabede, the southern suburb of Mecca, where they sell dates, corn and cattle. Before their conquest by the Wahhābīs, they were only provisionally under Mecca and paid no taxes.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 173, 182, 183; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, Index; Bekrī, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, p. 198, 211, 267, 293, 349, 398, 425, 488, 619, 708; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 15, 32; *Aghānī*, iv. 41, xv. 72, xviii. 214, 215; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1431—4, 1648—9, 1753, 1757 and Index; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 63—6, 130; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 37, 130—1, 196; xiii. 40—2, 85; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i. 93, 193, 203 (note), 273, 276; iii. 241—2; Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, i. 196; iii. 199-200; iv. 133—4; do., *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p. 85; Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, sect. ii., Tafel M., and *Register*, p. 233; Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert* in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, S. 591; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, i. (Berlin 1884), 2. *Lieder der Hudhailiten* (Arabic and German), p. 105 sqq.; A. Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 128. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

HUDHUD, the hoopoe, belongs to the order *Scansores* and bears a remarkable tuft of feathers on its head. Much is related concerning its habits and character, of which only a part can be mentioned here. Its piety is particularly emphasised. In Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (ed. Schulthess, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, viii. 26, 84 sq. cf. also Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*. ed. de Goeje, p. 279

sq.) there is a story that the hoopoe enshrouded its dead mother and carried the body on its back and head till it found a resting-place for it; this is why its back is brown. It is also related that the tuft of feathers was a reward for this act. — When its mate dies, the hoopoe does not look for a new wife. — When its parents grow old, it feeds them. It bears different *kunya*'s in Arabic, e.g. *Abū 'Ibād, Abu 'l-Sadjdjāda*, after the numerous bows of its tuft as it walks. It makes its nest in dung so that it has an unpleasant smell. Its feathers, heart etc. are used in various ways. The Prophet is said to have forbidden it to be killed; according to some, its flesh is forbidden, according to others, it is permitted. The hoopoe plays a prominent part in the legend of Solomon and Bilḳīs. This was apparently already developed by Muḥammad's time as may be concluded from Sūra xxvii. 20 *sqq.* In this passage we are told that Solomon assembled the birds and the hoopoe was missing. When he arrived late, he gave an account of the queen of Saba' and was entrusted by Solomon with the bearing of a letter to the Sabaeans.

The later writers as a rule give the whole story as follows. The hoopoe possesses the power of seeing where water is through the earth. He was therefore used by Solomon on his pilgrimage to Mecca to find water. But on one occasion the hoopoe whom Solomon had appointed for this purpose, named Ya'fūr or Yaghfūr, while on the journey, took a trip to the south and reached the garden of Bilḳīs where he made the acquaintance of another hoopoe named 'Ufair. The latter told him a great deal about the queen of Saba'. In the meanwhile Solomon was looking in vain for water for his army (or according to another version for ritual ablutions). He sent the vulture (*nasr*) to assemble the birds and the hoopoe was missing. The eagle (*'uḳāb*) was sent to fetch him. But he was already on his way back and was brought by the eagle before Solomon, who talked to him severely but finally, after hearing his account of Bilḳīs sent him with a letter to the Sabaeans.

Another version of the beginning of the story, relates that Solomon on his pilgrimage was being carried with all his retinue on a carpet by the winds to Arabia. The birds were ordered to fly above the carpet in such a compact mass that those sitting on it should be entirely protected from the sun. But Solomon detected a little ray of light in one place; so he concluded that one bird was missing. He then held a roll-call and it was found that the hoopoe was absent; the story continues as before.

It is also related that the hoopoe once invited Solomon and his army to a feast on an island. When the guests had arrived, he threw a dead locust into the sea and said "Now eat, O thou Prophet of God! If the meat be lacking, there is at least plenty of sauce". Solomon and his soldiers laughed for a year at this joke.

On the relationship of the Jewish hoopoe-legend to the Muslim, see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sagenkunde*.

In North Africa, hoopoes are made out of silk, leathers, etc., and used for magical purposes (Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 270 *sq.*).

Bibliography: Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, s. v. *hudhud*; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo, 1323), iii. 160 *sqq.*; Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 425 *sq.*; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 200 *sqq.*; do., *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxi. 206 *sqq.*; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 243 *sqq.*; the commentaries on the Ḳur'ān to Sūra, 27, 20 *sqq.*; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), i. 576 *sqq.*; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (1290), p. 333 *sqq.*; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (London 1859), i. 105 (with illustration); Salzberger, *Die Salomosage in der semitischen Literatur* (Heidelberg Dissertation, Berlin 1907), i. 75 *sqq.* [A. J. WENSINCK.]

ḤUDJARĪYA. [See ḤUDJRA.]

ḤUDJDJA (A.), proof, document. The word is also used as a title in the science of Tradition for one who has reached the highest stage in it, knows 300,000 traditions by heart and everything connected with them; hence al-Ghazālī's title, *Ḥudjdjat al-Islām*. Among the Ismā'īlīs, *ḥudjdja* is one who is appointed leader of the propaganda by "the Imām of the time". The number of the *ḥudjdja*'s is 12. They occupy the same position as the *naḳīb*'s in the propaganda of the 'Abbāsids, on the model of the 12 disciples of Christ and the 12 *naḳīb*'s of the Prophet. The simple missionaries (*dā'ī*) are subordinate to them. Among the "Twelvers" the twelfth Imām bears the title *Ḥudjdja*.

ḤUDJR b. 'Adī of the tribe of Kinda, the "first martyr" of the Shī'a. The sect would like to give him the title of "companion of the Prophet" but it is denied by the oldest authorities. The Shī'a likewise, with as little ground, makes him take part in the first Syrian campaigns, when he is said to have conquered the district of Mardj 'Adhrā; but the object of this clearly is simply to connect him from the earliest time with this place, which was to be the scene of his martyrdom. At an early period Ḥudjr threw himself heart and soul into 'Alī's cause and fought for him at the "battle of the Camel" and at Ṣiffīn. We later find him in Egypt with Muḥammad, son of the Caliph Abū Bakr, who was governing this province in 'Alī's name. After 'Alī's son Ḥasan had given up his claim to the Caliphate, Ḥudjr became the moving spirit in all the 'Alid intrigues in Kūfa. The governor Mughīra b. Shu'ba had even to offer him money to obtain peace. Mughīra's successor, Ziyād b. Abīhi, endeavoured to bring him to a more reasonable frame of mind; but his efforts failed with this unruly spirit, who always wanted to play an important part. On Ḥasan's death, Ḥudjr entered into negotiations with his brother Ḥusain; the pretender had been invited to take command over his followers in Kūfa. During Ziyād's absence in Baṣra Ḥudjr had attempted to stir up a revolutionary movement. Ziyād hurried back with all possible speed and endeavoured to settle the affair peacefully. But when the negotiations fell through, Ziyād had Ḥudjr arrested along with those leaders of the Shī'a party who were most deeply compromised. The matter was taken to the courts and an indictment prepared and signed by the most prominent men in Kūfa; finally Ḥudjr was taken with his companions to Mu'āwiya in Syria. After the Caliph had arranged a new trial and asked the advice of the leading men of Syria, he sentenced Ḥudjr to death and had him executed in Mardj 'Adhrā near Damascus. In his last moments 'Alī's follower utterly lost his courage. His

death opens the martyrology of the Shī'a; hence the importance assigned to this rather everyday episode, which was really nothing more than an incident in the domestic troubles of the 'Irāk. Ziyād "throughout maintained a correct attitude and Mu'āwiya even inclined to the side of leniency" (Wellhausen), for he pardoned the majority of Hudjr's accomplices.

Bibliography: Ibn Hadjar, *Iṣāba* (Egyptian edition), i. 314—5; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (ed. Guirgass), p. 233—4; Ya'kūbī, *Hist.* (ed. Houtsma), ii. 229, 230, 273—5; al-Kindī, *Governors of Egypt* (ed. Guest), p. 25; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabakāt* (ed. Sachau), vi. 151—4; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (de Goeje), i. 2462, 3151, 3355, 3374, 3337, 3371, 3447; *Aghānī*, xiv. 142; xvi. 2—11; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*; for the other literature see the author's *Ziād ibn Abīhi* (in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, iv. 70—4.

(H. LAMMENS.)

HUDJRA (A.), room, chamber, particularly (with the article) 'Ā'isha's room, where the Prophet and his two successors Abū Bakr and 'Omar were buried, now one of the greatest sanctuaries of Islām. [Cf. the article MEDINA.]

Hudjariya is derived from the same word; it was the term applied in Egypt to the slaves who were quartered in barracks near the royal residence. During the Fāṭimid period, these were organised by al-Afḍal on military lines as a kind of bodyguard under the command of an emir, who bore the title al-Muwaffaḳ. Their number then amounted to 3000 men. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 443.

HUDJRĪYA, (HOGRIYA, HODSCHERIE), the name of a tribe in South Arabia. Their land lies to the north of the land of the Ṣobēḥī (Subaihi, [q. v.]) between 43° 40′ and 44° 42′ East Long. Greenw. and 13° 5′ and 13° 13′ North Lat. and is entirely mountainous. The climate is tropical; the principal product is coffee. Among the mountains we may mention Djebel Ṣabr (Ṣabir [q. v.]) which is described by Hamdānī in his *Djazīra* as a very high mountain, among wādīs, the Wādī Warazān which joins the Wādī Tebban, the river of Laḥedj [q. v.], and belonged in Hamdānī's time to the Saḳāsik, and the Wādī Ma'ḳa (Mo'ḳa); among towns, Dobhan belonging to the important clan of Sherdjebī (Shergebi), which at one time had an independent Sulṭān, with about 500 inhabitants (of whom about a fifth are Jews), an old Ḥimyar palace, a bazaar and a Saturday market, Dār Shawwar, the chief place of the powerful clan of Ḥammād, which has an 'āḳil of its own, with about 300 inhabitants (including only a few Jews), several *sūḳs* and a Friday market, Herawa on the wādī of the same name with about 500 inhabitants (including a few Jews), a small bazaar and a Tuesday market, Dimena, near Ta'izz [q. v.] with about 600 inhabitants (of whom a tenth are Jews). In the land of the Ḥammād there is a hot mineral well with a bath, called Birket Ḥammām, visited by many Arabs, but access to it is forbidden to Jews.

The Hudjrīya claim to be true Ḥimyars, and are said to have at one time formed one tribe with the Ṣobēḥī. They were earlier under the Imāmate of Ṣan'ā, but became independent on the decline of its power. Since the middle of last century they have become for the most part subject to the Dhū Muḥammad, who are descended from the Bakīl (see HĀSHID and BAKĪL), and were formerly in the pay of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā, and obtained possession of a large part of the Yemen on the latter's overthrow.

The Dhū Muḥammad maintain small garrisons among the Hudjrīya, levy taxes on them and administer justice among them. Their chief representative bears the title Ḳā'id. Many Hudjrīya seek to escape the rule of the Dhū Muḥammad, who as followers of the heterodox Zaidī sect are hateful to them as Shāfi'īs, by migrating to Aden, where they earn a livelihood as labourers.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra* (ed. Müller) p. 76, 77, 99, 125, 126, 189, and index s. v. Ṣabir; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 787; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien* (Brunswick 1873), p. 162, 214, 390—7, 404—7.

(J. SCHLEIFER.)

AL-**HUDJURĀT**, plur. of *Hudjra* (q. v.); title of Sūra xlix.

AL-**HUDJWĪRĪ**. [See DĀTA GANDJ BAKHSH.]

HUDNA, a calm, truce, armistice; *al-Hudna* denotes especially the truce made between Muḥammad and Ḳuraish at al-Ḥudaibiya. [See this art.]

(T. H. WEIR.)

HUDŪD (A.), Plur. of *ḥadd* [q. v.]

HUELVA, the ancient Onuba, Arabic Walba, a town in the province of Spain of the same name, on the left bank of the Odiel, an important port, accessible at high tide to seagoing ships, for the copper and sulphur mines of Rio Tinto and Tharsis, which are near it. In the middle ages it was, according to Idrīsī, a small, thickly populated, walled town with flourishing trade and industries. The present population is 29,000. After the fall of the Omaiyad dynasty, Huelva had its own rulers, the Bakrī Abū Zaid Muḥammad b. Aiyūb and Abū Muṣ'ab 'Abd al-'Azīz. In 1051 the latter ceded the town to al-Mu'taḍid of Seville on condition that he was left the little island of Shaltīsh (Saltes), but when he saw that this was of no use to him, he sold his ships and armaments to al-Mu'taḍid and went to Cordova. Huelva henceforth shared the fortunes of Seville.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 178 sq.; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* iv. 84 sq.; Baedeker, *Spain and Portugal*; Madoz, *Diccion. Geogr.*, ix. 260 sqq.

HUESCA, the ancient *Osca*, Arabic Washka, a town in the Spanish province of the same name, 50 miles E. of Saragossa. The number of inhabitants is now 12,600. Huesca was conquered as early as 96 (713) by the Arabs, and seems during the period of Arab rule to have formed for a time an independent principality under Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṭawīl, died 301 (913—4). Cf. Codera, *Estudios criticos de Historia árabe Española*, p. 234 sqq. In 1096 the rule of the Moors ended and Huesca became for a brief period capital of Aragon, till the seat of the government was moved to Saragossa in 1118. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, p. 176, only mentions the name of the town.

Bibliography: in Madoz, *Diccion. Geograf.* ix. 290 sqq.

HUFĀSH, a high mountain in South Arabia, belonging to the al-Maṣāni' range of the Sarāt group, on the Wādī Surdud near Ḥarāz [q. v.]. It is often mentioned by Hamdānī in his

Djazīra, along with the adjacent large mountain of **Milḥān** (called after the Ḥimyar Milḥān b. 'Awf b. Mālik) the real name of which was Raiṣhān. Not far from the latter, (which in Hamdānī's time was said to possess no fewer than ninety-nine springs and had a large mosque [called Masdjid Shāhir] on its summit, Shāhir), there lies a treasure, according to popular belief, as the same author tells us, which many Arabs sought but could never reach, as a snake barred the way in the shape of a high mountain, as soon as they tried to approach it. In Niebuhr's time, Ḥufāsh formed a separate district to which Djebel Milḥān also belonged. Among places of some importance in Ḥufāsh he mentions Sefekīn, a small town surrounded by a wall, the residence of the Dawla (Dōla) and the two villages of Bait al-Nushēli and Bait al-Shumma.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 68, 32, 79, 123, 125, 126, 190; K. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 249; *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, vol. xxxii. (1886), Plate I. (J. Schleifer)

ḤUKM (A.), plural *aḥkām*, primarily the infinitive of *ḥakama*, and so "a restraining" like *ḥikma*. All *ḥikma* is, in the classical language *ḥukm*, but the latter denotes also: 1. a judgment or legal decision (Ḳur'ān 21, 78), especially of God (13, 41); 2. a logical judgment expressed in a *djumla*; 3. the exercise of administrative authority, rule or dominion (similarly *ḥukūma*); 4. an ordinance or decree, synonymous with *ḳaḍā'* (Ḳur'ān 18, 25); 5. a rule in grammar, and then a rule generally. (See further in Dozy, *Supplément*).

Bibliography: Lees' *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, Pt. I, 372 *sqq.* (T. H. Weir.)

ḤŪLA, a town in Arabia, in the province of Sedeyr (Sudair) in Nadjd, north of Ḥuraimila [q. v.]. The inhabitants are partly tradesmen and partly agriculturists. Its trade and prosperity has markedly increased under Wahhābī rule. During Palgrave's stay in Nadjd, Ḥūla was one of the most flourishing places in Sedeyr. The town is surrounded by walls.

Bibliography: Palgrave, *A Narrative of a Year's Journey in Arabia* (London 1865), i. 338 *sq.* (J. Schleifer.)

al-ḤŪLA, one of the districts attached to the province of Damascus, lying 'between Bānyās and Tyrus'. Its southern end is the Lake of Ḥūla, which the geographers also call Lake Ḳadas, formed by the Jordan and surrounded by swamps full of springs. The present inhabitants use the name Baḥrat al-Khēṭ. According to Muḳaddasī the water was dammed back by the erection of a wall to increase the lake. The banks were covered with *ḥalfā'* plants, out of which the inhabitants wove mats and ropes. The lake is full of fish, among which Muḳaddasī mentions the *bunnī*, which had been introduced from Wāsiṭ. (Cf. Fleischer, on Levy's *Neuhebr. Chald. Wörterbuch*, i. 285 (see also *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*, xiii. 75). The district of Ḥūla, part of which is low-lying, produced wool and rice and included a large number of villages, according to Ẓāhirī, more than 200.

Bibliography: *Bibliotheca Geograph. Arabic.*, iii. 156, 160 *sqq.*, 184; V. 105; Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie* (ed. Mehren), p. 105; Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 366; R. Hartmann, *Ḫalīl az-Ẓāhirī*, p. 55; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, p. 36, 112 *sq.*; Robinson, *Palestine*[2], ii. 395—6; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*, ix. 252; Dalman, *Palästina Jahrbuch* 1912, p. 44. (Fr. Buhl.)

HÜLÄGÜ (also written Hulāgū) a **Mongol conqueror** and founder of a Mongol kingdom in Persia, born about 1217 A. D. Sent by his brother Möngke at the head of an army against the Ismā'īlīs and the Caliph, he left Mongolia in 651 = 1253 but did not cross the Āmū-Daryā till the 1st Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 653 = 1st January 1256. There he received the homage of most of the petty rulers of Persia and the Caucasian lands; in the course of the year 654 = 1256 the greater number of the Ismā'īlī strongholds were taken without difficulty; on the fall of the dynasty cf. the article ASSASSINS (i. 491). On Wednesday and Thursday 9th—10th Muḥarram 656 = 16th—17th January 1258 the Caliph's army was routed in a pitched battle and on the following day Hülägü stood before the walls of Baghdād, where he met with no resistance to speak of; on the fate of the Caliph, his line and his capital, see the article BAGHDĀD (i. 563). An attempt made in 658 = 1260 to conquer Syria failed; Hülägü succeeded in taking Ḥalab and advanced as far as Ḥārim [q. v.] himself, sending his generals to lay siege to Damascus, but was forced to return to Persia on hearing of the death of the Great Khān Möngke: on 25th Ramaḍān 658 = 3rd Sept. 1260 the army which he had left behind was destroyed by the Egyptians. Hülägü later tried to renew the struggle and with this object entered into an alliance with the Franks but was unable to execute his purpose. On the unsuccessful war with the kingdom of the Golden Horde in 660 = 1262 cf. BERKE (i. 738).

The petty kingdoms in al-Djazīra, Kurdistān and Asia Minor as well as the Christian territories south of the Caucasus were incorporated as vassal states in the kingdom founded by Hülägü so that his power stretched from the Āmū-Daryā almost to the Mediterranean and from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean. The sovereign took the title Ilkhān ("subordinate khān" or "khān of the tribe"); he, like his successors down to Ghāzān Khān (cf. ii. 149), reigned in the name of the Great Khān living in Mongolia (later in China). Hülägü himself was also called "the great Ilkhān" (*Ilkhān-i buzurg*). The Christian element in his people was particularly favoured by Hülägü and especially by his Christian wife Dokuz Khātūn, often to the detriment of the Muslims. The towns destroyed during his wars were in part rebuilt even in Hülägü's time; he himself in times of peace delighted to live in northwestern Ādharbaidjān, particularly on the banks of Lake Urmiya, where many edifices, such as the famous observatory on a hill north of Marāgha, a palace in Alātāgh, temples of idols (*butkhānahā*) in Khōi, etc. were built. Most of these buildings were still standing 40 years later when Rashīd al-Dīn was writing his work; remains have not yet been discovered. Hülägü built or restored (cf. Yāḳūt, i. 313, on the earlier fortress on the same island) a strong castle on the mountainous peninsula of Shāhī on the east shore of the lake, which had once been an island (whether this was still the case in Hülägü's time is not certain; Rashīd al-Dīn only speaks of a mountain on the bank of the lake): the treasures won in battle in Persia and other lands were kept there; Hülägü and his successor Abaḳa [q. v., i. 4] were

buried there. According to Egyptian sources, the tower in Shāhū collapsed in 681 = 1282—3 and fell into the lake with all its treasures; no such catastrophe is mentioned in the Persian authorities. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (cf. above ii. 213) only says that in his time the castle was quite uninhabited (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 316 *sq.*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 160 *sq.*). Hūlāgū died on Sunday 19th Rabīʿ II 663 = 8th February 1265. According to the Mongol custom, beautiful young maidens were buried with him; this is the last occasion on which this custom is mentioned among the Persian Mongols, even in the heathen period.

Bibliography: D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 134 *sq.*; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, i. 79 *sq.*; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 90 *sq.*; *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse* par Rashīd al-Dīn, publ. par M. Quatremère, Paris 1836; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte Wassafs*, p. 49 *sq.*; *Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, Ind. edition, p. 29 *sq.* (W. BARTHOLD.)

AL-ḤULAL AL-MAWSHIYA FĪ DHIKR AL-AKHBĀR AL-MARRĀKUSHIYA, an anonymous work, dealing especially with the history of Marrākush. The author begins his story with the foundation of the city; he deals in detail with the history of the Almoravids and Almohads but on reaching the Marīnids, he only gives a summary list of the rulers of this dynasty. We find at the end of the book that he lived in Marrākush. The work has been attributed to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (!) and by its recent editor to Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb; but the author himself tells us (p. 136) that he compiled (completed?) the work on the 12th Rabīʿ I 786 (4th May 1384). Dozy's manuscripts are dated 783 and Ibn al-Khaṭīb was assassinated at the beginning of 776 (1374). The preface and the chapter on Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn's expeditions to Spain were published by Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum loci de Abbadidis*, ii. 182—209; he has also given the chapter on the Almohad Abū Yaʿḳūb's expedition in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne* (3rd ed., Appendix xxvii, pp. lxx-lxxix). A short extract is given in Amari's *Appendice alla Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Leipzig 1875), p. 62—63. The text has been published very inaccurately at Tunis (n. d.) with the biography of the supposed author Ibn al-Khaṭīb. In the xviith century a Spanish translation was made which is now in the Government House at Algiers; it was inserted (without indication of provenance) by Conde in his *Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en España*, iii. ch. ix—lviii.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Notice sommaire des manuscrits orientaux de deux bibliothèques de Lisbonne* (Lisbon 1894), p. 11—24; Jacqueton, *Les Archives espagnoles du Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie* (Algiers 1894), p. 98—109; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 393—5. (RENÉ BASSET.)

ḤULMĀNĪYA, a mystic sect founded in Damascus by Abū Ḥulmān al-Fārisī al-Ḥalabī. He appears to have been a disciple of Ibn Sālim of Baṣra (died 297 = 909); he was admitted among the Ṣūfī Shaikhs in the *Taʿarruf* of Kalābādhī (s. v. *ḥulūl*) but excommunicated by the Ashʿarīs for having maintained the theses 1. that God is present in the person of men endowed with physical beauty (*ḥulūl*) 2. that everything is allowed (*ibāḥa*) to him who knows to worship the presence of God in them. This is perhaps a corruption of the Sālimiya thesis on the divine *tadjalli*.

Bibliography: Maḳdisī, *Badʾ wa Taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, ii. 90—92; Salamī, *Ghalaṭāt* (cf. s. v. ḤULŪL); Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. Badr, p. 245-6; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 131, 260. (LOUIS MASSIGNON.)

ḤULŪL, a philosophical term, derived from *ḥalla* "to loosen, unfold, alight, settle in a place (*maḥall*)", whence its classical acceptations in Muslim theology, the relation between a body and its place, an accident and its substance. *Ḥulūl* has also been applied to the substantial union 1. of the body and the soul, *ḥulūl al-rūḥ fi 'l-badan*, 2. of a divine spirit with man, *ḥulūl al-ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl fi 'l-insān* (Fārābī, *Ārāʾ Ahl al-Madīna al-fāḍila*, ed. Cairo, 1906, p. 86), *ḥulūl al-lāhūt fi 'l-nāsūt* (cf. AL-ḤALLĀDJ). The Aristotelian doctrine of hylomorphism, like the Christian doctrine of the incarnation, proposed the union to matter of a spiritual substance, its specific form; it may be compared to a force in its sphere of action. Almost all Muslim theologians (*Mutakallimūn*) reject it; followers of atomism, with al-Ashʿarī, admitted *ḥulūl* in case 1., for they saw in the *rūḥ* a subtle body, even in the angels and demons, but they rejected it in case 2. as submitting the divine essence to a partition (*tadjazzī*), and to transmigration (*tanāsukh*), whence the excommunication both by Sunnīs and Shīʿīs of the following sects as *Ḥulūliya* on the same grounds as the Christians: (*a*) the extreme Shīʿa (*Ghulāt*): Sabaʾiya, Bayāniya, Djanāḥiya, Khaṭṭābiya, Namiriya (Nuṣairiya), Muḳannaʿiya, Rizāmiya, Bāṭiniya, Ahl-i ḥaḳḳ, Druses, *b*. Sunnī Ṣūfīya: Ḥulmānīya [q. v.], Fārisiya (cf. AL-ḤALLĀDJ), Shalmaghāniya. *c*. Monists. Ittiḥādīya (Ibn Taimiya calls "*ḥulūl muṭlaḳ*" their "*waḥdat al-wudjūd*", cf. "*tadjassud al-aʿmāl*" Farghānī, *Muntaha 'l-Madārik*, (ed. Cairo 1293, ii. 84—86; cf. IBN AL-ʿARABĪ).

Bibliography: Salamī, *Ghalaṭāt al-Ṣūfīya*, MS. Cairo, *Fikr.*, vii. 8a, 178 *sqq.*, 77—79; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 260—4; Ghazālī, *al-Maḳṣad al-asnā*, Cairo 1324, p. 76; Ibn al-Dāʿī, *Tabṣira*, lith. Teheran, p. 406, 419; Ibn Taimiya, *Kawākib*, Ms. Damascus xxvi, (extr. printed in Alūsī, *Djalāʾ*, p. 54—61); Haitamī, *Fatāwī ḥadīthīya*, p. 135-9; Daldjī, *Sharḥ al-Shifāʾ*, chap. iv. 3, n. 3; Khafādjī, *id.*, ibid.; al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*, ed. Sprenger, p. 349—352; Friedlander, in *J. Am. Or. Soc.*, xxviii. 34, 38, 65—72; xxix. 13, 57, 90, 96.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON.)

ḤULWĀN, Greek Χάλα, a very ancient town at the entrance to the Zagros passes, Zagri Pylae = 'Aḳaba-i Ḥulwān, now utterly deserted. The site of the town on the left bank of the Ḥulwānrūd south of Sar-i Pūl is still recognisable by the ruins of a building called Ṭāḳ-i Girra (illustrated in Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, iv. Pl. 214), which dates from Sāsānian times. According to Arab tradition (cf. Ṭabarī, in Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 138), the town was founded by Kawādh I (488—490) but in reality it is much older and existed under the same name (Khalmanu) even in the Assyrian period. The surrounding country is very fertile, fruit-trees being particularly numerous, and the figs of Ḥulwān are celebrated in the east under the

name *shāh amrūd* (king's figs). There are also many sulphur springs around the town.

When the Arabs under Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh captured Ḥulwān in 19 (640), it was a flourishing town and continued to enjoy its prosperity in the early centuries of the Hidjra. The Arab geographers sometimes place it in ʿIrāḳ ʿArabī but more usually in the province of Djibāl. The town was surrounded by a wall, which had 8 gates, which are detailed by al-Muḳaddasī. The great mosque was in an ancient castle in the centre of the town, and the Jews had a synagogue, which was held in great reverence, outside the walls. Towards the end of the fourth (beginning of the tenth) century an almost independent dynasty was ruling in Ḥulwān, which was founded by Muḥammad b. ʿAnnāz and became very important under his son Abu 'l-Shawk (cf. FĀRIS B. MUḤAMMAD, ii. 68). In 437 (1046) Ḥulwān was burned by the Saldjūks under Ibrāhīm Ināl; it also suffered severely from earthquake, for example in 544 (1149), so that by the seventh century it was in ruins. The Arab poets devote much attention to Ḥulwān on account of two palm-trees which used to be there and of which they have much to tell.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, see Indices; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 316 *sqq.*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 196; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 388 *sqq.*, 470 *sqq.*

ḤULWĀN, a village in Egypt on the right bank of the Nile, 3 farsakh south of Fusṭāṭ, celebrated by the Arab poet Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis, iii. 6 *sqq.*) in a panegyric on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [q. v.], who had a pleasure-garden there. The village still exists and has given its name to the health resort of Ḥelwān, which lies farther inland and is of modern origin; it now has over 8000 inhabitants and is much visited.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 321; Baedeker, *Egypt*[6].

HUMĀ (P.), the bearded griffon, the largest of the birds of prey of the old world, which lives by preference in the neighbourhood of eternal snows; it is the *Lämmergeier* of the Alps. It carries off the bones of dead animals, smashes them on the rocks and eats the fragments; so that the poet Saʿdī is able to say that the *humā* is superior to other birds, because instead of feeding on living flesh it only requires bones (*Gulistān*, i. story 15). According to a popular belief, which is very ancient, the shadow of a *humā* falling on a person's head is a sign that he will be raised to a throne, whence the epithet *humāyūn*, "august". One who deliberately kills a *humā* will perish within forty days. The good omen associated with this bird is again shown in another verse of the *Gulistān* (Book I, story 3): "No one shall go to seek the shadow of an owl, even if there were no *humā* in the universe".

Bibliography: D. C. Phillott, *Bāz-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, p. 27, note 1; Riḍā-Ḳulī-Khān, *Farhang-i Nāṣirī* (talismanic objections).

(CL. HUART.)

AL-ḤUMAIDĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ NAṢR FUTŪḤ B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. FUTŪḤ B. ḤUMAID B. YAṢIL AL-AZDĪ, whose father was born in Cordova in the quarter of al-Ruṣāfa, and afterwards went to live in Majorca, was born in the latter place some years before 420 = 1029. After studying in Spain under the direction of Abū ʿOmar Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Barr and Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī, to whom he was particularly attached, he set out for the east in 448 = 1056. During his travels he studied the *Risāla* and the *Mukhtaṣar al-Mudawwana* with their author, the jurist Ibn Abī Zaid. He visited Cairo, Mecca and Medina, Syria and the ʿIrāḳ and settled in Baghdād where he died in the night of Monday—Tuesday 17th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 488 = 17th—18th December 1095. He was buried in the Bāb Abraz cemetery but his remains were removed in Ṣafar 491 = January 1098 to the Bāb Ḥarb cemetery and interred near the tomb of Bishr al-Ḥāfī. Among his eastern teachers are mentioned Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Abi 'l-Fatḥ, the historian Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb, Abū Naṣr Ibn Mākūlā, and among his pupils, Yūsuf b. Aiyūb al-Nahrūmī, Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān, and his teacher Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb. Jurist, traditionist, historian and man of letters, al-Ḥumaidī was regarded by his contemporaries as the greatest master of his time not only for his learning but also for the sweetness of his character. A professed Ẓāhirī, he led a simple life and his only ambitions were for learning.

Of the eleven works mentioned by his biographers we only possess his *Djadhwat al-Muḳtabis fī Dhikr Wulāt al-Andalus wa Asmāʾ Ruwāt al-Ḥadīth wa Ahl al-Fiḳh wal-Adab wa Dhawī 'l-Nabāha wal-Shiʿr* preserved in the Bodleian, *Cat.*, i. 783.

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, p. 508, n°. 1114; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, p. 113, n°. 257; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 485; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Haidarābād n. d., iv. 17; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, xv. 9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. W. Popper, vol. ii. 313; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, i. 375; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1303, x. 88 (*sub anno*); Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 218; Casiri, *Biblioth. ar. hisp. escur.*, ii. 134, 146; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber d. Araber*, p. 73, n°. 219; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 164, n°. 126; Dozy, *al-Bayān*, *Introduction*, p. 97; Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, p. 172; Brockelmann, *Geschichte d. arab. Litt.*, i. 338.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

HUMĀYŪN PĀDISHĀH. Full name Naṣīr al-Dīn Humāyūn, also styled Djahānbānī, and after his death, Djannat Āshiyānī (nesting in Paradise), eldest son of Bābar and Māham Bēgam, born Kābul citadel 6 March 1508, emperor of India end of December 1530, died at Dihlī by a fall down stairs from the roof of his library, 27 Jan. 1556; father of Akbar by Miryam Makānī, Ḥamīda Bānū. He was a good natured and generous prince, and inherited graceful manners from his father and from his mother who was of a Persian, saintly family and related to Sulṭān Ḥusain. He was also a scholar and a mathematician, but he was indolent and addicted to opium. In his youth he was an active soldier, and conquered Gudjarāt. But he could not control his brothers or himself. He bore with the former for a long time, but at last caused Kāmrān to be blinded. He went to Bengal and lived carelessly at Gaur. Twice defeated by Shīr Khān he had to fly to Persia. There Ṭahmāsp helped him to recover his throne. His

success in regaining India was chiefly due to his general Bairām Khān who won for him the victory at Māchīwāra and also that over Sikandar Sūr at Sirhind in June 1555. He had a poetical turn and wrote a Dīwān. His widow Ḥādjdjī Bēgam, erected a massive tomb over him near Dihli.

Bibliography. *Akbarnāma*; Badā'ūnī vol. i.; the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* of Niẓām al-Dīn; Firishta; the *Memoirs* of his half-sister Gulbadan Bēgam; Djawhar Aftābčī and Bāyazīd Biyāt; Bābur's *Memoirs*; Khwāndamīr, *Humāyūnnāma*; Elliot, *Hist. India*, Vol. v.; Elphinstone, do.; Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs, *Travels*, trans. Vambéry (Luzac 1899); Erskine, *Hist. India*, Vol. ii.; *Notices et Extraits*, iv. p. 280. (H. BEVERIDGE.)

HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA, the title of the Turkish version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (q. v.).

AL-**HUMAZA** (A.), the slanderer; title of Sūra civ.

AL-**ḤUMS**. This is the name traditionally given to the inhabitants of the *ḥaram* of Mecca at the time of Muḥammad's appearance, in so far as they were distinguished by special customs during the *iḥrām* [q. v.] from the other tribes who were together known as al-Ḥilla.

The Ḥums are said to have cooked or eaten no butter when in a consecrated state and to have preserved no milk so that they allowed cows, etc. with young to be suckled freely; they are also said to have refrained from consuming curd (*aḳiṭ*) and flesh and from the use of oil and perfumes as well as from sexual intercourse. They cut neither their hair nor nails and wore a new robe, which had not to be made of wool or hair. It is further said of them that they did not come to 'Arafāt, but made *wuḳūf* in al-Muzdalifa (according to another tradition in Namira, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *o. c.*, p. 130 *sqq.*) and from there began the *ifāḍa* (this is said to be forbidden in Ḳur'ān ii. 195 cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii. 163 *sqq.*), that they only lived in leather tents, made the circuit of the Ka'ba in sandals and did not enter their dwellings through the usual entrance (but, for example, through an opening in the roof). On the last named custom, against which Ḳur'ān ii. 185 is directed, there are discrepant traditions, according to which it was rather the Anṣār who practised it (see also al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 105 *sq.*); in al-Azraḳī, p. 112 *infra*, however, the Aws and Khazradj are included among the Ḥums.

It is further stated that the clothes of the Ḥilla, after they had completed the *ṭawāf*, had to remain at the sacred place. They were thrown about around the Ka'ba as *laḳā* (in other circumstances also a garment could become *laḳā*, cf. al-Azraḳī, p. 118, 2 *sqq.*) and mouldered away under the influence of the weather. One who wished to keep his robe, took it off at the entrance to the sanctuary and made the circuit naked or in a garment borrowed or hired from one of the Ḥums (cf. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*², p. 451). It is also said that the Ḥilla, who came to perform the Ḥadjdj or 'Umra, were not allowed to eat the food which they brought with them from the *ḥill*. They could only eat food given by or purchased from the people of the *ḥaram*. Ḳur'ān vii. 27, 29 is said to refer to these two last customs (cf. also al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, viii. 104, 14 *sqq.*, 108—111).

The meaning of the word *Ḥums* (sg. *Aḥmas*; also *Aḥmasī*) is obscure; the opposite Ḥilla, according to Wellhausen, points to the meaning "consecrated"; according to Nöldeke (in a private letter), who is inclined to doubt the reality of this contrast, al-Ḥums, like *al-Aḥāmis* (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 283, v. 1), might mean "the hot" with reference to the corresponding root; the denominative *ḥammasa* is used in al-Azraḳī, p. 123, 14, 17, of a mother, who by a vow dedicates her son to be an *aḥmasī*; cf. 1 Sam. i. 10 *sq.*

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 126 *sqq.*; al-Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), i. 297, 11 *sqq.*; al-Azraḳī in *Chron. der Stadt Mekka*, i. 118—125, 130 *sq.*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 21 *sq.*, 77 *sq.*, 111 *sqq.*, 130 *sqq.*; Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*², p. 85 *sq.*, 110, 122 *sq.*, 245 *sq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. §§ 121, 122. (C. VAN ARENDONK.)

ḤUNAIN, a deep and irregular valley, with clusters of palmtrees, situated a day's journey from Mecca on one of the roads to Ṭā'if; the scene of the famous battle, the second mentioned by name in the Ḳur'ān (ix. 25—26) fought soon after the surrender (*fatḥ*) of Mecca. The confederate tribes of the Hawāzin did not wish to await the result of this last trial of strength before mobilising all the forces at their disposal. They posted themselves in the defiles commanding the plain of Ḥunain. Their commander Mālik b. 'Awf brought their families and flocks with them; their presence, he thought, would make his men invincible.

On the course of the battle we have a number of notices, all inspired by the text of the Ḳur'ān. The latter testifies that — in spite of the imposing number of Muslim warriors — the action began with a complete rout of the Prophet's forces. His army owed its safety to the intervention of "invisible troops". Setting out from this statement each author has set about a compilation representing these two phases of the battle, not forgetting to magnify the valour of his own fellow tribesmen or of individuals of special interest for the early history of Islām. For the rest the confusion and the contradictions of these accounts show that at quite an early period the *Sīra* found great difficulty in reconstructing the development of the manoeuvres in the battle.

On leaving the narrow oasis of Ḥunain the road enters winding gorges, suitable for ambuscades. In them Mālik b. 'Awf awaited the Muslims, coming along in no order and not suspecting the presence of the enemy. Surprised by the sudden attack of the Bedouin cavalry, overwhelmed by a hail of arrows, the Prophet's soldiers retired in disorder. "In spite of its size, the earth appeared too small for the fugitives" (Ḳur'ān ix. 25); for a moment Muḥammad, left alone, was in great danger. Tradition has great difficulty in glossing over this cowardly desertion; it throws the responsibility for it on the Bedouin allies of the tribe of Sulaim and on the *ṭulaḳā'* or still unbelieving Meccans. The accounts — according to their Ḳuraishī or Anṣārī origin — claim for the Muhādjirūn or Medinese respectively the honour of not having given way. These versions which are inspired by the court of Baghdād display no less zeal in favour of the Hāshimids. All authors, except the Shī'a, endeavour to protect the reputation of the future Caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Omar. In the hagiologies of Islām it is considered a signal merit, indeed a marvel, to have stood firm at Ḥunain.

Victory finally rested with the Muslims. On this point we have the statement of the Ḳur'ān, confirmed by the advance of the Prophet to lay siege to Ṭā'if. The access to this town was therefore open. How then was the advantage restored to the Muslim arms? Here again the Ḳur'ān suggests the answer: "God sent invisible troops from on high to chastise the unbelievers". Khālid b. al-Walīd, who commanded the cavalry, was among the few Muslims wounded that day. He must therefore have been risking his life and it seems legitimate to give him the credit of the victory, equally claimed for the Anṣārs by the Medinese school. Ḥunain was not a battle, but two routs; first that of the Muslims, then that of the Bedouins of Hawāzin. This accounts for the large number of prisoners — 6000 women and children are mentioned — and the almost negligible total of the Muslim losses, about twelve killed. The booty captured was enormous, over 24,000 camels. The fleeing Bedouins sought refuge behind the ramparts of Ṭā'if.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (Egyptian edition), iii. 354; Bakrī, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 287; Ya'ḳūbī, *Hist.* (ed. Houtsma), ii. 64; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, i. 289, 291; ii. 61, 62, 76; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Sachau), ii. 1, p. 108—109, 110, 112, 113; iii. 1, p. 11—12, 124, 195; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 207, 454; iii. 157, 190, 279, 280; iv. 38, 281, 289, 351; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, x. 62, 63, 64; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 844, 845, 849—856; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (de Goeje), iii. 2342, 2343; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv. 59; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, p. 450; Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 167.

(H. Lammens.)

ḤUNAIN b. Isḥāḳ. His full name was Abū Zaid Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ al-'Ibādī; he was a member of a family belonging to the Christian Arab tribe of 'Ibād and was born at Ḥīra in 194 = 809-810, where his father was an apothecary; he was celebrated as a physician and as the translator of numerous Greek works into Syriac and Arabic. As a young man he came to Baghdād where he became a pupil of the physician Yaḥyā b. Māsawaih. He completed his education in Asia Minor and became particularly proficient in the Greek language, which qualified him for his later translations. On returning to Baghdād he began his literary activity with the support of the Banū Mūsā, for whom he had collected Greek works, and became physician to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil. On account of his attitude to iconoclasm he was suspected of blasphemy and excommunicated by Bishop Theodosius; he thereupon took poison out of melancholy and died in Ṣafar 260 = December 873.

Of his own works there have survived the *Kitāb al-Mudkhal fi 'l-Ṭibb*, transl. into Latin and printed as *Isagoge Johannitii ad Tegni Galeni* or *Johannitii Isagoge in artem parvam Galeni*; another version of the same work entitled *Kitāb al-Masā'il fi 'l-Ṭibb li 'l-Muta'allimīn*; a *Kitāb al-Mawlūdīn*; ein *Kitāb Ikhtiṣāru'at al-Falāsifa fi Ḥuyūt al-Ḥikma fi 'l-A'yād wa-Tafāwut al-Ḥikma bainahum*; several works on physics and astronomy; the "Aphorisms of the Philosophers" in a Hebrew translation. Among translations it is principally those of Platonic, Aristotelian or Hippocratic works that are ascribed to him, also that of Dioscorides' περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς, but especially almost all the works of Galen; so that, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, "hardly anything by Galen exists which was not translated or improved by him". In addition, translations of the *Quadripartitum* of Ptolemy etc., are ascribed to him.

There can be no doubt that of the numerous translations ascribed to him a portion are to be placed to the credit of his school, notably to his son Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunain, his nephew Ḥubaish and others. It may be particularly mentioned that the translation of Galen edited by M. Simon is ascribed to Ḥubaish as a result of a critical analysis of its language by G. Bergsträsser. For the details see the Bibliography.

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(J. Ruska.)

HUNZA-NAGIR. The two districts of Hunza and Nagir, which occupy an isolated valley between 36° and 37° N. and 74° 25' and 75° E., are generally considered as one country under the joint name of Hunza Nagir (often written Hunza-Nagyr). This valley communicates by difficult gorges with Gilgit, and is drained by the Kandjut River which falls into the Gilgit River a tributary of the Indus. From the north it can be approached by passes leading on to the Tāghdumbāsh Pāmir, by which there is communication with Sarikol and Yārkand. On the North-West and South-East the valley is bounded by impassible mountains, spurs of the Hindūkush and Muztāgh ranges, some peaks exceeding 25,000 ft. in height, of which Rakipōshi south of Nagir is the best known. The population is Muhammadan, but while the people of Nagir are Shī'ah those of Hunza, like their neighbours of Wakhān, belong to the Mawlāi sect. The Hunza people are more warlike than those of Nagir. They are apparently of the same race. They speak two languages; the Shinā dialect of Gilgit being spoken in lower Nagir, and the Burushaski, a non-Aryan and non-Turkish tongue of uncertain affinities, being spoken in Hunza and upper Nagir. In the northern district a branch of the Wakhī race, speaking its own Ghalča tongue, is found. The easy communications with Wakhān by the Kilik Pass have led to the intrusion of a Ghalča race south of the Hindū-Kush. The same cause made it easy for robbers from Hunza to raid the traffic from Yārkand to India by the Karakoram Pass where the so-called Kandjūti robbers inspired great terror until restrained by the extension of British power. The name Kandjūti is derived from Kandjut, the name by which Hunza is known in the Pāmirs and Sarikōl, a name which Biddulph compares with Hunzu, one local form of the name Hunza. The people of Nagir took no part in these raids, which were winked at by the Chinese authorities as a reward for assistance given by Hunza in suppressing a rebellion at Yārkand in 1847. The Chinese also paid a subsidy to the ruler of Hunza. The traffic in slaves carried on by the Hunza raiders was a great scourge to the races under Kashmir rule, especially the people of Baltistān.

Hunza and Nagir were and still are governed by separate chiefs, each known by the name of *Thum*, a word of uncertain origin.

Little is known of the early history of this region. The easy passes leading to the north may have been traversed by Kushān invaders from Badakhshān in the second century B. C. but the routes leading into Čitrāl were more probably followed. Buddhism was certainly the prevailing creed from the commencement of the Christian era, and a well preserved tope still exists at Thol in Nagir. The date of the introduction of Islām is not known, but the prevalence of the Shī'a and Mawlā'ī sects seems to point to its having come in by Badakhshān and Wakhān, and not from the south. But few European travellers visited the country before the war of 1891, the principal were Lockhart, Biddulph, Grombchewtsky, Durand and Younghusband. The Sikhs attempted to subdue it after their occupation of Gilgit, in consequence of the perpetual raids from Hunza, but met with a disastrous defeat in 1848. Further unsuccessful attempts were made by the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, but in 1869 the Thum of Hunza agreed to pay tribute. No Kashmiri was however allowed to enter the valley. After the appointment of British agents at Gilgit the Thums of Hunza and Nagir entered into agreement to put an end to the raids, but in 1891 they recommenced and the chiefs threatened to attack the fort of Čalt. A small force of Gurkhas and Dogras under British officers was then sent into the country, and after the brilliant storming of the hill forts of Nilth and Thol, the Gorge of the Kandjūt river was forced, the Thum of Nagir submitted and the Thum of Hunza fled over the Pamirs. Since that time the country has been included within the boundary of British India. The internal administration has not been interfered with, but it is traversed by a good road and travellers can pass through it in safety. A body of Kandjūtis served under British officers in the Čitrāl campaign of 1895. The town of Baltit, at an altitude of 8400 feet, is the capital of Hunza and the town of Nagir that of Nagir. The territories of the two countries are separated by the Kandjūt River.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḤŪR (A.), plural of *ḥawrā'*, fem. of *aḥwar*, literally "the white ones" i. e. the maidens in Paradise, the black iris of whose eyes is in strong contrast to the clear white around it. The nomen unitatis in Persian is *ḥūrī* (also *ḥūr-i-bihisht*), Arabic *ḥūriya*. The explanation of the word found in Arabic works "those at whom the spectator is astounded (*ḥāra*)" is of course false and is therefore rejected even by other Arab philologists.

These maidens of Paradise are described in various passages in the Ḳur'ān. In Sūra ii. 23, iii. 13, iv. 60, they are called "purified wives"; according to the commentators, this means that they are free alike from bodily impurity and defects of character. In Sūra lv. 56, it is said that their glances are retiring i. e. they look only upon their husbands. "Neither man nor djinn has ever touched them"; this is interpreted to mean that there are two classes of them, one like men and the other like the djinns. They are enclosed in pavilions (lv. 72). They are compared to jacinths and pearls (lv. 58).

Later literature is able to give many more details of their physical beauty; they are created of saffron, musk, amber and camphor, and have four colours, white, green, yellow, and red. They are so transparent that the marrow of their bones is visible through seventy silken garments. If they expectorate into the world, their spittle becomes musk. Two names are written on their breasts, one of the names of Allāh and the name of their husband. They wear many jewels and ornaments etc. on their hands and feet. They dwell in splendid palaces surrounded by female attendants and all possible luxury etc.

When the believer enters Paradise, he is welcomed by one of these beings; a large number of them are at his disposal; he cohabits with each of them as often as he has fasted days in Ramaḍān and as often as he has performed good works besides. Yet they remain always virgins (cf. Sūra lvi. 35). They are equal in age to their husbands (ibid. 36), namely 33 years (al-Baiḍāwī).

These are all very sensual ideas; but there are also others of a different kind. In discussing the Ḳur'ānī term "wives" (ii. 23), al-Baiḍāwī asks what can be the object of cohabitation in Paradise as there can be no question of its purpose in this world, the preservation of the race. The solution of this difficulty is found by saying that, although heavenly food, women, etc., have the name in common with their earthly equivalents, it is only "by way of metaphorical indication and comparison, without actual identity, so that what holds good for one may hold for the other also". In another passage (on Sūra xliv. 54) al-Baiḍāwī observes that it is not agreed whether the *ḥūrī*'s are earthly women or not.

Sale (*The Koran*, London 1821, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 134) thinks that Muḥammad owed the idea of the maidens of Paradise to the Parsis. Dozy (*Het Islamisme*[2], Haarlem 1880, p. 101, note) has refuted this view with the observation that Sale's Parsi source is much younger than the Ḳur'ān and the relationship is therefore reversed. In the article DJANNA it is suggested that Muḥammad misunderstood Christian pictures of Paradise and that the angels in them are the originals of the youths and maidens of the Ḳur'ān.

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(A. J. WENSINCK.)

ḤURAIMILA (ḤURAIMLA), a town in Arabia in the north of Riyāḍ [q. v.], the capital of Nedjd, in the province of Sedeyr (Sudair) on the border between the latter and the province of 'Āriḍ, the birthplace of the founder of the Wahhābī sect, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. It is surrounded by strong fortifications and in 1862 had, according to Palgrave, 10,000 inhabitants. Inside the town on an elevation is a large fortified citadel of architectural importance, which was erected along with the other citadels in Nedjd after the conquest of Dar'iya [q. v.] by the Egyptians under

Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a. During Palgrave's stay there in 1862 the governor of the town was a native of the town, a fanatical Wahhābī, named Ḥejāj.

Bibliography: W. Palgrave, *A Year's Journey in Arabia*, (1865), i. 362; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii. 396.

(J. Schleifer.)

AL-HURMUZĀN, King of Susiana. As a commander of a Persian division he took part in the battle of al-Ḳādisiya in 16 = 637, but escaped by flight and retired to his country of Ḵh̲ūzistān, from which he offered a vigorous resistance to the Muslims. According to the usual statement, he invaded Maisān and Das̲h̲tmaisān, but was driven out by the united forces of Baṣra and Kūfa and had to sue for peace and cede the Muslims a considerable portion of his lands. In consequence of a border feud with the Banū 'l-'Am, he is said to have again taken up arms and for a second time was forced to make peace on disadvantageous terms. It is clear at any rate that the cunning and energetic Persian was a very dangerous opponent and the troops of the Arab Caliph were only able to overcome him with difficulty. The population of the two provinces of Fārs and al-Ahwāz was stirred up to renewed resistance by emissaries of the Persian king Yazdadjird III and as al-Hurmuzān's attitude grew more and more threatening, the Caliph 'Omar sent a powerful army against him under al-Nu'mān b. Muḳarrin. The opposing forces met at Arbuk. After a stubborn resistance al-Hurmuzān had to take to flight and went to Tustar, while al-Nu'mān entered Rāmhurmuz. He then advanced against Tustar and joined forces with other Arab divisions which had meanwhile come up. al-Hurmuzān was blockaded, but only after eighteen months or, according to another statement two years, did the besiegers succeed in taking the strong fortress and then only by treachery. The Arab general, Abū Mūsā al-As̲h̲'arī, declined to decide al-Hurmuzān's fate himself but sent him to the Caliph. The year of the taking of Tustar is variously given as 17 = 638-9, 19 = 640, 20 = 640-1, 21 = 641-642. When al-Hurmuzān was brought before 'Omar, he succeeded in saving his life by his cunning but only on condition that he adopted Islām. He was able to be useful to the Caliph in various ways on account of his knowledge of Persian affairs. But when 'Omar was murdered in 23 = 644 by a Persian Christian, al-Hurmuzān, probably without reason, was suspected of being an accomplice and killed by 'Ubaid Allāh, son of the Caliph.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, V. 64 *sq.*; Ṭabarī, see Index; Balād̲h̲urī (ed. de Goeje), passim; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), ii. 371, 375, 394, 423—431; iii. 26, 58, 59; Ibn Ḵh̲aldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, ii. App. 111 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt (ed. Houtsma), ii. 185; 188; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 84—8, 93 *sq.*, 155; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 243 *sq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 3rd ed., p. 178—181, 209; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 95 *sqq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii. 900 *sqq.* (K. V. Zetterstéen.)

AL-ḤURR B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-THAḲAFĪ, governor of Spain. His period of office is said to have covered about three years (98—100 = 717—719). During this time he made many districts of Spain tributary and extended his raids beyond the Pyrenees. The Arab chroniclers, however, have little to tell of his rule, the Christians (*Chron. Pac.*), who call him Alahor (Alaborr), also give no details. It is clear from their allusions, however, that he was feared by the Christians as well as hated by a section of his countrymen for his extortions and therefore dismissed by 'Omar II.

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AL-ḤURR AL-'ĀMILĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN, an Imāmī theologian, died in 1099 (1688), author of an often quoted collection of biographies of S̲h̲ī'ī scholars belonging to D̲j̲abal 'Āmila in Syria (*Amal al-Āmil*) and of a refutation of Ṣūfīism (*Risāla it̲h̲nā'as̲h̲ariya*). Cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. Ar. Litter.*, ii. 412; Ḵh̲wānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-D̲j̲annāt*, lith. Teheran, 1307, p. 644.

(Louis Massignon.)

ḤURŪF (A.), Plur. of *Ḥarf* [q. v.].

ḤURŪFĪ, a S̲h̲ī'ī sect founded by Faḍl Allāh of Astarābād at the end of the viiith (xivth) century A. H., introduced into the Ottoman empire by one of his disciples, 'Alī al-A'lā, and adopted by the Bektās̲h̲ī dervishes. Their creed, which is epitomised in the *Maḥram-nāma*, composed in 828 = 1425, is based on the idea that the universe is eternal and moves with an unceasing rotation, which is the cause of the changes observed in it. These changes are divided into cycles, the beginning and end of which are marked by similar phenomena, the appearance of an Adam at the beginning and a last judgment at the end. God is manifest in the person of man, particularly his face, for man was made in the image of God.

This manifestation is produced under the successive forms of the prophet, saint and God; Muḥammad was the last of the prophets, then came the saints, from 'Alī to Ḥasan 'Askarī, the eleventh Imām; Faḍl Allāh, the last of the saints is also the first of the divine series, he is God incarnate. The distinguishing feature of man is speech or language which is written with the 28 characters of the Arabic alphabet; calculations derived from the numerical value of the letters borrowed from the Ismā'īliya (St. Guyard, *Fragments Ismaëlis*, p. 108 *sqq.*) play a great part in their doctrines, but they also make use of groupings of the alphabet by letters composed of one, two, three or four written characters. The lines in the features number seven (four eyelashes, two eyebrows and the hair, or else two halves of the moustache, two whiskers, the beard divided into two, and tuft on the lower lip), multiplied by the number of the elements, we get 28, the number of letters in Arabic alphabet. Their chief books are the six *D̲j̲āwīdān*, the *Ḥaḳīḳat-nāma*, *Istiwā-nāma*, *Hidāyet-nāma* and *Maḥram-nāma*, some in Persian mingled with passages in the Astarābād dialect, others in Ottoman Turkish (Cf. FAḌL ALLĀH and BEKTĀS̲H̲IYA). Unlike other dervishes, they have no *wird* or *d̲h̲ikr*: every morning they meet in the house of their spiritual chief, called *bābā*, and he gives each one by the hands of a servant, a glass of wine, a slice of bread and a piece of cheese (those present make a great noise); the superior takes the glass of wine and gives it to each one present who takes it respectfully, touches his face and eyes with it and drinks it. They have a kind of confession to the *bābā*.

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(Cl. Huart.)

al-ḤUSAIN b. ʿAbd Allāh. [See ibn sīnā.]

al-ḤUSAIN b. Aḥmad. [See abū ʿabd al-lāh al-muḥtasib and ibn khālawaih.]

al-ḤUSAIN, the second son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, born in Medina in the fourth or fifth year a. h. As in the case of his brother al-Ḥasan [q. v.] — the two are known together as *al-Ḥasanān*, the 'two Ḥasans' — tradition pictures the young Ḥusain overwhelmed with marks of tenderness by his maternal grandfather. This is what ʿAlī is said to have thought of them: "Ḥasan is a spendthrift thinking of nothing but the pleasures of the table and entertaining. As to Ḥusain he is mine and I am his". Unfortunately for the future of his line events were to verify the truth of this judgment of Fāṭima's husband; they were to prove the existence in the son of the same indecision and the same lack of intelligence that had been the ruin of the father. During the troubled Caliphate of ʿAlī, Ḥusain remained in obscurity. Less lively than Ḥasan, he did not imitate his life of foolish extravagance and pleasure. After ʿAlī's death he followed his elder brother into retirement in Medina and during Muʿāwiya's reign, particularly after Ḥasan's death made him head of the Shīʿa, he resisted the sollicitations of his partisans in the ʿIrāḳ and maintained a more dignified attitude to the Umaiyads than the dissipated Ḥasan. The accession of Yazīd altered his views and Ḥusain decided to listen to the appeal once more made by his ʿIrāḳ partisans. But before doing anything he resolved to test how matters stood through his cousin Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [q. v.]. On the latter's arrival thousands of Shīʿīs rushed to swear fidelity to Ḥusain. Muslim wrote to the son of ʿAlī to persuade him to come to take charge of the movement. In the meanwhile ʿUbaid Allāh b. Ziyād [q. v.], being appointed governor of the ʿIrāḳ, had succeeded in capturing Muslim and executed him. Leaving Mecca, where he had sought refuge after refusing to swear fealty to Yazīd, Ḥusain took the road to Kūfa, according to Muslim's instructions. A few stages from this town he learned of the tragic end of his emissary. ʿUbaid Allāh had established outposts on all the roads leading from the Ḥidjāz to the ʿIrāḳ and parties of cavalry were patrolling the roads. The weak escort of relatives and devoted followers attached to Ḥusain came in contact with one of these detachments. On their refusal to halt ʿUbaid Allāh's horsemen accompanied them at a short distance. In this fashion they reached Karbalāʾ [q. v.], destined to be ten days later the scene of Ḥusain's death. During these ten days the character of the pretender proved more and more feeble. His former irresolution seized him again. The circle of steel formed by the soldiers sent by ʿUbaid Allāh closed in around him. The Omaiyad governor wished to persuade or force him to surrender. He cut off all access to the Euphrates, hoping to reduce him by thirst. Ḥusain remained obdurate, being persuaded of the inviolability of his person and hoping for a revulsion of feeling in his favour among the soldiers of Kūfa, who had been secretly won over to the Shīʿa but had been terrorised by the execution of Muslim.

The 10th Muḥarram 61 a. h. (10th October 680) dawned. ʿOmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [q. v.] had taken command of the 4000 men assembled at Karbalāʾ. Ḥusain was summoned to surrender at discretion. The ultimatum being unanswered, ʿOmar executed a turning movement to envelope the son of ʿAlī. His partisans tried to resist. Ḥusain did not stir; he played none of the heroic parts so fondly described by the Shīʿīs. An engagement resulted in which Ḥusain fell wounded in many places. His tents were pillaged. At first merely a police operation, the scheme degenerated into a general mêlée. "It did not last long; just time to slay a camel or to take a nap". Thus a verbal report delivered to Yazīd describes it. The Caliph deplored this ending; he had neither desired nor ordered it. His instructions were to secure the person of Ḥusain, to prevent him prolonging a dangerous agitation. He treated the ʿAlids who survived the catastrophe of Karbalāʾ with honour, provided generously for their needs and gave them an escort to Medina. Ḥusain's descendants vegetated there in obscurity, at variance with their relatives the Ḥasanids. They usually left to their cousins the right of enforcing the political privileges of ʿAlī's family in Arabia.

On the significance of the death of Ḥusain in the faith of the Shīʿa see this article and the article muḥarram.

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(H. Lammens.)

al-ḤUSAIN b. ʿAlī, Bey of Tunis (1705—1735), founder of the Ḥusainī dynasty still reigning there. He was the son of a Greek renegade and at the Algerian invasion of 1705-1706 held the office of an Agha. After the capture of the Dey Ibrāhīm, Ḥusain was elected Bey by the Aghas while Muḥammad Khōdja was elected Dey on the 20th Rabīʿ I 1117 (10th July 1705). After Ḥusain had driven back the Algerians he rid himself of Khōdja Muḥammad, who was put to death along with the ex-Dey Ibrāhīm who had been meanwhile released. When soon afterwards a son was borne to him by a Genoese captive, he had it decided by a council specially summoned for the purpose that his power should be transmitted to his descendants (1710).

Throughout his reign Ḥusain, whose confidant was a Frenchman named Raynaud, endeavoured to live on good terms with European powers. He concluded treaties with France (1710 and 1728), England (1716), Spain (1720), Holland (1728) and Austria (1725). On the other hand he did not succeed in restraining piracy and the attacks of the corsairs forced France twice (1728 and 1731) to send a fleet to Goletta.

At first Ḥusain's reign was a very peaceful one at home, and the people enjoyed peace such as they had not known for long. "The roads" writes Muḥammad al-Saghīr b. Yūsuf "were safe and the land flourishing, the country-houses and gardens became populous again and numerous palaces were

built in the country, which had never happened before". The Bey himself undertook important works: he restored the walls of Ḳairawān, improved the aqueducts of Tunis, erected bridges and reservoirs and finally built mosques and madrasas in Sfax, Gafsa, Susa, and Tunis (mosque of Bardo and al-Madrasa al-Ḥusainiya).

From 1729, however, Tunisia suffered from severe disturbances. ʿAlī Pasha, the Bey's nephew, discontented because he was excluded from the government, had fled from Tunis with his son Yūnus and stirred up a rising of the tribes in the interior. Defeated by Ḥusain he fled to Algeria where he was imprisoned by the Dey Kurabdi. The latter's successor Ibrāhīm released him and by arrangement with him made an attack on Tunisia. Ḥusain abandoned by a portion of his Arab troops was defeated at Smendja (4th Sept. 1735) and had to retire to Kairawān, while ʿAlī entered Tunis and had himself proclaimed Bey after promising to pay a yearly tribute to Algeria. Ḥusain now sought to take the offensive again; after defeating ʿAlī's son Yūnus on 3rd November 1735 he advanced up to the walls of Tunis but did not dare storm the town. Returning to Ḳairawān he was besieged by Yūnus' troops for five years. On the 16th Ṣafar 1152 (18th May 1740), the town was taken by storm. Ḥusain, who had succeeded in escaping, was brought back by the enemy's cavalry and Yūnus cut off his head.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *al-Mashraʿ al-Malikī*, transl. V. Serres and Lasram, Paris 1900; Rousseau, *Annales Tunisiennes*, Algiers 1864, 4e période, 93 *sqq.* Cf. also the Bibliography to the article TUNIS.

(G. YVER.)

AL-**ḤUSAIN** b. ʿALĪ. [See IBN MĀKŪLĀ, AL-MAGHRIBĪ, AL-ṬUGHRĀʾĪ.]

AL-**ḤUSAIN** b. ḤAMDĀN was the son of the founder of the Ḥamdānid dynasty [q. v.]. At the beginning of 281 (895), when the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid was reducing the Ḥamdānid family to obedience, Ḥusain, who was in the castle of Dair Zaʿfarān, surrendered and was with his father carried to Baghdād. In 283 Ḥusain undertook to capture the fugitive Khāridjite leader Hārūn on condition that his father should be set free. In this he succeeded and the Caliph kept his promise. From this moment the Ḥamdānids occupied a high place at the court of the Caliph. Ten years later Ḥusain was sent in pursuit of Abū Ghānim the Carmatian (Karmaṭī), who had invested Damascus, but failed to overtake him, but in the following year (294 = 906-7) he defeated the followers of Zikrawaih in Syria.

When the end of the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid drew near, Ḥusain put forward Ibn al-Muʿtazz as successor. When al-Muḳtadir became Caliph (295 = 908), Ḥusain attacked the palace in order to seize his person. The attempt failed and Ḥusain and the other conspirators scattered. Ḥusain fled to Mosul, but was captured at Takrīt. He was, however, pardoned and made prefect of Kumm and Kāshān. From Kumm in 297 (909) he set out against the Ṣaffārid Laith b. ʿAmr, but the armies did not meet. Later he took part in the expedition against Sabkarī the opponent of Laith, who was taken prisoner (middle of 298 = 910).

In 301 (913-4) Ḥusain's brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān rebelled, but, on the advance of the Caliph's troops, submitted and was restored to his province. In the following year Ḥusain, who was now governor of Diyār Rabīʿa, threw off his allegiance, and ʿAbd Allāh was again deposed and imprisoned. The greater part of the Caliph's troops were in Egypt, and as soon as they returned, Ḥusain fled, but he was arrested and his whole family carried to Baghdād. He did not lose heart, as he believed his brothers and himself were indispensable to the Caliph. His brothers were in fact set at liberty and shortly afterwards restored to office. Ḥusain alone was put to death (303 = 917).

Bibliography under Art. ḤAMDĀNIDS.

(T. H. WEIR.)

AL-**ḤUSAIN** b. AL-ḤUSAIN, last Dey of Algiers (1818—1830). Born in Smyrna about 1765. Ḥusain was filling the office of *Khōdja al-Khail* when the Dey ʿAlī struck down by the plague appointed him his successor. Ḥusain was proclaimed without opposition. He was a well educated man, moderate in his views, who did not desire power and only accepted it with reluctance. He was considered benevolent and just, and hastened to inaugurate his reign by an amnesty and the abolition of various violent measures taken by his predecessors. Nevertheless, soon after his accession his assassination was twice attempted by the Janissaries. He therefore lived in the Ḳaṣba under the protection of a guard of Zwāwa.

The situation in the Regency at this time was a very troubled one. The provinces in the east and in the west were in full rebellion. The Nememsha, the tribes of the Awrās and of the Sūf, and the natives of Great Kabylia had taken up arms against the Turks. The Derḳāwa marabouts, followed by the Tidjāniya preached rebellion in the Tell and Southern Oran. Ḥusain undertook to restore Turkish authority; in this he succeeded with the help of the Beys of Constantine and Oran and through the military talents of the Agha Yaḥyā. Peace was restored in the east about 1820 and in the west also in 1828. At the same time the Dey showed his devotion to the Muslim cause by sending a fleet to the Levant, which from 1821 to 1827 took part with the Ottoman fleet in the struggle against the insurgent Greeks.

Ḥusain's relations with the European Powers were also very strained. His refusal to adhere to the decisions of the Congress of Aix la-Chapelle regarding the abolition of privateering provoked a naval demonstration by the English and French, which however was without result (1819). The expulsion of Macdonnell, the English Consul, had more serious consequences. England sent Admiral Sir Harry Neale to demand reparation; after fruitless pourparlers (February—March 1824) the fleet bombarded the town from the 17th to 29th June. The damage done was insignificant however and the Algerians imagined they could brave the Christian powers with impunity.

While the affairs of the bankrupt Bakri Busnach were being arranged, the Dey, who felt himself wronged by the French government, made violent recriminations. His discontent made itself manifest in the insult to Consul Deval on the 30th April 1827. Not content with refusing all satisfaction for this outrage, Ḥusain ordered the destruction of the French establishments at La Calle. These outrages resulted in the blockade of the Algerian coast (1827—1830). During this period the French government made several attempts to negotiate with the Dey, but he, probably

relying on the support of the British government, refused to come to any arrangement. He scarcely disavowed the attack on the ship "La Provence" which was fired on by the Algerian batteries on the 30th July 1829, although it was protected by a flag of truce. Unable to obtain any redress by diplomatic means Charles X's ministers changed their methods. An expedition against Algiers was decided upon the 31st January 1830 and the troops disembarked at Sīdī Ferruch on the 14th June. Left to his own resources, and deprived of the best general Yaḥyā Agha, whom he had himself put to death in 1828, Ḥusain was incapable of resisting for long. On the 4th July, after the occupation of Fort l'Empereur by the French, he resigned himself to accepting the terms imposed by General de Bourmont.

Articles 2 and 3 of the capitulation guaranteed the ex-Dey the retention of all his private property and the right to retire whither he pleased. The French government, however, objected to his going to Malta and Ḥusain demanded to be conducted to Naples, where he arrived on the 9th August 1830. After a short sojourn in this city he went to Leghorn from where, through Jewish merchants in regular relations with Algiers, he was able to negotiate with the malcontents of the town and the native chiefs of the interior. Arriving in Paris in 1831 to beg a pension and the restitution of his estates he received an honourable welcome but obtained nothing from the government, now enlightened on his real attitude. On his return to Leghorn he continued his tactics. Then feeling himself too closely watched, he left Leghorn for Alexandria, where he died in obscurity in 1838.

Bibliography: Demontès, *Trois ans d'exil, trois ans d'intrigues, le dey Hussein en Italie* (*Bulletin Société de Géographie d'Alger* 1905); De Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque*, Paris 1887; Playfair, *The Scourge of Christendom* (London 1884), p. 284—322; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, iii. chap. xxix. *sqq.*; Nettement, *Histoire de la Conquête d'Alger*; C. Rousset, *La Conquête d'Alger*; Sī Hamdan ben Othman Khodja, *Le Miroir*, Paris 1833. Cf. also the *Bibliography* to the articles ALGER and ALGERIA.

(G. YVER.)

AL-ḤUSAIN B. MANṢŪR. [See AL-ḤALLĀDJ.]

AL-ḤUSAIN B. MUḤAMMAD. [See AL-RĀGHIB AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ.]

AL-ḤUSAIN B. NUMAIR of the Kinda tribe of Sakūn, leader of the Sufyānids. He fought in the Omaiyad ranks at Ṣiffīn. On the accession of Yazīd I he governed the important district (*djund*) of Ḥimṣ. While holding this office he intervened with the Caliph on behalf of Ibn Mufarrigh, the satirist, imprisoned by ʿUbaid Allāh b. Ziyād. When the expedition against the sacred towns of the Ḥidjāz was decided upon, Ḥusain was appointed lieutenant to the commander in chief, Muslim b. ʿUkba (q. v.). In this capacity he distinguished himself at the battle of the Ḥarra. On the death of Muslim during the advance on Mecca he took command of the expedition. For two months he besieged the town and was about to take it, when the death of Yazīd suspended operations. After vainly endeavouring to persuade Ibn al-Zubair to accompany him to Syria to be proclaimed Caliph there, Ḥusain led his army back to Syria. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam having become Caliph by the general agreement, he sent Ḥusain to Mesopotamia under ʿUbaid Allāh b. Ziyād. There he crushed the Shīʿa led by Sulaimān b. Ṣurad (24th Djumādā II 65 = 6th January 685). Three years later (67 = August 688) he died from wounds inflicted by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar in the battle on the Khāzir.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 2004, 2220; ii. 409, 424—7, 429—432, 557—560, 568, 571, 711, 714; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 116; the rest of the literature in H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, p. 312—6, 259—269.

(H. LAMMENS.)

ḤUSAIN B. SULAIMĀN, the Ṣafawid, Shāh of Persia, 1694—1722. In the reign of this feeble ruler the kingdom of the Ṣafawids, which since the reign of ʿAbbās I had produced no powerful or important prince, collapsed. The approaching fall of the dynasty is said to have been foretold by dreams and prophecies, so that Ḥusain's father changed his true name of Ṣafī to Sulaimān on his accession. On Sulaimān's death the 25-year old Ḥusain was recognised as Shāh without difficulty, as an elder brother had been condemned to death by his father himself. The young ruler left the affairs of state in the hands of the nobles of the kingdom, notably the iʿtimād al-Dawla (prime minister) Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, and was under the influence of the mullas, so that at the beginning of his reign he made an endeavour to suppress energetically the drinking habits prevalent at court and among the nobility, without success, however. The early years of his reign passed comparatively peacefully and only in the frontier provinces, Georgia and Kandahār, were affairs in an unsatisfactory condition. But when the unruly Khān of Georgia, Gurgīn Khān came in person to Iṣfahān to make excuses for his conduct, the Georgian troubles seemed to be at an end; it was even thought that a means had been found through them to put an end to the disturbances in Kandahār also, by sending Gurgīn Khān there as governor backed by Georgian troops.

The possession of Kandahār had long been disputed between the Ṣafawids and the Great Mughal; this was not the main trouble however but the fact that the Afghān tribes of the district, namely the Ghalzai (q. v. ii. p. 138 *sq.*), were Sunnīs and consequently hated Persian rule, particularly as a governor, who had once been an infidel (for Gurgīn Khān had only found favour after his adoption of Islām) was now to hold them in check. Mīr Wais, then chief of the Ghalzai, seemed particularly dangerous to the Georgian: to get rid of him he sent him to Iṣfahān with secret instructions to the Ṣafawid ministers to keep him there; but Mīr Wais soon found an opportunity of winning the influential men at the head of affairs to his side by suitable presents and obtained permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. He took advantage of his stay in the holy cities to get a fatwā from the religious authorities there making it the duty of the Sunnī Afghāns to wage a holy war against the infidel Georgians and the heretical government. Armed with these documents, he returned to Persia and later to Kandahār. Gurgīn Khān was assassinated and Mīr Wais then seized the fortress of Kandahār (1708). The Persian government then sent Khusraw Khān, a

nephew of the murdered Gurgīn Khān, with Georgian and Persian troops to enforce obedience upon the rebel Afghāns, but they were put to flight by Mīr Wais. Nevertheless, affairs seemed to be taking a better turn for the Persians when Mīr Wais died in 1715 and his brother 'Abd Allāh Khān seemed inclined to make peace with the Persian government, but the latter was soon after murdered by Maḥmūd, a son of Mīr Wais, who continued the resistance to the Persian troops.

In the meanwhile difficulties had been raised also in other parts of the kingdom by the Kurds and Uzbegs, while the Arabs of Masḳaṭ seized Baḥrain. The Persians hoped to regain this island with the help of the Portuguese fleet, but the commander-in-chief, Luṭf 'Alī Khān, a brother-in-law of the prime minister, rightly thought it an urgent necessity to suppress the Ghalzai who, under Maḥmūd, had invaded Kirmān. He actually succeeded in defeating the rebels but was prevented from following up his victory by the discontent in Iṣfahān at his abandoning the Baḥrain expedition, and was refused the necessary supplies with which to advance on Ḳandahār. His and the 'Itimād al-Dawla's enemies even took the advantage of the occasion to rouse the Shāh's wrath against them with the result that the prime minister was blinded and Luṭf 'Alī Khān, who had retired to Shīrāz, was thrown into prison. Ḥusain thus prepared for his own downfall, for Maḥmūd immediately occupied Kirmān and advanced with his troops against Iṣfahān. The Ṣafawīds once more collected a considerable army to check the Afghān advance but in the battle of Gulnābād, east of Iṣfahān, the Persians suffered a terrible defeat (1722). Iṣfahān itself was thereupon besieged and, although it held out for a long time as the Afghāns lacked any of the necessary siege artillery — Ṭahmāsp, the Shāh's son had in the meanwhile escaped to Ḳazwīn and Tiflis and was endeavouring to raise a new army with which to relieve the capital — such a terrible famine at length arose in it that Ḥusain was forced to capitulate and resign the Persian throne in favour of Maḥmūd. The unfortunate prince was forced to be a spectator, when some time later, after the Persians had treacherously massacred the Afghan garrison of Ḳazwīn, which Maḥmūd had meanwhile captured, Maḥmūd in revenge instituted a terrible massacre in Iṣfahān and afterwards put to death over a hundred members of the Ṣafawīd family. Maḥmūd then went mad, and Ashraf, a son of the 'Abd Allāh Khān who had been murdered by him, made it a condition that, if he was to succeed to the throne, his father's murderer should be put to death, which was done in 1725. The new Khān Ashraf was comparatively lenient in his treatment of Ḥusain, but Russia and Turkey had been exploiting the unsettled state of Persia to their own advantage and left him no rest. Although he made peace with Turkey in 1727, he had again to take up arms when the general, later famous as Nādir-Shāh, took up Ṭahmāsp's cause that was supported by the Russians. He was repeatedly defeated by Nādir and had to take to flight. In revenge he had the aged Ḥusain put to death in 1729 but was himself murdered by robbers a year later. On Ṭahmāsp's fate and the end of the Ṣafawīd dynasty see the articles NĀDIR-SHĀH and ṢAFAWIDS.

Bibliography: Krusinski, *Tragica vertentis Belli persici Historia per repetitas clades, ab anno 1711 ad annum 1728 continuata post Gallicam, Hollandicam, Germanicam ac denuo Turcicam Antiheris typis auctior Authore P. Th. Krusinski* etc., Leopoli 1740. In this article the Turkish translation entitled *Ta'rīkh-i Saiyāḥ*, ed. Constantinople 1142 (1729), has been used. Krusinski was in Iṣfahān during the siege; *Relation de Dourry Efendy, Ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomane auprès du roi de Perse*, Paris 1810; Hanway, *The Revolutions of Persia containing the Reign of Shah Husain*, London 1753; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i. 592 *sqq.*; R. S. Poole, *Coins of the Shāhs of Persia in the British Museum* (1887), p. xxxvi, lxxx, 33—54.

ḤUSAIN 'AWNĪ PASHA, four times War Minister and once Grand Vizier under 'Abd al-'Azīz, one of the most remarkable personalities of his age, was a native of Isparta (wilāyet of Ḳōnya), where he was born in 1820, the son of a tax-farmer. When sixteen he came to Constantinople to study theology but entered the military school in which he ultimately became a teacher of military sciences. On the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853) he entered the army with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and distinguished himself in the fighting at Kalafat and Četate. At the end of the war he took part in the Mingrelian campaign as chief of the general staff of the *Serdar-i-ekrem* 'Omar Pasha. On the conclusion of the war he became director of the military school; during the war with Montenegro (1862) he commanded a division under 'Omar Pasha; for the next two and a half years (August 1863 till the beginning of 1866) he acted as interim War Minister and was in 1867-1868 entrusted with the suppression of the Cretan revolution; on performing this task, he was promoted to be *mushīr* (general commanding). From the beginning of 1869 till September 1871 he was War Minister in 'Alī Pasha's cabinet; a few days after the latter's death (6th Sept. 1871) he was dismissed by his successor, the notorious Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha, and banished to Anatolia, recalled from exile in 1872, and sent to Smyrna in November of the same year as walī of the province of Aidīn. The Grand Vizier Mütердjim Muḥammad Rushdī Pasha appointed him the to Ministry of Marine on the 25th January 1873 but he exchanged this for the War Office after a few weeks on the 15th February, when Es'ad Pasha became Grand Vizier. A year later — on the 14th February 1874 — he became Grand Vizier in place of Shirwānīzāde Muḥammad Rushdī, successor of Es'ad Pasha, but continued to hold the portfolio of War Minister. On the 23rd April 1875 he was dismissed from both offices and a few days later sent a second time as walī to Smyrna. By the 22nd August of the same year he was back at the War Office for the third time; a few days later his enemy Maḥmūd Nedīm became Grand Vizier a second time and dismissed him on the 2nd October, to be sent after a few weeks as walī to Brusa. After Maḥmūd Nedīm's fall (13th April 1876) he was again summoned to Constantinople as War Minister and in this office along with Midḥat Pasha supported by Mütердjim Muḥammad Rushdī and the Shaikh al-Islām, Ḥasan Khairullah, brought about the deposition of the Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz (30th May 1876). On the 4th June the dethroned Sulṭān committed suicide; Ḥasan Bey, a Circassian officer devoted to him,

resolved to avenge his death and shot Ḥusain ʿAwnī Pasha in the night of 15th—16th June 1876 in Midḥat Pasha's konak, where he and the other ministers had assembled at a council.

Bibliography: Besides the daily press cf. Frederick Millingen, *La Turquie sous le règne d'Abdul-Aziz* (1862—1867) Paris 1868, p. 309 *sqq.*; Murad Efendi, *Türkische Skizzen*, vol. II, Leipzig 1877, p. 145 *sqq.*; Cte E. de Kératry, *Mourad V. Prince-Sultan-Prisonnier d'État*, Paris 1878, p. 98 *sqq.*; s.n., *Sorell und Hohe Pforte*, Vienna 1879, *passim*.

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤUSAIN DJAHANSŌZ, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN the GHŌRID. [See DJAHĀNSŌZ, I. 998b].

ḤUSAIN HAMADHĀNĪ, a Bābī author, who wrote the history of the Bāb, edited by E. G. Browne under the title *The Taʾrīkh-i-Jadīd or New History of Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad the Bāb* (Cambridge 1893). In his office of secretary to a minister Mīrzā Ḥusain accompanied the Shāh on his journey to Europe, spent some time in Stambul and on his return to Persia in 1291 (1874) was thrown into prison but afterwards released. He then entered the service of a Zoroastrian named Mānakdjī (or Mānukdjī) who asked him to write a history of the Bāb. When he had finished this task, he intended to give a full exposition of the Bāb's teaching but was prevented by his death in 1299 (1881-1882). The above information is given by Browne, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxvii *sqq.* from Tumanski in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Arch. Obsh.*, Vol. viii. 33—45. In a later publication, entitled *Kitāb-i Nuqṭatu ʾl-Kāf, compiled by Ḥājjī Mīrzā Jānī of Kāshān* (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XV), Browne has given a full account of the relationship between the works of Mīrzā Ḥusain and Mīrzā Djānī Kāshānī, Introduction, xxxiv. *sqq.* and *A New History*, etc. p. 339 *sqq.*).

ḤUSAIN MĪRZĀ B. MANṢŪR B. BAIḲARA (Black Prince?), and styled Abu'l Ghāzī. This famous king of Khurāsān was born at Herāt in Muḥarram 842 A. H., June 1438, and reigned there, with one interruption, from Ramaḍān 873 (March 1469), to the last month of 911 (May 1506). He was a distinguished soldier and sovereign, and was a munificent patron of letters. He also attempted poetry, and composed a dīwān, but it does not seem to have been of much value. According to Sām Mīrzā, he is also the author of a book called the *Madjālis al-ʿUshshāḳ*, which is a mixture of prose and poetry, and contains biographies of a number of mystics and spiritual lovers (Rieu's *Catalogue*, I, 351b). But though his name appears on the manuscript as the author, both Bābur in his *Memoirs*, and Khwāndamīr in his *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (vol. iii. Part 3, p. 330 of Bombay ed.), say that the real author is Kamāl Ḥusain Gāzargāhī. And this seems probable, for if Sulṭān Ḥusain had written the book, he would hardly have put himself at the end of it as one of the mystics, and have described himself. He was of very high birth for he was a direct descendant of Tīmūr, both by his father and his mother (Fīrūza Bēgum). His career resembled that of the emperor Bābur, for he suffered much distress in his early years and afterwards attained to great prosperity. He had contests with Abū Saʿīd and his sons, and it was not until the death of the former that he got possession of Herāt. He was a younger son, and his undistinguished elder brother Bāiḳarā served under him for several years as governor of Balkh. His court was the most brilliant in Asia, and as Bābur says, his Age was a wonderful Age. The poets Djāmī, Hātifī, ʿAlī Shīr, Hilālī, Bannāī, the painters Bihzād and Shāh Muẓaffar, various musicians, and Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ the author of *Anwār-i Suhailī*, ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd who was a sort of Admirable Crichton, the two historians (grandfather and grandson) Mīr Khwānd and Khwāndamīr, and Dawlat Shāh, the biographer of poets, and the famous calligrapher, Sulṭān ʿAlī of Mashhad, adorned his court.

One of Sulṭān Ḥusain's greatest feats was his long and rapid march to Herāt in August 1470 which resulted in the capture and execution of his competitor Yādgār Muḥammad, a great grandson of Shāhrukh. Sulṭān Ḥusain was a man of passionate character, and a wine-bibber. He divorced his first wife, although she was the mother of his eldest son, and, according to Bābur he was so infatuated with one of his pages that he put his name on his coins. It is the fact that the words Bihbūd appear on his coins, but it is not certain if they refer to the page, whose name and title were Bihbūd Beg. Sulṭān Ḥusain had a large family of sons and daughters, but seven of the sons died in his life time, and the others were, for the most part, no credit to him, and only survived him for a year or two. The eldest, Badīʿ al-Zamān lived the longest, not dying till 1517, when he succumbed to the plague at Constantinople. One of Sulṭān Ḥusain's worst actions was his allowing his wife Khadīdja, to get from him, while under the influence of liquor, a warrant for the execution of his grandchild. His sons rebelled against him, and he was obliged to take the field against them, and defeat them. In his old age, and when suffering much from rheumatism etc., he marched out against Shaibānī and his Özbegs, and died at the village of Bābā Ilāhī. He was buried at Herāt, but according to Colonel Yate's report (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1887, p. 98) the tomb cannot now be identified. He was the last of the Tīmūrid kings. His two sons Badīʿ al-Zamān and Muẓaffar reigned together for a short time but were defeated by Shaibānī, and Muẓaffar shortly afterwards died. Muḥammad al-Zamān, the son of Badīʿ al-Zamān, eventually went to India, and after vainly trying, with the help of the Portuguese, to succeed Bahādur Shāh, as king of Gudjarāt, rejoined his brother-in-law Humāyūn, and was drowned at Čawsa, after the battle with Shēr Khān, in 1539.

Bibliography: Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkira* which contains at the end an account of Sulṭān Ḥusain's feats of arms down to 885 (1480); ʿAlī Shīr, *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis*; Bābur's *Memoirs*, under the year 911 A. H., which gives a full, but not favourable account of Sulṭān Ḥusain and his court; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* of Mīr Khwānd, and *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* of Khwāndamīr; Sām Mīrzā's *Biographies of Poets*; *Notices et Extraits*, vol. iv. p. 262 *sqq.*, in which Silvestre de Sacy gives a translation of Dawlat Shāh's account; Ferté, *Vie de Sultan Hussein Baïkara traduite de Khondémir*; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdain*, vol. II., which gives some new facts about Sulṭān Ḥusain's early career.

(H. BEVERIDGE.)

ḤUSAIN PASHA, better known under the denomination AGHA ḤUSAIN PASHA, or AGHA PASHA,

the son of a certain Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā, was born in Adrianople in 1190 (1776) though popular tradition considers Rūsčuk as his birth-place. As his father had moved to Bender he was enlisted there in the 9th band (*bölük*) of the Janissaries and came to Constantinople in 1203 (1788-1789). Later on he took part in the Russian War (1807—1812) and soon occupied a prominent position among the *aghas* (sergeants) of the Janissaries. After having been promoted to the rank of *segbānbashi*, the Grand Vizier, Silāḥdār ʿAlī Pasha, drew the Sulṭān's attention to him and his qualities. As the Sulṭān was just then about to dissolve the Janissary bands and get rid of them in some way, he was on the look-out for a number of energetic men fit and ready to help him in this difficult enterprise. So Ḥusain was made *ḳul-ket̲h̲üdā* on the 10th Rabīʿ II 1238 (25th December 1822) and further *agha* of the Janissaries on the 14th Djumādā II (26th February 1823). The importance of his position enabled him within a few months to get rid of the most dangerous leaders of the band, partly by discharging them into the Provinces, or by using more violent means. For these services he was raised to the rank of Vizier end of 1238, and was henceforward known as Agha Pasha. The Janissaries soon knew him to be their deadly enemy, and in order to protect him against their machinations, the Sulṭān had to dismiss him on the 20th Ṣafar 1239 (26th October 1823). He became governor of Brusa and Izmīd instead, as well as commander of all the forts of the Bosphorus and their garrisons, so that in case of need he could at once be at the Sulṭān's disposal. During the great Janissary insurrection that broke out three years afterwards it was specially Ḥusain's personal bravery and his usual severity that finally broke the resistance of the rebels, so completely that this troop was suppressed (14—16th June 1826). He was rewarded by being promoted and named *serasker* of the newly organised army (*ʿasākir-i manṣūre-i muḥammediye*). In Shawwāl 1242 (May 1827) he handed over charge to the famous Khosraw Pasha and retook the command of the Bosphorus forts. During the Russian War (1828-1829) he figured as commander in chief of the army; he took up his headquarters in the fortified camp of Shumla, and successfully defended this, but could not prevent the Russians from taking the most important forts on the lower Danube. In spring 1829 he was replaced by the Grand-Vizier Reshīd Meḥemmed, and he himself went to Rusčuk as commander (*muḥāfiẓ*); all the same his military operations remained just as unlucky as they had been hitherto. The war once over, he governed the *wilāyet* of Adrianople, but received orders to lead the army against Egypt in 1832. In this campaign his second in command, Meḥemmed Pasha, was beaten in the battle of Ḥamā (9th June), and Ḥusain was severely defeated by Ibrāhīm Pasha in the Pass of Bailān (29th July); owing to this renewed bad military experience he was discharged from his office as general (31st August), but thanks to the fact of his being personally on very good terms with Milosh of Serbia he was sent to Widīn as *muḥāfiẓ* and remained there from the 17th Rabīʿ I 1249 (4th August 1833) till beginning of Febr. 1844. He returned there in the same position beginning of Shawwāl 1262 (October 1846) and kept it till he died on the 2nd Djumādā II 1265 (25th April 1849).

Bibliography: Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, xii. 80; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, viii. 178—182; *Sid̲jill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii. 226 (biographical notes); v. Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829*; Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i.; Djewdet, l.c.; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i.—iv.

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

ḤUSAIN PASHA, called ʿAmūdja-zāde ('Uncle's son'), a name given him by his cousin Fāḍil Aḥmad Pasha, was the son of Ḥasan Agha, the younger brother of the great Köprülü Meḥemmed Pasha; he grew up in the golden period of the Köprülü and reached the age of thirty without distinguishing himself further than for his attachment to the delights of a life of careless ease. After the defeat of Ḳara Muṣṭafā before Vienna in 1683 and the fall of this grand vizier, who was devoted to the Köprülü, he was sent in disgrace from the capital, first of all as governor of Shahrizūr and a year later as *muḥāfiẓ* (military governor) in Čardaḳ in the Dardanelles, where he spent five years. In Radjab 1100 (April-May 1689) he received the rank of vizier and was sent as *muḥāfiẓ* to Sedd al-Baḥr at the entrance to the Dardanelles. In Shaʿbān 1102 (May 1691) he returned to Constantinople to conduct as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* the affairs of the grand vizier who was absent in the field. He fulfilled the same duties again from Djumādā II till the middle of Shawwāl 1105 (end of January till the 9th June 1694) and then went back to his former post on the Dardanelles. On the 14th Djumādā I 1106 (31st December 1694) he was appointed *ḳapudan pasha* and entrusted with the recapture of Chios which had been occupied by the Venetians. He succeeded in defeating the Venetian fleet in two battles (9th and 18th February 1695) off the Spalmadore Islands in the Bay of Chios, whereupon the Venetians abandoned the island without striking a blow. At the end of Ramaḍān 1106 (middle of May 1695) he resigned his command of the fleet and remained in Chios as *muḥāfiẓ*. In Muḥarram 1107 (Aug.-Sept. 1695) he went as *wālī* to Ḳoniya and Adana; in the early months of 1108 (Aug.-Sept. 1696) he was transferred to Belgrade as *muḥāfiẓ*. The grand vizier Elmās Meḥemmed Pasha fell in the battle of Zenta on the 1st Rabīʿ 1109 (11th Sept. 1697); Ḥusain was appointed his successor and led the defeated army back to Adrianople. In the following year he concluded the fifteen years' war with Austria and its allies — Venice, Russia and Poland — by the treaty of Carlowitz. After holding the reins of government for five years he resigned on the 11th Rabīʿ II 1114 (4th Sept. 1702) in consequence of an incurable disease and retired to his estate at Silivri, where he died on the 29th Rabīʿ of the same year (22nd Sept.). Apart from his attachment to strong waters, with which his country men reproached him, and which earned him the nickname of *sarkhosh* (the drunken), there were no serious defects in his character. A contemporary (Paul Lucas, *Voyage au Levant*, ii. 134) justly says of him: *c'étoit l'homme de tout l'Empire qui l'avoit le mieux servi ... fort honnête homme, et dont tout le monde parloit bien*; the French ambassador Ferriol (Bonnac, *Mémoire historique sur l'Amb. de France*, p. 116) says: *il a gouverné l'empire pendant cinq ans avec tant de modération qu'on a dit que le vizirat était mort avec lui*. He was in fact distinguished not only for probity and magnanimity but also for a rare states-

manship; nor was it mere love of ease but a wise self-restraint when he entrusted the execution of his plans to tried men like Ḥusain Mezzomorto, Rāmī Muḥammad and Alexander Mavrocordato. His memory is not less honoured for the numerous public buildings and institutions which he left behind him in various towns of the empire, notably in Adrianople. His summer-residence (*yālī*) at Anadolu Ḥiṣār on the Bosporus forms one of the sights of the capital and still testifies to the love of splendour and artistic sense of its builder.

Bibliography: *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā*, p. 124 *sq.*; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii. 202 (biographical articles); *Taʾrīkh* of Rāshid, i.; the *Histories of the Ottoman Empire* by Kantemir and v. Hammer (vol. vi. and vii.); *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i. 91.

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

ḤUSAIN PASHA, called Deli (the dare-devil), a native of Yenishehir in Anatolia, served in the imperial palace as a common wood-cutter till he attracted the attention of Murād IV by an example of his extraordinary physical strength; his rough pranks and witty sallies were no less pleasing to the sulṭān, who after a short time made him his *muṣāḥib* (confidant) and *büyük mīrākhōr* (Master of the Horse). On the 4th Muḥarram 1044 (30th June 1634) he was appointed *ḳapudan pasha* and accompanied the sulṭān on his campaign against Eriwān; on his way back, on the 9th Djumādā I 1045 (21st October 1635), he received the governorship of Egypt, which he held till the 15th Djumādā II 1047 (4th November 1637). On the accession of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (Shawwāl 1049 = February 1640) he was again appointed *ḳapudan pasha* and soon afterwards on the 22nd Djumādā I 1050 (9th Sept. 1640) *muḥāfiẓ* (military governor) of Oczakow. In the following year he besieged for three months Azow, which had been taken by the Cossacks and then went in late autumn to Bosnia as wālī. In 1054 (1644) we find him for a brief period governor of Baghdād; from there he was transferred in Ramaḍān of the same year (November 1644) as wālī to Budin (Ofen). After the outbreak of the war with Venice he went to Crete as *muḥāfiẓ* of the fortress of Canea, taken on the 17th August 1645, and landed there on the 15th Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1055 (1st February 1646). In July of the same year he took over the supreme command of the forces in the island, captured the important town of Rhethymnos and conducted the siege of Kandia in the following years but was unable to take this last bulwark of Venetian power. After being thirteen years in the field and having on the one hand assured the success of Turkish arms by his remarkable bravery, and on the other won over the native Greek population to Turkish rule by diplomatic measures, he was recalled towards the end of 1068 (middle of 1658) and on the 14th Shawwāl (15th July 1658) appointed *ḳapudan pasha*. On the 7th Rabīʿ I 1069 (3rd December 1658) he received the governorship of Rūmeli; the grand vizier Köprülü Muḥammad Pasha, who had long been meditating the ruin of Ḥusain, who was hated by him on account of his popularity and because he was a candidate for the highest office in the empire, succeeded by his intrigues in persuading the Sulṭān some months later — in the spring of 1659 — to imprison him in the Seven Towers and have him executed for alleged abuse of his powers.

Bibliography: Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh* (particularly ii. 688 *sq.*); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke* and *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīkh*; Kantemir, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 524 *sq.*; v. Hammer, do., Vol. v. and vi.; Zinkeisen, do., Vol. v. and vi. The exact date of Ḥusain Pasha's execution is not given. The year and approximate date — shortly after Djumādā I 1069 (March-April 1659) — are certain from Naʿīmā and Levin Warner's letter of the 22th April 1569 (*De Rebus Turcicis Epistolae ineditae*, p. 57 *sq.*).

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

ḤUSAIN PASHA, surnamed Küčük owing to his diminutive stature, was originally a Georgian slave, who had been offered to Sulṭān Muṣṭafā III by his master, the Silihdār Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1181 (1767-1768). He grew up in the Imperial Serai together with his foster brother, afterwards the Sulṭān Selīm III. When Selīm came to power on the 11th Redjeb 1203 (9. 4. 1789) Ḥusain became his first attendant (*bash čokadār*) and a few years later on the 16th Redjeb 1206 (10th March 1792) he was appointed *ḳapudan pasha* with the rank of a vizier. In accordance with Selīm's plans of reform and with almost unrestricted authority from him, Ḥusain worked hard for the twelve years during which he occupied this post, at the reorganisation of the imperial navy and the arsenal. He succeeded in reorganising the whole Ottoman navy, on the model of the British and the French navies, with the help of foreign technologists, so that he is fully entitled to be called the founder and creator of modern Ottoman naval power. As leader of the fleet he had less occasion to add to his fame. It is difficult to defend the oppressive contributions levied by him on the islands of the Archipelago, during his annual expeditions in the Aegean Sea; these were partly the cause of the Greek insurrection. On the other hand he managed more or less to suppress piracy in these districts; on his first cruise, for instance, he destroyed Lambro Katsoni's (Canzani) filibustering fleet (1792) and even captured this latter's infamous lieutenant, the pirate Karakatsani. Although he knew little or nothing of military matters, he was entrusted in 1212 (1798) with the command of the army sent against the famous Pazwanoghlu of Widdin. Ḥusain Pasha besieged and blockaded him with a fleet of gunboats, but without success, so that he gave up and returned to Constantinople in autumn. In 1800 he spent several months cruising in the waters of Alexandria, and in the following year he united his forces to the British sent to reconquer Egypt. At the beginning of March he landed in the vicinity of Alexandria at the head of 6000 men, mostly Albanians, and joining the British forces, took part in the campaign against the French. As is well known, this expedition ended with the latter's retreat from Egypt. At the beginning of Shaʿbān 1216 (Dec. 1801) he returned to Constantinople, where he was received and celebrated by the people as the reconqueror of Egypt, and covered with honours by the Sulṭān. On the 23rd Shaʿbān 1218 (7th Dec. 1803) Ḥusain Pasha died in Ḳuručeshme (Bosphorus), not yet 46 years of age, in the summer residence of his wife, the Princess Esmā Sulṭān. His mausoleum in Eyyūb was long considered a curiosity of the capital, and became famous as did the epitaph on it composed by the historian Wāṣif (cf. v. Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, Vol. ii. p. lxviii.; Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 11).

Bibliography: Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, vii. 369 *sqq.*; 'Aṭā, *Ta'rīkh* ii. 193—198; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 218 (biographies).

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ḤUSAIN PASHA [See MEZZOMORTO.]

ḤUSAIN RAḤMĪ, a notable representative of the modern school of Turkish literature, one of the most widely read if not the most popular Turkish writer of the present day. He owes his eminence to his remarkable sketches of life of the populace which he reproduces in masterly fashion in vivid colours in life-like snapshots which reflect the whole freshness and artlessness of the surroundings. In his work there is a certain connection with the popular art of the storytellers (*meddāḥ*, q. v.) and their masterly skill in imitating the real, rough everyday life of the people, which Raḥmī was the first to introduce into Turkish literature. His scenes from everyday life reproduce the vernacular and form a regular mine for linguistic and ethnographic research with their idioms, the exact wording and meaning of which seems sometimes even to escape the author himself and which will be sought in vain anywhere else. In striking contrast with this natural, realistic style, which assures Raḥmī an abiding importance, is his other style supposed to be distinguished and professing to be cultured, which is a hybrid between the language of journalism and the intolerably involved Turkish official language, the notorious *bāb-i-'ālī ṭarīḳī*, and lowers him to the most ordinary mediocrity. Apart from the composition of his scenes of popular life, the whole of the rest of his artistic technique is on the same level of commonplace mediocrity. In his novels one cannot help receiving the impression of seeing before one's eyes a collection of splendid pictures with a very poor explanatory text.

In spite of his polemical theorising of recent years, Raḥmī does not take his work as an author very seriously. His easily won reputation prevented a strenuous, profitable development of his talent and a thorough and artistic working up of his usually licentious themes. The construction of the plot almost always leaves everything to be desired. The plots are too obvious and awkwardly developed. The endeavour to be didactic in the secondary episodes not unfrequently destroys the artistic effect of the scenes borrowed from the life of the people.

Raḥmī who had studied French models, professes to be a realist, although he condemns Zola as too extreme. His humour, his choice of subject and his method have earned him the not inappropriate name of the Turkish Paul de Kock. An ardent patriotism impels him to emphasise the characteristics of his own people which he vindicates in contrast with the sickly imitation of foreign customs and to lay bare the harm caused by slavish imitation of the pseudo-European in Ottoman society. But he firmly avoids any idealising and does not spare with his humour the old types of Turkish society, whom he draws in contrast to the modern excrescences.

He began his activity as an author with translations from the French of which an example may be seen in vol. iii. of the *Arabat ḳitāb-khānesi djeb romanlari* (Constantinople 1309 = 1891-2), which contains the *Parisde bir izdiwādj* (A Marriage in Paris) and a humorous story by Jules Claretie (*Ḳiz refīḳ-i ḥayāt*) and also a translation of Alfred de Musset's *Frédéric et Bernerette*.

His first independent work devoted to ridiculing the aping of European customs: *Ayna yahūd shīk* (The Looking-glass and the Coxcomb) already shows the true character of his talent. In 1313 (1895) appeared the humorous satirical novel, *Mürebbiye* (The Lady Teacher), 2nd ed. 1325, probably on the whole his best work, which at once made him famous. He boldly attacks the system of education in vogue in Constantinople with its casual governesses, the often very suspicious women teachers. His novel which appeared, like most of his works, in serial form in the *Iḳdām* made a great stir and aroused resentment in all quarters, among conservative people on account of its indecency, among progressives for its apparent hostility to progress, and resulted in a vigorous press campaign against Raḥmī and the *Iḳdām* itself. The humorous collection of letters, *Muṭallaḳa* (The Divorced Woman), 1314 (1896), translated into German by Imhoff Pasha in his pictures of Turkish life, vol. i., is directed against the senseless severity of the Muslim divorce and thus treats of the problem of female emancipation, a very delicate one in Turkey. Friedrich Giese has translated some interesting fragments of the novel *'Iffet* (*Chastity*), which appeared in the same year, as "*Die Volksszenen aus Ḥusēn Raḥmī's Roman* عفت" in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, 1906. Next followed *Bir muʿādele-i-sewdā* (Equilibrium of Love). In 1315 (1897) appeared his longest novel *Metres* (The Mistress), which already shows a falling off, in 1316 (1898) *Tesādüf* (Encounter), and in 1319 (1901) *Nimetshināsh*. From *Shīpsewdi* on, the artistic qualities of his novels begin to decrease still more. In *Shīpsewdi* itself the description of the dance of the negress with the Agha, in spite of its eroticism, must be described as a pearl of Raḥmī's descriptive art. His latest works, *Kuʿrably sikhyt altynda bir izdiwādj* (A Marriage among the counts), *Ghūl-i yābānī* (the Ghoul of the Desert), and *Djadi* (The Witch), brought him sharp criticism, particularly from the literary circle of the periodical *Kalem* (Fikret's school), notably from Shihāb al-Dīn. His last work *Djadi ḳarylyry* (the Witch boats), which appeared in 1329 (1910) under the device "Not till the day on which the importance of the purity of our language is recognised, will literature begin" is mere polemic.

Bibliography: Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne* (1902), p. 47—48; Friedrich Giese, *Der Entwicklungsgang der modernen osmanischen Litteratur*, in R. Haupt's *Katalog* Nº. 12 (1906), p. xi. *sq.*; Wl. Gordlewski, *Ocerki po novoj osmanskoj Literaturje* (Moscow 1912) p. 75—79. (THEODOR MENZEL.)

ḤUSAIN SHĀH b. MAḤMŪD, last Sulṭān of the independent kingdom of **Djawnpūr** [q. v.], seized the throne of his brother Muḥammad Shāh in 863 (= 1458), when the latter was embarrassed by the invasion of his territories by Bahlūl Shāh, Sulṭān of Dihlī [q. v.]. Ḥusain Shāh made peace with Bahlūl, and agreed upon a truce for four years. A successful campaign in Orissa and another in Gwalior added considerably to his wealth and importance, and in 878 he took advantage of Bahlūl's absence in the Pandjāb to advance upon Dihlī. After an indecisive action, a fresh truce was made, but the conflict between these rival powers was soon renewed, and con-

tinued, with brief intervals of peace, until Bahlōl entered Djawnpūr at the head of a victorious army and established his son Bārbak there as viceroy. Ḥusain Shāh fled to Bihār, but was treated with great generosity by his conqueror, who allowed him to retain a tract of country yielding a revenue of five lakhs a year. Bahlōl died in 894 (= 1488) and was succeeded by his son Sikandar; in 1493 Ḥusain Shāh made a last attempt to recover his kingdom, and collecting a large force marched against Sikandar Lōdī; but he was defeated in the neighbourhood of Benares and fled to Gawr to the court of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, king of Bengal, by whom he was honourably received; he died there in 905 (= 1499), but his body was interred at Djawnpūr, close to the superb Djāmiʿ Masdjid which had been erected during his reign.

Bibliography: Firishta, *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* (Maḳāla vii); Niʿmat Allāh, *Makhzan al-Afghānī* (chap. III); Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, v. 82 *sqq.*; B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans, translated from the Persian of Neamet Ullah*, i. 49 *sqq.*

ḤUSAIN WAʿIẒ KĀSHIFĪ. [See KĀSHIFĪ.]

ḤUSAINĀBĀD, the name of a town in Bengal, which was a mint of the Kings of Bengal Ḥusain Shāh, Naṣrat Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh III between the years 899 (1493) and 939 (1532). It is generally supposed to be a name of the capital Gaur [q. v.], bestowed on it by Ḥusain Shāh, but Blochmann held that it was near Gaur but not identical with it. The identity with Gaur does not admit of much doubt, and similar titles (Naṣratābād, Maḥmūdābād) seem to have been bestowed upon the same capital by Naṣrat Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh. The name Ḥusainābād (or Ḥasanābād) on the copper coins of the Mughal Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II probably also refers to Gaur.

Bibliography: Blochmann, *Geography and History of Bengal* in *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, 1873; Lane-Poole, *British Museum Cat. Coins of Muhammadan States of India*, p. xxiii.; Nelson Wright, *Cat. Coins Indian Mus. Calcutta*, ii. 142, Oxford 1907; Whitehead, *Cat. Coins in Lahore Mus.*, ii. 71, Oxford 1914.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḤUSAINĪ, plur. Ḥusainiyūn, a name borne by those sherifs of Morocco who trace their descent from al-Ḥusain, son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. Unlike the Ḥasanī [q. v.] the Ḥusainī came at a relatively late date to Morocco, where they in numbers at any rate never attained the importance of their cousins. They form two main groups, the *Ṣiḳiliyūn* and the *ʿIrāḳiyūn*.

The *Ṣiḳiliyūn* (i. e. those who came from Sicily) were driven from their original home by the Norman conquest. They fled first to Spain and thence to Morocco in the reign of the Marīnid Sulṭān Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī Sālim (end of the xivth century). They trace their descent from al-Ḥusain through ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

The *ʿIrāḳiyūn*, the descendants of al-Ḥusain through Ibrāhīm al-Murtaḍā, left Spain after the conquest of Granada by the Christians and sought refuge in Fās (1492).

Bibliography: al-Ḳādirī, *al-Durr al-sanī*, p. 64 *sqq.*, Fās 1309; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās, n. d., p. 125; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās, 1316, ii. 218. (A. COUR.)

ḤUSAINĪ SĀDĀT AMĪR, (RUKN AL-DĪN ḤUSAIN B. ʿĀLIM B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN), born at Guzīv, a village in Ghūr, in 671 (1272), was a famous author and a renowned Ṣūfī poet. He came to Multān and became a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ (ob. 735 = 1335) the grandson and successor of Bahāʾ al-Dīn *Zakariyāʾ* of Multān (ob. 666 = 1267). He afterwards settled in Herāt where he died, according to the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, in 718 (1318), according to the most recent researches however not till 729 (720?). Among his works the following may be mentioned: *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ* a Ṣūfī work in mixed prose and verse, in which the rules of the spiritual life are explained and illustrated by anecdotes and sayings of holy men; *Zād al-Musāfirīn* "Provisions for travellers", rules of the religious life, illustrated by anecdotes and fables; and many other tracts such as *Kanz al-Rumūz*, *Rūḥ al-Arwāḥ*, *Ṣirāṭ mustaḳīm*, *Sī Nāma*, and *Ṭarb al-Muslimīn*, all of them treating of mystic love.

Bibliography: Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, p. 705; Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā*, ed. Browne, p. 222; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. iii. djuz' 2. p. 74; Firishta, ii. 762; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii. 528, vi. 321; Ethé, *India Office Lib. Cat.*, N°. 1832; Sprenger, *Cat. Libr. of the King of Oudh*, p. 430 *sq.*; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus.*, p. 608.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

AL-ḤUSĀM B. DIRĀR AL-KALBĪ, ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀR, governor of Spain 125—127 (743—745). After Baldj b. Bishr [q. v.] had fallen in battle in 124 (742) and his successor Thaʿlaba b. Salāma had sold the Spanish Anṣārs defeated and taken prisoner by him as slaves for a low price, Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān, governor of Ifrīḳiya, sent Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār to Spain as governor. According to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiya and Ibn al-Athīr, this was done at the express command of the Caliph Hishām, after Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, who hated the Syrians bitterly, had sent him a poem in which he reminded him of the enmity of the Kaisīs. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār at once set free the imprisoned Arabs and broke the resistance of the Syrians by sending a number of their chiefs to Africa and dividing the rest among various towns and districts in Spain, where they were allotted for their support one third of the harvest which the natives had to pay to the state treasury. But their discontent continued and became dangerous to the governor, when a certain chief named al-Ṣumail [q. v.], who had been personally insulted by him, undertook the leadership of the Syrians and caused the civil war to flame forth again. When Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār met them on the banks of the Guadalete, a portion of his troops failed him so that he had to take to flight and was captured (745). Soon afterwards, however, he was released by some of his followers but a new attempt to face the Syrians had the same lamentable result except that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār escaped his enemies this time. But he had now to agree to make common cause with Ibn Ḥuraith, who had at first been on the side of his enemies but whose claims to be recognised as Emir of Spain had met with the resistance of al-Ṣumail: Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār had even to grant him precedence. Nevertheless, both were captured in an encounter at Secunda on the Guadalquivir, opposite Cordova, and put to death (130 = 747).

Bibliography: *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed.

Dozy, ii. 33 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiya in Houdas, *Conquête de l'Andalousie* in *Recueil de textes et traductions publié à l'occasion du VIIIe Congrès internat. des Orientalistes à Stockholm en 1889*, i. 234 *sqq.*, 267 *sqq.*; *Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, ed. Lafuente y Alcantara; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v., 204 *sqq.*, 375 *sqq.*; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i. 267 *sqq.*; Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 451; ii. 434 *sqq.*

ḤUSĀM AL-DAWLA. [See FĀRIS B. MUḤAMMAD.]

ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN. [See TIMURTĀSH etc.].

AL-**ḤŪT** = the fish, more accurately *al-Ḥūt al-djanūbī* was the name given by the Arabs to the constellation of the Southern Fish the largest star in which is Fomalhaut [q. v.]. *Al-Ḥūt*, however, is also used of the zodiacal sign of Pisces, for which we find in al-Battānī, etc. the dual *al-Samakatān* = the two fishes; Ptolemy uses the plural Ἰχθύες for this sign and Ἰχθὺς νότιος for the former. *Ṣāḥib al-Ḥūt* = Jonah.

Bibliography: Al-Battānī (ed. Nallino), ii. 166, 176, iii. 265, 274; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 38, 41; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung u. die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 202 and 284.

(H. SUTER.)

AL-**ḤUṬAIʾA**, 'the dwarf', a nickname originally given in contempt to the Arab poet DJARWAL B. AWS, who belonged to the *Mukhaḍramūn* [q. v.]. His genealogy was despised; he had cause to attach himself sometimes to the ʿAbs clan and sometimes to the Dhuhl. The date of the commencement of his poetical activities is usually antedated in an impossible fashion by literary tradition, he was most probably a younger contemporary of ʿUrwa b. al-Ward [q. v.]. He was converted to Islām but his religion was very superficial. In the reign of Abū Bakr he took part in the *Ridda* [q. v.] rising. His character is very unfavourably described; a low avarice and venality form the main characteristics of his literary career. He wandered among the Arab tribes singing and begging, lavishing extravagant panegyrics on any liberal Maecenas and threatening the less bountiful with lampoons. In ʿOmar's reign he was imprisoned for lampoons directed against Zibriḳān b. Badr. Nothing definite is known of the year of his death. Arab tradition makes him survive into the reign of Muʿāwiya I. Abulfeda (*Annales*, i. 375) even puts the date of his death at 69 = 688 A. D., which is hardly credible. The most probable supposition is that he died about 30 A. H. = 650 (Brockelmann, i. 41). His versatile poetic talent, especially in these two branches of poetry, is highly praised. Later poets mention him as a distinguished predecessor (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xlvi. 41; also Kumait, ed. Horovitz, nº. 4 v. 11, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhair, ed. Palmer, p. 217, 3), philologists of the second and third centuries actively collected his poems, which however even at a very early period (notably by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya) had been corrupted by interpolations. Of the two recensions of his *Dīwān*, that in which unauthentic portions were leniently dealt with by Abū ʿAmr al-Shaibānī and Ibn al-Aʿrābī has survived in its entirety, while Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī's recension in which the elimination of suspicious passages is more strictly performed, has only survived in isolated fragments. The extant manuscripts of the *Dīwān* and the editions based on them give the first recension. The *Dīwān* of Ḥuṭaiʾa was published with an introduction and explanatory notes by the present writer (in vol. 46 and 47 of the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, and reprint, Leipzig, 1893), and later with Sukkarī's commentary and glosses by the editor, Aḥmad al-Shinḳīṭī (Cairo, Taḳaddum press, n. d.). In addition to the mss. mentioned in the former edition the *Dīwān* (with Sukkarī) also exists in Stambul, Fātiḥ-Library, nº. 3821 (a copy of it in Cambridge, see E. G. Browne's *Handlist* nº. 384); a portion in the Catalogue ʿĀṭif Ef. nº. 2777 (according to Rescher).

Bearers of the name *al-Ḥuṭaiʾa* are also found in later times; so Abu 'l-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥuṭaiʾa is quoted by Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿīya*, iv. 234, 2, and an Aḥmad b. al-Ḥuṭaiʾa, *ibid.*, 279, 12 (both in the vith century A. H.)

(I. GOLDZIHER.)

HUTAIM (HETEIM, HATEMI, TEHIMI, HITEM, plur. Hutaimān, Hetēmān), a large tribe of nomads which is scattered throughout the Ḥidjāz, Nadjd and Egypt. Their chief settlements are at Djidda, Liṭh and al-Wadjh; smaller bodies of the Hutaim live near al-Ḥidjr, al-ʿUlā ('Ally), Khaibar (here they are makers of cheese), in the Ḥarrat al-Khaibar (near Khaibar), on the Wādī 'l-Rumma above Medina, where they are neighbours of the Ḥarb, and in the vicinity of Mecca. In Egypt they are found south of Helwān and in considerable numbers in the eastern delta near Zaḳāzīḳ. During the spring after the rainy season many of the Hutaim encamp with their herds of sheep and goats on the islands of the Red Sea at the exit from the Gulf of ʿAḳaba (Nuʿmān [Naamān, Neimān], etc.) and on the west coast of the sea at Abū Shaʿr, where they catch fish, which are numerous there, and tortoises which yield excellent shell.

In Djidda, al-Wadjh, Yanbuʿ, and other ports they sell fish, butter, milk, honey, goats, and sheep to the pilgrims and caravans. The following subdivisions of the Hutaim are mentioned: Ibn Barrak, Ibn Dummuk (min al-Khlaiz), Ibn Djellidān, Halzān, al-Kabid (Gabid), Fehyāt (see Fehyt), al-Khreisāt, al-Mothābara, Bedīwna (on the Djebel Dukhān below al-ʿAlly), Banū Rashīd (numbering about 2000 souls), al-Ferādisa, Ḳeraṭas (al-Wadjh), al-Neimat, al-Thubba or Ibn Simra (Simri, the three latter at Khaibar); also the so-called ʿArab al-Hisās (south of Helwān, very prosperous) and the Banū ʿAiṣ (in the eastern Delta).

The origin of the Hutaim is unknown; they are therefore not regarded as Bedouins and are despised by the Arabs who do not intermarry with them; the Sherārāt [q. v.] so feared for their treachery are held to be related to them; the traveller Rüppel considers them to have come from Yemen. According to legend, the Prophet once visited a camp of the Hutaim where a dog was served up to him as a meal; Muḥammad in anger is said to have forbidden his followers to enter into marriages with them or to eat with them. The travellers Burckhardt, Rüppel, and Wellsted describe them as industrious, kind and hospitable. The Hutaim on the islands of the Red Sea are poor and live under wretched conditions, they dwell partly in caves and caverns; they pay tribute (two dollars a head) to the Ḥuwaiṭāt [q. v.]. The Hutaim in Ḥidjāz and Nadjd are more prosperous than Bedouins usually are. Their camels are of the finest. They are well armed and excellent shots. A portion of the Hutaim pays tribute to the Shammar chief Ibn Rashīd.

Bibliography: C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 174—177, 207, 213; xiii. 218, 271—272, 307—311; Ch. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. 94, 95, 125, 198, 280, 282, 318, 427, 564, 570; ii. 20, 24, 64, 65, 70, 72, 114, 174, 175, 179, 208, 209, 210, 218, 219, 220, 231, 239, 240, 276, 535; M. Freiherr v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii. 118. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

HUWA HUWA, literally "he is he", or "it is it", means:

a. in logic what is represented as entirely identical e. g. "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh" and "the Prophet". (Peano and the modern logicians express this equation by the sign ═══).

b. in Mysticism the state of the saint whose completed personal unity testifies to divine unity in the world.

Bibliography: Ghazālī, *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa*, Cairo, p. 116; Ḥallādj, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, p. 129, 175, 189; Ibn Rushd, *Mā baʿd al-Ṭabīʿa*, Cairo, p. 12. (LOUIS MASSIGNON.)

al-**ḤUWAIṬĀT** (ḤWEṬAT, ḤAWEIṬĀT, ḤOWEṬAT, HOWEYTAT, HOWADAT, HOWAITAT; sing. Ḥuwaiṭī), an Arab tribe in the northern Ḥidjāz and on the Sinai peninsula; their settlements in the Ḥidjāz reach southwards from al-ʿAḳaba to beyond al-Wadjh; they are neighbours of the Balī [q. v.] and Djuhaina [q. v.] with the latter of whom they are on bad terms. Formerly the Djudhām [q. v.] occupied their settlements.

There is a large settlement of the Ḥuwaiṭāt on the Wādī Maḳnā, where they have many huts and thick palmgroves; they only stay here during the date-harvest. Between ʿAin Ṭuna and al-Muwailiḥ (Moila), a station for pilgrims on the Red Sea, they have good pastures where they encamp during the rainy season with their numerous flocks of sheep and goats. In autumn they live in the oasis Ḳhān al-Ḥadjdj in the neighbourhood of Djebel Ṭubaiḳ, north of Tabūk. In the hot season they go back to Ghamm; here as well as in the little villages in al-Ḥismā near al-ʿAḳaba they tend their extensive date orchards and cultivate their fields of dhura. In Yanbuʿ and other ports they sell butter, milk, goats and sheep to the pilgrims and travellers along the coast; in Nadjd they exchange them for cattle. Many of the Ḥuwaiṭāt are camel-drivers and camel dealers; those in Palestine are traders (particularly among the Bedouins). In Burckhardt's time they carried on a busy trade with Cairo; every year a caravan of over 4000 camels went from the Ḥuwaiṭāt to the Egyptian capital, where they bought wheat, barley and clothing. The Ḥuwaiṭāt are considered descendants of the ancient Nabataeans; according to a common belief among them, they are descended from two brothers of the Ḥarb [q. v.]. The founder of the tribe is said to have been Ḥwēṭ (Ḥuwaiṭ), a native to Egypt, who came to al-ʿAḳaba on a pilgrimage and is buried in al-Ḥismā. Of the ten or twelve subdivisions of the Ḥuwaiṭāt, which were given to him, Burckhardt mentions the following as the most powerful; the ʿOmrān (perhaps identical with the ʿImrān, the present northern neighbours of the Ḥuwaiṭāt al-Tihāma [on the Red Sea]), al-Djāzī (al-Dahasl, probably the Ḥwēṭāt [Kawm] b. Djāzī or Huwaiṭāt al-Saḥḥa in A. Musil, now the most important group in Arabia Petraea, who live in the town of al-Shera and the eastern desert and number nearly 800 families), al-Meṭāʿ and al-Kamāl. C. M. Doughty mentions the following divisions: Allowīn (ʿAlāwīn [ʿAllāwīn]) or Ḥwēṭāt b. Djāzī in Musil, the second main group in Arabia Petraea, 100 families strong, living in al-Ḥismā), Sukkī, Selīm (nomads, probably the Zawāʾida [al-Zaidī] in Musil, who are reckoned to the Ḥuwaiṭāt b. Djāzī), al-Terābīn, Tiāha (al-Tiyāha) and Darāwesha (Darāwsha [b. Darwish], a division of the Ḥuwaiṭāt b. Djāzī). The Terābīn, the most powerful tribe in the country between Bīʾr al-Sebaʿ and al-Nakhl (about 15,000 men) and the Tiyāha, an influential tribe at Bīʾr al-Sebaʿ, who, according to Musil and Jaussen, do not belong to the Ḥuwaiṭāt but are merely their neighbours.

The Ḥuwaiṭāt are a warlike tribe and are feared by the pilgrims for their ambushes (they beset the roads to al-ʿUlā [ʿAlly]). Every year they raid the neighbouring tribes, the Balī, Shammar etc. During the Egyptian campaigns, Muḥammad ʿAlī was only able to subdue them by bestowing annual gifts on their shaikhs. They still receive at the present time considerable gifts in gold, garments, and food from the Turks, particularly in times of political unrest. In 1873 the inhabitants of al-Kerak (north of Maʿān, were defeated by the Ḥuwaiṭāt. In 1877 there was a great battle between them and the people of al-Kerak and al-Shōbak (north of Petra) in which they were again victorious. They levy a yearly tribute of two thalers a head on the Hutaim [q. v.] to whom they grant protection. They also receive tribute from the Sherārāt [q. v.], the people of Taimāʾ, from some emigrants in Djawf al-Sirḥān [q. v.], from the town of Kāf in the Wādī Sirḥān, al-Shōbak (Shawbak, north of Petra), etc. Palgrave estimates the number of Ḥuwaiṭāt, who are under Shammar chiefs, at 20,000. According to al-Batanūnī, their total number is 70,000.

Bibliography: Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* (London 1831), p. 29; C. Ritter, *Arabien*, ii. 219, 230, 234, 273, 281, 293, 301, 303, 305, 307; W. Palgrave, *A Year's Narrative*; Ch. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. 16, 29, 45, 46, 137, 233, 234, 255, 390; ii. 24, 323; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. (Wien 1908), 48—49, 51—55, 59, 60, 123, 210, 215, 217, 222, 330, 352, 354, 366, 401, 407—411 and Index; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (*Ét. Bibl.*, ix. Paris 1908), p. 392—393, 410, 411, 415; Jaussen et Savignac, *Miss. archéol. en Arabie* (*Publ. de la soc. des fouilles archéol.*, Paris 1910), p. 46, 48, 55, 459; Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, ii. 103. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

HUWAIZA [See ḤAWĪZA.]

HUWĀRA (Berber HOWĀRA) is the name of one of the most important Berber tribes. It must be confessed that the genealogists are not agreed as to the place which should be allotted to it in the Berber family, quite apart from the legends, which give it a Yemenī origin. The Arabic etymology of the name (*tahawwara*) has given rise to suggestions detailed by al-Idrīsī and attacked by Ibn Khaldūn. The most probable view is that their eponymous ancestor, was descended from Aurīgh, son of Brānes. The tribes and clans of the Huwāra were very numerous; among the most important are the B. Kamlān, the Ghariyān, the Warghā the Zekkāra, the Maslata and the Maḍjra. At the Arab conquest, these tribes, as the Muslim historians inform us, took Tripo-

ṭlānia and the country of Barḳa. Some even settled in the Sahara desert near the Lamṭa and took the name Hoggar (a contraction of Hawwāra, Huwār); they would thus be the ancestors of the modern Tuāreg. Others founded the town of Aghmāt in Southern Morocco. They became converts to Islām but afterwards apostasised; they later zealously adopted the doctrines of the Khāridjīs and shared in all their rebellions, in that of Abū Yazīd also, particularly those who had settled in Ifrīḳiya, Awrās and Serū. They became so weakened by oppression by the Fāṭimid caliph Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr and later by the Ḥafṣid Emīr Abū Zakariyā, that they played no part in political affairs afterwards. In the xivth century we find them spread all over north Africa, between Barḳa and Alexandria, from Tebessa to Bedja and to the sea, in the valley of the Shelif where they had founded the town of al-Baṭḥā, which has now utterly vanished and between Mascara and Relizane where they had built the Ḳalʿa of the B. Huwāra, the modern Ḳalʿa of the B. Rāshid. One of their families the B. Khaṭṭāb had founded a kingdom in Zīla; on its downfall they founded another in Fezzān, which was destroyed by the Kurd Ḳarāḳūsh, who put the last ruler of this family, Muḥammad b. Khaṭṭāb b. Yaṣliten, to death by torture, in order to gain possession of his wealth. Of those who occupied the central Maghrib Ibn Khaldūn says: (the tribes) graze herds of sheep, but as they are oppressed with taxes they no longer show the pride and independence, which once distinguished them when their armies won bloody victories. Scattered and weakened they are now despised".

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, Leiden 1866, p. 58, 66-67 (text) 67, 66-7 (transl.); al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Descriptio al-Maghribi*, ed. transl. de Goeje, Leiden 1860, p. 7, 17 (text), 90, 113-114 (transl.); Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, vi. 139—144; *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 272—282; ii. 302-303; Carette, *Recherches sur l'origine et les migrations des principales tribus de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1853, p. 163 *sq*. (RENÉ BASSET.)

ḤUWWĀRĪN a place on the road from Damascus to Palmyra and Ḥimṣ, about midway between them. It is celebrated as a resort of Yazīd I. The district was inhabited in ʿAbd al-Malik's time by *Nabaṭ*, i. e. natives who were Christians and spoke Aramaic. This remained the case down to the time of the Mamlūks of Egypt. Yazīd died at Ḥuwwārīn and was buried there; this is confirmed by contemporary poetry. The inhabitants still point out a ruin called Ḳaṣr Yazīd, 'Yazīd's castle'. This name is probably only an echo of the literary tradition, according to which there were lasting links between Yazīd and Ḥuwwārīn.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 355; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 456; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien*, p. 52 *sqq*.; Akhṭal, *Dīwān* (ed. Ṣālḥānī), p. 231—3; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (de Goeje), ii. 203, 427, 488; *Aghānī*, xvi. 88; Ibn Djubair, *Travels* (ed. Wright), p. 260; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne de Muʿāwia Ier*, p. 381-2, 400, 408, 417, 420; do., *Le califat de Yazīd Ier* p. 471-2. (H. LAMMENS.)

I.

AL-**IBĀḌĪYA**, usually called ABāḌIYA in North Africa, are the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ [q. v.]. A few additions may here be made to what has been written in i. p. 3, chiefly with reference to the North African Abāḍīs. The first rising of the Ibāḍīs took place in the last years of the reign of Marwān II, under ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ and Abū Ḥamza (129 = 747). ʿAbd Allāh had homage paid him in Ḥaḍramūt, then conquered Ṣanʿāʾ and sent Abū Ḥamza to Mecca; the latter defeated the Omayyad governor at Ḳudaid and brought Medina also under his sway. In the following year 130 (748) however, Marwān sent ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn ʿAṭiya against him; Abū Ḥamza was put to flight in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, took refuge in Mecca, whither ʿAbd al-Malik followed him, and was taken and executed there after a vigorous resistance. A short time afterwards the Ibāḍī caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā met the same fate. According to Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 100, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ also took part in this rising but this statement seems to be inaccurate, as Ibn Ibāḍ, according to more reliable statements, died in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik nearly half a century previously. A second rising under al-Djulandā in ʿOmān in 134 (751—2) was put down by the ʿAbbāsid general Khāzim b. Khuzaima.

In the meanwhile the Ibāḍī movement spread to North Africa; on its vicissitudes there cf. the article ABāḌITES. In Arabia itself it found a hospitable soil in distant ʿOmān and in time became the predominant sect there cf. the article ʿOMĀN. From there it was later brought to Zanzibar.

The Ibāḍīya form a separate community in Islām alongside of the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs and have their own rules of faith and religious laws, which, however, on the whole agree with those of the Sunnīs and only deviate on certain questions. They also recognise the Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth as the source of religious knowledge, but instead of Idjmāʿ and Ḳiyās they have Raʾy [q. v.]. They show their Khāridjī origin not only on these points but also on the question of the Imāmate, although in a different fashion from the Azraḳīs. We cannot here enter into details of their conception of *walāya*, *barāʾa* and *wuḳūf*, especially as they are not agreed among themselves on them. Al-Shahrastānī, al-Baghdādī, etc. mention a schism of the older Ibāḍīya into 3 or 4 sects; the Ḥafṣiya, the Ḥārithiya, the Yazīdiya and those who admit of an obedience which has not God as its object. In the later history of the community, notably in North Africa, further differences of opinion revealed themselves. Several theological works of their leaders are mentioned in *Fihrist*, p. 182 *sqq*., more about which is given in *Bibliography* to the art. ABāḌITES. The chief source is the work made known by Sachau, *Mittl. des Semin. für orient. Sprachen*, 2th Abteilung ii. 1 *sqq*., and ii. 47 *sqq*., entitled *Kashf al-Ghumma al-Djāmiʿ li-Akhbār al-Umma*.

Bibliography: al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 615; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, p. 100 *sqq.*; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ baina 'l-Firaḳ*, p. 82 *sqq.*, 263; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politische Oppositionsparteien* etc., p. 52 *sqq.*; Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Erbrecht nach der Lehre der ibaditischen Araber*, *Sitzungsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1894 (based on al-Besiwi's Compendium printed Zanzibar 1886). Other literature in the Art. itself; cf. also Becker in *Der Islam* ii., 4, Note 1.

IBLĪS, the personal name of the Devil. The word is probably a corruption of διάβολος; the native philologists derive it from the root *b-l-s* "because Iblīs has nothing to expect (*ublisa*) from the mercy of God". He is also called *al-Shaiṭān* (Satan), *'Aduww Allāh* (enemy of God) or *al-'Aduww*. *Al-Shaiṭān* however is not a proper name. In the Ḳur'ān he appears mainly in the early history of the world (ii. 32; vii. 10; xv. 31 *sq.*; xvii. 63; xviii. 48; xx. 115; xxxviii. 74 *sq.*) as rebellious at the creation of Adam and as the tempter of Eve in Paradise: After Allāh had formed Adam [*q. v.*] out of earth and breathed the breath of life into him, he issued an order to the angels to bow down before him. The only one who refused to do so was Iblīs, because he, being created of fire, thought it beneath his dignity to pay homage to a being made of earth. He was therefore banished and cursed; but he begged postponement of his punishment till the Day of Judgment; he was granted this as well as power to lead astray all those who are not true servants of God. When Adam and Eve were in Paradise, he tempted them to eat of the fruit of the tree. Muḥammad has here combined two independent myths, the creation of Adam and the temptation of Eve in Paradise. It is to be noted that in the story of the creation, the devil is always called Iblīs; in the story of Paradise, however, al-Shaiṭān, at least when not denoted by a pronoun. The story of Iblīs is based on Christian tradition. In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, § 15 (Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*) it is related that Michael had commanded the angels to worship Adam. The Devil objected that Adam was less important and younger than they; he and his hosts refused and were cast down upon the earth. According to the *Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, p. 15 *sq.* of the Syriac-Arabic text), God gave Adam power over all creatures. The angels thereupon reverenced him, except the Devil, who had become jealous and said: He ought to worship me, who am light and air, while he is only earth. He was therefore cast out of heaven with his hosts; then he was called Satan, Daemon, etc.

Muslim tradition has adorned the Ḳur'ānic account with various features, some well known. The difficulty had first to be overcome that in the Ḳur'ān Iblīs is numbered among the *Djinn* [*q. v.*] as well as among the angels, and these are usually considered two different classes of beings. Zamakhsharī says that Iblīs is only a *Djinnī* and that the name angel in the Ḳur'ān applies to both classes (*Kashshāf* on Sūra xx. 115). But it is also said that Iblīs was an archangel. Others say that the Djinn were a division of the angels, who had to guard Paradise (*al-Djanna*); hence their name (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 80). These Djinn were created of the fire of *Samūm* (Sūra xv. 27) while the angels are created of light (Ṭabarī, *ib.*, p. 81.) In the beginning the Djinn inhabited the earth. But they quarrelled with one another and finally blood was shed. Allāh then sent Iblīs who, at that time, bore the name of 'Azāzīl or al-Ḥārith, with a troop of angels against the brawlers who were driven back into the mountains. According to other accounts however, Iblīs was one of the earthly Djinn and was brought back a prisoner to heaven by the angels sent by Allāh to punish the unruly Djinn; he was still quite young at this time (*ib.*, p. 84). The name al-Ḥakam is also given to Iblīs before his fall, as Allāh had appointed him judge over the Djinn, he filled this office for 1000 years. He then became vain of the name and created unrest among the Djinn, which lasted another 1000 years. Allāh then sent fire which consumed them; but Iblīs took refuge in heaven and remained a faithful servant of Allāh till the creation of Adam (*ib.*, p. 85; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 50 *sqq.*)

But there are other traditions about the pride of Iblīs. Ṭabarī (*ib.*, p. 83) relates that he felt himself superior to the other angels, whereupon Allāh said: "I will create a *khalīfa* on earth" (Sūra ii. 28); Ṭabarī (*ib.*, p. 79 *sq.*) further says that Iblīs was one of the archangels and ruled over the Djinn on earth and in the lowest heaven. He then became rebellious and was called *Shaiṭān radjīm* by Allāh.

In the discussion of the story of Paradise in Tradition it is related how Iblīs obtained access to Paradise. The view, also found in Christian authors, is generally prevalent that he made use of a serpent for this purpose. According to some authorities, he tried all the animals in vain; according to others, he began with the peacock, which he once saw at the gate of Paradise. He promised to tell him three words which would protect him from death on condition that he let him enter. But the peacock would not and told his experience to the serpent. The latter allowed Satan to sit between its teeth (according to others in its belly) and carried him in. The serpent was on intimate terms with Eve; and Satan now talked out of its mouth. He told the woman of the fruit of the tree which gave immortality, as an angel had told him. When Eve had gone to the tree, Iblīs appeared in the form of an angel. According to others, he brought her the fruit of the tree himself, with the well-known result. Iblīs, Adam, and Eve were banished from Paradise and cursed. (The Ḳur'ān places the banishment of Iblīs after the story of the creation). The serpent, previously a beautiful quadruped was condemned to crawl upon its belly. Iblīs was granted postponement of his punishment. Henceforth he had to live in ruins, tombs and filthy places. His food is flesh offered to idols, his drink wine, his pastimes music, dancing, and poetry. His descendants are seven times more numerous than those of men.

In the end Iblīs shall be thrown into hell-fire with his hosts and the damned among men. „Then shall they (the idols) be thrown into it (i. e. into hell) as well as those who have been seduced and the hosts of Iblīs". (Sūra, xxvi. 94 *sq.*). The phraseology of this verse recalls Matthew, xxv. 41: "Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand: Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels".

But in the meanwhile he plays many a trick on men, and leads them astray except the believers

(Sūra, xxxiv. 19). The *hātif* [q. v.] so frequently mentioned in Arabic literature is often simply the voice of Iblīs. For example, he is said to have warned ʿAlī in this way not to wash the Prophet's corpse; another *hātif* then brought the Prophet's son-in-law into the right course again (Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, p. 44).

Allāh once granted John the Baptist an interview with Iblīs. He asked the Evil One, when he had the greatest influence on men and the answer was: "when they have eaten and drunk their fill". John thereupon resolved never to reach this stage.

On his propagation it is said that he lays two eggs as often as he rejoices over the rebelliousness of the children of Adam and young are born from these eggs. It is also said that he has both male and female organs and impregnates himself.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the text, the commentaries on the passages quoted from the Ḳurʾān; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 12 *sqq.*; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, p. 60 *sqq.*; al-Diyārbakrī, *al-Khamīs* (Cairo 1283), i. 31 *sqq.*; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Bāb Ṣifat Iblīs wa-Djunūdihī*. (A. J. Wensinck.)

IBN (A.), Son.

IBN ʿABBĀD, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbbād b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ṭālaḳānī, vizier of the two Būyids Muʾaiyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla, born in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 326 (September 938). His father had been Rukn al-Dawla's vizier; he himself received the name 'al-Ṣāḥib' (the companion) on account of his relations with Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd [v. ibn al-ʿamīd] or Muʾaiyid al-Dawla, who appointed him his secretary. After the fall of Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd [v. ibn al-ʿamīd] he was raised to the rank of vizier and when Muʾaiyid al-Dawla died in 373 (984) and the power passed to Fakhr al-Dawla, the latter confirmed him in his office. He held the grand viziership till his death and during his long tenure of office exercised a very great influence over Fakhr al-Dawla. In 377 (987-8) he undertook an expedition to Ṭabaristān, arranged affairs there and captured several fortresses. Ibn ʿAbbād died in al-Raiy in Ṣafar 385 (March 995) and was buried in Iṣfahān.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (ed. Margoliouth), ii. 273—343; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), Nº. 95 (transl. de Slane, I, 212 *sqq.*); Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 264, 454; ix. 4 *sq.*, 18, 39, 44, 72, 77 *sq.*; Wilken, *Gesch. der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh nach Mirchond*, Chap. viii.

(K. V. Zetterstéen.)

IBN ʿABBĀD, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Mālik b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād al-Nafzī al-Ḥimyarī al-Rundī, generally known as Ibn ʿAbbād, a lawyer, mystic poet, and preacher, was born in 733 (1332-3) in Spain at Ronda, where he spent his youth, learned the Ḳurʾān by heart at the age of seven and began to study language and law. He then went to Fās and Tlemcen to complete his studies. He returned to Morocco, settled at Salā where he studied under Aḥmad b. ʿĀshir; on the latter's death, after spending some time at Tangier under the Ṣūfī Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik, he was brought to Fās and entrusted with the post of *khaṭīb* at the mosque of al-Ḳarawiyīn, which he held for fifteen years, i. e. till his death on Friday 3rd Radjab 792 (= 17 June 1390). He was buried inside the Bāb al-Futūḥ.

Among his teachers we may mention al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī, al-Maḳḳarī, grandfather of the author of the *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḳḳarī, and among his pupils Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj, al-Khaṭīb b. Ḳunfudh and Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sakkāk are specially noted.

A Ṣūfī of the order of al-Shādhilī, Ibn ʿAbbād is best known by his commentary on the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (*Ghaith al-Mawāhib al-ʿaliya Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾiya*) published at Būlāḳ in 1285 and at Cairo in 1303, 1306.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās 1309, p. 200; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās 1316, ii. 123; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj*, Fās 1317, p. 287; do., *Kifāyat al-Muḥtādj* (ms. of the Medersa of Algiers), fº. 145 vº.; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, iii. 175.

(Moh. Ben Cheneb.)

IBN AL-ABBĀR, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khawlānī, Arab poet, lived at Seville and died in 433 (1041-1042). Besides a *Dīwān*, there should, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, be ascribed to him four works usually attributed to the author of the *Takmila* and of the *Ḥullat al-Siyarāʾ* [see next art.].

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 44; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, p. 132, nº. 352; Codera *al-Muʿdjam* (*Bibl. arab.-hisp.*, IV), *Introduction*, p. XIV; Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 409; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliogr.*, ed. Flügel, Nº. 934, 2165, 2846, 5130. (Moh. Ben Cheneb.)

IBN AL-ABBĀR, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḳuḍāʿī, an Arab historian, a scion of the Ḳuḍāʿī's settled in Onda, their ancestral estate in Spain, born at Valencia in Rabīʿ II, 595 (Febr. 1199), was a pupil of Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Nūḥ, Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḥaṣṣār, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb b. Wādjib, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Khaira, Abū Sulaimān b. Ḥawṭ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿāda etc.

For over twenty years he was on the closest terms of intercourse with the principal traditionist of Spain, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ b. Sālim, who induced him to complete the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl. He was also secretary to the governor of Valencia, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥafṣ b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī, and afterwards to his son Abū Zaid, and lastly to Zaiyān b. Mardanīsh. When Don Jayme, king of Aragon, besieged Valencia in Ramaḍān 635 (April—May 1238), Ibn al-Abbār travelled with an embassy to the Sulṭān of Tunis, Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ, to give him a document, by which the governor and people of Valencia recognised the suzerainty of the Ḥafṣid kingdom. He met Abū Zakariyā on the 4th Muḥarram 636 (17th August 1238) and recited to him a poem rhyming in *sīn*, in which he appealed for help for the Muslims. Soon after his return to Valencia, only a few days before or after the capture of the town by the Christians in Ṣafar 636 (Sept.—Oct. 1238) he sailed with his whole family to Tunis. According to Ibn Khaldūn, he went straight to Tunis, while

al-Ghubrīnī assures us that he went first to Bougie and taught there for a time. The Sulṭān of Tunis received him graciously and appointed him his secretary, with the duty of writing the king's style and titles immediately under the *basmala* in his edicts. But soon afterwards this office was taken from him and given to Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ghassānī, who was a matchless expert in Eastern calligraphy, which the Sulṭān preferred to the Maghribī hand. Ibn al-Abbār felt this insult deeply but continued in spite of all warnings to place the king's title upon the documents, which had been drawn up by him. Confined to his own house, he composed an *I'tāb al-Kuttāb* which he dedicated to the Sulṭān. The latter pardoned him and restored Ibn al-Abbār to office, mainly through the intervention of his son al-Mustanṣir. After Abū Zakariyā's death his successor al-Mustanṣir made Ibn al-Abbār his trusted adviser, but the latter so offended the king and his courtiers by his behaviour that he was finally put to torture. Among his confiscated writings was found a satire against the Sulṭān, which so enraged the latter that he ordered its author to be slain by spear-thrusts. Ibn al-Abbār died on Tuesday morning, 20th Muḥarram 658 (6th January 1260) and on the following day, his body was burned along with his books, poems, and other products of his studies on one funeral-pyre. Ibn al-Abbār, who was called *al-Fa'r* (the mouse) for some unknown reason, composed a number of works on history, tradition, literature, and poetry, of which only the following have survived: 1. *Kitāb al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila* (ed. Codera, Madrid 1889); 2. *al-Mu'djam fī Aṣḥāb al-Ḳāḍī al-Imām Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī* (ed. Codera, Madrid 1886); 3. *Kit. al-Ḥulla al-Siyarā'* (one part publ. by Dozy, Leiden 1847—1851, another by Müller in *Beitr. zur Gesch. der westl. Araber*, München 1866—1878); 4. *Tuḥfat al-Ḳādim* (Casiri, *Bibl. Arab.-Hisp.*, I, Nº. 354, 2; Derenbourg, *Les man. arab. de l'Escurial*, Nº. 356, 2); 5. *I'tāb al-Kuttāb* (Casiri, *o. c.*, Nº. 1726).

Bibliography: al-Ghubrīnī, *'Unwān al-Dirāya fī man 'urifa min al-'Ulamā' fi 'l-Mi'a al-sābi'a bi-Bidjāya* (Algiers 1328), p. 183; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (Būlāḳ 1299), II, 226; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (Cairo 1302), I, 631; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères* transl. de Slane, II, 307, 347—350; al-Zarkashī, *Ta'rīkh al-Dawlatain al-Muwaḥḥidiya wa 'l-Ḥafṣiya*, transl. Fagnan, p. 36, 38, 48; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschr. der Araber*, p. 128, Nº. 344; Dozy, *Scriptorum arab. loci de Abbadidis*, II, 46; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 409; Codera, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, IV (Preface to *al-Mu'djam* and *al-Takmila*); v. Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber*, I, 142 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, I, 340 *sq.*; Huart, *Littérature arabe*, p. 204.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN 'ABD AL-ḤAKAM, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'ABD AL-ḤAKAM B. A'YAN, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM, the earliest Arab historian of Egypt whose work has survived, was a member of a notable Egyptian family. His father, 'Abd Allāh (died 214 = 830), was very learned in tradition and jurisprudence, and the author of books in these fields; he was the head of the Mālikite school in Egypt, and was also associated with the Ḳāḍī as censor of witnesses. His four sons were all men of importance: Muḥammad, widely celebrated as a jurist and author, and his father's successor as leader of the Mālikites of Egypt; 'Abd al-Ḥakam, and Sa'd, also renowned (especially the former) for their learning; and 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The family suffered in the persecution under al-Wāthiḳ, refusing to subscribe to the doctrine of the created Ḳor'ān; later, in the year 237, they became permanently disgraced in the community because of an embezzlement which was proved against them (al-Kindī, ed. Guest, p. 462 *sqq.*, 472, 1 *sqq.*).

'Abd al-Raḥmān (generally known as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam) died at al-Fusṭāṭ in 257 (871). He was mainly interested in tradition and made extensive collections based on the principal Egyptian authorities, of whom his father was one. His chief work was the *Futūḥ Miṣr*, in seven Divisions, as follows: 1. Egypt, and its ancient history; 2. The Muslim conquest; 3. The *Khiṭṭa*'s of al-Fusṭāṭ and al-Djīza, and the *Ikhṭiṭā*'s of Alexandria; 4. Organization and administration of Egypt under 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, and the extension of the conquest beyond Egypt to the south and west; 5. The conquest of North Africa after the death of 'Amr, and the conquest of Spain; 6. The Ḳāḍīs of Egypt, down to the year 246; 7. Egyptian traditions derived from the Companions of the Prophet who came to Egypt. The manner of the whole compilation shows its author to have been an expert collector of traditions and not very critical of his material. His chief interest was in the period of the Companions and their immediate successors; hence in his treatment of the ḳāḍīs he gives much space to the earliest, but less and less to the later ones down to his own day; hence also in his important chapter on the khiṭṭas the formal tradition holds a subordinate place, and he simply collects whatever information he can find.

The work of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam was extensively used by the early historians of Egypt. Among the later works, Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* is in large part a transcript of it, and it furnishes Maḳrīzī with many chapters; in both cases the text quoted is much inferior to the original. Yāḳūt cites it *in extenso* for a considerable part of his Egyptian material. See further the Introduction to the edition of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* now (1914) being published in the Gibb Memorial Series, London.

There are mss. of the work in the British Museum, Paris (2), and Leiden (an abridgment). Partial translations have been made by Ewald (*Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, iii. 3, 1840, p. 336—352), de Slane, Karle, Jones, La Fuente, and Torrey (in *Bibl. and Semit. Studies*, New York, 1901, p. 279—330); see Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, with the Nachträge.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), nos. 322, 582 (Trans. de Slane, ii. 14, 598); *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (Bibliogr.), i. 134, 136, 206; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i. 629; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber* nº. 63; Dozy, *Recherches*, 3e éd., p. 36 *sq.*; Brockelmann, *Geschichte d. arab. Litteratur*, i. 148, ii. 692; al-Kindī, ed. Rhuvon Guest, Introd., p. 22 *sqq.* (C. C. TORREY.)

IBN 'ABD RABBIHI, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD ABŪ 'OMAR, a Spanish Arab author, born 10th Ramaḍān 246 = 29th Nov. 860 in Cordova, a freedman of the Umaiyads ruling there, died 18th Djumādā I 328 = 3rd March 940. His principal work is the anthology *al-'Iḳd* (the addition *al-*

farīd was made by later copyists); it is divided into 25 books, which are called after jewels: the 13th book is called *al-Wāsiṭa* and the corresponding pairs on either side of it are called after the same jewels, in the second part with the addition of *al-thāniya*. The matter is taken from the usual *adab* books, the *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* of Ibn Ḳutaiba being particularly made use of; the *ṣāḥib* Ibn 'Abbād [q. v.] is said to have rejected the book as it disappointed his expectation of finding Spanish history in it. It was printed at Būlāḳ 1293, Cairo 1302, 1305, 1317, 1321. Among his poems, of which al-Ḥumaidī was acquainted with more than 20 volumes, there were *Muwashshaḥāt* and a group which he called *Mumaḥḥiṣāt*; they were the love poems of his youth, to which he added in his old age concluding verses of ascetic tenor in the same metre and rhyme.

Bibliography: al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, i. 412—436; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*, Stambul 1302, p. 51—53; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, ii. 67—72; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299, Nº. 45; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 161; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber d. Araber*, Nº. 107; M. Hartmann, *Das arab. Strophengedicht* i. *Das Muwashshaḥ*, p. 23; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, i. 154. (C. Brockelmann.)

IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB. [See Muḥammad.]

IBN 'ABD AL-ẒĀHIR, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ẓāhir b. Nashwān al-Sa'dī al-Rawḥī, born in Cairo on the 9th Muḥarram 620 = 1223, and died there in 692 = 1292 (*Durrat al-Aslāk fī Daulat al-Atrāk*, *Orientalia*, ii. 1846, p. 285; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, Nº. 366). Not much is known about his life but he played an important part under the three Baḥrī Mamlūks al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baibars, al-Manṣūr Ḳalā'ūn and al-Ashraf Khalīl as private secretary, *Kātib al-Sirr* or *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Inshā'* (on this office see Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 402; ii. 225 *sq.*; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks par Makrizi*, ii. 2, p. 222, Note 40, and 317 *sqq.*). According to some he was the first holder of this office, though others say his son; in other sources the office is said to be much older (see Moberg's work quoted below p. xiii. *sq.*) and he is said to have succeeded Ibn Luḳmān in 678 in the reign of Ḳalā'ūn (Quatremère, ii. 1, p. 7, 27). In this office he had to read all letters coming in and to compose all important letters and documents; he seems to have performed these tasks even in the reign of Baibars, for in 661, when Baibars took the oath of fealty to the Caliph, Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir was present and composed the caliph's *khuṭba* (Quatremère, i. 1, p. 150, 183; Casanova, p. 495); in 662 he drew up the *taḳlīd* by which al-Malik al-Sa'īd was installed as heir-apparent (Quatremère, i. 1, p. 241), and later he drew up the marriage contract between him and Ḳalā'ūn's daughter (*op. cit.*, i. 2, p. 132); he also wrote the *taḳlīd* which declared Ḳalā'ūn's son as heir-apparent (*op. cit.*, ii. 1, p. 26). In 666 he was with an Emir in 'Akkā to receive the commandant's oath of fealty, but without success (*op. cit.*, i. 2, p. 57) and he looked after the affairs of state when Ḳalā'ūn's son was governor during his father's journey (Casanova, p. 495). He spent some time in Damascus (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 324).

The *Annals* which he compiled on the reigns of the three Sulṭāns above mentioned are of great importance. The biography of Baibars (Part i. to 663, Brit. Mus., Nº. 1229) was used by Maḳrīzī and al-'Asḳalānī, *Kitāb Ḥusn al-Manāḳib* (Moberg, p. xvii *sq.*) and al-Nāṣir Shāfi' made an excerpt from it (Casanova, p. 499 *sq.*). The history of Ḳalā'ūn is traced from 681 till his death and official documents are given (Casanova, p. 502). We only possess a third of the biography of al-Ashraf (years 690-691), published by Moberg except some waḳf documents (see Bibl.). Of importance also is his *Kitāb al-Rawḍa al-bahiya al-ẓāhira fī Khiṭaṭ al-Mu'izziya al-Ḳāhira* (Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 147; iii. 161, 499), which Maḳrīzī made great use of in his *Khiṭaṭ* chiefly for archaeology (Becker, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, p. 23, 30; Guest in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1902, p. 120, 123). His *Tamā'im al-Ḥamā'im* treats of carrier-pigeons (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 231 Quatremère, ii. 2, p. 118, Note 49; Casanova, p. 505). For his other works see Brockelmann.

His son Fatḥ al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ẓāhir is also mentioned as *Kātib al-Sirr* and seems to have attained an even higher position than his father in this capacity (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 226; Casanova, p. 497). He died before his father in 691.

Bibliography: Axel Moberg, *Ur 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd az-Ẓāhir's Biografi över Sultanen el-Melik al-Aśraf Ḫalīl*, Lund 1902 (Dissert., arab. Text, Swedish transl. and Introd.); P. Casanova in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique au Caire*, vi. p. 495—505; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 411, 415, 482; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 318 *sq.*

(J. Pedersen.)

IBN 'ABDŪN, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Madjīd Ibn 'Abdūn al-Fihrī, a Spanish Arab poet, born in Evora, whose poetical talent early attracted the attention of the governor of Evora, 'Omar al-Mutawakkil Ibn al-Afṭas, and when the latter became ruler of Badajoz [see i. 178b *sq.*] he became his secretary in 473 (1080). The fall of the Afṭasid kingdom in 485 (1092) forced him to enter the service of Sīr b. Abī Bakr, leader of the Arab troops. We afterwards find him again as secretary at the court of the Almoravid 'Alī b. Yūsuf in 500 (1106). He died in his native town Evora in 520 (1126). Ibn 'Abdūn owes his fame chiefly to a poem, much admired by the Arabs, entitled *al-Bashshāma* and dealing with the fall of the Afṭasids. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī wrote a historical commentary on it. The latter is known as Ibn Badrūn and was born in Silves and was still alive in 608 (1211) but nothing further is known of him. This commentary with Ibn 'Abdūn's poem was published by Dozy in 1846 under the title *Commentaire historique sur le poème d'Ibn Abdoun par Ibn Badroun*; Hoogvliet had previously published *Prolegomena ad editionem celebratissimi Aben Abduni poematis in Interitum Aphtasidarum inceptam*, Leiden 1839. The text of the poem itself is also given in al-Marrākushī's history, ed. Dozy, p. 53 *sqq.*; there is a French transl. by Fagnan and a Spanish by Pons Boigues (see Bibl.). 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr [q. v.] also wrote a commentary on it.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources are detailed in Dozy's preface to his edition already

mentioned, in Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 271, and Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliogr.*, p. 190 *sqq.*, 260 *sqq.* (on Ibn Baḥīla).

IBN ABĪ 'ĀMIR. [See AL-MANṢŪR.]

IBN ABĪ 'L-'AWDJĀ', 'ABD AL-KARĪM, uncle on his mother's side of the celebrated Ma'n b. Ṣā'ida, a crypto-Manichaean, who was taken prisoner by Muḥammad b. Sulaimān governor of Kūfa and afterwards put to death in 155 (772) by him without the Caliph's authority, for which some sources say the governor was dismissed. When he was being led to death he is said to have boasted that he had invented 4000 traditions which were contradictory to the prescriptions and prohibitions of Muslim law. He is said, for example, to have invented in the name of Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ [q. v.] a calculation of the commencement of the fast in the month of Ramaḍān, although the law is well known to lay it down that the exact moment for its commencement is not till the new moon has been seen. Among the Shī'is however the period of the new moon is fixed by calculation. Cf. *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lxviii, 406.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. Leiden, iii. 375 *sq.*; *Fihrist*, p. 338; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 80 (text 67 *sq.*); al-Shahrastānī, transl. von Haarbrücker, ii. 410; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ baina 'l-Firaḳ*, ed. Muḥ. Badr, p. 255 *sq.*; Horten, *Die philosoph. Systeme*, etc., p. 155.

IBN ABĪ DĪNĀR, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-RU'AINĪ AL-ḲAIRAWĀNĪ, an Arab historian, wrote a history called *al-Mūnis fī Akhbār Ifrīḳiya wa Tūnis* in 1110 (1698) or according to a statement in a manuscript in 1092 (1681). As he mentions in the preface the work falls into eight divisions; the first contains the description of Tunis, the second of Ifrīḳiya, the third of the conquest of Ifrīḳiya by the Muslims, the fourth the history of the 'Ubaidis, the fifth that of the Ṣinhādja, the sixth that of the Banū Ḥafṣ, the seventh and eighth the history of Turkish rule. The final chapter discusses the latest events in Tunisia. The book was printed in Tunis in 1286 A. H. and translated into French by Pellissier and Rémusat, Paris 1845.

Bibliography: Roy, *Extr. du Catal. des Manuscrits de la Bibl. de la Grande Mosquée de Tunis* (Tunis 1900), n°. 4960, p. 50; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, ii. 457.

(RENÉ BASSET.)

IBN ABI 'L-DUNYĀ, ABŪ BAKR 'ABD ALLĀH ('UBAID ALLĀH) B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲURASHĪ, Arab author, born 208 = 823, tutor of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Muktafī, died 14th Djumādā II 281 = 21st Aug. 894. Of his numerous works which were all devoted to Adab the following have survived: 1) *al-Faradj ba'd al-Shidda*, modelled on al-Madā'inī's work of the same title, in Berlin (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Hdss. der Kgl. Bibl.*, N°. 8731), Damascus Ẓāhiriya s. Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazā'in al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ wa-Ḍawāḥīhā* (Cairo 1902), p. 30, N°. 20, 2, printed in India 1323, reprinted Cairo n. d.; al-Suyūṭī's epitome, *al-Aradj fi 'ntiẓār al-Faradj*, in which other sources however were also used has been printed along with Ibn Kadīb al-Bān's *Ḥall al-'Iḳāl* under the title, *Tuḥfat al-Muhadj bi-Talwīḥ al-Faradj*, Cairo 1317. 2) *Kitāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 2, Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 40, N°. 132, 2. 3) *Makārim al-Akhlāḳ*, in Berlin, s. Ahlwardt, *op. cit.*, N°. 5388 (vgl. N°. 5436, 2), and in the Brit. Museum, Or. 7595, s. *A descriptive List of the Arabic Mss. acquired by the Trustees since 1893*, London 1912, p. 64. 4) *Kitāb al-Aẓama*, The Wonders of Creation, in Vienna, s. Krafft, *Die arab. .... Hdss. der k. k. orient. Akademie*, N°. 425. 5) *Man 'Āsha ba'd al-Mawt*, in Munich, s. Aumer, *Die ar. Hdss. der K. Hof- und Staatsbibl.*, N°. 885, 9. 6) *Faḍā'il 'Ashr Dhi 'l-Ḥidjdja*, in Leiden, s. *Catal. codd. or. Bibl. Acad. Lugd. Bat.*, N°. 1742; C. Landberg, *Catalogue des mss. proven. d'une bibl. privée à al-Medina*, N°. 55. 7) *Kitāb al-Ajl wa-Faḍlihi*, Damascus, s. al-Zaiyāt *op. cit.*, p. 29, N°. 15. 8) *Ḳiṣar al-Amal*, *ibid.*, p. 33, N°. 50, 1, 2, *Mektebe 'Umūmīye*, p. 29, N°. 50. 9) *Kitāb al-Yaḳīn*, *ibid.*, p. 33, N°. 50, 3, and Stambul, s. Köprülü Defteri, N°. 388. 10) *Kitāb al-Shukr*, s. Houtsma, *Catalogue d'une collection de mss. appartenant à la Maison Brill*, Leyden, 1886, N°. 744, Stambul, Nūrī 'Othmānīye, N°. 1208, cf. Rescher, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, Vol. 64, p. 54. 11) *Kitāb Ḳirā 'l-Ḍaif*, s. Landberg, *op. cit.*, N°. 54. 12) *Dhamm al-Dunyā*, Damascus, al-Zaiyāt, *op. cit.*, p. 32, N°. 42, 1, *Mektebe 'Umūmīye*, p. 29, N°. 46. 13) *Dhamm al-Malāhī*, the censure of musical instruments, s. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Hds. zu Berlin*, N°. 5504, Damascus, al-Zaiyāt, *op. cit.*, p. 33, N°. 59, 2. 14) *Kitāb al-Dju'*, Damascus, s. *Mektebe 'Umūmīye*, p. 31, N°. 89. 15) *Dhamm al-Muskir*, Damascus, s. *Mektebe 'Umūmīye*, p. 30, N°. 60. 16) *Kitāb al-Riḳḳa wa 'l-Bukā'*, Damascus, al-Zaiyāt, p. 40, N°. 1323. 17) *Kitāb al-Ṣamt*, Damascus, s. *Mektebe 'Umūmīye*, p. 29, N°. 31. 18) *Ḳaḍā' al-Ḥawā'idj*, in Berlin, s. Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, N°. 5389. 19) *Kitāb al-Hawātif*, in Cairo s. *Fihrist al-Kutub al-maḥfūẓa bi 'l-Kutubkhāna al-Khedīwīya*, I, 448.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 185; Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Cairo 1299, I; A. Wiener in *Der Islam*, iv. 270 *sqq.*, 413 *sqq.*

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN ABĪ ḤADJALA, AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ ABU 'L-'ABBĀS SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-TILIMSĀNĪ AL-ḤANBALĪ, an Arab poet, an imitator of 'Omar b. al-Fāriḍ, born in 725 = 1325 in Tlemcen, settled in Cairo after making the pilgrimage and died of the plague as superior of the Ṣūfī monastery founded by Mandjak, on the 20th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 776 = 2nd May 1375. Of his works that have survived (detailed in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii, 13), the following are printed: 1. *Dīwān al-Ṣabāba*, a history of celebrated lovers with a selection of erotic poems, Cairo 1279, 1291, 1305 and on the margin of the *Tazyīn al-Aswāḳ* of Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī, Būlāḳ 1291, Cairo 1308. 2. *Sukkardān al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, an anthology on the significance of the number 7 for Egypt, composed in 757 = 1356, Būlāḳ 1288.

Bibliography: al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 329; Ibn Ḥabīb in *Orientalia*, ii. 440; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N°. 437.

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN ABĪ RANDAḲA AL-ṬURṬŪSHĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-WALĪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. KHALAF B. SULAIMĀN B. AIYŪB AL-FIHRĪ, known by the names of al-Ṭurṭūshī and Ibn Abī Randaḳa (Ibn Farḥūn vocalises it Rundaḳa), an Arab authority on law and tradition, born about 451 (1059-1060) at Tortosa, died in Sha'bān 520

(22th Aug.—19th Sept. 1126) or, according to another account, in Djumādā I 525 (April 1131) at the age of 75. After studying law and belles-lettres in his native town and afterwards in Saragossa with the Ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Walīd Sulaimān b. Khalaf al-Bādjī, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 476 (1083) and thereafter went to Baghdād, Basra, Damascus, and Jerusalem to teach as well as study. On his return he spent some time in Cairo and then settled in Alexandria as a teacher of law and Ḥadīth. He spent his whole life as a pious ascetic in contented poverty and self-denial. Among his teachers in the east we may specially mention Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Shāshī and Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Tustarī. His most important pupils were Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī, Abū 'Alī al-Ṣadafī, the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart and, in as much as he had obtained an *idjāza* from al-Ṭurṭūshī, also the Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ.

Of the twelve works ascribed to him by his biographers, only three are known to us. 1. *Taḥrīm al-Istimnā'*, a small treatise in which the illegality of onanism is demonstrated (Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, N°. 4981); 2. A synopsis of *al-Kashf wa 'l-Bayān 'an Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān* of Abū Isḥāḳ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tha'labī al-Nasābūrī (Cairo, Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, i. 209); 3. *Sirādj al-Mulūk*, a kind of treatise on politics and government which contains a large collection of more or less interesting anecdotes in 64 chapters (cf. Th. Zachariae, *Die Weisheitssprüche des Sānāḳ bei aṭ-Ṭorṭūšī*, in *Wien. Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, xxviii. 182 *sqq.*), completed on the 14 Radjab 516 (19 Sept. 1122) at Fusṭāṭ and dedicated to the author's patron, the vizier al-Ma'mūn Abū Muḥammad b. al-Baṭā'iḥī al-Umawī (printed, Būlāḳ 1289, Cairo 1319).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (Cairo 1310), i. 479 (ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 616, wrongly "Ibn Abī Zandaḳa"); Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab fī Ma'rifat A'yān 'Ulamā' al-Madhhab* (Fās 1316), p. 250; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (Cairo 1302), i. 362; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (Cairo 1321), i. 215; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, p. 125, N°. 295; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, p. 517, N°. 1153; Dozy, *Recherches*³, ii. 234—240; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, iii. 529, s. v. *Ṭurṭūsh*; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 77, N°. 229; Quatremère, *Journ. As.*, 1861; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, transl. de Slane (*Not. et Extr.*, XIX), i. 82; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, ed. Popper, p. 385; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 181, N°. 150; *Mémoires de l'Acad. de St. Pétersb.*, vi° Série, Sc. polit., hist. et philol., ii. (1834), p. 92; *Bull. scient.*, iii. (1838), S. 63, *Bull. hist.-phil.*, iii. 221, iv. 338; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, p. 289, 291; Moh. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnes ment. dans l'Idjāza de Sîdî 'Abd el Qâder al-Fâsî*, N°. 153; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 459, ii. 703 below; Huart, *Arabic Literature*, p. 287.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN ABI 'L-RIDJĀL, whose full name was ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. ABI 'L-RIDJĀL is the Arab astrologer often quoted in mediaeval Europe under the names ALBOHAZEN (also ALBOACEN) or ABENRAGEL. Whether he belonged to Spain (Cordova) or North Africa is uncertain; we only know that he spent a portion of his life at the court of the Zīrid Mu'izz b. Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (406—454 = 1016—1062) in Tunis. It is also probable that he is identical with the Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Maghribī, who attended the astronomical observations made in 378 (988) in Baghdād by order of the Būyid Sharaf al-Dawla under the supervision of the astronomer Abū Sahl Waidjan b. Rustam al-Kūhī. From a prophecy in his principal astrological work we may conclude that he cannot have died before c. 1040. This book is entitled *al-Bāri' fī Aḥkām al-Nudjūm* (the distinguished [book] on horoscopes from the constellations): it still exists in Arabic in various libraries (Brit. Mus., Ind. Off., Paris, Berlin, Escurial, etc.). It was translated by Jehuda b. Moses (1256) from Arabic into Spanish and soon afterwards from the latter language into Latin by Aegidius de Tebaldis and Petrus de Regio. The Latin translation was several times printed first of all in 1485 in Venice under the title: *Praeclarissimus liber completus in judiciis astrorum, quem edidit Albohazen Haly filius Abenragel*, etc. He also wrote an *Urdjūza* on astrology on which Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳunfūdh al-Ḳusanṭīnī wrote a commentary in 1373 (Escurial, Brit. Museum, Oxford, Cairo).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (ed. Lippert), p. 353; Wüstenfeld, *Übersetz. arab. Werke in das Lateinische seit dem 11. Jahrh.*, p. 89; Steinschneider, *Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un' opera inedita di Bernardino Baldi*, etc. in the *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze mat. e fis. di Boncompagni*, V, 493—508, Estratto, 1873, p. 67—82; do., *Die hebr. Übersetz. des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, p. 578—580); Suter, *Abhandl. z. Gesch. d. Math. Wissensch.*, x. 100 and xiv. 172 *sq.*

[H. SUTER.]

IBN ABI 'L-RIDJĀL, AḤMAD B. ṢĀLIḤ, Arab historian, jurist and poet, belonging to the Shī'ī sect of the Zaidīs in Yemen, born in Sha'bān 1029 (July 1620) at al-Shaḥaṭ, a place in the Bilād Ẓhurā in the district of al-Ahnūm, died in the night of Wednesday the 6th Rabī' I 1092 (25th-26th March 1681) aged 62 years and 7 months and was buried at al-Rawḍa (an hour's journey N. of Ṣan'ā') near a house which belonged to him. He spent his whole life in Yemen. He studied the Ḳur'ān, tradition, and law at Shahāra, Ṣa'da, Ta'izz, Ibb, al-Ḥadjja and Ṣan'ā' and studied under all the Zaidī, as well as the Shāfi'ī, Ḥanafī or Mālikī scholars, who lived in Yemen or travelled through it, notably the Mālikī Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Shalbī al-Ḳairawānī (died at Ṣan'ā', where he was expounding the *Taḥrīr* of Euclid, on the 22nd Djumādā I 1064 = 10th April 1654). He finally settled in Ṣan'ā' where the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'ala 'llāh Ismā'īl b. al-Manṣūr billāh al-Ḳāsim (died 1087 = 1677) granted him for the period of his reign (1055—1087 = 1645—1677) the offices of preacher in the mosque (*Khaṭīb Ṣan'ā'*) and secretary whose duty it was to compose official documents as well as the answers to the theological and legal questions laid before the Imām.

1. His chief work is a biographical dictionary, arranged in alphabetical order, entitled *Maṭla' al-Budūr wa-Madjma' al-Buḥūr*, which contains about 1300 biographies of prominent members of the Zaidī sects of 'Irāḳ and Yemen, ranging from the sons and descendants of Zaid b. 'Alī (died 121 = 739) down to the author's own contemporaries. It was long thought to be lost and only

known from the extracts given by al-Muḥibbī (*Khulāṣat al-Athar*, i. 220; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschr.*, N°. 583). It has only recently been discovered in its entirety in Milan (see Griffini, *Lista dei manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, in *Riv. degli Studi Orient.*, iv. 1046—1048, N°. 254—256 of the *Lista*; 18 of these biographies have been published by Griffini in his notes in an earlier essay, *I Manoscritti Sudarabici di Milano* in *Riv. d. Stud. Or.*, ii. 1—38, 133—166; iii. 65—104). For his *Maṭla' al-Budūr* the author used various biographical collections which only survive in fragments in Milan, Berlin, and London manuscripts, particularly the works of Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Wazīr (entitled *Ta'rīkh Āl al-Wazīr*), al-Ahdal (*al-Tuḥfa fī 'Ulamā' al-Zaidīya*), Ibn Faṇd (*al-Lawāḥiḳ al-nadīya*), al-Ḥākim (*al-'Uyūn fī Ma'rifat al-Zaidīya*), Yaḥyā b. al-Mahdī al-Ḥusainī (*Ṣilat al-Ikhwān*), the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Zaidīya*, and others. But he was always careful to call attention to those points in which the authorities utilised did not agree among themselves or with the historical traditions surviving down to his time in Yemen. He had also a good knowledge of the geography and archaeology of those districts of South Arabia in which he had travelled and his dictionary therefore gives information concerning them, which is of importance even for the numismatics and Arab epigraphy of Yemen.

2. His gloss (*Ta'līḳ*) on the *Mushadjdjar* (genealogy of the Zaidī Imāms) of Ibn al-Djalāl likewise pertains to the history of the Zaidī sect (holograph of the author in Milan, Ambrosiana, *Riv. d. St. Or.*, iii. 580). In his biography (Ambrosiana, n. f., *B.* 132; s. *Riv. d. St. Or.*, iv. 1047-8) there are also mentioned 3. his *Taisīr al-I'lām bi-Tarādjim A'immat al-Tafsīr al-A'lām* (biographies of Ḳur'ān commentators) as well as a genealogical study of his own family: *Inbā' al-Abnā' bi-Ṭarīḳa Salafihim al-ḥusnā djum'a li-Nasab Āl Abi 'l-Ridjāl*. Other works by him are 4. *I'lām al-Muwālī bi-Kalām Sādātihi al-a'lām al-mawālī*, a treatise on the evidences and authorities in support of the Imāmate of 'Alī (Brit. Mus. Ms.; cf. Rieu, *Suppl.*, N°. 217, ii.); 5. *Tafsīr al-Sharī'a li-Wurrād al-Sharī'a*, a theological treatise in defence of the Zaidī doctrine (Brit. Mus. Ms.; cf. Rieu, *Suppl.*, N°. 217, i.). The same subject is discussed in 6. *al-Riyāḍ al-nadīya fī anna al-Firḳat al-nādjiya hum al-Zaidīya* (Ambrosiana, n. f., *B.* 133, f°. 3^a) and in 7. *al-Mamādīn*, commentary on *al-'Aḳīda al-ṣaḥīḥa*, a treatise on the articles of the sect by the abovementioned Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl b. al-Manṣūr billāh al-Ḳāsim (Ambros., *B.* 133, f°.); 8. Gloss (*Ḥāshiya*) on *al-Athār* (essay on Zaidī *Furū'*; cf. Brockelmann, ii. 187) concluding with the chapter *al-Waṣāyā*; 9. *Madjālis*; 10. *al-Wadjh al-musfir fī Ḥukm al-Rūḥ alladhī djā'a al-Ḥaḍar*; 11. *Madjāz man arāda 'l-Ḥaḳīḳa*; 12. *al-Hadiyya li-man madjhūl*; 13. *Bughyat al-Ṭālib wa-Shinḥar*; 14. *al-Djawāb al-shāfī lil-'Abd al-'Azīz al-Damadī*; 15. *Tadhkirat al-Ḳuṭṭāb allatī fī 'l-Ṣadūr fī Ḥuḳūḳ al-Adjiṭṭam allatī fī 'l-Ḳubūr*; 16. a large number of *Rasā'il* or treatises on different subjects. 17. His *Dīwān* was collected by one of his brothers who gives us specimens of it in his biography of the author. In the latter besides a list of 47 scholars with whom Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl kept up relations, we find the complete text of the *Idjāza* or diploma which granted the holder the right to teach all the sciences in which he had himself been instructed (see Ambrosiana, Nuovo Fondo, *B.* 132, f. 2^a—11^r, and *Riv. d. St. Orient.*, iv. 1047 *sq.*).

Bibliography: E. Griffini, *Lista dei manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, in *Riv. degli Studi Orient.*, iv. 1046—1048, N°. 254—256; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. 406. (E. GRIFFINI.)

IBN ABĪ ṬĀHIR ṬAIFŪR, ABU 'L-FAḌL AḤMAD, Arab man of letters and historian, born 204 (819) at Baghdād, died there in 280 (893), a descendant of an Irānian family from Khurāsān (Marw al-Rūdh), which was among the devoted adherents (*Abnā' al-Dawla*) of the 'Abbāsids, was first of all a teacher, then a private tutor in wealthy families and finally followed the trade of a copyist of manuscripts, for which he opened a shop in the Sūḳ al-Warrāḳīn. A work by him on plagiarism (*Kitāb Sariḳāt al-Shu'arā'*), now lost, made him several enemies who charged him with superficiality and the lack of a thorough knowledge of Arabic grammar. Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, vii. 333) thought highly of his poems, some of which he quotes, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī praised his learning. His father's nickname *Ṭaifūr*, means = 'hopping little bird', if it is not to be derived from the Old Persian *takhmaukhra*, 'son of the crown'. Of his *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* only the sixth volume has survived in a unique manuscript in the British Museum, lithographed and translated into German by Dr. H. Keller (Leipzig 1908); it is the history of the city and the 'Abbāsid state from 204 (819) to the death of the caliph al-Ma'mūn in 218 (833), and is one of the sources of the Annals of Ṭabarī. His *Kitāb al-Manẓūm wa 'l-Manthūr* is an anthology of poetry and rhetoric, of which the eleventh (*Balāghāt al-Nisā'* wa-*Ṭarā'if Kalāmihinna* etc., Cairo 1326) and twelfth parts (out of 13) are preserved in the Brit. Mus. His 45 other works are lost.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 146; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N°. 78; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 138; Cl. Huart, *Journ. Asiat.*, 10th Ser., Vol. xiii. 1909, p. 333. (CL. HUART.)

IBN ABĪ UṢAIBI'A, MUWAFFAK AL-DĪN ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-ḲĀSIM AL-SA'DĪ AL-KHAZRADJĪ, physician and biographer, born in Damascus in 600 (1203), studied medicine there and afterwards in Cairo at the al-Nāṣirī hospital. Among his teachers special mention may be made of the botanist Ibn al-Baiṭār [q. v.]. In 634 (1236) he received a position in a hospital in Cairo, which he exchanged in the following year for the office of physician to the Emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aidamir in Ṣarkhad. There he died in 668 (1270). Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a's chief work are his biographies of celebrated physicians and doctors, which he composed under the title *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā'* for the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ghanā'im al-Sāmirī, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1299 (1882), Preface, Königsberg 1884.

Bibliography: Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii. 187 ff.; A. Müller, *Über Ibn Abi Oçeibi'a und seine Geschichte der Ärzte* in *Travaux du VIe Congr. intern. des Orientalistes à Leide*, ii. 259 *sqq.*, and other articles, see the references in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 326.

IBN ABĪ ZAID AL-ḲAIRAWĀNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ ZAID 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, a Mālikī jurist, belonged to a family which

came from Nafza whence the *ethnic* al-Nafzī, but he was born in 310 (922-3) at Ḳairawān, where he died on Monday 30th Shaʿbān 386 = 14 September 996 and was buried in his house.

He vigorously defended his school both in prose and verse and was perhaps the first who clearly expounded the principles of law. He was called Mālik the younger and was and still is regarded as an authority. His teachers were numerous not only in Africa but also in the east on the occasion of his journey to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. We may mention here his debt to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Labbād who is his best authority, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Khawlānī, Abu 'l-ʿArab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḳaṭṭān, Ibn al-ʿArabī, and others; he received *idjāza*'s from the most notable teachers of his time. Among his pupils are mentioned Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Barādhiʿī, Ibn al-Fakhkhār, etc. Of the thirty works mentioned by his biographers only the following survive: 1°. *al-Risāla*, a compendium of Mālikī law finished in 327 = 939, publ. several times in Cairo; ed. by A. D. Russell and Abdullah al-Maʾmūn Suhrawardy, *First Steps in Muslim Jurisprudence consisting of excerpts from Bākūrat al-Saʿd of Abū Zayd, Arabic text, English transl., notes, and short histor. and biogr. introd.*, London 1906; Fagnan, *La Risâla de Kayrouani*, French transl., Paris 1914; 2°. A collection of traditions. Brit. Mus., *Cat. Cod. MSS. Or.*, n°. 888, viii.; 3°. A poem in honour of the Prophet, Brit. Mus., *Cat.* n°. 1617, xi.

Bibliography: Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, Fās 1316, p. 140; Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Mukhtaṣar al-Madārik* (ms. of the writer), f°. 240; Ibn Ḳunfudh, *Tabaḳāt* (ms. of the writer), f°. 2 v°.; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-Īmān*, Tunis 1320, iii. 135—152; Brockelmann, *Geschichte d. ar. Litt.*, i. 177; M. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les pers. ment. dans l'Idjâza du Cheikh ʿAbd el Qâdir al-Fâsy*, N°. 522; Russell and Suhrawardy, *Muslim Jurispr.*, *Prologue*. (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN ABĪ ZARʿ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN (var. ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH) ʿALĪ AL-FĀSĪ, historian of the Maghrib, author of two works, one entitled *Zahrat al-Bustān fī Akhbār al-Zamān*, which seems lost, the other *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Maghrib wa Taʾrīkh Madīnat Fās*. Nothing is known of the life of the author, who is also called Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Gharnāṭī. His work, which begins with the Idrīsid dynasty, is very important for the history of Morocco to 724 (1324), a date which cannot be much before the year of his death. He is sometimes quoted by Ibn Khaldūn. He made use, often without naming them, of a certain number of authorities and it seems, at least under the Marīnids, of official documents also. His book forms the basis of a work (or was rewritten) by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim b. Zakūr (died 20 Muḥarram 1120 = 11 April 1708), entitled *al-Maʿrib al-mubīn ʿammā taḍammanahu 'l-Anīs al-muṭrib wa Rawḍat al-Nasrīn* (al-ʿAlamī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, Fās 1315, p. 28). It was published for the first time by Tornberg, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, with Latin translation and notes, Upsala, 2 v., 1843—1846, and lithographed at Fās 1305 A. H. It was translated in a very unsatisfactory fashion into German by Dombay, *Geschichte der mauritanischen Könige*, Agram, 1794—7; into Portugese by Moura, *Historia dos soberanos mohametanos*, Lisbon, 1824; into French by Beaumier, *Roudh el-Kartas, Histoire des souverains du Maghreb*, Paris, 1860. A fragment of the text is given in the *Crestomatia arábigo-española* of Simonet and Lerchundi, Granada, 1881, N°. 63. A new edition, with French translation, is in preparation.

Bibliography: Besides the prefaces to the translations quoted, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī, *al-Durr al-nafīs* (Fās, 1314), p. 17; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N°. 39; Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties* (London, 1840—3), ii. 516; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salwat el-Anfâs* (Algiers 1905), p. 12-13; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 240-1. (RENÉ BASSET.)

IBN ʿADHĀRĪ. [See IBN AL-ʿIDHĀRĪ.]

IBN AL-ʿADĪM. [See KAMĀL AL-DĪN.]

IBN ʿADJARRAD, ʿABD AL-KARĪM, a Khāridjī sectarian, after whom his adherents are called ʿAdjārida. We possess no data for his biography; from al-Shahrastānī's account it can only be deduced that he was one of the followers of ʿAṭiya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī. This ʿAṭiya however was at first a follower of Nadjda b. ʿĀmir [q. v.] but afterwards separated from him and became chief of the Khāridjīs of Sidjistān, Khorāsān, Kirmān and Kūhistān. His date is thus the first half of the viiith century and although he, like ʿAṭiya, had separated himself politically from Nadjda, both belonged, from the point of view of the historian of religions, to that section of the Khāridjīs who are called Nadjadāt after Nadjda or Nadjdiya after the district in which he appeared, i. e. to those who occupy a position midway between the rigid Azraḳīs and the milder Ibāḍiya. According to al-Baghdādī, the ʿAdjārida were divided into 10 minor divisions: the Khāzimiya, the Shuʿaibiya, the Maimūniya, the Khalafiya, the Maʿlūmiya, the Madjhūliya, the Ṣaltiya, the Ḥamziya, and the Thaʿāliba who are again divided into 6 sections. The tenth not mentioned by him is probably the Aṭrāfiya mentioned by al-Shahrastānī. Among these the Ḥamziya may be particularly mentioned on account of the part which their chief, Ḥamza b. Atrak, played in politics for many years, till he finally died of wounds in the reign of al-Maʾmūn. Ṭabarī only briefly mentions him but al-Baghdādī gives many details of him.

Bibliography: al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 92, 95 *sqq.*; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, p. 72 *sqq.*

IBN ĀDJURRŪM, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. DĀWŪD AL-ṢANHĀDJĪ, known as IBN ĀDJURRŪM, a Berber word which means, according to the commentators, religious man and ṣūfī (ascetic, Shilḥa: *agurram*). His grandfather Dāwūd is said to have been the first to bear this name. His relatives belonged to the neighbourhood of the little town of Ṣafrū but he was born at Fās in 672 (1273-4) and died there on Sunday 20th Ṣafar 723 (1st March 1323). He was buried the next day within the town in the Andalusian quarter near the Bāb al-Djīsīyīn (wrongly Bāb al-Ḥadīd) which now bears the name Bāb al-Ḥamrāʾ (it is now closed) to the right of the Bāb al-Futūḥ.

After studying in Fās he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and, while passing through Cairo, studied under the celebrated Andalusian grammarian Abū Ḥaiyān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf of Gra-

ḥuda (died at Cairo in 745 = 1345) who gave him an idjāza. He is said to have composed his Muḳaddima with his face turned toward the Ka'ba during his stay in the sacred city. According to his contemporaries, he was lawyer, man of letters, mathematician, and above all grammarian. He further possessed an extensive knowledge of the science of the orthography and recitation of the Kur'ān. He taught grammar and the Kur'ān in the mosque of the Andalusian quarter in Fās. He seems to have written a commentary on the didactic poem by al-Shāṭibī [q. v.] on the recitation of the Kur'ān and, according to the *Tadhkira* of Tādj al-Dīn b. Maktūm, several other works and numerous *urdjūza*s on the variant readings and the recitation of the Kur'ān. The work which has come down to us and rendered him famous is *al-Muḳaddima al-Ādjurrūmiya fī Mabādi' 'Ilm al-'Arabiya*. Owing to its brevity, which is the cause of the favour in which it was and is still held even at the present day from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, this work, which is a synopsis, erring on the side of succinctness, of the *Djumal* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāḳ al-Zadjdjādjī, has become the basis of grammatical studies. On account of its conciseness, often at the sacrifice of clearness, it is easily learned by heart in the schools, although it is not very useful to beginners who require more lucidity in the exposition of principles. In any case the grammar contains in a concise form information on the declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs and use of the cases. The *Ādjurrūmiya* has been published in a number of European editions of which the most important are:

1°. *Kit. al-Ādjurrūmiya*, Medici Press, Rome 1592;

2°. P. Kirsten, *Liber tertius Grammaticae Arabicae*, Breslau, 1610 (Latin transl. of ed. of Rome);

3°. Thomas Erpenius, *Grammatica Arabica dicta Gjarumia, et libellus cent. regent., cum version. latin. et comment.*, Leidae 1617;

4°. R. P. F. Thomas Obicini, *Grammatica arabica* الاجرومية *appellata. Cum versione latina ac dilucida expositione*. Press of the Propaganda, Rome, 1631;

5°. Chr. Schnabel, (*Epist. quaedam et*) *Particula prima Agrumiae cumque commentariorum*, Arab. et Lat., Amstelodami, 1755; *Contin. Agrumiae cumque comment.*, Arab. et Lat., ibid. 1756 (commentary of al-Azharī).

6°. L. Vaucelle, *L'Adjroumieh*, *par Mohammed b. Daoud, grammaire arabe, traduite en français et suivie du texte arabe*, Paris 1833;

7°. E. Combarel, *La Djarroumiyé, nouvelle édition du texte arabe*, Paris 1844;

8°. L. J. Bresnier, *Djarroumiya. Grammaire arabe élémentaire* ... *de Mohammed b. Daoud el-Sanhadji. Texte arabe et traduction française accompagnés de notes explicatives*, Algiers 1846; 2nd ed.; ibid. 1866;

9°. J. J. S. Perowne, *al-Adjrumiah. The Arabic text, with the vowels, and an English translation*, Cambridge, 1852;

10°. E. Trumpp, *Einl. in das Studium der arab. Sprache. Ajrûmiyyah des Muh'ammad bin Dâûd, arab. Text mit Übers. u. Erläut.*, München 1876;

11°. Brünnow, *Chrestomathie aus arabischen Prosaschriften*, Berlin 1895, p. 138 sqq.; 2nd ed. (by A. Fischer), p. [illegible];

12°. Ad. Grohmann, II "*Kitāb al-Ādjurrūmiyya*", Ital. transl., Rome 1911.

Among the numerous commentaries, it is only necessary to mention only those that are printed. As to those which are in libraries the reader may be referred to the printed catalogues and the monographs mentioned in the Bibliography.

1°. Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azharī, Būlāḳ 1259, 1280; Amsterdam 1756; published along with the glosses of

a. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Nadjā al-Ṭandatāī (XIII c.) published at Būlāḳ 1284, Cairo 1299, 1303, 1304; Tunis 1290.

b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī al-Mālikī al-Djirdjāwī: entitled: *al-Ta'rīf wa 'l-Taḥlīl 'alā Sharḥ al-Shaikh Khālid*, Cairo 1318.

c. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Ḥāshiya*, Fās n. d.; Cairo 1318.

d. Muḥammad al-Inbābī, *Taḳrīrāt* sur Abu 'l-Nadjā, Cairo 1319. On margin the same *Taḳrīrāt* on Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār on *al-Azhariya*.

2°. Abū Zaid 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makūdī (Mākūdī, Makūdī), Tunis 1309; Cairo 1309, 1320.

3°. Zain al-Dīn Shaikh Djibrīl, *Cheikh Djebril Syntaxe arabe, Commentaire sur la Djerroumiya avec une glose marginale* by G. Delphin, 2e ed., Paris 1886;

4°. Ḥasan al-Kafrāwī, Būlāḳ 1249, 1258, 1282, 1289, 1291, Cairo 1276. Glosses of Ismā'īl al-Ḥāmidī, Cairo 1302, 1304, 1322.

5°. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍil Shaikh al-'Ashmāwī, *Ḥāshiya*, Būlāḳ 1287, Cairo 1302, 1322.

6°. Aḥmad Zainī Daḥlān, a very much abridged commentary with notes and explanations, edited by one of his pupils, Cairo 1319.

7°. Aḥmad al-Nidjāri al-Dimyāṭī al-Ḥafnāwī, *Minḥat al-Karīm al-Wahhāb wa Fatḥ Amāni al-Nuḥḥāt fi 'l-Ṭullāb*, with glosses by al-Kafrāwī, Cairo, 1282.

8°. 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Aḥmad al-Kuhanī, *Munyat al-Faḳīr al-mutadjarrid wa Sirat al-Murīd al-mutafarrid*, Constantinople 1319.

9°. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Sūdānī, ḳāḍī of Timbuktu, *Sharḥ al-Djurrūmiya*, Fās n. d.

10°. Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-'Amrīṭī, *al-Durra al-bahiya Naẓm al-Ādjurrūmiya*; Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī, *Fatḥ al-Bariya 'ala 'l-Durra al-bahiya* etc. Cairo 1309, 1319.

11°. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ru'ainī, better known as al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Makkī al-Mālikī, *Mutammimat al-Ādjurrūmiya*, with glosses of:

a. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Ahdal, *al-Kawākib al-durriya fī Sharḥ Mutammimat al-Ādjurrūmiya*, Cairo 1309.

b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī, *al-Fawākih al-djaniya 'alā Mutammimat* ...., Būlāḳ 1309, Cairo 1318.

Bibliography: al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Lughawīyīn wa 'l-Nuḥāt*, Cairo, 1326, p. 104; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, p. 138, Fās 1309; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, ii. 112, Fās 1316; Anonymous, *Sirādj al-Ḳawā'id fī Tarādjim al-Lughawīya wa 'l-Nuḥāt*, f°. 25 v° (Ms. in the Bibl. Nat. d'Alger, n°. 1724); O. Houdas and René Basset, *Mission scient. en Tunisie*, *Bull. de Corresp. afr.*, 3e année 1884, Fasc. ii.; Delphin, *Cheikh Djebril*, p. iv., v., Paris 1886; C. Van Dyck, *Iktifā' al-Ḳanū' bi-mā huwa maṭbū'*, p. 304, Cairo 1896; Muḥammad Bey Diyāb, *Ta'rīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-'arabiya*, ii. 33, Cairo 1900; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, ii. 237-238, cf. 710.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN AL-AḤMAR. [See MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF.]

IBN AL-AḤNAF, ABU 'L-FAḌL AL-ʿABBĀS, one of the court poets of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His forefathers were Arabs of the tribe of Ḥanīfa in al-Yamāma who had settled in Khurāsān, but much Persian blood flowed in his veins. He was maternal uncle of Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī. He accompanied Hārūn on his expeditions to Khurāsān and Armenia, and when he died about 192 A. H. (808) al-Maʾmūn was ordered to perform his funeral rites, but al-Masʿūdī gives a different account of his end. Some say he survived al-Rashīd. All his poetry is romantic or erotic in character, and rather affected and unnatural in style. He was entirely eclipsed by his contemporary Abū Nuwās [q. v.], as in character and refined taste he far surpassed him. His *Dīwān* has been printed along with that of Ibn Maṭrūḥ (Constantinople 1881), with a biography of each poet taken from Ibn Khallikān.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 319; *Aghānī*, VIII, 15 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Shiʿr* (ed. de Goeje), p. 363, 518, 525—7; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, chap. cxvii; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., i, 74 *sq.*, cf. 514 *supra*. (T. H. WEIR.)

IBN AL-ʿALḲAMĪ, MUʾAIYAD AL-DĪN ABŪ ṬĀLIB MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, was the last ʿAbbāsid wazīr. His grandfather is said to have been named al-ʿAlḳamī on account of having dug the canal of that name [q. v.]. Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī was distinguished for his learning and integrity and for penmanship. He was a great collector of books and a patron of learning. Some authorities say that it was he who invited Hūlāgū to come to Baghdād. After the capture of the city Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī was put in charge of it. He died a few months later in Djumādā I 655 (1257). He had been wazīr to al-Mustaʿṣim [q. v.] for fourteen years.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 455 *sqq.*; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (ed. Reiske-Adler), iv. 550 *sqq.*; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1283, ii. 189 *sqq.* (T. H. WEIR.)

IBN AL-ʿAMĪD, the name of two viziers:

1. ABU 'L-FAḌL MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤUSAIN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KĀTIB, called Ibn al-ʿAmīd after his father who was known as al-ʿAmīd and had been Mardāwīdj's vizier. In 328 (939-940) Ibn al-ʿAmīd was appointed vizier by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla. He was held in great esteem by the latter and his influence continued to increase. In 344 (955-6) the Khorāsānians under Muḥammad b. Mākān advanced against al-Raiy and Iṣfahān, which fell into their hands. Ibn al-ʿAmīd was defeated; while the enemy were engaged in plundering however he fell upon them and put them to flight, Ibn Mākān himself being wounded and taken prisoner. Ibn al-ʿAmīd then retook Iṣfahān and al-Raiy remained in the hands of Rukn al-Dawla. In 355 (966) it became known that an undisciplined horde of Khorāsānians, said to number not less than 20,000 men, were setting out to fight for Islām primarily on account of the Byzantine successes. Rukn al-Dawla granted them free passage through his territories; on reaching al-Raiy, however, they demanded help in men and money from the Būyids. The vizier promised them a moderate sum; but when it proved impossible to satisfy their demands, they began to plunder and rob and Ibn al-ʿAmīd's house was attacked and he himself wounded. Rukn al-Dawla finally succeeded in driving out the undisciplined Khorāsānians and when the latter received reinforcements, they also were defeated. The prisoners were brought to al-Raiy but then released. In 359 (969-970) Ibn al-ʿAmīd was sent with an army against the Kurd chief Ḥasanwaih [q. v.]; but he died on the way, according to the usual statement in Ṣafar 360 December 970), according to others in the previous year (359). Ibn al-ʿAmīd was also celebrated as a scholar and was called the 'second Djāḥiẓ'.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 707 (transl. de Slane, iii. 256 *sqq.*); Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 199—446; Amedroz, *The Vizier Abu-l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd* in *Der Islam*, iii. 323—351.

2. ABU 'L-FATḤ ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, son of the preceding, born in 337 (948-949), called Dhu 'l-Kifāyatain ("possessor of the two faculties") on account of his skill with the sword as well as the pen. He accompanied his father on his campaign against Ḥasanwaih and concluded peace with the latter after his father's death, and then returned to Rukn al-Dawla in al-Raiy and assumed the office of vizier. He filled the office during Rukn al-Dawla's reign; but he made enemies through his youthful arrogance and in particular his relations with ʿAḍud al-Dawla, son of Rukn al-Dawla, became very strained. On the death of Rukn al-Dawla in 366 (976) he was confirmed in his office by his successor, Muʾaiyid al-Dawla; but when he incited the army against the latter's secretary, the influential Ibn ʿAbbād [q. v.] and a revolution was feared, he was thrown into prison at the instigation of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and tortured and his possessions were confiscated. He succumbed to the torture in the same year.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (ed. Margoliouth), v. 347—375; Ibn Khallikān, see under N°. 1; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 446, 473 *sqq.* (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

IBN AL-ʿAMĪD. [See AL-MAKĪN.]

IBN ʿAMMĀR, *a*) ABŪ ṬĀLIB AMĪN AL-DAWLA, AL-ḤASAN, the Shīʿī Ḳāḍī of Tripolis, who seized the reins of government towards the middle of the fifth century A. H. after the death of the Fāṭimid governor Mukhtār al-Dawla b. Bazzāl and made himself independent of the Egyptian caliph. The town flourished under his rule and became the centre of the intellectual life of Syria. He founded a celebrated school and a library said to have contained over 100,000 volumes. After his death his nephew Djalāl al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār seized the throne and held it till his death in 492. He was succeeded by his brother (see next article).

Bibliography: The above account is based on Muḥammad b. Shaddād (Leiden MS., N°. 1466 (*Cat.*², ii. 5), f. 101ᵛ), and Nuwairī, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. ar. 1578, f. 116ʳ); *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, ii. fasc. 1. p. 39 *sqq.*

b) ABŪ ʿALĪ FAKHR AL-MULK ʿAMMĀR B. MUḤAMMAD succeeded to the throne in 492 A. H. but was unable long to enjoy the peace which had reigned under his predecessors. His rich and flourishing cities attracted the cupidity of the Crusaders. In 495 Raymond St. Gilles appeared before Tripolis and, although he had to be content with a payment of tribute, he built a fortress opposite the city on the so called "pilgrims' hill"

(the modern citadel of the town) for his operations against Tripolis. Ibn 'Ammār succeeded in defending himself for some years. Raymond died in 498, but his successor drew an even stronger ring round the town. In 501 'Ammār decided to seek the help of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Muḥammad in Baghdād and left Tripolis. His absence had disastrous results (see TRIPOLIS). The inhabitants handed over the town to the Fāṭimid caliph. The latter seized 'Ammār's treasures, his followers and his family. Tripolis was thus deprived by him of its resources and its best defenders. 'Ammār, who had not been able to persuade the Sulṭān to send an expedition to his help, did not return to Tripolis. He occupied Djabala for a time with the help of the troops of the Atābeg Toghtegin of Damascus. In 502 Tripolis and Djabala fell into the hands of the Franks. 'Ammār remained for a time at Toghtegin's court and was granted al-Zabadānī (in the valley of the Baradā) in fief by the latter. He then went to the court of Mas'ūd, prince of Mōṣul, and remained his vizier till 512.

He was later in the service of the 'Abbāsid caliph (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x. 365, 399). The family of 'Ammār seems to have come to Egypt from the Maghrib with the Fāṭimid caliphs; al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār, the chief of the Kitāma, is mentioned towards the close of the ivth century A.H. as a high official in Egypt. A member of the family, ḳāḍī of Alexandria, was executed as a traitor in 487. The name of the Banū 'Ammār is associated with the zenith of Tripolis' prosperity. As Aleppo under the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla was a centre of poetry so Tripolis under the ḳāḍī al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār was a celebrated seat of learning. To the ḳāḍī Fakhr al-Mulk 'Ammār fell the difficult task of defending Tripolis against the attacks of the Crusaders, but he could not hold out permanently on account of the discord among the Muslim chiefs.

Bibliography: As above; cf. also *Recueil des Histor. Orientaux*, iii., Paris.

(M. SOBERNHEIM.)

IBN 'AMMĀR, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD, an Arab poet of Spain, of obscure origin but a cultivated man, lived in the vth (xith) century and at first led a wandering life, singing the praises of any one who cared to reward him. He met the governor al-Mu'tamid, son of al-Mu'taḍid, Emir of Seville, in Silves. This young prince took a liking to the wandering poet and made him his favourite. The latter, as ambitious and talented as he was poor, knew how to flatter his patron's wishes, took part in his amusements and abetted him in them. When scandalous rumours of their doings reached the Emir of Seville's ears, Ibn 'Ammār was banished. Al-Mu'tamid did not forget him, however, and after al-Mu'taḍid's death, as heir to the throne he recalled Ibn 'Ammār from exile and gave him an office as minister.

The poet's ambition filled him with jealousy of his colleague at al-Mu'tamid's court, the vizier and poet Ibn Zaidūn. After the capture of Cordova, to which al-Mu'tamid migrated with his whole court, Ibn 'Ammār, by all sorts of intrigues and with the help of the chief of the body guard Ibn Martin, succeeded in having Ibn Zaidūn sent back to Seville. Ibn 'Ammār now thought himself sufficiently free from observation and secure from punishment to devise a plot against his master. Entrusted with the conquest of Murcia, he took the town with the help of al-Mu'tamid's troops and declared himself an independent emir, but was soon driven from Murcia by Ibn Rashīḳ. He took refuge in a fortress, the commander of which, Ibn Mubārak, took him prisoner and sold him to the Emir of Seville. When brought before the latter he might have won his favour again, had not his enemies, among whom was also a son of Ibn Zaidūn, denounced him as the instigator of a conspiracy. Aroused by this new treachery of his favourite, al-Mu'tamid cut off his head (479 = 1086).

Ibn 'Ammār's poems, which show the greatest originality and technical skill, do not appear to have been collected in a *Dīwān* but there are copious extracts in al-Marrākushī, *The Hist. of the Almohades*, p. 77 *sqq.*; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*; Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalā'id al-'Iḳyān*, p. 83—99; Ibn Bassām (Ms. 3322 of the Bibl. Nat. Paris) and in 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (Ms. 3330 of Bibl. Nat. in Paris).

(A. COUR.)

IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ, s. AL-ANBĀRĪ, i. 349b. The work mentioned there was completely edited by G. Weil in 1913: *Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer*.

IBN (AL-)'ARABĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ, MUḤYI 'L-DĪN, AL-ḤĀTIMĪ AL-ṬĀ'Ī (as a descendant of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī [q. v.]) AL-ANDALUSĪ, a celebrated mystic of pantheistic doctrine, styled by his followers al-Shaikh al-Akbar; in Spain he was also called Ibn Surāḳa but in the East generally Ibn 'Arabī, without the article, to distinguish him from the Ḳāḍī Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī (see next art.). He was born 17th Ramaḍān 560 (28th July 1165) at Murcia. In 568 (1172-3) he removed to Seville which he made his home for nearly thirty years. There and also at Ceuta he studied Ḥadīth and Fiḳh. He had visited Tunis in 590 (1194), and in 598 (1201-2) he set out for the East, from which he did not return. In the same year (598) he reached Mecca; in 601 he spent twelve days in Baghdād, to which he returned in 608 (1211-2), and he was back in Mecca in 611 (1214-5). Here he stayed for some months, but the beginning of the following year finds him in Aleppo. He visited also Mōṣul and Asia Minor. His fame went with him everywhere and he was the recipient of pensions from persons of means, which he bestowed in charity. When in Asia Minor he received from the Christian governor the gift of a house, but he presented it to a beggar. Finally he settled in Damascus and died there in Rabī' II 638 (Oct. 1240); he was buried at the foot of Djabal Ḳāsiyūn, where his two sons were later buried.

As to ritual, Ibn 'Arabī belonged nominally to the Ẓāhirī school of his compatriot Ibn Ḥazm (q. v., cf. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, p. 185 *sq.*), but he rejected *taḳlīd* (recognition of authority in doctrinal matters) and in matters of belief he passed for a bāṭinī (esoteric). Although conforming to the practice of the Muslim faith and professing its beliefs, Ibn 'Arabī's sole guide was the inner light with which he believed himself illumined in a special way. He held that all Being is essentially one, as it all is a manifestation of the divine substance. The different religions were thus to his opinion equivalent. He believed that he had seen the beatified Muḥammad, that he knew the Greatest Name of Allāh, and that he had acquired a knowledge of alchemy, not by his own labour, but by revelation. He was denounced as a *Zindīḳ*,

and in Egypt there was a movement to assassinate him.

His principal work, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, which was later epitomised by al-Sha'rānī (d. 973), gives a complete system of mystic knowledge, in 560 chapters, of which chapter 559 contains a summary of the whole. His contemporary Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632), being asked by Ibn 'Arabī for a commentary on his *Tā'īya*, replied that the best commentary was his own *Futūḥāt*. This work was printed in Būlāḳ in 1274, Cairo 1320. Next to the *Futūḥāt* comes the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, begun in Damascus in the beginning of 627 (end of 1229), printed with Turkish commentary, Būlāḳ 1252, and lithographed with the commentary of 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī, Cairo, 1309, 1321.

In 598 (1201-2), on his arrival at Mecca, Ibn 'Arabī had made the acquaintance of a learned lady of that town, and, on his return thither in 611 (1214-5), he wrote a small collection of love-poems celebrating her learning and loveliness and their mutual friendship; but in the following year he found it advisable to write a commentary on these, explaining them in a mystical sense. These poems with an English translation of both poems and commentary have been published by R. A. Nicholson (*The Tarjumān al-Ashwāḳ, a Collection of Mystical Odes*, Or. Transl. Fund, New Ser., vol. xx, (London 1911). This is the only one of Ibn 'Arabī's numerous works which has appeared in a European edition with the exception of a small glossary of Ṣūfī terms appended to the *Ta'rīfāt* of Djurdjānī edited by Flügel in 1845, and a short treatise, ascribed to him in a Glasgow MS., called the *Kitāb al-Adjwiba*, of which an English translation appeared in the *Journal Roy. As. Soc.* for 1901.

Other of his works which have been printed are: *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār*, on literary and historical topics (Cairo 1282, 1305), a *Dīwān* of religious poetry (Būlāḳ 1271, Bombay 1890); a commentary on the Ḳur'ān, Būlāḳ 1283, Cairo 1317; *Kit. al-Akhlāḳ* Cairo s. a. (= *Makārim-i Akhlāḳ*, Turkish transl. of Aḥm. Mukhtār, Stambul 1314); *Amr Muḥkam*, with Turk. transl., Stambul 1315; *Tuḥfat al-Safara ilā Ḥaḍrat al-Barara*, Constantinople 1300, Turk. transl., Stambul 1303; *Mawḳi' al-Nudjūm* [illegible] *al-Ilāhīya*, Cairo 1325; *Mawāḳi' al-Nudjūm wa-Maṭāli' Ahillat al-Asrār wa 'l-'Ulūm*, Cairo 1325.

Altogether some 150 of his writings are known to exist, and this is said to be only half of what he actually composed.

Various theologians took exception to the contents of his writings and charged him with heretical doctrines such as *ḥulūl* [q. v.] and *ittiḥād* [q. v.] Still he found many followers and zealous defenders. Whilst Ibn Taimīya, al-Taftazānī and Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Biḳā'ī denounced him as a heretic, amongst his defenders were found 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī [q. v.], al-Fīrūzābādī (cf. H. al-Zaiyāt *Khizā'in al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ*, etc., p. 50, n°. 20, 2) and al-Suyūṭī.

Bibliography: Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī, *Mir'āt* (ed. Jewett), p. 487; al-Sha'rānī, *al-Yawāḳīt wal-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1306, p. 6—14; al-Maḳḳarī, ed. Dozy e. a., i. 567—583; *Khātimat al-Futūḥāt*, ed. Būlāḳ 1274, iv; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Ind. (vii. 1171): Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgeschichte d. Araber*, vii. 422 sqq.; von Kremer, *Gesch. der herrsch. Ideen des Islams*, p. 102 sqq.; R. A. Nicholson, *The Lives of 'Umar Ibnu 'l-Fāriḍ and Ibnu 'l-'Arabī* in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1906, p. 797 sqq.; do., *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 399 sqq.; do., *The Tarjumān al-Ashwāḳ*, London 1911; do., *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, s. Ind.; M. Schreiner, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. theol. Bewegungen im Islām* in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lii. 516—525 (also published separately, p. 52 sqq.); Asín Palacios, *La psicología según Mohidin Abenarabi* in *Actes du XIVe Congrès intern. des Orient.*, Alger 1905, iii. 79—150; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 172 sqq. and index; Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 261 sqq.; Brockelmann, i. 441 sqq., and the literature given there. (T. H. Weir.)

IBN AL-'ARABĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, a Spanish traditionist, born at Seville 468 (1076), travelled in the east while still a boy with his father and studied under the most famous jurists of the day in Syria, Baghdād, Mecca and Egypt, for example, al-Ṭurṭūshī and al-Ghazālī [q. v.]. When his father died in 493 (1099) at Alexandria, he returned to Seville and there filled the office of chief Ḳāḍī. He was afterwards forced to migrate to Fās and continued his studies there till his death in 543 (1148). He is said to have composed over 40 different works, which are however for the most part lost. The titles of several are given in the works mentioned below.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Cairo 1299, ii. 292 sqq.; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, i. 50, 1181; al-Maḳḳarī, ed. Dozy etc., i. 477—489, and passim; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 216 f.; Goldziher in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, XXXVIII, 672.

IBN 'ARABSHĀH, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Dimashḳī al-Ḥanafī al-'Adjamī, born in 791 = 1392 in Damascus, was taken with his family to Samarḳand in 803, when Tīmūr conquered Damascus and carried off many of its inhabitants (cf. *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, Leovardiae, 1767—1772, ii. 143 sqq.); there he studied with al-Djurdjānī, al-Djazarī and others, and learned Persian, Turkish, and Mongol. In 811 he went to Khiṭā in Mongolia where he studied Ḥadīth with al-Shīrāzī, later to Khwārizm and Dasht (in Serāī and Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān), where he still was in 814 (*Vita Timuri*, i. 379). He came through the Crimea to Adrianople, where he became a confidant of Muḥammad I b. Bāyazīd. He translated several books for him into Turkish (al-'Awfī, *Djawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt wa-Lawāmi' al-Riwāyāt*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 510; Abu 'l-Laith, *Tafsīr*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 354; Dīnawarī, *Ta'bīr*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 312) and conducted the Sulṭān's correspondence in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Mongol. In 824 he went to Ḥalab, in 825 to Damascus, where he studied Ḥadīth with his friend Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (cf. *Vita Timuri*, i. 33). In 832 he performed the Ḥadjdj, in 840 he migrated to Cairo and was there on friendly terms with Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Taghrībirdī amongst others. He died in 854. His chief work is the *'Adjā'ib al-Maḳdūr fī Nawā'ib Tīmūr* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 122 sq.; editions in Brockelmann, besides Calcutta 1818; transl. into Turkish by al-Murtaḍā Naẓmī Zāde al-Baghdādī 1110 = 1698, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv. 190; vi. 544), in which Tīmūr's conquests and the conditions under his successor are described. Tīmūr is represented as a cruel profligate and tyrant, but towards the end

(ed. Manger, ii. 781 *sqq.*) his great qualities are appreciated. The book contains valuable descriptions of Samarḳand and its learned world (*ii.* 855 *sqq.*). His *Fâkihat al-Khulafâ' wa-Mufâkahat al-Ẓurafâ'* in ten chapters, written in the month of Ṣafar 852 (Ḥâdjdjî Khalîfa, iv. 445) contains a mirror for princes and beast-fables, according to Ḥâdjdjî Khalîfa "like *Kalîla* and *Dimna* and *Sulwân al-Muṭâ'*" (see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, ii. n°. 140—144), but, as Chauvin has shown (*op. cit.* ii. 145—149), is actually a version of the Persian *Marzubân-Nâmah* in the recension of Sa'd of Warâwîn (cf. Houtsma in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lii. 350 *sqq.*; a selection in Freytag, *Locmani Fabulae*, p. 72 *sqq.*; complete edition see below). The introductory portion of an edition of his *al-Ta'lîf al-ṭâhir fî Shiyam* .... *Abî Sa'îd Djaḳmaḳ* was published as a posthumous work of S. A. Strong in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1907, p. 395 *sqq.* 10 works are mentioned under his name, among them a work on Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, *Tardjumân al-Mutardjim* (Ḥâdjdjî Khalîfa, ii. 278). See also Ḥâdjdjî Khalîfa, iii. 158; iv. 190, 232, 270, 311; v. 479, and Freytag's work mentioned below.

Of his sons the following were authors: 1°. Al-Ḥasan, wrote *Iḳâẓ al-Zâ'ir wa-Bayân al-'Udwân fî Ta'rîkh al-Nâbulusî al-Khâ'in al-Khawwân*, in rhymed prose, on al-Nâbulusî and his tyrannical proceedings against Damascus. See Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 30.

2°. Tâdj al-Dîn 'Abd al-Wahhâb, born 813 = 1411 in Ḥâdjdjî Tarkhân, died 901 = 1495; wrote a commentary on Abû Laith's *Muḳaddima* and various other works of little importance. See Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 19 *sq.*

Bibliography: Freytag, *Fructus Imperatorum et Jocatio Ingeniosorum*, i.—ii., Bonn 1832 (edition of the *Fâkiha*, p. xxv.—xxxiii. sketch of his life based on al-Sakhâwî and Taghrîbirdî); Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hdschr. zu Gotha*, N°. 94, 1840, 1841, 2696; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N°. 488; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 196; ii. 28—30. (J. Pedersen.)

IBN 'ASÂKIR, the name of several Arab authors, of whom the following are the best known.

1. The historian of Damascus, 'Alî b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allâh Abu 'l-Ḳâsim Thiḳat al-Dîn al-Shâfi'î, born in Muḥarram 499 = Sept. 1105 in Damascus, studied in Baghdâd and the principal cities of Persia, became professor at the Madrasa al-Nûriya in his native city and died on the 11th Radjab = 25th January 1176. In his principal work, the *Ta'rîkh Madînat Dimashḳ*, he collected, after the fashion of the *Ta'rîkh Baghdâd* of al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, the biographies of all the men who had ever been connected with Damascus. Of the 80 volumes of the original, of which Vols. 1 and 2 were printed in Damascus 1329-1330, only odd ones have survived: in addition to those given in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 331; there are others in Strassburg (s. *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xl. 316), Stambul (Dâmâd Ibrâhîm Pâshâ, N°. 872—882, 'Âṭif Efendi, N°. 1812—1819), Cairo (s. *Fihrist al-Kutub al-maḥfûẓa bi'l-Kutubkhâna al-Khidîwîya*, v. 25), Damascus (s. Ḥabîb al-Zaiyât, *Khazâ'in al-Kutub fî Dimashḳ*, p. 75 *sq.*, cf. Horovitz in *Mitt. d. Sem. f. or. Spr.*, x. 50 *sqq.*), in Tunis, Zaitûna (Houdas-Basset, N°. 65); cf. also the extract by Ismâ'îl b. Muḥammad Djarrâḥ al-'Adjlûnî (died 1162 = 1749) in Tübingen (s. Seybold, *Verzeichnis*, N°. 65; cf. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Damas* in the *Journ. As.*, 1894—1896). In addition to his other works mentioned by Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, we may now mention *al-Mu'djam*, notices of celebrated men, particularly Ṣûfîs, with an appendix, *Kitâb al-Wahm*, by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wâḥid al-Muḳaddasî, died 643 (1245) in the Brit. Mus., Or. 7735 (s. *Descriptive List of the Arab. Mss. acquired by the Trustees since 1894*, London 1912, p. 35), as well as a fragments of his *Amâlî* in Damascus, al-Zaiyât, *op. cit.*, p. 29, N°. 5).

Bibliography: Yâḳût, *Irshâd al-Arîb*, ed. Margoliouth, V, 139—146; Ibn Khallikân, Bûlâḳ 1299, N°. 414; al-Subkî, *Ṭabaḳât al-Shâfi'îya al-kubrâ*, iv. 273—277; *Liber classium virorum*, *auct. Dahabio*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Gottingae 1833-1834, xiv. 16; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N°. 267.

2. His son al-Ḳâsim, born 527 = 1132, died 600 = 1203, wrote in addition to other works *al-Djâmi' al-mustaḳṣâ fî Faḍâ'il al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣâ*, one of the two main sources of the *Bâ'ith al-Nufûs* of Ibn al-Firkâḥ; cf. al-Subkî, *Ṭabaḳât al-Shâfi'îya*, v. 148. (C. Brockelmann.)

IBN 'ÂṢIM, Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Âṣim, a Mâlikî jurist, author, and grammarian, born on the 12th Djumâdâ I 760 (11th April 1359) at Granada, where he died on the 11th Shawwâl 829 (15th Aug. 1426).

During his studies he continued to follow the trade of a bookbinder and latter filled the delicate duties of chief ḳâḍî of Granada. His teachers were Abû Sa'îd Faradj b. Ḳâsim b. Aḥmad b. Lubb al-Tha'labî, chief muftî of Granada, the author Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alî al-Ḳaidjâṭî, the celebrated champion of the Sunna Abû Isḥâḳ Ibrâhîm b. Mûsâ b. Muḥammad al-Shâṭibî, 'Abd Allâh b. al-Imâm al-Sharîf of Tlemcen, etc. Of the ten works ascribed to him by his biographers we know only two: 1. *Tuḥfat al-Ḥukkâm fî Nukat al-'Uḳûd wa 'l-Aḥkâm* or briefly *al-'Âṣimîya*, a sketch of Mâlikî law in 1698 Radjaz-verses (printed Algiers 1322, 1327 and Fâs; publ. in Cairo publ. in the *Madjmû' al-Mutûn*; with French transl. by Houdas and Martel, *Traité de droit musulman*, *La Tohfat d'Ebn Acem*, *texte arabe avec trad. fr.*, *comment.*, *juridique et notes philolog.*, Algiers 1882—3); 2. *Ḥadâ'iḳ al-Azâhir fî Mustaḥsan al-Adjwiba wa 'l-Muḍḥikât wa 'l-Ḥikam wa 'l-Amthâl wa 'l-Ḥikâyât wa 'l-Nawâdir*, a collection of more or less interesting anecdotes, popular proverbs, answers to which there is no reply, etc., divided into 6 *ḥadîḳa* (garden) of which each includes one, two or three chapters (printed in Fâs n. d.; this edition should be compared with the Paris MS. Bibl. Nat., *Catal.*, N°. 3528 and the Brit. Mus. MS., Rieu, *Suppl.*, N°. 1145, 1.).

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bâbâ, *Nail al-Ibtihâdj* (Fâs 1317), p. 299; do., *Kifâyat al-Muḥtâdj*, MS. of the Medresa in Algiers, f. 153 v°; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 264. (Moh. Ben Cheneb.)

IBN 'ASKAR, Muḥammad b. 'Alî b. 'Omar b. Ḥusain b. Miṣbâḥ, was born at al-Ḥiṣn in the district of Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghîr in north Morocco. He is known to fame as the author of the *Dawḥat al-Nâshir li-Maḥâsin man kâna min al-Maghrib*

min Ahl al-Ḳarn al-'āshir, a collection of biographies of learned men and saints whom he had known personally or at second hand, composed about the year 1575. The Ḥasanī Sharīf 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālib was, contrary to custom, succeeded by his son Muḥammad in 1573. War broke out between Muḥammad and his uncle 'Abd al-Malik. Ibn 'Askar threw in his lot with the former and was slain at the battle of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin close to Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, in which Muḥammad along with Dom Sebastian of Portugal perished, 'Abd al-Malik dying at the commencement of the battle (August 1578; Wafrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, ed. Houdas, p. 73 *sqq.*). The *Dawḥa* is continued by al-Wafrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar min Akhbār Ṣulaḥā' al-Ḳarn al-ḥādī 'ashar*, Fās n. d. Cf. also *Nashr al-Mathānī* of Muḥammad b. al-Ṭaiyib. The *Dawḥa* has been lithographed at Fās, in 1891, *Nashr al-Mathānī* in 1892.

Bibliography: *La "Daouhat an-Nachir"* .... trad. par A. Graulle, *Archives Marocaines*, xix. (1913). (T. H. Weir.)

IBN al-'ASSĀL. During the first half of the xiiith century A. D. there took place among the Copts a pronounced religious and intellectual renaissance, assuming, by the necessity of the case, an Arabic form. In it three brothers, known as the Awlād al-'Assāl, were prominent. Al-'Assāl, the father, to judge from the titles given to him in the MSS., was of high rank and good family, and there is mention also of a *dār*, or great house, in Cairo as belonging to an Ibn al-'Assāl. Unfortunately this name is given in the MSS. to all the three brothers, and the resultant confusion was first fairly disentangled by Rieu (*Suppl. to Cat. of Arab. MSS in Brit. Mus.*, p. 18) and Alexis Mallon (*Journ. as.*, Nov.-Dec. 1905, p. 509 *sqq.*). Yet much remains uncertain. Of them al-As'ad Abu 'l-Faradj Hibat-Allāh was the philologist and exegete. He wrote in Arabic a Coptic grammar (Mallon, *Une École de Savants égyptiens au Moyen Age* in the Beyrouth *Mélanges*, i. 122 *sqq.*); edited an eclectic Arabic version of the Gospels, in which he calls himself *al-kātib al-Miṣrī* (Guidi, *Le traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico*; D. B. Macdonald, *Ibn al-'Assāl's Arabic version of the Gospels* in *Homenaje á Codera*, p. 375 *sqq.* — gives text and translation of introduction); also wrote an introduction to the Epistles of Paul (de Goeje in *Cat. Cod. orient.* (Leiden), v. p. 83). Al-Ṣafī Abu 'l-Faḍā'il was a canonist and controversialist. Besides several theological tractates he compiled an abbreviated collection of the canons formulated at the Coptic synod held in Cairo in A. D. 1239 at the church of the Ḥārat Zuwaila (Renaudot, *Hist. Patr. Alex.*, p. 585 *sq.* The third brother, Abū Isḥāḳ, was apparently younger. He speaks of his two brothers as already famous, and in one place adds to their names a formula (*raḥimahumā 'llāh*) implying that they were dead. He himself apparently held some official position, for he is called *al-Mu'taman*, also *Mu'taman al-dawla* and *al-ṭin al-maṣīḥī*. His most important work was a *Sullam*, a Coptic-Arabic vocabulary, embracing the words used in the liturgical books, arranged in the alphabetic order of their rhymes. This vocabulary was published in 1643 by Kircher in his *Lingua aegyptiaca restituta*, pp. 273-493, and the introduction has been given in text and translation by Mallon in his *École des Savants égyptiens* in the Beyrouth *Mélanges*, ii. 214 *sqq.* A general collection of canons of the Church "from those of the Apostles to those of the Emperors" is assigned to him by Rieu on the authority of Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 1331; it was completed in A. D. 1238. In 1895 Arabic sermons (*khuṭab*) ascribed to him in some MSS. were published by Gomma Mīkhā'īl and in 1906 some theological tractates, from the *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, which are also ascribed to him in some MSS., by Louis Cheikho in his *Seize traités théologiques* (p. 110 *sqq.*). There they are assigned to Abu 'l-Faradj, just as Gomma gives the sermons to al-Ṣafī. Besides this uncertainty we have almost no precise dates for the lives of the brothers. The *Khuṭab* published by Gomma are asserted to be from an autograph MS. dated 1214, which is against their being by the youngest of the brothers.

Bibliography is given above. The most important references are to Alexis Mallon.

(D. B. Macdonald.)

IBN 'AṬĀ' ALLĀH, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Tādj al-Dīn al-Iskandarī al-Shādhilī, an Arab mystic and one of the most vigorous opponents of Ibn Taimīya [q. v.], died on the 16 Djumādā II 709 = 21 Nov. 1309 in the Madrasa al-Manṣūriya in Cairo. Of his works detailed by Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, II, 117-118, there have been printed 1) *al-Ḥikam al-'Aṭā'iya* with the commentary of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abbād al-Nafzī al-Rondī, died 796 = 1394, Būlāḳ 1285, Cairo 1303, 1306 (with the commentary of 'Abd Allāh al-Sharḳāwī on the margins). On it there is a Turkish commentary *al-Mubham fī Sharḥ al-Ḥikam* by Māhir Kastamunili Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed, Stambul 1323; an anonymous Malay commentary printed in Mecca (1302), is mentioned by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 387, 7. 2) *Tādj al-'Arūs wa Ḳamʿ al-Nufūs* (or *al-Ḥāwī fī Tahdhīb al-Nufūs*), Cairo 1275, 1282, 1305, 1327. 3) *Laṭā'if al-Minan fī Manāḳib al-Shaikh Abi 'l-'Abbās wa-Shaikhihi Abi 'l-Ḥasan*, biographies of the Ṣūfīs Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Mursī (died 686 = 1287) and his teacher Taḳī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shādhilī (died 656 = 1258), Tunis 1304, lith. Cairo 1277, along with *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, on the margin of the *Laṭā'if al-Minan* of al-Sha'rānī, Cairo 1321.

Bibliography: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'īya al-kubrā*, v. 176; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 301; 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, vii. 70; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N⁰. 382. (C. Brockelmann.)

IBN A'THAM al-KŪFĪ, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Arab historian, of whom we only know that he died about 314 = 926 (s. Frähn, *Indications bibliographiques*, p. 16), whom Wüstenfeld (*Geschichtschr.*, N⁰. 541) erroneously places in the year 1063 A. H. He wrote from the Shī'ī point of view a romantic history of the early caliphs and their conquests, Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hdss. der Herzogl. Bibl. zu Gotha*, N⁰. 1592, which Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Mustawfī al-Harawī translated into Persian in 596 = 1199, s. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, i. 150 (where other Mss. are detailed), from which is taken *The History of the Conquest of Zoor and The Flight and Murder of Yezdejherd-Transl. from the Persian of Ahmad ibn Asem of Cufa*, by E. Gerrans, in Ouseley's *Oriental Collections*, i.

63, 161 *sqq.* (Pers. text in Wilken's *Pers. Chrestomathie*, p. 132, 1., Germ. transl. in *Asiat. Museum*, ii. 161) and *The Invasion of Nubia* and *Historical Anecdote*, transl. by W. Ouseley, in *Oriental Collections*, i. 333, ii. 58.

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN AL-ATHĪR. This name was born by three brothers, natives of Djazīrat Ibn 'Umar [q. v.] who are among the most celebrated and important Arab scholars and authors.

1. The oldest brother was 1. MADJD AL-DĪN ABU 'L-SA'ĀDĀT AL-MUBĀRAK B. MUḤAMMAD, born in 544 (1149), died at Mōṣul in 606 (1210) cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xii. 190. He devoted himself mainly to the study of the Ḳur'ān, tradition and Arabic grammar. The titles of the works composed by him are given by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 524, Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 238 *sqq.*, and by Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, i. 357. As to the events of his life, he studied grammar with Ibn al-Dahhān at Mōṣul, and Ḥadīth at Baghdād, then entered the service of the Emir Ḳaimāz, who acted as regent for a considerable period in the reign of Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī, and was chief of the chancellery under Ghāzī's successors Mas'ūd b. Mawdūd [q. v.] and Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh [q. v.], although, as his brother tells us, he was reluctant to assume this high office, and only did so at the wish of Nūr al-Dīn. He became lame as the result of an illness and is said to have composed most, if not all as Ibn Khallikān tells, of his works after this misfortune. He made his house a *ribāṭ* for Ṣūfīs.

2. The second brother, 'IZZ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, born 555 (1160) at Djazīra, died at Mōṣul in 630 (1234) is the author of the famous history, *al-Kāmil fi 'l-Ta'rīkh*, often quoted here. He also wrote the history of the Atābegs of Mōṣul (ed. in the *Recueil des Historiens arabes des Croisades*, vol. ii.), an alphabetical dictionary of the contemporaries of Muḥammad entitled *Usd al-Ghāba fī Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, ed. Cairo, 1280, and a synopsis of the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* of al-Sam'ānī [q. v.] entitled *al-Lubāb*, which was still further epitomised by al-Suyūṭī under the title *Lubb al-Lubāb* (ed. Veth, Lugd. Bat. 1840). The most important of these works, the chronicle, ends with the year 628 and is a compilation of the greatest value. On the first part of it cf. Brockelmann, *Das Verhältnis von Ibn-el-Aṯīrs Kāmil fit-ta'rīḫ zu Ṭabarīs Aḫbār errusul walmulūk*. 'Izz al-Dīn studied in Mōṣul and Baghdād and also travelled in Syria, for the rest he lived only for knowledge as a private scholar. Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 433; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* i. 345 (where other literature is given).

3. The third brother, ḌIYĀ' AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FATḤ NAṢR ALLĀH, born 558 (1163) in Djazīra, died 637 (1239) in Baghdād, was particularly distinguished as a stylist. His work on rhetoric, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir fī Adab al-Kātib wa 'l-Shā'ir* (printed Būlāḳ 1282), enjoys a great authority in the Muslim world. Other writings of his are given by Ibn Khallikān and Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, i. 297. Unlike his brother the historian, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn led a very active life. Introduced to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [q. v.] he entered his service in 587 and soon afterwards became vizier of al-Malik al-Afḍal, son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. When Damascus was taken from him, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn escaped with great difficulty to Egypt in a bolted box, and did not appear again till al-Afḍal had become lord of Sumaisāṭ in compensation for his previous territory. But he only remained a short time here, entered the service of the ruler of Ḥalab in 607 (1210) only to leave it soon after to seek his fortune first in Mōṣul, then in Irbil and Sindjār. In 618 (1221) he obtained a position as chief of the Dīwān al-Inshā' at the court of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, prince of Mōṣul. He died there on one of his journeys to Baghdād. His son Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammed, who was also an author, died in his youth in 622 (1225).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 734; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*; Goldziher and Margoliouth in the references given by Brockelmann.

Still other authors are known under the name Ibn al-Athīr e. g. 'Imād al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fidā' Ismā'īl, died 699, on whom cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, i. 341; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i. 71, mentions another.

IBN AL-'AWWĀM, whose full name was ABŪ ZAKARĪYĀ YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. AL-'AWWĀM AL-ISHBĪLĪ, the author of a large work on agriculture, *Kitāb al-Falāḥa*. Practically nothing is known of the life of this author: we only know that he flourished towards the end of the xiith century and that he lived in Seville. Ibn Khaldūn mentions him although not being acquainted with his book which he considers a recension of *al-Falāḥa al-Nabaṭīya* [see IBN AL-WAḤSHĪYA]; neither Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa nor Ibn Khallikān quote him.

Casiri in his *Catalogue* was the first to call attention to the complete manuscript preserved in the Escurial. It was then edited with a Spanish translation in 1802 by his pupil J. A. Banqueri. The book is divided into 34 chapters of which the first 30 deal with agriculture and the last 4 with cattle-rearing. E. Meyer gives a summary of it in his *Geschichte der Botanik*. Clément-Mullet published a French translation in 1864. Dozy (*Suppl.*, Introd., p. xviii) and after him C. C. Moncada severely criticise both editor and translator.

Bibliography: J. A. Banqueri, *Libro de Agricultura. Su autor el doctor excelente Abu Zacaria Iahia . . ., Ebn El Awam, Sevillano*, Tom. i—ii., Madrid 1802; C. C. Moncada, *Sul taglio della vite di Ibn al-'Awwâm* in *Actes du 8e congrès des Orientalistes*, Stockholm 1889, ii. 215—257; E. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, iii. 260—266; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 494 *sq.*

(J. RUSKA.)

IBN BĀBŪYA, ABŪ DJA'FAR MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. ḤUSAIN B. MŪSĀ AL-ḲUMMĪ AL-ṢADŪḲ, was one of the four greatest of the collectors of the Shī'a Traditions. In the prime of life, 355 (966), he went from Khurāsān to Baghdād and many learned men of the place became his pupils. He died in Raiy 381 (991) and is also known as al-Ṣadūḳ. Of his writings the following may be mentioned: 1. *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-Faḳīh*, a work on the Shī'a Traditions. It is one of the four books of Shī'a Traditions, called *al-Kutub al-Arba'a*. [The other three are *a*. *al-Kāfī* by Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'ḳūb al-Kulīnī, d. 328 (939) or 329 (940); *b*. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*; *c*. *al-Istibṣār* both by Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, d. 460 (1067)]. 2. *Ma'ānī al-Akhbār*, a collection of Shī'a Traditions. 3. *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, an ac-

count of the life and sayings and doctrines of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, the eighth Imām of the Shīʿa. 4. *Kitāb Ikmāl al-Dīn wa Itmām al-Niʿma*, a work on the Shīʿa doctrine of the hidden Imām, partly edited by E. Möller, *Beiträge zur Mahdilehre des Islams*, i., Heidelberg 1901.

It is said that he was the author of three hundred works; al-Nadjāshī in his work *Kitāb al-Riḏjāl*, p. 276 (Bombay ed. 1317), enumerates 193 of his works.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 196; al-Ṭūsī, *List*, ed. Sprenger, nº. 661, cf. nº. 471; *Muntahā 'l-Maḳāl*, p. 282; *Amal al-Āmil*, p. 65; al-Nadjāshī; *loc. cit.*; *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt fī Aḥwāl al-ʿUlamāʾ wa 'l-Sādāt*, p. 557; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litter.*, i., 187; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, ii. 65.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

IBN BADJDJA, i. e. AVEMPACE (according to Ibn Khaldūn *bādjdja* is a Frankish word, meaning silver) or to give him his proper name ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ, also known by the name of IBN AL-ṢĀʾIGH, i. e. filius Aurificis, a celebrated Arab philosopher. Ibn Bādjdja was born in Saragossa towards the end of the vth (xith) century and was for about 20 years vizier to Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm, a brother-in-law of the Almoravid ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, who acted as the latter's governor in Granada and afterwards in Saragossa. He afterwards went to Fās and there fell a victim to the intrigues of his enemies. In 533 (1138) he is believed to have been poisoned at the instigation of the physician Ibn Zahr. His enemies, among whom was Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān [q. v.], stirred up the populace and the authorities against him by decrying him as an atheist, who had rejected the Ḳurʾān and the dogmas of Islām.

Ibn Bādjdja, who died young, was not only a philosopher but was also well acquainted with natural science, astronomy, mathematics and medicine; he had also a great reputation as a musician. He wrote commentaries on several works of Aristotle and published other treatises also, which are detailed by Leclerc from Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa but are for the most part now lost or have only survived in Hebrew or Latin translation. Cf. *Die Abhandlung des Abū Bekr Ibn al-Ṣāig "Vom Verhalten des Einsiedlers"* (*Kit. Tadbīr al-Mutawaḥḥid*), according to Moses Narbonis synopsis.... ed. by Dr. D. Herzog, Berlin 1896 (*Beitr. zur Philos. des Mittelalters*, Heft 1). For an appreciation of his philosophical views the reader may be referred to the works of Munk and de Boer given below.

Bibliography: Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, p. 298 *sqq.*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 681; Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, ed. Müller, ii. 62 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, p. 406; Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 383 *sqq.*; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii. 75 *sqq.*; de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, p. 156 *sqq.*

IBN BADRŪN. [See IBN ʿABDŪN.]

IBN AL-BAIṬĀR, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD ḌIYĀʾ AL-DĪN IBN AL-BAIṬĀR AL-MĀLAḲĪ, the celebrated botanist and herbalist. He probably belonged to the Ibn al-Baiṭār family of Malaga (cf. Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Muʿdjam*, Nº. 35, 165, 241) and was born in the last quarter of the vith (xiith) century. As his teacher of botanical subjects, special mention should be made of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī, with whom he used to collect plants in the vicinity of Seville. When about 20 he set out to travel through North Africa, Morocco, Algiers and Tunis to study botany. Reaching Egypt, where the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil was then reigning, he entered his service, was appointed *Raʾīs ʿalā sāʾiri 'l-ʿAshshābīn* i. e. "chief botanist"; on al-Kāmil's death he continued in the service of his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn who lived in Damascus. From Damascus Ibn al-Baiṭār botanised in Syria and Asia Minor as a herbalist and wrote the two books, which have made his name famous, as the result of his studies and practical research: the *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ fi 'l-Adwiya al-mufradāt* (so Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, ii. 133); printed in 1291 under the title *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa 'l-Aghdhiya*, a collection of "simple remedies" from the animal, vegetable, and mineral worlds collected from Greek and Arabic authors and his own experiments and arranged in alphabetical order, and the *Kitāb al-mughnī fi 'l-Adwiya al-mufrada*, a book on *materia medica* arranged according to the organs affected, in brief form for the use of physicians. Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa was a pupil of Ibn al-Baiṭār and accompanied him on botanical excursions in the neighbourhood of Damascus, but he does not give much information about him. Ibn al-Baiṭār died in 646 (1248) in Damascus.

J. v. Sontheimer's translation of the first named work is defective; the edition published by Leclerc in *Notices et Extraits*, xxiii. i., xxv. i., xxvi. i. (1877—1883) may be considered reliable.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, ed. A. Müller, ii. 133; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. arab. Ärzte*, Nº. 231; Fr. R. Dietz, *Analecta Medica* etc., i. 1, *Elenchus materiae medicae Ibn Beitharis*... etc., *pars prima*, Lipsiae 1833; L. Leclerc, *Études historiques et philologiques sur Ebn Beithâr*, *Journal Asiatique*, 5e Sér., T. xix. (1862), p. 433—461; do., *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, ii. 225, Paris 1876; do., *Traité des simples par Ibn el-Beïthar* in *Notices et Extraits*, v. supra; J. v. Sontheimer, *Grosse Zusammenstellung über die Kräfte der bek. einf. Heilm.*, Stuttg. 1840—1842; Meyer, *Gesch. d. Botanik*, iii. 227—234; Dozy, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxiii. 183; E. Sickenberger, *Les plantes égyptiennes d'Ibn al-Baiṭār*, *Bull. Inst. Ég.*, 2me Sér., Nº 10, 1890; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, i. 492, vgl. ii. 705.

(J. RUSKA.)

IBN BAḲIYA, NAṢĪR AL-DAWLA ABŪ 'L-ṬĀHIR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. BAḲIYA, Bakhtiyār's vizier. Ibn Baḳiya was born in Awānā and was of humble origin. He was first employed at Muʿizz al-Dawla's court as master of the kitchen and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 362 (Sept. 973) Bakhtiyār gave him the office of vizier. After the conquest of Baghdād and the imprisonment of Bakhtiyār in 364 (975) by ʿAḍud al-Dawla, Ibn Baḳiya went over to the latter and was granted Wāsiṭ and the surrounding country. As soon as he entered this town he abandoned his allegiance to ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The latter was defeated and had to retire to al-Fārs and abandon the capital Baghdād to Bakhtiyār. Ibn Baḳiya then reappeared in Baghdād where he did his utmost to incite Bakhtiyār against ʿAḍud al-Dawla. In 366 (976-7) the latter advanced and defeated Bakhtiyār at al-Ahwāz. The latter had to flee and went to Wāsiṭ. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the same year (August 977)

he had Ibn Baḳiya seized and blinded as the latter had shown himself too independent. Soon afterwards the vizier was handed over to his enemy ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who had him trampled to death by elephants in Shawwāl 367 (May 978). Ibn Baḳiya was 50 years of age at the time of his death.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), Nº. 709 (transl. by de Slane, iii. 272 *sqq.*); Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 462—6, 479—482, 495 *sq.*, 507.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

IBN AL-BALADĪ, SHARAF AL-DĪN ABŪ DJAʿFAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SAʿĪD, al-Mustandjid's vizier. In 563 (1166-8) Ibn al-Baladī, who at that time was *Nāẓir* in Wāsiṭ, was appointed vizier. There was an old feud between him and the Ustād-dār ʿAḍud al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. After the murder of the caliph in Rabīʿ II 566 (December 1170) by ʿAḍud al-Dīn and the Emīr Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, they forced his successor al-Mustaḍīʾ to appoint ʿAḍud al-Dīn vizier, whereupon Ibn al-Baladī was executed.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 426—9; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 216 *sqq.*, 230, 237.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

IBN AL-BANNĀʾ ("son of the architect"), whose full name was ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿOTHMĀN AL-AZDĪ, a versatile Moroccan scholar, especially distinguished in mathematics, astronomy, astrology and other secret sciences, and also in medecine. He was born in Marrākush on the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 654 = 28th Dec. 1256 (according to others 639, 649 or even 656). After studying grammar, Ḥadīth, Fiḳh, and mathematics in his native town, he went to Fās where he studied under the physician al-Mirrīkh, the mathematician Ibn Ḥadjla, and the astronomer Ibn Makhlūf al-Sidjilmāsī. He was for a considerable time a follower of the Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hazmīrī, who admitted him to his order. He often fasted in complete retirement; his biographers praise his noble character and pure life. Ibn al-Bannāʾ died on Saturday the 6th Radjab 721 (Aug. 1321) in Marrākush, where he was buried outside the Bāb Aghmāt; 723 or 1724 is also given as the year of his death. Of the 74 writings which are ascribed to him, a whole series of mathematical and astronomical works are still extant in libraries (cf. the references in Brockelmann, *op. cit.*). Here we will only mention *Talkhīṣ Aʿmāl al-Ḥisāb* (Synopsis of the operations of Calculation), publ. in a French transl. by A. Marre in the *Atti dell' Accad. pontif. de' Nuovi Lincei*, Vol. xvii. 1864, repr. Rome 1865. Several Arab scholars have written commentaries on this *Talkhīṣ* which is said to be a synopsis of the arithmetic of a certain Abū Zakariyā al-Ḥaṣṣār (cf. *Biblior. mathem.* 3d Ser., Vol. ii., p. 12—40); among these we may mention Aḥmad b. al-Madjdī and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḳalaṣādī (cf. *Abhandl. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, x. 180—182). F. Woepcke has made an excerpt on the summation of series from the first commentary, entitled *Passages relatifs à des sommations de séries de cubes*, Rome, 1864; the same scholar has given several passages in translation from the second in the above mentioned treatise and in the *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. vi., Vol. i. (1863), p. 58—62. — Ibn al-Bannāʾ shows some advance on the older Arab mathematicians of the East in Arithmetic, particularly in counting with fractions; he is also to be considered one of the chief users of Indian numerals in the form used by the Western Arabs (*Ghubār* figures). [Cf. the article ḤISĀB].

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj*, Fās 1317, p. 41; do., *Kifāyat al-Muḥtādj*, fº. 6 vº. (Ms. of the Medresa of Algiers); Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Salāwī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, Cairo 1312, ii. 88; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās 1309, p. 73; Ibn Ḳunfudh, *Taʿrīkh* (Ms. belonging to Prof. Ben Cheneb), fº. 9vº.; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās, 1316, ii. 48; Introd. to the Commentary on the *Talkhīṣ* by al-Ḳalaṣādī, Ms. Gotha, Nº. 1477; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr. de Slane, *Introd.*, p. xxv.; A. Marre, *Biographie d'Ibn al-Bannâ* in *Atti dell' Accad. pontif. de' Nuovi Lincei*, xix. 1 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.* ii. 255, cf. 710; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber u. ihre Werke* (*Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Mathem. Wiss.*, Number x., Leipzig 1900), p. 162 *sqq.*, Nº. 399.

(H. SUTER—MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN BARRĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. BARRĪ B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. BARRĪ AL-MAḲDISĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, Arab grammarian and philologist, born at Damascus 5th Radjab 499 (13th March 1106), died at Cairo in the night of Friday-Saturday 27th Shawwāl 582 (9th-10th Jan. 1187), a scholar of extraordinary repute, who is considered a philological authority and is called by many "king of the grammarians". The author of the *Lisān al-ʿArab* has borrowed a great deal from him. His teachers were the grammarians Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Shantarīnī, Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Maʿāfirī al-Ḳurṭubī, Abū Ṣādiḳ al-Madīnī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī etc. His best pupil was Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djazūlī. He is the author of the following works: 1. *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Īḍāḥ ʿammā* (var. *ʿalā mā*) *waḳaʿa min al-Wahm fī Kitāb al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, corrections and additions to Djawharī's *Dictionary*; he is said to have died when engaged on the root *waḳsh* and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baṣrī completed his work (Derenbourg, *Mss. ar. de l'Escurial*, Nº. 585); 2. *Ḥawāshī ʿala 'l-Muʿarrab*, critical notes and additions to al-Djawālīḳī's dictionary of foreign words (Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, Nº. 772, 3); 3. *Kitāb Ghalaṭ al-Ḍuʿafāʾ min al-Fuḳahāʾ*, a collection of neologisms or errors of speech in the jurists (ed. by Ch. C. Torrey in *Oriental. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Gieszen 1906); 4. *al-Djawāb ʿan al-Ḥarīrī*, a small pamphlet in defence of the *Maḳāmas* of al-Ḥarīrī against the sharp criticism of Ibn al-Khashshāb (pr. Constantinople 1320).

The thirteen verses on the different meanings of the word *khāl*, which Brockelmann ascribes to him and which are in the *Lisān*, are by Thaʿlab (cf. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣināʿatain*, Constantinople 1320, p. 335).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (Cairo 1310), i. 268; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (Cairo 1321), i. 255; do., *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt* (Cairo 1326), p. 278; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh* (Constantinople 1286), iii. 75; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿīya* (Cairo 1324), iv. 233 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 301 *sq.*; *Tādj al-ʿArūs s. v.* ... (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN BARRĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAM-

MAD B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAIN AL-RIBĀṬĪ, an Arab philologist, born about 660 (1261-2) at Tāza, where he died in 730 or 731 or 733 (1329—1333) and was buried, although some place his tomb in Fās, wrongly.

Widely acquainted with Islāmic sciences he was particularly esteemed as an authoritative critic of the different recensions of the Ḳurʾān and his *al-Durar al-Lawāmiʿ* is as popular in North Africa as the *Adjurrūmiya*.

After being *ʿadl* (professional witness) for a period he was appointed to conduct the official correspondence of the government at Tāza, an office which he held till his death, on the recommendation of a pupil of his, a ḳāḍī, who did not care to see his former teacher in this subordinate position.

Of his works only two have survived to us: 1. 30 radjab verses *fī Makhāridj al-Ḥurūf*, in which the author marks the place of articulation of the Arabic letters (Ms. Berlin, *Verzeichn.*, Nº. 548); 2. *al-Durar al-Lawāmiʿ fī Aṣl Maḳraʾ al-Imām Nāfiʿ*, a poem of 242 Radjaz verses, which was completed in 697 (1298) and deals with the recension of the Ḳurʾān according to Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Nuʿaim al-Madanī (d. 159 = 775-6 or 169 = 785), often published in Cairo and Tunis in the collections of treatises on recensions of the Kurʾān and its orthography).

Bibliography: Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmed al-Mārighnī al-Tūnisī, *al-Nudjūm al-ṭawāliʿ ʿalā ʾl-Durar al-lawāmiʿ* etc. (Tunis 1322), p. 231; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 248 *sq.*

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN BASHKUWĀL, ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM KHALAF B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MASʿŪD B. MŪSĀ B. BASHKUWĀL B. YŪSUF B. DĀḤA B. DĀKA B. NAṢR B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. WĀḲID AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Arabic biographer, a descendant of a family belonging to Shorroyon (Xorroyon, Sorrion) near Valencia, born on the 3rd Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 494 = 29th Sept. 1101 at Cordova, acquired here and in Seville a great knowledge of Tradition and the history of his native land and was for a period representative of the Ḳāḍī Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī in a quarter of Seville. He died at Cordova on the night of Tuesday/Wednesday the 8th Ramaḍān 578 = 4th/5th Jan. 1183. His most important teachers were Abū Muḥammad Ibn ʿAttāb, Abu ʾl-Walīd Ibn Rushd, Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī, etc.; among his pupils all of whom predeceased him, we may mention Abū Bakr b. Khair and Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Ḳanṭarī.

Ibn Bashkuwāl enjoyed a special reputation among all compilers of Arabic biographical dictionaries and, according to Ibn al-Abbār, he was the last authority on Tradition in Cordova and the soundest authority on the history of Spain.

Of the 50 works which he is said to have composed only two are known to us: 1. *Kitāb al-Ṣila fī Taʾrīkh Aʾimmat al-Andalus etc.*, a biographical dictionary of the Arab scholars of Spain, completed on the 3rd Djumādā I 534 = 27th Dec. 1139, a supplement to the biographical dictionary of Ibn al-Faraḍī (ed. F. Codera in *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.*, Vol. i. and ii., Madrid 1883); 2. *Kitāb al-Ghawāmiḍ wal-Mubhamāt min al-Asmāʾ*, a dictionary of authorities on Tradition, whose names are difficult to spell or are easily confused with others (Berlin, *Verz.*, nº. 1673).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (Cairo 1310), i. 172; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* (Haiderābād n. d.), iv. 132 *sqq.*; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj* (Fās 1316), p. 116; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, nº. 179; do., *al-Muʿdjam*, nº. 70; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, xvii., nº. 1; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, nº. 270; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, nº. 200; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 340.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN BAṬṬŪṬA (BAṬŪṬA), MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, AL-LAWĀTĪ AL-ṬANDJĪ, Arab traveller and author, born on the 14th Radjab 703 = 24th Febr. 1304 at Tangier, began the pilgrimage to Mecca 725 = 1325. He went via North Africa through Upper Egypt to the Red Sea. As he could not find a safe crossing here he turned back and reached his destination via Syria and Palestine. From Mecca he went through the ʿIrāḳ and thence visited Persia as well as Mōṣul and Diyār Bakr. He next paid a second visit to Mecca where he spent the years 729 and 730. A third journey led him over South Arabia to East Africa and back to the Persian Gulf. From Hormuz he returned to Mecca and thence went via Egypt and Syria to Asia Minor and the Crimea. He visited Constantinople in the retinue of a Greek princess, wife of Sulṭān Muḥammad Uzbek. From the Volga he went through Khwārizm, Bukhārā, and Afghānistān to India. In Dihlī he undertook the office of ḳāḍī. Two years later he joined an embassy setting out for China but only reached the Maldives where he filled a judicial office for 1½ years. From there he went to China via Ceylon, Bengal and Further India. Whether he went beyond Zaitūn and Canton is uncertain. Via Sumatra (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Arabië en Oost-Indië*, Leiden 1907, p. 7 *sqq.*; French transl. *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.*, lvii. 1908, 62 *sqq.*) he returned to Arabia where he landed in Muḥarram 748 at Ẓafār. After a journey through Persia, Syria and Mesopotamia he made the pilgrimage for the fourth time, from Egypt. He then went back through North Africa and entered Fās in Shaʿbān 750. After a very brief stay here he went to Granada. His last long journey took him in 753-4 to the Negro lands, to Timbuktu and Melli. He returned to Morocco via the oases of Agades and Tawāt. Here he dictated the account of his travels to the scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Djuzay (cf. de Slane, *Journ. As.*, 1843, i. 244 *sqq.*), who wrote the narrative in a literary style frequently modelled on Ibn Djubair's work. The latter died in 757 = 1356 soon after the completion of his task; his holograph is partly preserved in the Paris Ms. Suppl. 907. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa died in 779 = 1377 in Morocco. His work *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharāʾib al-Amṣār wa ʿAdjāʾib al-Asfār*, was edited by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, 4 vols., Paris 1853—1859; 3rd ed. 1893; repr. Cairo 1287-1288, 1322. Further literature given is by H. von Mžik, *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Baṭūṭa durch Indien und China (XIV. Jahrh.)*, in *Bibl. denkwürdiger Reisen*, Vol. 5, Hamburg 1911.

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN AL-BAWWĀB, "the porter's son" a name of ABU ʾL-ḤASAN ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. HILĀL, a celebrated Arab calligrapher, son of a porter of the audience hall of Baghdād. He was also called Ibn al-Sitrī. He died in 413 = 1022 or 423 = 1032 and was buried beside the tomb of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. He had a wide knowledge of law, knew the Ḳurʾān by heart, and wrote

out 64 copies of it. One of these written in *Rīḥānī*-script is in the Lāleli mosque in Constantinople, to which it was given by Sulṭān Selīm I. The *Dīwān* of the pre-Islamic poet Salāma b. Djandal, copied by him, is in the library of the Aya Ṣofya. He invented the *Rīḥānī* and *Muḥaḳḳaḳ* scripts and founded a school of calligraphy which survived to the time of Yāḳūt al-Musta'ṣimī.

Bibliography: Cl. Huart, *Calligraphes*, p. 80; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, n°. 468, transl. de Slane, II, 282; Ḥabīb-Efendi, *Khaṭṭ u Khaṭṭāṭān*, p. 44. (Cl. Huart.)

IBN BĪBĪ, Nāṣir al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Madjd al-Dīn Muḥammad Tardjumān (the "interpreter"), Persian historian. His father was *munshī* and interpreter at the court of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor and more than once a member of diplomatic missions to foreign princes. He died in 670 = 1272. He received the name Ibn Bībī from his mother, who had a great reputation as a fortune-teller and was therefore held in great esteem by Sulṭān Kaiḳubād I (616—634 = 1220—1237); we know nothing of the life of Ibn Bībī himself, but he appears to have been well acquainted with the famous Mongol vizier 'Alā' Malik Djuwainī [q. v.], for he dedicates to him his chief work, a history of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor in the vii[th] (xiii[th]) century. This chronicle, which is composed in unusually florid Persian, is entitled *al-Awāmir al-'alā'iya fi 'l-Umūr al-'alā'iya*, because it deals mainly with the history of 'Alā' al-Dīn (Kaiḳubād), and survives in a unique ms. (Aya Ṣofya, n°. 2985). An unknown epitomiser composed a synopsis of it, which was published in 1902 by Houtsma in his *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, Vol. iv. The latter also published a Turkish version of the same work in the 3[rd] volume of this collection (incomplete). At the time of the publication of his work, the existence of a manuscript of the original work was unknown to Houtsma.

IBN BUṬLĀN, Joannes or Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār b. Ḥasan, a Christian physician in Baghdād. From there he set out in 440 (1049) via al-Raḥba and al-Ruṣāfa to Ḥalab and thence to Anṭākiya and Lādhiḳiya, finally reaching al-Fusṭāṭ in Egypt, where he met his colleague 'Alī b. Riḍwān. Their intercourse led to sharp polemics and produced several controversial pamphlets. Extracts from Ibn Buṭlān's epistle are given in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 298 *sqq*. Relations finally became so strained that Ibn Buṭlān left Egypt and went to Constantinople, where the plague was then raging (446 = 1054). It is evident from this that the statement in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *op. cit.*, that he died at Anṭākiya in 444 (1052) is wrong, although Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a also tells us that he returned to Anṭākiya. He was still alive in 455 (1063). His principal work is called *Taḳwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa*, of which a Latin transl. was published in 1531 at Strassburg under the title: *Tacuini sanitatis Elluchasem Elimithar medici de Baldath*. In the following year there appeared at the same place a German transl. by M. Herum, *Schachtafeln der Gesundheit*. Other works are given by Leclerc and Brockelmann, s. the *Bibl*. The *Da'wat al-Aṭibbā' 'alā Madhhab Kalīla wa-Dimna* mentioned there was published in 1901 by Dr. Bishāra Zalzal in Alexandria.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ed. Müller, i. 241 *sqq*.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, p. 294 *sqq*.; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i. 489 *sqq*.; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i. 483; H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma ibn Mounkidh*, p. 15, 488 *sqq*.

IBN AL-DAIBA' was called after his ancestor 'Alī b. Yūsuf (*Daiba'* is said to mean "white" in Nubian, according to al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, iii. 192, and *Tādj al-'Arūs*, v. 325), the South Arabian Historian and Traditionist Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar ... b. Alī b. Yūsuf, Wadjīh al-Dīn al-Shaibānī al-Zabīdī, who was born on the 4[th] Muḥarram 866 (9[th] Oct. 1461) at Zabīd. From his tenth year he had the benefit of the tuition of his uncle, Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, Muftī of Zabīd, under whose guidance, after learning the Ḳur'ān, he proceeded to study various sciences, notably mathematics and *fiḳh*. After studying under other teachers and making the pilgrimage in 884 and 885, he became a pupil of Zain al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sharadjī (died 893), devoting particular attention to history. He afterwards went to Bait al-Faḳīh where he specially studied Ḥadīth under two members of the scholarly family of Ibn Dja'mān. After a third pilgrimage (896), with which he combined a stay in Mecca in order to study Ḥadīth under al-Sakhāwī (d. 902 = 1497), he began to devote himself to literature. Through his work as a historian he won high favour with the Ṭāhirid al-Malik al-Ẓāfir II Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'Āmir (894—923 = 1489—1517), who presented him with robes of honour, allotted him lands and gave him a professorship at the Djāmi' of Zabīd. Ibn al-Daiba' died in Radjab 944 (Dec. 1537). His works are: 1. *Bughyat al-Mustafīd fī Akhbār Madīnat Zabīd*, a history of Zabīd and its rulers to the year 901 (begins 21 Sept. 1495), the most important part of which is the section on the ix[th] (xv[th]) century; it finishes with his autobiography as *Khātima*. This work has been rendered into Latin by C. Th. Johannsen, with introduction and notes, from the defective Copenhagen ms. (*Historia Jemanae*, Bonn 1828, Mss. in Brockelmann, *l. c.*, and Aya Ṣofya, N°. 2988; Blochet, *Cat. de la Coll. ... Schefer*, N°. 5807, 6060). Continuing this work down to 923 (1517) he wrote *al-Faḍl al-mazīd*. A second appendix brings it to 924 (Mss. in Brockelmann, *l. c.*, and Aya Ṣofya, N°. 2988); 2. *Ḳurrat al-'Uyūn fī Akhbār al-Yaman al-maimūn*, which is in part compiled from al-Khazradjī's *Kit. al-Kifāya*, and in part contains the same material as the preceding work. (Mss. in Brockelmann and Blochet, *o. c.*, N°. 5821, 6058); 3. *Aḥsan 'l-Sulūk fī man (fī nayn man) waliya Zabīd min al-Mulūk*, a historical Radjaz poem on the princes of Zabīd, Berlin, *Verz.*, N°. 9763; Brit. Mus., *Cat.*, N°. 1583, i.; Khed. Bibl., *Fihr.*, v. 138; Blochet, *o. c.*, N°. 5832, ii.; Houtsma, *Catal. d'une Coll.* ..., N°. 400, iii.; 4. *Taisīr al-Wuṣūl ilā Djāmi' al-Uṣūl min Ḥadīth al-Rasūl* (cf. Brockelmann, i. 357), printed Cairo 1331; 5. *Tamyīz al-Ṭaiyib min al-Khabīth mimmā yadūr 'alā Alsinat al-Nās min al-Ḥadīth* (Mss. in Brockelmann, *l. c.*, and Princeton, *Litt.*, N°. 32; pr. Cairo 1324); 6. *Kit. Faḍā'il Ahl al-Yaman* (*odor F. al-Y. wa-Akhbār*), cf. Griffini, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lxix. 75. Ibn al-Daiba' further mentions in his autobiography *Ghāyat al-Maṭlūb wa-a'ẓam 'l-Manna fīmā yaghfir 'llāh bihi 'l-Dhunūb* and *Kashf al-Kurba fī Sharḥ Du'ā' Abī Ḥarba*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iv, N°.

8176) further mentions *al-'Ikd al-bahir fi Ta'rikh Dawlat Bani Tahir*, which is said to be taken from the *Bughyat al-Mustafid*.

Bibliography: Johannsen, *op. cit.*, p. 8 *sqq.*, cf. 197 *infra sq.*, 239, 249; Rieu, *Suppl.*, N°. 586, i.; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 400 *sq.*, cf. 185 and 712; (biographical material in mss., which could not be used here, is mentioned in *Cat. Cod. Mss. Orient. Mus. Britt.*, ii. p. 672[b], note *a*). (C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBN DAISĀN, a Syrian philosopher of Parthian origin, known by his graecised Syriac name Bardesanes. His father was called Nuhama, his mother Nahsiram; both migrated from Persia to Edessa after 139 A.D. Their son was born in 154 and received his name from the river Daiṣān which waters Edessa. Brought up at the court of king Ma'nū along with the latter's son Abgar he learned astronomy and astrology; in 179 he was converted to Christianity by Bishop Hystaspes. Although an opponent of Valentine, Marcion and the other gnostics, he created a cosmological system clearly allied to the gnostic. He died in 222. The Muslims are only acquainted with his speculations on good and evil and light and darkness, from which it appears that his system was dualistic. The school founded by him lasted till late in the middle ages. His followers were divided into two sects, of which one represented the view that light mixed with darkness of its own accord, in order to improve it, but could not free itself again; the others hold that light after it has felt the dampness and the evil smell of darkness, which involuntarily overwhelms the light, attempts to free itself from it. One section of his followers inhabited the swampy lands (*baṭā'iḥ*) of the lower Euphrates, others were found scattered as far as Khurāsān and China. He was regarded as a precursor of Mānī. He actually seems to have been particularly an astrologer (Eusebius, *Praepar. evang.*, vi. 9). As such, he teaches that individual beings are subject to the power of controllers or rulers above them, namely the planets. What is called fate is the mode of activity which God has allotted the planets and elements; this activity modifies the intelligence in its descent to the soul and the soul in its descent to the body. Human life is limited by natural laws and further by fate; human freedom consists in taking up the battle with fate and limiting its power as far as possible.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i. 338; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i. 36; al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton), p. 194 *sq.*, transl. by Haarbrücker, i. 293 *sq.*; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh* (ed. de Goeje), p. 130, 135 (*Livre de l'avertissement*, transl. by Carra de Vaux, p. 182); Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-Ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, i. 91, 142; iii. 8 (transl. by Huart, i. 82, 131; iii. 9); Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-'Ibrī (ed. Ṣāliḥānī), p. 125; Flügel, *Mani* (Leipzig 1862), passim; F. Nau, *Le livre des lois des pays* (Paris 1899), p. 8—25; do., *Biographie inédite de Bardesane l'astrologue* (Paris 1897); F. Haase, *Zur Bardesanischen Gnosis* (*Texte u. Unters. z. Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit.*, xxxiv.), Leipzig 1910, and the literature there given. (CL. HUART.)

IBN DJAHĪR, the name of four viziers:

1. FAKHR AL-DAWLA ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. DJAHĪR, born in Mōṣul in 398 (1007—8). He first entered the service of the Banū 'Uḳail, who had been ruling in his native city since 386 (996); but when the 'Uḳailid Ḳuraish b. Badrān wished to throw him into prison he fled to Aleppo where the Mirdāsid Mu'izz al-Dawla b. Ṣāliḥ appointed him his vizier. He next left Aleppo and was appointed vizier to Naṣr al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Marwān, lord of Diyār Bakr. After the latter's death in 453 (1061-2) he was confirmed in this office by his son and successor Niẓām al-Dīn; but he refused to stay and went to Baghdād. Here the Caliph al-Ḳā'im appointed him vizier in the following year. In 460 (1067-8) Fakhr al-Dawla was dismissed but was restored to office in Ṣafar 461 (December 1068). The Caliph died in 467 (1075) and his successor al-Muḳtadī confirmed the vizier in his office but dismissed him in 471 (1078-9). Fakhr al-Dawla was sent in 476 (1083-4) by the Saldjūḳ sulṭān against Diyār Bakr, to take it from the Marwānids. Manṣūr b. Naṣr, the ruler of Diyār Bakr, thereupon allied himself with the 'Uḳailid Muslim b. Ḳuraish; the latter had however to flee to Āmid where he and Manṣūr were besieged by Fakhr al-Dawla. Muslim succeeded in escaping; but as Mōṣul was captured about the same time by 'Amīd al-Dawla, Fakhr al-Dawla's son, Muslim had to sue for peace and soon afterwards the governorship of Mōṣul was restored to him. After Za'īm al-Ru'asā', another of Fakhr al-Dawla's sons, had seized the town of Āmid, Fakhr al-Dawla took Maiyāfāriḳīn and was appointed governor of Diyār Bakr. According to the usual account, this happened in 478 (1085). He was soon afterwards dismissed however, but in 482 (1089-1090) Malikshāh sent him to Mōṣul of which he took possession. He died there in 483 (1090).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 711 (transl. de Slane, iii. 280 *sq.*); Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 394 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), x. 11—121; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, iv. 320 *sq.*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 128—132; Amedroz, *The Marwānid Dynasty at Mayyāfāriqīn*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1903, p. 136 *sqq.*

2. 'AMĪD AL-DAWLA ABŪ MANṢŪR MUḤAMMAD B. FAKHR AL-DAWLA B. DJAHĪR, son of the preceding; born in 435 (1043-4). By his marriage with a daughter of the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk in 462 (1067-1070) he entered into closer relations with the ruling Saldjūḳ family. After her death in 470 (1077-8) he married her niece and in Ṣafar 472 (August 1079) the Caliph al-Muḳtadī appointed him his vizier at the request of Niẓām al-Mulk. In 476 (1083-4) he was dismissed but restored to office in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 484 (Jan.-Febr. 1092) and held this office for nine years. In Ramaḍān 493 (July-August 1100) he was dismissed through the efforts of Barkiyāruḳ. The latter accused him of embezzling the revenues of Diyār Bakr and Mōṣul, which his father and he had governed during the time of Malikshāh, and had him arrested with his brothers. 'Amīd al-Dawla had to pay a huge fine and died in prison on the 16[th] Shawwāl 493 (24[th] Aug. 1100).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 399 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), x. 41—203 [see also under N°. 1].

3. ZA'ĪM AL-RU'ASĀ' ḲAWĀM AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM 'ALĪ B. FAKHR AL-DAWLA B. DJAHĪR, brother of the preceding. In 478 (1085) Za'īm al-Ru'asā' conquered Āmid [see under N°. 1] and after

Maiyāfāriḳīn also had fallen into the hands of his father, the latter sent him with the booty, won from the Marwānids, to Iṣfahān to the Sulṭān Malikshāh. In Shaʿbān 496 (May—June 1103) the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir appointed him vizier but dismissed him in Ṣafar 500 (October 1106). Zaʿīm al-Ruʾasāʾ then went to al-Ḥilla to the Mazyadī Saif al-Dawla Ṣadaḳa; in 503 (1109-1110) he was again appointed vizier by the Caliph.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 404; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), x. 93-4, 225, 251, 262, 275, 305, 335.

4. Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Djahīr al-Baghdādī (or Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Djahīr), Niẓām al-Dīn was first of all Ustād-dār (master of ceremonies); after the death of the vizier Sadīd al-Dawla Ibn al-Anbārī in 535 (1140-1) the Caliph al-Muḳtafī appointed him his successor.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), 418 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 52; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. 194.

(K. V. Zetterstéen.)

IBN DJAMĀʿA, the name of family of scholars belonging to Ḥamāt, whose members are therefore quoted by this name only and not infrequently confused with one another. Here may be mentioned:

1. Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kinānī al-Ḥamawī an Arab jurist, born 639 (1241) and died 733 (1333). He studied at Damascus and was afterwards mudarris there; in 687 (1288) he became ḳāḍī of Jerusalem, in 690 (1291) chief ḳāḍī of Cairo, in 693 (1294) chief ḳāḍī of Damascus. From 702 he again held the office of chief ḳāḍī of Cairo, with one brief interruption till 727 (1327). His official duties did not prevent him teaching in several madrasas and also engaging in literary work. His most important work is his book on constitutional law, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām*, on which cf. von Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients*, i. 403 *sq.* Through an error in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 210, also in Flügel, *Cat. Wiener Hofbibliothek*, Nº. 1830, Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., ii. 94, has ascribed this work to Nº. 4 below, although he attributes it correctly on ii. 75, (only with a slightly different title which he gives from Cod. Berol., Ahlwardt, Nº. 5613). For other writings of Ibn Djamāʿa see Brockelmann.

2. Abū ʿOmar ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿIzz al-Dīn, certainly the son of the preceding, born in 694 (1294) at Damascus, afterwards chief ḳāḍī of Egypt and Syria. But when his representative at Damascus died in 765 (1364), he resigned the office and became mudarris in Cairo. He died in 767 (1366) on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his writings cf. Brockelmann, ii. 72, and references given there.

3. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Burhān al-Dīn, grandson of Nº. 1., born 725 (1325) in Cairo. He studied in his native city and in Damascus, became khaṭīb in Jerusalem in 773 (1371), chief ḳāḍī of Egypt and mudarris at the Ṣalāḥiya, but returned to Jerusalem in the following year. In 781 (1379) he again became chief ḳāḍī of Cairo and finally in 785 (1383) ḳāḍī of Damascus, where he died in 790 (1388). See Brockelmann, ii. 112.

4. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, grandson of Nº 2, born in 759, became a physician and teacher of philosophy in Cairo. He died in 819 (1416) of the plague. See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 94. He wrote a commentary on the dogmatic poem, *Badʾ al-Amālī*, see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, i. 429.

Bibliography: given in the article.

IBN al-DJARRĀḤ, the name of two viziers:

1. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā b. Dāʾūd. After the dismissal of Ibn Muḳla in 324 (936) the Caliph al-Rāḍī offered the vacant office to the former vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā; but as he declined the offer, on the grounds of old age and feeble health, the office was given to his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. But the latter was not fit for the onerous duties and only held office for three months; he was then thrown into prison with his brother and condemned to pay a heavy fine. In 329 (941) he again appears in history; after the appointment of Kūrtegīn as Amīr al-Umarāʾ he performed the duties of a vizier for a period at the court of the Caliph al-Muttaḳī but without receiving the corresponding title.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 381 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 135, 211, 234 *sq.*, 280; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 662.

2. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Dāʾūd, brother of the preceding, born in 245 (859). As a supporter of the pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz, ʿAlī was banished to Wāsiṭ in 296 (908) after the murder of ʿAbd Allāh, but received permission to go to Mecca from al-Muḳtadir's vizier Ibn al-Furāt. In 300 (912-3) the Caliph appointed him vizier and he reached the capital in the beginning of the following year. He materially improved the finances of the state by his rigid economy; the troops were discontented however because he decreased their pay and his measures also brought him into disfavour in other quarters. He therefore asked the Caliph to accept his resignation; but the latter declined. Towards the end of 304 (917) however he was dismissed and imprisoned. Ibn al-Furāt was appointed his successor. The latter clung to office for a year or two, until he was replaced in Djumādā I 306 (November 918) by Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās, who was old and feeble and at first allowed himself to be guided by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. ʿAlī however soon quarrelled with Ḥāmid and, after a rising in Baghdād in 308 (920-1) on account of the increased cost of living, ʿAlī was offered the vizierate but declined it. As Ḥāmid lost the Caliph's favour and ʿAlī's economy aroused discontent, the vizierate was again given to Ibn al-Furāt in Rabīʿ II 311 (August 923). ʿAlī was thrown into prison and after Ibn al-Furāt had extorted a considerable sum from him, he banished him to Mecca and gave the governor there instructions to send him on to Ṣanʿāʾ. On the intercession of Muʾnis, the prefect of police, ʿAlī was pardoned on the fall of Ibn al-Furāt and returned from exile in 312 (925). In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 314 (Jan.—Feb. 927) he was summoned to Baghdād from Damascus, where he was then living, through the influence of Muʾnis and given the vizierate. He did not take up office till the beginning of the following year; but when it was found that the finances were again in a chaotic condition and the Caliph declined to follow his advice, he asked leave to resign on the ground that he was too old for the duties of the office. The Caliph at first declined but was finally persuaded and in

Rabīʿ I 316 (May 928) ʿAlī was dismissed and replaced by Ibn Muḳla [q. v.]. The Caliph al-Rāḍī afterwards twice offered him the vizierate, first immediately after his accession and again in 324 (936). As he refused on both occasions, Ibn Muḳla and the brother of ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, respectively were given it. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 334 (July-August 946).

Bibliography: Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* (ed. Amedroz), p. 281—364; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (ed. Margoliouth), V, 277—280; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 364—6; Ṭabarī, iii. 2190 *sqq.*; ʿArīb (ed. de Goeje), passim; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. see Index; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii. 359 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 344 *sqq.*; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 533.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L-FARADJ (ABU 'L-FAḌĀʾIL) DJAMĀL AL-DĪN, an Arab author, Ḥanbalī faḳīh, preacher and universal historian, born in 510 = 1116 at Baghdād, settled there after the usual journeys of study, and died in 597 = 1200. His ardent devotion to his *madhhab* led to the strictest criticism of Tradition; he even prepared an edition of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ* purified of all weak traditions. His literary activity covered all the knowledge of his time. He exercised the greatest influence as a preacher (cf. Ibn Djubair, 2nd ed., p. 220 *sqq.*); his numerous edifying works are recommended for public reading even by al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-Niʿam*, p. 163. Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, i. 502 *sq.* gives a list of his writings. Of his history of the world, *al-Muntaẓam wa-Multaḳaṭ al-Multaḳam*, the most important of his works to us, there have since become known the mss. in Paris, Bibl. Nat. (Blochet, *Catal. de la Coll. .... Schefer*), Nº. 3909, in the British Museum (Add. 7320; s. Amedroz, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1906, p. 851 *sqq.*, 1907, p. 19 *sqq.*; cf. *ibid.*, 1904, S. 273 *sqq.*), Damascus, Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazāʾin al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ* etc., p. 78, Nº. 62; on the Stambul Mss. s. Horovitz, *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, x., 6. The following works from his pen are now also known: 1) *Kashf al-Niḳāb ʿan al-Asmāʾ wal-Alḳāb*, cod. Leid. 1487 (not yet catalogued), s. Barbier de Meynard, *Journ. As.*, 1907, 173 *sqq.* 2) *Aʿmār al-Aʿyān*, Damascus, al-Zaiyāt, p. 31, Nº. 28, 4; vgl. Horovitz, *op. cit.*, x. 43. 3) *Mukhtaṣar ʿUdjālat al-Muntaẓir, Sharḥ Ḥāl al-Khaḍir*, Damascus, al-Zaiyāt, p. 33, Nº. 63, 1. 4) *Durr al-Lumaʿ wa 'l-Duʿāʾ fī Ṣawm Yawm al-Ghaim*, *ibid.*, p. 45, Nº. 37, 3. 5) *al-Mudjtanā min al-Mudjtabā* (from Nº. 32 in Brockelmann?), *ibid.*, p. 37, Nº. 124, 2. 6) *Muthīr al-Ghurām al-Sākin fī Faḍāʾil al-Bilād wa 'l-Amākin*, *ibid.*, p. 82, Nº. 46. 7) *Durrat al-Iklīl* (so to be read) *wa-Kashf al-Ḳināʿ* (so to be read) *ʿan al-Ḳināʿ*, s. C. Crispo Moncada, *I Codd. ar. nuovo fondo della Bibl. Vatic.*, Nº. 1309. 8) *al-Madjālis*, s. Vollers, *Katal. der islam. .... Hdss. zu Leipzig*, Nº. 166. 9) *Nukat al-Madjālis fi 'l-Waʿẓ*, *ibid.*, Nº. 167. 10) *Tadhkirat al-Ayḳāẓ*, anon. extract from his *Tabṣirat al-Waʿẓ*, Damascus, al-Zaiyāt, p. 82, Nº. 63.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, ed. Būlāḳ, Nº. 343; *Liber classium virorum auctore Dahabio*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 45, Nº. 2; al-Suyūṭī, *De interpretibus Korani*, p. 17, Nº. 5; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 287.

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, SIBṬ, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MUẒAFFAR YŪSUF B. ḲIZOGHLU, grandson of the preceding on his mother's side. His father Ḳizoghlu was a Turkish slave of the vizier Ibn Hubaira [q. v.] and afterwards manumitted by him. Yūsuf was born in 582 (1186) in Baghdād and brought up by his grandfather; he studied in his native city, set out to travel in 600 and finally became professor and preacher in Damascus, where he died in 654 (1257). He is the author of a universal history (not yet printed) in several volumes, entitled *Mirʾāt al-Zamān fī Taʾrīkh al-Aʿyān*. The latter part of it covering the years 495—654 has been reproduced in facsimile by J. R. Jewett (Chicago 1907), while some extracts from the years 450—532 were given in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, Vol. iii. p. 65 *sqq.*

Bibliography: in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.* i. 347.

IBN AL-DJAZARĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABU 'L-KHAIR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. YŪSUF AL-DJAZARĪ, an Arab theologian and authority on the readings (*ḳirāʾāt*) of the Ḳurʾān, born at Damascus in the night of Friday/Saturday 25th Ramaḍān 751 (30th Nov.—1st Dec. 1350), knew the Ḳurʾān by heart by the year 763 (1363) and a year later was able to recite pieces from it in prayer. After devoting some attention to Ḥadīth, he studied the various ways of reading the Ḳurʾān, of which he mastered seven in 768 (1367). In the same year he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and thereafter went to Cairo where by the year 769 (1368) he had mastered thirteen ways of reading the Ḳurʾān. Returning to Damascus he devoted himself to Ḥadīth and law and studied under the two pupils of al-Dimyāṭī, al-Abarḳūhī and al-Asnawī. He then went back to Cairo to study rhetoric and the sources of law, and then went to Alexandria to hear the pupils of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām. In 774 (1373) he received permission to deliver fatwās from Abu 'l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. Kathīr, in 778 (1376) from Diyāʾ al-Dīn, and in 785 (1383) from the Shaikh al-Islām al-Bulḳīnī.

After teaching *Ḳirāʾāt* for a period he was appointed ḳāḍī of Damascus in 793 (1391). But when his property in Egypt was confiscated in 798 (1395), he went to Brusa to the court of Sulṭān Bāyazīd b. ʿOthmān. After the battle of Angora (end of 804 = 1402), he was sent by Tīmūr to Kashsh in Transoxania, and later to Samarḳand, where he lectured publicly and met the Sharīf al-Djurdjānī. After Tīmūr's death in Shaʿbān 807 (Febr. 1405) Ibn al-Djazarī went to Khorāsān, then to Herāt, Yazd, Iṣfahān and finally to Shīrāz, where, after teaching for some time, he was appointed ḳāḍī by Pīr Muḥammad against his will. He then went to Baṣra and thence to Mecca and Medina (823 = 1420). After a stay of several years in these towns he returned to Shīrāz where he died on Friday the 5th Rabīʿ I 833 (2nd Dec. 1429).

He is the author of the following works: 1. *Kitāb al-Nashr fi 'l-Ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr* (Berlin, Nº. 657; Escurial, Derenbourg, *Les mss. arab.*, Nº. 129; Constantinople, Nūr-i ʿOthmāniya, Nº. 97; Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, i. 117; Tunis, Maktaba ʿAbdalliya, i. 176); 2. *Taḥbīr al-Taisīr fi 'l-Ḳirāʾāt*, commentary on the *Taisīr* of al-Dānī on the readings of the Ḳurʾān (Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, i. 92; Berlin,

N⁰. 590; Constantinople Nūr-i ʿOsmānīya, N⁰. 60); 3. *Taiyibat al-Nashr fi 'l-Ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr*, poem of 1000 Radjaz verses on the ten ways of reading the Ḳurʾān, completed in Shaʿbān 799 = Mai 1396 (pr. Cairo 1282, 1307); 4. *al-Durra al-muḍīya fi Ḳirāʾāt al-Aʾimma al-thalātha al-marḍīya*, poem of 241 Ṭawīl verses, finished 823 = 1420; pr. Cairo 1285, 1308); 5. *Hidāyat* (var. *Ghāyat*) *al-Mahara fi Ziyādat al-ʿashara*, poem on the same subject (Aya Sofya, N⁰. 39); 6. *Mundjid al-Muḳrabīn wa-Murshid al-Ṭālibīn*, treatise in seven chapters on the same subject (Berlin, N⁰. 656); 7. 41 Ṭawīl verses rhyming in *lā* on 40 difficult questions of Ḳurʾān readings (Berlin, N⁰. 526); 8. *al-Muḳaddima al-Djazarīya*, a poem of 110 Radjaz verses on the recitation of the Ḳurʾān (pr. Cairo 1282, 1307); 9. *al-Tamhīd fi ʿIlm al-Tadjwīd*, treatise on the recitation of the Ḳurʾān, finished 769 = 1367 (Paris Bibl. Nat., N⁰. 592, ii.); 10. *Kifāyat al-Almaʿī fi Āyat yā Arḍu 'bla'ī*, on the different ways of reciting Sūra xi. 46 (Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, vii. 578); 11. *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḳurrāʾ al-mutammā bi-Ghāyat al-Nihāya*, the shorter of two works which the author devoted to the same subject (Constantinople, Nūr-i ʿOsmānīya, N⁰. 85); 12. *Muḳaddimat ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth*, on the technology of Ḥadīth (Berlin, *Verz.*, N⁰. 1084); 13. *al-Hidāya ilā Maʿālim al-Riwāya*, a poem of 370 Radjaz verses on the tradition of Ḳurʾān recitation preserved by the Ḳurʾān readers (Escurial, Casiri, N⁰. 1786, 1808); 14. *ʿIḳd al-Laʾālī fi 'l-Aḥādīth al-musalsala wa'l-ʿawālī*, finished 808 = 1405 at Shīrāz (Paris, Bibl. Nat., N⁰. 4577, iii.; a similar work is contained in N⁰. 4577, iv.); 15. *al-Risāla al-bayānīya fi Ḥaḳḳ Abawai al-Nabī*, a treatise on the conversion of the parents of the prophet to Islām (Berlin, N⁰. 10343); 16. *al-Mawlid al-kabīr*, a biography of the Prophet (Brit. Mus., *Suppl.*, N⁰. 525); 17. *Dhāt al-Shifāʾ fi Sīrat al-Nabī wa 'l-Khulafāʾ*, a Radjaz poem on the biography of the Prophet and the first four caliphs with a brief survey of the history of Islām to the reign of Bāyazīd and the siege of Constantinople by the Turks, composed at the request of Pīr Muḥammad, ruler of Shīrāz, and finished on the 25th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 798 = 30th Sept. 1396 (Mss. in Brockelmann); 18. *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min Kalām Saiyid al-Mursalīn*, a Ḥadīth collection for use in prayers (pr. Cairo 1279, 1315; Algier 1328); 19. *Mukhtaṣar al-Naṣīḥa bi 'l-Adillat al-ṣaḥīḥa*, a treatise on ethics based on Ḥadīth texts (Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, vii. 564); 20. *al-Zahr al-fāʾiḥ*, an exhortation to virtue (pr. Cairo 1305, 1310); 21. *al-Iʿlām fi Lawāzim al-Kitāba*, a short treatise on calligraphy (Berlin, N⁰. 8); 22. 52 Radjaz verses on astronomy (Berlin, N⁰. 8159, iii.).

Bibliography: Ṭashköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmānīya fi ʿUlamāʾ al-Dawlat al-ʿUthmānīya* (on the margin of Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310), i. 39; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, xxiv., N⁰. 5; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahīya fi Tarādjim al-Ḥanafīya* (Cairo 1324), p. 140, note 1; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N⁰. 474; *Journ. As.*, Ser. 9, iii. 259; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, ii. 201 *sqq.*; Huart, *Arab. Lit.*, London 1903, p. 356. (Moh. Ben Cheneb.)

IBN DJAZLA, Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā of Baghdād, known in the West as Ben Gesla, was a Christian, but, under the influence of his Muʿtazilī schoolmaster, he turned Muḥammadan on the 11th Djumādā II 466 (11th Febr. 1074). On account of his fine handwriting he was employed as copyist by the Ḥanafī ḳāḍī at Baghdād. He learnt medicine from Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh, physician to the Caliph al-Muḳtadī. He lived in the Karkh quarter of Baghdād and not only gave his services both to the people of that quarter and to his own acquaintances without reward, but supplied them with medicine as well. He died in Shaʿbān 493 (June 1100). His best known work is the *Taḳwīm al-Abdān fi Tadbīr al-Insān*, tables in which diseases are arranged as are the stars in astronomical tables, of which a Latin version was printed at Strassburg in 1532. He also drew up an alphabetical list of medicinal herbs and drugs called *Minhādj al-Bayān fīmā yastaʿmiluhu 'l-Insān* for the Caliph al-Muḳtadī. He composed, besides, a treatise against Christianity, and wrote verses.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, ed. Müller, i. 255; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, p. 365; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N⁰. 822; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte d. arab. Aerzte u. Naturforscher*, p. 84; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i. 493 *sqq.*; Steinschneider, *Polem. und apologet. Lit.*, p. 37; Brockelmann, i. 485 cf. ii. 705. (T. H. Weir.)

IBN DJINNĪ, Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān, was born in Mōṣul before 300 A. H. (Pröbster, p. x., ca. 320), the son of a Greek slave belonging to Sulaimān b. Fahd b. Aḥmad al-Azdī. His teacher was the Baṣrī Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī al-Fasawī, with whom he was associated for forty years till the latter's death, partly at the court of Saif al-Dawla in Ḥalab and partly at the court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in Persia; according to Yāḳūt, he held the post of *Kātib al-Inshāʾ* at the court of the latter and his successor. In both places he was on friendly terms with al-Mutanabbī, with whom he discussed grammatical questions and on whose *Dīwān* he wrote a commentary. He also sought other teachers (Rescher, p. 5 *sq.*). He succeeded al-Fārisī in Baghdād and died in 392 = 1002. He devoted himself especially to grammar and is celebrated as the most learned authority on *taṣrīf*; he occupied a position midway between the Kūfa and Baṣra schools. His most important works are *Kitāb Sirr al-Ṣināʿa wa-Asrār al-Balāgha* (on Arabic vowels and consonants) and *Kitāb al-Khaṣāʾiṣ fi ʿIlm Uṣūl al-ʿArabīya*; besides other philological works he also wrote poems.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i. 125 *sq.*; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 248—252; E. Pröbster, *Ibn Ginnī's Kitāb al-Mugtaḍab* (*Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, i., 1904); O. Rescher, *Studien über Ibn Ginnī* (*Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, Vol. xxiii., 1909, p. 1—54); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. N⁰. 425; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (Gibb Memorial), v. 15—32 (his works, p. 29—32). (J. Pedersen.)

IBN DJUBAIR, Abu 'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kinānī, Arab traveller, born at Valencia in 540 (1145), studied *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* at Jātiva, to which his family belonged. As secretary to the governor of Granada Abū Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, he is said to have been forced to drink wine on one occasion and to atone for this sin he undertook a pilgrimage. From Granada he set out in 1183 via Tarifa to Ceuta and thence by ship to Alexandria. As the

Christians barred the usual way to Mecca he had to travel by Cairo, Ḳūs, 'Aidhāb and Djidda. He afterwards visited Medina, Kūfa, Baghdād, Mōṣul, Aleppo, and Damascus and then embarked at Acre for Sicily to return to Granada via Cartagena in 1185. He travelled in the East on two further occasions, 585—587 (1189—1191) and 614 (1217), but on the latter journey he only reached Alexandria, where he died. His description of his travels is one of the most important works in Arabic literature, and is also particulary important for the history of Sicily under William the Good. Cf. M. Amari, *Voyage en Sicile sous le règne de Guillaume le Bon, texte arabe suivi d'une traduction et de notes*, 1846, and his *Bibliotheca Arabico-Sicula*; edition of the Arabic text by Wright, Leiden 1852, new edition by de Goeje, 1907 (Gibb Memorial, vol. v.); Italian transl. by Schiaparelli: *Viaggio in Ispagna, Sicilia, Siria e Palestina, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egitto etc.*, 1906.

Bibliography: Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliogr.*, p. 267 *sqq.* (further references there); Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., i. 478.

IBN DUḲMĀḲ, Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī (the name is derived from the Turkish *tokmak* "hammer", cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 102) was a zealous Ḥanafī and wrote a work on the *ṭabaḳāt* of the Ḥanafīs, *Naẓm al-Djumān*, in 3 volumes, the first of which deals with Abū Ḥanīfa (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv. 136, vi. 317); on account of his depreciatory references to al-Shāfi'ī he was flogged and thrown into prison. His history of Egypt, *Nuzhat al-Anām*, in about 12 vols. to the year 770, was of the greatest importance (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 102; vi. 323; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv. vii. *sq.*). By command of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ he wrote a history of the rulers of Egypt to the year 805; he further wrote a separate history of this Sulṭān, *'Iḳd al-Djawāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ*, abbreviated under the title *Yanbū' al-Maẓāhir* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 102; iv. 230; vi. 524). According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, his historical works were largely utilised by al-'Ainī and al-'Asḳalānī (i. 442; ii. 118). A work now lost dealt with Cairo and Alexandria. He wrote a large work on 10 cities of Islām, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iḳd al-Amṣār*, devoting one volume to each city; of these the volumes describing Cairo and Alexandria are preserved in Cairo and have been published by Vollers. According to Vollers (p. 4) he used better authorities than al-Maḳrīzī. The latter, for a time his pupil, did not use his work, according to Vollers. Ibn Duḳmāḳ also wrote a work on Ṣūfī biographies, *al-Kanūz al-makhfīya fī Ta'rīkh al-Ṣūfīya*, also a book on the organisation of the army, *Tardjumān al-Zamān* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 277), and a book on the interpretation of dreams, *Fawā'id al-Fawā'id* (*l. c.*, iv. 392). According to al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara fī Akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, i. 255, he died in 790 = 1388, aged over 80; so also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i. 447; ii. 102, 277; but in any case he was still alive in 793 (s. Vollers, *Introduction*) and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa elsewhere gives the date of his death as 809 = 1406 (ii. 149; iv. 230, 592; vi. 323, 357, 514).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N°. 457; Vollers, *Description de l'Égypte par Ibn Doukmak* (*Bibliothèque Khédiviale*), Cairo 1893). (J. Pedersen.)

IBN 'L-DUMAINA, 'Abū Allāh b. 'Ubaid Allāh b. Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Sarī, an Arab poet of the clan of 'Āmir b. Taim Allāh of Khath'am. Very little is known of his life. In the *Kit. al-Aghānī* it is related that he treacherously slew Muzāḥim b. 'Amr, a relative of his wife Ḥammā' who had relations with her and had reviled him in a poem, and then strangled Ḥammā' and beat to death her little daughter. Ibn al-Dumaina was arrested on the accusation of Djanāḥ, the murdered man's brother, but was released for want of evidence. A long time afterwards he was attacked in Tabāla, while reciting his poems, by Muṣ'ab, another brother of Muzāḥim, and mortally wounded. According to another tradition, a (second?) attempt by Muṣ'ab on his life in the market place of al-Abla' was successful. If the Aḥmad b. Isma'īl, mentioned in *Aghānī*, xv. 153, 9 *sqq.*, is identical with the governor of Mecca who appears in Ṭab., iii. 740, Ibn al-Dumaina was a contemporary of al-Rashīd.

His poems where highly prized and several were set to music. The Mss. Berl., *Verz.*, N°. 7476, i., and N°. 8255, i., are said to contain several of his ḳaṣīdas with biographical details. Al-Zubair b. Bakkār wrote a *Kit. Akhbār Ibn al-Dumaina*, as did Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr (*Fihr.*, p. 111, 11 *sq.*, 147 ₅).

Bibliography: *K. al-Aghānī*¹, xv. 151 *sqq.*, and Ind.; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *K. al-Shi'r* (ed. de Goeje), p. 458 *sq.*; *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag), p. 541, 598 *sq.*, 604 *sq.*, 606, 620 (Egypt. ed. 1296, iii., 115 *sq.*, 170 *sq.*, 176 *sq.*, 178, 191); 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid al-Tanṣīṣ*, Ms. Leyden, p. 32—86 (Cairo 1274 [p. 74], 1316). (C. van Arendonk.)

IBN DURAID, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Atāhiya al-Azdī (on the name Duraid, see *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 377 l. m.), according to his own account, a native of Ḳaḥṭān, was born in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim in 223 = 837 in Baṣra (in the *Sikkat Ṣāliḥ*). He studied in Baṣra under such teachers as Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, al-Riyāshī, al-Ushnandānī and al-Aṣma'ī's nephew. In 257, when the Zandj were massacring in Baṣra, he escaped the danger and went with his uncle al-Ḥasan (others al-Ḥusain), who had undertaken his education, to 'Omān where he spent 12 years. He then went to Djazīrat Ibn 'Omar (read this for 'Umān; Ibn Khallikān has Baṣra) and thence to Fārs, where he stayed at the court of the Mīkālids as their favourite and was chief of a Dīwān. He compiled for them a *Kitāb al-Djamhara fī 'Ilm al-Lugha*, which is dedicated to Abu 'l-'Abbās Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mīkāl (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. N°. 4202), and he wrote in honour of the Mīkālids his famous poem *Maḳṣūra* (on the difference between Ibn Hishām, al-Mas'ūdī, and Ibn Khallikān with regard to the names of the corresponding Mīkālids see Axel Moberg, *Geschichte von 'Obaidallah b. Ahmed al-Mikali*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 10). He had older models for this kind of poetry, in which each verse ends in an *alif maḳṣūra* (see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 304) and was himself imitated by his successors; this poem has been several times annotated and published. When the Mīkālids were deposed in 308 = 920 and migrated to Khurāsān Ibn Duraid went to Baghdād; here he was recommended by al-Khuwārī to the Caliph al-Muḳtadir and received from him a pension of 50 dīnārs a month. In spite of the fact that he was a noted spendthrift and winedrinker, he reached a great age. When 90 he was seized with paralysis; he recovered

however and lived two more years in spite of a second shock. He died in 321 = 933 on the same day as al-Djubbā'ī and was buried in the 'Abbāsiya cemetery in Baghdād. He is represented as the most learned philologist of his time and the best critic of poetry; he is also called *a'lam 'l-Shu'arā' wa-ash'ar 'l-'Ulamā'*. Besides the great dictionary, *al-Djamhara*, he wrote on various special branches of lexicography, e. g. *Kitāb al-Sardj wa 'l-Lidjām* (ed. Wright, in *Opuscula Arabica*, Leiden 1859), two books on the horse, one on weapons, on clouds and rain, on ambiguous expressions useful for one forced to swear an oath (*Kitāb al-Malāḥin*, ed. Thorbecke, Heidelberg 1882) etc. His philology was to him a patriotic duty; against people like the Shu'ūbiya he wrote the *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ* (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854) to explain the etymological connections of Arab names (see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 209). Among his pupils were al-Sīrāfī, al-Marzubānī, Abu 'l-Faradj 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 648; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, 1853, p. 313 *sq.*; *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 61—62; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Annales*, ed. Adler, ii. 376 *sq.*; de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, Paris 1829, p. 131, 196; *Al-Maḳṣūra al-Duraidīya, Abu Becri ... Ibn Doreidi ... Poemation*, ed. E. Scheidius, Harderwijk, 1768; *Carmen Maksura dictum ... Ibn Doreidi ...*, ed. L. Nannestad Boisen, Copenhagen 1829 (with commentary [incomplete] and biography by Ibn Hishām); Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, viii. 304; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, Lugduni 1861, p. 256—258; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 1862, p. 111; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb* (Gibb Memorial, vi.), vi. 483—494; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i. 111 *sq.* (J. Pedersen.)

IBN FAḌL ALLĀH. [See FAḌL ALLĀH.]

IBN FAḌLĀN, properly Aḥmad b. Faḍlān b. al-'Abbās b. Rāshid b. Ḥammād, Arab author, composer of an account (*risāla*) of the embassy sent by the Caliph al-Muḳtadir to the king of the Volga Bulghārs [cf. bulghār, i. 786 *sqq.*]. As he was a client (*mawlā*) of the Caliph and of the conqueror of Egypt Muḥammad b. Sulaimān [see cairo, i. 818a] he was certainly not of Arab origin. He seems to have taken part in the embassy as a theologian and authority on religious matters. The real ambassador appointed by the government was Sūsan al-Rassī, a client of Nadhīr al-Ḥaramī mentioned by 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje, p. 58). The embassy left Baghdād on the 11th Ṣafar 309 (21st June 921), went first to Bukhārā, thence to Khwārizm, and only then to the land of the Bulghārs, the capital of which was reached on the 12th Muḥarram 310 (12th May 922). Nothing is known of the route or time of the return to Baghdād; as little is known of the life of the author of the *Risāla*. The latter seems to be used as early as the ivth (xth) century by al-Iṣṭakhrī and al-Mas'ūdī; it is expressly quoted and extracts given by Yāḳūt (s. v. Itil, Bāshghird, Bulghār, Khazar, Khwārizm and Rūs); the work is only known to later writers from these quotations, although Yāḳūt (i. 113, 11) mentions specially that in his time the *Risāla* was extant in numerous copies. Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 227 *sq.*; Bar. V. Rosen, *Prolegomena k novomu izdaniju Ibn Fadlana* (*Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Obshč.*, xv. 39 *sq.*); bibliographical references also there. (W. Barthold.)

IBN al-FAḲĪH, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Hamadhānī, Arab geographer, wrote a comprehensive *Kitāb al-Buldān*, about the year 290 (903), which is often quoted by al-Muḳaddasī and Yāḳūt. The work itself is lost; a compendium prepared from it which, according to de Goeje, is possibly the work of a certain 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Shaizarī (about 413 = 1022) was published by the latter scholar in 1885 (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Vol. v.). He is further said to have written a book on the best poets of his time. Practically nothing is known of the life of the author; to the few data collected by de Goeje in his *Praefatio* may be added a brief notice in Yāḳūt's *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, ii. 63, from which it appears that he and his father were both celebrated as traditionists.

Bibliography: given in the article.

IBN al-FARAḌĪ, Abu 'l-Walīd 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr al-Azdī b. al-Faraḍī, an Arab biographer, born in the night of the 23rd Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 351 = 22nd/23rd Dec. 962 in Cordova, studied law and tradition there as well as literature and history, particularly with Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Mālik b. 'Ā'idh and with the ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, known as al-Kharrāz.

In 382 (992) he made the pilgrimage and on his way attended the lectures of the jurist Ibn Abī Zaid al-Ḳairawānī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Ḳābisī in Ḳairawān and also studied in Cairo, Mecca and Medina. Returning to Spain he taught for a time in Cordova and then became ḳāḍī of Valencia in the reign of the Marwānid Muḥammad al-Mahdī. During the conquest and sack of Cordova by the Berbers he was murdered in his house on Monday the 6th Shawwāl 403 = 20th April 1013. His body was not found till the fourth day after his death in a heap of rubbish, already so disfigured and decomposed that it had to be buried without washing and without a winding-sheet. It is said that on his pilgrimage to Mecca Ibn al-Faraḍī seized the covering of the Ka'ba and prayed God that he might die a martyr's death, but afterwards regretted his prayer when he thought of the horrors of a violent end, although he hesitated to recall his petition out of reverence for the pact he had made with God. He had an extensive knowledge of law, Ḥadīth, literature, and history and had collected a valuable library on his travels. Only one work of his has survived, a *Kitāb Ta'rīkh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus*, a collection of biographies of the Arab scholars of Spain (ed. by Codera, *Bibl. Ar.-Hisp.*, vii. viii., Madrid 1891).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (Cairo 1310), i. 268; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* (Ḥaidarābād n. d.), iii. 277; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (Cairo 1302), i. 383; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, p. 248, N°. 567; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj* (Fās 1316), p. 140; al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus* (Constantinople 1302), p. 57; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, p. 321, N°. 888; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, xiii. 51; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 55, N°. 165; Codera, *Aben Alfaradhi Hist. Vir. Doct.*, Vol. ii. (*Bibl. Arab.-Hisp.*, viii.),

preface; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 105, Nº. 71; Brockelmann, i. 338; Huart, *Arabic Lit.*, p. 203. (Mon. Ben Cheneb.)

IBN FARAḤ AL-**ISHBĪLĪ**, whose full name was SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. FARAḤ B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-LAKHMĪ AL-ISHBĪLĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī, born in 625 (began 10th December 1227) at Sevilla (Ishbīliya), was taken prisoner in 646 (began 26th April 1248) by the Franks (al-Ifrandj) i. e. the Spaniards under Ferdinand III the Saint, of Castile (1217—1252) at the conquest of the Spanish capital of the Almohads [q. v.], Seville, but escaped and afterwards went, in the sixth decade of the century (650 sqq. = 1252 sqq.), to Egypt; after hearing the most celebrated teachers of Cairo, he studied under those of Damascus, where he settled and gave lectures in the Umaiyad mosque, as a great authority on Tradition, while he declined the professorship offered him in the school of Tradition, Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriya. Among those who heard him were al-Dimyāṭī (cf. al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii. 17), al-Yūnīnī [q. v.], al-Muḥallī, al-Nābulusī, Abū Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, al-Birzālī [q. v.], and notably the great authority on history and tradition al-Dhahabī [q. v.]. He died in the *turba* of Umm al-Ṣāliḥ of diarrhoea (*bi 'l-ishāl*) on the 9th Djumādā II 699 = 19th February 1300. Nur al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mufassirīn* (ed. Meursinge), Nº. 88, (wrongly) makes our Ibn Faraḥ the son of another, the well-known author of the eschatological *Tadhkira bi Aḥwāl al-Mawtā wa Umūr al-Ākhira* and of the great Ḳur'ān-commentary, *Djāmi' Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Faraḥ (al-Maḳḳarī, i. 600, wrongly b. Faradj) al-Anṣārī al-Mālikī al-Ḳurṭubī, died 9th Shawwāl 671 = 29th April 1273.

Ibn Faraḥ al-Ishbīlī's most celebrated work is the scholastic didactic poem on 28 technical expressions of the science of Tradition in 20 (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi. 190, wrongly gives 30) *Ṭawīl* verses with the rhyme-letter (*rawī*) *l* (hence *Lāmiya*) in the form of a love-poem, so that it was described correctly by al-Ṣafadī in al-Maḳḳarī, i. 819, as a *Ḳaṣīda ghazalīya fī Alḳāb al-Ḥadīth* (a love-poem on technical expressions of Tradition) (Brockelmann's quotation, i. 372, al-Maḳḳarī, i. 819, i. 819). It is usually called *Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ* or *Gharāmī Ṣaḥīḥ* after the two opening words of the first verse: *Gharāmī ṣaḥīḥun wa 'l-Radjā fīka mu'ḍalu — wa-Ḥuznī wa-Dam'ī mursalun musalsalu* "My longing is real, but my desire which is set on thee is difficult to gratify; my misery unceasing, my tears uninterrupted.".

The text of the *Ḳaṣīda* was first printed by Krehl in al-Maḳḳarī's *Analectes*, i. 819 sq. (from al-Ṣafadī) and again in *Madjmū' al-Mutūn*, Cairo 1313, p. 51 sq., and in al-Subkī's *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'īya al-kubrā*, v. 12 sq. (Cairo 1324 = 1906-7), where only 18 verses are given. The commentary of 'Izz al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Djamā'a al-Kinānī, died 819 = 1416, *Zawāl al-Taraḥ fī Sharḥ Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ*, is published by Fr. Risch, Leiden 1885 (there is another Ms. not yet used, in the British Museum, *Cat. Cod. Orient.*, ii. Nº. 169, iii.); in the notes there is also published almost the entire commentary of Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Maḳdisī, died 744 = 1343 (s. al-Dhahabī, *Ṭab. al-Ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, xxi. Nº. 12) from the Mss. Leiden, *Cat. Cod. Or.*, iv., Nº. 1749, and Gotha, Nº. 578 (s. Pertsch, v. 20). We may also mention that Berlin, *Verz.*, Nº 1055, *Ta'līḳ 'alā Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ*, gloss on Ibn Faraḥ's poem of the year 894 = 1489, is not a gloss on 'Izz al-Dīn's commentary, as Brockelmann says, but belongs to the poem itself; Cairo i.², 250, contains the commentary of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tatā'ī (Bonnet, *Dictionnaire*, p. 154 and 899) al-Mālikī, died 937 = 1530-1, *al-Kawākib al-nayyira fī Ḥall al-Ishāra al-Sunnīya*. The principal *nisba* of the commentator Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī, i. e. al-Ḳarāfī, by which alone he is often quoted, is not given by Brockelmann [Paris 4267, i. 4257, i. (*Cat.* de Slane)]. Muḥammad b. al-Amīr al-Kabīr in Brockelmann is rather Muḥammad (b. Muḥammad) al-Amīr al-Kabīr, according to Berlin, *Verz.*, Nº. 1056.

Besides Ibn Faraḥ's didactic poem there is also a commentary by him on al-Nawawī's [q. v.] 40 Traditions, *Sharḥ al-arba'īn Ḥadīthan al-Nawawīya*, Berlin, Nº. 1488—9.

Bibliography: Given in text.

(C. F. SEYBOLD.)

IBN FARḤŪN, BURHĀN AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD B. FARḤŪN AL-YA'MARĪ, a Mālikī jurist and historian, descendant of a family belonging to Uiyān, a village near Jaen in Spain, was born in Medina, where he died, heavily in debt, on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 799 = 4th Sept. 1397, as the result of paralysis of his left side.

In addition to his father, his teachers were his father's brother, Abū Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Asnawī, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Damanhūrī Muḥammad b. 'Arafa, and the latter's son, whose teaching Ibn Farḥūn received on his pilgrimage in 792 = 1390, and others. He often visited Cairo and in 792 (1390) Jerusalem and Damascus. In Rabī' II, 793 = March 1391 he became ḳāḍī of Medina. As a devout Muslim he frequently recited the Ḳur'ān and often repeated the Ḳur'ānic prayers (*wird*); he also reintroduced the Mālikī rite into Medina. He is the author of the following works: 1. *Tabṣirat al-Ḥukkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḳḍiya wa Manāhidj al-Aḥkām*, a treatise on legal practice according to the Mālikī school (pr. Cairo 1301, 1302; Būlāḳ 1300); 2. *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab fī Ma'rifat A'yān 'Ulamā' al-Madhhab*, a collection of about 630 biographies of Mālikī jurists compiled from about 20 works detailed at the end and finished in Sha'bān 761 = June 1360 (according to Codera, in 857 = 1453 the text was revised cf. also Houtsma, *Catal. d'une Coll. de manuscr.*, etc., Leiden 1889, Nº. 204; pr. Fās 1316, Cairo 1329). This work is often quoted as *Ṭabaḳāt 'Ulamā' al-Gharb* oder *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mālikīya*; 3. *Durar* (var. *Nubdhat*) *al-Ghawwāṣ fī Muḥāḍarat al-Khawāṣṣ*, a collection of riddles on various points of Mālikī law (Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, iii. 187); 4. *Tashīl al-muhimmāt fī Sharḥ Djāmi' al-Ummahāt*, a commentary on the legal handbook of Ibn al-Ḥādjib (Brit. Mus., *Cat.*, Nº. 872, iz.).

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj* (Fās 1317), p. 5; do., *Kifāyat al-Muḥtādj* (Ms. of the Madrasa in Algiers), fº. 53 vº; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 191, Nº. 448; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 348, Nº. 298; Fagnan, *Les Tabaqât malékites* in *Homenaje á D. Fr. Codera*, p. 110; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. 175 sq., 263; R. Basset, *Recherches*

bibliogr. sur les sources de la Salwat al-Anfās, Algiers 1909, p. 9—11.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN AL-FĀRIḌ. [See ʿOMAR B. AL-FĀRIḌ.]

IBN FĀRIS, ABU 'L-ḤUSAIN AḤMAD B. FĀRIS B. ZAKARIYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤABĪB, philologist and grammarian of the school of Kūfa, died at al-Raiy in Ṣafar 395 = Nov.–Dec. 1004. The date and place of his birth are unknown but it is supposed that he was born in a village named Karsaf in the district of al-Zahrā. He studied in Ḳazwīn, Hamadhān, Baghdād, and on the occasion of his pilgrimage, in Mecca. Among his teachers we may specially mention his father, who was a philologist and Shāfiʿī jurist, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Khaṭīb, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaṭṭān, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir al-Munadjdjim, etc.

After teaching for some time in Hamadhān, where the celebrated Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī was his pupil, the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla summoned him to al-Raiy as tutor to his son Madjd al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib. Originally an adherent of the Shāfiʿī school, he afterwards went over to the Mālikī. He was so generous that he frequently gave the clothes he was wearing to the poor.

The *Ṣāḥib* Ibn ʿAbbād, who out of modesty called himself his pupil, declared that the works of Ibn Fāris were free from error. Although he himself was of Persian origin, Ibn Fāris defended the Arab grammarians in their controversies with the Shuʿūbīs.

He left the following works: 1. *Kitāb al-Mudjmal fi 'l-Lugha*, an Arabic dictionary arranged after the first radical (Mss. cf. Brockelmann, *l. c.*); 2. *al-Ṣāḥibī fī Fiḳh al-Lugha wa-Sunan al-ʿArab fī Kalāmihā*, treatise on Arabic literature, lexicology and syntax (pr. Cairo 1910); 3. *Kitāb al-Thalātha*, in which the author endeavours to prove that words of 3 like consonants, in which 3 combinations are possible, are synonymous (Derenbourg, *Les mss. arab. de l'Esc.*, Nº. 363, 3); 4. *Awdjaz al-Siyar li-Khair al-Bashar*, a brief biography of the Prophet (8 pp. Bombay n. d.); 5. *Dhamm al-Khaṭaʾ fi 'l-Shiʿr*, a treatise on poetic license (Berlin, *Verz.* Nº. 7181); 6. *Kitāb al-Itbāʿ wa 'l-Muzāwadja*, a collection of words which have similar form and are used in inseparable pairs (ed. by Brünnow in *Orient. Studien, Th. Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Giessen 1906); 7. *Kitāb al-Nairūz*; Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazāʾin al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ* etc., p. 29, Nº. 9, 5; 8. *Kitāb al-Lāmāt*, *ib.*, p. 33, Nº. 71, 2.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (Cairo 1310), i. 35; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mufassirīn*, p. 4, Nº. 6; *do.*, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt* (Cairo 1326), p. 153; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ* (Cairo 1294), p. 392; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj* (Fās 1316), p. 40; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Damascus 1304), iii. 214; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ii. 6 *sqq.*; biography of Ibn Fāris at the beginning of the edition of his work *al-Ṣāḥibī fī Fiḳh al-Lugha* etc., see above; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 247; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 130; Huart, *Arab. Lit.*, London 1903, p. 159 *sq.*

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN AL-FURĀT, the name of several persons who filled high offices of state.

1. ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-FURĀT, born in 241 = 855. ʿAlī belonged to the district of al-Nahrawān and was first of all secretary of State in Baghdād. After the unsuccessful attempt to place Ibn al-Muʿtazz [q. v.] on the throne, ʿAlī was appointed vizier in Rabīʿ I 296 (December 908) by the Caliph al-Muḳtadir and became the real ruler. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 299 (July 912) he was dismissed on the pretext that he had arranged a raid on the capital with the rapacious Bedouins. To make his former favourite harmless, the Caliph had him imprisoned and confiscated his vast wealth. He managed to regain the Caliph's confidence however and was set free in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 304 (June 917) and restored to office. The wars and extravagances of the vizier brought the finances of the State into disorder and this brought about his fall. In Djumādā I 306 (November 918) he was dismissed for a second time, imprisoned and had all his property confiscated. He succeeded in being pardoned again through the influence of his son al-Muḥassin and in Rabīʿ II 311 (August 923) the Caliph made him vizier for the third time. His avaricious and revengeful nature made him so hated however that al-Muḳtadir had finally to get rid of him. In Rabīʿ I 312 (June 924) ʿAlī and al-Muḥassin were arrested and executed on 13th Rabīʿ II of the same year (July 19th 924).

Bibliography: Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* (ed. Amedroz), p. 8 *sqq.*; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), Nº. 498 (transl. by de Slane, ii. 355 *sqq.*); Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 360 *sqq.*; ʿArīb (ed. de Goeje), p. 26—37, 61—77, 100, 109—121; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 11—15, 47 *sq.*, 72 *sqq.*, 81—83, 101—114; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii. 359 *sq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 540—556; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 533 *sq.*

2. ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH (or ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB) DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD, brother of the preceding. After ʿAlī b. al-Furāt had been appointed vizier in 296 (908), he entrusted his brother with the administration of the finances of the eastern and western provinces. According to the usual date Djaʿfar died as early as Shawwāl 297 (June-July 910). His office was then divided between the vizier's two sons, al-Faḍl and al-Muḥassin, so that the former administered the eastern and the latter the western provinces.

Bibliography: Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* (ed. Amedroz), p. 204, 237, 256; ʿArīb (ed. de Goeje), p. 29, 34; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 546.

3. ABU 'L-FATḤ AL-FAḌL B. DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD, son of the preceding, born in Shaʿbān 279 (November 892), also called Ibn Ḥinzāba after his mother Ḥinzāba, a Greek slave. In 320 (932) he was appointed vizier by al-Muḳtadir, but absolute anarchy was then reigning in the capital and, as the new vizier was not able to cope with the situation, he had to call in the aid of Muʾnis, the commander of the body guard. When the latter advanced in the town, the Caliph was persuaded to go out against him. Al-Muḳtadir's troops were defeated and he himself slain. Al-Faḍl thus lost his office. He was appointed collector of taxes for Egypt and Syria under the caliphate of al-Rāḍī; the actual ruler however was not the Caliph but the Amīr al-Umarāʾ Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ. In 324 (936) or 325 (937) the latter induced the Caliph to make al-Faḍl vizier; but he was weak

and not fitted for such a post and by the next year we find him begging permission from Ibn Rā'iḳ to retire to Syria to attend to the revenues of that province and of Egypt. Ibn Muḳla succeeded him as vizier. Al-Faḍl died in 327 (939).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 374, 383—5; Hilāl al-Ṣābī', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* (ed. Amedroz), p. 208, 310, 314 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 111, 134, 176, 211, 245, 257 *sq.*, 266; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 572, 663, 669.

4. Abu 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. al-Faḍl b. Dja'far b. Muḥammad, son of the preceding, born in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 308 (April 921). Dja'far, who was also called Ibn Ḥinzāba, held the office of vizier to the Ikhshīdids in Egypt. The real ruler however was the Abyssinian Kāfūr, under whose protection Dja'far held office and who was soon recognised in name also as king. On Kāfūr's death in 357 (968) the minor Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ikhshīd became head of the dynasty, while Dja'far continued in office. Although the vizier by no means omitted to practice all kinds of extortion he was unable to satisfy the claims of the Kāfūrids, the Ikhshīdids and the Turkish mercenaries, and had twice to hide while the mutineers plundered his palace and the houses of some of his followers. The real ruler was now Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. Tughdj, the commander of the Syrian troops. In 358 (969) the latter appeared in Egypt, arrested Dja'far and appointed al-Ḥasan b. Djābir al-Riyāḥī vizier. Dja'far was soon released and when Ḥasan returned to Syria, he restored the government of Egypt to his hands. In the same year however the Ikhshīdids were overthrown. Dja'far died in Ṣafar or in Rabī' I 391 (January 1001) or, according to another authority, in Ṣafar 392 (Jan. 1002).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 132 (transl. de Slane, i. 319 *sqq.*); Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (ed. Margoliouth), ii. 405—412; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), ix. 119, 120; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 9.

(K. V. Zetterstéen.)

IBN AL-FURĀT, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Alī al-Miṣrī, Arab historian, b. 735 (1334), d. 807 (1405), author of a comprehensive chronicle, *Ta'rīkh al-Duwal wa 'l-Mulūk*. He began with the viii[th] century and worked backwards but only reached the fourth century A. H. He gave extracts from his predecessors verbatim which adds a high value to his work. The only manuscript (Vienna, cf. Flügel, *Die arab. . . . . Hss.*, N°. 814) is still unedited, although it has been used by several scholars.

Bibliography: See Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 50 and Nachträge.

IBN GHĀNIM, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad al-Maḳdisī, author of the well-known *Kashf al-Asrār 'an Ḥikam al-Ṭuyūr wa 'l-Azhār*, which was published in 1821 by Garcin de Tassy under the title *Les oiseaux et les fleurs* (repr. in *Allégories, récits poétiques*, etc., 1876); German transl. by Peiper, *Stimmen aus dem Morgenlande*, Hirschberg 1850. Other works are detailed by Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., i. 450 (cf. ii. 703). Biographical details are lacking. The year 678 (1279) is given as the year of his death.

The same name Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī is also given to a Ḥanafī jurist on whom cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 312.

IBN GHĀNIYA, Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Massūfī, Governor of Spain under the Almoravids, born in Cordova, according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and died in 543 (1148) at Granada. He is best known as Ibn Ghāniya, after his mother, a relative of the great Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, the real founder of the Almoravid empire.

Ibn Ghāniya, as well as his brother Muḥammad grew up at the Almoravid court of Marrākush, where their father seems to have held a high position. In 520 (1126) 'Alī b. Yūsuf appointed Ibn Ghāniya governor of Western Spain. From 520—538 (1126—1143) he successfully warded off the attacks of the Christians and completely defeated the army of Alfonso the Fighter, King of Aragon in 528 (1133-1134) at Fraga. Beginning about 538 (1143) however, the revolutionary movement of the Andalusian Muslims (Agarenos) against the Almoravid empire, led by chiefs like Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad (Abencasi), the Ḳāḍī Ibn Ḥamdīn of Cordova, Abu 'l-Ḥākim b. Ḥassūn of Malaga, al-Mustanṣir b. Hūd (Zafadola) of Saragossa and many others so shattered Almoravid dominion in Spain that it soon fell to pieces.

The governor Ibn Ghāniya, who lived in Seville, performed prodigies of valour and showed great qualities in organising the resistance. He recaptured Cordova in 539 (Jan. 1145) from Ibn Ḥamdīn, who then obtained the support of Alfonso VII of Castile. Ibn Ghāniya had to retire before the latter's army to the citadel of Cordova in 540 (1146). The arrival in Spain of the first Almohad armies forced Alfonso VII to abandon Cordova to Ibn Ghāniya, who however became his vassal. In face of Alfonso VII's increasing demands, Ibn Ghāniya allied himself with the Almohad general Barrāz, governor of Seville, with whom he exchanged Cordova and Carmona for Jaén in 543 = 1148.

The successes of the Almohads were rapid and soon Granada alone remained to the Almoravids, while Ibn Mardanīsh [q. v.], an independent lord, was master of Murcia, Valencia and the whole of Eastern Spain.

One of Ibn Ghāniya's last acts of loyalty to the Almoravid empire was to send to Ceuta the governor al-Ṣaḥrāwī at the Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ's request in 543 (1148). He died soon afterwards in Granada on the 10[th] Sha'bān 543 (December 1148), when the ruin of the Almoravids had been completed in Spain.

Ibn Ghāniya seems to have left no children. If we may believe Ibn al-Khaṭīb in the *Iḥāṭa*, he early sent away his wife, lest her company might diminish his warlike ardour. His brother Muḥammad, appointed governor of the Balearic Islands [q. v., i. 617[b]] in 520 A. H., left sons, who with their descendants maintained Almoravid rule there till 580 (1188). It was the grandsons of Muḥammad who attempted an Almoravid restoration in Barbary, where they fought till 633 (1235-1236) against the Almohads.

Bibliography: See the references in F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, Saragossa, 1899; A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghânya, derniers représentants de l'empire almoravide, et leur lutte contre l'empire almohade*, Paris, 1903. (Alfred Bel.)

IBN AL-HABBĀRĪYA, Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, a celebrated Arab poet, a descendant of the 'Abbāsid prince

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [q. v.]; cf. his genealogy in Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, W, 35. His maternal grandfather was a certain Habbār, whence his name the "son of the Habbārī lady". Born at Baghdād about the middle of the vᵗʰ (xᵗʰ) century he received his education at the madrasas, which had just been founded there, presumably at the Niẓāmiya founded by Niẓām al-Mulk in 459 (1067); but he could take no pleasure in theological disputes (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x. 71, 80). He therefore spent his youth in the taverns of Ḳuṭrabbul, a suburb of Baghdād, in the company of the gay spirits and the *jeunesse dorée* of the capital of his day. He also fell a victim to sexual perversities, as he himself tells frankly in his poems. His great poetic gifts, his keen wit, his skill in the Arabic language, however, preserved him from utter ruin, but poverty forced him to come forward as a panegyrist of the rulers of his time, the Banū Djahīr and Niẓām al-Mulk. His high birth and his fondness for satire unfitted him for this sycophantry and he soon quarrelled with his noble patrons. When, for example, the younger Ibn Djahīr became the Caliph's vizier for the second time in 484 (1091) through the favour of his father-in-law Niẓām al-Mulk, our poet greeted this appointment with a biting satire which was soon on every one's lips. He did not even spare the Caliph and the all-powerful Niẓām al-Mulk, so that it was only through the intercession of the influential Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khōdjandī, that the incident had no evil consequences for him. In the meanwhile, he had migrated from Baghdād to Iṣfahān, but his new patrons, the unfortunate viziers Tādj al-Mulk and Madjd al-Mulk, met a miserable fate in the troubled times that followed the death of Malikshāh and there was an end to his stay in Iṣfahān. He finally went to Kirmān, where the Saldjūḳ Īrānshāh had been reigning since 490 (1096), a prince in whom al-Habbāriya found a kindred spirit. Nothing is known with certainty of the rest of his life and various dates are given for his death. The correct one is perhaps that given by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, according to whom he died in 509 (1115).

The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Habbāriya which, according to Ibn Khallikān, contained four volumes, has unfortunately not survived to us, which is a great loss, for the study of contemporary history also. ʿImād al-Dīn gives rather long extracts in his *Kharīda*. He also wrote 1. a rhymed version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* entitled *Natāʾidj al-Fiṭna fī Naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna* (cf. *Orientalische Studien*, Th. *Nöldeke gewidmet*, i. 42 sqq.); 2. a kind of anthology in 12 chapters entitled *Fulk al-Maʿānī*; cf. Barthold in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Arkh. Obsh.*, xviii. 0144 sqq.; 3. *Kitāb al-Ṣādiḥ wa ʾl-Bāghim*, rhymed tales of a didactic nature after the style of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. This poem is very popular in the East; the author worked on it for 10 years and dedicated it to the Mazyadī Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr. Ed. Cairo 1292, Bairūt 1886.

Bibliography: in addition to references in the article, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 687; *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldj.*, ii. 65 and s. Index; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i. 252 sq.; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, ii. 171 sqq.

IBN ḤABĪB, Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī, an Arab jurist, born at Ḥiṣn Wāṭ (Huetor Vega, according to Simonet) near Granada. He studied at Elvira and Cordova, then made the pilgrimage to Mecca and at Medina became acquainted with the Mālikī school of law which he introduced into Spain. He died at Cordova 238 (853). He is said to have published over 1000 writings on different subjects, but the only work (with the exception of an unimportant fragment), which has come down to us under his name, is, as Dozy, *Recherches*³, i. 28, has pointed out, a later compilation.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Nº. 56; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliogr.*, p. 29 sqq. (where further references are given); Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc. I, 149 sq.

IBN ḤABĪB, Muḥammad, an Arab philologist, a pupil of Ḳuṭrub [q. v.], died at Sāmarrā in 245 (859). Of his many works only a treatise on the similarities and differences between Arab tribal names has come down to us and was published by Wüstenfeld (*Ueber die Gleichheit und Verschiedenheit der arabischen Stammesnamen*, Göttingen 1850).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 106; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 67; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Nº. 59; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i. 106.

IBN ḤABĪB, Badr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿOmar al-Dimashḳī al-Ḥalabī, an Arab historian and scholar, born at Damascus in 710 (1310). He studied at Ḥalab, where his father filled the office of *muḥtasib* and also taught tradition. In 733 (1332) he made the pilgrimage and again in 739 (1338). During these journeys he stayed in various towns of Egypt and Syria. We afterwards find him now at Ṭarābulus, now back in Damascus, then in Ḥalab, where he died in 779 (1377). Of his works, which are detailed by Wüstenfeld and Brockelmann, we may here mention his history of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns of Egypt from 648—777 (1250—1375), *Durrat al-Aslāk fī Mulk al-Atrāk*, of which extracts have been published by Weyers and Meursinge in *Orientalia*, ii. 196 sq. Of quite another character is his work in rhymed prose, intermingled with verse, called *Nasīm al-Ṣabā*, and repeatedly printed in the East, e. g. Alexandria, 1289; Constantinople, 1302; Cairo, 1307.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, Nº. 440; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., ii. 36 sq. (where further references are given).

IBN ḤADJAR AL-ʿASḲALĀNĪ, whose full name was Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Faḍl al-Kinānī al-ʿAsḳalānī al-Miṣrī al-Khāzinī, a famous authority on tradition, faḳīh and historian, of the Shāfiʿī school. He was born on the 12ᵗʰ Shaʿbān 773 (18ᵗʰ February 1372) in Old Cairo; his father Nūr al-Dīn, whom he lost along with his mother at a very early age, was a notable scholar and was entitled to deliver fatwās and impart instruction. The son grew up under the protection of one of his guardians, Zakī al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī, a prominent merchant. Even by his ninth year he knew the Ḳurʾān by heart and soon mastered the elementary works on Fiḳh and grammar. He then studied for a considerable period with the most noted scholars of his day, for example, Ḥadīth and Fiḳh with al-Bulḳīnī [q. v.],

Ibn al-Mulaḳḳin (d. 804), ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa [see IBN DJAMĀʿA, 4], the various readings (*ḳirāʾāt*) of the Ḳurʾān with al-Tanūkhī, Arabic language and lexicography with Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn Hishām (d. 799) and al-Fīrūzābādī [q. v.]. From 793 (beginning Dec. 1390) he devoted himself by preference to the study of Ḥadīth. For this purpose he undertook several journeys in Egypt, Syria Ḥidjāz and Yemen, which brought him into contact with philologists and literary men. He studied Ḥadīth for ten successive years with Zain al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 806). The majority of his teachers granted him authority to deliver fatwās and impart instruction.

After several times declining to fill a judicial office he finally yielded to the entreaties of his friend, the Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt Djamāl al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī, to act as his deputy. In Muḥarram 827 (Dec. 1423) he was appointed Chief Ḳāḍī. He held this office for about 21 years in all, being repeatedly dismissed and restored to office. At the same time he held professorships in various (al-Sakhāwī, mentions 10) mosques and madrasas, lecturing on Ḳurʾān exegesis, Ḥadīth and Fiḳh. The lectures of the "authority on Ḥadīth of his day" (*ḥāfiẓ ʿaṣrihi*) were eagerly attended even by specialists. He was also mufti of the Dār al-ʿAdl, rector-warden of the Baibarsiya, khaṭīb first in the Azhar and then in the Ḳubba al-Maḥmūdiya.

Ibn Ḥadjar, who was also esteemed as a writer both of prose and poetry, displayed a considerable literary activity; his works, several of which are very important for the study of Islām, were much sought after even in his lifetime, notably his commentary, *Fatḥ al-Bārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī* (Būlāḳ 1300-1), which was sold for 300 dīnārs. Of his writings, the number of which is estimated at over 150, we may here mention: *al-Iṣāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba* (ed. Sprenger etc., Calcutta 1856-73, and Cairo 1323—5); *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (ed. Haidarābād 1325—27); *Taʿdjīl al-Manfaʿa bi-Zawāʾid Ridjāl al-Aʾimma al-arbaʿa* (ibid. 1324); *al-Ḳawl al-musaddad fi ʾl-Dhabb ʿan al-Musnad li ʾl-Imām Aḥmad* (ibid. 1319); *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām fī ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo 1330); *Nukhbat al-Fikar fī Muṣṭalaḥ Ahl al-Athar* and *Nuzhat al-Naẓar fī Tawḍīḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar* (ed. Lees etc., *Bibl. Ind.*, New Ser., Nº. 37, Calcutta 1862); *al-Durar al-kāmina fī Aʿyān al-Miʾa al-thāmina*; *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr*; *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Ḳuḍāt Miṣr* (MSS. of these three works in Brockelmann; select biographies from the latter are published by R. Guest in the appendix to *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Gibb Mem., Vol. xix.); *Tawālī al-Taʾnīs fī Maʿālī Ibn Idrīs* and *Dīwān* (printed together Būlāḳ 1301); *Ghibṭat al-Nāẓir fī Tardjamat al-Shaikh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir*, ed. E. D. Ross, Calcutta 1903. — Further information on these works is given in Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, where several other writings are mentioned; cf. also Landberg, *Cat. de Mss. arabes* . . . , Nº. 31, 32, 53, 97, 88, 98, 106, 228, 279, 319; Houtsma, *Cat. d'une Coll.* . . . , Nº. 763, 764 (?), 783 II, 1026 (?); Vollers, *Die Islam* . . . . *Hss.* (*Leipzig*), s. Ind., and the list in the *Tardjama* of the *Tahdhīb*.

Ibn Ḥadjar died towards the end of Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 852 (Febr. 1449). His pupil al-Sakhāwī wrote a very full biography of him entitled *al-Djawāhir wa ʾl-Durar fī Tardjamat Shaikh al-Islām Ibn Ḥadjar*.

Bibliography: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, Ms. Leiden (*Cat.*², ii. 117 sq.), p. 389 sqq.; do., *Dhail ʿalā Rafʿ al-Iṣr*, Ms. Leiden (*Cat.*², ii. 190 sq.), f. 29ᵃ—33ᵇ; Quatremère, *Notice sur Ahmed-Ebn-Hadjar-Askalani* in *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, i. 2, p. 209—219; *Tardjama* at the end of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii. (Haidarābād 1327); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311, ii. 7, 9 *infra*, 18, 19, 20, 28, 29, 32 *sq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 67 *sqq.* and the references there given.

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBN ḤADJAR AL-HAITAMĪ, whose full name was AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ IBN ḤADJAR, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, ABU ʾL-ʿABBĀS, AL-HAITAMĪ AL-SAʿDĪ (after the Banū Saʿd in al-Sharḳiya, where his family was originally settled), a famous Arab jurist of the Shāfiʿī school, was born at Maḥallat Abi ʾl-Haitam in al-Gharbiya [q. v.] towards the end of the year (some say Radjab) 909 (1504). After, while still a child, he lost his father, the latter's shaikhs Shams al-Dīn Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥamāʾil (died 932), a noted mystic, and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shanāwī, a pupil of the latter, undertook his maintenance and education. Al-Shanāwī placed him in the Maḳām of Saiyid Aḥmad al-Badawī; on the completion of his elementary education he let his ward prosecute his studies from 924 onwards in the Azhar mosque. In spite of his youth, he studied here under the scholars of the day, such as Zakariyā al-Anṣārī [q. v.], ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Sunbāṭī (d. 931), Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ramlī (d. 958), Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭablāwī (d. 966), Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (d. 952), Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Nadjdjār al-Ḥanbalī (d. 949). Distinguishing himself in theological and legal studies he received, when barely 20 years of age, authority to deliver fatwās and impart instruction. After marrying at al-Shanāwī's suggestion in 932 the latter's niece, he made the pilgrimage in 933 to Mecca, where he also spent the following year. The start which he made there as a legal writer, he followed up on his return to Egypt, till in 937 he undertook the pilgrimage with his family and again made a stay in Mecca. After a third pilgrimage in 940 he settled permanently in the holy city where he devoted himself to authorship and teaching and was appealed to for fatwās from far and near. That his authority there was not entirely undisputed is evident from a statement by al-Fākihī (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 56 *sqq.*). He conducted a series of vigorous polemics with the Shāfiʿī mufti of Zabīd, Ibn Ziyād (cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 404) (Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph*, p. 4 *sqq.* = *Tijdschr. van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, xlii. 396 *sqq.*). He died on the 23ʳᵈ Radjab 974 (3 Febr. 1567) in Mecca and was buried on the Maʿlāt.

Ibn Ḥadjar's commentary on the *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī [q. v.], *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtādj li-Sharḥ al-Minhādj*, was with the *Nihāya* of al-Ramlī [q. v.] the authoritative textbook of the Shāfiʿī madhhab. After the Ḥadjariyūn (chiefly in Ḥaḍramawt, Yemen and Ḥidjāz) and the Ramliyūn (in Egypt and Syria) had at first disputed fiercely with one another, the opinion finally prevailed that Ibn Ḥadjar as well as al-Ramlī had to be considered the indispensable transmitter of the correct Shāfiʿī point of view (Snouck Hurgronje, *l. c.*, and in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, liii. 142 *sq.*). Among his writings we may further mention *al-Fatāwā al-*

kubrā al-fiḳhīya (Cairo 1308), in which are inserted several lengthy treatises with separate titles, e. g. his two polemics against Ibn Ziyād; *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthīya* (Cairo, 1307); *al-Ṣawā'iḳ al-muḥriḳa fi 'l-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Bida' wal-Zandaḳa* (Cairo 1308), a polemic against the Shī'a, discussed by Goldziher, *Sitzungsber. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., lxxviii. 453 *sqq.*; on the margin of the latter: *Kit. Taṭhīr al-Djanān wal-Lisān 'an al-Khuṭūr wal-Tafawwuh bi-Thalb Saiyidinā Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān*. Besides the editions given by Brockelmann, *l. c.*, we may mention: *al-Zawādjir 'an Iḳtirāf al-Kabā'ir* with marginal editions of *Kaff al-Ra'ā' 'an Muḥarramāt al-Lahw wal-Samā'* and *al-I'lām bi-Ḳawāṭi' al-Islām* (Cairo 1325) and *al-Minaḥ al-Makkīya fī Sharḥ al-Hamzīya* (ib. 1307 in two ed., and 1322); *Riyāḍ al-Riḍwān fī Ma'āthir al-Mu'min al-'Ali Āṣaf khān*, cf. *An Arabic Hist. of Gujurat*, ed. E. D. Ross, London, 1910, p. 333 *sqq.* The MSS. of these and other works are given by Brockelmann, *l. c.*; cf. also Houtsma, *Cat. d'une collection de manuscr.*..., N°. 50, 234, 499, 741, 1090, 1117, 1163₂. Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazā'in al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ* etc., p. 53, N°. 95, 96; 59, N°. 126; 60, N°. 134; 72, N°. 24; 73, N°. 30—33; 75, N°. 68; Vollers, *Die Islam.*.... *Hss.* (*Leipzig*), s. Ind. Further works are given in the biographical articles mentioned below.

Bibliography: Besides the references in the article, the biographical details in the preface to the *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā* (I, 3—5); biographical articles in *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, Cod. 1742 Leyden (*Cat.*², II, 123), f. ۲۳—۲۸, and *al-Bāḳ al-bāṣir 'alā ba'ḍ Wafayāt A'yān Ahl al-Ḳarn al-'āshir*, ib., f. ۲۰۰—۲۰۳; *Manāḳib*, app. to *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtādj*, Cairo 1306; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 387 *sqq.*, cf. i. 162, 266, 364, 394, 395, 396; ii. 156, 157.

(C. van Arendonk.)

IBN al-ḤADJDJĀDJ Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Dja'far, poet of the Būyid period. He belonged to a family which was engaged in the public service, and was himself trained by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi' in secretarial work. He found however that he could earn more by verse, and became an encomiast of the most important among his contemporaries, especially 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār, who appointed him to the office of *muḥtasib* or censor in Baghdād; a most unsuitable appointment, since this poet specialized in obscenity, and indeed against one of the headings in the Paris abridgment of his *Dīwān* "encouragement to fornication" a reader has written the question "Is this the business of the censor?" After a time he was deprived of this office and vainly endeavoured to recover it. In his poems he mentions various estates which he had acquired or inherited, and several odes deal with a dispute between himself and a Kurd for the possession of one of them.

Among the eminent men with whom he came in contact were the vizier Muhallabī, who desired him to satirize Mutanabbī; Sābūr b. Ardashīr; Ibn Baḳīya; 'Aḍud al-Dawla and Bahā' al-dawla; Ibn 'Abbād and Ibn al-'Amīd. He earned 1000 dīnārs by an encomium on "the ruler of Egypt" who feared his satire; and much of his wealth appears to have been acquired by blackmail of this sort. Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj died 391 (1001).

His *Dīwān* when complete filled many volumes; a volume preserved in the British Museum contains rhymes in *dāl* and part of those in *rā*. A selection of the less obscene poems was made by his contemporary and friend the Sharīf al-Raḍī, called *al-Naẓīf min al-sakhīf*; a selection by no means free from obscenity was made in 510 by Hibat Allāh al-Iṣṭurlābī, in 141 sections; this is preserved in the Paris MS. 5913, with prefatory note by the grammarian Ibn al-Khashshāb. A considerable collection of his verses is also given by Tha'ālibī in the *Yatīma* ii. 211—270. Other selections are mentioned by Brockelmann i. 82.

The subject with which the poems chiefly deal is the vice explained by Mez, *Ibn al-Ḥādjdjādj Sittenbild*, p. xxvii; the society in which the poet moved is that which is known from the *Yatīma*, especially vol. ii.; the Sharīf al-Raḍī is said to have incurred infamy by his lament over Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj (*Dīwān*, p. 862—864), who however had earned it by his attacks on the Companions, which the Sharīf as an 'Alawid approved.

Bibliography: MSS. cited above. *Mir'āt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (MS).

(D. S. Margoliouth.)

IBN al-ḤĀDJIB, Djamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Othmān b. 'Omar b. Abī Bakr b. Yūnus, an Arab grammarian, son of a Kurdish chamberlain of the Emīr 'Izz al-Dīn Mūsak al-Ṣalāḥī, born in the village of Esnā in Upper-Egypt in the closing days of the year 570 = 1175, studied the Ḳur'ān and the sciences connected with it, Mālikī law and its sources, grammar, and belles lettres, in Cairo. His chief teachers were the Imām al-Shāṭibī, the jurist Abū Manṣūr al-Abyārī, etc., He made a journey to Damascus and after spending a long time there teaching publicly in the Mālikī zāwiya of the great Umaiyad mosque he went to Cairo and afterwards moved to Alexandria, where he died on the 26th Shawwāl 646 = 11 Febr. 1249.

Although he also wrote works on law and prosody, it is as a grammarian that he is specially celebrated and in this field he differs in many points from his predecessors. As a jurist he was the first to combine the doctrines of the Mālikīs of Egypt with those of the Maghribī Mālikīs. We owe to him the following works, of which those in prose are so clear in their style that they require no commentary: 1. *al-Kāfiya*, a short manual of Arabic syntax (*naḥw*; Rome 1592; Cawnpore 1888, 1891; Kazan 1889; Tashkent 1311, 1312; Constantinople 1305; Cairo repeatedly; commentary Constantinople 1310); 2. *al-Shāfiya*, short treatise on Arabic accidence (*ṣarf*; pr. 1805; Constantinople 1850; Cawnpore 1885; extracts publ. with notes by F. Buhl, *Sproglige og historiske Bidrag til den arab. Gramm. med udv. Tekststykker af Ibn al-Ḥâǵibs aš-Šâfija*, Leipzig 1878); 3. *al-Maḳṣad al-djalīl fī 'Ilm al-Khalīl*, a didactic poem in the *Basīṭ* metre on prosody (Leiden, *Cat.*², N°. 273; Berlin, *Verz.*, N°. 7126; Bodl., *Cat.*, I, *MSS. Heir.*, N°. 36, ii., *MSS. Arab.*, N°. 1267, ii.; publ. with transl. by Freytag in his *Darstell. der arab. Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, p. 334—371); 4. *al-Amālī*, discourses on the Ḳur'ān, on al-Mufaṣṣal etc. (Berlin, N°. 6613; Wien, Flügel, *Die arab.*.... *Hss.*, N°. 388; Paris, Bibl. Nat., N°. 4392, iii.—vi.; Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, iv. 24); 5. *al-Ḳaṣīda al-muwashshaḥa bi 'l-Asmā' al-mu'annatha*, on the feminine nouns of masculine form, publ. by Haffner

and Cheikho, *Dix anciens traités de philol. arabe*, Beyrouth 1908, p. 157); 6. *Risāla fi 'l-Uḵẖr*, a short treatise on the use of the word *uḵẖr* with the adjectives *awwal* and *āḵẖir* (Berlin, N⁰. 6804); 7. *Muntahā 'l-Su'āl wa 'l-Amal fī 'Ilmai al-Uṣūl wa 'l-Djadal*, a handbook of the sources of Mālikī law (Mss. cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*); 8. *Muḵẖtaṣar al-Muntahā*, known as *al-Muḵẖtaṣar al-Uṣūlī*, a synopsis of the preceding work (pr. Būlāḳ 1316—9, with 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī's commentary and the glosses of al-Taftazānī and al-Djurdjānī on it and superglosse by al-Ḥasan al-Harawī to al-Djurdjānī's *Ḥāshiye*); 9. *Muḵẖtaṣar fi 'l-Furū'* or *Djāmi' al-Ummahāt* or simply *al-Muḵẖtaṣar al-far'ī*, compendium of Mālikī law, annotated (*Tanḳīḥ*) and afterwards imitated Sīdī Ḵẖalīl (India Office, Loth, *Cat.*, N⁰. 298; Brit. Mus., *Cat. Cod. Or.*, ii. N⁰. 226; Ḵẖod. Libr., Cairo, *Fihr.*, iii. 159; Algiers, Fagnan, *Cat.*, N⁰. 1074—1076).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḵẖallikān, *Wafayāt* (Cairo 1310), i. 314; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (Cairo 1321), i. 125; do., *Bughyat al-Wu'āt* (Cairo 1326), p. 323; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj* (Fās 1316), p. 372; Ibn Ḵẖaldūn, *Prolég.* (transl. de Slane), iii. 20 *sq.*; Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 27—29; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 303—6, cf. 525, ii. 697; Huart, *Arab. Lit.*, p. 172; Moh. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnes ment. dans l'Idjāza du Cheikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī* (Paris 1907), N⁰. 191; Morand, *Le droit musulman algérien (rite mālikite), Les origines* (Alger 1913), p. 9 *sq.* (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN AL-HAITHAM, whose full name was ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḤASAN (or AL-ḤUSAIN) B. AL-HAITHAM, in mediaeval European sources usually called ALHAZEN, was one of the most important mathematicians and physicists of the Arabs, learned also in medicine and the other sciences of the ancients notably in the philosophy of Aristotle. He was born about the year 354 (965) in Baṣra, wherefore he is sometimes called Abū 'Alī al-Baṣrī, moved when fairly old to Egypt, where he was for some years in the service of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim, to whom he had offered to regulate the course of the Nile, but soon had to give up this undertaking; on al-Ḥākim's death he earned his living by copying mathematical and other books. He died in Cairo towards the end of the year 430 = 1039 or soon after as the authorities note. — Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a quotes about 200 mathematical, astronomical, physical, philosophical, and medical works and treatises by Ibn al-Haitham, for which we may refer the reader to the sources quoted below, particularly (besides Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a) F. Woepcke and E. Wiedemann. His chief work on physics is his *Optics*, *Kitāb al-Manāẓir*, published in a Latin translation in 1572 in Basle by F. Risner, together with his treatise on twilight, entitled *Opticae thesaurus Alhazeni Arabis libri septem nunc primum editi. Eiusdem liber de crepusculis et nubium ascensionibus*, etc., a Fred. Risnero. The latter treatise was translated into Latin by Gerhard of Cremona; this is probably true also of the *Optics* but not certain. The *Optics* of Ibn al-Haitham had a great influence in the middle ages on the study of optics in Europe from Roger Bacon to Kepler. There still survives also a large Arabic commentary on the *Optics* by Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Fārisī (died c. 1320); on this and Ibn al-Haitham's *Optics* cf. the works of E. Wiedemann mentioned below.

Of treatises by Ibn al-Haitham some published in Arabic and some accessible only in translations, we have to mention the following in addition to those mentioned in the authorities quoted below: *Über die Beschaffenheit der Schatten (fī Kaifīyat al-Aẓlāl)*, published by E. Wiedemann in an abbreviated form in a German translation in the *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Naturwissensch.*, xiii. (*Sitzungsber. der phys.-mediz. Sozietät in Erlangen*, Vol. 39 (1907), p. 226 *sqq.*); *Über parabolische Hohlspiegel (fi 'l-Marāyā al-muḥriḳa bi 'l-ḳuṭū')*, publ. in a German transl. by J. L. Heiberg and E. Wiedemann, in the *Biblioth. Mathem.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. x. (1910), p. 201—237; *Über sphärische Hohlspiegel (fi 'l-Marāyā al-muḥriḳa bi 'l-Dawā'ir)*, transl. by E. Wiedemann, *ibid.*, p. 293—307; *Über die Ausmessung des Paraboloides (fī Misāḥat al-Mudjassam al-mukāfī)*, transl. with commentary by H. Suter in the *Biblioth. Mathem.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. xii. (1912), p. 289—332; Extracts from the treatises *fi 'l-Makān (Über den Ort (oder Raum))*, *fī Mas'ala 'adadīya (über ein Zahlenproblem)*, *fī Shakl Banī Mūsā (über einen Satz der Banū Mūsā)*, *fī Uṣūl al-Misāḥa (über die Elemente der Ausmessung)*, published in German translation by E. Wiedemann, in *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Naturwissensch.*, xvii. (*Sitzungsber. der phys.-mediz. Sozietät in Erlangen*, Vol. xli. (1909), p. 1—25).

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a (ed. Müller), ii. 90—98; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (ed. Lippert), p. 165—168; E. Wiedemann, *Ibn al-Haitham, ein arabischer Gelehrter* (reprint from the *Festschrift für J. Rosenthal*, Leipzig 1906); do., *Zu Ibn al-Haithams Optik* (Reprint from the *Archiv für die Gesch. d. Naturwissensch. u. d. Technik*, Vol. iii., 1910); Woepcke, *L'algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyāmī*, etc., Paris 1851, p. 73—76; Steinschneider, *Notice sur un ouvrage astronomique inédit d'Ibn Haitham* in the *Bollettino di bibliogr. delle scienze mat. e fis.*, xiv. (1881), p. 721 *sqq.*, and xvi. (1883), p. 505 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 469; Suter, *Abhandlgn. z. Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 91—95; xiv. 169—170. (H. SUTER.)

IBN ḤAIYĀN b. ḴẖALAF, ABŪ MARWĀN ḤAIYĀN AL-ḲURṬUBĪ, usually called after his grandfather Ibn Ḥaiyān, one of the earliest and best historians of Muslim Spain. Almost nothing is known of his biography except the year of his birth 377 (987—988) and his death 469 (1076). He was a very prolific writer: the list of his works contains no less than 50 titles, which include poems and theological treatises. His history *al-Matīn* is said to have comprised not less than 60 volumes, but of all his writings only the historical work entitled *al-Muḳtabis fī Ta'rīḵẖ al-Andalus* has survived; there is one volume in Oxford (Cod. Bodl. in Nicoll, ii. n⁰. 137) and a second at Constantine; there are transcriptions of both in Madrid.

Bibliography: The bibliography on Ibn Ḥaiyān is given in Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliogr.*, p. 152 *sqq.* Cf. also Brockelmann, *Geschichte etc.*, i. 338.

IBN ḤAMDĪS, ABŪ MUḤAMMED 'ABD AL-DJABBĀR B. ABĪ BAKR, an Arab poet, born about 447 (1055) in Syracuse in Sicily and distinguished at an early age as a poet. When the Normans captured Sicily in 471 (1078), he retired to Spain and spent some time at the court of the 'Abbādid al-Mu'tamid [q. v.] in Seville. He followed the

latter in his imprisonment in 484 (1091) and lived at al-Mahdiya after his death (488 = 1095). He spent the last years of his life at Bougie where he died in 527 (1132); according to other accounts, he died on the island of Majorca. He left a *Dīwān* of which Amari has published specimens. Cf. C. C. Moncada, *Il Dīwān del poeta Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Gabbār Ibn Ḥamdīs il siciliano pubblicato*, Palermo 1883, and *Il Canzoniere di Ibn Ḥamdīs*, publ. by C. Schiaparelli, Roma 1897. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 196, he also wrote a history of Algeciras.

Bibliography: Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, s. Index; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo Bio-bibliografico*, p. 186 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., i. 269 *sq.*

IBN ḤAMDŪN, BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN, an Arab philologist, born in 495 (1101) at Baghdād. He held several offices at the court of the Caliph, so that he received the title *Kāfī 'l-Kufāt*. But his frankness aroused the enmity of the Caliph al-Mustandjid who threw him into prison in 562 (1167). Soon afterwards he died in prison. He was the author of a large anthology of philological and historical matter entitled *al-Tadhkira*. Cf. Amedroz, *Tales of official Life from the "Tadhkira" of Ibn Ḥamdūn*, etc. in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1908, p. 409 *sqq.*

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., i. 280 *sq.* (with further references).

IBN ḤAMMĀD, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ, an Arab historian, author of a history of the Fāṭimids. Neither the date of his birth nor death is known; we only know that he flourished after the rise of the Almohad dynasty and before Ibn Khaldūn, who quotes a passage from him about the Banū Khazrūn of Tripolis (*Kitāb al-'Ibar*, vii. 43). The text is still unpublished in a manuscript of the Bibl. Nat. of Paris (nº. 1888) and in another of the Bibl. Nat. of Algiers (nº. 1988, imperfect). Two fragments, one on 'Ubaid Allāh and one on Abū Yazīd al-Mukhallad were translated by Cherbonneau (*Journ. Asiat.*, 1862, ii. 470 *sq.*; 1860, i. 190 *sqq.*).

(RENÉ BASSET.)

IBN HĀNI', ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM (also ABU 'L-ḤASAN) MUḤAMMAD B. HĀNI' B. MUḤAMMAD B. SA'DŪN AL-AZDĪ, usually called IBN HĀNI' AL-ANDALUSĪ to distinguish him from Ibn Hāni' al-Ḥakamī [see ABŪ NUWĀS], an Arab poet of Spain. His father Hāni' was a native of a village near al-Mahdiya in Tunisia, who had moved to Elvira in Spain or, according to others, to Cordova. Ibn Hāni' was born in one of these two towns. He studied in Cordova and then proceeded to Elvira and Seville. In the latter city his frivolous way of living and too free speech brought upon him the wrath of the people who accused him of agreeing with the Greek philosophers and of heresy, so that he was finally banished from Seville at the age of 27 by his patron, who was afraid of being suspected of agreeing with him. He then went to Africa to Djawhar, a freedman and general of the Fāṭimid al-Manṣūr. When he received only 200 dīnārs from the latter for a ḳaṣīda addressed to him, he went to al-Masīla (Msila) in Algiers where his compatriots Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Falāḥ b. Abī Marwān and Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Ḥamdūn al-Andalusī were ruling. Treated with great respect by them he composed some notable poems in their honour. The Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mu'izz Abū Tamīm Ma'add b. Ismā'īl, son of al-Manṣūr, summoned the poet to him and attached him to his court, overwhelming him with tokens of esteem. When al-Mu'izz went to Egypt in 361 (972) to take up his residence in Cairo, Ibn Hāni' left him and returned to the Maghrib to bring back his family, but was murdered in Barḳa in Cyrenaica on his road on Wednesday 24 Radjab 362 = 30th April 973 at the age of 36. Accounts of his murder differ. When al-Mu'izz in Egypt heard of the poet's death, he lamented: "He was a man whom we hoped to rival the poets of the East, but this was not granted to us".

In spite of the gross exaggerations in some of his panegyrics, which made him suspected of infidelity among the orthodox, Ibn Hāni' enjoyed as great esteem among the Arabs of the West as his contemporary al-Mutanabbī did in the East. Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, who esteemed the latter highly used to say of Ibn Hāni': "he is like a mill, grinding corn, so little sense is there in his verse".

His *Dīwān*, arranged in alphabetical order, was published at Būlāḳ in 1274 and at Beyrouth in 1886, 1326. It contains panegyrics of al-Mu'izz, Dja'far b. Ghalbūn, Abu 'l-Faradj Muḥammad b. 'Omar al-Shaibānī, Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Ghalbūn, Ṭāhir and Ḥusain b. al-Manṣūr, Yaḥyā b. 'Alī, Ibrāhīm b. Djawhar b. Kāfūr, satires against al-Wahrānī, two elegies, one on the mother of Dja'far and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī, the other on the son of Ibrāhīm b. Dja'far b. Alī and several impromptu pieces.

Bibliography: al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, p. 130, nº. 301; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, p. 103, nº. 350; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319, ii. 212; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii. 4; al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*, Constantinople 1302, p. 74; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, ii. 364 (gives only the *Maṭmaḥ*); Abu 'l-Fidā, *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 118; Amari, *Bibl. Ar.-Sic.*, text, fasc. ii., p. 317; al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*, Jerusalem n. d. (1308), p. 62; Ibn al-Athīr, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, tr. et ann. par Fagnan, p. 371; Fagnan, *Hist. des Almohades d'al-Merrâkechi*, p. 93, 183; von Kremer, *Ueber den ṣḥī'itischen Dichter Abu 'lḲāsim Moḥammad Ibn Hâni'* (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxiv 481—494); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliografico*, p. 74, nº. 37; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 91; Huart, *Arab. Lit.*, p. 95; Ibn Sharaf al-Kairawānī, *Rasā'il al-Intiḳād*, Damascus 1350, p. 22.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN ḤAWḲAL, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM (MUḤAMMAD), an important Arab traveller and geographer. Very little is known of his life. He tells of himself that he left Baghdād in Ramaḍān 331 (May 943) with the intention of becoming acquainted with other lands and peoples, and making money by commerce. He travelled through the whole Muslim world from east to west, at the same time studying eagerly the works of his predecessors al-Djaihānī, Ibn Khordādhbih and Ḳudāma. According to Dozy, he was a spy in the service of the Fāṭimids. On his travels he met al-Iṣṭakhrī [q. v.] probably about 340. At the latter's request he made improvements in some of this geographer's maps and revised his work. He afterwards however decided upon rewriting it and completed the new version under his own name with the title *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik* not be-

fore 367 (977); it was published by de Goeje in Vol. ii. of the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* On earlier editions of separate portions and part translations see the *Praefationes* to *op. cit.* and vol. i.

Bibliography: P. J. Uylenbroek, *De Ibn Haukalo Geographo*, etc., Lugd. Bat. 1822, p. 5—17; De Goeje, *Die Iṣṭakhrī-Balkhī Frage* in *Zeitschr. d. Dtsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xxv (1871), 42 *sqq.*; do. *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iv. *Praef.*, p. iv. *sq.*; Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iii 17, 181. (C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBN ḤAZM, whose full name was ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ B. AḤMED B. SAʿĪD B. Ḥ., a versatile Spanish Arab scholar, a notable theologian, historian and distinguished poet, born on the last day of Ramaḍān 384 (7th Nov. 994) at Cordova. His family belonged to the village of Manta Lishām (var. M-t-Ḥlīdjām, according to the *Irshād al-Arīb*, v. 88 *infra*, ½ *farsakh* from Huelva at the mouth of the Odiel) in the district of Niebla; his great-grandfather had been a convert from Christianity to Islām. His father, who had risen to the rank of a vizier of the major-domo al-Manṣūr and his son al-Muẓaffar, assumed a genealogy which led back to a Persian client of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. As the son of a high official Ibn Ḥazm naturally received a good education; the atmosphere of the court in which he spent his youth did not prevent his active mind striving to develop in all directions. As his teacher in various branches of knowledge he mentions (*Ṭawḳ*, p. 110, 3, 118, 13 *sq.*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Yazīd al-Azdī (left Spain during the civil war, see Ibn Bashkuwāl, Nº. 753). Before 400 he studied under Aḥmad Ibn al-Djasūr (died 401, Ibn Bashkuwāl, Nº. 37, cf. *Ṭawḳ*, p. 136, 10; 144, 3) and in the midst of the political turmoils we find him a student of Ḥadīth in Cordova (*Ṭawḳ*, p. 127, 4 *sq.*).

The revolution which overthrew the ʿĀmirids (cf. Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iii. 271 *sqq.*) considerably affected the position of father and son. Especially after Hishām II was replaced on the throne (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 400 = July 1010), both had to suffer many mortifications. Ibn Ḥazm's father died towards the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 402. In Muḥarram 404 he left Cordova, which had been sorely tried by the civil war; the beautiful palace of his family at Balāṭ Mughīth had been destroyed by the Berbers (*Ṭawḳ*, p. 104, cf. 87 *infra sq.*). He next chose Almeria for his home; there he seems to have been able to live in comparative quiet till ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd in alliance with Khairān, ruler of Almeria, overthrew the Umaiyad Sulaimān (Muḥarram 407). Khairān induced to suspect him of intriguing in favour of the Umaiyads, imprisoned him for some months with his friend Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ and then banished them. The two friends went to Ḥiṣn al-Ḳaṣr, whose ruler received them kindly. On learning that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV al-Murtaḍā had been appointed Caliph in Valencia, they left their host after a few months and travelled by sea to this town, where Ibn Ḥazm met other friends (*Ṭawḳ*, p. 110 *sq.*). In the army of al-Murtaḍā, whose vizier he was, he fought before Granada; he was captured by the enemy but was released after a while (*Cat. Cod. Arab.*, i. 273). After an absence of six years he returned in Shawwāl 409 to Cordova, where al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd was now Caliph (*Ṭawḳ*, p. 104, 10, cf. 112, 1). After the latter's expulsion, the intellectual ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir was chosen Caliph (Ramaḍān 414 = Dec. 1023); the latter chose his friend Ibn Ḥazm as vizier. They only enjoyed the new state of affairs for a brief period, for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was murdered seven weeks later (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 414 = Jan. 1024) and Ibn Ḥazm found himself once more within prison walls. How long he was confined cannot be definitely ascertained; it is certain however that he was living in Jātiva about 418 (1027). According to al-Ḥumaidī (in Yāḳūt), he filled the office of vizier again under Hishām al-Muʿtadd. Only scanty notices of his later life are available. But he kept clear of politics in order to devote himself entirely to sciences, authorship, and the propagation and defence of his doctrines.

One of his earliest works is that which was made known by Dozy (*Ṭawḳ al-Ḥamāma fi 'l-Ulfa wa 'l-Ullāf*, ed. by D. K. Pétrof, Leiden 1914, cf. the review by Goldziher in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lxix. 192 *sqq.*), which he wrote in Jātiva (p. 4, 2) about 418 (*Ṭawḳ*, p. 79 *sq.*), before the death of Khairān in 419; an attack of Abu 'l-Djaish [so to be read] Mudjāhid on Khairān would suggest after their estrangement in Rabīʿ II 417, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 195; a second *terminus ad quem* is given *Ṭawḳ*, p. 42, 7: Ḥakam b. Mundhir died about 420 according to Ibn Bashkuwāl nº. 332). In this treatise on love and its different phases in which he illustrates his views on psychology by short stories from his own experiences and those of his contemporaries and by his own poems, Ibn Ḥazm shows himself a keen observer, a brilliant stylist and charming poet. He affords us not only a glimpse into his own character, but also throws an interesting light on a little known side of the life of his time. — Probably about the same time he wrote the treatise called *Risāla fī Faḍl al-Andalus*, dedicated to his friend Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (according to al-Ḍabbī, nº. 59), which is given in al-Maḳḳarī, ed. Dozy etc., ii. 109, 15—121 (ed. Būlāḳ, ii. 767, 3 *sqq.*). This *Risāla*, composed at the instigation of the lord of Ḳalʿat al-Bunt (al-Maḳḳarī, ii. 110, cf. Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, nº. 432), gives an interesting survey of the most important early literature of the Spanish Muslims. — Of his historical works there still survive *Nuḳaṭ al-ʿArūs fī Tawārīkh al-Khulafā* (ed. with Spanish translation by C. F. Seybold in *Revista del Centro de Estudios históricos de Granada y su Reino*, i. 160 *sqq.*, 237 *sqq.*, Granada 1911) and the *Djamharat al-Ansāb* (*Ansāb al-ʿArab*) written about 450 (cf. Codera, *Misión histórica en la Argelia y Túnez*, Madrid 1892, p. 24 *sqq.*, 83) (Ms. Tunis, Masdjid al-Zaitūn, nº. 5014, and copy of this Ms. in Madrid, Real Acad. de la Hist., Codera, *o. c.*, p. 165; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Blochet, *Cat. de la Coll. . . . Schefer*, nº. 5829, containing the biography of Muḥammad, Berlin, *Verz.*, nº. 9310), a work highly esteemed and often quoted by Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, ed. 1284, VI, 8, 80 *sq.*, 97, etc.), on the genealogy of the Arab and Berber families in Maghrib and Spain, which Codera used as a source for his articles on the Ḥammūdids, Tudjībids (these two articles also in his *Estudios críticos de Historia árabe española*, Zaragoza 1903, p. 301 *sqq.*), Umaiyads in *op. cit.*, p. 29 *sqq.*, 41 *sqq.*, cf. 147 *sqq.*, 75 *sqq.*, et passim.

But it was particularly as a traditionist and

theologians that Ibn Ḥazm displayed great literary activity. At first an ardent follower of the Shāfiʿī school he afterwards went over to the Ẓāhirī [cf. ẒĀHIRĪS] of which he became a devoted advocate. This change had apparently been completed by the time he wrote the above mentioned *Risāla* (cf. al-Maḳḳarī, ii. 120, 3 *sqq.*). Possibly the instruction of his teacher Abu 'l-Khiyār (so to be read *Ṭawḳ*, p. 98, 10) i. e. Masʿūd b. Sulaimān b. Muflit, who was a Ẓāhirī (Ibn Bashkuwāl, nº. 1238, al-Ḍabbī, nº. 1361), was not without influence upon him. [For Ẓāhirī contemporaries cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, nº. 1105, 1196]. He defended with vigour his position that the details of legal deduction not resting on tradition and revelation must be rejected in the treatise *Ibṭāl al-Ḳiyās wa 'l-Raʾy wa 'l-Istiḥsān wa 'l-Taḳlīd wa 'l-Taʿlīl* (Ms. Gotha, Pertsch, *Verz.*, nº. 640), which Goldziher (*Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig 1884) first thoroughly studied. From the title Ibn Ḥazm evidently discussed similar subjects (cf. *Faṣl*, iii. 76) in the *Kit. al-Iḥkām fī (li-) Uṣūl al-Aḥkām* (Ms. Khed. Libr., *Fihr.* [ed. 1305], ii. 236). A small work by him on *Masāʾil Uṣūl al-Fiḳh* was printed, according to the *Fihris Maktabat al-Manār* (1332), with notes by Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣaghānī and al-Ḳāsimī in Egypt. He published a Ẓāhirī system of *Fiḳh* in his *Kit. al-Muḥallā bi 'l-Āthār fī Sharḥ al-Mudjallā bi 'l-Ikhtiṣār* (*Ikhtiyār*), which is presumably contained in its entirety in the many volumes of this work in the Khed. Libr. (*Fihr.*, iii. 297 *sq.*); incomplete in Leiden, Landberg, *Cat.*, nº. 646, and Constantinople Aya Ṣofya, nº. 1259, 1260. Similar in content was his *Īṣāl ilā Fahm al-Khiṣāl* (*Faṣl*, i. 114, 7 *sqq.*) which exists in a *Mukhtaṣar* of his son Abū Rāfiʿ in the Khed. Libr. (*Fihr.*, iii. 297, 23 *sq.*)

Ibn Ḥazm was original in his application of Ẓāhirī principles to dogmatics. Here also only the primary meaning of the written word and established tradition was to be decisive. From this point of view he sharply criticised religious groups in Islām in his most celebrated work, the *Kit. al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Ahwāʾ wa 'l-Niḥal* (pr. Cairo 1317—21) and particularly attacked the Ashʿarīs [see AL-ASHʿARĪ], notably their views on the divine attributes. As regards anthropomorphic expressions in the Ḳurʾān, however, Ibn Ḥazm found himself forced to bring these into conformity with a spiritual interpretation. An appreciation of Ibn Ḥazm's views on dogmatics and philosophy in their mutual relations has still to be made. Goldziher has touched on the main points; cf. also the excerpts in Horten (see below). On the influence of Ibn Ḥazm's principles on the domain of ethics see Goldziher, *o. c.*, p. 162 *sq.* and on I. Ḥ. as champion of the monotheistic reaction against the cult of saints, Ṣūfī doctrines, and astrology, see Schreiner, *Beitr.* In the work just named, which was first more fully made known by Goldziher, Ibn Ḥazm also criticises non-Islāmic creeds, such as those of the Jews and Christians, and endeavours to find contradictions and incompatibilities in their writings to justify the accusation of falsification of texts. (Cf. Goldziher, *Jeschurun*, *Zeitschr. für die Wiss. des Judenthums*, viii., 1872, p. 76 *sqq.*, and *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xxxii. 1878, p. 363 *sqq.*; Schreiner, *ibid.*, xlii. 612 *sqq.*). As I. Friedlaender, following Goldziher, has shown in more detail [*Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa 'n-Niḥal* in *Orient. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i. 267 *sqq.*), the logical arrangement of this work (the author repeatedly styles it *Dīwān*, e. g. i. 107, 11; iv. 178, 10, v. 79, 18) is to some extent destroyed by the incorporation in it of works originally separate. The mss. of this work, the references in which are to very different dates, show, according to Friedlaender, two recensions. The incorporated parts are: *a*) i. 116—ii. 91 of the published text, apparently identical with *Kit. Iẓhār Tabdīl al-Yahūd wa 'l-Naṣārā li 'l-Tawrāt wa 'l-Indjīl wa Bayān Tanāḳuḍ mā bi-Aidīhim min dhālika mimmā lā yaḥtamilu 'l-Taʾwīl*; *b*) iv. 178—227, containing the treatise *al-Naṣāʾiḥ al-mundjiya min al-Faḍāʾiḥ al-mukhziya wa 'l-Ḳabāʾiḥ al-murdiya min Aḳwāl Ahl al-Bidaʿ wa 'l-Firaḳ al-arbaʿ al-Muʿtazila wa 'l-Murdjiʾa wa 'l-Khawāridj wa 'l-Shīʿa*; from it Friedlaender has translated the chapter on the Shīʿa (iv. 178—188) with a general survey of heterodox views (ii. 111—117) and two passages regarding Shīʿite doctrines, making use of manuscript material and adding illuminating notes (*The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, New Haven 1909, from *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.*, xxviii. and xxix.; *ibid.* on Mss. [cf. also *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. d. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lxvi. 166] and recensions); *c*) perhaps also iv. 87—178, a work on *al-Imāma wa 'l-Mufāḍala*, with the title of which Fr. compares *Kit. al-Imāma wa 'l-Siyāsa fī Ḳisam Siyar al-Khulafāʾ wa-Marātibihā wa 'l-Wādjib minhā* (so Ibn Ḥaiyān in Yāḳūt); Ibn Ḥazm's treatise *Fi 'l-Mufāḍala baina 'l-Ṣaḥāba* may be identical with this, Ms. Damascus, Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazāʾin al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ* etc., p. 82, 4. — A fragment of his *al-Nubdha al-kāfiya fī Uṣūl Aḥkām al-Dīn* is contained in Ms. Berl., Nº. 5376.

In the domain of logic Ibn Ḥazm wrote a *Kitāb al-Taḳrīb fī Ḥudūd al-Manṭiḳ*, which has not survived; something would be known of its contents if the statements in *Faṣl*, i. 4, 10, iii. 99, v. 20, 1, v. 70 *infra*, refer to the same work under a slightly different title. It might be presumed that the same work is meant by a treatise on *ʿIlm al-Kalām*, the only one (and first?) of his own which he mentions in his *Risāla* on literary history, but out of modesty he does not give the title. His work on this science in which his teacher (Ibn Khallikān, al-Dhahabī) was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Madhḥidjī (Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, Nº. 411), whom he praises as a philosophic author, found but little approval and he was held to be at fault because he contradicted Aristotle, whom on the whole he held in high esteem however (*Die Ẓâhiriten*, p. 157), and departed entirely from the usual treatment of the subject. In this connection it should be noted that he laid great emphasis on the perception of the senses.

Ibn Ḥazm devoted to Ḳurʾānic studies and tradition his *Kit. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh* (pr. Cairo, on the margin of editions of the *Tafsīr al-Djalālain*, 1297, 1308) and other works which have probably not survived. — Among his polemical writings there is still to be mentioned a satirical ḳaṣīda (cf. Abū Bakr b. Khair, *Fihr.*, ed. Codera and Ribera, i. 409 *sq.*) preserved in al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiya*, ii. 184—9, the reply to a poetical attack on the part of the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (cf. al-Subkī, *o. c.*, ii. 178 *sqq.* and Flügel, *Die Arab. ... Hss. ... der Hofbibl. zu Wien*, i. 449 *sqq.*) — The fruit of his mature years and of much bitter experience was his ethical

tractate *Kit. al-Akhlāḳ wa 'l-Siyar fī Mudāwāt al-Nufūs* (pr. Cairo n. d.), an exhortation to pious life, which holds up Muḥammad's example as the moral ideal (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 30). This tractate has been discussed and translated into Spanish by Miguel Asín (*Los Caracteres y la conducta. Tratado de moral práctica por Abenhazam de Córdoba*, Madrid 1916).

A controversialist by nature, as he was (cf. *Ṭawḳ*, p. 43, 6), Ibn Ḥazm challenged Jews, Christians, and Muslims of different schools. He was a doughty opponent: "whoever resisted him bounced off him as from a stone" (Ibn Ḥaiyān). He overwhelmed with scorn and contempt men whom the majority of Muslims held in the highest reverence such as al-Ashʿarī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik. According to a proverbial saying, Ibn Ḥazm's pen was like al-Ḥadjdjādj's sword in sharpness. Yet he always endeavoured to do his opponents justice; it was against his nature to make intentionally baseless charges against them. In his ethical treatise he ascribes his vehemence to the influence of an illness. He only succeeded to a modest extent in gaining a hearing for his views. For a time he found a supporter in Aḥmad b. Rashīḳ (al-Ḍabbī, Nº. 400), Mudjāhid's wālī in Majorca, who was interested alike in theology and literature; Ibn Ḥazm found protection with him when Cordovan and other theologians decried him as an opponent of the Mālikī school (Dozy, *Notices*, p. 100 *sq.*). Under this patronage he succeeded in winning adherents on the island in the 430's A. H. (cf. Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, Nº. 1467, Nº. 2027; Ibn Bashkuwāl, Nº. 903). He disputed before Ibn Rashīḳ (died soon after 440) with the celebrated theologian Abu 'l-Walīd Sulaimān al-Bādjī, who had returned from the East about 440. This same opponent summoned by a Majorcan faḳīh afterwards forced Ibn Ḥazm to leave the island (Ibn al-Abbār, *l. c.*, Nº. 445; cf. Codera, *Estudios críticos* etc., p. 264—9).

His charge of heresy against the great orthodox authorities brought upon him the wrath of the theologians, some of whom probably also envied him his learning. They warned their hearers against the errors of his doctrine and made him suspected by the princes, who soon no longer tolerated him in their lands. His strong sympathy (*ʿaṣabīya*, Ibn Ḥaiyān) for the Umaiyads was a further reason why he appeared dangerous. This constant baiting forced him to retire to his family estate in Manta Līshām. His writings were publicly burned in Seville; their author pilloried the foolishness of this proceeding in sarcastic epigrams. In his retirement he continued to study and write. According to a statement by his son Abū Rāfiʿ the number of his writings was 400 in 80,000 folios, but the "majority did not cross the threshold of his district" (Ibn Ḥaiyān). A small circle of pupils who dared to brave the anathema of the theologians sought instruction from him here. Among them was the historian al-Ḥumaidī. Ibn Ḥazm died in his village on the 28th Shaʿbān 456 (15th August 1064). The Almohad al-Manṣūr is said to have remarked on one occasion at his tomb: "All scholars have to apply to Ibn Ḥazm when in difficulty" (al-Maḳḳarī, ii. 160, 11).

Of his sons there are mentioned Abū Rāfiʿ al-Faḍl (died 479) as a learned author (Ibn Bashkuwāl, Nº. 994), Abū Usāma Yaʿḳūb (*ib.*, Nº. 1407) and Abū Sulaimān al-Muṣʿab (Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, Nº. 1097) as transmitters of their father's learning.

Ibn Ḥazm's teachings were particularly attacked in writings after his death. When the ḳāḍī Ibn al-ʿArabī [q. v.] returned from the east towards the turn of the fifth century (al-Dhahabī, *Tadhk.*, ii. 90 *sqq.*), he found the heresy widespread in the Maghrib. To combat it he wrote *Kit. al-Ḳawāṣim wa 'l-ʿAwāṣim*, which al-Dhahabī, *Tadhk.*, iii. 323 *sqq.*, quotes, and other treatises. About the same time Muḥammad b. Haidara (al-Dhahabī, *l. c.*, iv. 52) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭalḥa (Ibn al-Abbār, *l. c.*, Nº. 1330, al-Maḳḳarī, i. 905, 4) came to his assistance. About a century later, the Mālikī theologians ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh (Ibn al-Abbār, *l. c.*, Nº. 1812) and Ibn Zarḳūn (*ib.*, Nº. 967) came forward to refute I. Ḥ., the latter with a *Kit. al-Muʿallā* directed against the *Kit. al-Muḥallā*. On the other hand, a pupil of Ibn Zarḳūn, Ibn al-Rūmiya, the botanist, came forward as a fanatical adherent of Ibn Ḥazm and the celebrated mystic Ibn ʿArabī [q. v.] transmitted his works and wrote a synopsis of the *Kitāb al-Muḥallā*, likewise entitled *al-Muʿallā*.

Bibliography: in addition to the works already mentioned: Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (Gibb Mem., vi. 5), v. 86 *sqq.*; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 459; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, p. 232 *sq.*; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, Nº. 888 and Nº. 40; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, Nº. 1204 and 412; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib* (ed. Dozy)[2], Ind.; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ* (Const. 1302), p. 55 *sq.*; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* (ed. Haidarābād), iii. 341 *sqq.*; al-Maḳḳarī, ed. Dozy etc., i. 511 *sqq.* (ed. Būlāḳ, i. 364 *sqq.*) and Ind.; *Cat. Cod. Arab. Bibl. Lugd. Bat.*, i. 267 *sq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Paris, iii. 4; Dozy, *Script. arab. de Abbadidis loci*, ii. 75, 120 *sq.* (al-Nuwairī); do., *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Introd., p. 84 *sqq.*; do., *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Ind.; Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, p. 109—186, et passim; do., Art. *Ibn Ḥazm* in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; Schreiner, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der theol. Bewegungen im Islam*, p. 3 *sqq.*; Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 209 *sqq.*; 245 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 399 *sq.* (cf. 523 and ii. 701), 419; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, Nº. 103, p. 130 *sqq.*; Friedlaender, *The Heterodoxies*, Introd.; Horten, *Die philos. Systeme der spekul. Theologen*, p. 564 *sqq.* (the titles collected there from the *Kit. al-Faṣl* are only in part correct); Petrof, *Ṭawḳ*, p. vii. *sqq.* and other literature given there on p. xx.

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBN ḤIBBĀN, MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-BUSTĪ, Arab author and authority on Tradition, born at Bust in Sidjistān, after extended travels in pursuit of knowledge, filled a judicial office in Samarḳand, but was driven from it as a heretic, because he had defined the prophethood as a combination of ʿIlm and ʿAmal (cf. Goldziher on *Muʿammar al-Nafs*, p. 57). After staying in Nasā and in 334 = 945 in Nīshābūr, he settled in Samarḳand as a teacher of Tradition and died there at the age of 80 on the 22nd Shawwāl 354 = 21st October 965. His chief work is the collection of Tradition famous for its artificial arrangement entitled *Kitāb al-Taḳāsīm wa 'l-Anwāʿ*, see *Kashf al-Kurūb al-mukhfāt ʿan ...*

nīya, i. 250 (*Dībādja* in Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, Nº. 1268), revised by ʿAlī b. Balabān al-Fārisī (died 739 = 1338, according to al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 331), with glosses by Ibn Ḥadjar in the Brit. Mus., see *Cat. Cod. Ar.*, Nº. 1570 (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 269, Note 5). Traditionists are the subject of his two works, *Kitāb al-Thiḳāt*, rearranged by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, Ms. in Cairo, see *Fihrist*, i. 230-231, and *Mashāhīr ʿUlamāʾ al-Amṣār*, Ms. in Leipzig, see Vollers, *Die Islam.* . . . *Hdss.*, Nº. 688. Finally he wrote an adab-book of an edifying character entitled *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳalāʾ wa-Nuzhat al-Fuḍalāʾ* (Ms. in Hamburg, see Brockelmann, *Verz.*, Nº. 96), pr. Cairo 1328; in it he quotes 11 other works.

Bibliography: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿīya al-kubrā*, ii. 141; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Nº. 130; do., *Schafiʿiten*, Nº. 152. (C. Brockelmann.)

IBN ḤIDJDJA, Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin Taḳī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Ḳādirī al-Ḥanafī al-Azrārī (the button-maker, so called after the trade he had followed in his youth), an Arab author, one of the most celebrated poets and stylists of the Mamlūk period, born 767 (1366) in Ḥamāt. While returning to Cairo in 791 (1390) after travelling for study, he witnessed the great conflagration in Damascus at the siege by al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ and was moved by it to his first rhetorical effort, an epistle to Ibn Makānis (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hdss. zu Berlin*, Nº. 8784). He reached the zenith of his creative ability in his office as Munshī in the Dīwān of Cairo which he owed to his patron al-Bārizī, the private secretary to the Sulṭān al-Muʾaiyad Shaikh (815—824 = 1412—1421). After the latter's death in 830 (1427) he returned to his native town and died there on the 15th Shaʿbān 837 = 28th March 1434. Of his poems, which he collected under the title *al-Thamarāt al-shahīya fi ʾl-Fawākih al-Ḥamawīya wa ʾl-Zawāʾid al-Miṣrīya*, the best known is his *Badīʿīya* entitled *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Ghāyat al-Arab*; on it he wrote in 826 (1423) the commentary *Taḳdīm Abī Bakr* (cf. Mehren, *Rhet.*, p. 12), pr. Calcutta 1230 (as an appendix to the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī), Būlāḳ 1273, 1291, Cairo 1301. His collection of letters and firmans from the Mamlūk chancery, *Ḳahwat al-Inshāʾ*, which exists in numerous manuscripts, will probably be found useful for historical purposes. His anthology, *Thamarāt* (*Thamrāt*) *al-Awrāḳ*, with *Dhail*, pr. Būlāḳ on the margin of the *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabāʾ* of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Cairo 1300, and with a second appendix by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aḥdab on the margin of al-Ibshīhī's *al-Mustaṭraf*, Cairo, 1320-1321, was also highly esteemed. Finally he published new editions and synopses of older works, such as *al-Ṣādiḥ wa ʾl-Bāghim* of Ibn al-Habbārīya; al-Shirwānī gives a synopsis of this version in *Nafḥat al-Yaman* (Cairo 1326), p. 150—161.

Bibliography: al-Noʿmānī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* (cod. Wetzst. ii. 289), fol. 80r; *Muntakhab min Taʾrīkh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī* (cod. Leid. Ar. 2010), fol. 85r; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litteratur*, ii. 15 *sqq.* (C. Brockelmann.)

IBN HISHĀM, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām b. Aiyūb al-Ḥimyarī al-Baṣrī, an Arab grammarian, born in Baṣra, died in Fusṭāṭ in Egypt on the 13th Rabīʿ II 218 = 8th May 834, according to others in 213 a. h., wrote, besides his version of Ibn Isḥāḳ's [q. v.] biography of the Prophet, a collection of biblical and South Arabian legends, entitled, *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, s. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hdss. zu Berlin*, Nº. 9735; Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arab. Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, Nº. 578-579; Tunis, Nº. 4953a; Stambul, ʿĀṣim, Nº. 691; al-Zaiyāt, *Khazāʾin al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ*, p. 72, Nº. 12; *Manuscrits de la collection Landberg*, Nº. 717.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 390 (ed. Cairo 1299, i. 365); al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 315; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Nº. 48; M. Lidzbarski, *De propheticis quae dicuntur legendis arabicis*, Lipsiae 1893, p. 5 *sqq.*; do. in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, viii. 271 *sqq.* (C. Brockelmann.)

IBN HISHĀM, Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hishām al-Anṣārī al-Miṣrī, was born in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 708 = April-May 1309 in Cairo, where he died in the night of Thursday-Friday, 5th Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 761 = 17-18 September 1360. A pupil of the Spanish grammarian Abū Ḥaiyān for the study of the *Dīwān* of Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā, he also studied with Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. al-Muraḥḥal, al-Fākihānī, etc.

As a Shāfiʿī doctor, he became professor of Ḳurʾānic exegesis at the Ḳubbat al-Manṣūrīya in Cairo; but five years before his death he went over to the Ḥanbalī school to obtain the post of professor at the Ḥanbalī madrasa in Cairo and for this purpose learned by heart the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī in less than four months.

Ibn Khaldūn sums him up in these words: "Ibn Hishām was profoundly learned in grammar and possessed perfect knowledge of it. He followed in the path of those of the grammarians of Mōṣul who accepted Ibn Djinnī's views and followed this scholar's method of teaching. The knowledge displayed by Ibn Hishām is truly remarkable and shows that he had a perfect mastery of his subject and that he was very clever".

Ibn Hishām has left the following works:

1º. *Ḳaṭr al-Nadā wa-Ball al-Ṣadā*, a short treatise on syntax, several times published; 2º. Commentary on the preceding, publ. at Tunis in 1281, Būlāḳ 1253, 1282, Cairo 1274, transl. into French by Goguyer, *La pluie de rosée, étanchement de la soif*, Leyden 1887; 3º. *Shudhūr al-Dhahab fī Maʿrifat Kalām al-ʿArab*, a short treatise on grammar, less extensive than the preceding; 4º. Commentary on the preceding, publ. at Būlāḳ in 1282, Cairo 1253, 1305; 5º. *al-Iʿrāb ʿan Ḳawāʿid al-Iʿrāb*, a succinct treatise on logical analysis, publ. Būlāḳ 1253, at Constantinople in 1298, publ. and transl. into French by de Sacy in his *Anthologie grammaticale*, Paris 1829, pp. 73—92 et 155—223 of the transl.; 6º. *Mughnī ʾl-Labīb ʿan Kutub al-Aʿārīb* (the author had written another at Mecca in 749 = 1348 which was lost on his return to Egypt and on his second sojourn in Mecca in 756 = 1355 he wrote this one), a complete treatise on syntax divided into two parts or eight chapters containing a detailed exposition of the particles and the rules for the construction of sentences publ. Teherān 1274, Cairo 1305, 1307; 7º. *Mūḳid al-Adhhān wa-Mūḳiẓ al-Wasnān*, the solution of several difficult points in grammar, Paris Bibl. Nat., Nº. 4115, ii.; 4162, i.; Berlin, *Verz.*,

Nº. 6748-6749; Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, vii. 69, 104, 172, 598; 8º. *Alghāz*, a collection of grammatical puzzles prepared for the library of Sulṭān al-Malik al-Kāmil, publ. at Cairo in 1304; 9º. *al-Kawākib al-durriya fī Sharḥ Shawāhid 'Ulūm al-'arabiya*, a commentary of "vers témoins" quoted by Ibn Djinnī in his *Kit. al-Luma'*, Berlin, Nº. 7652; 10º. *al-Djāmi' al-ṣaghīr fi 'l-Naḥw*, a treatise on grammar, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nº. 4159; 11º. *Risāla fī 'isti'māl lughat^an wa-faḍl^an wa-ilā 'l-khilāf^in wa-aiḍ^an wa 'l-Kalām 'alā halumma djarr^an*, a grammatical study of the words *lughat^an* etc., Berlin, *Verz.*, Nº. 6886, Leiden, *Cat.*, I², Nº. 221, under the title *Masā'il fi 'l-Naḥw wa-Adjwibatuhā*; Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, iv. 33, 59, vii. 564; publ. in al-Suyūṭī, *Kit. al-Ashbāh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir*, Ḥaidarābād 1317, iii. 203-222; 12º. a short study on the use of the accusative in 9 passages of the Ḳur'ān, Berlin, Nº. 6884; probably = Derenbourg, *Mss. arab. de l'Esc.*, Nº. 86, 6; 13º. *Mawḳiṭat 'l-'urūḍ al-Sharṭ 'alā 'l-Sharṭ*, Leiden, *Cat.*, I², Nº. 217, 218; pr. in al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, iv. 34—42; 14º. *Fawḥ al-Shadhā fī Mas'alat kadhā*, a supplement to the treatise on the same question, *Kitāb al-Shadhā fī Aḥkām kadhā*, by his teacher Abū Ḥaiyān, publ. in al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, iv. 120—131; 15º. *Sharḥ al-Ḳaṣīda al-lughziya fi 'l-Masā'il al-naḥwiya*, commentary on a poem containing grammat. puzzles, Leiden, Nº. 222, pr. in al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.* ii. 302—323; 16º. *Awḍaḥ al-Masālik ilā Alfiyat Ibn Mālik*, wrongly known as *al-Tawḍīḥ*, a version in prose corrected and augmented of the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik, publ. at Cairo in 1304, 1316, at Calcutta in 1832; 19º. *Sharḥ Bānat Su'ād*, comment. on Ka'b b. Zuhair's poem in honour of the Prophet, edit. by Guidi, Leipzig 1871; at Cairo 1304, 1307; 20º. *Shudhūr al-Malaḥ wa-Mawārid al-Minaḥ*, a treatise on the salvation of the soul, Berlin, Nº. 2097; 21º. *Mukhtaṣar al-Intiṣāf min al-Kashshāf*, an abridgment of *al-Intiṣāf min al-Kashshāf* which Ibn al-Munaiyir wrote to combat the Mu'tazili doctrines expressed in the *Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī, Berlin, Nº. 791. — Further grammatical contributions of Ibn Hishām are printed in al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, ii. 202, 209—301; iv. 2—34, 43—55, 100—120.

Bibliography: al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321, i. 257; do., *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, Cairo 1326, p. 293; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolég.*, transl. de Slane, iii. 273, 312; Moh. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les pers. ment. dans l'Idjâza de Sîdî Abd al-Qâdir al-Fâsi*, Paris 1907, nº. 291; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 23 *sqq.*, cf. Nachträge p. 706; Huart, *A Hist. of Arab. Lit.*, p. 387 *sq.* (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN HUBAIRA, 1. ABU 'L-MUTHANNĀ 'OMAR B. HUBAIRA AL-FAZĀRĪ, governor of the 'Irāḳ. Ibn Hubaira was a native of Ḳinnasrīn and is mentioned in the reign of Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik as one of the leaders in the war against the Byzantines. In the summer 96-97 (715) the fleet was equipped and in the autumn he attacked Byzantine territory with it, while Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik conducted the operations on land. Ibn Hubaira spent the winter in Asia Minor and the following summer hostilities were resumed. At the end of 97 (August 716) the Arabs began to besiege Constantinople; after the siege had lasted for a year, they had to abandon it and return home. In 100 (718-719) 'Omar II granted him the governorship of Mesopotamia. After a successful expedition against the Byzantines in Armenia in 102 (720-721) he was appointed governor of al-'Irāḳ and Khorāsān by Yazīd II. In the constant feuds between northern and southern Arabs, on account of his lineage he always took the side of the former, while the latter were in consequence neglected. In Shawwāl 105 (March 724), soon after the accession of the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, Ibn Hubaira was dismissed and Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī appointed his successor. According to another statement, this did not happen till the following year. His son Yazīd is also called Ibn Hubaira.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii. see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), v. 17—102; Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 359 *sq.*, 374, 376, 378, 388; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, iii. 71, 82 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 566, 599, 605, 620; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall* (3ʳᵈ ed.), p. 389, 395; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 199 *sqq.*, and *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern* in *Nachr. von der Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl.*, 1901, p. 440 *sqq.*

2. ABŪ KHĀLID YAZĪD B. 'OMAR, son of the preceding, born in 87 (705-706). Yazīd was appointed governor of Ḳinnasrīn by the Caliph al-Walīd II. In the beginning of 128 (autumn 745) Marwān II appointed him governor of the 'Irāḳ and sent him with an army against the Khāridjīs. In Ramaḍān 129 (May—June 747) Yazīd entered Kūfa. He next captured Wāsiṭ and took 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz [q. v.] prisoner who had been forced to make peace with the Khāridjī chief al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳais al-Shaibānī [q. v.] and had remained in the town as Khāridjī governor. The whole of the 'Irāḳ was then subdued. Like the other enemies of the Umaiyad caliphate the Khāridjīs also made an alliance with the 'Alid rebel 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [q. v.]; the latter was defeated by Yazīd's general 'Āmir b. Ḍubāra and the Khāridjīs could no longer hold out in the 'Irāḳ. The 'Abbāsids then appeared in the field. When their general Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb advanced against Kūfa, Yazīd hastened to meet him but was defeated in Muḥarram 132 (August 749) and had to take to flight. Ḳaḥṭaba lost his life — how it is not known — and his son Ḥasan undertook the supreme command, while Yazīd fell back on Wāsiṭ, where he was besieged by Ḥasan. In the same year the 'Abbāsid dynasty was formally recognised. Abū Dja'far, brother of the Caliph Abu 'l-'Abbās went to Wāsiṭ to the assistance of Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba and after a siege of several months Yazīd had to surrender. Although the 'Abbāsids had expressly promised to pardon him, he was soon afterwards put to death. According to Ibn Khallikān Yazīd's execution took place in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 132 (June 750); according to another account, however, he did not enter into negotiations with the besiegers till he had received news of the death of the Caliph Marwān II [q. v.]. According to this, Yazīd could not have been put to death before the early months of the next year (= autumn 750).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), Nº. 828 (transl. of de Slane, iv. 204 *sqq.*); Ṭabarī, ii., see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), v. 245—340; Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 405, 407 *sq.*, 411 *sqq.*; *Fragm. Histor. Arab.*, i. see Index; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii. 156 *sq.*; xvi. 84; xviii. 144; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i.

681, 688, 690, 699 *sq.*; ii. 41 *sq.*; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, S. 221, 237, 245 *sqq.*, 339 *sq.*, 343.
(K. V. Zettersteen.)

IBN HUBAIRA, the name of two viziers:

1. 'Awn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Hubaira al-Shaibānī, born in 499 (1096-1097) or, according to another statement, in 497 (1103-1104). He was a native of Dūr Banī Awḳar, a place five parasangs from Baghdād, and studied in the latter city. After filling several offices he was installed in 542 (1147-1148) as chief of the *Dīwān al-Zimām* and in Rabī' II 544 (August 1149) the Caliph al-Muḳtafī appointed him vizier. After the death of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad in Radjab 547 (Oct. 1152) the governor of Baghdād, Mas'ūd al-Bilālī, seized the town of al-Ḥilla, but was soon defeated by Ibn Hubaira and had to flee to Takrīt, whereupon not only al-Ḥilla, but also Kūfa and Wāsiṭ fell into the vizier's hands. When Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd sent an army against Wāsiṭ, the Caliph himself hurried to his vizier's assistance and the Sulṭān's troops had to retire. In 548 (1153-1154) al-Muḳtafī besieged Takrīt but had to abandon the enterprise. In the following year the Caliph and then the vizier made a renewed attempt to take the town but without success. Nevertheless, Mas'ūd al-Bilālī was twice defeated in the open field, by the Caliph near Ba'ḳūbā and by Ibn Hubaira near Wāsiṭ. After this victory the latter received the honorary title of "Sulṭān of the 'Irāḳ". When al-Muḳtafī in the year 555 (1160) died and al-Mustandjid succeeded him, Ibn Hubaira was confirmed in his office. He died on the 13th Djumādā I 560 (28th March 1165). He was also celebrated as a scholar.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 817 (transl. by de Slane, iv. 114 *sqq.*); Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 419—426; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi., passim; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. 221—3, 234—9, 247—255, 290—2; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 305, 310; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 408 *sq.*

2. 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, son of the preceding. The latter filled the vizierate after his father's death but was soon thrown into prison and disappeared from history.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 426.
(K. V. Zettersteen.)

IBN HUBAL, Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad, a physician, born in Baghdād 515 (1122), studied grammar and fiḳh at the Niẓāmiya but later turned to medicine. He became court physician to the Shāh-i Arman at Khilāṭ and there amassed great riches; he next entered the service of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' at Mārdīn and finally went to al-Mawṣil. When he was 75 years old, he unfortunately became blind but lived till 610 (1213). His chief work is entitled *al-Mukhtār fi 'l-Ṭibb*, from which de Koning has published two chapters in *Traité sur le calcul dans les reins et dans la vessie*, p. 180 *sqq.* Ibn Hubal, who was also a poet, left a son, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, who was likewise a physician and practised in Asia Minor at the court of the Saldjūḳ Kaiḳāwūs (q. v.), where he died.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ed. Müller, i. 304 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 238 *sq.*; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii. 141 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i. 490.

IBN 'IDHĀRĪ (Ibn 'Adhārī), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Marrākushī, Arab historian of the Maghrib and Spain, about whom we have no information further than that he flourished about the end of the viith (xiiith) century, with which his chronicle concludes. The latter is of special interest as it contains portions of lost works. It is called *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī Akhbār al-Maghrib* and is not preserved in its entirety. Ibn 'Idhārī also wrote a history of the East, which we only know by name. Dozy published the text of *al-Bayān al-Mughrib: Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Leyden 1848—1851, 2 vols.); a fragment is given in the *Crestomatia arábigo-española* of Simonet and Lerchundi (Granada, 1881), N°. lxi. The entire work is translated by Fagnan, Algiers 1901—1914, 2 vols.; a fragment on the invasion of the Normans by Dozy, *Recherches*, 3rd ed., ii. 288-289. Cf. also Dozy, *Corrections sur le texte du Bayano 'l-Mogrib*, Leyden 1883, p. 1—91.

Bibliography: Dozy, Preface to his edition, i. 77—107; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N°. 373, p. 151; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 414 *sq.*
(René Basset.)

IBN ISFANDIYĀR, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, a Persian historian, of whom we only know what little he tells us in the beginning of his chronicle of his native land of Ṭabaristān, returned in 606 (1210) from Baghdād to 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī after hearing of the murder of his patron Rustam b. Ardashīr, governor of Ṭabaristān. In deep grief he spent two months in Raiy collecting material for his work and studying in the libraries. He then spent five years in the town of Khwārizm, where he found by accident in a bookseller's shop certain new documents, including the letter of Tansar, Ardashīr Bābakān's minister, to Djasnaf, king of Ṭabaristān (*Journ. Asiat.*, 9th Ser., Vol. iii., 1894, p. 185 and 502). His chronicle begins with this letter, then follows after a brief description of his native land and its remarkable features, the history of Ṭabaristān under the dynasties of Wadjangīr and Bāwand [v. Bāwand], under the sway of the Ghaznawids and Saldjūḳs and under the second native Bāwend dynasty, with which the work closes. An abridged English translation by E. Browne appeared in 1905 in the *Gibb Memorial Series*, Vol. ii.

Bibliography: Sir W. Ouseley, *Travels*, ii. 214, iii. 304 *sqq.*; B. Dorn, *Sehireddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan*, p. 3; Spiegel, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.*, iv., 1850, p. 62; Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss.*, p. 202; Ethé, *Persian Mss. Bodl. Libr.*, p. 160, and *Cat. Pers. Mss. India Office*, p. 223; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 479 *sq.*
(Cl. Huart.)

IBN ISḤĀḲ, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, an Arab author and authority on Tradition, was the grandson of Yasār, who was captured in the year 12 = 633 in the church at 'Ain al-Tamr in the 'Irāḳ and brought to Medina, where he became a client of the tribe of 'Abd Allāh b. Kais. Muḥammad also grew up there; he devoted his attention to the collection of stories and legends of the life of the Prophet and thus soon

came into conflict with the representatives of religious and legal tradition which dominated public opinion in the town, notably with Mālik b. Anas who decried him as being a Shīʿī and as being the inventor of many legends and poems transmitted by him. He therefore left his native land and went first of all to Egypt and then to the ʿIrāḳ. The Caliph al-Manṣūr induced him to come to Baghdād, where he died in 150 = 767, or 151 or even 152. He seems to have gathered the materials for the Prophet's biography in two volumes, the *Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ* (*Fihrist*, p. 92) or *Mubtadaʾ al-Khalḳ* (Ibn ʿAdī in Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), II, p. VIII, l. 23) or *Kitāb al-Mabdaʾ wa-Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra*, ii. 235), the history of the Prophet to the Hidjra, and the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. His *Kitāb al-Khulafāʾ* seems early to have taken a second place before this, his chief work. Karabacek believed he had found a leaf of the original text of the biography of the Prophet in a papyrus of the Rainer collection (see *Führer durch die Sammlung*, nº. 665); on the other hand, the alleged *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Ibn Isḥāḳ in the library of the Köprülü Madrasa in Stambul (*Defter*, Nº. 1140) has been shown to be a copy of Ibn Hishām's recension (see Horovitz in *Mitt. des Sem. für Orient. Sprachen*, x. Westas. Stud., p. 14). Al-Māwardī, however, seems still to have had access to the original. He quotes from the *Maghāzī* in his *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* (ed. Enger), p. 65, 11 *sqq.*, 65-6, 67-8, 68, stories which are given in an abridged form in Ibn Hishām, p. 677, 501, 445, 841. His work is preserved in comprehensive extracts in Ṭabarī, but independently only in the version of Ibn Hishām [q. v.], who knew the book through a pupil of Ibn Isḥāḳ, the Kāḍī Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakkāʾī. He combined the two independent parts with occasional considerable abridgments into the *Kitāb Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*. The book received its present form in the fourth century A. H. from al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [q. v.]. A commentary was written on it by al-Suhailī (died 508 = 1114) and another, very superficial, by the Moroccan Abū Dharr Muṣʿab b. Muḥammad b. Masʿūd (died 604 = 1207 in Fās).

Bibliography: Ibn Coteiba, *Handbuch der Geschichte* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 247; Ṭabarī, *Dhail al-Mudhaiyal*, under the year 150, iii. 4, p. 2512; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 623, ed. Cairo 1299, i. 611; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, vi. 399—401; Sprenger, in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, xiv. 288—290; do., *Leben Mohammads*, iii, lxx.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. xiv.; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 11.; Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, v. 1., p. 232; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Nº. 28; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i. 32 *sqq.*; A. Fischer, *Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Isḥāḳ, hauptsächlich aus ad-Dahabī*, Leiden 1890; cf. *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, xlvi, 148 *sqq.*; *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishâk bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hischâm*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858—1860, anastat. reprint Leipzig 1899, reprint Būlāḳ 1295 and on the margin of Ibn Ḳaiyim al-Djawziya's *Zād al-Maʿād*, Cairo 1324; P. Brönnle, *Die Commentatoren des Ibn Isḥâq und ihre Scholien*, Diss. Halle 1895; *Die Kommentare des Suhailī und des Abū Dharr zu den Ḳaṣīd-Gedichten in der Sīra des Ibn Hišām* (ed. Wüst. I, 621—638) *nach den Hdss. zu Berlin, Strassburg, Paris und Leipzig*, ed. by A. Schaade, Diss. Leipzig 1908 (*Leipz. Sem. Stud.*, iii. 4); *Commentary on Ibn Hisham's Biography of Muhammad according to Abu Dzarr's Mss. in Berlin, Constantinople and the Escurial*, ed. by Paul Brönnle (*Monuments of Arabic Philology* i., ii.), Cairo 1911. (C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN IYĀS (in the popular dialect pronounced "Ayās"), MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, is the most important Arab chronicler of the period of the decline of the Mamlūks. Born in 852 (1448) he seems to have been nearly 80 when he died, for his history comes down to the year 928. His family was of Turkish origin. His paternal grandfather, Iyās al-Fakhrī, a Turkish slave, called "min Djumādā" after his owner, was sold to Sulṭān Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ [q. v.], enrolled among his Mamlūks and reached the rank of second Dawādār. His great grandfather (his father's maternal grandfather) had risen further in the official scale. Azdamir al-Khāzindār, sold into Egypt as a slave, ultimately filled the very highest offices in Cairo under Sulṭān Ḥasan and Sulṭān Ashraf Shaʿbān and governed successively Tripolis, Aleppo and Damascus. Ibn Iyās' father belonged in Cairo to the Awlād al-Nās, a kind of military reserve, who were bound to give military service at the Sulṭān's command. In return they received a fief or a sum of 1000 dīnārs or a yearly allowance (1000 dirhams under Ḳāʾit Bey) [see Ibn Iyās, ed. Būlāḳ, ii. 195 et passim]. Aḥmad Ibn Iyās was a prominent man, related both by birth and marriage to many emirs and high officials. Of his 25 children only three boys and three girls survived him: one of them is our author; another was master of ordnance (*zardkhāsh*).

Ibn Iyās' chief work, the only one which can claim lasting importance is a detailed chronicle of Egypt entitled *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waḳāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*. He treats briefly of the early history of Egypt to the end of the Aiyūbid period, and even the account of the Mamlūk period down to Ḳāʾit Bey is rather cursory. It is only from the accession of this ruler that he relates events in detail, along with biographies of the high officials and monthly lists of obituaries. A close study of this work reveals a problem. The chronicle seems to be extant in two versions. The shorter is clearly the author's diary; for the events of the year 921 for example were, according to the text, already completely noted on the 1st Muḥarram 922. Further evidence is that the shorter version is written in the vernacular, while the fuller text of the longer version in the London Ms. appears finished and polished (cf. Vollers' comprehensive article in the *Revue d'Égypte*, iii. 551). The description of the years 922—928 is moreover much fuller than the preceding parts and might, if Ibn Iyās is really the author, belong to the larger recension. It is remarkable that the reign of Sulṭān Ghūrī, the years 906—912 (Paris Ms.) and 913—921 (Petrograd Ms.), is not found in other copies (hence not printed in the Cairo edition). This circumstance brought Vollers in his article above mentioned to conclude that this portion of the chronicle is not by Ibn Iyās. But it is just this part that is certainly from his pen; this is proved by the fact that he writes as an eye-witness. For example, he mentions that he was present at

a procession himself, or that he was personally affected by events (*e. g.* robbery by Mamlūks). Further evidence is the accurate account of his family affairs on his father's death as well as the occasional mention of his brother. Ibn Iyās' chronicle is an account of the doings of the rulers of the time, at the same time mentioning other events. He cannot be denied a certain critical ability, although his verdict is often too severe. Yet he was conscious that the utterly corrupt financial administration and the neglect, so often censured by him, of artillery brought about the decline of the empire, although he unjustly gives the whole blame for the wretched financial situation to Sulṭān Ghūrī. The great value of this chronicle consists also in the fact that in part it is the only Arabic source for the beginning of the x[th] century.

Of less importance are his other works: 1. *Nashk al-Azhār fī ʿAdjāʾib al-Aḳṭār*, a cosmography with special reference to Egypt much used and often quoted by European scholars of the xix[th] century. 2. *Marādj al-Zuhūr fī Waḳāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, a popular history, dealing with the patriarchs and prophets, of little value, and perhaps not by our author. 3. *Nuzhat al-Umam fi 'l-ʿAdjāʾib wa 'l-Ḥikam*, also a work on history, little known, only extant in one Ms. in Constantinople.

Bibliography: See Brockelmann, *Geschichte d. arab. Lit.*, ii. 295, and Vollers' article. Ibn Iyās' chronicle was printed in Cairo (1301—1306) and in the state press of Cairo—Būlāḳ 1311-1312. (M. SOBERNHEIM.)

IBN AL-ĶĀḌĪ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABI 'L-ʿĀFIYA AL-MIKNĀSĪ, known as IBN AL-ĶĀḌĪ, a descendant of Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya al-Miknāsī, belonging to the great tribe of Zenāta of Morocco, born in 960 (1552-1553). Jurisconsult, man of letters, historian, poet and above all mathematician, he studied with his father, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mandjūr, al-Ḳaṣṣār, Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj, Ibn Mudjbir al-Masāʾī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Djallāl, Aḥmad Bābā, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Sedjilmāsī, mufti of Marrākesh, etc. He was on intimate terms with the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Fāsī and attended his conferences. He went to the east for the first time to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and heard the lectures of Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlḳamī, Sālim al-Sanhūrī, Yūsuf b. Fodjla al-Zarḳānī, Yaḥyā al-Ḥaṭṭāb, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḳarāfī, etc. On returning a second time to the east in 991, he was captured by Christian corsairs on Thursday 14[th] Shaʿbān 994 = 31[st] July 1585 and his ransom of 20,000 ounces was paid by Sulṭān Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Manṣūr al-Saʿdī on the 17[th] Radjab 995 = 23[rd] June 1587, i. e. after 11 months' captivity during which he had to suffer, as he tells us himself, all kinds of privations and ill treatment. After occupying the post of Ḳāḍī at Salā (Salé) he was recalled and settled at Fās, where he devoted himself to teaching in the mosque al-Andalus. Among his pupils may be mentioned Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī, and notably the author of *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Maḳḳarī, who pronounced his funeral prayers. He died at Fās on the 6[th] Shaʿbān 1025 = 19[th] August 1616 and was buried near the Bāb al-Djīsa.

Of the 13 works enumerated by his biographers, we only know the following: 1°. *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās fī man ḥalla min al-Aʿlām Madīnat Fās*, biographical dictionary of famous men and scholars who lived in Fās, publ. at Fās in 1309; 2°. *Durrat al-Ḥidjāl fī Asmāʾ al-Ridjāl*, a biographical dictionary completing the *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān and stopping at the beginning of the 11[th] (xvii[th]) century, Bibl. Univers. of Algiers, n°. 2022; 3°. *Luḳṭ al-Farāʾid min Lufāẓat al-Fawāʾid*, complement to the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Ḳunfudh in which each century is divided into ten classes each containing 10 very succinct biographies (in the writer's library); 4°. *Al-Muntaḳā 'l-maḳṣūr ʿalā Maʾāthir* (var. *Maḥāsin*) *al-Khalīfa Abi 'l-ʿAbbās al-Manṣūr*, a panegyrical history of Sulṭān al-Manṣūr, a source of *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī* of al-Wafrānī and *al-Istiḳṣā* of al-Salāwī.

Bibliography: biographical notice at the beginning of *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās 1309; al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, Fās 1310, i. 128; al-Wafrānī, *Ṣafwat*, Fās n. d., p. 77; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās 1316, iii. 153; Moh. Ben Cheneb, *Et. s. les pers. ment. dans l'Idjâza de Si'h Abd el-Qâdir el-Fâsî*, Paris 1907, n°. 307; Huart, *A Hist. of Arab. Lit.*, p. 390.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN ĶĀḌĪ SHUHBA, TAḲĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ BEKR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿOMAR AL-ASADĪ AL-DIMASHḲĪ, an Arab biographer, born in 779 (1377), died 851 (1448). He successively filled various offices, as Mudarris, Ḳāḍī, chief Ḳāḍī, etc. and devoted particular attention to the *Chronicle* of al-Dhahabī (q. v.), which he continued and of which he prepared a synopsis. Another work of his is the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿīya*.

His son ABU 'L-FAḌL MUḤAMMAD, died 874 (1469), wrote not only a biography of his father but also several other less important works which are detailed by Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 30.

Bibliography: See Brockelmann, *o. c.*, ii. 51.

IBN ĶĀḌĪ SIMĀWNA, BADR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD B. ISRĀʾĪL, a Turkish jurist and mystic, born at Simaw, a town in the Sandjaḳ of Kutahiya, where his father was Ḳāḍī. According to an uncorroborated statement, he was a descendant of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns; we have more authority for the statement that he studied in Cairo, was the teacher of Faradj afterwards Mamlūk Sulṭān; and later went to Armenia, where he entered a Ṣūfī order, whose shaikh was Ḥusain Akhlāṭī. He is said to have disputed about this time in Tiflis before Tīmūr, with other jurists, and came in Tīmūr's train to his native land again. During the wars of succession after the death of Bāyazīd he attached himself to Mūsā, who had proclaimed himself sulṭān in European Turkey, and the latter made him ḳāḍīʿasker. Mūsā however lost his life in 816 (1413) in battle with his brother Muḥammad I. Ibn Ḳāḍī Simāwna was pardoned but had to settle in Iznik. A short time afterwards, a religious movement began in Asia Minor, the leader of which was a certain Börklüdje Muṣṭafā, whom his followers used to call Dede Sulṭān. A detailed account of him is given by Ducas, ed. Bonn, p. 111 *sqq*. The accounts of the movement are not quite clear but it seems to have aimed at the abrogation of Muslim law and the introduction of a limited communism, so that Jews and Christians also took part in it. One of the leaders is said to have been a Jew, although his name, transmitted in

different forms, Turlāḳ Kamāl (Torlaḳ Hūr or Hū) does not sound at all Jewish. Bōrüklüdje Muṣṭafā was, according to some, Ibn Ḳāḍī Simāwna's ketkhodā when he was ḳāḍī'asker; in any case, he seems to have been one of his pupils. When the movement started, however, Ibn Ḳāḍī Simāwna was no longer in Asia Minor, but in European Turkey, either because he had connections there and was seeking a career in it, or because he feared to be drawn into the movement on account of the relations between him and Muṣṭafā and therefore retired to Europe. The statement in Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 255, that he had himself claimed the sultanate is improbable. In any case, Sulṭān Muḥammad sent troops against Muṣṭafā and Ṭorlaḳ, who were both taken prisoner and executed. Ibn Ḳāḍī Simāwna was thereupon also arrested and executed under a fatwā of Ḥaidar Harawī at Seres in 818 (1415).

Ibn Ḳāḍī Simāwna composed several legal and mystic works, whose titles are given by Brockelmann. The mystical writings *Masarrat al-Ḳulūb*, *al-Wāridāt* (extant in Leiden, with commentary, cf. *Cat.*, v. 23), are not yet investigated.

Bibliography: Ṭashköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'mānīya*, in marg. of Ibn Khallikān (Būlāḳ 1299), i. 111 *sqq.*; Solaḳzāde, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 134 *sqq.*; Hammer, *Geschichte des osm. Reiches*[2], i. 281, 293 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 224 *sq.*

IBN ḲAIS AL-RUḲAIYĀT, 'UBAID ALLĀH, a notable poet of the Umaiyad period. By descent he was a Ḳurashī although he did not belong to one of the most distinguished families of this tribe. His life is bound up with the wars waged about the caliphate between Ibn al-Zubair in Mecca and the Umaiyads in Damascus. The poet who had lost several relatives in the battle of the Ḥarra [q. v.] was a passionate champion of the Zubairids; but he seems to have had sufficient political insight to regret profoundly the struggle in which he found himself involved. That the Ḳuraish were predestined to rule the Arabs with a firm hand was clear to him; and he made no secret of the fact that such political convulsions were bound to undermine the power of the Ḳuraish. Our poet was particularly attached to Muṣ'ab, the Zubairid governor of the 'Irāḳ. When the latter was defeated and fell at Maskin, the fate of his brother 'Abd Allāh, the Meccan anticaliph, was also decided. Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt now remained in concealment for a considerable time; the story of his disappearance and his reappearance among the Umaiyads in Syria has been romantically adorned. Just as previously Ibn Ḳais had been more attached to Muṣ'ab than to his brother in Mecca, so now he seems to have found less favour and kindly welcome with 'Abd al-Malik, the ruler in Damascus, than with 'Abd al-'Azīz, the governor who ruled Egypt in his brother's name. The Umaiyad Caliph had, it is true, little reason to love the poet, in however moving a way the latter might now beg for grace.

Of his poems a selection made by al-Sukkarī in the third century A.H. has come down to us. From this we receive a direct impression of the events which convulsed the world of Islām at this time as revealed in the descriptions and impressions of one concerned in them. The political poems of the *Dīwān* may be considered as political pamphlets of the time. It also contains numerous trifling and sensual poems usually quite conventional love poems. Our poet indeed owes his name al-Ruḳaiyāt to a lady he addresses, named Ruḳaiya. Even the earliest critics compared Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt with 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a. The latter towers above him — not only as a poet of love but also as a man — but the former may be credited with greater versatility. The *madīḥ*, the praise of high and noble patrons, is a favourite form of poem of his and in its composition he shows much skill. But he wanders all over the well trod paths of post-classic Arabic archaicising poetry, although here and there he makes concessions to contemporary styles. At least he does not fall into the errors of other singers of this epoch by seeking after unintelligible ancient expressions. A freshness and directness of style cannot be denied to some descriptions in his *Dīwān*, for example the short but charming description of Ḥulwān (*Dīwān*, iii. 6 *sqq.*) and some amorous trifles.

Bibliography: *Der Dīwān des 'Ubaid Allāh Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt*, ed. transl. with notes and an introduction by N. Rhodokanakis (= *Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akademie der Wissensch. in Wien, philos.-histor. Classe*, vol. cxliv., 1902). Thereon Th. Nöldeke, *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xvii., 1903, p. 78 *sqq.*

(N. RHODOKANAKIS.)

IBN AL-ḲAISARĀNĪ, under this name are known:

1. ABU 'L-FAḌL MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR AL-MAḲDISĪ, an Arab philologist, born 448 (1056), died 507 (1113). De Jong has published an edition of one of his writings under the title *Homonyma inter nomina relativa* (Lugd. Bat. 1865). The Arabic title is given in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 355, where further references are given. There has also been printed his *Kit. al-Djam' baina Kitābai Abī Naṣr al-Kalābādhī wa-Abī Bakr al-Iṣbahānī fī Ridjāl al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim*, Ḥaidarābād 1323.

2. ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. NAṢR, SHARAF AL-DĪN, an Arab poet, born 478 (1085) at 'Akkā, d. 548 (1153) at Damascus. On him cf. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 688.

IBN ḲAIYIM AL-DJAWZĪYA, i. e. the son of the director of the Madrasa al-Djawzīya at Damascus, whose real name was SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR, a Ḥanbalī theologian and disciple of the celebrated Ibn Taimīya, 691—751 (1292—1350). "He was in every respect a faithful disciple of his teacher and he adopted the latter's literary mode. Even during the lifetime of Ibn Taimīya he was persecuted and, as he condemned the pilgrimage to Hebron, he was thrown into prison. Like his teacher he combats the philosophers, the Christians, and the Jews, he holds up the doctrine of the eternity of rewards and of the finiteness of the punishments of hell" (Schreiner in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, liii. 56). Of his numerous writings (cf. the list in Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. 106) are printed amongst others: *Kitāb al-Fawā'id al-mushawwiḳa ilā 'Ulūm al-Ḳur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān*, Cairo 1318, 1327; *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*, Ḥaidarābād 1318, 1324; *Akhbār al-Nisā'*, Cairo 1307, 1310; *Shifā' al-'Alīl fī 'l-Ḳaḍā' wa 'l-Ḳadr* etc., Cairo 1323; de Vlieger, *Kitāb al-Qadr*, *Matériaux pour servir à l'étude de la doctrine de la prédestination dans la théologie musulmane*; *al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥikamīya fi 'l-Siyāsa al-shar'īya*, Cairo

1317; *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'āda wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa 'l-Irāda*, Cairo 1323; *Zād al-Ma'ād fī Hadyi Khair al-'Ibād*, Cairo 1324; *Ḥādī 'l-Arwāḥ ilā Bilād al-Afrāḥ*, ibid. 1326; *Ighāthat al-Lahfān fī Ḥukm Ṭalāḳ al-Ghaḍbān*, ibid. 1318; *Aḳsām al-Ḳur'ān*, Mecca 1321; *al-Djawāb al-kāfī liman sa'ala 'an al-Dawā' al-shāfī*, Cairo 1322; *Madāridj al-Sālikīn fī Manāzil al-Sā'irīn*, 3 vol. Cairo 1333. In the *Fihrist Maktabat al-Mawṣil*, 1332, are further mentioned: *Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā min al-Yahūd wa 'l-Naṣārā* (cf. Goldziher in *Jeschurun, Zeitschr. f. d. Wiss. d. Judenth.*, ix. (1873), 18 *sqq.*); *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Nūnīya*; *Ḥukm Tārik al-Ṣalāt*, *Masā'il Ibn Taimīya allatī djama'ahā Ibn Ḳaiyim*.

Bibliography: given in the text of the article.

IBN ḲALĀḲIS, ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ NAṢR ALLĀH B. 'ABD ALLĀH, an Arab poet, born in Alexandria in 532 (1138). He spent the years 563—565 (1168-1169) in Sicily where a certain Ḳā'id Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn al-Ḥadjar was his patron; to him he dedicated a work entitled *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī Awṣāf Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*; he then went to Yemen and died at 'Aidhāb in 567 (1171). His not very extensive *Dīwān* was published in Cairo in 1323 by Khalīl Maṭrān; this edition is very incomplete in comparison to the ms. Paris Bibl. Nat., N°. 3139.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 772; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 261.

IBN AL-ḲALĀNISĪ, ABU YA'LĀ ḤAMZA B. ASAD AL-TAMĪMĪ, an Arab historian, belonged to a prominent family in Damascus and died there in 555 (1160). He continued the chronicle of Hilāl al-Ṣābi', which stops in the year 448, down to 555 and gave his work the simple title *Dhail*. The work was frequently copied by later authors and has been published by H. F. Amedroz (1908) from the Oxford Ms., which is defective at the beginning, and starts in the year 363. Cf. the editor's preface.

IBN AL-KALBĪ. [See AL-KALBĪ.]

IBN KAMĀL. [See KAMĀLPASHAZĀDE.]

IBN ḲASĪ, AḤMAD, shaikh of the Ṣūfīs, set up in Spain about 1140 as a Mahdī and took possession of Mertola and other places (1144). He was then delivered up by his followers to the Almohads and pardoned by 'Abd al-Mu'min. He lived for a time at the court of these rulers till one of his former followers murdered him. He was also an author and wrote a book called *Khal' al-Na'lain fi 'l-Taṣawwuf*. Cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii. 171; *Cat. Wien* (Flügel), iii. 401.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (ed. Dozy), p. 150; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima* (ed. Quatremère), i. 327.

IBN ḲĀSIM, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AL-ḲĀSIM AL-'UTAḲĪ, was the Imām Mālik's most prominent pupil. He studied under him for 20 years and after Mālik's death was regarded as the greatest Mālikī teacher. Through him Mālikī teaching was disseminated in the Maghrib, where it is still predominant. He died in Cairo in 191 (806).

One of the chief works of the Mālikīs, the so-called *Mudawwana* is usually ascribed to Ibn al-Ḳāsim. It was originally put together by Asad b. al-Furāt and consists of the answers of Ibn al-Ḳāsim to Asad's questions on the doctrine of Mālik b. Anas. Saḥnūn Abū Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī (died 240 = 854), the ḳāḍī of Ḳairawān, copied the work. When he went to see Ibn al-Ḳāsim in 188 = 804, the latter gave him many emendations and after his death Saḥnūn arranged the whole book. In Ibn al-Ḳāsim's *Mudawwana* we therefore have an account of the doctrines of Mālik b. Anas in Saḥnūn's recension. The work was printed in 20 vol. at Cairo in 1323 (1905). Various Mālikī scholars have written commentaries on the *Mudawwana*.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 322; Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary*, translated by M. G. de Slane, Paris 1843, ii. 86 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Nādjī, biography of Asad Ibn al-Furāt in *Ma'ālim al-Īmān* (Tunis 1320, ii. 2—17) ed. and transl. by O. Houdas and R. Basset, *Mission de Tunisie*, 2nd part, p. 104—143; M. B. Vincent, *Études sur la loi musulmane (Rite de Malek)*, Paris 1842, p. 38 *sqq.*; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litteratur*, i. 176 *sq.*

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

IBN AL-ḲĀSIM AL-GHAZZĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD, a Shāfi'ī scholar, who wrote glosses on the celebrated *'Aḳā'id* of al-Nasafī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv. 222), which are no longer extant, and a commentary, still very popular, on the little manual of Muslim law by Abū Shudjā', which has been often printed in the east and also publ. and transl. by L. W. C. van den Berg (*Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb, Commentaire sur le précis de jurisprudence musulmane d'Abou Chodjâ' par Ibn Qâsim al-Ghazzî*, Leide 1894); cf. E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, Berlin 1897. He died in 918 (1512).

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

IBN KATHĪR 1. 'ABD ALLĀH, ABŪ BAKR, ABŪ MA'BAD (corrupted to Abū Sa'īd), one of the seven canonical Ḳur'ān readers, born in 45 (665) in Mecca, belonged to a Persian family which had migrated to South Arabia, was a client of 'Amr b. 'Alḳama al-Kinānī and from his trade of druggist was called al-Dārī or al-'Aṭṭār; he filled the office of Ḳāḍī 'l-Djamā'a in Mecca and died there in 120 = 738. His manner of reading the Ḳur'ān was transmitted by the two readers Ḳanbal i. e. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī (died 291 = 904) and al-Bazzī i. e. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī (died 270 = 883) and is known to us from the anonymous description in a Berlin Ms. (s. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, N°. 632).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 28; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 326 (ed. Būlāḳ, 1299, i. 314); al-Nawawī, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 363; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Annales*, i. 314, 317.

2. ISMĀ'ĪL B. 'OMAR 'IMĀD AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FIDĀ' B. AL-KHAṬĪB AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-BOṢRAWĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī, Arab historian, born in 701 (1301) at Damascus, taught there as professor of Tradition and shared the persecution of his teacher, the celebrated Ḥanbalī Ibn Taimīya; he died in Sha'bān 774 = Febr. 1373. His chief work is the universal history, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, from the creation to his own time, based to the year 738 = 1337 on al-Birzālī's chronicle. Of the Mss. of this work detailed by Brockelmann in his *Gesch. d. ar. Lit.*, ii. 49, there may be added Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, N°. 9449 (against Ahlwardt's erroneous description see Kern in the *Mittil. des Seminars für oriental.*

Sprachen, vol. xi., Westas. St., p. 287) and Houtsma, *Cat. d'une Coll.* etc., Nº. 30, 31, 2nd ed. 1889, Nº. 175: 2 vols., years 96—242, 278—465 (defective in Vienna). He also wrote a commentary on the Ḳur'ān and some works on Tradition.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, Nº. 1172), i. 212r; al-Nu'aimī, *al-Rawḍ al-'āṭir* (Cod. Berlin, Nº. 9886), i. 60r; al-Dhahabī (al-Suyūṭī), *Liber classium virorum*, etc., ed. Wüstenfeld, xxii. Nº. 3; Weyers, *Orientalia*, ii. 433; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 434.

(C. Brockelmann.)

IBN KHĀḲĀN, the name of three viziers:

1. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ubaid Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān. Appointed secretary of state in 236 (850-851), 'Ubaid Allāh was raised to the vizierate by al-Mutawakkil and held this office till the latter's assassination in 247 (861). Towards the end of the year 245 (860) he brought about the fall of Nadjāḥ b. Salama, the minister of finance; the latter was tortured to death and his property confiscated. Along with al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [q. v.] 'Ubaid Allāh was the declared favourite of al-Mutawakkil and they used their influence to favour his son al-Mu'tazz at the expense of his brother al-Muntaṣir b. al-Mutawakkil. After the accession of al-Mu'tamid in the year 256 (870) 'Ubaid Allāh, in spite of vigorous protests was again appointed vizier and remained in this office till his death in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 263 (July 877).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii. see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vii. passim; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 326 sq., 343; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 367 sq., 374, 424.

2. Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh b. Yaḥyā, son of the preceding. After the fall of Ibn al-Furāt in 299 (912) Muḥammad, who had filled several offices since the death of his father, was appointed vizier through the influence of a harem lady but proved so incapable that the caliph al-Muḳtadir wished to replace him in the following year by Ibn Abi 'l-Baghl, governor of Fārs. He succeeded in saving himself by harem intrigues and Ibn Abi 'l-Baghl, who had already arrived in the capital to take over the office, returned to his governorship. Towards the end of the year, however, the Caliph had to look round for a more suitable vizier and summoned 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. al-Djarrāḥ [q. v.] to Baghdād. After the latter had entered into office in the beginning of 301 (913), Muḥammad was arrested with his two sons, 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Wāḥid. In Djumādā II 301 (Jan. 914) he recovered his freedom again. He died in 312 (924-925).

Bibliography: Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* (ed. Amedroz), p. 261—280; 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje), p. 37—43, 46, 122; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 47 sqq., 73, 110 sq.; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 361—364; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 547 sq.

3. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Abd Allāh ('Ubaid Allāh) b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh b. Yaḥyā, son of the preceding. In 312 (924) 'Abd Allāh succeeded Ibn al-Furāt when the latter was finally dismissed. When he was intriguing against the high chamberlain Naṣr al-Ḳushūrī, the latter got wind of it and soon brought about 'Abd Allāh's fall. Besides he was an invalid and had to trust the business of his office to others for a period. At the same time a famine broke out in the capital and as usual the discontent of the people found vent against the vizier. Naṣr finally succeeded in overthrowing him and after 'Abd Allāh had held the vizierate for about a year and a half, he was dismissed and imprisoned in Ramaḍān 313 (Nov. 925). His property was confiscated; after some time al-Muḳtadir released him and he died in 314 (926-927).

Bibliography: 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje), p. 37 sqq., 120—126; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 110 sqq., 122 sq.; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 366; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 556.

[K. V. Zetterstéen.]

IBN KHĀLAWAIH (Khālūya), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Hamadhānī, a notable Arab grammarian and lexicographer. The year of his birth is not mentioned; he was a native of Hamadhān and came in 314 to Baghdād, where he studied the Ḳur'ān with Ibn Mudjāhid (d. 324) and Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368), grammar and *Adab* with Ibn Duraid [q. v.], Niftawaih (d. 323), Ibn al-Anbārī [q. v.], Abū 'Omar al-Zāhid (d. 345), and *ḥadīth* with Muḥammad b. Makhlad al-'Aṭṭār (d. 331) and others. He afterwards went to Syria and settled in Ḥalab; according to al-Dhahabī he also lived in Maiyāfāriḳīn and Ḥimṣ. He took up an eclectic standpoint in relation to the grammatical schools of Kūfa and Baṣra. He won a high reputation as a teacher. He was in high favour with the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla, whose sons he taught; as a poet he was also appreciated; and he often disputed vigorously with al-Mutanabbī [q. v.]. The grammarian Ibn Durustawaih (d. 347) argued against him in his *Kit. al-Radd 'alā Ibn Khālawaih fi 'l-Kaff wa 'l-Bad'* (*Fihrist* p. 63, 4). Ibn Khālawaih died in 370 (980) in Ḥalab.

Of his works (detailed in Flügel, *l. c.*) there are preserved: a) *Kitāb Laisa*, the first half of which was published by H. Derenbourg in *Hebraica*, x. 88—105, *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, xiv. (1898), 81—93, xv. (1898-9), 32—41, 215—223, xvii. (1901), 36—51; also, hardly completed, printed at Cairo in 1327 (ed. Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Shinḳīṭī); b) *Kit. (Ḥāshiya fī) I'rāb thalāthīn Sūrat al-Mufaṣṣal* (Mss. in Brockelmann); c) *Sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ibn Duraid*, Ms. Paris Bibl. Nat., Nº. 4231, (s. and in Brockelmann, *o. c.*, i. 111); d) his recension of the *Dīwān* of Abū Firās [q. v.] with an introduction; e) Refutation of some grammatical explanations of Tha'lab in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir* (Ḥaidarābād 1317), iv. 137—140. — The *Kit. al-Shadjar* ascribed to him is, as S. Nagelberg shows in the preface to his edition (*Kitāb al-Šaǵar*, Diss. Zürich, Kirchhain 1909), the work of Abū Zaid [q. v.] on which his lectures were based. This is probably also the case with the *Kit. al-Ashjār* mentioned among his works, which is probably his edition of the work of his teacher Abū 'Omar al-Zāhid (Berl. *Verz.*, Nº. 7014).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 84 and 35 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, nº. 193, and nº. 49, p. 65 *supra* (ed. de Slane, i. 456 sqq. and 105); al-Dhahabī, (Cod. Warner 654, iii. (*Cat.* ii. 120 sq.), p. 29 *infra* sq.; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt* (Cairo 1326) p. 231 sq.; Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen d. Araber, Abhandl. d. Dtsch.*

Morg. Ges., ii. 230 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 125; and the literature given there.
(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBN KHALDŪN, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN and YAḤYĀ, two Arab historians, descendants of a Sevilla family, who migrated to Tunis about the middle of the vii[th] (xiii[th]) century and belonged to the Arab tribe of Kinda. Their ancestor Khālid, known as Khaldūn (whence the name Ibn Khaldūn for all members of the family) migrated from the Yemen to Spain in the iii[rd] (ix[th] century).

There his descendants filled various important administrative offices, some in Carmona and some in Seville. The fall of the Spanish Almohad kingdom and continued conquests of the Christians caused the Khaldūn family to migrate to Ceuta and the great grandfather of the two brothers 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Yaḥyā, al-Ḥasan, finally settled in Bona on the invitation of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyā. The Ḥafṣid Emirs and Ra'īs showered favours on al-Ḥasan and his son Abū Bakr Muḥammad. The latter, who bore the title *'Āmil al-Ashghāl* "chief accountant", was strangled in prison. His son Muḥammad attained various important offices at the Ḥafṣid court. The latter's son, also called Muḥammad, declined all offices of state, although he remained in Tunis, in order to devote himself entirely to study and pious meditations; he died of the plague in 750 (1349) and left 5 sons of whom the eldest, Muḥammad, played no part either in literature or politics, while the two younger brothers, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Yaḥyā, obtained renown as politicians and historians.

1. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN (ABŪ ZAID) surnamed WALĪ AL-DĪN, born in Tunis on the 1[st] Ramaḍān 732 (27[th] May 1332), died at Cairo on the 25[th] Ramaḍān 808 (19[th] March 1406), after learning the Ḳur'ān by heart, enjoyed the instruction of his father and the most prominent teachers of Tunis and devoted himself ardently to grammar, language, law and tradition and also to poetry. When the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan took Tunis in 748 (1347) 'Abd al-Raḥmān heard the lectures of the Maghribī scholars in the retinue of this prince and perfected his knowledge of logic, philosophy, dogmatic theology, canon law and other branches of Arab learning. The connections he made at this time with the scholars and high officials of the Marīnid court, later helped him to high offices at the court of Fās. When barely 21 he was appointed writer of the 'alāma of the king of Tunis, but left the office soon afterwards, when trouble broke out in the city, and fled to Biskra to Ibn Muznī, lord of Zāb. After the Marīnid Abū 'Inān had seized Tlemcen, and the whole country east as far as Bougie, 'Abd al-Raḥmān entered his service and took part in a campaign under a Marīnid general. Invited by the sulṭān at the request of scholars to Fās (755 = 1354) he went there, became secretary to Abū 'Inān and continued his studies under the best teachers of his time. In 757 (1356) he fell into disgrace and was twice imprisoned, the second time till the death of Abū 'Inān in 759 (1358). The new sulṭān Abū Sālim, appointed him secretary again (760 = 1359) and later chief ḳāḍī. After Abū Sālim's violent death he was again disgraced under the notorious vizier 'Omar b. 'Abd Allāh, but received permission to go to Granada (763-764 = 1361-1362), where he stayed at the court of the Banū 'l-Aḥmar and formed a friendship with the famous vizier Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Two years later, when this friendship had cooled down, he went to Bougie on the invitation of the ruler there, the Ḥafṣid Abū 'Abd Allāh, who appointed him his chamberlain (*ḥādjib*); at the same time he held the office of *khaṭīb* and a teaching post (766 = 1364). When in the following year Bougie fell to the ruler of Constantine 'Abd al-Raḥmān retired to Biskra. Soon afterwards he entered into communication with Abū Ḥammū II (q. v.), the 'Abdalwādid king of Tlemcen, sent him, as he tells us himself, his brother Yaḥyā as chamberlain and procured for him the support of various Arab tribes and the alliance with Abū Isḥāḳ, king of Tunis, and his son and successor Khālid. He then went himself to Tlemcen, but soon afterwards left the unfortunate Abū Ḥammū II in the lurch, when he was driven from his capital by the Marīnid sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz and offered his services to the latter. From his safe refuge in Biskra he continued to support 'Abd al-'Azīz against Abū Ḥammū while the Maghrib was tormented with wars and rebellions. He did not go to Fās till 774 (1372) and from there in 776 (1374) to Granada, but the sulṭān of Granada, at the instigation of the Marīnids, soon had him taken to Hunain, the harbour of Tlemcen. In Tlemcen he again found a friendly reception from Abū Ḥammū. He now resolved to shun the friendship of princes and retired to the Ḳal'a Ibn Salāma (Taughzūt) where he began his history and lived till 780 (1378). He then went to Tunis to consult several books which he required for his work. In 784 (1382) he set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca, but broke his journey in Alexandria and in Cairo where he lectured in the Djāmi' al-Azhar and later in the Ṣamḥiya and in 786 = 1384 was appointed Mālikī chief ḳāḍī by sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ. Soon afterwards he lost his whole family and all his property by shipwreck and then devoted himself to pious works and completed his pilgrimage in 789 (1387). From 801 (1399) he was again chief ḳāḍī in Cairo with a short interruption and in 803 (1401) he accompanied the sulṭān al-Nāṣir to Damascus with the other ḳāḍīs on his campaign against Tīmūr. Returning to Cairo he again filled the office of ḳāḍī and held it till his death with several interruptions.

From these biographical notes we see that 'Abd al-Raḥmān perhaps showed a great and statesmanlike ability in the administration of important offices but that he never hesitated to leave one of his masters in the lurch and to enter the service of another, often the enemy of the former. We have further seen that he played a great part in the politics of North Africa and Spain and had very special opportunities of giving a considered judgment on what happened. His *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (Cairo 1284, in 7 vols.), in spite of the unequal value of the separate parts, is an important work for the history of his time. Although certain parts of this comprehensive history leave much to be desired in the presentation of facts and documentary value, others contain, in spite of some stylistic defects, very important documents for the study of history. His *History of the Berbers* will always remain a valuable guide for everything that refers to the life of the Arab and Berber tribes of the Maghrib and the mediaeval history of this country; it is the fruit of 50 years' (2[nd] half of the xiv[th] century) direct observation and industrious study of books and chronicles as well as diplomatic and of-

cial documents of his time. His *Muḳaddima* which deals "with all branches of Arab sciences and culture, remains, as regards the depth of thought, clearness of exposition and correctness of judgment undoubtedly the most important work of the age, which seems to be surpassed by no other work of a Muslim author".

Bibliography: for the biography of 'Abd al-Raḥmān cf. Autobiography, ed. and completed by de Slane (*Journ. As.*, 1844; printed in *Hist. des Berbères*, vol. i., and in the translation of the *Muḳaddima*, vol. i., Paris 1863); Müller, *Islam*, ii. 487, 607 *sq.*, 666—670; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. 242—245, and the literature given there.

2. YAḤYĀ, ABŪ ZAKARIYĀ, born in Tunis about 734 (1333), died at Tlemcen in Ramaḍān 780 (Nov.-Dec. 1378), like his brother and probably with him, devoted industriously to study in his native town and was intimate with all the important scholars of his time in the Ḥafṣid capital. To judge from his book, on which see below, he seems to have had a special preference for poetry and belles lettres. We know very little of his personality; the references are scattered in various sources, e.g. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's autobiography and that portion of the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* which deals with the history of the Berbers. This last book gives a detailed account of the murder of Yaḥyā in Tlemcen; Yaḥyā himself also gives a few details of his career in his *Bughyat al-Ruwwād*.

Yaḥyā's political life did not begin till 757 (1356), when he was with his brother (who was soon afterwards imprisoned) at the court of Abū Sālim, sulṭān of Fās, and the latter sent two Ḥafṣid emirs, his prisoners, from Tlemcen back to Bougie. He accompanied these two princes in place of his brother and acted as chamberlain to one of them, the emir Abū 'Abd Allāh. As the latter, in spite of a long siege could not regain Bougie, he sent Yaḥyā to Abū Ḥammū II, king of Tlemcen, to ask for his assistance (764 = 1362). Yaḥyā found a kindly reception in Tlemcen and his request was granted. After the Mawlid festival, which he attended there and commemorated in a poem, he went back to his master to bring him to the 'Abdalwādid court on the 8th Djumādā II (26th March 1363). Both returned to Bougie with a column of troops sent by Abū Ḥammū.

In 767 (1365-1366) the Ḥafṣid emir of Constantine, after taking Bougie, imprisoned Yaḥyā in Bona and confiscated his property; he escaped soon afterwards and went to Biskra to Ibn Muzni and his brother. It was probably at this time that he made the pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Oḳba, which he describes in his *Bughyat al-Ruwwād*. From Biskra he returned to Tlemcen at Abū Ḥammū's request, arrived there in Radjab 769 (Feb. 1368) and was appointed *Kātib al-Inshā'*. When he learned that Tlemcen was threatened by the Marīnids, he forgot the kindnesses shown him by Abū Ḥammū and left him (772 = 1371) to enter the service of the Marīnid sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz and afterwards of his successor Muḥammad al-Sa'īd. It was only after the capture of Fās al-Djadīd by Sulṭān Abu 'l-'Abbās in 775 (1373) that Yaḥyā returned to Tlemcen, where Abū Ḥammū again welcomed him and gave him his former secretarial office. He soon won the king's confidence again but thereby aroused the jealousy of the other court officials, notably Abū Ḥammū's eldest son and probable successor Abū Tāshfīn II. The latter with a few hired assassins fell upon Yaḥyā, as he was leaving the palace one night in Ramaḍān 780 (1378), and murdered him. When Abū Ḥammū learned that his son had been the instigator of the crime, he had not the courage to take steps against the murderers.

Although Yaḥyā's political career was shorter and less brilliant than that of his brother, yet it gave him the opportunity to write a historical work of great learning, the *Bughyat al-Ruwwād fī Dhikr al-Mulūk min Banī 'Abd al-Wād*. It was much used by Brosselard and Bargès in their history of Tlemcen and I have published the Arabic text with translation under the title *Histoire des Benî 'Abd al-Wâd, rois de Tlemcen* (2 vols., Algiers 1904—1913). His history of the kingdom of Tlemcen is particularly important for a knowledge of the long and in a way brilliant reign of Abū Ḥammū II, whose secretary and trusted adviser the writer was. In this capacity he was no doubt able to consult political documents and even quotes some in full in his book. Although the book neither covers so wide a field as his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān's work nor shows such a lofty point of view or critical spirit, it is far superior in literary value. Yaḥyā reveals in it not only literary but also poetical skill, his elegant style is often lyrical and his narrative is adorned with quotations from the best old Arab writers. He gives us not only a sketch of the political history of the central Maghribī kingdom, he has also preserved for us in his work poems by contemporary court poets and gives information about scholars of his time and about the poetical meetings at the court of Tlemcen, all information hardly to be found elsewhere and affording a rather accurate glimpse into the intellectual life of the 'Abdalwādid capital in the xivth century. (ALFRED BEL.)

IBN KHALLIKĀN, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AL-BARMAKĪ AL-IRBILĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī, an Arab author, born on the 11th Rabī' II 608 = 23rd Sept. 1211 at Arbela, studied from 626 under al-Djawālīḳī and Ibn Shaddād in Ḥalab and afterwards in Damascus. In 636 = 1238 he went to Cairo and became deputy of the chief ḳāḍī Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Sindjārī. In 659 = 1261 he went as chief ḳāḍī to Damascus, but lost his office, the tenure of which after five years was limited to the Shāfi'īs and after ten years abolished. After serving 7 years in Cairo as professor at the al-Fakhriya madrasa, he received his former office again but lost it for the second time in Muḥarram 680 = May 1281 and died on Saturday 26th Radjab 681 = 21st Oct. 1282 as professor at the Madrasa al-Amīniya. He began his chief work *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān* in Cairo in 654 = 1256 but had to stop it during his work in Damascus and completed it on 13th Djumādā II 672 = 4th Jan. 1274. His autograph Ms. is in the Brit. Mus. (see *Catalogue*, N°. 1505, *Suppl.*, N°. 607; cf. Cureton, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, vi., 1841, p. 225; Wüstenfeld, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1841, p. 286. For us, as the majority of his predecessors are lost (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Ueber die Quellen des Werkes Ibn Challikani Vitae illustrium hominum*, Gött. 1837), it is one of the most important aids to the study of biography and literary history, s. *Ibn Challikani Vitae illustrium virorum nunc primum arab.* ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Gött. 1835—1843; *Vies des hommes*

illustres de l'Islamisme en Arabe, par Ibn Khallikān, publ. par M. G. de Slane, Paris 1838—1842 (only up to N⁰. 678), pr. Būlāḳ 1275, 1299, Cairo 1310, lith. Teheran 1284. Turk. transl. Stambul 1280. Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary*, transl. from the Arabic, by M. G. de Slane, 4 vols., Paris, London 1843—1871.

His brother MUḤAMMAD BAHĀ' AL-DĪN, d. as ḳāḍī of Ba'albak in 683 = 1284, is probably the author of *al-Ta'rīkh al-akbar fī Ṭabaḳāt al-'Ulamā' wa-Akhbārihim*, s. *Bibl. Bodleianae Codd. Mss. Orient. Catalogus*, a J. Uri conf., Pars i. N⁰. 747; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, N⁰. 359.

Bibliography: Birzālī (according to Ibn Khallikān's own statements) in Ulughkhānī, *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. Ross, p. 184; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, v. 14; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 320; Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, i. 2, 180 sq.; do. in the *Journ. As.*, sér. 6, iii. 467; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 358; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 326—328. (C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN AL-KHAṢĪB. [See AL-KHAṢĪB.]

IBN AL-KHAṬĪB, DHU 'L-WIZĀRATAIN (holder of the two viziriates, *wizārat al-ḳalam*, vizier of the pen, secretary of state, and *wizārat al-saif*, vizierate of the sword, generalissimo = Grand Vizier, Prime Minister, cf. Dozy, *Supplement*) LISĀN AL-DĪN (*laḳab*) ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. SA'ĪD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. SA'ĪD B. 'ALĪ B. AḤMED AL-SALMĀNĪ (from the clan of the Yemeni Murād, Salmān, with an allusion to the name of Salmān al-Fārisī [q. v.]) a member of a family, which had migrated from Syria to Spain, Cordova, Toledo, Loja, Granada, and which had formerly been called Banū Wazīr, but Banū 'l-Khaṭīb after the elder Sa'īd al-Khaṭīb. Our Muḥammad is therefore usually only called Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb or Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī; he was born on the 25ᵗʰ Radjab 713 = 15ᵗʰ Nov. 1313 probably in Loja (Arab. Lōsha, the ancient Ilipula Laus) below Granada on the Genil (Shindjīl = Singilis) on the western edge of the Vega (al-Mardj), but spent his youth in Granada, whither his father had moved as a court official of the Naṣrids and where he pursued various studies under able teachers with such success that he became the greatest and the last important author, poet and statesman of Granada, if not of the whole of Arab Spain. After the martyr death of his father in the battle of Tarifa (Ṭarīf) on the 7ᵗʰ Djumādā I 741 = 29ᵗʰ Oct. 1340, he entered the service of and studied under the learned vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Djaiyāb, but the latter died of the great plague (the Black Death, *al-ṭā'ūn*) on the 23ʳᵈ Shawwāl 749 = 14ᵗʰ Jan. 1349 (cf. his biography in al-Maḳḳarī, Cairo 1302, iii. 222—240, iv. 55). Appointed his successor by Sulṭān Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf I (1333—1354), he continued in office after Yūsuf's murder under his son and successor Muḥammad V (1354 = 1359), after his dethronement in 1360 was a prisoner in Granada and then went with him into exile in Morocco (Ibn al-Khaṭīb lived in retirement in Salā) till 1362, when he returned to Granada as vizier when Muḥammad V was restored by the Marīnids (—1391), and lived in peace. To escape dangerous plots of his enemies he fled in 1371 from Gibraltar to Ceuta and Tlemcen to Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz Abū 'l-Sa'īd (1366—1372) (of whom A. Müller, *Der Islam*, ii. 669 sqq., wrongly makes two persons, 'Abd al-'Azīz and Abū Sa'īd!). He was condemned as a heretic in Granada and his extradition demanded, but 'Abd al-'Azīz and his son and successor Muḥammad III al-Sa'īd (1372—1374) declined to deliver him up, while the pretender Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mustanṣir set about it. While the case was being conducted in Fās by his pupil and successor as vizier of Granada, Abū 'Abd Allāh (Brockelmann, ii. 259, 'Ubaid Allāh) Muḥammad b. Zamrak (al-Maḳḳarī iv. 274—322), Ibn al-Khaṭīb was strangled in the night by assassins hired by Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd, the deputy of the vizier Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān in revenge for a private feud, who broke into his prison, an outrage at which the people were very indignant in the morning.

Of the 60 or so writings of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, chiefly historical, geographical, poetical, belle-lettristic, mystical, philosophical or medicinal in subject, about a third have survived on which see Pons Boigues, *Ensayo-bio-bibliográfico*, N⁰. 294 p. 334—347; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. 260—263, and their sources. The most important work for us is the extensive "history of Granada", *al-Iḥāṭa fī Ta'rīkh Gharnāṭa*, which however consists mainly of biographies of scholars, a critical edition of which from the scattered manuscripts and extracts with a translation is a desideratum. The edition of an abbreviation, Cairo 1319, 2 vols. (the 3ʳᵈ not yet published) is quite insufficient and very deficient as regards the Spanish names; on manuscripts cf. also *Cat. Cod. Arab. Bibl. Acad. Lugd. Bat.*, ii.² (1907), N⁰. 1001 sq. (p. 103 sq.). The historical works *al-Ḥulal al-marḳūma* and *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya fi 'l-Dawla al-Naṣriyya*, of which Casiri has given extracts in *Bibliotheca*, ii. 177—246 and 246—319, also deserve a critical edition and translation (the printed edition Tunis 1315, given by Brockelmann, ii. 710, is unknown to the writer; there is perhaps some confusion with the following). *Raḳm al-Ḥulal fī Naẓm al-Duwal* was printed at Tunis in 1316. *Khaṭrat al-Ṭaif fī Riḥlat al-Shitā' wa 'l-Saif* is said by Derenbourg (and Casiri, i. 136ᵇ) and Brockelmann, p. 262, to be a description of a journey to Africa, while the edition by M. J. Müller, *Beiträge*, i. 14—41, shows that it is a "journey by the prince Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj into the eastern provinces of Granada". (*al-Maḳāla*) *Muḳni'at al-Sā'il 'an al-Maraḍ al-Hā'il*, on the plague (*ṭā'ūn*), the Black Death of 749 = 1348-49, has been edited and translated in 1863 in the *Sitzungsber. der Bayr. Akad. der Wissenschaften* (in Casiri, Pons Boigues, and Brockelmann, called *Manfa'at al-Sā'il*). The *Mi'yār al-Ikhtiyār fī Dhikr al-Ma'āhid wa 'l-Diyār*, already completely published by M. J. Müller in *Beiträge*, i. 45—100, was again published in Fās 1325. Of the great collection of diplomatic documents in the ornate style, *Raiḥānat al-Kuttāb wa-Nudj'at al-Muntāb*, Mariano Gaspar Remiro in his periodical *Rev. del Centro de Estudios Histór. de Granada y su Reino* has given numerous texts and translations since 1912. *Mufākharat* (*Mufāḍalat*) *Mālaḳa wa-Salā* was edited by M. J. Müller, *Beiträge*, i. 1—13. Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt's Catalogue of Damaskus mentions on p. 53 a *Rawḍat al-Ta'rīf bi 'l-Ḥubb al-Sharīf li-Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb*. Munich, N⁰. 421, contains a *Ḳaṣīda* by him. Munich, N⁰. 991 sqq., contain several copies by M. J. Müller. The mediocre edition of *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiya fī Dhikr al-Akhbār al-Mar-*

Fahrasiya, printed at Tunis in 1329, is wrongly ascribed to our author, cf. my remarks *Rev. del Centro etc.*, iv. 137 *sq.*; 14 very inaccurate pages on the biography of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, according to al-Makkarī and Ibn Khaldūn, are prefixed.

(C. F. SEYBOLD.)

IBN KHORDĀDHBEH, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM 'UBAID ALLĀH B. 'ABD ALLĀH, an important geographer of Persian descent who was apparently born in the early years of the iii^rd^ century A. H. (c. 820). His grandfather had been a convert to Islām; his father had filled the high office of governor of Ṭabaristān. Little too is known of his own career; he held the important office of controller of the post and intelligence service (*Ṣāḥib al-Barīd wa 'l-Khabar*) in al-Djabal (Media); when and how he got this office cannot be ascertained. The Caliph al-Mu'tamid made an intimate friend of him; al-Mas'ūdī gives a discourse pronounced by him at court on musical instruments, song, rhythm, and dance. He owed his musical knowledge to Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [q. v.] who had been a great friend of his father's. Of his works, some of which were of a learned character (e. g. on the genealogies of the Persians), some belonged to the domain of *Adab* (on game, music, wine, culinaria, boon companions), there has only survived the *Kit. al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, composed at the request of an 'Abbāsid prince, for which he was able to collect materials in the archives. It forms an important source for historical topography and was often used by later geographical writers (Ibn al-Faḳīh Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī, al-Djaihānī). This work first edited and translated by Barbier de Meynard (*Journ. Asiat.*, 1865) and again by de Goeje (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vi.) who used further mss., is, as the latter shows, not extant in a complete version. The investigations of de Goeje led to the conclusion that Ibn Khordādhbeh wrote his book about 232 (846-7) and then gradually increased it by additions so that a second edition appeared, which was not however completed before 272 (885-6).

According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Ibn Khordādhbeh died towards 300 (912-3).

Bibliography: de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vi., *Preface*, and the references given there.

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBN AL-ḲIFṬĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. YŪSUF AL-ḲIFṬĪ, called DJAMĀL AL-DĪN, was born in 568 (1172) in Ḳifṭ [q. v.] in Upper Egypt, came early to Cairo where he was instructed in the most varied branches of Arab-Muslim learning, and continued his studies in Jerusalem, to which his father was summoned to an important office in 583 (1187). After spending about 15 years there he went to Aleppo, where he devoted himself entirely for ten years to his literary studies, until in 610 (1213) he was entrusted with the administration of finance, an office which he held till 628 (1230) except for a break in 613—616. After spending five years in private literary activity, he was appointed vizier by al-Malik al-'Azīz in 633 (1236) and held this high office till his death in 646 (1248). His official position gave him an opportunity of helping other scholars, in addition to his own literary activity. For example, he gave great assistance to Yāḳūt [q. v.] when he fled before the Mongols, for which the latter repeatedly shows his gratitude.

Of his numerous works, among which historical writings predominate, (a history of Cairo; a history of Yemen; a history of the Maghrib; a history of the Saldjūḳs etc.) only one has come down to us and that only in extracts. The original was probably called *Kitāb Ikhbār al-'Ulamā' bi-Akhbār al-Ḥukamā'*, while al-Zawzanī's synopsis is called *al-Muntakhabāt al-multaḳaṭāt min Kitāb Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, usually quoted briefly as the *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*. The work which was edited by J. Lippert (see Bibliography; also printed at Cairo in 1326), contains 414 biographies of physicians, astronomers, and philosophers from the earliest times to the days of the author and is of great value because it "forms an inexhaustible mine of information regarding the knowledge possessed by the Arabs of Greek literature and even gives information about Greek antiquity, which is no longer preserved in classical sources".

Bibliography: *Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, edited by Prof. Dr. Julius Lippert, Leipzig 1903, on materials collected by Aug. Müller (further sources given in the Introduction); Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, v. 477 *sqq.*

(E. MITTWOCH.)

IBN KILLIS, Fāṭimid vizier, ABU 'L-FARADJ YA'ḲŪB B. YŪSUF, called Ibn Killis, was a Baghdād Jew, an excellent business man, whose ability raised him to the highest civil post in the Fāṭimid empire. Born in 318 (930-1), he came early in life with his father to Syria and in 331 (942-3) to Egypt, where he began to play a part at Kāfūr's [q. v.] court and by his financial ability won an influential position in politics. He remained a Jew till 356 (967), when he adopted Islām, as he saw a chance of becoming vizier. Thanks to his intellectual ability and power of hard work, he soon became an authority on Muslim sciences. His increasing influence aroused the jealousy of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, whose intrigues caused him to flee to the Maghrib. He returned to Egypt with Djawhar or Mu'izz. The Fāṭimid government could find no more capable and expert administrator of the country's economic policy and thus it happens that the great prosperity of the Nile valley under the Fāṭimids is associated with his name. The results of his budgets show, according to the sources, figures quite unknown before. But at the same time the country flourished, and the gratitude shown him, notably by 'Azīz, was well deserved. In Ramaḍān 368 (April 979) he was given the honorific title, al-Wazīr al-Adjall. Many pleasing features of Ibn Killis' character are described, although he is also said to have worked against his enemies with poison and other means. He was able to please the taste of the time in poetry and literature, in benevolence and in the splendour of his ménage, in external piety and learning; he wrote amongst other works a fiḳh book on the Fāṭimī rite (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 6). In any case, he was a financial genius and organiser of the first order. The internal administration of the Fāṭimid empire is said to have been created by him. In 373 (983-4) he fell for a time into disgrace, but was soon restored to his old office and died at the end of 380 (991), deeply regretted by the Caliph 'Azīz and all Egypt.

Bibliography: Isolated data in all the sources for the history of Kāfūr and the early Egyptian Fāṭimids [q. v.]. Longer notices, based on al-Musabbiḥī and al-Ṣairafī, in al-Maḳrīzī,

Khiṭaṭ, ii. 5; Ibn Khallikān (transl. de Slane), iv. 359; Ibn Taghrībirdī (ed. Popper), ii. 45.

(C. H. BECKER.)

IBN ḲOZMĀN, also called ABŪ BAKR B. ḲOZMĀN (Ibn Khaldūn, i. 524; al-Maḳḳarī, Index; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, i. 108, is of course to be read b. Ḳozmān al-Maghribī or al-Ḳorṭubī in place of Abū Bakr Ḳozmān al-Mghrsānī), in Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān*, p. 187, and in Ibn Bassām with the title *al-Wazīr al-Kātib*, as well as in the unique copy of his *Dīwān* published in facsimile by Günzberg he is called *al-Wazīr al-Adjall* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳozmān, in Ibn al-Abbār, *Tuḥfat al-Ḳādim* (Casiri, i. 96ᵇ), and in Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa* (Casiri, ii. 77ᵇ), more accurately Abū Bakr b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳozmān, died in 555 = 1160 (Tunis MS. of the *Iḥāṭa* more accurately the last night of 555 = 30 Dec. 1160). The quotation *Catalogus Lugduno-Batav.*, ii. 208, "*Ḳhaṣāʾiṣ fī ʿamal ṣināʿat al-munāsaba bil-Mutawakkil*" (cf. Ibn Khāḳān) shows that in his early youth he had been in the service of the last Afṭasid of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil, who was overthrown by the Almoravids in 488 = 1094-5. From his home and usual abode, Cordova, he set out on constant journeys through Spain, chiefly to Seville and Granada where he met the learned poetess Nuzhūn (al-Maḳḳarī, ii. 636). The unfounded objection to the title *Wazīr*, raised by Rosen, *Notices sommaires*, p. 242, n. 2, and supported by Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, i. 272, n. 2, was refuted by Dozy in a letter to Rosen in 1881 (publ. in Günzberg's preface). Ibn Ḳozmān wrote popular *muwashshaḥa's* (q. v. and M. Hartmann, *Muwashshaḥ*, Index) but has also become the most important representative of another kind of popular poetry, which is based not on quantity but on accent, and occurring in various metres, the *zadjal* (q. v. and Dozy, *Supplément*), which had previously been used for short improvisations but was raised by him to the higher level of long ḳaṣīda-like pieces. Günzberg's (died 28ᵗʰ Dec. 1910) facsimile published in 1896 was not followed by any of his promised researches on the poet and his works. Codera has published some notes on the name Ḳozmān, which he thought to be Arabic rather than identical with the West Gothic Guzman, in his *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española*, 1910: *Importancia de las fuentes árabes para conocer el origen del vocabulario en las lenguas y dialectos españoles desde el siglo VIII al XII*, p. 15, 43. We may specially note Julián Ribera y Tarragó's study in *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española*, 1912, particularly on our *Dīwān* "*Cancionero de Abencuzmán*", in which he champions in his new thesis, a view in contradiction to that generally held by Arabic and Romance scholars (p. 50): "La clave misteriosa que explica el mecanismo de las formas poéticas de los varios sistemas líricos del mundo civilizado en la Edad Media está en la lírica andaluza, a que pertenece el Cancionero de Abencuzmán". On p. 25, n. 2, a joint study with Menéndez Pidal on the Spanish dialect of the Spanish words and phrases found in the 149 surviving poems is promised. Arabic and Romance scholars are all the more interested in the further detailed study of Ibn Ḳozmān's exceedingly important *zadjal* poems. A scholarly edition, translation and annotation of the *Dīwān* or *Cancionero* must be undertaken as soon as possible; the biographies of the poet in Ibn Bassām, Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn al-Khaṭīb must also be edited from the scattered manuscripts.

Bibliography: See above; cf. also Bustānī's *Encyclopédie arabe* (*Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*), i. (1876), 648ᵇ, which follows Ibn Khāḳān except for the closing remark: date of birth and death are not mentioned, cf. also Semy-Bey in *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, p. 657ᵃ; Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, p. 134.

(C. F. SEYBOLD.)

IBN ḲUTAIBA, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUSLIM (often also called AL-ḲUTAIBĪ or AL-ḲUTABĪ) AL-KŪFĪ (from his birthplace) AL-MARWAZĪ (from his father's) AL-DĪNAWARĪ, an Arab author, born in 213 = 828 at Kūfa, was for a time ḳāḍī of Dīnawar in the province of Djibāl, then lived as a teacher in Baghdād and died there in Radjab 276 = Nov. 889 (according to others 270 or 271). In literary tradition he is regarded as the representative of the so-called mixed or eclectic Baghdād grammatical school. As a matter of fact however his activities, like those of his contemporaries, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī and al-Djāḥiẓ, covered the whole learning of his period. He sought to make available the lexical and poetical material which had been collected especially by the Kūfa grammarians, as well as historical information, for the requirements of the man of the world, particularly the *kuttāb*, who were then beginning to gain influence in the administration. But he also took part in the theological disputes of his time, and defended the Ḳurʾān and Tradition against the attacks of philosophic scepticism; but he himself fell under the suspicion of heresy and had to write a book against the Mushabbiha to defend himself against the reproach of belonging to them. His two most important philological works are *Kitāb Adab al-Kātib*, ed. M. Grünert, Leiden 1900, Cairo 1300, and the *K. Maʿānī ʾl-Shiʿr* in 12 books, probably the same as *Abyāt al-Maʿānī*, Aya Sofya, Nº. 4050. In *Adab*, p. 71, 11 he quotes his *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, Vol. i. and iii., Damascus, Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazāʾin al-Kutub* etc., p. 60, Nº. 54—55, the counterpart *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*, ib., p. 62, Nº. 33 (to the end of Sūra 26). His third work is the *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, a model of the scholastic *adab* in 10 books, often imitated later, 1—4 ed. by C. Brockelmann, Berlin 1900, Strassburg 1903—1908. According to *ʿUyūn*, p. 12, 11 the following are supplementary to it: 1. *Kitāb al-Sharāb*, ed. A. Guy in *al-Muḳtabas*, ii (Damascus 1325 = 1907), p. 234—248, 387—392, 529—535; 2. *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, *Handbuch der Geschichte*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1850, Cairo 1300; 3. *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, *Liber Poesis et Poetarum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Lugd. Bat. 1904; 4. *Kitāb Taʿwīl al-Ruʾyā*, lost. Of his smaller philological works the *Kitāb al-Rahl wal-Manzil* still exists, ed. by Cheikho in *Dix anciens Traités de Philologie arabe*, Beyrouth 1908, p. 123—140. His two chief theological works are the *Kitāb Taʾwīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1326 (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 136; Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc., p. 13), and *Kitāb Mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*, Hs. in Leiden, s. *Catalogus Codd. MSS. Ar.*, Nº. 1650, in Stambul, Köprülü Defteri, Nº. 211. Theological also is his *Kitāb al-Masāʾil wal-Djawābāt* on questions of Tradition, Hs. in Gotha, s. Pertsch, *Verz. der ar. Hdss. der herz. Bibl.* Nº. 636. The pseudohistorical *Kitāb al-Imāma wal-Siyāsa*, Cairo 1322 and 1327, is

ascribed to Ibn Ḳutaiba but, according to de Goeje, *Riv. Stud. Or.*, i. 415—421, was probably written in his life-time by a Maghribi or an Egyptian.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, p. 77; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā'*, p. 272—274; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Būlāḳ 1299, N°. 304; Nawawī, *Dict. of Ill. Men*, p. 771; Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, p. 443; Dhahabī in Grünert, *v. c.*, p. vii., n. 1; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 291; Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen*, p. 187—192; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, N°. 73; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 120 *sqq.*

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN AL-ḲŪṬIYA, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. 'OMAR B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. IBRĀHĪM B. 'ĪSĀ B. MUZĀḤIM, usually known as Ibn al-Ḳūṭiya "the son of the Gothic woman" because his ancestor 'Īsā, a freedman of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, had married a Spanish princess named Sāra, a daughter of the Gothic king Oppas (Olemundo, according to Ibn Ḳūṭiya) and grand-daughter of Witiza. The latter had gone to Damascus to make a complaint to the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik against her uncle Ardabast. 'Īsā was sent with his wife to Spain and his descendants lived in Seville. Ibn Ḳūṭiya himself was born in Cordova and studied in Seville, the home of his family, under Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḳūn, Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zubairī, Sa'īd b. Djābir etc. He then went to his native town and completed his studies under Ṭāhir b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mughīth, Muḥammad b. 'Omar b. Lubāba, Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Aiman etc. Among his pupils were the Ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥazm Khalaf b. 'Īsā al-Washḳī and the historian Ibn al-Faraḍī. He was introduced to the Caliph al-Ḥakam II by Abū 'Alī al-Ḳālī, the author of the *Amālī*, as the greatest scholar of the land and put over the *shurṭa* of Cordova after holding for a time the office of ḳāḍī. He was a philologist, a grammarian, a historian and even a poet, but was reputed not to know much about Ḥadīth and law. Nevertheless people came to him for his advice on passages in Ḥadīth and legal points which offered special philological difficulties. He died at a great age in Cordova on Wednesday 23rd Rabī' I 367 = Nov. 6th 977.

He is the author of the following works: 1. *Ta'rīkh Fatḥ* (var. *Iftitāḥ*) *al-Andalus*, a history of Spain from the Muslim conquest to the reign of the Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, published by the Academy of Madrid in 1868; by Houdas in *Recueil de textes* etc., t. i., Paris 1889, p. 219—280, from the Ms. in Paris, de Slane, *Cat.*, n°. 1867 (from the same ms.: Cherbonneau, *Histoire du règne d'Elhakam fils de Hichâm*, *Journal As.*, 1853, i. 458 *sqq.*); 2°. *Kitāb al-Af'āl*, a catalogue of verbs of three and four radicals, ed. by Guidi, Leiden 1894: *Il libro dei verbi*.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 512; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rīkh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus*, p. 370, n°. 1316; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, p. 102, n°. 223; al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Damascus 1304, i. 411; al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*, Constantinople 1302, p. 58; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, Cairo 1326, p. 84; Dozy, Ibn Adhārī, *al-Bayān 'l-Moghrib*, Introd., p. 28; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber d. Araber*, p. 46, n°. 141; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 83, n°. 45; Brockelmann, *Geschichte d. ar. Litt.*, i. 150 *sq.*; Huart, *A Hist. of Arab. Litt.*, p. 188; Moh. Ibn Cheneb, *Ét. sur les pers. ment. dans l'Idjâza du Cheikh 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Fâsî*, p. 259, n°. 231.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN ḲUTLUBOGHA, ZAIN AL-MILLA WA 'L-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL AL-ḲĀSIM B. 'ABD ALLĀH, an Arab biographer and traditionist, a pupil of Ibn Ḥadjar [q. v.], b. 802 (1399), d. 879 (1474). Of his works detailed by Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, II. 82, Flügel has edited the biographies of the Ḥanafīs in the *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde der Morgenl.*, Vol. II.

IBN MĀDJA, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, compiled one of the six canonical collections of traditions (*Sunan*, Dihli, 1282, 1289). He was born in 209 (824), travelled in 'Irāḳ, Arabia, Syria, and Egypt to collect traditions and died in 273 (886). According to Ibn Khallikān, he also wrote a commentary on the Ḳur'ān and a chronicle (*Ta'rīkh*).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 625; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, I, 163.

IBN MAIMŪN, ABŪ 'IMRĀN MŪSĀ B. MAIMŪN B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-ḲURṬUBĪ (AL-ANDALUSĪ) AL-ISRĀ'ĪLĪ is the Arabic name of Maimonides famed alike in Jewish theology, medicine, and philosophy. His Hebrew name was Rabbi Mōsheh ben Maimon and from the initial letters of this name he is shortly known as RaMBaM. In Arabic he had the honorary title al-Ra'īs (al-Umma or al-Milla), chief of the (Jewish) nation" the equivalent of the Hebrew Nāgīd. He is also called Mōsheh has-Z^emān, the "Moses of his time".

He was born at Cordova on March 30, 1135 where his father was a *daiyān* or judge in the ecclesiastical court. From him the boy received his education in Rabbinical studies and he was also taught Arab sciences by Muslim scholars. When he was 13, Cordova fell into the hands of the Almohades [q. v.] and Christians and Jews were not tolerated in the town; they were given the choice of migrating or adopting Islām. Maimonides left the town with his father (on his alleged conversion to Islām see below); the family led a nomadic life for a long time, even in Fez where they settled, their stay was not permanent. In 1165 they sailed for Palestine, reached 'Akkā, thence went to Jerusalem and finally settled down in Fusṭāṭ. Soon afterwards the father of Maimonides died, and he met with many other misfortunes. As he was unwilling to make a livelihood by a Rabbinical career, he decided to practise medicine. He soon made such a name that he won the particular confidence of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's vizier, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil al-Baisānī, who gave him his protection for the rest of his life. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and later his son made him court physician. He was so much sought after elsewhere as a doctor that it is difficult to see where he found the time for his manysided literary activity.

Ibn Maimūn died on Dec. 13th 1204. In accordance with his desire, his body was taken to Tiberias in Palestine. His tomb is still shown and visited there. All his works except one were written in Arabic and in so far as they were concerned with philosophy and medicine they were read and studied not only by his co-religionists but also by Muslim scholars and through the medium of Latin translations exercised a profound influence on the scholasticism of the Christian west (Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus). His chief work on philosophy is

the *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn* "Guidance for those who are confused" (Hebr.: *Mōreh Nebhūkhīm*, Latin: *Doctor Perplexorum*), "by which those who have been confused between Reason and Revelation are to be brought back to a comforting harmony". No contradiction between the revealed scriptures and the principles of metaphysics as laid down by Aristotle and following him al-Fārābī [q. v.] and Ibn Sīnā [q. v.] can or may exist. All the anthromorphism of the Bible is interpreted in this light. We may here call attention to the concise synopsis of the teachings of Muslim theology and philosophy in this book.

The *Dalāla* soon found enthusiastic admirers but also bitter opponents, to whom it seemed too freethinking, and they used to call it *Ḍalāla*, temptation, by a slight variation in the name. It has been edited and translated by Salomon Munk as the *Guide des Égarés* (3 vol., Paris 1856—1866). Among his other philosophical works we shall only mention the *Maḳāla fī Ṣinā'at al-Manṭiḳ* (Hebr. *Millōth ha-Higgāyōn*).

His medical works in which he chiefly quotes Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā [q. v.], Ibn Wāfid, and Ibn Zuhr [q. v.], deal with haemorrhoids (*fi 'l-bawāsīr*), asthma (*fi 'l-rabw*), etc. His medical aphorisms, known as *Fuṣūl Mūsā*, are modelled on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates on which he wrote a commentary. He also wrote a treatise on the computation of the Jewish calendar.

Here we can only touch upon his thorough and fruitful work in the field of Jewish literature; we may mention three works, his commentary (*Sharḥ*) on the *Mishnāh* (later known as *Sirādj* "lamp"), his *Kitāb al-Sharā'i'* (Hebr. *Sepher ham-Miṣwōth*) in which he discussed all the orders and prohibitions of Jewish canon law, and particularly his *Mishnēh Thōrāh* (also called *Yad ha-ḥ*ᵉ*zāḳā*), a masterpiece of systematisation, in which he arranged for the first time all the vast material of Talmudic tradition — similar to the corresponding Muslim works — according to subject matter, and discusses it.

Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a say that Maimonides adopted Islām in Spain to avoid persecution and professed Islām in public but in secret practised Judaism. At a later date a certain Abu 'l-'Arab b. Ma'īsha is said to have accused him in Egypt of having recanted from Islām and gone back to Judaism. His powerful patron al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil however declared that a forced conversion to Islām was not a conversion at all and so saved his life. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's and Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a's accounts — the latter however, as his *wa-ḳīla* shows, gives it under reserve — have no claim to historical accuracy. Quite apart from the fact that the biographical notices of Ibn Maimūn contain much else that is inaccurate, although according to Muslim law a recantation of Islām to save one's life is judged less severely than a voluntary one, on the other hand a compulsory convert to Islām is a full Muslim and his later secession would meet with the death sentence. The most convincing argument is the following. In the bitter struggle which arose round Ibn Maimūn's *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn* in which his enemies did not spare their insults and reproaches, not even his most bitter antagonist made this accusation against him. This would certainly have been the case if his conversion to Islām — which could not have remained concealed — had been a fact.

Bibliography: *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. ix. p. 73—86, and the works given on p. 82 and 86; *Moses ben Maimon. Sein Leben, seine Werke und sein Einfluss* . . . . . ed. by Bacher, Brann, Simonsen and Guttmann, Vol. i., Leipzig 1908, Vol. ii. 1914; Steinschneider, *Die arabische Litteratur der Juden*, Frankfurt a/M. 1902, p. 199—221 (a full list of M.'s works including mss. and printed copies of originals and translations).

On Ibn Maimūn's alleged conversion to Islām: Lebrecht in *Magazin für die Litteratur des Auslandes*, 1844, Nº. 62; Margoliouth, *The Legend of Apostasy of Maimonides* in *Jew. Quart. Review*, xiii., 1901, p. 539—541; Berliner, *Zur Ehrenrettung des Maimonides* in *Isr. Monatsschr., wissensch. Beilage z. Jüd. Presse*, 11 July 1901 (cf. further references there). (E. MITTWOCH.)

IBN MAKHLAD, the name of two viziers:

1. AL-ḤASAN B. MAKHLAD B. AL-DJARRĀḤ of Dair Ḳunnā, administrator of the domains from 243 (857-8) onwards. After the death of 'Ubaid Allāh b. Yaḥyā in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 263 (July 877) [see IBN KHĀḲĀN, 1.] al-Ḥasan was appointed vizier by al-Mu'tamid. At the same time he was secretary to the latter's brother al-Muwaffaḳ but after about a month he fled to Baghdād on the arrival of Mūsā b. Boghā in Sāmarrā, the capital of that time. Sulaimān b. Wahb then took over the vizierate and his son 'Ubaid Allāh the secretaryship. In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da of the following year (July 878) Sulaimān was dismissed and his house plundered, whereupon Ḥasan was made vizier a second time on the 27th of the same month (31st July). In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (August 878) Sulaimān regained his freedom; Ḥasan fled and his property was confiscated.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii., see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vii., particularly 54, 215, 219; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 343 *sq.*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 367, 406 *sq.*, 424.

2. ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM SULAIMĀN B. AL-ḤASAN, son of the preceding, secretary of state from 301—311 (913—923). After the dismissal of Ibn Muḳla [q. v.] in Djumādā I 318 (June 930) Sulaimān was made vizier by the Caliph al-Muḳtadir. The experienced 'Alī b. 'Īsā [s. IBN AL-DJARRĀḤ, 2] supported him by word and deed; Sulaimān was not fit for his difficult position and as there was a want of money and his attitude did not make him popular, he was dismissed on the 24th Radjab 319 (12th August 931). In 324 (935-6) al-Rāḍī dismissed the vizier Abū Dja'far Muḥammad al-Karkhī and appointed Sulaimān his successor; but as the disorder increased the Caliph had to turn to Ibn Rā'iḳ [q. v.] and Sulaimān was dismissed for a second time. At the end of 328 (Oct. 940) he regained his office and after the death of al-Rāḍī in Rabī' I 329 (Dec. 940) he was recognised as vizier by his successor al-Muttaḳī. He administered his office in name only however, and was only able to hold it for four months after the accession of al-Muttaḳī.

Bibliography: 'Arīb, ed. de Goeje, p. 42, 113, 150 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), Index; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 372, 382 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 566, 628 *sqq.*

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

IBN MĀKŪLĀ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM HIBAT ALLĀH B. 'ALĪ B. DJA'FAR AL-'IDJLĪ, called IBN MĀKŪLĀ, vizier to the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla, born in 365 (975-6). Djalāl al-Dawla appointed him vizier in 423 (1032) but soon afterwards dismissed him. His successor Abū Sa'd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm only held the office a few days; as he was attacked and ill-treated by the Turkish mercenaries in the capital, he had to go into hiding. Ibn Mākūlā received the office again. In 424 (1033) Djalāl al-Dawla had to flee to al-Karkh; the vizier followed him and was soon afterwards again replaced by Abū Sa'd. Next year Djalāl al-Dawla dismissed the latter, and Ibn Mākūlā resumed the office although only for a few days. In 426 (1034-1035) the same thing occurred again. Abū Sa'd who was again made vizier, set out against Fāris b. Muḥammad [q. v.] and Ibn Mākūlā again became vizier. On this occasion he held the office for two months and eight days. He was then driven out by the troops and Abū Sa'd became vizier. After a year or two Ibn Mākūlā was handed over to the 'Uḳailid Ḳarwāsh b. al-Muḳallad, who imprisoned him in Hīt. Here he died in 430 (1038-1039) after being in prison for two years and five months.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), ix. 288, 293 sq., 298, 302, 317.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

IBN MĀLIK, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MĀLIK, better known as IBN MĀLIK, was born, contrary to the assertion of Brockelmann and those who follow him, in Spain, at Jaen in 600 = 1203-4; some say that he was born a year or two later. He studied in his native town with Abu 'l-Muẓaffar (and Abu 'l-Ḥasan) Thābit b. Khiyār surnamed Ibn al-Ṭailasān, Abū Razīn b. Thābit b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Khiyār al-Kulā'ī of Niebla, Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Nawwār, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Murshānī, etc. He then went to the east and studied under the grammarians Ibn al-Ḥādjib, Ibn Ya'īsh, Abū 'Alī al-Shalūbīn. At Damascus he studied *ḥadīth* under Mukram, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Sakhāwī, etc. Among his pupils we may mention his son Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad who commented on several of his father's grammatical works, the chief ḳāḍī Badr al-Dīn Ibn Djamā'a, the poets Bahā' al-Dīn b. al-Naḥḥās al-Ḥalabī, the jurist Abū Zakariyā al-Nawawī, the Shaikh Abu 'l-Ḥusain al-Yūnīnī, etc. After completing his studies he began to teach grammar in Aleppo, became imām of the al-'Ādiliya at Aleppo, later taught at Ḥamāt, and finally at Damascus where he died on the 12th Sha'bān 672 = 21 Febr. 1274. He was a Mālikī but on going to the east became a Shāfi'ī. Ibn Mālik was considered a great philologist, whose reputation almost overshadowed that of Sībawaihi. On examining his works and the appreciations of them by his friends and criticisms by his enemies, one can say that he rendered a real service to the study of grammar by coordinating and simplifying the rules, although he may very occasionally be reproached with a want of that clearness and simplicity, which is necessary in didactic works.

He wrote the following works: 1. *Kit. Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa-Takmīl al-Maḳāṣid*, a manual of grammar the conciseness of which verges on obscurity, publ. at Fās in 1323; 2. *al-Kāfiya al-Shāfiya*, treatise on grammar in 2757 or 3000 *radjaz* verses, Krafft, *Die arab. . . . Hss. der . . . Ak.* zu *Wien*, N°. 31; Algiers Fagnan, *Cat.*, N°. 67. 1; Algiers Grand Mosque, N°. 14, iii (fragm.); 3. *Kit. al-Khulāṣa al-alfiyya* also called shortly *Kit. al-Alfiyya*, a résumé in 1000 *radjaz* verses of the preceding, publ. at Beyrouth in 1888, Cairo 1306, 1307, etc., Lahore 1888; de Sacy has published an edition with French commentary (*Alfiyya ou la quintessence de la gr. ar.*, Paris—London 1833) and has translated 8 chapters in his *Anthologie gramm.*, Paris 1829, pp. 134—144, and 315—347 of the transl.; L. Pinto, *L'Alfiyya trad. en fr. avec le texte en regard et des notes explic. dans les deux langues*, Constantine 1887; A. Goguyer, *Manuel pour l'étude des grammairiens arabes: L'Alfiyya d'Ibn Mâlik suivie de la Lamiyyah du même auteur avec trad. et notes en fr. et un lexique des termes techn.*, Beyrouth 1888; 4. *Lāmiyat al-Af'āl* or *Kitāb al-Miftāḥ fī Abniyat al-Af'āl*, a poem in 114 *basīṭ* verses rhyming in *lā*, on morphology, French transl. by Goguyer; 5. *'Umdat al-Ḥāfiẓ wa-'Uddat al-Lāfiẓ*, short treatise on syntax, Berlin, *Verz.*, n°. 6631; 6. *Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd fi 'l-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-Mamdūd*, poem in 162 *ṭawīl* verses rhyming in *d*, containing almost all the words ending in short *alif* or *alif* followed by *hamza* and of different meaning accompanied by a short commentary by the author, pr. at Cairo in 1897, 1329; 7. *Kitāb al-I'lām bi-muthallath al-Kalām*, poem in *radjaz muzdawidj*, on trivocal words dedicated to Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir, grandson of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, publ. at Cairo in 1329; 8. *Sabk al-Manẓūm wa-Fakk al-Makhtūm*, synopsis of grammar, Berlin, N°. 6630; 9. Commentary on N°. 5, Berlin, N°. 6632; 10. *Īdjāz al-Ta'rīf fī 'Ilm al-Taṣrīf*, short manual of morphology, Escurial, Derenbourg, *Les man. arab.*, N°. 86, iii.; 11. *Kit. al-'Arūḍ*, treatise on prosody, Escurial, Derenbourg, *ib.*, N°. 330 vi.; 12. *Kitāb Shawāhid al-Tawḍīḥ wa 'l-Taṣḥīḥ li-Mushkilāt al-Djāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, grammat. commentary on 99 passages from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, Escurial, Derenbourg, *ib.*, N°. 141; 13. *Kit. al-Alfāẓ al-mukhtalifa*, treatise on synonyms, Berlin, N°. 7041; 14. *al-I'tiḍād fi 'l-Farḳ bain al-Ẓā wa 'l-Ḍād*, a poem of 62 *basīṭ* verses rhyming in ظ, accompanied by a short commentary on words of the same form, either with *ḍād* and *ẓā* or with ض and ظ, Berlin, N°. 7023, Gotha, Pertsch, *Die arab. Hss.*, N°. 414; 15. 49 *kāmil* verses containing the triliteral verbs of which the 3rd radical is written indifferently with *wāw* or *yā'* (reprod. by al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Būlāḳ 1282, ii. 145—147); 16. Several short treatises each dealing with philological, grammatical etc. anomalies, some of which are given in the *Muzhir*.

Bibliography: Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1299, ii. 227; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, i. 427; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iya*, Cairo 1324, v. 28; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, Cairo 1326, p. 53; Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Ḥamdūn al-Bannānī, Comment. on the *Khuṭba* of the *Alfiya* (a ms. in my possession); Comment. on the *Alfiya* of al-Uṣhmūnī, of Dudjīla, of Ibn 'Aḳīl, of al-Makkūdī with their annotators; al-Dulāḍjī, *al-Falāka wa 'l-Maflūkūn*, Cairo 1322, p. 64; Huart, *Litt. Ar.*, p. 170; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, i. 298 sqq. cf. 525; ii. 697; Moh. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les pers. ment. dans l'Idjâza du cheikh Abd al-Qâdir al-Fâsy*, N°. 197. (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN MANẒŪR, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ 'L-FAḌL MUḤAMMAD B. MUKARRAM AL-KHAZRADJĪ AL-IFRĪḲĪ, Arab philologist, born in 630 (1232), died in 711 (1311). He is the author of the celebrated Arabic dictionary *Lisān al-'Arab*, ed. Būlāḳ 1299—1308, 20 vol.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.* ii. 21.

IBN MARDANĪSH, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD (the latter usually omitted; correct in Ibn Khaldūn, iv. 166; the nephew of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd, who fell in the battle of Albacete in 540 = 1146, cf. *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxiii. 1909, p. 352) b. SA'D B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MARDANĪSH AL-DJUDHĀMĪ (according to others, al-Todjībī) was born 518 = 1124-5 at Banushkala = Banishkola = Peñiscola between Tortosa and Castellon de la Plana; died on 29[th] Radjab 567 = 27[th] March 1172. In spite of the *nisba*, he was apparently of Spanish descent as his great-great-great grandfather after whom he is usually called for short, was called Martinus or Martinez "the son of Martin", so that Mardanīsh seems to be a corruption of Mardinash, (for Arabic *d* from *t* cf. Emerita = Mārida, Mérida) in spite of Codera's doubt about Dozy's derivation; it is much more difficult to agree with his suggestion of the Byzantine Mardonius. The popular etymology from *merda*, Arabic *'adhira*, "excrement" in Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, iv. 473, is of course a mere play on words. On the collapse of Almoravid rule the unusually capable tyrant Ibn Mardanīsh made himself master of Valencia and Murcia in 540 = 1146 and by further conquests (Guadix, Jaen a vassal principality of his father-in-law Ibn Hamoshk = Hamochico, Ubeda, Baeza, Almeria etc.) he became king of the whole of South-eastern Spain. As Rey Lobo or Lope, often in coalition with the Christian rulers of Castile, Aragon, and Barcelona, he was able to resist the advance of the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min (died 1163) and his son Yūsuf (died 1189), till the treachery of his father-in-law in the last years of his life. He died in 1172 during the siege of his capital Murcia; his sons then surrendered and secured lucrative positions for themselves, while the whole of Muslim southern Spain became Almohad.

Bibliography: A. Müller, *Der Islam*, ii. 648—52; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa* (Cairo), ii. 85—90 (Biography), cf. Gayangos, *History*, ii. 519 and lix.; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulat al-siyarā* (Dozy, *Notices*), p. 215, 219 sq.; al-Marrākushī, p. 149, 168, 178—180; Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino*, p. xxxiv, iii. 239. 451; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, iv. 165 sqq.; Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i. 364—88; Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España* (*Colección de Estudios árabes*, iii.), Zaragoza 1899, p. 109—53, 310—21; do., *Discursos* (1910), p. 9, 39; Mariano Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, p. 185—225; Maḳḳarī, Ind. s. v.; Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif* (*Encyclopédie arabe*), i. 685; Samy Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, p. 665[a]. (C. F. SEYBOLD.)

IBN MĀSAWAIH, or IBN MĀSŪYA (MESUA in Latin translations of the middle ages), ABŪ ZAKARIYĀ' YUḤANNĀ (YAḤYĀ), a christian physician, whose father was a druggist at Djundīshāpūr. In the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd he was engaged in translation work and studied medicine under Gabriel b. Bakhtīshū' [q. v. i. 602[a] *supra*], the Caliph's court physician. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn he himself was appointed to this office and held it till his death in 243 (857). Among his pupils was Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ [q. v.] for whom he wrote his *al-Nawādir al-ṭibbīya*. A Latin translation, ascribed to John of Damascus, appeared at Basle in 1579, as a supplement to the *Aphorismi Maimonidis*, p. 528—542. He also wrote a number of treatises, the titles of which Leclerc gives from Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a. In the Library at Bankipore, there is a copy of his *Kitāb al-Mushadjdjar*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 295; Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, i. 175 sqq.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 380 sqq.; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i. 232; Steinschneider, *Die arab. Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* etc., in *Virchows Archiv*, vol. 124; *Catal. Bankipore*, iv. N[o]. 1.

IBN MAS'ŪD, 'ABD ALLĀH, B. GHĀFIL B. ḤABĪB B. SHAMKH B. FĀ'R B. MAKHZŪM B. ṢĀHILA B. KĀHIL B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. TAMĪM B. SA'D B. HUDHAIL, a Companion of the Prophet. Like many of Muḥammad's first adherents he belonged to the lowest stratum of Meccan society. As a young man he herded cattle for 'Oḳba b. Abī Mu'aiṭ; Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ at a later date in a polemic calls him a Hudhailī slave (Ṭabarī, i. 2812). He is usually described as a client (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Zuhra; his father is also so described. Nothing more is known of the latter; 'Abd Allāh's brother 'Otba and his mother Umm 'Abd bint 'Abd Wudd b. Sawā' belong to the older Ṣaḥāba so that he is called by al-Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 370) Ṣaḥābī b. Ṣaḥābīya. His conversion is given as a miracle. When Muḥammad and Abū Bakr were fleeing before the heathens (on what occasion is not stated), they met 'Abd Allāh who was herding sheep. Their request for some milk was refused out of conscientiousness. Muḥammad then took a ewe lamb and stroked its udder which swelled and yielded an abundant flow of milk; he then made it resume its former size.

'Abd Allāh is regarded rightly as one of the first converts; he was fond of calling himself the "sixth of six" (Muslims); according to other traditions, he was converted before Muḥammad entered the house of Arḳam, or even before 'Omar. He is said to have been the first to recite the Ḳur'ān openly in Mecca, although his friends found him unfit for the task, as he did not have his clan with him for protection; he was therefore badly received. Of course he went to Abyssinia, according to some traditions twice.

In Medina he lived behind the great mosque; he used to be so often seen entering Muḥammad's house with his mother that strangers thought they were members of the family. But 'Abd Allāh was only the faithful servant "of the slippers, the cushion, and the dung hill". He imitated his master in externals; but was often mocked for his thin legs. He wore his red hair, which he did not dye, very long; this peculiarity as well as his white garments and his constant use of scent are probably to be attributed to religious views. He laid great value on the *ṣalāt* and fasted relatively little to preserve his strength for the divine service.

He took part in all the *maghāzī*; at Badr he cut off the head of the severely wounded Abū Djahl and carried it in triumph to his master. He

was also one of those to whom Paradise was promised by the Prophet. When Abū Bakr during the Ridda thought it necessary to make Medina capable of defence, 'Abd Allāh was one of the men chosen to guard the weak points of the town. He was also present at the battle of the Yarmūk.

He was naturally as little fitted to rule as any other representative of the pious of Medina. 'Omar sent him to Kūfa as administrator of the public treasury and as a teacher of religion. He was much consulted on account of his knowledge of the Ḳur'ān and Sunna; he is said to be the authority for 848 traditions; it was a peculiar feature of his that in giving information about the Prophet, he trembled, the sweat even broke out on his forehead and he used to express himself with great caution, lest he should say anything incorrect. His authority is relied upon for a mild interpretation of the interdiction of wine (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 65, and *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, ed. Brockelmann, p. 373 sq.).

The accounts of his end are contradictory. It is said that 'Omar deprived him of his office in Kūfa. When the news came, the people wished however to keep him. He then said: "Leave me: if there must be offences (*fitan*), I will not be the instigator of them" (cf. Matthew, xviii. 7). He is said to have returned to Medina and to have died there in 32 or 33 A. H. over 60 and to have been buried by night on the Baḳī' al-Gharḳad.

When 'Othmān visited him on his deathbed and solicitously asked how he was and what were his desires he is said to have given answers which are typical of ancient piety. He appointed al-Zubair his executor and expressed a desire to be buried in a *ḥulla* with 200 dirhams.

According to others, however, he died in Kūfa and was not dismissed from office in 26 along with Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ by 'Othmān.

'Abd Allāh is best known as a traditionist and authority on the Ḳur'ān. His traditions are collected in *Musnad Aḥmad*, i. 374—466.

Bibliography: Sachau in the introduction to the third volume of Ibn Sa'd, p. xv sqq.; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, s. Indices s. v.; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, Index s. v.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, s. v.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s. v.; Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, iii. 105 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali*, Indices s. v.

(A. J. WENSINCK.)

IBN MISKAWAIH (properly MISKAWAIH), ABŪ 'ALĪ AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. YA'ḲŪB, philosopher and historian; Yāḳūt simply calls him Miskawaih, without *Ibn*, and says that he was a Magian converted to Islām, which can hardly be correct in view of the name of his father and grandfather and his mistake is probably due to his wrongly giving the name Miskawaih to the philosopher instead of his grandfather. The latter may really have been a converted Magian. Little is known of his career. We know that he was secretary and librarian to the vizier al-Muhallabī [q. v.] and afterwards enjoyed the favours of the vizier Ibn al-'Amīd [q. v.] and his son Abu 'l-Fatḥ in the reigns of the Būyids 'Aḍud al-Dawla and Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, and held an influential position in al-Raiy. At first he seems to have been much occupied with philosophy, medicine, and alchemy; his history called *Tadjārib al-Umam* (a complete edition in a photographic reproduction is appearing in the *Gibb Memorial Series*, vii., under the editorship of L. Caetani; de Goeje edited a portion in 1871, *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, ii.), comes down to 369 (979-980), although Ibn Miskawaih lived till 421 (1030). He carried on a literary correspondence with Abū Ḥaiyān [q. v.] and al-Hamadhānī [q. v.]. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (see *Ḳifṭī*) gives the titles of his writings on medicine. But he was mainly concerned with ethics and wrote several works on this subject, of which we may here mention the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ wa-Taṭhīr al-A'rāḳ*, ed. Constantinople 1298, 1299, Cairo 1307, and a collection of ethical aphorisms by Persian, Indian, Arab and Greek sages, the first part of which is based on the Persian *Djāwīdān Khirad* ("eternal Reason"). A Persian lithographed edition was produced in 1240 by Maniḳdjī; as early as 1640 Elichman published from the Greek section the *Tabula Cebetis*, new edition by Basset *Le tableau de Cébès, vers. arabe d'Ibn Miskawaih* etc., Algiers 1898. Leclerc also mentions a Spanish translation of Lozano 1793. On the Persian *Djāwīdān Khirad* cf. Ethé in the *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 346, and Inostrantzev in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Arch. Obshč.*, xviii, 180 sq., and in *Sasanidskie Etiudi*, p. 22 sqq. A general appreciation of Ibn Miskawaih's philosophical works, in de Boer, *History of Philosophy in Islam*, p. 128 sqq.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 331; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, ii. 89 sqq.; Amedroz, *Note on the Historian* in Caetani's edition, i. p. xvii. sqq.; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 342.

IBN AL-MUḲAFFA', ABŪ 'AMR (afterwards ABŪ MUḤAMMAD), the "son of the cripple", an Arab author of Persian origin, whose real name was Rōzbih son of Dādōye; his father, a native of Djūr (Fīrūzābād, so correct *Fihrist*, i. 118) in Fārs, who was entrusted with the collection of taxes in 'Irāḳ and Fārs under the governorship of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, was accused of extortion in the exercise of his duty; he was put to the torture and his hand remained maimed, whence his surname. His son, entering the service of 'Īsā b. 'Alī, paternal uncle of the Caliphs Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, abjured Mazdaism, and became a convert to Islām. He was entrusted with the drawing up of the act of amnesty accorded by the second of these Caliphs to his uncle 'Abd Allāh, but was accused of having cleverly turned the language in a way not entirely pleasing to his sovereign; the latter vowed vengeance and sent secret orders to Sofyān b. Mu'āwiya al-Muhallabī, governor of Baṣra, to put the culprit to death; his limbs were cut off one by one and thrown into a blazing furnace. Ibn al-Muḳaffa''s orthodoxy was suspected and the suspicion that he continued to practise Mazdaism in secret contributed to his fall. This event took place about 139 = 757.

Ibn al-Muḳaffa' translated from Pehlevi into Arabic the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, brought from India by the physician Burzōye in the reign of Khosraw I Anōshak-Rawān (cf. the article KALĪLAH), and the *Khwadāi-nāma* (Book of Lords), a collection of biographies of Persian kings, under the title *Siyar Mulūk al-'Adjam*, which was one of the sources of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī (many fragments in Ibn Ḳutaiba, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*). He wrote in Arabic *al-Durra al-Yatīma fī Ṭā'at al-Mulūk*, "on the obedience due to kings" (pr. Cairo s. d. [1895], 1326, and 1331); *al-Adab*

al-ṣaghīr (transl. by O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1915) on morals, and other short treatises published at the same time as the *Durra*, *al-Adab al-kabīr* was published by Aḥmad Zakī-Pasha (Cairo 1330 = 1912).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i. 118; Ibn Khallikān, N°. 186, transl. de Slane, i. 431; *Khiṭaṭ al-Adab*, iii. 459; Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1331 = 1913), p. 6 *sq.*; S. de Sacy, *Calila et Dimna* (1816), p. 10 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litteratur*, i. 151; Th. Nöldeke, *Burzōe's Einleitung* (Strassburg 1912); Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe*, p. 211, and *Journal Asiatique*, 10th ser., t. xvii (1911), p. 554. (Cl. Huart.)

IBN al-MUKAFFA', Abu 'l-Bashar, the Arab name of Severus, Monophysite bishop of Ushmūnain, a contemporary of the Copt patriarch Philotheos (979—1003). Nothing is known of his life except that he was authorised by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mu'izz to dispute with the ḳāḍīs on religious questions (Huart, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 344). He wrote a history of the dignitaries who had occupied the patriarchal see of Alexandria, which forms the basis of Abbé Renaudot's *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum* (Paris 1713). The municipal library of Hamburg possesses the most ancient Ms. (1266) which only contains however, although in a more complete form than the usual text, the first part from St. Mark to Michael I (61—767), published in the original text by Chr. F. Seybold (vol. iii. of the *Veröffentlichungen aus der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, 1913; Brockelmann, *Katal. d. orient. Hss. der Stadtbibl. zu Hamburg*, vol. i. p. xiii. and 160 *sqq.*; A. v. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. 511). Seybold had already published an edition of the text in the *Corpus Script. Christian. Orientalium* (*Script. arabici*, iii. Series, Vol. ix. fasc. 1 et 2, Paris and Leipzig, 1904—1910), as had Evetts in the *Patrologia Orientalis* (Vol. i., fasc. 2, 4, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*). The Ms. Paris Bibl. Nat., *Cat.*, N°. 303, gives the order of the patriarchs from the 49th, Mark II (799—819) to Sanuthios (1032—1046). His "History of the four first Councils" has been published in Arabic, Ethiopic, and French by L. Leroy and S. Grébaut in Vol. vi. of the *Patrologia Orientalis* of R. Graffin and F. Nau. It is an apologia for the Monophysite doctrine. There are other works by him in Ms. in Paris and the Vatican.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Gesch. der christl. Litteraturen des Orients* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 71; G. Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1905, p. 42—46; Baumstark, *Die christl. Literaturen des Orients* (Sammlung Göschen 1911), ii. 11, 24, 31—32, 55. (Cl. Huart.)

IBN MUḲLA, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḳla, an 'Abbāsid vizier, born in Baghdād in 272 (886). He was first of all collector of taxes in a district of Fārs, but in the middle of Rabī' I 316 (May 928) he was appointed vizier by al-Muḳtadir. After two years of beneficial activity, he was dismissed on Djumādā I 318 (June 930) because he was on intimate terms with Mu'nis, the chief of the Praetorians, whom the Caliph hated, and his enemy the chief of police, Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt, had him arrested and burned his house. After a considerable sum had been extorted from him, he was banished to Fārs. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 320 (Dec. 932) the Caliph al-Ḳāhir restored him to office. But Ibn Muḳla soon began to intrigue against Ibn Yāḳūt and when he also planned the deposition of the Caliph, the plot was betrayed. Ibn Muḳla had to save himself by flight and the vizierate was given to his secretary Muḥammad b. al Ḳāsim. After his fall he conducted a vigorous campaign for the deposition of al-Ḳāhir and wandered about the country in disguise, stirring up hatred of the Caliph. When al-Rāḍī ascended the throne in Djumādā I 322 (April 934), Ibn Muḳla was appointed by him vizier; the real ruler however was the commander-in-chief of the army, Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt. Although Ibn Muḳla did succeed by his intrigues in overthrowing the powerful favourite of the Caliph in the following year, as a result of an unfortunate campaign against Mōṣul, where the Ḥamdānid Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Haidjā' 'Abd Allāh had set himself up as an usurper, he was at the same time preparing his own fall. In the middle of Djumādā I 324 (April 936) he was attacked and taken prisoner by al-Muẓaffar b. Yāḳūt, Muḥammad's brother. The Caliph was forced to approve and the vizier was dismissed, but received his freedom on payment of 1 000 000 dīnārs. After a few years, he was appointed vizier, in name at least, for the fourth time [see ibn al-Furāt, 3]. But when he began to intrigue against the powerful 'Amīr al-Umarā' Muḥammad b. Rā'iḳ, the latter learned of it and had him seized in Shawwāl 326 (Aug. 936) and frightfully mutilated. According to the usual statement, Ibn Muḳla died in prison on Shawwāl 10th 328 (19th July 940). He was also known as a scholar and as one of the founders of Arab calligraphy.

Bibliography: Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* (ed. Amedroz), *passim*; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N°. 708 (transl. by de Slane, iii. 266 *sqq.*); Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 368—372, 374 *sq.*, 381, 384; 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje), p. 143, 134 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 73, 102, 104, 133—160 *passim*, 273; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, iii. 375 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 559, 560, 645—9, 656 *sq.*, 660—8; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 534 *sq.*, 565. (K. V. Zetterstéen.)

IBN al-MUNDHIR, Abū Bakr, chief of the stables and chief veterinary surgeon to Sulṭān al-Nāṣir b. Ḳalā'ūn, died 741 (1340) author of the *Kāmil al-Ṣinā'atain al-Baiṭara wa'l-Zarṭaḳa* (or *Kashf al-Wail fī Ma'rifat Amrāḍ al-Khail*), which is called *al-Nāṣirī* in honour of the Sulṭān and is usually quoted by this name. M. Perron has translated it with a full introduction in a volume entitled: *Le Nâcérî. La perfection des deux arts ou traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie arabes, trad. de l'arabe d'Abou Bekr Ibn Bedr*. The first volume appeared in 1852, it is introductory and contains a wealth of information about the Arab horse, al-Nāṣir's particular services to horse breeding in Egypt, and a collection of passages from poems; the second volume (1859) is the translation of the hippology, and the third (1860) of the hippiatry. J. v. Hammer-Purgstall in his treatise *Das Pferd bei den Arabern* criticises the introduction in a very high-handed fashion, but did not live to deal with the others; but it may well be doubted if this critic possessed the scientific, particularly veterinary, knowledge to enable him to surpass Perron's meritorious work. The book

is a valuable corpus of information and the first collection of widely scattered references to the horse and must form the starting point of any further work on the subject.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, ii. 136. (J. Ruska.)

IBN al-MUSLIMA, the *kunya* of Aḥmad b. 'Omar (died in 415 = 1024) which was transmitted to his descendants. Another name for the family is Āl al-Raḳīl. This family, the members of which held the office of Ra'is was held in great honour in Baghdād. The grandson of the above mentioned Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, is better known in history as Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'. He acted for a time (437—450 = 1045—1058) as vizier of the Caliph al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh and it was he who induced the latter to make an alliance with Toghrulbeg in order to counteract the machinations of the Fāṭimids. This policy saved the 'Abbāsid caliphate but was fatal for its originator, for when Toghrulbeg, who came to Baghdād in 447 (1055), had to undertake a campaign against Mōṣul in 450 = 1058, al-Basāsīrī [q. v. i. 669ᵃ] seized the opportunity to have the *khuṭba* pronounced in Baghdād in name of the Fāṭimid Caliph. Ibn al-Muslima had the misfortune to fall into his hands and was executed in the cruellest fashion in 450 = 1058, as al-Basāsīrī particularly hated him. His son Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Muẓaffar was vizier for a short time in 476 = 1083. The latter's great-grandson, 'Aḍud al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Muẓaffar, held the same office under al-Mustaḍī' for 566 to 573 (1171—8). The Caliph was at last forced to dismiss him by the Turk Kaimāz, on which occasion the Turks plundered his dwelling thoroughly; it was not till Ḳaimāz had to leave Baghdād (570 = 1174) that 'Aḍud al-Dīn was restored to office. He fell a few years later at the hands of a Bāṭinī when about to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca. Like other members of the family ('Imād al-Dīn devotes a special chapter to him in his *Kharīda*) he was a man of great erudition and is celebrated in several of Sibṭ Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī's panegyrics.

Bibliographie: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vol. ix. x. xi. passim; *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. 9 *sqq.*; al-*Fakhrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 341 *sq.*, 367 *sqq.*

IBN al-MU'TAZZ 'Abd Allāh, Abu 'l-'Abbās, poet and prince, son of the Khalīfa al-Mu'tazz, was born of a slave mother in the year 247 (861). From his youth he devoted himself to literary pursuits, studying the Arabic language and literature under al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab, and other eminent masters with great zeal and success, and composing works in prose and (especially) poetry which attracted ever wider attention. At the court of his cousin, the Khalīfa al-Mu'taḍid (279—289 = 892—902), he stood in high esteem, and was closely associated with the principal scholars, poets, and literary leaders of Baghdād. He had held himself remote from the intrigues of the 'Abbāsid court, which during his lifetime had been passing through the worst period of its history; but when, on the death of al-Muktafī, the dissatisfaction with al-Muktadir, whom he had named as his successor, culminated in an uprising, Ibn al-Mu'tazz was drawn into the conspiracy, and on the 20ᵗʰ of Rabī' I 296 (17ᵗʰ Dec. 908) was proclaimed khalīfa under the name al-Murtaḍā. His party remained in power for only one day, however; and he, having concealed himself in a private house, was discovered after a few days and put to death (2 Rabī' II = 29 Dec.).

Ibn al-Mu'tazz was one of the most important poets of the 'Abbāsid period. To his native talent, which included originality of a high order, he added sound learning and good taste. He did not imitate the ancient Arab poets, but could bear comparison with them in elegance of manner and purity of diction. His style, moreover, is remarkably simple and direct. His poems covered the whole range of subjects then generally recognized as belonging to the province of poetry (*Dīwān*, Cairo, 1891, 2 vols.). They are prevailingly poems of high life, however, reflecting all its luxury and some of its affectation. A field which he cultivated especially was that of songs praising wine and celebrating drinking customs (*Kitāb fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*, an anthology in which his own verses held the principal place; see Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, i. 166 *sqq.*, also *Kitāb al-djawāriḥ*). His *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā' al-muḥdathīn*, classifying and estimating the "modern" poets, is preserved only in part. A pioneer work of considerable importance was his *Kitāb al-badī'*, a treatise on poetics. For his other works, see Ibn Khallikān; *Fihrist*, p. 116; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 80 *sq.*; and *Orient. Stud. ... Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, i. 168.

Bibliography: *Aghānī* (1. ed.), ix. 140 *sqq.*; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), nᵒ. 348 (Trans. de Slane, ii. 41 *sqq.*); *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (1283), i. 308 *sqq.*; Ṭabarī, iii. 2281 *sqq.*; 'Arīb, p. 25 *sqq.*; Otto Loth, *Über Leben und Werke des 'Abdallah ibn al-Mu'tazz*, Leipzig, 1882; his panegyric on al-Mu'taḍid (= *Dīwān*, i, 126—145) has been edited with translation and commentary by C. Lang (*Mu'taḍid als Prinz und Regent* in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xl. 563 *sqq.*). (C. C. Torrey.)

IBN MU'ṬĪ, Zain al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥusain Yaḥyā b. ['Abd al-]Mu'ṭī b. 'Abd al-Nūr al-Zawāwī al-Maghribī, known as Ibn Mu'ṭī, was born in 564 (1168-9). He studied grammar and law in Algiers with Abū Mūsā al-Djazūlī and then went to the east. He spent a very long time in Damascus, where he studied under the traditionist Ibn 'Asākir and then taught grammar there. To earn a livelihood he also acted as a *shāhid*. When the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil visited the Syrian capital, he invited him to follow him to Egypt and appointed him professor of literature at the 'Amr mosque in Cairo. Here he died on Monday the 30ᵗʰ Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 628 = 29ᵗʰ Sept. 1231. Ibn Mu'ṭī was a Mālikī in the Maghrib, a Shāfi'ī in Damascus, and a Ḥanafī in Cairo. He seems to have been the first to compose a poem of 1000 verses (*Alfiya*) as a grammatical textbook.

Of his works only the following are preserved: 1. *al-Durra al-Alfīya fī 'Ilm al-'Arabīya* or simply *Alfīyat Ibn Mu'ṭī*, a grammar in 1021 verses (*radjaz* and *sarī' muzdawidj*), completed in 595 (1198-1199) in Damascus, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, according to others, in Cairo, ed. with notes by Zetterstéen, *Die Alfīye des Ibn Mu'ṭī*, Leipzig 1900. 2. *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl al-khamsūn*, a short grammar in prose, Berlin, *Verz.* Nᵒ. 6556; Bodleiana, *Cat.*, ii. 247. iii. 3. *al-Badī' fī Ṣinā'at al-Shi'r*, poetics in verses, Fleischer, *Die Refaiya*, Nᵒ. 246.

Bibliography: al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*,

Cairo 1326, p. 416; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii. 235; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1286, iii. 159; Ibn Ḥamdūn, comment. on the *Shawāhid* of the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik (2 mss.); Sabbān-Dahmūnī, comment. on the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik, Cairo 1305, i. 20; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Ḥāshiya* on the comment. of al-Makkūdī on the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik, Cairo, 1315, i. 19; al-Daladjī, *al-Falāka wa 'l-Maflūkūn*, Cairo 1322, p. 93; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, i. 302 *sq.*

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN NUBĀTA, the name of two Arabic authors.

1. 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ'ĪL AL-ḤUDHĀḲĪ AL-FĀRIḲĪ, born in 335 = 946 in Maiyāfāriḳīn, lived at the court of Saif al-Dawla in Ḥalab as a preacher and died in 374 = 984 in his native town. His sermons (*khuṭab*), mainly short, in rhymed prose and elegant in style, deal with questions of religion and ethics in a threefold arrangement, often with reference to contemporary events; they were collected with some sermons of his son Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad (390 = 999) and of his grandson Abu 'l-Faradj Ṭāhir (about 420 = 1029) about 629 = 1225 and printed in Cairo, 1286, 1292, 1302, 1304, 1309, Bairūt 1311.

2. His descendant MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN or SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, ABŪ BAKR AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-UMAWĪ, born in Rabī' I. 686 = April 1287 at Maiyāfāriḳīn, lived in Damascus after 716 = 1316, from there often visited the learned Aiyūbid prince Abu 'l-Fidā' in Ḥamāh, migrated in Rabī' I 761 = Jan.-Febr. 1360 as secretary to Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Ḥasan to Cairo and died there in Ṣafar 768 = October 1366. As a poet he cultivated besides the panegyrical ḳaṣīda chiefly short poems, which Ibn Djuzaiy in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris), i. 41, 11 thought very highly of. His *Dīwān* of which there are several recensions (cf. Rieu, *Suppl. to the Cat. of the Arab. Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, Nº. 1086) was printed at Alexandria n. d., Cairo, 1323 = 1905. His other poetical and rhetorical works are given by Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., ii. 11, where Nº. 13 should be deleted and *Zahr al-Manthūr* added, on letter writing, Brit. Mus. Or. 5656, see *Descriptive List*, etc., p. 64.

Bibliography: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iya*, vi. 31; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 329; *Orientalia*, ii. 419; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 430; M. Hartmann, *Muwashshaḥ*, p. 42.

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN NUDJAIM, ZAIN AL-'ĀBIDĪN B. IBRĀHĪM B. NUDJAIM AL-MIṢRĪ, was one of the distinguished scholars of the Ḥanafī school in the 10th (xvith century), whose writings on Islamic law are well known and popular in the east. He died in 970 (1562). Of his works we may mention the principal ones: 1. *Al-Ashbāh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir al-fiḳhiya 'alā Madhhab al-Ḥanafiya*, printed at Calcutta in 1826; 2. *al-Baḥr al-rā'iḳ*, a commentary on al-Nasafī's well known *fiḳh* book *Kanz al-Daḳā'iḳ*, printed at Cairo in 1311 (1893) 8 vols.; 3. *Al-Fatāwī al-Zainiya fi Fiḳh al-Ḥanafiya*, a collection of *fatwā's* collected after his death by his son Aḥmad (cf. W. Pertsch, *Die Arabischen Hss. zu Gotha*, ii. p. 351 *sqq.*). See also C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litteratur*, ii. 310 *sq.*

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

IBN RĀ'IḲ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD, AMĪR AL-UMARĀ'. In 317 (929-930) Ibn Rā'iḳ was appointed prefect of police in Baghdād along with his brother Ibrāhīm. Both were dismissed in the following year but Muḥammad b. Rā'iḳ received his office back in 319 (931-2), while Ibrāhīm was appointed at the same time high chamberlain. After the murder of al-Muḳtadir in 320 (932) the two brothers fled with others to al-Madā'in and thence to Wāsiṭ, and after al-Rāḍī became Caliph in 322 (934) he appointed Muḥammad b. Rā'iḳ governor of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. Towards the end of 324 (Nov. 936) the latter was summoned to Baghdād and given the highest military and civil authority with the title *Amīr al-Umarā'*. In order to overthrow the powerful general Bedjkem [q. v.] in Wāsiṭ he entered into negotiations with Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Barīdī [v. AL-BARĪDĪ] and promised him the governorship of Wāsiṭ after the fall of Bedjkem. But al-Barīdī was defeated; Bedjkem entered Baghdād in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 326 (Sept. 938) and was appointed Amīr al-Umarā', while Ibn Rā'iḳ had to go into hiding and al-Barīdī was given the governorship of Wāsiṭ. After Bedjkem accompanied by the Caliph had set out against the Ḥamdānids, Ibn Rā'iḳ appeared in the capital, but promised to withdraw, if he received the governorship of Ḥarrān, al-Ruhā, and Ḳinnasrīn along with the districts on the upper Euphrates and the frontier fortresses, which was granted him. As he invaded Syria the Ikhshīd Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj sent an army against him in 328 (939). The details are variously given; in any case, after some time peace was made according to which the Ikhshīd retained Egypt and Ibn Rā'iḳ had to be content with Syria as far as al-Ramla. Quarrels soon broke out between the Turks and Dailamis in Baghdād; the latter won the upper hand and the Dailami captain Kūrtegīn was appointed Amīr al-Umarā'. To get rid of him, al-Muttaḳī appealed to Ibn Rā'iḳ. In Ramaḍān 329 (June 941) the latter set out from Damascus. He met Kūrtegīn at 'Ukbarā and after several days fighting entered Baghdād. When Kūrtegīn appeared with his troops in Baghdād he was defeated and captured whereupon the Caliph again gave Ibn Rā'iḳ the rank of Amīr al-Umarā'. In the meanwhile al-Barīdī had seized Wāsiṭ. In Muḥarram of the next year (Oct. 941) Ibn Rā'iḳ set out against him but a peaceful arrangement was come to and al-Barīdī promised to pay an annual tribute for Wāsiṭ. Soon afterwards the Turks deserted Ibn Rā'iḳ and when trouble broke out in Baghdād on account of famine and scarcity, al-Barīdī sent his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusain with an army against the capital. The Caliph and the Amīr al-Umarā' had to take refuge with the Ḥamdānids of Mōṣul and in Radjab 330 (March—April 942) Ibn Rā'iḳ was slain.

Bibliography: 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje), p. 145 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 158 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, iii. 390 *sqq.*; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reiske), ii. 398 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 568, 662—672, 683 *sqq.*; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 536, 564 *sqq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall* (3d ed.), p. 572 *sqq.*; Huart, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 314 *sqq.*

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

IBN RASHĪD, the name of the Wahhābī rulers (*Shaikh al-Mashā'ikh*) of Djabal Shammar in Nadjd. The founder of the dynasty was:

1. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Rashīd of the Dja'far clan of the Shammar tribe of al-'Abde, 1250—1263 (1835—1847). In 1835 he seized the town of Ḥā'il and deposed Shaikh Ṣāliḥ of the Ibn 'Alī family, which had previously ruled the Djabal Shammar

under the suzerainty of the Wahhābī princes of Dar'īya [q. v.] and Riyāḍ. He was recognized by Faiṣal, Amīr of Riyāḍ, who according to tradition owed his throne to him, and with the help of his brother 'Obaid succeeded in maintaining and extending his rule. In 1838 at the same time as Faiṣal, Amīr of Riyāḍ, was expelled and replaced by Khālid [cf. IBN SA'ŪD under viii and ix.] the Djabal Shammar was also occupied by Khūrshīd Pasha and 'Abd Allāh banished. After the departure of the Egyptians in 1841, 'Abd Allāh regained his kingdom. On his death he was succeeded by his son.

II. Ṭalāl b. 'Abd Allāh, 1263—1283 (1847—1867); he subdued the oases of al-Djōf (Dawmat), Khaibar, Taimā and a portion of al-Ḳaṣīm and was able to keep the predatory Bedouins in check. By these and other clever measures he brought peace and prosperity into the land ruled by him. His dependence on Riyāḍ, which had become loose even in 'Abd Allāh's reign, became limited to occasional military service; payment of tribute was replaced by more or less regular presents of horses. Ṭalāl was also on good terms with Egypt, the Porte and Persia; Palgrave (1862-1863) and Guarmani (1864) were able to travel in his country in his reign; he committed suicide according to Huber in Ṣafar 1283 (June—July 1866), according to Euting on the 17 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1284 = 11th March 1868.

III. Mit'ab, 1283—1285 (1867—1869), Ṭalāl's brother, who succeeded him, was treacherously murdered before he had reigned two full years on the 2nd Rabī' II 1285 = 4th January 1869 (Huber; according to Euting, 2nd Rabī' II 1285 = 23rd July 1868) by his nephews Bandar and Badr, Ṭalāl's sons.

IV. Bandar, the usurper, 1286-1289 (1869-1872) was in his turn disposed of along with his brothers and nephews by his uncle Muḥammad.

V. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd, 1289—1315 (1872—1897), next to his brother Ṭalāl, the most vigorous ruler of the Shammar dynasty, continuing the wise policy of his great predecessor strengthened the rising kingdom at home and abroad. Favoured by the Porte, he not only made himself independent of the Amīrs of Riyāḍ but in 1891 he occupied Riyāḍ and combined the two rival kingdoms under his own sway. During his reign European travellers repeatedly visited the Djabal Shammar (Doughty, Mr. and Lady Anne Blunt, Huber, Euting, and v. Nolde); he died in the middle of December 1897 without issue and left the kingdom to his nephew,

VI. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mit'ab 1315—1324 (1897—1906). The latter came into conflict with the powerful Shaikh Mubārak of Kuwait, the protector of the princes of Riyāḍ dispossessed by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh and a fierce battle took place at al-Ṭarfīya in 1318 (1901), in which 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Faiṣal and the Muntafiḳ Shaikh Sa'dūn fought on the side of Mubārak. In February 1902 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān of the dynasty of Ibn Sa'ūd took the town of Riyāḍ and maintained himself there against the attacks of 'Abd al-'Azīz of Djabal Shammar. The latter was finally forced to call in the help of the Turks (1322); he fell in a night battle with his enemy on the 18th Ṣafar 1324 (13th April 1906). His son and successor

VII. Mit'ab b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was murdered in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1324 (Dec. 1906—Jan. 1907; according to another account in Sha'bān 12th by

VIII. Sulṭān b. Ḥamūd, a grandson of 'Obaid, young brother of 'Abd Allāh (I above); after reigning a few months, Sulṭān was disposed of in the beginning of 1326 (Feb. 1908) by his brother

IX. Sa'ūd b. Ḥamūd who was in his turn speedily made away with by Ḥamūd Ibn Subhān, who placed the sole surviving son of 'Abd al-'Azīz (VI),

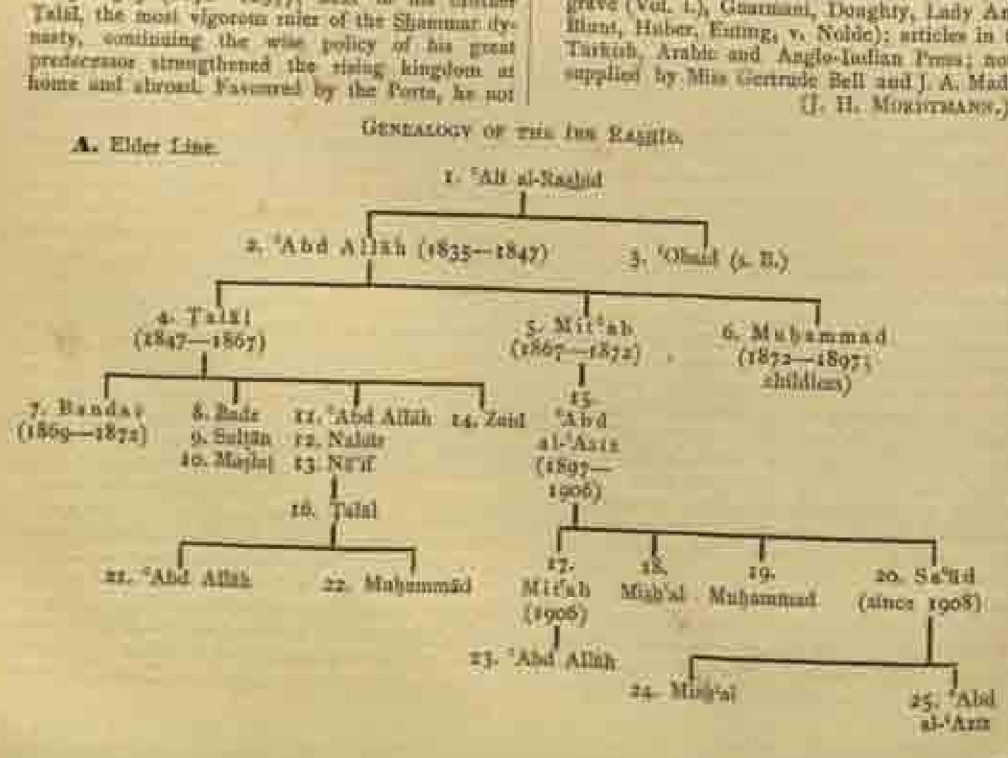
X. Sa'ūd, on the throne on the 17th Sha'bān 1326 (14th Sept. 1908); and since then Sa'ūd has been reigning with full recognition in the Djabal Shammar.

Bibliography: the travellers mentioned in the article IBN SA'ŪD (particularly, Wallin, Palgrave (Vol. i.), Guarmani, Doughty, Lady Anne Blunt, Huber, Euting, v. Nolde); articles in the Turkish, Arabic and Anglo-Indian Press; notes supplied by Miss Gertrude Bell and J. A. Madik.

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

GENEALOGY OF THE IBN RASHID.

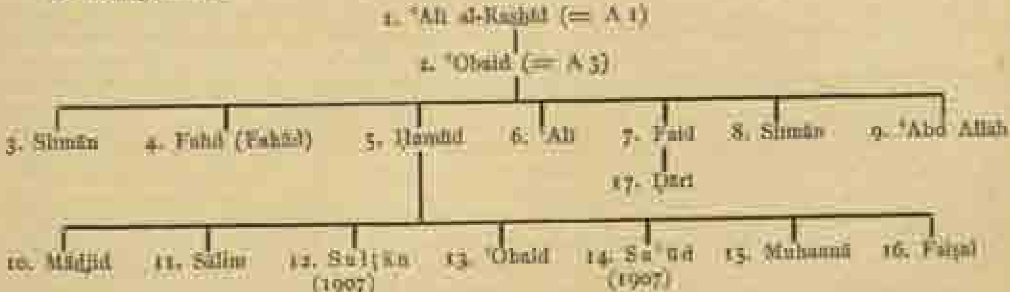
A. Elder Line.



Notes:

1. cf. Huber, *Journal* etc., p. 151. — On Nūra, sister of ʿAbd Allāh (2) and ʿObaid (3), cf. *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, v. 19; Zehme, p. 240; Doughty, ii. 25. "Jabar" [Djabar], whom Blunt, i. 196, calls brother of ʿAbd Allāh and ʿObaid, is, according to Doughty, ii. 16, descendant of Ibn ʿAlī expelled by ʿAbd Allāh. — 4. Guarmani, p. 96: in 1864 aged 40 years and father of 9 sons; according to Palgrave, i. 128 and 204, on the death of his father — 1844 or 1845 — aged 20 or 25. — 5. Huber, *Journal*, p. 150: in 1869 aged 35. — 6. Doughty, i. 593: in 1877 "fully forty years old"; Blunt, i. 271: in 1879 aged 45, with which Euting, i. 175, agrees; v. Nolde, p. 83, however makes him 53 in 1892. — 7 cf. Guarmani, p. 87, 195; Blunt, i. 195: in 1872 aged 20; Huber, *Journal*, p. 151: aged 30; cf. Euting, i. 170. A son of his is mentioned by Doughty, ii. 26, and Blunt, ii. 270; according to Miss Bell, he left no children. — 8. Palgrave, i. 135: in 1862 aged 12 (wrongly taken for 7); Huber, *Journal*, p. 151: in 1872 aged 25. — 11. Palgrave, i. 135: in 1862 aged 5-6; Huber, *Journal*, p. 150: in 1876 aged 18. — 13. Blunt, i. 271: born in 1861; Huber: died at the age of 20 in 1298 (1881—2), cf. also Blunt, i. 200, Euting, i. 169. — 14. dead in 1871, according to Huber, *Journal*, p. 150. — Huber gives the complete list of Ṭalāl's sons, 7—14; with the exception of 13 and 14 they were all put to death by their uncle Muḥammad on his accession. — 15. aged 16-17 in 1883, cf. Euting, i. 170 and 176; Huber, *Journal*, p. 150. — 16—19, according to Miss Bell, put to death in 1907, by Sulṭān b. Ḥamūd. — 20. aged 11 in 1908, according to Douglas Carruthers.

B. Younger Line.



Notes:

2. Palgrave, i. 128: in 1844 or 1845 not aged less than 50, cf. Euting, i. 168; Huber, *Journal*, p. 150: died on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1286 (18. Febr. 1870), according to Blunt, i. 194, 196, ii. 270, in 1871; cf. Doughty, ii. 27 *sq.* — The sons of ʿObaid (3—9) cf. Huber, *l. c.* — 3. dead apparently before 1877 (Huber). — 4. Huber: in 1883 aged 38, mad; often mentioned in Doughty and Euting. — 5. mentioned by Palgrave, i. 64 *sqq.*, Doughty, Blunt, Huber, Euting; had, according to v. Nolde, p. 50, 8 sons (cf. Doughty, ii. 18, and Euting, i. 185). — 6. Huber: already dead in 1883. — 7. Doughty, ii. 29: aged 17 in 1877; Huber (1883) puts him at 28. — 8. Huber: died in 1882; mentioned by Doughty, ii. 29. — 9. Huber: in 1883 aged 21; cf. Doughty, *l. c.* — The sons of Ḥamūd (10—15) cf. Huber, *Journal*, p. 151. — 10. Doughty, i. 615: in 1877 "a boy of fifteen years", cf. Blunt, i. 229; often mentioned in Doughty, Blunt, Huber, Euting. — 11. Huber, *Journal*, p. 149. — 13. cf. Huber, *ib.*, p. 166. — 16. In Doughty as "infant", lives at present (1914) in Riyāḍ in exile, as does 17 (Ḍārī); Faiṣal and his cousin are the only surviving descendants of ʿObaid b. ʿAlī al-Rashīd (Miss Bell).

IBN RASHĪḲ, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Rashīḳ al-Azdī, whose father was perhaps of Greek origin but a client of the Azd, was born at al-Muḥammadiya (al-Masīla) in Algiers about 385 (995) or 390 (1000). He studied first in his native town where he learned his father's trade of a jeweller, but went to Ḳairawān in 406 (1015-6) and was appointed court-poet by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Muʿizz. This appointment earned him the enmity of his contemporary Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Saʿīd b. Aḥmad, known as Ibn Sharaf al-Ḳairawānī, who was also a poet and man of letters. This quarrel which resulted in the publication of several of their works finally induced Ibn Sharaf to migrate to Sicily. When Ḳairawān was plundered in 449 (1057) of the Arabs, al-Muʿizz fled, accompanied by his favourite poet, to al-Mahdiya, where he died in 453 (1061). Ibn Rashīḳ went in the same year to Mazara in Sicily, where he died in the night of Friday/Saturday 1st Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 456 (15th/16th Oct. 1064), according to others in 463 (1070-1071).

Ibn Rashīḳ was a historian, poet, and philologist and among his teachers were the man of letters Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Nahshalī, the grammarian Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Ḳazzāz, etc. He is the author of: 1. *al-ʿUmda fī Ṣināʿat al-Shiʿr wa-Naḳdihī*, a treatise on poetics, commended by Ibn Khaldūn (*al-Muḳaddima*, transl. de Slane, iii. 380) as the best work on the subject; publ. in Tunis about 1885 (only the 1st vol.), Cairo 1325. 2. *Ḳurāḍat al-Dhahab fī Naḳd Ashʿār al-ʿArab*, Letter to Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Lawātī, on poetic plagiarisms, Paris, Bibl. Nat., N°. 3317, vii. 3. A fragment of his *Dīwān*, see Derenbourg, *Les Mss. arab. de l'Esc.*, N°. 467.

Bibliography: Biography in the Introduction to *al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1325; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, iii. i. 70; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 220; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 133; Amari, *Bibl. Ar.-Sic.*, Arab. Text, p. 644 (from al-Dhahabī, *Mukhtaṣar Kit. Akhbār al-Ḳawāsī ʿalā Abnāʾ al-Nuḥāt*); p. 649

(from al-'Umari, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*); de Sacy, *Anthologie gramm.*, p. 442; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 70, N°. 210; Hasan Husni 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Basāṭ al-'Aḳīḳ fī Ḥaḍārat al-Ḳairawān wa-Shā'iriha Ibn Rashīḳ*, Tunis 1330, p. 56—90; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 307.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN AL-RĀWANDĪ. [See AL-RĀWANDĪ.]

IBN ROSTA, ABŪ 'ALĪ AḤMAD B. 'OMAR, an Arab-Persian scholar of the second half of the iiird (ixth—xth) century. Almost nothing is known of his life. He lived in Iṣfahān, where several persons were known as scholars under the name Ibn Rosta. In 290 (903) he visited Medina on the occasion of the pilgrimage. About the same time he wrote his *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa*; of this only the seventh part (ed. by de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii. 1, Leiden 1892) has survived; in it after an introduction on the celestial sphere and the terrestrial globe he proceeds to describe lands and cities. He took his material for the most part from older or contemporary works. Various extracts had previously been published by Chwolson with Russian translation.

Bibliography: de Goeje, *Praefatio* to his edition; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 227.

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBN RŪḤ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-ḤUSAIN B. RŪḤ B. BAḤR AL-BAṢRĪ AL-NAWBAKHTĪ, third *nā'ib* of the expected Imām (*ṣāḥib al-amr*) of the Shī'ī sect of the Ithnā'ashariya [q. v.] during the short absence (*al-ghaiba al-ṣughrā*) 264—334 (878—945). In his capacity of *nā'ib* (synonyms, *bāb*, *wakīl*, *safīr* 'an al-nāḥiya al-muḳaddasa) he had to issue bulls (*tawḳī'*) in the name of the "absent" Imām, which had legal authority among the Shī'a. He resided in Baghdād, in the *Dār al-Nīyāba*. He seems to have been appointed by the previous *nā'ib*, Abū Dja'far al-'Umarī, before 305 (917). He won so many adherents at the Caliph's court that the vizier Ḥāmid had him imprisoned. Released in 317 (929) he became implicated in the Ḳarmaṭian schemes and laid a curse upon al-Shalmaghānī. He died in 326 (937) or 329 (940) after designating Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sāmarrī as *nā'ib*. The parents of the great Shī'ī theologian Ibn Bābawaih [q. v.] claimed that they owed his birth to the prayers of Ibn Rūḥ.

Bibliography: Ṭabarsī, *Iḥtidjādj*, lith. Teherān, *in loc.*, gives the text of his principal bulls; cf. Ibn Abī 'l-Ṭai', in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Ms. Bodl. (Uri, *Cat.*, i., *Cod. Arab.*, p. 151, N°. 665), f. 70; Ibn Khallikān, trans. de Slane, i. 430, N. 20 (after al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., de Slane, *Cat.*, N°. 1581); Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 217, 218; 'Arīb, p. 141; al-Ḥillī, *Khulāṣat al-Aḳwāl*, Ms. Paris N°. 2108, f. 417ᵛ; al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, lith. Ṭeherān 1307, p. 578; *Madjālis al-Mu'minīn*, lith. Ṭeherān 1299, p. 189.

(L. MASSIGNON.)

IBN AL-RŪMĪ, 'ALĪ B. AL-'ABBĀS B. DJURAIDJ (GEORGIOS), an Arab poet, born at Baghdād in 221 (836), as the name Ibn al-Rūmī suggests and the name of his grandfather proves, belonged to the land of the Byzantines. He was distinguished for his poetic gifts, but made many enemies by his lampoons, including the vizier of al-Mu'taḍid, al-Ḳāsim b. 'Ubaid Allāh, grandson of Sulaimān b. Wahb [q. v.], who is said to have got rid of him by poisoning him in 283 (896). The date is not quite certain, for the years 284 and 276 are also given. He left a fairly extensive *Dīwān*, which was collected and arranged by al-Ṣūlī.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 474; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 79 *sq.*

IBN RUSHD, ABU 'L-WALĪD MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. RUSHD, celebrated in mediaeval Europe as AVERROES, the greatest Arab philosopher of Spain, was born at Cordova in 520 = 1126. His grandfather had been ḳāḍī of Cordova and had left important works, while his father also held the office of ḳāḍī. He studied law and medicine in his native town; one of his teachers was Abū Dja'far Hārūn of Truxillo. He lived in 548 = 1153 in Marrākush, whither Ibn Ṭufail [q. v.] had probably induced him to go. The latter introduced him to the Almohad Abū Ya'ḳūb Yūsuf who became his patron. An account of this interview is preserved (see *Hist. des Almohades de Merrakechi*, transl. by Fagnan). The Caliph asked Ibn Rushd what was the view of the philosophers on heaven (the universe), whether it was an eternal substance or had a beginning. "I was so overcome with terror" says Ibn Rushd "that I could not answer". The Caliph put him at his ease and began to discuss the question himself by expounding the views of various scholars with an intimacy and learning rare among princes. The Caliph then dismissed him with rich presents.

It was Ibn Ṭufail who advised Ibn Rushd to comment on Aristotle and told him that the commander of the faithful often lamented the obscure language of the Greek philosophers or rather of the available translations and that he (Ibn Rushd) ought to undertake to explain them.

In 565 = 1169 he became ḳāḍī of Seville and two years later ḳāḍī of Cordova. In spite of the burden of work of this office he composed his most important works in this period. In 578 = 1182, Ibn Yūsuf summoned him to Marrākush as his physician to replace the aged Ibn Ṭufail, but soon afterwards sent him back to Cordova with the rank of chief ḳāḍī.

At the beginning of the reign of Ya'ḳūb al-Manṣūr, Yūsuf's successor, Ibn Rushd was still in favour with the Caliph, but he fell into disgrace as the result of the opposition of the theologians to his writings and after being accused of various heresies and tried, he was banished to Lucena near Cordova. At the same time, the Caliph ordered the books of the philosophers to be burnt except those on medicine, arithmetic and elementary astronomy (about 1195). Duncan Macdonald observes that these orders of the Almohad ruler who had hitherto encouraged philosophical studies, probably were a concession to the Spanish Muslims, who were much more orthodox than the Berbers. At the time the Caliph was actually waging a religious war against the Christians in Spain. On returning to Marrākush he raised the ban and recalled Ibn Rushd to his court (D. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, New York 1903, p. 255).

Ibn Rushd did not long enjoy the restoration of his fortunes for he died soon after his return to Marrākush (9th Ṣafar 595 = 10th Dec. 1198) and was buried near the town outside the gate of Tāgazūt.

A great part of the Arabic original of Averroes'

works is lost. There have survived in Arabic his *Tahâfut al-Tahâfut*, the "Collapse of the Collapse", an answer to Ghazâlî's celebrated *Tahâfut al-Falâsifa*, "Collapse", or perhaps "Collapse of the philosophers" (cf. Miguel Asín y Palacios, *Sur le Sens du mot "Tehâfot" dans les œuvres d'al-Ghazali et d'Averroès* in *Revue Africaine*, 1906, N°. 261, 262, particulary p. 202), also the medium commentaries on the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* of Aristotle (ed. and transl. by Lasinio); the exposition of fragments of Alexander of Aphrodisias on the *Metaphysics* (s. J. Freudenthal and S. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*); the large commentary on the *Metaphysics* in Leiden (*Cat. Cod. orient.*, N°. MMDCCCXXI); small commentaries in Madrid *Kitâb al-Djawâmi'* (Guillén Robles, *Catálogo* . . . *Bibl. Nacion.*, N°. 37; cf. H. Derenbourg, *Notes sur les mss. arab. de Madrid*, N°. 37, in *Homenaje á D. Franc. Codera*, p. 577 *sq.*) referring to Aristotles' treatises *De Physica*, *De Coelo et Mundo*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, *De Meteorologia*, *De Anima*, and certain metaphysical questions; cf. also H. Derenbourg, *Le commentaire arabe d'Averroès sur quelques petits écrits physiques d'Aristote* in *Arch. für Gesch. der Philos.*, XVIII. (1905), p. 250, and lastly two interesting treatises on the relations between religion and philosophy (discussed by Léon Gauthier and by Miguel Asín). One of these writings is entitled *Kitâb Faṣl al-Maḳâl* and vigorously champions the agreement between religion and philosophy, the other is called *Kitâb Kashf al-Manâhidj*, etc. Both works are edited and translated into German by M. J. Müller (see *Bibl.*) and printed at Cairo under the joint title *Kitâb Falsafat Ibn Rushd* (1313, 1328). There also exists in Arabic in Hebrew characters an abstract of the *Logica*, the medium commentaries on *De Generatione et Corruptione*, *De Meteoris*, *De Anima*, a paraphrase of the *Parva Naturalia* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., N°. 303, 317), the commentaries on *De Coelo*, *De Generatione* and *De Meteoris* (Bodleiana, Uri, *Cat.*, *codd. hebr.*, p. 86) (Renan, *Averroès*, 3e ed., p. 83).

The celebrated commentaries of Averroes on Aristotle are of three kinds or rather one in three editions, a large, medium and small edition. This threefold arrangement corresponds to the three stages of instruction in the Muslim universities, the small commentaries, are for the first, the medium for the second and the large for the third year. The exposition of the *'aḳâ'id* is similarly arranged.

We possess in Hebrew and Latin translation the three commentaries of Averroes on the *Second Analytics*, the *Physics* and on the treatises of the *Universe*, the *Soul* and the *Metaphysics*; the large commentaries on the other works of Aristotle are lacking and no commentary on the *Zoology* has survived.

Ibn Rushd also a wrote a commentary on Plato's *Republic*, and criticisms on al-Fârâbî's logic and his interpretation of Aristotle as well as discussions on certain theories of Avicenna and glosses on the *'Aḳîda* of the Mahdî Ibn Tûmart. He also wrote several legal (*Kit. Bidâyat al-Mudjtahid wa-Nihâyat al-Muḳtaṣid*, Cairo 1329), and astronomical and medical works. His work on the "whole art of medicine", *al-Kulliyât* (codd. Granada, s. Dozy, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, XXXVI. 1882, p. 343; Petersburg, Dorn, *Cat.*, N°. 132, and probably Madrid, Robles, *Catál.*, N°. 132, cf. H. Derenbourg, *Notes* etc. N°. 132, *Homenaje*, p. 587 *sq.*), corrupted in the Latin translations to *Colliget*, enjoyed a certain renown in the middle ages, but cannot be compared with the *Canon* of Avicenna.

The philosophy of Averroes cannot be considered original (cf. Renan, *Averroès* [3], p. 88). It is rather the philosophy of the Hellenising school of the *Falâsifa* [cf. FAILASÛF, ii. 39b] which had already been taught in the east by al-Kindî, al-Fârâbî, and Avicenna and in the west by Ibn Bâdjdja. On some points, however, he contests the views of his great predecessors but these points are only subsidiary and on the whole his philosophy runs on the same lines.

He owes his fame mainly to his acute analysis and his gift of annotation, qualities which we can hardly appreciate accurately at the present day on account of the differences in our mode of thought, our methods and scientific resources, but they were all the more appreciated by the scholars of the middle ages, notably in Jewish and Christian circles. His commentaries aroused great admiration, even among theologians who saw in his system a danger to faith.

The school of philosophers had already been vigorously attacked by the theologians in the Muslim east. The *Tahâfut* of al-Ghazâlî directed mainly against al-Fârâbî and Avicenna is the most important memorial of this struggle in the east. In the west the school was first attacked by the Muslim theologians of Spain, and later by the Christian theologians also after the commentaries of Averroes had been made known to them in translations. In the 13th century Ibn Rushd was condemned by the bishops of Paris, Oxford and Canterbury for reasons similar to those that had earned his condemnation by the orthodox Muslims of Spain.

The main doctrines of Ibn Rushd's system, that brought the charge of heresy upon him, concern the question of the eternity of the world, the nature of God's apprehension, and His foreknowledge, the universality of the soul and of the intellect, and the resurrection. Averroes may easily appear heretical on these doctrines; he does not deny dogma, but expounds it in such a way as to bring it into conformity with philosophy.

Thus in the doctrine of the eternity of the world he does not deny the creation but only gives a rather different explanation from the theological one. For him there is no creation *ex nihilo* once and for all, but rather a creation renewed from moment to moment whereby the world is maintained and changes. In other words: a creative power is perpetually at work on the world, maintaining and moving it. The constellations in particular exist only through motion, and they receive this motion from the moving force which is acting on them from all eternity. The world is eternal but in consequence of a creative and moving cause: God is eternal and without cause.

In the chapter on the apprehension of God Ibn Rushd repeats the principle of the philosophers that "the first principle only apprehends his own being". According to that school this presupposition is necessary in order that the first principle may retain his unity, for if he recognised multiplicity of being, he would himself become multiple. Interpreted strictly according to this principle, primal being must live entirely within himself and have knowledge of his own existence only

and foreknowledge would thus be impossible. The theologians endeavoured to force the philosophers to this conclusion.

But Ibn Rushd's system has more elasticity. He grants that God in His own essence knows all the things of the world. But His knowledge is neither to be called particular or universal and is therefore not like man's knowledge, but rather of a higher kind of which we can form no conception. [Cf. FALSAFA, ii. 50a]. God's knowledge cannot be the same as that of man's, for God would then have 'sharers' in His knowledge and He would no longer be the one God. Moreover God's knowledge is not like man's knowledge derived from things, nor is it produced by them. On the contrary, it is the cause of all things. Therefore the assertion of the theologians that the system of Averroes denies fore-knowledge is incorrect.

Concerning his teaching regarding the soul, Ibn Rushd has been reproached with teaching that the individual souls after death pass into the universal soul, and thereby denying the personal immortality of the soul of man. But this is not at all correct. The soul must be distinguished from the intellect in Averroes' system as well as in the systems of other philosophers. The intellect is quite abstract and immaterial and only exists in reality when it is associated with the universal or active intellect. What we call intellect in the individual is strictly a faculty for grasping the ideas that come from the active intellect, a faculty to which the name 'passive' intellect is given and which is not permanent by itself. It must realise itself and become the 'acquired' intellect (*intellectus adeptus*). Then it is bound up with the active intellect, in which the eternal ideas rest, and merged into it this faculty becomes itself eternal.

It is not the same with the soul. This with the philosophers is the driving force which effects the life and growth of organic bodies. It is a kind of energy which gives life to matter not free from the qualities of matter like the intellect, but on the contrary closely associated with it. It perhaps may even consist of a kind of half or very fine matter. These souls are the form of bodies, and are therefore independent of the body, but continue to exist after the death of the body and can remain individual.

The latter according to Averroes is a bare possibility. He does not believe that a convincing proof of the immortality of the soul so conceived can be established by purely philosophical means. The task of solving the question is left to revelation. (See *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, p. 137).

The theologians have further charged Averroes with denying the resurrection of the body. Here also his teaching is rather an exposition than a denial of the dogma. The body which we shall have in the next world is according to him not the same as our earthly body, for what has passed away is not reborn in its identity, it can at best appear again as something similar. Averroes moreover remarks that the future life will be of a higher kind than earthly life; bodies there will therefore be more perfect than in this world. For the rest, he disapproves of the myths and representations which are made of the life in the next world.

As this philosopher was more attacked by orthodoxy than his predecessors, he made more definite pronouncements than they on the relations between philosophical research and religion. He expounds his views on this subject in the above mentioned works *Faṣl al-Maḳāl* and *Kashf al-Manāhidj*. His first principle is that philosophy must agree with religion. This is an axiom of the whole of Arab scholasticism. There are in a way two truths or so to speak two revelations, the philosophic truth and the religious truth, both of which must agree. The philosophers are prophets of their class, prophets who appeal by preference to scholars. Their teaching may not contradict the teaching of the prophets in the proper sense, who appeal particularly to the people. It must rather give the same truth in a higher, less material form.

In religion a distinction must be made between the literal sense and its exposition. If for example a passage is found in the Ḳur'ān which appears to contradict the results of philosophy, we must believe that this passage really has another than the apparent sense and seek the true meaning. It is the duty of the multitude to keep to the literal meaning; to seek the correct interpretation is the task of the learned. Myths and allegories must be understood by the people as revelation presents them; the philosopher, however, has the right to seek out the deeper and purer meaning concealed in them. Finally the learned should make it a practice not to communicate their results to the masses.

Averroes has expounded how religion must be taught according to the intellectual standard of the hearer. He distinguished three classes of men according to their mental endowments: the first and most numerous comprises those who believe as a result of preaching the divine word and are susceptible almost only to oratorical effect. The second class includes those whose beliefs are based on reasoning but only on such as proceeds from *a priori* premisses assumed quite uncritically. The third and smallest class finally consists of those whose beliefs are based on proofs which rest on a chain of established premisses. This method of coordinating religious instruction to the mental endowment of the hearer is evidence of a keen psychological insight but it may run the risk of not appearing sincere and it was natural that it should arouse the distrust of professional theologians.

Finally we do not think that Averroes was an infidel, who was trying to protect himself from the attacks of the orthodox with more or less skilful interpretations; we are inclined to think that in general agreement with the attitude of many scholars in the east he was a syncretist, who honestly believed that one and the same truth could be presented under very different aspects and who was able by his great philosophical ingenuity to reconcile doctrines which must have appeared directly contradictory to less elastic minds.

The commentaries of Averroes were translated in the xiiith and xivth century into Hebrew by Jacob ben Abba Mari Anatoli of Naples (1232), Judah b. Salomon Cohen of Toledo (1247), by Moses b. Tibbon of Lunel (1260), Samuel b. Tibbon, Shem Ṭob b. Joseph b. Falaquera and Kalonymus b. Kalonymus (1314). Levi b. Gerson of Bagnols (Gersonides) wrote a commentary on Averroes just as the latter had commented on Aristotle. In the Christian west, Michael Scott and Hermann, both connected with the House of Hohenstaufen,

began in 1230 and 1240 a Latin translation of the Arabic text of Averroes.

Towards the end of the xvth century Niphus and Zimara made some improvements in the old translations. New translations based on the Hebrew text were later made by Jacob Mantino of Tortosa, Abraham de Balmes and Giovanni Francesco Burana of Verona. The two best Latin editions of Averroes are those of Niphus (1495—1497) and of the Juntas (1553).

Bibliography: Ibn Rushd, *Tahâfut al-Tahâfut* (Cairo 1303); M. J. Müller, *Philosophie und Theologie des Averroes* (arabic text, München 1859; Germ. transl., München 1875); Lasinio, *Il commento medio di Averroe alla Poetica di Aristotele* (Arab. and Hebr.; Ital. transl.), Pisa 1872; do., *Il Testo arabo del Commento medio di Averroe alla Retorica di Aristotele* (Florence 1875—1878); J. Freudenthal and S. Fränkel, *Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, in *Abh. der Kgl. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1884; *Kitâb Falsafat Ibn Rushd* (Cairo 1313); M. Horten, *Die Metaphysik des Averroes nach dem Arabischen übers. und erläutert* in *Abh. zur Philosophie und ihrer Gesch.*, number xxxvi. (Halle 1912); do., *Die Hauptlehren des Averroes nach seiner Schrift: Die Widerlegung des Gazali*, Bonn 1913; Léon Gauthier, *La Théorie d'Ibn Rochd sur les Rapports de la Religion et de la Philosophie* (Paris 1909); Miguel Asín y Palacios, *Averroísmo teológico de Santo Tomás de Aquino*, in *Homenaje á D. Francisco Codera*, p. 217 sq.; M. Worms, *Die Lehre von der Anfangslosigkeit der Welt bei den mittelalterlichen arabischen Philosophen* etc. (Appendix: *Abh. des Ibn Roschd über das Problem der Weltschöpfung* in *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Philos. d. Mittelalters*, ed. Baeumker and Hertling, vol. iii., Münster 1900); Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*[3] (Paris 1866); Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie arabe et juive* (Paris 1859), and an article in the *Dict. des sciences philosophiques* by Franck; A. F. Mehren, *Études sur la Philosophie d'Averroès, concernant ses rapports avec celle d'Avicenne et de Gazzali*, in *Muséon*, vol. vii.; Forget, *Les Philosophes arabes et la Philosophie scolastique* (Brussel 1895); J. Wood Brown, *Life and Legend of Michael Scott* (Edinburgh 1897); de Boer, *Die Widersprüche der Philosophie nach al-Gazzâlî und ihr Ausgleich durch Ibn Roshd* (Strassb. 1894); do., *The History of Philosophy in Islam* (London 1903); D. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology* (New York 1903), p. 255 sqq.; Anṭûn Faraḥ, *Ibn Rushd wa-Falsafatuhu* (Alexandria 1903); Goldziher, *Die islam. u. jüd. Philosophie* in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. v, 64 sqq.; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 461 sq., with bibliography; Ueberweg-Heinze, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, ii. § 25.

(CARRA DE VAUX.)

IBN al-SÂ'ÂTÎ (the son of the clockmaker), FAKHR AL-DÎN RIḌWÂN (or RUḌWÂN) B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALÎ B. RUSTAM AL-KHURÂSÂNÎ was born in Damascus whither his father had migrated from Khorâsân. The latter was a skilful clockmaker who made the clock at the gate of the great mosque of Damascus, at the request of the Zangid al-Malik al-'Âdil Nûr al-Dîn Maḥmûd (d. in Shawwâl 569 = 1174); he was also learned in astronomy. Ibn al-Sâ'âtî was a physician but had also an extensive knowledge of literature, logic and other branches of philosophy, as well as in clockmaking. He was first of all vizier to al-Malik al-Fâ'iz b. al-Malik al-'Âdil Muḥammad b. Aiyûb (a nephew of Saladin) and afterwards vizier and physician to his brother al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam b. al-Malik al-'Âdil (d. 624 = 1227). He died in Damascus c. 1230. There still exists a manuscript of a work by him in Gotha on the construction of clocks (the Arabic title is lacking) written in Muḥarram of the year 600 (1203), in which he is mainly concerned with his father's clock which he repaired and perfected.

His brother BAHÂ' AL-DÎN ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALÎ likewise called IBN AL-SÂ'ÂTÎ, was a well known poet who died as early as 604 (1207) at Cairo; on him cf. Ibn Khallikân, ed. Wüstenfeld, nº. 489.

The Ḥanafî jurist MUẒAFFAR AL-DÎN AḤMAD B. 'ALÎ AL-BAGHDÂDÎ, died in 694 (1295), is known by the same name; he was the author of a much used compendium of fiḳh, which bears the title *Madjma' al-Baḥrain wa-Multaḳa 'l-Naiyirain*, because it is a compilation from the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudûrî [q. v.] and the *Manẓûma* of al-Nasafî. On him cf. Ibn Ḳuṭlûbogha's *Ṭabaḳât al-Ḥanafiya*, ed. Flügel, p. 4, and Brockelmann, *o. c.*, i. 382 sq.

Bibliography: Ibn Abî Uṣaibi'a (ed. Müller), ii. 183; Suter, *Abhandlgn. z. Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 136, xii. 174. On clocks and clockmaking among the Arabs cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Naturwissensch.*, iii. v. vi and x. in *Sitzungsberichte der phys.-medic. Sozietät in Erlangen*, Vol. 37 (1905), 38 (1906).

(H. SUTER.)

IBN SAB'ÎN, ABÛ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD AL-ḤAḲḲ B. IBRÂHÎM AL-ISHBÎLÎ, Arab philosopher and founder of a Ṣûfî brotherhood, a native of Murcia, is best known in Europe by his reply to some philosophical questions put by Frederick II to the scholars of Ceuta, where Ibn Sab'în then lived. Cf. A. F. Mehren, *Correspondance du philosophe soufi Ibn Sab'în Abd oul-Haqq avec l'empereur Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen* in *Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. vii. Vol. 14, p. 341 sqq. cf. *ibid.*, Ser. v. Vol. i., p. 240 sqq. Ibn Sab'în died at Mecca in 668 (1269).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 465 sq.

IBN SA'D, ABÛ 'ABD ALLÂH MUḤAMMAD B. SA'D B. MANÎ' AL-BAṢRÎ AL-ZUHRÎ, a client of the Banû Hâshim known as *Kâtib al-Wâḳidî* (secretary to al-Wâḳidî). He studied tradition under Hushaim, Sufyân b. 'Uyaina, Ibn 'Ulaiya, al-Walîd b. Muslim, and notably with Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wâḳidî [q. v.]. Abû Bakr b. Abi 'l-Dunyâ and other traditioners derived tradition from him. His great work, the *Kitâb al-Ṭabaḳât* i. e. the book of the classes, is famous and gives the history of the Prophet, the Companions and Successors down to his own time. Besides the large, Ibn Khallikân and Ḥâdjdjî Khalîfa mention his smaller book of classes. When the author of the *Fihrist* speaks of a *Kitâb Akhbâr al-Nabî* of Ibn Sa'd, this is probably not a separate work but the first part of the book of classes, which deals with the *Sîra* of the Prophet. The whole work is being published under the title: *Ibn Saad, Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht*, im Verein mit C. Brockelmann, J. Horovitz, J. Lippert, B. Meissner, E. Mitt-

wuch, P. Schwally und K. Zettersteen, herausgegeben von Ed. Sachau, Leiden 1904 *sqq*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 99; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, Tab. viii. N°. 14 (= Bd. ii. 13); Ibn Khallikān, N°. 656; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, N°. 53; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 136-7; Loth, *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Sa'd*, Habilitationsschrift, Leipzig 1869; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, iv. (1850), p. 187, and Loth, *ibid.*, xxiii. (1869), p. 593; Sachau, *Einleitung zu Ibn Saad*, Vol. iii. 1. (E. MITTWOCH.)

IBN ṢADAḲA, the name of three viziers:

1. DJALĀL AL-DĪN 'AMĪD AL-DAWLA ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ, al-Mustarshid's vizier. In 513 (1119-20), he was appointed vizier, but in Djumādā I 516 (July-August 1122) the Caliph dismissed him. His house was plundered and his nephew Abu 'l-Riḍā fled to Mōṣul. The office was then given to 'Alī b. Ṭirād al-Zainabī and in Sha'bān (Oct.-Nov.) of the same year, to Aḥmad b. Niẓām al-Mulk. When the latter demanded that Ibn Ṣadaḳa should leave the capital, he went to Ḥadīthat 'Āna to the Amīr Sulaimān b. Muhārish, but in the following year he was restored to the office of vizier. When the Saldjūk Ṭoghrul b. Muḥammad was persuaded by Dubais b. Ṣadaḳa [q. v.] to march on Baghdād to subdue the whole of 'Irāḳ, the Caliph set out to meet him in Ṣafar 519 (March 1125). Ṭoghrul and Dubais encamped at Djalūlā', the Caliph and the vizier at al-Daskara, N. E. of Baghdād. Ṭoghrul and Dubais then resolved to reach Baghdād by a circuitous route. The latter was sent ahead with 200 horsemen and occupied the ford of the Diyālā near al-Nahrawān; but as Ṭoghrul was delayed partly by an attack of fever and partly by inundations which made his advance difficult, the Caliph succeeded in anticipating him and took Dubais by surprise. When the latter wished to come to terms with al-Mustarshid, the Caliph was willing to make peace but was dissuaded by the vizier, and Ṭoghrul and Dubais continued their journey on Khorāsān to seek help from the Saldjūk Sulṭān Sandjar. Djalāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṣadaḳa died on Radjab 1st 522 (July 1st 1128).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 409—411; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), x. see Index; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 224.

2. DJALĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-RIḌĀ MUḤAMMAD, nephew of the preceding, al-Rāshid's vizier. Ibn Ṣadaḳa was appointed vizier after the accession of al-Rāshid in 529 (1135). In the following year, when the Caliph had several high officials arrested, he sought protection with the governor of Mōṣul, Zankī b. Aḳ Sonḳor, and was able to hold his office till the deposition of al-Rāshid in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 530 (August 1136). He afterwards filled several high offices. He died in 556 (1160-1).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 416; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), x. 423; xi. 23.

3. MU'TAMAN AL-DAWLA ABU 'L-KĀSIM 'ALĪ, al-Muḳtafī's vizier. He is said to have been a very pious but uneducated man, who knew little of the duties of a vizier, although he belonged to a famous family.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 419. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

IBN SA'ĪD, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MŪSĀ AL-MAGHRIBĪ, an Arab philologist, was born in 610 = 1214 (according to others, 605 = 1208) at Kal'at Yaḥṣub (Alcalá la Real) near Granada and studied at Seville. With his father he made the pilgrimage to Mecca but when they arrived in Alexandria in 639 (1241-2) his father died there in 640 (1243). He himself remained in Alexandria but travelled in 648 (1250) to Baghdād and from there with Kamāl al-Dīn [q. v.] to Ḥalab, thence to Damascus, Mōṣul, Baghdād, Baṣra, and Mecca. He then went to Tunis and entered the service of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mustanṣir. In 666 (1267) he went again to the East and reached Armenia via Alexandria and Ḥalab, then returned to Tunis and died on returning to Damascus in 673 (1274). According to another statement, he did not die till 685 (1286) in Tunis. He wrote a history of the Maghrib entitled *al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā 'l-Maghrib*, cf. K. Vollers, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib des Ibn Sa'īd*, *Semitist. Studien*, Heft 1; Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib* . . . . ., *Buch IV*, *Gesch. der Ikhshīden* . . ., *Textausg. etc.* by K. L. Tallqvist, Leiden, 1899. He wrote various other works, the titles of which are detailed by Brockelmann and Pons Boigues.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, etc. i. 336 *sq.*; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 306 *sqq.* Cf. also the bibliographical references here and in Brockelmann.

IBN SAIYID AL-NĀS, FATḤ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FATḤ MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD AL-YA'MARĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, an Arab biographer, born in Cairo in 661 = 1263 (according to others, in 671 = 1273), studied there and in Damascus and became a teacher of Ḥadīth in the Ẓāhiriya at Cairo. He composed a full biography of the Prophet entitled *'Uyūn al-Athar fī Funūn al-Maghāzī, al-Shamā'il wa 'l-Siyar* (somewhat differently given in Brockelmann, see below). He also wrote a number of ḳaṣīdas in praise of the Prophet, entitled *Bushrā 'l-Labīb fī Dhikrā 'l-Ḥabīb*. One of these is published by Kosegarten (Stralsund 1815) and Basset (Louvain 1880).

Ibn Saiyid al-Nās died in 734 (1334).

Bibliography: cf. the references in Brockelmann, *Geschichte etc.*, ii. 71 *sq.*, and Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 320 *sq.*

IBN SARĀYĀ. [See AL-ḤILLĪ.]

IBN AL-SARRĀDJ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-DIMASHḲĪ, Arab mystic, compiled about 714 (1314) a collection of edifying anecdotes entitled *Tuḥfat al-Arwāḥ wa-Miftāḥ al-Arbāḥ*, which formed a part of his lost work *Tashwīḳ al-Arwāḥ wal-Ḳulūb ilā Dhikr 'Allām al-Ghuyūb* (s. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Hdss. von Berlin*, N°. 8794).

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

IBN SA'ŪD, the name of the Wahhābī dynasty of Dar'īya [q. v.] and Riyāḍ. Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd, the founder of this dynasty was a member of the Muḳrin clan of the tribe of Masālīkh of the Wald 'Alī, who are considered to belong to the great 'Anaza group of Arabs. His father Sa'ūd ruled over Dar'īya and died in the fourth decade of the xiith century A. H., i. e. between 1727 and 1737; according to the genealogy of the Ibn Sa'ūd, he left 3 sons besides Muḥammad: Thunaiyān, Mashārī and Farḥān. The sovereignty of the Wahhābīs of Dar'īya and later of Riyāḍ has remained in the line of Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd to this day; the collateral lines

of the Thunaiyān and Ibn Mushārī produced two usurpers (see vii. and x. below) but attained little prominence in the history of the dynasty; Farḥān and his descendants only figure in the genealogical lists.

The history of the Wahhābī kingdom of Dar'īya-Riyāḍ may be divided into three periods: the first runs from the foundation to the conquest of the land by the Egyptians in 1820 (Dar'īya as capital). The second covers the period from the restoration by Turkī and Faiṣal to the conquest by the Ibn Rashīd of Ḥā'il, 1820—1896 (Riyāḍ capital); the third began with the reconquest of Riyāḍ in 1902.

I. Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd, 1735 (?)—1766. About 1740 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the founder of the Wahhābī doctrine, was driven from 'Aiyena where he had been active and found shelter with Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd, a friend of his. The two combined to spread the new doctrine with preaching and the sword. The fighting with the surrounding towns and tribal districts began in 1159 (begins 24th Jan. 1746) and soon led to the intervention of some powerful neighbours, like the Banī Khālid of Laḥsā and the Makrami of Nadjrān, who were however unable to check the progress of the Wahhābīs. The Wahhābī pilgrims were regarded as sectarians by the Sharīfs of Mecca and excluded from visiting the holy places. The reports of the Sharīfs on this matter in 1162 (begins 23th Dec. 1749) brought the first news of the new sect to Constantinople. Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd died in 1179 (1765—6) after reigning about 30 years.

II. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd, 1179—1218 (1766—1803). The first decades of his reign were passed in constant fighting with the neighbouring towns and tribes, the Banī Khālid, the Makrami, and the Muntafiḳ. In 1795 the Wahhābīs stormed Laḥsā and Ḳaṭīf and thus established themselves on the coast of the Persian Gulf; the repeated attempts of the Turkish governors of Baṣra and Baghdād and their allies the Muntafiḳ to oust them from there (1797 the Muntafiḳ Shaikh Thuwainī's campaign; 1798 Kiaya 'Alī Pasha's campaign) ended unsuccessfully and led in 1799 to a six years' truce between 'Abd al-'Azīz and the Pasha of Baghdād. The Sharīf Surūr of Mecca had in 1186 (1772-3) granted the Wahhābīs the right of entry to the holy places on payment of a tax; his successor Ghālib (from 1202) withdrew this concession and undertook unsuccessful campaigns in 1790, 1795, and 1798 to check the advance of the Wahhābīs into the Ḥidjāz; he had to make peace with them in 1798 and allow them to make the pilgrimage, and they in return pledged themselves not to make further raids into the Sharīfs' sphere of influence.

The peaceful relations with Baghdād and the Sharīfs were of short duration. To revenge an attack by the Shī'ī Khazā'il on a Wahhābī caravan, Sa'ūd, son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, fell upon Karbalā on the 18th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1216 (21st April 1802), plundered and laid waste the Shī'ī sanctuaries there, and massacred most of the inhabitants. In 1214 and 1215 (April 1800 and 1801) Sa'ūd had made the pilgrimage; about the same time the tribes of 'Asīr and Tihāma as well as the Banī Ḥarb, who had hitherto been subject to the Sharīf Ghālib joined the Wahhābīs, which led to open hostilities. On the 23th Shawwāl 1217 (18th Febr. 1803) the Wahhābīs stormed Ṭā'if and on the 8th Muḥarram 1218 (30th April 1803) Sa'ūd made his triumphal entry into Mecca. After Sa'ūd's return the Sharīf Ghālib drove out the Wahhābī garrison in Mecca (22nd Rabī' I 1218 = 11th July 1803) but was forced to make further concessions to the Wahhābīs.

About 1800 the Wahhābīs began to extend their power along the coast of the Persian Gulf where in the course of the next few years they subjected Baḥrain and the coast tribes, namely the Djawāsimī tribes of Ra's al-Khaima.

On the 18th Radjab 1218 (4th Nov. 1803) 'Abd al-'Azīz was stabbed by a Shī'ī from 'Amādīya in the mosque of Dar'īya.

III. Sa'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1218—1229 (1803—1814). After several smaller enterprises against Baghdād and 'Omān, Sa'ūd resolved to put an end to the rule of the Sharīf Ghālib and occupied Medina in 1220 (1805) and Mecca in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da of the same year (January 1806). To save the remnants of his power Ghālib submitted absolutely to the Wahhābīs, who now introduced their teaching into the Ḥidjāz. The pilgrim caravans equipped by the Turkish government were forbidden admission to the sacred territory, the *khuṭba* in the name of the Sulṭān abolished, and Sa'ūd demanded in a formal letter that not only the governor of Damascus, but the Sulṭān himself should adopt the Wahhābī creed. To the emphatic refusal of the Pasha of Damascus, Sa'ūd replied by plundering Ḥawrān in July 1810. Sa'ūd organised the piracy of the coast tribes on the Persian Gulf on a great scale so that the Indian Government was forced in 1809 to equip an expedition which stormed Ra's al-Khaima on Nov. 13 of this year and destroyed the pirate fleet.

The Porte unable to defend its own territory from the attacks of the Wahhābīs finally commissioned Muḥammad 'Alī, Pasha of Egypt, to reconquer the Ḥidjāz.

The first campaign of the Egyptian forces under Ṭūsūn Pasha began with the reconquest of Yanbu' al-Baḥr and Yanbu' al-Nakhl at the end of Oct. or beginning of Nov. 1811: on his advance on Medina Ṭūsūn Pasha however was defeated on the 7th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1226 = 23rd Nov. 1811 in the narrow pass of Djedeida by 'Abd Allāh and Faiṣal, Sa'ūd's sons, and had to retire to Yanbu'. It was not till the late autumn of 1812 that he resumed operations, this time with more success; Medina capitulated in November, Mecca at the end of January 1813 and Ṭā'if was stormed a few days later; on the other hand the Wahhābīs succeeded in checking the further advance of the Egyptians at Taraba (summer 1813). At the end of August Muḥammad 'Alī himself landed in Djidda and Sa'ūd sought in vain to negotiate peace with him. A second attempt of Ṭūsūn Pasha against Taraba (at the end of 1813) was as unsuccessful as the first and the operation of the Egyptians came to an end till the beginning of 1815. In the meanwhile Sa'ūd died on the 8th Djumādā I 1229 = 27th April 1814 in Dar'īya at the age of 68.

IV. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd (1229—1233 = 27th April 1814—9th Sept. 1818). In the beginning of 1815 Muḥammad 'Alī resumed his march against Taraba, defeated the Wahhābīs at Taraba on the 13th January and took the town; he next advanced against 'Asīr and returned via Ḳunfuda to Mecca. Ṭūsūn Pasha entered Nadjd via Ḥanākīya in March

and seized the fortified town of al-Rass where ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿūd met him. A longish truce followed and peace negotiations which lasted till 1816. In Sept. 1816 Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, took over the supreme command in Arabia and lead his army amid great privations and fierce fighting for eighteen months up to the gates of Darʿīya (defeat of ʿAbd Allāh at Māwīya on 2nd May 1817, capture of al-Rass in the 21st Oct. 1817 after a three months' siege, storming of Dorama in March 1818). The siege of the capital defended by ʿAbd Allāh and his relatives lasted from the beginning of April to the beginning of Sept. 1818; after the town had fallen on the 6th Sept. ʿAbd Allāh held out a few days longer in the Ḳaṣr Darʿīya and surrendered on the 9th Sept. to the victor who sent him to Cairo with his family and the descendants of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Muḥammad ʿAlī sent ʿAbd Allāh with his secretary and k̲h̲azandār to Constantinople, where they were all beheaded on the 17th Dec. 1818.

V. After Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a had left Nad̲j̲d in the first half of 1819, Mus̲h̲ārī b. Saʿūd, a brother of the executed ʿAbd Allāh, succeeded in establishing himself in Darʿīya; after a short time he was captured by Ḥusain Bey whom Muḥammad ʿAlī sent against him and deported to Egypt but died on the way; the *Chronicle* of Rās̲h̲id al-Ḥanbalī allots the years 1233—5 (1818—1820) to his reign.

VI. Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Saʿūd, 1235—1249 (1820—1834). He had fled to Sedair during the Egyptian invasion and endeavoured to establish himself in Riyāḍ after the death of Mus̲h̲ārī b. Saʿūd (V), but was driven out by the Egyptians. In 1822, however, he succeeded in surprising the weak Egyptian garrison of Riyāḍ, and after fighting with varying success against the governors of the Ḥid̲j̲āz, he finally agreed to pay tribute to Muḥammad ʿAlī. In 1830 he seized the district of Laḥsā which had been occupied by the Turks in 1813 and subdued Baḥrain. Riyāḍ became capital of the new Wahhābī kingdom in place of the destroyed Darʿīya. He was murdered in 1249 (1834) by

VII. Mus̲h̲ārī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mus̲h̲ārī b. Ḥasan b. Mus̲h̲ārī b. Saʿūd, but the latter was attacked in Hufhūf 40 days later and slain by Faiṣal, the son of VI.

VIII. Faiṣal b. Turkī, first reign 1249—1255 (1834—8). In 1837 K̲h̲ālid, a son of Saʿūd (III), rose against him with Egyptian help, took Darʿīya, and defeated Faiṣal at Riyāḍ. K̲h̲ūrs̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a, the commander of the Egyptian troops, defeated Faiṣal a second time on the 25th Ramaḍān 1254 (10th Dec. 1838) at al-Delem, took him prisoner, and deported him to Egypt.

IX. K̲h̲ālid b. Saʿūd, 1255—7 (1839—1841). After the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops in 1840, he was driven out of Riyāḍ by ʿAbd Allāh b. T̲h̲unaiyān in Dec. 1841 and retired to Djidda, where he died in 1861.

X. ʿAbd Allāh b. T̲h̲unaiyān b. Ibrāhīm b. T̲h̲unaiyān b. Saʿūd, 1257—9 (beginning of 1842 to beg. 1843). After reigning barely a year he was besieged at Riyāḍ by Faiṣal (VIII) who had regained his liberty in 1841, and taken prisoner. He died in confinement.

XI. Faiṣal b. Turkī, second reign 1259—1282 (beg. 1843—beg. Dec. 1865). By a wise and peaceful policy he was able to establish the rule of his dynasty in Nad̲j̲d; in his time began the rise of the Ibn Ras̲h̲īd [q. v.] of Djabal S̲h̲ammar, who were his allies. He was on good terms with Egypt and the Sulṭān. In his reign Palgrave visited the country in 1862-3, and Pelly in 1865. He died of cholera on 13th Rad̲j̲ab 1282 (2nd Dec. 1865).

XII. ʿAbd Allāh b. Faiṣal b. Turkī, first reign 1282—7 (beg. Dec. 1865—beg. 1871). He was dethroned by his brothers in 1287.

XIII. Saʿūd b. Faiṣal b. Turkī, 1287—1291 (1871—4); at the beginning of his reign the Turks, summoned by the banished ʿAbd Allāh, occupied Laḥsā as well as Ḳaṭīf and held them in spite of Saʿūd's repeated attempts to regain them.

XIV. ʿAbd Allāh b. Faiṣal b. Turkī, second reign, 1291—1301 (1874—1884). After Saʿūd's death he regained his throne and held it against his brother Muḥammad and Saʿūd's sons, who disputed it with him. In 1883 he was involved in war with Muḥammad b. Ras̲h̲īd of Ḥāʾil and was banished by his nephews, the sons of Saʿūd, in the beginning of 1884. As a result,

XV. Muḥammad b. Saʿūd came to the throne; his rule was of short duration; he was succeeded by his uncle

XVI. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Faiṣal, ?—1886?; he was dethroned by Muḥammad b. Ras̲h̲īd, who placed on the throne

XVII. ʿAbd Allāh b. Faiṣal (for the third time, 1887?—1888?). The latter died probably in 1888 and Riyāḍ then became a dependency of Ḥāʾil in spite of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's repeated attempts to regain the vacant throne. In 1881 Muḥammad b. Ras̲h̲īd conquered Riyāḍ and in 1892 appointed

XVIII. Muḥammad, the third son of Faiṣal, Amīr of Riyāḍ. After the death of Muḥammad (date unknown) Riyāḍ seems to have been governed by Ibn Ras̲h̲īd's officials.

XIX. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Faiṣal, since the beginning of 1902. With the help of S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Mubārak of Kuwait, with whom his father had found a refuge, he regained Riyāḍ in March 1902 by a coup d'état and successfully held it against the Ibn Ras̲h̲īd of Ḥāʾil, who finally called in the Turks to help them. Nevertheless, he succeeded owing to the anarchy prevailing in Ḥāʾil and with the help of the people, who were attached to the house of Saʿūd, in regaining the supremacy of the kingdom of Riyāḍ.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

GENEALOGY OF THE IBN SA'ŪD.

A. (Older Line).

1. Sa'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Muḳrin (d. about 1735)

2. Muḥammad (1735—1766) 3. Farḥān 4. Thunaiyān 5. Meshāri

6. 'Abd al-'Azīz (1766—1803) 7. 'Abd Allāh (see below B.)

8. Sa'ūd (1803—1814) 9. 'Abd Allāh 10. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 11. 'Omar

Sa'ūd (son of 9)

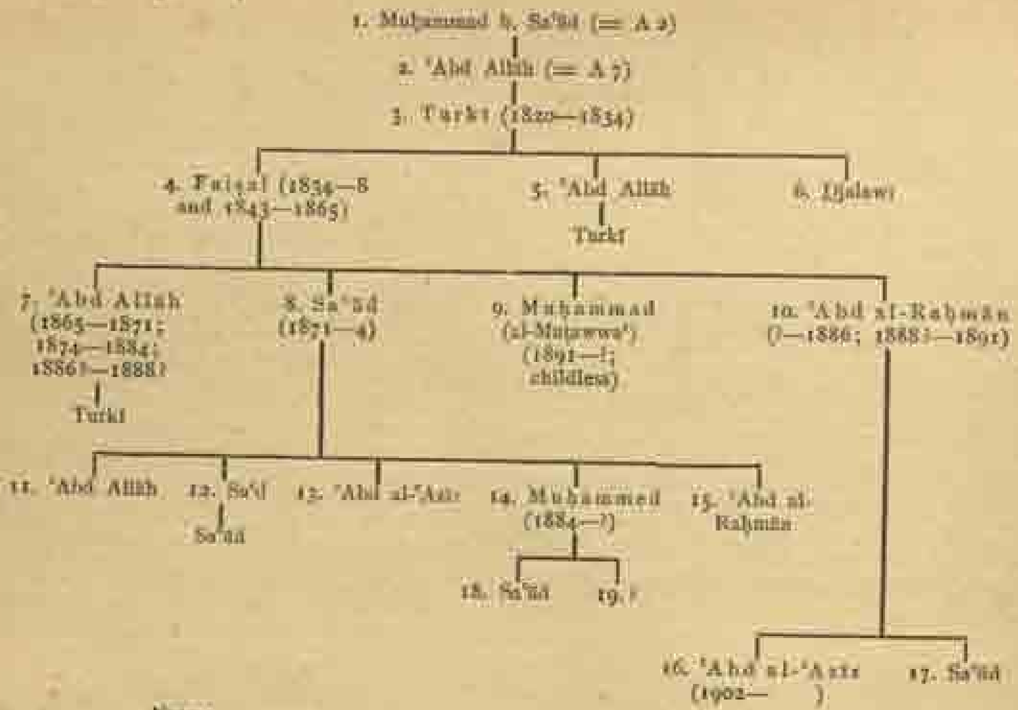
12. 'Abd Allāh (reg. 1814—8) 13. Faiṣal 14. Nāṣir 15. Hadhlūl 16. Sa'd 17. Khālid (1839—1841) 18. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 19. 'Omar 20. Ibrāhīm 21. Meshāri (1819—1820) 22. Turkī 23. Fahd (Fuhaid?) 24. Ḥasan

25. Sa'd 26. Naṣr 27. Muhammed [28. Khālid]

Notes:

6. ('Abd al-'Azīz) was 82 at his death in 1803 (Mengin, ii. 467) cf. Scott-Waring, p. 177 of the French transl.).
8. (Sa'ūd) 68 at his death (Mengin, ii. 20), Rousseau and Burckhardt say 45—50.
9. ('Abd Allāh) in 1815 brought about the truce of al-Rass (Mengin, ii. 41 *sqq.*); his son Sa'ūd was killed in 1818 after the capture of Dar'īya (ib. p. 131; Shānīzāde, ii. 383).
10. ('Abd al-Raḥmān) deported to Egypt in 1818.
11. ('Omar) deported to Cairo with his sons in 1818 or 1820.
12. Mengin gives a portrait of 'Abd Allāh.
13. (Faiṣal) fell at the siege of Dar'īya in 1818 (Mengin, ii. 129).
14. (Nāṣir) fell on a raid against Muscat (Burckhardt, ii. 122).
16. (Sa'd), 17. Khālid, 23. (Fahd), 24. (Ḥasan) deported to Cairo in 1818.
22. (Turkī) led a raid in to 'Irāḳ and Syria (Burckhardt, ii. 122).
25. (Sa'd) defended a fort of Dar'īya in 1818 and was deported to Cairo with his brothers Naṣr and Muḥammad in 1818 (Mengin, ii. 130, 133, 158).
28. (Khālid) is only mentioned by Aiyūb Ṣabri, p. 266, probably a confusion with 17.

B. (Younger Line).



Notes:

2. ('Abd Allāh) mentioned in Mengin, ii. 482 (a. 1778) and Corancez, p. 46 (a. 1803).
3. (Turkī), according to Blunt, ii. 269, had two other brothers, Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad.
5. ('Abd Allāh) cf. Blunt, ii. 266.
6. (Djalawī) still living in 1877, s. Doughty, ii. 428; he had five sons: Fahd, Muḥammad, Sa'ūd, Musā'id, 'Abd al-Muḥsin.
9. (Muḥammad), according to Nolde, p. 89, not 40 till 1892; doubtful if correct, cf. Palgrave, i. 169 sq.; Doughty, ii. 430, and Huber, *Journal*, p. 162.
10. ('Abd al-Raḥmān), according to Palgrave (ii. 75), in 1863 aged 10—12; Blunt, ii. 267.

IBN SHADDĀD, BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF B. RĀFI', an Arab biographer, born at Mōṣul in 539 (1145), studied there and in Baghdād and became a professor in his native town in 569 (1173). In 583 (1188) he made the pilgrimage and on his return journey went to Damascus, where he entered the service of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who made him Ḳāḍi 'l-'Askar of Jerusalem. After Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death he went to Ḥalab in 591 (1195) and was made a ḳāḍī. He had a very influential and lucrative position at Ḥalab under al-Ẓāhir and al-'Azīz and he used it to found and amply endow madrasas. He spent the last years of his life as a private individual till his death in 632 (1234). His chief work is the biography of Saladin ed. by A. Schultens, 1732—1755; oriental ed. Cairo 1317. English version by Conder, *The life of Saladin by Bohā al-dīn compared with the original Arabic and annotated*, London 1897. Cf. also *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. Orient.*, vol. iii.

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IBN SHADDĀD, 'IZZ AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. IBRĀHĪM, an Arab historian, often confused with the preceding, d. 684 (1285). He is the author of an important work on Syria and al-Djazīra entitled *al-A'lāḳ al-khaṭīra fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shā'm wa 'l-Djazīra*, on which cf. Sobernheim, *Ibn Shaddāds Darstellung der Geschichte Ba'albeks im Mittelalter* in the *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari*, ii. 152 sqq.

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IBN SHĀKIR. [See AL-KUTUBĪ.]

IBN SĪDA, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. ISMĀ'ĪL (or AḤMAD or MUḤAMMAD) B. SĪDA, philologist, man of letters, and logician, born at Murcia in Spain and died in Denia aged about 60 on Sunday, 4 days before the end of Rabī' II 458 = 25th March 1066.

Ibn Sīda was blind and studied with his father, also blind, who was a not unimportant philologist, Abū 'l-'Alā' Ṣā'id al-Baghdādī, Abū 'Omar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭalamankī, Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī and others. He attached himself to the court of the Emīr Abu 'l-Djaish Mudjāhid b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī and on his death to his successor, the Emīr al-Muwaffaḳ. As he had previously avoided the latter on account of a certain disdain he now sent him a long poem of apology.

We possess only three works by him 1. *Kitāb al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, a large dictionary, in which the words are arranged in groups according to definite classes, printed in 17 vols. Būlāḳ 1316—1321. 2. *Kit. al-Muḥkam wa 'l-Muḥīṭ al-A'ẓam*, like-

wise a large and excellent dictionary in which the words are alphabetically arrayed in the order of the first radical, but in this order: *ʿain, ḥā, hā, khā, ghain, ḳāf, kāf, djīm, shīn, ḍād, ṣād, sīn, zāy, ṭā, dāl, tā, ẓā, dhāl, thā, rā, lām, nūn, fā, bā, mīm, hamza, yā, wāw*, Brit. Mus., *Suppl.*, Nº 854; Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, IV, 184 (incomplete copy). 3. *Kit. Sharḥ Mushkil al-Mutanabbī*, commentary on difficult verses in the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, iv. 273.

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IBN AL-SIKKĪT, ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB B. ISḤĀḲ, known by the name of IBN AL-SIKKĪT, a celebrated philologist and grammarian, belonged to Dawraḳ, a village in al-Ahwāz (Khūzistān), but was apparently born in Baghdād. After studying with his father who was an excellent lexicologist, Abū ʿAmr Isḥāḳ b. Murār al-Shaibānī, al-Farrāʾ, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbaida, and others, he went to the Beduins of whom it was then thought that they had best preserved the Arabic language. Returning to Baghdād he settled as a teacher in the Bridge quarter. He then became a tutor in the family of Ibn Ṭāhir in Sāmarrā, till the Caliph al-Mutawakkil entrusted him with the education of his sons al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾaiyad. His adherence to the cause of the ʿAlids, which he did not conceal from the Caliph, led him to a cruel death. According to some, he was trampled to death by Turkish soldiers, according to others, his tongue was torn out. He died on Radjab 5 244 = Oct. 17, 858 aged 58; others say he died in 243, 245 or 246.

We possess the following works by him: 1. *Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiḳ*, a philological work publ. in Cairo n. d. 2. *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1897, with the commentary of al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Kanz al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 1895—1898; 3. commentary on the *Dīwān* of Khansāʾ, used by Cheikho in his edition (Beirut 1896); 4. a commentary on the *Dīwān* of ʿUrwa b. al-Ward in *Madjmūʿ mushtamil ʿalā khamsa Dawāwīn*, etc., Cairo 1293 (cf. Nöldeke, *Die Gedichte des ʿUrwa ibn Alward*, Göttingen 1863); 5. *Kitāb al-Ḳalb wa ʾl-Ibdāl*, ed. by Haffner, *Texte zur arab. Lexikographie*, Leipzig 1905 (p. 3—65); 6. Commentary (?) on the *Dīwān* of Ṭufail al-Ghanawī, see F. Krenkow in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1907; 7. *Kitāb al-Aḍdād*, ed. Haffner, Beirut 1914; 8. commentary on the *Dīwān* of Ḳais b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Th. Kowalski, Leipzig 1914.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN SĪNĀ, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤUSAIN IBN ʿABD ALLĀH (Lat. AVICENNA from Hebr. AVEN SINA), was for centuries and still is in parts of the Muslim east considered the prince of all learning *al-Shaikh al-Raʾīs*. His biography, given by Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa (ed. A. Müller, ii. 2 *sqq.*) was compiled by his pupil Abū ʿUbaid al-Djūzdjānī from his own notes. According to it he was born in 370 = 980 at Afshana near Bukhārā. His father had moved from Balkh to Bukhārā, was appointed governor of the citadel of Kharmaitha, and had married in Afshana. After the birth of two sons he resumed his residence in Bukhārā, where the latter received their education. Up to his tenth year Ibn Sīnā had a tutor in Ḳurʾān and Adab. He was introduced to secular learning by Ismāʿīlite propagandists who had been received in his father's house, but their speculations on the soul and the intelligence made no great impression on him at first. After studying fiḳh he was taught logic, geometry, and astronomy by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nātilī. The student who developed early both physically and mentally soon overtook his teacher and studied by himself physics, metaphysics and medicine. His practice of medicine soon enabled him to understand it better but metaphysics only became clear to him after studying one of al-Fārābī's works. This decided his philosophical development, al-Fārābī's metaphysical and logical speculations which originated in the Neo-Platonic commentaries and paraphrases of Aristotelian works, determined the direction of his thought. He was then 16 or 17 years of age.

At the same time the marvellous boy had the good fortune to cure the sulṭān of Bukhārā, Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, and as a result received admission to his library. Endowed with a marvellous memory and rapid power of assimilating knowledge, in a short time he gained here all the knowledge that enabled him to systematise all the learning of his time. He began to write at the age of 21; his style as a rule is clear and comprehensive.

After the death of his father — he was now 22 — Ibn Sīnā lead an unsettled life, full of work and enjoyment but also of disappointments. When at rest at the courts of Djurdjān, Raiy, Hamadhān and Iṣfahān, he wrote his great works, of which we may specially mention the philosophical encyclopaedia, *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* (Teheran, 1313), and his chief book on medicine, *al-Ḳānūn fi ʾl-Ṭibb* (Teheran 1284, Būlāḳ 1294); on his travels he wrote synopses of his larger works and treatises of various kinds. Sometimes his activities were scientific, sometimes political, the latter with slight success. He is important as the universal encyclopaedist, who fixed the system of learning for centuries following.

Our philosopher spent the last years of his life under the protection of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla in Iṣfahān. On the latter's campaign against Hamadhān in 428 = 1037, Ibn Sīnā fell ill on the way and died in Hamadhān where his grave is still shown. His works were much read, annotated and translated into western languages. He lives in the popular tradition of the east as a magician, a kind of 'Pied Piper'.

Ibn Sīnā's doctrines which still possess great authority in theological, philosophical, and medical circles of the east in spite of their partial refutation by al-Ghazālī, cannot be fully expounded here but only briefly indicated and characterised.

In logic and epistemology he closely follows al-Fārābī. This is true also of the question of universals which is in a way of metaphysical importance. The universal is said to exist in the mind of God and the angels (spirits of the spheres) independent of the existence of the many particulars. It emanates from the divine spirit communicated by multiple intermediation on the one side to the particular things and on the other to human intelligence in which plurality is raised to a concept of unity and universality. More Neo-Platonic than Aristotelian is the view that the concept is primarily a gift of the super-human spirit rather than a product of the abstractive faculty of the human reason.

Although he expounds it fully, Ibn Sīnā only considers logic an introductory science. Philosophy proper is either theoretical or practical: the former is divided into physics, mathematics, and metaphysics, with their applications, the latter into ethics, economics and politics. Ibn Sīnā paid little attention to the practical parts of philosophical science. The series, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, marks a gradual advance from the material to the abstract. It is true that metaphysics is generally defined as the science of all being, so that immaterial being is the problem and not the direct object of this science, but this problematic becomes the main point in philosophical expositions.

Ibn Sīnā's physics on the whole is based on Aristotelian tradition, although there are also Neo-platonic influences here: particularly for example in the doctrine that earthly happenings are influenced by the stars, not through their warmth but through the intermediary of light. Neo-Platonic also are the speculations on the intelligence, in which results his otherwise finely developed psychology.

Ibn Sīnā had most influence through his medicine, in the west down to the XVIIth century, in the east still now. He is the Arab Galen. How far he incorporated observations of his own into this science, has still to be investigated. In theory at least he gives experience a large place and discusses the conditions, under which the healing effect of a medicine shows itself.

Ibn Sīnā's paraphrase of Aristotelian metaphysics (leaving aside his little known mathematics) besides neo-Platonic elements contains an attempt at reconciliation with Muslim theology. The dualism mind and matter (actuality and potentiality), God and world, is more marked in him than in al-Fārābī, and the doctrine of the immortality of the individual souls is more clearly laid down. Matter is defined by him as possible being or merely passive possibility and creation is said to consist in granting actual existence to this possible being. Only in the Deity are being and existence one, but in all that is not the Deity, existence is an attribute of being. In theological terminology, the granting of real existence is called creation, but it is an eternal creation. God, the absolutely necessary and uniform being, is also a necessary cause, which must work from all eternity, whose effect, the world, is therefore eternal. In itself this is possible (contingent), from the point of view of its divine cause it is necessary. Ibn Sīnā distinguishes the contingency of this at once possible and necessary being from the contingency of all earthly happenings, that exist for a time, the sublunar world is the world of the merely possible.

The metaphysical doctrine of the soul in particular induced our philosopher to mystic reflections, some in poetical form. Great danger forced him once to escape his enemies in Ṣūfī guise. It may therefore have been in hours of depression, that there was a necessity for him to use the language of mysticism. It is therefore an occasional mysticism which crowns the building of his system but does not carry or support it.

Bibliography: Ibn Sīnā's bibliography and the older literature is given in C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litteratur*, i. 452 *sqq.*; also printed are: *Mabḥath 'an al-Ḳuwa al-nafsāniya*, ed. van Dyck, Cairo, 1325; *Manṭiḳ al-Mashriḳiyīn wa 'l-Ḳaṣīda al-muzdawidja fi 'l-Manṭiḳ*, Cairo 1910; *Kit. al-Nadjāt*; *Tis' Rasā'il fi 'l-Ḥikma wa 'l-Ṭabī'iyāt*, Constantinople 1298; *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* in *Traités inédits d'anciens philosophes arabes*, publ. par L. Malouf . . ., 2nd ed. Beyrouth 1911, p. 1—18 (also in *al-Mashriḳ*, ix. 1906, p. 967 *sqq.*); *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Ishārāt min Ishārāt Ibn Sīnā*, Comment. by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; the *Ḳaṣīda* on the soul is found in al-'Āmilī's *Kashkūl*, and printed with comm. of al-Manāwī, Cairo 1318, transl. by Carra de Vaux, *Journ. As.*, 1899; Hebr. transl. of *Ris. Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, ed. D. Kaufmann, 1887; *Die Augenheilkunde des Ibn Sīnā*, transl. and annot. by J. Hirschberg and J. Lippert, Leipzig 1902. Cf. also: B. Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, Paris 1900 (cf. the review of R. Basset, *Rev. de l'hist. des Rel.*, 1902); do., Art. AVICENNA, AVICENNISM (in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii., Edinburgh 1909, p. 272 *sqq.*); T. J. de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart 1901, p. 119 *sqq.* (Engl. transl. London 1903, p. 131 *sqq.*); Ign. Goldziher, *Die islamische und die jüdische Philosophie* (in Hinneberg's *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. v.); Eilh. Wiedemann, *Ibn Sīnā's Anschauung vom Sehvorgang* (in *Arch. f. d. Gesch. d. Naturwiss. u. d. Technik*, iv., 239 *sqq.*, Leipzig 1912); M. Horten, *Avicenna's Lehre vom Regenbogen* (in *Meteorol. Zeitschr.*, 1913, p. 534 *sqq.*); M. Winter, *Über Avicennas Opus egregium de Anima*, München 1903; *Die Metaphysik Avicennas*, transl. and annot. by M. Horten, Halle etc. 1907—1909; C. Sauter *Avicennas Bearbeitung der aristotelischen Metaphysik*, Freiburg i. Breisgau 1912. On Ibn Sīnā as a Persian poet cf. Browne, *A Literary Hist. of Persia*, ii. 106—111; on Ibn Sīnā as a legendary figure cf. R. Basset in the art. quoted above. J. Wood Brown, *Life of Michael Scott*, Edinburgh 1897, p. 235—9.

(T. J. DE BOER.)

IBN SĪRĪN, MUḤAMMAD, was a contemporary of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q. v.]. His father is said to have been a tinker of Djardjarāyā, who was carried off as a slave by Khālid b. al-Walīd from 'Ain al-Tamr. His mother Ṣafiya was a client of Abū Bakr. Muḥammad belonged to the second generation of transmitters of tradition; his authorities were Abū Huraira [q. v.], 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar [q. v.], Anas b. Mālik [q. v.], etc. He settled in Baṣra, was noted for his ascetic piety like his sister Ḥafṣa (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii. 355 *sqq.*), and was considered an authority on the interpretation of dreams. Treatises on the latter subject were therefore frequently written by later authors under his name, for example the *Muntakhab al-Kalām fī Tafsīr al-Aḥlām*, Cairo 1868, and on the margin of

Ta'bīr of 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī [q. v.], Vol. I.; the *Kitāb Ta'bīr al-Ru'yā*, mentioned as early as *Fihrist*, p. 316, Cairo 1281, Lakhnau 1874, Bombay 1879, and the *Kitāb al-Djawāmi'*, Cairo 1892. Cf. also Hirschfeld in *Verhandl. des XIII. internat. Orient. Kongresses*, Hamburg, p. 397; Steinschneider in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xvii. 243 *sqq.*; Fischer, ib., lxviii. 304, Note 2 and the reference there given. Ibn Sīrīn died 110 (728).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 226; Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 106; *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, iii. 9; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii. i. 140—150; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 576; Brockelmann, *Geschichte etc.*, i. 66.

IBN SURAIDJ, Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Suraidj, was, according to the Arab biographers, one of the greatest Shāfi'ī teachers of the third century. Many celebrated Shāfi'īs were his pupils, and he attained such repute that he was considered by many to be superior to all other Shāfi'ī students, even al-Muzanī. He was ḳāḍī in Shīrāz and wrote treatises refuting the Ẓāhirīs, etc. The number of his works is placed at 400, but none of them now exists. Only a few of the titles of his works are known. He died at the age of 57 in Baghdād in 306 = 918.

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(Th. W. Juynboll.)

IBN SURAIDJ, 'Ubaid Allāh Abū Yaḥyā, a Meccan singer and composer of the older Umaiyad period, was the son of a Turkish slave in Mecca and a client of the Banū Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf, or of the Banū 'l-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He began his career as a musician in the caliphate of 'Othmān. He is said to have been the first to introduce the Persian lute into Mecca and to have learned its use from the Persian workmen imported by Ibn al-Zubair to rebuild the Ka'ba. When at the height of his fame he was on intimate terms with 'Omar b. Abī Rabī'a [q. v.] whose love poems he set to music; but he also enjoyed a great reputation as a composer of elegies. But as his art could only be transmitted orally, it was soon forgotten after his death: in the time of the singer Ibrāhīm his tunes were only known to a few old people. He died in the reign of Hishām (105—125 = 724—743).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, i. 97—129.

(C. Brockelmann.)

IBN al-TA'ĀWĪDHĪ. [See al-Ta'āwīdhī.]

IBN TAGHRIBERDI. [See Abu 'l-Maḥāsin.]

IBN TAIMĪYA, Taḳī al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm b. 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Taimīya al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī, Arab theologian and jurist, was born on Monday 10th Rabī' I 661 = 22 January 1263 at Ḥarrān, near Damascus. Fleeing from the exactions of the Mongols, his father had taken refuge at Damascus with all his family, in the middle of the year 667 = 1268. In the capital of Syria, the young Aḥmad devoted himself to the study of Muslim sciences and followed his father's lectures and those of Zain al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Dā'im al-Maḳdisī, Nadjm al-Dīn b. 'Asākir, Zainab bint Makkī, etc.

He was not yet 20 when he completed his studies, and at the death of his father in 681 = 1282, he succeeded him as professor of Ḥanbalī law. Each Friday he expounded the Ḳur'ān *ex cathedra*. Well versed in the Ḳur'ānic sciences, Ḥadīth, law, theology etc., he defended the sound tradition of the earlier Muslims by arguments which, although taken from the Ḳur'ān and Ḥadīth, had hitherto been unknown; but the freedom of his polemics made him many enemies among the scholars of the other orthodox schools. In 691 = 1292 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In Rabī' I 699 (1299) or 698 at Cairo he gave to a question sent from Ḥamā on the attributes of God, a "response" which displeased the Shāfi'ī doctors, aroused public opinion against him, and cost him his post of professor. Nevertheless he was appointed the same year to preach the Holy War against the Mongols and for this purpose went next year to Cairo. He was present in this capacity at the victory of Shaḳḥab, near Damascus, won over the Mongols. After having in 704 = 1305 fought against the people of Djabal Kasrawān in Syria, including Ismā'īlīs, Nuṣairī's, Ḥākimīs, who believed in the infallibility of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and considered the Companions unbelievers, neither prayed nor fasted, ate pork etc. (Mar'ī, *Kawākib*, p. 165). He went in 705 = 1306-7 to Cairo along with the Shāfi'ī ḳāḍī, where, after five sittings of the council of judges and notables in the Sulṭān's audience-hall who had accused him of anthropomorphism he was condemned to be interned with his two brothers in the dungeon (*djubb*) of the mountain citadel; he remained there a year and a half. In Shawwāl 707 (1308), he was examined regarding a work which he had written against the Ittiḥādīya [v. ittiḥād] but the evidence he gave disarmed his enemies at once. Sent with the post back to Damascus, he was forced to return after one stage of the journey and for political reasons was imprisoned in the ḳāḍī's prison for a year and a half, which he spent in teaching the principles of Islām to those under confinement. But after a few days of liberty he was shut up in the fortress (*burdj*) of Alexandria for eight months. He then returned to Cairo where, although he refused Sulṭān al-Nāṣir a *fatwā* allowing him to revenge himself on his enemies, he obtained the post of professor in the school founded by this prince.

In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 712 = Febr. 1313, he was authorised to accompany the army departing for Syria, and after going through Jerusalem, he re-entered Damascus after an absence of seven years and seven weeks. He then resumed his duties as professor, but in Djumādā II 718 = August 1318, he was forbidden by royal edict to give *fatwā's* on the oath of repudiation (to swear to repudiate a wife for example if something is done or not done), a question on which he had allowed himself several concessions not admitted by the jurists of the other three orthodox schools (Ibn al-Wardī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii. 267) who hold that he who takes such an oath, although he is bound to fulfil his contract, is liable to an arbitrary punishment.

Refusing to obey this order he was condemned to imprisonment in the citadel of Damascus in Radjab 720 = August 1320. After 5 months and 18 days he was set at liberty by order of the sulṭān. He resumed his old habits till his enemies learned of his

fatwā regarding the visitation of tombs of saints and prophets, which he had issued in 710 = 1310, and in Sha'bān 726 = July 1326 he was by the Sulṭān's order interned in the citadel of Damascus. He was allotted a room, in which attended by his brother he devoted himself to writing a commentary on the Ḳur'ān, pamphlets against his detractors and entire volumes on the questions which had resulted in his imprisonment. But when these works came to the knowledge of his enemies, he was deprived of his books, paper and ink. This was a terrible blow to him, and although he sought relief in prayer and the recitation of the Ḳur'ān, he fell ill and died in twenty days in the night of Sunday-Monday 20th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 728 = 26-27 Sept. 1328. The people of Damascus who held him in great honour, gave him a splendid funeral and it was estimated that 200,000 men and 15,000 women attended his obsequies at the Ṣūfī cemetery. Ibn al-Wardī composed his funeral elegy.

Although belonging to the Ḥanbalī school, Ibn Taimiya did not follow all its opinions blindly but considered himself a *mudjtahid fi 'l-madhhab* [s. MUDJTAHID]. His biographer Mar'ī in *Kawākib* (p. 184 *sqq.*) gives a certain number of points on which Ibn Taimiya rejected the *taḳlīd* [q. v.] and even the *idjmā'* (consensus) [q. v.]. In the majority of his works he claims to follow the letter of the Ḳur'ān and the Ḥadīth but he does not think it wrong to employ *ḳiyās*, reasoning by analogy (notably *Madjmū'at al-Rasā'il al-kubrā*, i. 207) in his polemics; indeed he devoted a whole *risāla* (*op. cit.*, ii. 217) to this method of reasoning.

A bitter enemy of innovations (*bida'*), he attacked the cult of saints and pilgrimages to tombs: did not the Prophet say: "One should only journey to three mosques: the sacred mosque of Mecca, that of Jerusalem, and mine" (*op. cit.*, ii. 93). Even a journey solely undertaken to visit the tomb of the Prophet is an act of disobedience (*ma'ṣiya*) (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *Fatāwī*, p. 87). On the other hand he considered a visit paid to the tomb of a Muslim, an illicit act, following the opinion of al-Sha'bī and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, only if it necessitated a journey and if it had to take place on a fixed day. With these restrictions he considered it a traditional duty (Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, *al-Ḳawl al-djalī*, p. 119 *sqq.*).

An inveterate anthropomorphist Ibn Taimiya interpreted literally all the passages in the Ḳur'ān and tradition referring to the Deity. He was so imbued with this belief that, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, he said one day from the pulpit in the mosque of Damascus: "God comes down from heaven to earth, just as I am coming down now", and he came down one of the steps of the pulpit staircase. (cf. especially *Madjm. al-Ras. al-kubrā*, i. 387 *sq.*).

Both by word and pen he combatted all the Muslim sects, Khāridjī, Murdjī, Rāfiḍī, Ḳadarī, Mu'tazilī, Djahmī, Karrāmī, Ash'arī, etc. (*Kit. al-Furḳān*, passim, in the *Madjmū'a* quoted, i. p. 2). al-Ash'arī's dogmatics, he said, is only a fusion of the opinions of the Djahmīs, Nadjdjārīs, Ḍirārīs, etc. He particularly objected to the explanation given of predestination (*ḳadar*), the divine attributes (*asmā'*) and judgments (*aḥkām*), execution of the threat (*infādh al-wa'īd*), etc. (*op. cit.*, i. 77, 445 *sqq.*).

In many cases he disagreed with the opinion of the principal jurists. For example: 1. He rejected the practice of *taḥlīl* by which a woman definitively divorced by triple repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) could be married again by her husband after having contracted a intermediate marriage with a man who had agreed to repudiate her immediately afterwards (*muḥallil*, he who makes permissible). 2. Repudiation pronounced during a menstrual period is void. 3. The taxes which are not prescribed by divine order are admissible and if one pays them he is freed from *zakāt*. 4. To hold an opinion contrary to *idjmā'* is neither infidelity nor impiety.

He also attacked the reputation of men whose authority is recognised in Islām: 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb made many mistakes, he said in the pulpit of the mosque of al-Djabal in al-Ṣāliḥiya. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib made three hundred mistakes, was another of his statements. He also violently attacked al-Ghazālī, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, 'Omar b. al-Fāriḍ and the Ṣūfīs in general. As to the first, he attacked the philosophical views laid down in his *Munḳidh min al-Ḍalāl* and even in his *Iḥyā'*, which contains a large number of apocryphal ḥadīths. "The Ṣūfīs and the *Mutakallimūn* are from the same valley" (*min wādin wāḥid*), he declared. Greek philosophy and its Muslim representatives, notably Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Sab'īn, were attacked in the great vigour by Ibn Taimiya. "Does not philosophy lead to unbelief? Is it not for a great part the cause of the different schisms which have been produced in the bosom of Islām.

Islām being sent to replace Judaism and Christianity it naturally incited Ibn Taimiya to attack these both religions. After accusing the Jews and Christians of changing the meaning of a certain number of words in their sacred books (see his works, Nrs 35, 40, 43 and 45 below), he wrote pamphlets against the maintenance or building of synagogues and particularly of churches (cf. Nr. 46).

Muslim scholars are not agreed on the orthodoxy of Ibn Taimiya. Among those who consider him at the very least an heretic we may mention: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī and his son 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Djamā'a, Abū Ḥaiyān al-Ẓāhirī al-Andalusī, etc. However, those who praise are perhaps more numerous than his detractors: his disciple Ibn Ḳaiyim al-Djawziya, al-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḳudāma, al-Ṣarṣarī al-Ṣūfī, Ibn al-Wardī, Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī, 'Alī al-Ḳārī al-Harawī, Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī, etc. This divergence of opinion on Ibn Taimiya exists to this day: Yūsuf al-Nabhānī does not spare him in his *Shawāhid al-Ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-Istighātha bi-Saiyid al-Khalḳ* (Cairo 1323), which was refuted by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Shāfi'ī al-Salāmī in his *Ghāyat al-Amānī fi 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Nabhānī* (Cairo 1325).

We know that the founder of the Wahhābīs was connected with the Ḥanbalī scholars of Damascus and it is natural he made use of their works and particularly of Ibn Taimiya's teaching and that of his pupil Ibn Ḳaiyim al-Djawziya [q. v.]. The principles of the new doctrine are those for which the great Ḥanbalī theologian struggled all his life. (Cf. WAHHĀBĪS.)

Of the 500 works said to have been written by Ibn Taimiya only the following survive: 1°. *Kitāb al-Furḳān bain al-Ḥaḳḳ wal-Bāṭil*; 2°. *Ma'ārij al-Wuṣūl*, a refutation of the philosophers and of the Karmaṭians, who say that the Prophets in certain circumstances may lie, etc.; 3°. *al-Tabyān fī*

Nuzūl al-Ḳur'ān; 4°. *al-Waṣiya fi 'l-Dīn wa 'l-Dunyā*, called *al-Waṣiya al-ṣughrā*; 5°. *Ris. fi 'l-Nīya fi 'l-ʿIbādāt*; 6°. *Ris. fi 'l-ʿArsh hal huwa kurī am lā*; 7°. *al-Waṣiya al-kubrā*; 8°. *al-Irāda wa 'l-Amr*; 9°. *al-ʿAḳīda al-wāsiṭīya*; 10°. *al-Munāẓara fi 'l-ʿAḳīda al-wāsiṭīya*; 11°. *al-ʿAḳīda al-Ḥamawīya al-kubrā*; 12°. *Ris. fi 'l-Istighātha*; 13°. *al-Iklīl fi 'l-Mutashābih wa 'l-Ta'wīl*; 14°. *Ris. al-Ḥalāl*; 15°. *Ris. fi Ziyārat Bait al-Maḳdis*; 16°. *Ris. fi Marātib al-Irāda*; 17°. *Ris. fi 'l-Ḳaḍā' wa 'l-Ḳadar*; 18°. *Ris. fi 'l-Iḥtidjādj bi 'l-Ḳadar*, 19°. *Ris. fi Daradjāt al-Yaḳīn*; 20°. *Kit. Bayān al-Hudā min al-Ḍalāl fi Amr al-Hilāl*; 21°. *Ris. fi Sunnat al-Djumuʿa*; 22°. *Tafsīr al-Muʿawwidhatain*, 23°. *Ris. fi 'l-ʿUḳūd al-muḥarrama*; 24°. *Ris. fi Maʿna 'l-Ḳiyās*; 25°. *Ris. fi 'l-Samāʿ wa 'l-Raḳṣ*; 26°. *Ris. fi 'l-Kalām ʿala 'l-Fiṭra*, 27°. *Ris. fi 'l-Adjwiba ʿan Aḥādīth al-Ḳuṣṣāṣ*; 28°. *Ris. fi Rafʿ al-Ḥanafī Yadaihi fi 'l-Ṣalāt*; 29°. *Kit. Manāsik al-Ḥadjdj*; — these short treatises have been collected in a collection entitled *Madjmūʿat al-Rasā'il al-kubrā* (Cairo 1322); 30°. *al-Furḳān bain Awliyā' al-Raḥmān wa-Awliyā' al-Shaiṭān*, Cairo 1310, 1322; 31°. *al-Wāsiṭa bain al-Khalḳ wa 'l-Ḥaḳḳ*, Cairo 1318; 32°. *Rafʿ al-Malām ʿan al-A'immat al-aʿlām*, Cairo 1318; 33°. *Kit. al-Tawassul wa 'l-Wasīla*, Cairo 1327; 34°. *Kit. Djawāb Ahl al-ʿIlm wa 'l-Īmān bi-Taḥḳīḳ mā akhbara bihi Rasūl al-Raḥmān min anna ḳul huwa Allāh aḥad taʿdil thulth al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1322 (vgl. *Revue Afric.*, 1906, S. 267); 35°. *al-Djawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ liman baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ*, an answer to the epistle of Paul, Bishop of Sidon and Antioch, in which he combats Christianity and exalts Islām, Cairo 1322 (cf. P. de Jong, *Een Arab. Handschrift behelzende eene bestrijding van het Christendom* in *Verslagen en Mededeel. der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterkunde, 2nd Ser., vii. 1878, p. 218-9; 232-3; *Revue Afric.*, 1906, p. 283) 36°. *al-Risāla al-Baʿlabakkīya*, Cairo 1328; 37°. *al-Djawāmiʿ fi 'l-Siyāsa al-ilāhīya wa 'l-Āyāt al-nabawīya*, Bombay 1306; 38°. *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Nūr*, publ. on the margin of *Djāmiʿ al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, lith. Dihli 1296; 39°. *Kit. al-Ṣārim al-maslūl ʿalā Shātim al-Rasūl*, Ḥaidarābād 1322; 40°. *Takhdjīl Ahl al-Indjīl*, refutation of Christianity, Bodl. Libr., *Cat.*, ii. 45; Maracci made use of it in the *Prodromus* of his *Refutatio Alcorani*; 41°. *al-Masʾala al-Nuṣairīya*, *fatwā* against the Nuṣairī inhabitants of the mountains of Syria, transl. Guyard, *Journ. As.*, Ser. 6, 1871, xviii. 158; Salisbury, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, ii 1851, 257; Cairo 1323; 42°. *al-ʿAḳīda al-Tadmurīya*, Berlin, N°. 1995); 43°. *Ikhtiṣār al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm wa-Mukhālafat Aṣḥāb al-Djaḥīm*, against Jews and Christians, Berlin, N°. 2084; 44°. *Djawāb ʿan law*, a study on the particle *law* "if", publ. in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir*, Ḥaidarābād 1317, iii. 310); 45°. *Kitāb al-Radd ala 'l-Naṣārā*, Brit. Mus., *Cat.*, N°. 865, i.; 46°. *Masʾalat al-Kanā'is*, Paris Bibl. Nat., N°. 2962, ii.; 47°. *al-Kalām ʿalā Ḥaḳīḳat al-Islām wa 'l-Īmān*, Berlin, N°. 2080; 48°. *al-Ḳaʿīdat al-Marrākushīya*, Berlin, N°. 2809; 49°. *Masʾalat al-ʿUlūw*, on the question of "height" in speaking of God, Berlin, N°. 2311; Gotha, N°. 83, iii.; München, N°. 885, v.; 50°. *Naḳḍ Taʾsīs al-Djahmīya*, Leiden, N°. 2021; 51°. *Ris. fi Sudjūd al-Ḳur'ān*, Berlin, N°. 3570; 52°. *Ris. fi Sudjūd al-Sahw*, Berlin, N°. 3573; 53°. *Ris. fi Awḳāt al-Nahy wa 'l-Nizāʿ fi Dhawāt al-Asbāb wa-ghairihā*, Berlin, N°. 3574; 54°. *Kit. fi Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*, Berlin, N°. 4592; 55°. *Kit. al-Farḳ al-mubīn bain al-Ṭalāḳ wa 'l-Yamīn*, Leiden, N°. 1834; 56°. *Masʾalat al-Ḥalf bi 'l-Ṭalāḳ*, Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, vii. 565; 57°. *Fatāwī*, Berlin, N°. 4817-4818; 58°. *Kit. al-Siyāsa al-sharʿīya fi Iṣlāḥ al-Rāʿī wa 'l-Raʿīya*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Cat.*, N°. 2443-2444; 59°. *Djawāmiʿ al-Kalim al-ṭaiyib fi 'l-Adʿiya wa 'l-Adhkār*, Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, vii. 228; Aya Sofya, N°. 583; 60°. *Ris. al-ʿUbūdīya*; 61°. *Ris. Tanawwuʿ al-ʿIbādāt*; 62°. *Ris. Ziyārat al-Ḳubūr wa 'l-Istindjād bi 'l-Maḳbūr*; 63°. *Ris. al-Maẓālim al-mushtaraka*; 64°. *al-Ḥisba fi 'l-Islām* (N°s 59—63 with N°s 2, 31, 32, 41, have been publ. at Cairo in 1323 in *Madjmūʿat al-Rasā'il*, pp. 1—222, et 1—92.

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IBN AL-ṬIKṬAḲĀ, DJALĀL AL-DĪN (and ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN) ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. TĀDJ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ, was the descendant, in the twentieth generation, from the Caliph ʿAlī, through al-Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā, of the family of Ramaḍān, settled at al-Ḥilla. His father, representative of the ʿAlids at Kūfa and at Baghdād, was assassinated in 680 = 1281 at the instigation of ʿAṭāʾ Malik al-Djuwainī, minister of Abaḳa. Born about 660 (1262), Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā succeeded his father in the office of representative of the ʿAlids in al-Ḥilla and the sacred towns of the Shīʿīs (Nadjaf and Kerbelā), married a Persian woman from Khorāsān, visited Marāgha in 696 (1297) and in 701 (1301) made a journey to Mōṣul which was interrupted by the bad weather and gave him the opportunity to write the *Kitāb al-Fakhrī*. The date of his death is not known. His work is dedicated to the governor of Mōṣul for the Mongol Sulṭān Ghāzān, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿĪsā, hence the title al-Fakhrī. It is divided into two parts, of which the first is a political treatise, the second a résumé of the history of Muslim dynasties, which has the special feature that each notice of

a sovereign is followed by an account of his ministers. This second part is generally taken literally from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil al-Tawārīkh* but also contains fragments of lost works such as the medium history and the Annals of al-Mas'ūdī; the history of the ministers comes from al-Ṣūlī and from Hilāl al-Ṣābi'. Although clearly Shī'ī in tendency, this book is not biassed (E. Amar). The first edition of the text from the MS. of the Bibl. Nat. Paris, nº. 2441, then the only one known, has been published by W. Ahlwardt (Gotha 1860); some fragments of it had been given by Jourdain, *Fundgruben des Orients*, v. 28—40; de Sacy, *Chrestomathie*², i. 1—¶¶; 1—92; Henzius, *Fragmenta arabica*, Petropoli, 1828, p. 1—104, and Freytag, *Chrestomathia arabica*, Bonn 1834, p. 84—96 (the dates given p. iv. are inexact) and with a French translation by Cherbonneau, *Journ. As.*, 1846, i. 297—359, ii. 316—338; 1847, i. 134—147; the second edition which makes use of a second copy discovered in the same collection (nº. 2442), is due to Hartwig Derenbourg (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études, sciences philologiques et historiques*, 1895). This work has been translated into French by M. Émile Amar (*Archives Marocaines*, t. xvi., 1910). The word *ṭiḳṭaḳā* seems to be onomatopeic (tictac) applied to fluent and verbose speech (*Tādj al-'Arūs*, vi. 424, quoted by H. Derenbourg, p. 4). (CL. HUART.)

IBN ṬUFAIL, a celebrated philosopher of the Maghrib, whose full name was ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ṬUFAIL AL-ḲAISĪ. He belonged to the prominent Arab tribe of Ḳais; he was also called al-Andalusī (the Spaniard), al-Ḳurṭubī (the Cordovan or al-Ishbīlī (the Sevillan). The Christian scholastics call him Abubacer, a corruption of Abu Bakr.

Ibn Ṭufail was probably born in the first decade of xiith century A. D. in Wādī Āsh, the modern Guadix, 40 miles n. w. of Granada. We know nothing of his family or his education. That he was a pupil of Ibn Bādjdja [q. v.] as is frequently stated, is incorrect, for in the introduction to his romance he says that he was not acquainted with this philosopher. He first of all practised as a physician in Granada and then became secretary to the governor of the province. In 549 (1154) he became secretary to the governor of Ceuta and Tangier, a son of 'Abd al-Mu'min, the founder of the Almohad dynasty. Finally he received the appointment of court physician to the Almohad Sulṭān Abū Ya'ḳūb Yūsuf (558—558 = 1163—1184). It has also been thought that he was the latter's wizier; but it is doubtful if he really held this title, as only one text gives him it, as L. Gauthier points out. Al-Biṭrūdjī [q. v.], who was his pupil, simply calls him ḳāḍī (L. Gauthier, *Ibn Thofail*, p. 6). In any case Ibn Ṭufail always had great influence with this prince, which he used to attract scholars to the court. For example he introduced the young Averroes to the sulṭān. The historian 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (*al-Mu'djib*, ed. Dozy, p. 174 sq.; transl. by Fagnan, p. 201—210) gives a description of this meeting from Averroes' own account. On this occasion the commander of the faithful showed a remarkable intimacy in philosophical matters. It was also Ibn Ṭufail who, at the instigation of the prince, advised Averroes to annotate the works of Aristotle. This is stated by Abū Bakr Bundūd, a pupil of Ibn Ṭufail, who says further: "The commander of the faithful was exceedingly attached to him (Ibn Ṭufail). I am told that he remained whole days and nights in the palace with him without coming out".

In 578 our philosopher on account of his advanced age was succeeded by Ibn Rushd as court physician to the Caliph. But he continued to retain Abū Ya'ḳūb's favour and, after the latter's death in 580, retained the friendship of his son, Abū Yūsuf Ya'ḳūb. He died in 581 (1185—6) the Caliph himself attending his obsequies.

Ibn Ṭufail is the author of the celebrated philosophical novel *Ḥaiy b. Yaḳẓān*, one of the most remarkable books of the middle ages, of which we shall have more to say below. Little else from his pen is known. He also wrote two treatises on medicine and corresponded with Averroes about the latter's medical work *al-Kullīyāt*. According to the astronomer al-Biṭrūdjī and Ibn Rushd in his medium commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (Bk. xii), he is said to have had original astronomical ideas. Al-Biṭrūdjī attempted to refute Ptolemy's theory of epicycles and eccentric circles and says in his preface that he is following the ideas of Ibn Ṭufail.

The philosophical romance *Ḥaiy b. Yaḳẓān*, which was published by Pococke under the title *Philosophus autodidactus*, has also the sub-title *Asrār al-Ḥikma al-ishrāḳīya* "the secrets of illuminative philosophy". This philosophy is really that of the Neo-Platonic scholasticism in its most mystic form. Ibn Ṭufail expounds it in a progressive fashion with great skill by taking the case of a well endowed man with an inclination for speculation who is placed alone on an island from childhood and here discovers philosophy from his sheer force of reason and step by step constructs the whole Muslim Neo-Platonic system for himself. This man as the symbol of reason bears the name *Ḥaiy* "the living", *Ibn Yaḳẓān* "son of the wakeful one" i. e. God; at the end of the story Salāmān and Asāl appear who also have symbolic meaning.

The names Ḥaiy, Salāmān and Absāl or Asāl were not new in philosophic literature. Avicenna had already written a mystic allegory entitled *Ḥaiy b. Yaḳẓān* and this work, which was well-known in the middle ages, was also imitated by Ibn 'Ezra; al-Djūzdjānī, who has given us a list of Avicenna's writings, also ascribes to him a little work on the story of Salāmān and Absāl. We possess a version of this story by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and the celebrated Persian poet Djāmī took it as the subject of one of his best known works. In these Salāmān and Absāl play different rôles but they are always symbolical and represent the human reason struggling with the world of objects. In Djāmī's poem, Salāmān is a young prince and Absāl his nurse who becomes his lover. In Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's form of the myth Absāl is again a woman, and in another version Salāmān and Absāl are brothers. In Ibn Ṭufail's work they are a king and his vizier. One of the versions is said to have been translated from the Greek by Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ [q. v.] and it is in fact very probable that this whole cycle of stories has a Alexandrine origin.

The following is a synopsis of Ibn Ṭufail's romance. The book begins with an introduction which gives an interesting survey of the history of

Muslim philosophy. In it Ibn Ṭufail praises his predecessors, notably Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Bādjdja, and al-Ghazālī and gives as the purpose of philosophy, according to the interpretation of the mystic scholastics, the acquisition of union with God, i. e. reaching a state of happiness and clear vision where truth is no longer obtained by a process of deduction, but is recognised intuitively. Now follows the story of the novel: a boy is born without a father on a lonely island or put on the sea by a princess in a neighbouring island and carried by the current to it. The possibility of spontaneous generation by the fermentation of the earth with moderate heat is fully discussed. A gazelle feeds the boy and becomes his first teacher. When the latter grows up a little he notices that he is naked and unarmed unlike the animals he meets. He covers himself with leaves and arms himself with a stick and thus recognises the importance of his hands. He now becomes a hunter and his arts make further progress, for example he replaces the scanty covering of leaves by an eagle's skin. In the meanwhile the gazelle which had brought him up becomes old and ill; this troubles him and he seeks the cause of the evil. For this purpose he studies himself and thus becomes conscious of his senses. Thinking that the evil is in the breast, he has the idea of making an opening in the side of the animal with a sharp stone. By this experiment he becomes acquainted with the heart and lungs; but also he gets his first notion of an invisible thing that has escaped and constitutes individuality more than body. When the body of the gazelle begins to decay Haiy learns from the ravens how to bury it.

By chance he discovers fire by dead trees catching fire through the rubbing of the branches; he brings the fire to his dwelling and keeps it going. This discovery induces him to reflect on this visible fire and the animal warmth which he has noticed in living creatures; as a result he dissects other animals. His skill makes further progress; he clothes himself in skins, learns to spin wool and flax and make needles; swallows show him how to build a house, and he teaches birds of prey to hunt for him and learns to use eggs of birds and the horns of cattle etc. This part of the novel forms a very interesting and ingeniously arranged encyclopaedia.

His knowledge develops more and more and becomes philosophy. After Haiy has studied all plants and minerals and their properties and the use of limbs in animals he classifies them into kinds and species. He divides the bodies into light and heavy. He comes back again to the spirit of life, the seat of which he has traced in the heart and conceives the idea of an animal and vegetative soul. Bodies seem to him to be forms out of which come qualities. He now seeks for the elementary substances and recognises the four elements. While examining earth he grasps the idea of matter and conceives of bodies as matter of different extent. Observing that water becomes steam, he discovers the transition of one form from another and recognises that every new creation must have a cause which produces it. He thus gets the idea of a producer of forms in general. This he seeks first in nature but as all elements are subject to change and destruction, he directs his attention to the heavenly bodies.

Haiy has now reached the age of 28, that is the end of the fourth septenary. Henceforth he begins to reflect on heaven: he asks if it is infinite, which he thinks absurd; he imagines it as spherical, observes the necessity of special spheres for the moon and the planets and imagines the celestial world as a kind of vast animal. He understands the necessity for the producer of everything not being a body, the motive power of the world not being included in it, if it is eternal: continuing to develop the conception of God, he deduces his qualities from the consideration of the beings of nature. God seems to him to have free will, to be wise, knowing, merciful, etc. Coming then to his own soul he decides that it is incorruptible, from which he concludes that he ought to find his happiness in the contemplation of the perfect being. This happiness will be attained by imitating the celestial qualities, that is to say by practising ascetic morals. Haiy then devotes himself to a life of contemplation, which he leads till the end of his seventh septenary.

Then Asāl a devout follower of the revealed religion arrives from a neighbouring island; after the two men have begun to understand one another revealed religion proves to be at bottom the same as the philosophical belief attained by Haiy. Asāl recognises in the doctrine which the hermit teaches him a transcendent interpretation of his religion and of revealed religions in general. He persuades Haiy to follow him to a neighbouring island, where a king named Salāmān reigns whose friend and vizier Asāl is, in order to expound to him his philosophy. But it is not understood and, after several vain efforts, Asāl and Haiy return together to the desert island to devote themselves to pure contemplation while people continue to live by images and symbols.

This curious myth thus lays down very clearly the position of mystical philosophy with regard to religion (cf. also the article IBN RUSHD on this question). The novel of Ibn Ṭufail was much enjoyed by Muslims and translated into various languages. In 1349 the Jew Moses of Narbonne translated it into Hebrew with a commentary. Leibniz praised it knowing it in Pococke's edition.

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX.)

IBN TŪMART, a celebrated Muslim reformer in Morocco, known as the Mahdī of the Almohads. His real name was, according to Ibn Khaldūn, *Amghār* which in Berber means "chief". Ibn Tūmart in this language means "son of 'Omar the little". This was his father's name who was also called 'Abd Allāh. The names

of his ancestors also are Berber. The date of his birth is unknown but it must have been between 470 (1077-78) and 480 (1087-88). He was born at Igîlî-en-Warghen, a village of Sûs. His family belonged to the Isarghîn, a branch of the Hargha, one of the most important tribes of the Atlas. Ibn Khaldûn tells us that it was distinguished for piety and that Ibn Tûmart was very fond of learning and industriously visited mosques where he burned so many candles that he was called *Asafû* (firebrand). What can have driven him to the east? Probably only the desire for knowledge, for it can hardly be assumed that he had already conceived the plan which he afterwards carried out, which rather owes its origin to the doctrines he learned there.

The Almoravid dynasty which ruled in the Maghrib and part of Spain had then begun to decline. Moral decay had followed in the footsteps of conquest and the shallowness of intellectual life is shown by the studies which were prosecuted. The doctrine of Mâlik b. Anas, one of the narrowest in Islâm, was the prevailing one. Study was confined to the handbooks of the *furû'* which had taken the place of the Ḳur'ân and Ḥadîth. In the east al-Ghazâlî had taken up a vigorous attitude against this in the first book (*Kitâb al-'Ilm*) of his *Iḥyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn*. This book therefore attracted the hatred of such *faḳîh's* as the Ḳâḍî 'Iyâḍ [q. v.] and even of the Ash'arîs like al-Ṭorṭûshî who tolerated no independent minds in their school. Al-Ghazâlî's works were therefore burned by order of the Almoravid Emîrs. The current anthropomorphism (*tadjsîm*) was also in vogue; the allegorical expressions in the Ḳur'ân were taken literally and God was given a corporeal form.

Ibn Tûmart began his travels in Spain and it was there that his views began to be affected by the writings of Ibn Ḥazm [q. v.]. He then went to the east but the chronology of his travels is not certain. If, contrary to al-Marrâkushî's statement, he attended on his first visit to Alexandria the lectures of Abû Bakr al-Ṭorṭûshî, who in spite of his Ash'arî tenets was an opponent of al-Ghazâlî, they must have made a lasting impression on him. He then made the pilgrimage to Mecca and studied in Baghdâd and perhaps in Damascus also. He there absorbed al-Ghazâlî's ideas and later writers represent this influence symbolically as if Ibn Tûmart had resolved at al-Ghazâlî's instigation to reform the beliefs of his country. In reality the two never met.

These years of study and travel had utterly transformed the Maghribî ṭâlib. He had formed his plan, if not in detail at least in its main outlines. On the ship on which he returned he preached to the sailors and passengers, who began to recite the Ḳur'ân at his admonition and to offer prayers; it was afterwards related that a miracle related by al-Marrâkushî confirmed this report. He continued his preaching in which he championed Ash'arî doctrines in Tripolis and al-Mahdiya, where the reigning Sulṭân, Yaḥyâ b. Tamîm, showed him great honour when he had heard him defend his case, and then in Monastir and finally in Bougie. He there set up as an inexorable critic of morals, literally following the ancient commandment: "He of you who sees anything blameworthy shall alter it with the hand (i. e. by force); if he cannot do this, he shall do it with the tongue (i. e. by preaching); if he cannot do this he shall do it at heart, this is the least that religion demands". The Ḥammâdid ruler was enraged at this encroachment on his authority and the people also rose against the reformer; the latter fled to the Banû Urîagel, a Berber tribe of the neighbourhood, who took him under their protection. Here it was (contrary to the view of the *Rauḍ al-Ḳirṭâs*, in which Tilimsân is given as the place of meeting) that he met the man who was to continue his work, 'Abd al-Mu'min [q. v.], a poor ṭâlib of Tâdjera, north of Nadroma who like himself was going to the east to study. The legend which credits Ibn Tûmart with secret knowledge acquired in the east relates that he recognised in this young man by certain signs the person he sought, just as al-Ghazâlî had recognised himself as the future reformer. We only know that he had a conversation with 'Abd al-Mu'min, in which he questioned him very closely and that he finally persuaded him to abandon his journey to the east and follow him. He then came back to the Maghrib via Wansharîs (Wânsherîsh) and Tlemcen, from which he was banished by the governor, then to Fâs and Miknâsa where the people returned his admonitions with blows; finally he arrived in Marrâkush where more than ever he became an inexorable reformer of doctrines and morals. The women of the Lamtûna went unveiled as those of the Tuareg and Kabyle still do. Ibn Tûmart insulted them on this account and even threw Sûra, the sister of the Almoravid Emîr 'Alî, from her horse; the latter more patient and tolerant than the reformer did not inflict on him the chastisement he merited but contented himself with summoning a meeting in which Ibn Tûmart had to dispute with Almoravid jurists. They disputed on such questions as the following: "Are the ways to knowledge limited or not in number? The principles of true and false are four in number: knowledge, ignorance, doubt, and supposition". It was not difficult for Ibn Tûmart to win although there was a clever Spaniard among them, who was no less intolerant than he, called Mâlik b. Wuhaib, who is said to have to no purpose advised 'Alî to put him to death. The Emîr spared him however and Ibn Tûmart fled to Aghmât where he had other disputations, and thence to Agbalu, where he began his apostolate in a methodical fashion. He first appeared as merely a reformer of customs so far as these were contrary to the Ḳur'ân or Tradition; after he had won a certain influence over his circle, he proceeded to expound his own doctrines; he vigorously attacked the dynasty, who followed "lying doctrines", and declared every one an infidel who differed from him. This meant preaching a holy war, not only against heathens and polytheists but also against other Muslims. He chose ten companions, including 'Abd al-Mu'min and after he had paved the way by describing the characteristics of the Mahdî, he had himself recognised as such and fabricated a genealogy, in which he traced his origin from 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib. His doctrine was already no longer purely Ash'arî but was mixed with Shî'î ideas. The historians report all kinds of cunning tricks by which he endeavoured to justify his claims. He collected around himself the tribe of the Hargha and a great part of the Maṣmûda, who had always been hostile to the Lamtûna, indeed Yûsuf b. Tâshifîn had founded Marrâkush for the purpose

of keeping them in check, Ibn Tūmart had prepared for them various treatises in the Berber language, which he spoke remarkably well; one of these, the *Tawḥīd*, is preserved in an Arabic translation, published at Algiers in 1903. The ignorance of Arabic was such that, in order to teach the *Fātiḥa* to the barbarous Maṣmūda, he called individuals of them by a word or a sentence from this Sūra: the first was called *al-Ḥamdu lillāhi* (Praise be to God), the second *Rabbi* (the Lord) on the third *al-ʿĀlamīna* (of the Worlds). He told them to give their names in the order in which he placed them till he succeeded in getting them to repeat the first Sūra of the Ḳurʾān. He regularly organised his followers and divided them into different categories; the first consisted of the ten, who had first recognised him; they were the *Djamāʿa* (community). The second consisted of 50 devoted followers. He called them all "believers" *Muʾminūn*, or "Unitarians" (*Muwaḥḥidūn*, whence the name "Almohads"). His authority was however not recognised everywhere, at least not among the people of Tīnmal (or Tinmelal); he penetrated into the town by stratagem, massacred 15,000 men and made the women slaves, dividing the houses and estates among his followers, and also built a fortress. Either voluntarily or as a result of pressure, the neighbouring tribes became converted and in 517 A. H. he sent an army commanded by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin against the Almoravids. He suffered a fearful defeat and found himself besieged in Tīnmal. Some of his followers thought of surrendering, but Ibn Tūmart with the aid of ʿAbd Allāh al-Wānsharīsī whom he had brought from Wānsharīs had recourse to some trickery and after his prestige was restored, he had those he was not certain of put to death. According to Ibn al-Athīr, 70 000 men were thus put to death, a number which is obviously exaggerated. The Almohad cause gained in strength in proportion as the Almoravid power became daily weaker in Spain and Africa. When in 524 = 1130 (according to others 522 = 1128) the Mahdī died, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whom he had destined as his successor, was ready to take up the struggle again. Ibn Tūmart's grave still exists in Tinmal, but his name and history is utterly forgotten. According to the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, Ibn Tūmart was a fine looking man, of a light dull brown colour, with separated eye brows, an eagle nose, deep eyes, a scanty beard, and a black mole on the hand. He was a clever and able man, burdened by few scruples and did not shrink from bloodshed. He knew the traditions of the Prophet by heart, was learned in religious questions and a perfect master of the art of disputation.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), X, 400—407; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib* (*History of the Almohades*), ed. Dozy², p. 128—130; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (Būlāḳ, 1299), ii. 48—53; Anonymous, *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, (Tunis, 1329), p. 78—88; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* (Būlāḳ, 1284), vi. 225—229; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās* (ed. Tornberg), i. 110—119; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Raḳm al-Ḥulal* (Tūnis, 1316), p. 56—58; al-Zarkashī, *Taʾrīkh al-Dawlatain* (Tunis, 1289), p. 1—5; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *al-Muʾnis fī Akhbār Ifrīḳiya* (Tunis, 1286), p. 105—109; al-Salāwī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā* (Cairo, 1312), i. 130—139; *Le livre de Moḥammed ibn Toumert*, ed. Luciani (Algiers, 1903), with a valuable introduction by I. Goldziher; do., *Materialien zur Kenntniss der Almohadenbewegung*, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xli. (1887), p. 30—140; Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme* (French transl. Leyden, 1879), p. 358—377; A. Müller, *Der Islam* etc., ii. 640—644; Bel, *Les Almoravides et les Almohades* (Oran, 1910), p. 9—18; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, i. 400—401. (René Basset.)

IBN WAḤSHIYA, Abū Bakr Aḥmad (or Muḥammad) b. ʿAlī al-Kaldānī or al-Nabaṭī is known from numerous writings on alchemy and other secret sciences detailed in the *Fihrist*. His date is not given in the *Fihrist*, but lies in the second half of the second century A. H. (about the year 800). As a Nabataean he hated the Arabs and sought by his writings to show that the ancestors of the Nabataeans had possessed a high culture. Many of his writings, notably the celebrated "Nabataean agriculture" were alleged to be translations from ancient Babylonian sources. The correctness of this assertion defended by Chwolsohn (see *Über die Überreste der altbabylonischen Litteratur in arab. Übersetzungen* in *Mémoires prés. par l'Acad. Impér.*, p. viii.) was convincingly refuted by von Gutschmid and Nöldeke in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xv. 1 *sqq.*, and xxix. 445 *sqq.* A similar forgery is his work on old alphabets, which was first made known by v. Hammer, see: *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters explained, with an account of the Egyptian priests, their classes, initiation and sacrifices in the Arabic language by A. b. Abu Bekr b. Wahshih*, London 1806; cf. de Sacy in his edition of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's [q. v.] work, p. 558 *sqq.*

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, particularly p. 311 *sq.*, 358; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, i. 710, 823, ii. 605 *sq.*; Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, etc., i. 242 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 158; and the works quoted in the article.

1. **IBN AL-WARDĪ**, Zain al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿOmar b. al-Muẓaffar b. ʿOmar b. Abi 'l-Fawāris Muḥammad al-Wardī al-Ḳurashī al-Bakrī, al-Shāfiʿī, philologist, jurisconsult, littérateur, and poet, born at Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān in 689 = 1290 and died of the plague at Aleppo on Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 27, 749 = March 19, 1349.

He studied in his native town, at Ḥamā, Damascus, and Aleppo and while still young acted for a short time as deputy for the Ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. al-Naḳīb (d. 745 = 1343). It seems that as a result of a dream he abandoned this office to devote himself to scientific work.

He left the following works: 1°. *Dīwān*, contains poetry, *maḳāmāt*, epistles, discourses, poems, a letter on the plague, etc., publ. at Constantinople in 1300 (in *Madjmūʿat al-Djawāʾib*); 2°. *Lāmiyat* or *Waṣiyyat* or *Naṣīḥat al-Ikhwān wa-Murshidat al-Khullān*, moral poem in 77 *ramal* verses, pr. at Cairo 1301 (with comm. of Masʿūd b. Ḥasan al-Ḳanāwī), in C. J. David, *Tamām al-Akhlāḳ* etc., Mōṣul 1863, and al-Sharwānī, *Nafḥat al-Yaman*; French translations: *a. Lamiat El Ouardi*, poème arabe par Amor (sic) b. El Ouardi, trad. d'Isaac Cattan, in *Revue Tunisienne, de l'Inst. de Carthage*, Tunis 1900; *b. La Moallaka de Zohair suivie de la Lamiyya d'Ibn al-Wardi*, etc., texte publ. avec voyelles, comment. ar. et trad. litt. par A. Raux, Algiers 1905; 3°. *Taḥrīr al-Khaṣāṣa fī*

Taisīr al-Khulāṣa, version in prose of the *Alfīya* of Ibn Mālik, Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, iv. 96; 4°. *al-Tuḥfa al-Wardīya fī Mushkilāt al-I'rāb*, poem in 153 *radjaz* verses on grammatical difficulties, ed. by R. Abicht, Breslau 1891 (Dissert.); 5°. Comment. on the preceding, Berlin, *Verz.*, n°. 6703-6704; 6°. *al-Bahdja al-Wardīya*, versification (5000 *radjaz* verses) of *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr*, manual of Shāfi'ī law by al-Ḳazwīnī, publ. at Cairo (Catal. of al-Ḥalabī, 1330); 7°. *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, synopsis of the chronicle of Abu 'l-Fidā continued to 749, publ. at Cairo in 1285; 8°. *al-Masā'il al-mulakhkhaṣa fi 'l-Masā'il al-mulaḳḳaba*, poem in 71 *radjaz* verses on questions of succession, Berlin, n°. 4173; Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, iii. 316; 9°. *al-Shihāb al-thāḳib wa 'l-Adhāb al-wāṣib*, a mystic work, Constantinople, Aya Sofya, n°. 1043; 10°. *al-Alfīya al-Wardīya*, *radjaz* poem, on the interpretation of dreams, publ. several times at Cairo, p. ex. 1326.

Bibliography: Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1299, ii. 116; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'īya*, Cairo 1324, vi. 243; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, Cairo 1326, p. 365; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waḳā'i' al-Duhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311, i. 198; Ibn al-Āthīr, *Djalā' al-'Ainain fī Muḥākamat al-Aḥmadain*, Būlāḳ 1298, p. 24; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 175, N°. 412; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, ii. 140 sq.; Huart, *A Hist. of Arabic Lit.*, p. 342. (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

II. **IBN AL-WARDĪ**, SIRĀDJ AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤAFṢ 'OMAR, Shāfi'ī savant died in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 861 (sept.-oct. 1457). He was author of *Kharīdat al-'Adjā'ib wa-Farīdat al-Gharā'ib*, a kind of geography and natural history of no scientific value. It seems that, in spite of the authorities quoted in the preface (al-Mas'ūdī, al-Ṭūsī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Marrākushī), the *Kharīda* is only a plagiarism from *Djāmi' al-Funūn wa-Salwat al-Maḥzūn* of Nadjm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān b. Shabīb al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī who lived in Egypt about 732 (1332). Several orientalists have translated fragments or given extracts with translation: De Guignes, Hylander, Tornberg, Mehren, etc. The *Kharīda* was publ. at Cairo in 1276, 1280, 1289, 1292, 1300, 1302, 1303, 1309.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waḳā'i' al-Duhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311, ii. 60; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 131 sq. (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IBN WĀṢIL, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SĀLIM, an Arab historian, born in 604 (1207), was at first a teacher in Ḥamāt, was summoned to Cairo in 659 (1261) and sent to Sicily by Baibars on a mission to King Manfred. He spent a considerable time there and composed outlines of logic called *al-Emperūrīya* which is however known in the east as *Nukhbat al-Fikar fi 'l-Manṭiḳ*. On his return he became chief ḳāḍī and professor at Ḥamāt where he died in 697 (1298). He is the author of a history of Aiyūbids called *Mufarridj al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Aiyūb* and a history of the world entitled *al-Ta'rīkh* (Vol. I, from the creation to the death of Ḥasan, in the British Mus., see a *Descr. List of Arabic MS. acquired since* 1894, p. 33, Or. 6657).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 322 sq., and the works given there; Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sicilien*, ii. 134.

IBN YA'ĪSH, whose full name was MUWAFFAḲ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-BAḲĀ' YA'ĪSH B. 'ALĪ B. YA'ĪSH AL-ḤALABĪ, also known as IBN AL-ṢĀNI', an Arab grammarian, born at Ḥalab on the 3rd Ramaḍān 553 (28 sept. 1158). After studying grammar and Ḥadīth in his native town and in Damascus, he intended to go to Baghdād to study under the grammarian Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī [see AL-ANBĀRĪ, n°. 1]. When in al-Mawṣil he heard of the death of this scholar, he remained some time there to study Ḥadīth. He then returned to Ḥalab where he devoted himself to teaching. According to Ibn Khallikān [q. v.], who heard him in 626-7, he was considered an authority in the field of Adab. Besides a *Ḥāshiya* on Ibn Djinnī's commentary on the *Taṣrīf* of al-Māzinī he wrote a very full commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Mufaṣṣal* to whom he often opposed his own views; the latter work was edited by G. Jahn (Leipzig 1882—1886).

Ibn Ya'īsh died on 25th Djumādā I 643 (18th Oct. 1245) at Ḥalab and was buried there in the Maḳām Ibrāhīm.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 843; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 419; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii. 304, vi. 39; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 297 sq. (C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBN YAMĪN, AMĪR FAKHR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD B. AMĪR YAMĪN AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, a Persian poet, was born in Faryūmad, Khurāsān. His father, an eminent scholar of his time, came to Khurāsān during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudā Banda (703—716 = 1304—1316) and was fortunate enough to secure the high opinion of the famous wazīr Khwādja 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. Ibn Yamīn was a disciple of Shaikh Ḥasan. He spent his life as a panegyrist to the Sarbadārs of Khurāsān (737—783 = 1337—1381) and died in 745 (1344).

Among his compositions his *Ḳiṭ'a* are well-known. They have been printed in Calcutta and also translated into German by Schlechta-Wssehrd under the title of "*Ibn Jemins Bruchstücke*", Vienna, 1852 Stuttgart 1879.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, p. 275; *Ātash-kada*, p. 16; *Hafṭ Iḳlīm*, N°. 770; Sprenger, *Cat. Libr. of the King of Oudh*, p. 433 sq.; Ethé, *Cat. India Office Libr.*, N°. 1230-31; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus.*, p. 825b, 871a and *Suppl.*, N°. 261 II and 107. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

IBN YŪNUS, whose full name was ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AḤMAD B. YŪNUS AL-ṢADAFĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, was according to al-Battānī and Abu 'l-Wafā', probably the greatest Arab astronomer. His father, Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad also called Ibn Yūnus, was a notable historian and traditionist, and died in Cairo in 347 (958-9). The year of our astronomer's birth is not known but he died in Cairo on the 3rd Shawwāl 399 (May 31, 1009); he is said to have been skilled in other branches of learning than astronomy and astrology and to have also been a good poet. Ibn Khallikān quotes several stories from contemporary authors of his peculiarities which were chiefly manifested in his dress. His principal work is the Ḥākimī Tables (*al-Zīdj al-kabīr al-Ḥākimī*) begun about 380 (990) by order of the Fāṭimid al-'Azīz and completed under his son al-Ḥākim shortly before the author's

death. They are unfortunately no longer completely preserved. There are portions in Leiden, Oxford, Paris, the Escurial, Berlin and Cairo. Caussin has published and translated a few chapters from these tables in the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Vol. vii. p. 16—240, which contain observations of eclipses and conjunctions of planets by older astronomers and by Ibn Yūnus himself. The latter's principal object was to test and improve the observations of his predecessors and their statements on astronomical constants, in which the excellently equipped observatory on the Muḳaṭṭam rendered him valuable service. In spherical trigonometry he was the first to propound the prosthaphaerical formula

$$\cos\varphi \cos\delta = \tfrac{1}{2}\{\cos(\varphi+\delta)+\cos(\varphi-\delta)\}$$

which before the invention of logarithms was of great value to astronomers as it transformed the complicated multiplication of trigonometrical functions expressed in sexagesimal fractions into an addition. He also showed great skill in the solution of several difficult exercises in spherical astronomy with the help of orthogonal projection of the celestial sphere on the horizon and the plane of the meridian.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (ed. Lippert), p. 230; Ibn Khallikān (Cairo, 1310), i. 375; transl. M. Guckin de Slane, ii. 365; v. Braunmühl, *Vorlesgn. über Gesch. d. Trigonom.*, i. 61—63; Delambre, *Hist. de l'astron. du moyen-âge*, Paris 1819, p. 76 *sq.*; Suter, *Abhandlgn. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, x. (1900), 77—79. (H. SUTER.)

IBN ẒAFAR, ḤUDJDJAT AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ṢAḲALĪ, an Arab scholar, born in Sicily but brought up in Mecca (according to Suyūṭī also born there), later returned to Sicily and died in 565 (1169) at Ḥamāt. On the model of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* he composed the collection of tales called *Sulwān al-Muṭā' fī 'Udwān al-Atbā'* and dedicated to the ruler of Sicily, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Ḳāsim (pr. Cairo 1278, Tunis 1279, Beirut 1300); Turk. transl. by Ḳara Khalīlzāde in Berlin (Pertsch, n°. 445) and Vienna (Flügel, n°. 382), pr. Constantinople 1285; Italian by Amari, Florence 1851, 1882; English from the Italian, London 1852. The author prepared two versions of the book, most mss., editions and translations contain the second of the year 554 (1159). Another less known work *Anbā' Nudjabā' al-Abnā'* deals with celebrated children (pr. Cairo 1322) and also exists in a second abbreviated edition.

For his further literary activity, see the authorities mentioned below.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Būlāḳ, 1299, i. 660; de Slane, iii. 104 *sqq.*; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 59; Brockelmann, *Geschichte* etc., i. 351 *sq.*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages arabes*, ii. 175 *sqq.* with copious references and a statement of the contents of the *Sulwān al-Muṭā'*; Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, p. 681 *sqq.*; Schreiner in *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, xlii. 625 *sqq.*

IBN ZAIDŪN, ABU 'L-WALĪD AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. GHĀLIB B. ZAIDŪN, one of the most celebrated poets of Muslim Spain and minister to the Arab Emīrs of Seville. He belonged to a famous family of the Arab tribe of Makhzūm and was born at Cordova in 394 = 1003. Left early an orphan, he was given the best teachers by his guardians and soon distinguished himself among his fellow pupils. At the age of twenty he already composed poems which made him famous.

Our poet became involved in the politics of his country through the civil wars of the Omayyad pretenders and the attempts of the Cordovans to expel from their city its Berber rulers. His origin, the position of his family, and particularly his ambition induced him to take a part. After the retreat of the Berbers he was therefore to be found in the retinue of Abu 'l-Ḥazm Ibn Djahwar, the chief of the Cordovan oligarchy.

A violent love for the poetess Wallāda, of a princely family, brought him into conflict with a powerful rival, Ibn 'Abdūs, the minister of Abu 'l-Ḥazm Ibn Djahwar. Ibn Zaidūn wrote threatening poems against his rival and held him up to ridicule in a letter that has become famous. The latter denounced him as having secretly worked for a restoration of the Omayyads and he was thrown into prison. From here he wrote tender poems to Wallāda and pressing appeals, in which he defended himself, to his friends. One of the latter, Abu 'l-Walīd, the son of Abu 'l-Ḥazm, succeeded in getting him out of prison. But Wallāda had finally abandoned him for Ibn 'Abdūs.

After an involuntary exile in which he unceasingly poured reproaches upon his lady friend, Ibn Zaidūn returned to Cordova on the death of Abu 'l-Ḥazm Ibn Djahwar and threw in his lot with the latter's son and successor Abu 'l-Walīd. He served him as ambassador at several Muslim courts in the neighbourhood of Cordova. But his ambition was his downfall. For some unknown reason he was disgraced a second time, had to flee from Cordova, and lived in Denia, Badajoz, and Seville successively.

His fame as a poet, his literary abilities, and his knowledge of Muslim conditions in Spain, which he had acquired during his work as an ambassador, gained him a reception at the court of the Emīr of Seville, al-Mu'taḍid. At first he was only secretary to this ruler but later became his first minister. After the death of al-Mu'taḍid, his son and successor, al-Mu'tamid, retained the poet in the same office and made use of him for the conquest of Cordova which now became the capital.

But Ibn Zaidūn's popularity aroused the envy of several people at the court, particularly the poet Ibn 'Ammār [q. v.], al-Mu'tamid's favourite. A riot directed against the Jews in Seville gave the plotters an opportunity of getting Ibn Zaidūn sent there, to restore order. The poet set off to the great disappointment of the Cordovans who were very proud of their fellow-citizen; his family followed him soon after. But the aged Ibn Zaidūn was seized by a fever and quickly carried off. He died on Radjab 15 463 (April 17-18 1071) and was interred in Seville. The news of his death caused great grief in Cordova and the whole town went into mourning.

Ibn Zaidūn was not only an excellent poet, but he was also a distinguished letter-writer and it is as such that he is particularly famous in the history of Arabic literature. His letters are not all published. The best known are:

1. The letter to Ibn 'Abdūs. It is valuable for

Arabic philology in as much as it contains many allusions to facts, which are only known through it and through the commentary, which Ibn Nubāta (d. 768 = 1364) wrote on it under the title *Sarḥ al-'Uyūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaidūn* (Būlāḳ 1278, Alexandria 1290, Cairo 1305). This letter was published by Reiske with a Latin translation (Leipzig 1755). 2. The about equally important letter to Ibn Djahwar was published also with a Latin translation by Besthorn (Copenhagen 1889).

Extracts from Ibn Zaidūn's poems were given by Weijers (Leiden 1831), de Sacy (*Journ. As.*, XII, 508 *sqq.*), al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*; manuscript extracts and the biography of Ibn Zaidūn by Ibn Bassām (Ms. Bibl. Nat. Paris, n°. 3322) and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī (ibid. n°. 3330).

On the bibliography cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, I. 274 *sq.* (A. Cour.)

IBN ZUHR, the patronymic of a family of Muslim scholars who flourished in Spain from the beginning of the xth to the beginning of the xiiith century A. D. They had migrated from Arabia and traced their descent from 'Adnān [q. v.]. Their descendants gradually became scattered over the whole of the Iberian peninsula from Xativa (Djafa Shāṭiba) in southeastern Spain where they first settled.

1. The ancestor of the Spanish line was called Zuhr. His biographer, Ibn al-Abbār, gives him the name al-Iyādī, because he traced his descent from Iyād, son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān, who was regarded as one of the founders of the Arab race. According to Ibn Khallikān, Zuhr al-Iyādī had a son named Marwān, the father of Abū Bakr Muḥammad, who was the first to take a prominent place among his contemporaries. He was a jurist, celebrated for his learning and piety, eloquence and liberality, and died at the age of 86 at Talavera (Ṭalbīra) in 422 = 1030-1031.

2. Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Zuhr, son of the preceding, was a celebrated physician, who practised in Ḳairawān and later for a long time in Cairo. Returning to Spain he settled in Denia (Dāniya) where the ruler Mudjāhid heaped honours upon him and took him to his court. From there his reputation spread through all Spain and he is said not only to have been a clever physician but also a learned jurist. Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a reports that he moved from Denia to Seville, where he died leaving a considerable fortune. On the other hand Ibn Khallikān assures us on reliable authority, that he died in Denia which he had never left.

3. Abu 'l-'Alā' Zuhr b. Abī Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Marwān, son of the preceding, is usually called Abu 'l-'Alā', which since the middle ages has been corrupted into the variants Aboali, Abuleli and Ebilule, and in combination with Zuhr the forms Abulelizor and Albuleizor. Abu 'l-'Alā' adopted a medical career and received an excellent technical training from his father and Abu 'l-'Ainā' al-Miṣrī. The accuracy of his diagnosis was marvellous. Among his pupils we may note the poet Abū 'Āmir b. Yannaḳ. The study of belles lettres and Tradition took him to Cordova where he enjoyed the instruction of the most celebrated teachers and soon won a considerable reputation, which attracted for him the attention of al-Mu'tamid, the last 'Abbādid ruler of Seville. The latter took him to his court, overwhelmed him with honours, and restored to him his grandfather's estate which had been confiscated. After al-Mu'tamid had been dethroned by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 484 = 1091 Abu 'l-'Alā' found an opportunity to show his gratitude to his former patron. But he soon went over to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, who gave him the rank of vizier, so that in Latin translations of the middle ages his name is often prefixed by the Spanish form Alguazir. According to Ibn al-Abbār, Abu 'l-'Alā' died in Cordova. His body was taken to Seville and interred there in 525 = 1130-1131. Wüstenfeld maintains, on the authority of Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, that he died in Seville.

4. Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi 'l-'Alā' Zuhr, son of the preceding, usually called Abū Marwān b. Zuhr, corrupted by mediaeval copyists to Abhomeron Avenzoar or simply Avenzoar, was born in Seville. The date of his birth is not given by the biographers, but a few equations place it approximately between 484 = 1091 and 487 = 1094. After receiving an excellent education in literature, law and theology, his father taught him medicine. He soon became equal in knowledge to his teacher and distinguished himself by his original experiments in therapeutics. Like his father he was at first in the service of the Almoravids and later of the Almohads. Averroes [v. Ibn Rushd] was on intimate terms with him and considered him the greatest physician since Galen, but was not his pupil as many insist. On a journey through North Africa Avenzoar suffered many indignities from 'Alī b. Yūsuf, the governor of Marrākush, for some unknown reason. The latter even had the doctor imprisoned and he makes some bitter allusions to the event in his works. On the death of 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn and the overthrow of the Almoravids by the Almohads, Avenzoar went over to 'Abd al-Mu'min and had no cause to repent of his action. He was given rich presents and like his father before him received the rank of vizier. Among his works may be mentioned the *Kitāb al-Iḳtiṣād fī Iṣlāḥ al-Anfus wa 'l-Adjsād*, which he composed by order of and on lines laid down by the Emir Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, and especially his chief work, the *Kitāb al-Taisīr fi 'l-Mudāwāt wa 'l-Tadbīr*, which he wrote at the instigation of Averroes. Avenzoar exercised a considerable influence on European medicine, which lasted till the end of the xviith century, owing to the translations of his books into Hebrew and Latin. From the theoretical point of view, like Galen, he championed the theory of humours, but in practice considered experience the most reliable guide. In him we find not only original views on established facts, but new contributions to knowledge also such as the description of the mediastinal tumours and the abscess on the pericardium, diseases which had not been previously mentioned. He was the first Arab physician to recommend tracheotomy. Artificial feeding either through the gullet or through the rectum was not unknown to him and he explains its working with much skill. The erroneous view taken by several writers that Avenzoar was a Jew has been challenged by Steinschneider (*Arch. für pathol. Anatomie* (Berlin 1873, p. 115) and Wüstenfeld (*Gesch. der arab. Aerzte* etc., p. 89) and finally clearly refuted by G. Colin (*Avenzoar, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, p. 34 *sqq.*). After a meritorious career devoted to work and good deeds, Avenzoar died, like his father, of a malignant tumour at Seville in

557 = 1161-2. He left a son and a daughter and was buried outside the Victory Gate.

5. ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ZUHR, son of the preceding, known as al-Ḥafīd, the "grandson", born in 504 = 1110-11, died in 595 = 1198-9, was likewise a distinguished physician but more of a practical man than a writer of medical works, although a treatise on diseases of the eye is attributed to him. Almost unknown in Christian Europe, he had a very high reputation among the Muslims of Spain and Africa, although this was due less to his activity as a doctor than to his deep learning in all branches of Arab literature and to his poems of great delicacy of sentiment. The Almohad Caliph Yaʿḳūb b. Yūsuf al-Manṣūr summoned him to Africa to his court, appointed him his physician, gave him rich gifts and showed him great honour but thus aroused the jealousy of the vizier Abū Zaid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūdjān. The latter had the physician and his niece who was very skilled in gynecology and midwifery treacherously poisoned during their stay in Morocco. The Caliph preached his funeral sermon and he was buried in the garden of the Emirs. He left a son and a daughter.

6. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ḤAFĪD, son of the preceding, born in 577 = 1181-2 at Seville, was an excellent physician, trained in the school of his father. The Almohad caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Nāṣir successively took him to their court and heaped honours upon him. Like his father he was also murdered by poisoning and died in 602 = 1205-6, being only 25, on a journey to Marrākush at Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ (Rabat). His body which was buried there was later exhumed, taken to Seville and buried there outside the Victory Gate along with the remains of his ancestors. He left two sons Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik and Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ Muḥammad, both of whom lived in Seville; the younger was also a physician and had a sound knowledge of the works of Galen.

Bibliography: Gabriel Colin, *Avenzoar, sa Vie et ses Oeuvres* (Paris, Leroux 1911); id., *La Tedhkira d'Abû 'l-ʿAlâ'* (Paris, Leroux, 1911); Joh. Freind, *Opera omnia medica* (London, John Wright, 1733); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum*, ed. Flügel (London 1842); Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ* (Cairo, pr. Wahbiya, 1299 A. H. [1882]); Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Muʿdjam*, ed. Codera (*Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana*, iv., Madrid, 1886); Ibn al-Abbār, *Kitāb al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila*, ed. Codera, as the "*Complementum libri assilah*" (*Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana*, v. vi., Madrid, 1887—1889), Nº. 255, 855, 1691, 1717; Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 683; Lucien Leclerc, *Histoire de la Médecine arabe* (Paris, Leroux, 1876); Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher* (Göttingen, 1840). (GABRIEL COLIN.)

IBRĀHĪM, the Biblical Abraham, was, according to the Ḳurʾān (Sūra vi. 74), the son of Āzar, which name is apparently to be derived from Eliezar, the name of his servant (cf. S. Fraenkel in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lvi. 72). The Biblical names of Abraham's ancestors: Tāriḫ b. Nāḥūr b. Sārūgh b. Arghū b. Fāligh b. ʿĀbir b. Shāliḫ b. Ḳaināṇ b. Arfakhshad b. Sām b. Nūḥ are found in al-Thaʿlabī, p. 44, and Ibn al-Athīr, i. 67, and this genealogy agrees perfectly with *Genesis* xi. 10—21 and *Chronicles*, i. 12—27. Ḳaināṇ alone seems to have been inserted from *Genesis* v. 12. Born in 1263 after the Deluge or 3337 after the creation (al-Thaʿlabī, *l. c.*) — a combination of the dates given in *Genesis* v. 3—10 and xi. 10—25 however gives the birth of Abraham 292 years after Noah or 1918 after the creation — he at once undertook his mission of preaching a holy war against King Namrūd. His mother ʿUshā' had to take refuge in a cave at Kūthā where he first saw the light of the world (al-Thaʿlabī, *l. c.*; Ṭabarī, i. 256; Zamakhsharī, i. 172; Baiḍāwī, i. 133; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 96; Yāḳūt, s. v. Kūthā; al-Bakrī, p. 485; al-Muḳaddasī, p. 86; *Bābā bathrā*, 91a; Maimonides, *Dalālat al-Ḥāʾirīn*, chap. 29). For bad dreams had induced Namrūd to have pregnant women watched and their newborn sons killed. The slayers visited Ibrāhīm's mother to examine her before the pains of childbirth had come upon her. They examined her body on the right and the child hid on the left; they sought it on the left and it fled to the right so that they had to depart after doing nothing (al-Kisāʾī, p. 115—120). The story in the *Sefer Hayyāshār* (section *Noaḥ*) that Teraḥ was ordered to hand over Abraham to be executed and in his place delivered up the son of a handmaid has its origin in Muslim tradition. While still quite a child (*Talmud Nedārīm*, 32) an experience gave him the knowledge of Allāh which is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān vi. 75—79. When he had left the cave and was coming to his father's house, night fell upon him and he saw a star. He said: "That is my Lord"! But when it set, he said: "I do not love those that set"! He saw the moon rise and said: "That is my Lord!" As it also disappeared, he said: "Verily, if my Lord does not guide me, I shall become one of those that go astray!" When he saw the sun rise, he said: "That is my Lord, he is the greatest!" When it also set, he said: "O my people, I am free from your idolatry See, I turn my face to the creator of Heaven and Earth!" etc. We also find these stories in the Hebrew book, *Shebeṭ Mūsar* (Smyrna 1720), p. 109—111, and *Sefer Hayyāshār* (*Noaḥ*). Of the various legends (in al-Thaʿlabī, p. 45—47, and al-Kisāʾī, p. 125—140) which describe Ibrāhīm's wars with Namrūd and which also found a way into later Rabbinical literature (Jellinek, *Bēth Hammidr.*, i. 25—34; *Sefer Hayyāshār* [*Noaḥ*]; *Sefer Eliyyāhū zūṭā*, ch. 25, and *Pirḳē de R. El.*, ch. 32) the following may find a place here, which are based on Ḳurʾān xxi. 59—67, as well as on *Genesis Rabbā*, section 38. One day his fellow tribesmen left the town to offer sacrifices to their Gods. Ibrāhīm pretended to be unwell and remained in the town. Armed with an axe he went to the temple of the gods where tables were laid with food. He said: "Why do ye not eat?" and struck off the hand of one, the foot of another and the head of a third. He put the axe into the hand of the biggest and placed various dishes before him. When the people of the town saw this on their return, they accused Ibrāhīm of the deed. He answered: "Verily, the biggest of them has done this; ask them, if they can speak". They said: "You surely know that they cannot speak". He said: "Do you, disregarding Allāh, worship what can neither help nor harm you? Fie upon you and your worship of idols!" Thrown into a limekiln as a punishment he left it unharmed after being three or

seven days in it (al-Tha'labī and al-Kisā'ī, *l. c.*). Namrūd was completely defeated and Ibrāhīm with his followers set out for Palestine being now called *Khalīl Allāh*, "the friend of God" (al-Kisā'ī and al-Tha'labī following *Jesaias*, xli. 8, *Shabbāth* 137, *Menāḥōth* 53). In Egypt his beautiful wife Sāra was taken before Fir'awn (*Genesis*, xii. 10—20, al-Tha'labī, p. 44, Ṭabarī, i. 225, Ibn al-Athīr, i. 72). She said he was her brother so that he might not be slain on her account. She was not telling a lie, as he was her brother in the faith. When Fir'awn tried to touch her, his hand was paralysed and restored again when he had sent her back. In Saba' in Palestine he dug a well of fresh clear water. Being molested by the inhabitants he had to go away whereupon the water dried up (*Genesis*, xxi. 25—30, al-Tha'labī and Ibn al-Athīr, *l. c.*). The people hurried after him to beg him to return. But he refused and gave them seven goats (*Genesis* xxi. 30) with instruction to place them at the well; the water would flow then again. When a menstruating woman had drunk from the well, the water entirely disappeared. In his 120th year he circumcised himself (al-Tha'labī, p. 59). He died at the age of 175 and was buried in the family tomb at Khabrūn [cf. the article AL-KHALĪL]. On the day of the Resurrection, he will take his place at the left hand of Allāh and guide the pious into Paradise (al-Tha'labī, p. 60; cf. *Genesis R.*, Par. 48).

Bibliography: al-Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1312, p. 43—47, 59 *sq.*; al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 128—145, 153; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 220—225; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 67—98; Grünbaum, *Beiträge*, p. 122—130; Eisenberg, *Abraham in der arab. Legende*, 1912; Weil, *Leben Abrahams*, Berlin 1913 [contains a fragment from al-Kisā'ī, which seems to be of very late origin and differs in many respects from the original.]

(J. EISENBERG.)

Sprenger (*Leben und Lehre des Moḥammad*, ii. 276 *sqq.*) was the first to point out that the figure of Ibrāhīm in the Ḳur'ān has a history before he finally develops into the founder of the Ka'ba. This thesis was further expounded by Snouck Hurgronje as follows (*Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 20 *sqq.*). In the older revelations (Sūra li. 24 *sqq.*; xv. 5 *sqq.*, xxxvii. 81 *sqq.*, vi. 74 *sqq.*, xix. 42 *sqq.*, xxi. 52 *sqq.*, xxix. 15 *sqq.*) he is an apostle of God, who has to admonish his people, like other prophets. Ismā'īl is not yet connected with him. At the same time it is emphasised that Allāh had not yet sent an admonisher to the Arabs (xxxii. 2, xxxiv. 43; xxxvi. 5); Ibrāhīm never appears as the founder of the Ka'ba and the first Muslim.

In the Medina Sūras on the other hand, Ibrāhīm is called *Ḥanīf* [q. v.] *Muslim*, the founder of the "religion of Ibrāhīm", whose palladium, the Ka'ba, he founded along with Ismā'īl (ii. 118 *sqq.*, iii. 60, 84 etc.). This alteration is explained as follows. Muḥammad had appealed to the Jews in Mecca; in Medina it was soon shown that they seceded from him. Muḥammad was therefore forced to find other support; he therefore ingeniously created the new rôle of the patriarch; he could now be independent of contemporary Judaism by appealing to the Judaism of Ibrāhīm, which was also the precursor of Islām. When Mecca again became prominent in his ideas, Ibrāhīm at the same time became the founder of the sanctuary there.

(A. J. WENSINCK.)

IBRĀHĪM B. 'ABD ALLĀH, son of the great-grandson of 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [q. v.] was brought up with his brother Muḥammad [q. v.] in the expectation of one day becoming Caliph. They therefore considered the 'Abbāsids as usurpers and with all the more justice as before the fall of the Omayyads, Abū Dja'far is said to have paid homage to Muḥammad as Caliph. The brothers were therefore no little danger to him and as Caliph he sent officers to search for them, so that they were forced to wander from place to place with many dangerous adventures in order to remain concealed. Muḥammad finally went to Medina and Ibrāhīm to Baṣra to advertise their cause. Although the project was by no means ripe, Muḥammad found himself forced to appear openly as a rebel in Ramaḍān 145 (Nov. 762), which, in spite of his misgivings forced his brother to do the same in Baṣra. His situation was at first not unfavourable. Sentiment in the 'Irāḳ was strongly 'Alid and Abū Dja'far, who was staying in the unruly town of Kūfa, had sent the most of his troops to Medina or elsewhere. Ibrāhīm seized the state treasury and equipped armies, which captured al-Ahwāz, Fārs and Wāsiṭ for him. But soon there arrived the depressing news that his brother in Medina had fallen on Ramaḍān 14 = 6 Dec. 762, which resulted in the Caliph now being able to send his general 'Īsā b. Mūsā from Medina to the 'Irāḳ. Ibrāhīm, who had left Baṣra to attack Kūfa, met 'Īsā at Bākhamrā south of Kūfa on the 15th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da (14 Febr. 763). Ibrāhīm's troops were at first victorious, but then the battle turned and he himself fell, struck by an arrow. His head was cut off and sent to the Caliph. Ibrāhīm, who was 48 years old, was better fitted for the dangers of an adventurous wandering life than for the task of conducting a revolution. Like many of his family he was personally brave, but his character was weak, he had a dreamy and somewhat sensual nature and above all had inherited the fatal faculty of the 'Alids for rejecting good advice and following an unreflecting and ruinous course.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 143 *sqq.* *passim*, 282—319, 416, 532; *Fragm. hist. arabic.*, ed. de Goeje, p. 230—256; Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vi. 190—202; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, v. 390, 398, 408, 420, 428—437; Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 120 *sqq.*

(FR. BUHL.)

IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM B. MANṢŪR B. YAZĪD B. DJĀBIR (ABŪ ISḤĀḲ) AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-'IDJLĪ, the famous ascetic, was a native of Balkh. The dates given for his death, which is said to have occurred while he was taking part in a naval expedition against the Greeks (*Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, Leiden MS., i. 188), range between 160 and 166 (776—783). Some verses composed on this occasion by the poet Muḥammad b. Kunāsa of Kūfa (died 207 = 822), whose mother was the sister of Ibrāhīm b. Adham, praise his asceticism, the nobility of his character, and his personal courage and refer to "the Western tomb", *al-djadath al-gharbī*, in which he was buried (*Aghānī*, xii. 113, 7 *sqq.*). According to one account, he was buried at Sūkīn, a fortress in Rūm (Yāḳūt, edited by Wüstenfeld, iii. 196, 11). The fact that after his conversion to Ṣūfism he migrated to Syria, where he worked and lived by his labour until his death, is established by many anecdotes related in the

Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ. He is reported to have said to ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, who asked him why he had left Khorāsān: "I find no joy in life except in Syria, where I flee with my religion from peak to peak and from hill to hill, and those who see me think I am a madman or a camel-driver".

The Ṣūfī legend of Ibrāhīm b. Adham is evidently modelled upon the story of Buddha (see Goldziher, *A Buddhismus hatása az Iszlámra*, summarised by T. Duka in *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1904, p. 132 *sqq.*). Here Ibrāhīm appears as a prince of Balkh who, while hunting, was warned by an unseen voice that he was not created for the purpose of chasing hares or foxes; whereupon he dismounted, clad himself in the woollen garment of one of his father's shepherds, to whom he gave his horse and all that he had with him, and "abandoned the path of worldly pomp for the path of asceticism and piety" (for other accounts of his conversion, see Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, and *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ, 1283 A. H., i. 5, 10 *sqq.*). The anecdotes and sayings of Ibrāhīm, as recorded by his earliest biographers, show that he was essentially an ascetic and quietist of a practical type; we look in vain for any traces of the speculative mysticism which developed in the following century. Like many of the ancient Ṣūfīs, he took every precaution that his food should be 'lawful' in the religious sense of the word. He did not carry the doctrine of *tawakkul* to the point of refusing to earn his livelihood; on the contrary, he supported himself by gardening, reaping, grinding wheat, etc. While he approved of begging, in so far as it incites men to give alms and thereby increases their chance of salvation, he condemned it as a means of livelihood. He said: "There are two kinds of begging. A man may beg at people's doors, or he may say, 'I frequent the mosque and pray and fast and worship God and accept whatever is given me'. This is the worse of the two kinds. Such a person is an importunate beggar". A trait far more characteristic of Indian and Syrian than of Moslem asceticism appears in the story that one of the three occasions on which Ibrāhīm felt joy was when he looked at the fur garment that he was wearing, and could not distinguish the fur from the lice, because there were so many of the latter (al-Ḳushairī, *Risāla*, Cairo, 1318 A. H., p. 83, l. 25 *sqq.*). As examples of his mystical sayings the following may be quoted: "Poverty is a treasure which God keeps in heaven and does not bestow except on those whom He loves"; "this is the sign of him that knows God, that his chief care is goodness and devotion, and his words are mostly words of praise and glorification". In answer to Abū Yazīd al-Djuhanī, who declared that Paradise is the utmost that devotees hope to obtain from God hereafter, Ibrāhīm said: "By God, I deem that the greatest matter, as they consider it, is that God should not withdraw from them His gracious countenance". Although such ideas mark the transition from asceticism to mysticism, we cannot regard Ibrāhīm b. Adham as one who had crossed the border-line. The keynotes of his religion are renunciation of the world and self-mortification, and in these he finds the fullest peace and joy, not in the ecstasy of contemplation or the enthusiasm of self-abandonment. (NICHOLSON.)

[An Arabic romance of Ibrāhīm b. Adham, translated from the Turkish of Darwīsh Ḥasan al-Rūmī and abridged by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Sinān al-Ḳarāmānī al-Dimashḳī (d. 1019 = 1611) is preserved in Berlin (cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 301; survey of contents in Ahlwardt's *Verz.*), and a manuscript having the title *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Adham taʾlīf al-Darwīsh Ḥasan al-Rūmī*, is mentioned by Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazāʾin al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ wa-Ḍawāḥīhā*, p. 39, Nº. 130, 2. A versified *Ḳiṣṣa Walī Allāh Adham* is contained in Ms. Gotha, Pertsch, *Die arab. Hss.*, nº. 2752. A romance of Ibrāhīm has been versified in Hindustānī by Abu 'l-Ḥasan (Ḥusain) Muḥammad, under the title *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm* (Mīrat 1865, lith. Lucknow 1869, Cawnpore 1877; cf. J. F. Blumhardt, *Cat. of Hindustani printed Books Brit. Mus.*, p. 226; Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litt. hindouie et hindoustanie*², i. 101). There exists also a Malay romance of which the following summary is given by Dr. J. J. de Hollander, *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Maleische Taal- en Letterkunde*, 6th ed. Breda, 1893, p. 348: "After a prosperous reign of some years, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, prince of ʿIrāḳ, decides to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca and charges the most trustworthy of his viziers with the government in his absence. Having arrived in Kūfa, Ibrāhīm becomes acquainted with Siti Ṣāliḥa, the daughter of Sharīf Ḥasan. He marries her, but soon leaves her in order to continue his journey to Mecca. Twenty years later, his son Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was born from this marriage, betakes himself to Mecca to visit his father, who had been uninterruptedly engaged in devotion in the holy mosque. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, being determined to renounce the world for ever, gives his son his seal-ring, by which he may vindicate his right to the throne of ʿIrāḳ, and bids him go to that country. The son obeys and is acknowledged by the vizier as the legitimate ruler. He does not desire, however, to take the reins of government and abdicates in favour of the vizier, on whom he bestows all the treasures left by his father." The Malay romance exists in two recensions, a shorter (ed. with Dutch transl. by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga, *Levensschets van Sulthan Ibrahiem, vorst van Irakh*, Batavia 1822; ed. of text with notes by D. Lenting, *Geschiedenis van Sulthan Ibrahiem, zoon van Adhum, vorst van Irakh*, Breda, 1846; new ed. by A. Regensburg, Batavia, 1890, in Latin transcr., ibid. 1901) and a longer one, the latter is said to have been translated from the Arabic of a certain Hadramī shaikh, named Abū Bakr (cf. Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, pp. 120—122, Nº. 117—122 = *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. 57). Stories of Ibrāhīm b. Adham, in part agreeing with the published text, are also found in the *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (composed in Atjeh 1040 = 1630-1), Book iv. Ch. i. (cf. H. N. van der Tuuk in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië*, Ser. iii., i. 424 *sq.*, Nº. 15; do., *Maleisch Leesboek*, The Hague, 1868, p. 40—8; van Ronkel, *o. c.* Nº. 55) and in the Javanese works *Lasmu (?) Sulṭān* (Br. Mus., cf. G. Niemann, *Inleiding tot de kennis van den Islam*, p. 479) and *Nawawī*, cf. J. H. G. Gunning, Diss. Leiden 1881, xxi. *sq.*; A. C. Vreede, *Catal. van de Javaansche . . . Handschr. der Leidsche Univ.-Bibl.*, p. 303, Nº. 221. Poetic adaptations in Javanese have been made by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga (Am-

sterdam 1843) and C. F. Winter (Batavia 1882, 1908), the latter from prose by F. L. Winter (Semarang 1881); cf. Vreede, *o. c.*, p. 216 *sq.* There are also versions of the story in Sunda (pr. Batavia, 1859 and 1888; cf. H. H. Juynboll, *Catal. van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschr. der Leidsche Univ.-Bibl.*, p. 320 *sqq.*, N°. 381-2; *Suppl.*, p. 34 *sq.*, N°. 63), and in Buginese (transl. from the Malay; cf. B. F. Matthes, *Kort verslag aangaande ... Makassaarsche en Boegineesche Handschr.*, p. 32, N°. 95).

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

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(NICHOLSON.)

IBRĀHĪM b. AL-AGHLAB (184—196 = 800—812), **founder of the semi-independent dynasty of the Aghlabids**, was the son of al-Aghlab b. Sālim b. ʿIḳāl al-Tamīmī, a native of Marw al-Rūdh who had governed Ifrīḳiya after the departure of Ibn al-Ashʿath in 148 A. H. and had been killed two years later in the revolt of al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb. In 179 (795) Ibrāhīm received the governorship of the Zāb. When the mistakes of the governor Ibn Muḳātil had roused the people against him, who finally (183 = 799) expelled him, Ibrāhīm came to his assistance, and after the restoration of order, cleverly made himself so indispensable to Hārūn al-Rashīd, that the Caliph, on Harthama's advice, left him in possession of Ifrīḳiya on payment of a tribute of 40,000 dinars while Egypt was freed from the subvention of 100,000 dinars which she paid annually to Ifrīḳiya. This change took place on the 12[th] Djumādā II 184 (July 9, 800). Following Spain and the Maghrib, Ifrīḳiya in turn separated from the ʿAbbāsid empire. Egypt was soon to follow. The new prince began by building a new capital to replace Ḳairawān: this was al-ʿAbbāsiya [q. v.]. A year later he received ambassadors from Charlemagne (801), who brought from Africa a number of relics: this was presumably not the only object of their journey and it may be supposed that Charlemagne was seeking an ally against the Omaiyads in Spain. In 186 (802) Ibrāhīm suppressed a rising of Ḥamdīs al-Kalbī in Tūnis; in 189 (805) another broke out in Tripoli, the inhabitants of which drove out the Aghlabid governor Sufyān b. al-Maḍā'. Hardly had this been terminated by an amnesty 194 (809) when a more serious rising took place in the very centre of Ifrīḳiya. ʿImrān b. Mudjālid al-Rabīʿ (Dhahabī has Makhlīd instead of Mudjālid, v. Fagnan, Ibn al-Athīr, *Annales*, p. 158, note 1, p. 173) and Ḳuraish b. al-Tūnisī were at its head. Ibrāhīm was besieged for a whole year in al-ʿAbbāsiya. Money sent by the Caliph bought off the rebels and ʿImrān retired to the Zāb, where he lived till the death of Ibrāhīm without being disturbed. Tripoli was again the scene of a revolt in 196 (811) in the course of which it was pillaged by the Khāridjī Hawwāra. The ruler sent his son ʿAbd Allāh at the head of an army and after an initial success the latter was forced to fight against the Khāridjīs from Tāhert (Tagdemt) led by their Rustamid imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [q. v.]. The town was besieged by them, and the assault had begun when the news came that Ibrāhīm had died on the 21[st] Shawwāl 196 (5[th] July 812) at al-Ḳairawān. ʿAbd Allāh, eager to seize his heritage, made peace with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb by abandoning to him the whole of Tripolitania, except Tripoli, as well as the districts of Ḳastīliya and Djerba.

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(RENÉ BASSET.)

IBRĀHĪM, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ b. AḤMAD, **ninth ruler of the Aghlabid dynasty**. Although he had solemnly sworn to his dying brother Muḥammad Abu 'l-Gharānīḳ to recognise his nephew Abū ʿIḳāl, he seized the throne on the death of his brother on the 6[th] Djumādā I 261 (= 16[th] February 875) with the acquiescence of the people of al-Ḳairawān. He was famous for two very different reasons: his taste for building and his ferocious cruelty. He built the Ḳaṣr al-Baḥr at al-Raḳḳāda and placed along the coast a number of towers (*maḥāris*) to signal nocturnal attacks, which has led other buildings to be wrongly attributed to him. He waged wars notably against al-ʿAbbās, who rebelling against his father Aḥmad, the first Ṭūlūnid of Egypt, marched against Ifrīḳiya in 266 = 879-880. After defeating the Aghlabid troops under Muḥammad b. Ḳurhub at the Wādī Wardāsa, he was held up at first by the siege of Labda and later by that of Tripoli. The Abāḍīs [q. v.] of the Djebel Nafūsa, led by their chief Ilyās b. Manṣūr came to the help of the town and destroyed the army of al-ʿAbbās who fled to Egypt (267 = 880-1). A rising of the Berbers of Ifrīḳiya cost the life of Mu-

ḥammad b. Ḳurhub (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 268 = June-July 882) and was only suppressed by Ibrāhīm's son Abu 'l-'Abbās. The latter having completely defeated the Nefūsa was sent to Sicily where Syracuse had been taken in 878. Ibrāhīm followed later and in Radjab 289 = July—August 902 by order of the 'Abbāsid Caliph, seized Taormina, then crossing the strait began to besiege Cosenza. He died of dysentery during the siege on the 19th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 289 = 23rd October 902. His body was taken to Kairawān where he was buried on the 1st Muḥarram 290 = 5th December 902. All the historians unanimously accuse him of cruelty and quote numerous examples e. g. the massacre of the mawlās, the inhabitants of al-Raḳḳāda and of Tūnis, the murder of his physicians, ministers, pages, his son Abu 'l-Aghlab, and his eight brothers, on account of imaginary fears. He created a bodyguard of negroes whom alone he trusted and who were the instruments of his cruelties.

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IBRĀHĪM B. AḤMAD, the youngest son of Aḥmad I, was born on the 12th Shawwāl 1024 (4th November 1615) and succeeded his brother Murād IV (died 16th Shawwāl 1049 = 8th Febr. 1640) on the throne as 19th Ottoman sulṭān. His brothers, 'Othmān II and Murād IV reigning before him, had kept him in strict seclusion, and he grew up in awe of their machinations and in continual fear of a violent death, being on the whole of a delicate constitution; all this contrived to render him absolutely incapable of governing a great empire. During the first years of his reign he therefore left the government in the hands of the able vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā. By the treaty of Szön (15th March 1642) the latter renewed the peace with Austria; he reconquered the fortress of Azow, and among some minor disturbances he suppressed the dangerous insurrection of Naṣūḥ-pashazāde (1642). At the same time he kept a watchful eye on the financial system of the country, and he greatly improved it by reforming the currency, by limitation of the expenses of the State, and by a strict collection of the taxes. After four years he fell a victim to court intrigue, and was beheaded on 21st Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1053 (31st January 1644). The Sulṭān, who indulged in the delights of harem-life as none of his predecessors or successors ever did, was now absolutely under the sway of his odalisks and favourites, particularly the notorious *Djindji Khodja* Ḥusain, an ignorant *softa* from Zafranbolu, who cured Ibrāhīm from his fits of faintness by his magic charms and thereby won unlimited control over him. The State revenues were dissipated to humour the foolish whims of Ibrāhīm and his court; offices and ranks were given by favour and for gifts i. e. in proportion to the bribes given. The result was an uninterrupted series of changes of grand viziers and ministers.

Such was the wretched state of affairs when on the 28th Sept. 1644 Maltese corsairs seized a convoy of pilgrims near Karpathos; among them was the Sulṭān's *Kyzlar Aghasi* Sünbül with his riches and his retinue, bound for Cairo whither he had been banished. The Sulṭān resolved to be revenged, and as his favourite, the *silihdār* Yūsuf, had already been inciting him against Venice, the Sulṭān undertook an expedition against the Republic. Without a declaration of war a strong Turkish army was landed in Crete in June 1645 and took Canea. In the following year Rhethymo fell, while the siege of the strong fortress of Candia continued to drag on. In the meanwhile the Turks were repeatedly defeated in Dalmatia. All this roused the Sulṭān's wrath to such an extent, that he resolved to massacre all Christians, at least all Franks residing in his empire. This plan failed on account of the opposition of the Shaikh al-Islām. This war, which was to last for 25 years, weakened the country to utter exhaustion; nevertheless it did not allow the Sulṭān to interfere with his dissolute conduct. The immense sums spent for the foolish luxury of the Serai rose disproportionately; in order to provide the necessary money, new heavy taxes were imposed on the people. At last the public rage broke forth openly; at the head of the insurrection were the Janissaries assisted by the 'ulamā and the Shaikh al-Islām. The Grand Vizier Hezārpāre Aḥmad Pasha fell the first victim of the infuriated mob. Next came the Sulṭān Ibrāhīm who was dethroned on the 18th Radjab 1058 (8th August 1648) and confined in the Čīnili köshk, where he was strangled a few days later by the executioner. When Ibrāhīm ascended the throne, he was the only living male offspring of the house of 'Othmān: on his death he left four sons and thus became the founder of the dynasty again, the only thing history places to his credit.

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IBRĀHĪM B. 'ALĪ. [See AL-ḤUṢRĪ.]

IBRĀHĪM B. HILĀL. [See AL-ṢĀBI'.]

IBRĀHĪM B. KHĀLID. [See ABŪ THAWR.]

IBRĀHĪM B. AL-MAHDĪ, an 'Abbāsid, born at the end of 162 = July 779. His father was the Caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdī, his mother a negress named Shikla. When the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who was then in Marw, appointed the 'Alid 'Alī al-Riḍā successor on the end of Ramaḍān = 24th March 817, disturbances broke out among the

followers of the ʿAbbāsids. At the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja = July 817 they proclaimed al-Maʾmūn's uncle, Ibrāhīm, Caliph under the name al-Mubārak ("the blessed") and on the 5th Muḥarram 202 = 24th July 817 he publicly appeared in the mosque as ruler. His reign did not last long however. The troops soon rebelled because he could not pay them. After order had been restored in the army, Ḥīra and Kūfa fell into his hands, but on the 26th Radjab = 7th February 818 his generals Saʿīd b. Sādjūr and ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad were defeated at Wāsiṭ by the governor Ḥasan b. Sahl and had to retire to Baghdād. ʿĪsā soon went over openly to the enemy and the other generals began secretly to work for al-Maʾmūn. When the latter came back from Khorāsān, Ibrāhīm could no longer hold out, but had to abandon his claims in the middle of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 203 = June 819 and on the 15th Ṣafar 204 = 11th August 819 al-Maʾmūn entered Baghdād. Ibrāhīm henceforth lived in retirement. He was arrested in 210 = 825-826 but pardoned in a few days. He died in Ramaḍān 224 = July 839 at Surra-man-raʾā. He had not the gifts of a ruler; but he was a man of refined tastes who was especially interested in music and singing.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii., see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vi. 230—362; Yaʿḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 547—558; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. Paris), vi. vii., passim; *Aghānī*, see Index; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), Nº. 8 (Transl. de Slane, i. 16 *sqq*.); Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii. 247 *sqq*.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 219 *sqq*., 271 *sq*.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 504 *sqq*.; Muir, *The caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall* (3d ed.) p. 495, 502 *sq*. (K. V. Zetterstéen.)

IBRĀHĪM b. Masʿūd, twelfth Ghaznawid. [See Ghaznawids, ii. 156b *sq*.]

IBRĀHĪM b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, brother of the two first ʿAbbāsid Sulṭāns, al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, born in 82 = 701-702. His father who, according to the usual statement, died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 125 = August 743, was the founder of the secret ʿAbbāsid propaganda and shortly before his death made over to his son Ibrāhīm his right to the ʿAbbāsid Imāmate. In the following year the latter sent Bukair b. Māhān [q. v.] to Marw where he informed the Khorāsānians of Muḥammad's death and proclaimed Ibrāhīm his successor. After Bukair's death in 127 = 744-745 Abū Salama al-Khallāl [q. v.] was appointed plenipotentiary of the ʿAbbāsids. Like his father, Ibrāhīm himself lived in al-Ḥumaima, a place south of the Dead Sea, while Kūfa was the centre from which the invisible threads of the energetic propaganda ran. Khorāsān was a particularly fertile soil for the activities of the ʿAbbāsid emissaries, and in 128 = 745-746 Abū Muslim was appointed leader of the secret agitation there. In the following summer the long prepared rebellion broke out and on the 1st Shawwāl 129 = 15th June 747 the first ʿAbbāsid service was held in Sīkadhandj. In the same year the Caliph Marwān II had Ibrāhīm captured and brought to Ḥarrān, his then residence, and the latter soon afterwards died there. According to some, Ibrāhīm was put to death by order of Marwān.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii. iii., see Index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), v. 194 *sqq*.; Yaʿḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 393—433; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 186 *sqq*.; Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton), i. 114, 145 (Haarbrücker's transl., i. 173, 218); van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden*, pp. 68 *sqq*.; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 312 *sqq*. (K. V. Zetterstéen.)

IBRĀHĪM BEY, one of the most prominent of the last Mamlūk amīrs of Egypt. He was brought to Egypt as a Circassian slave and passed into the possession of Muḥammad Abu 'l-Dhahab, the favourite Mamlūk of ʿAlī Bey [q. v.]. He manumitted him and married him to his sister (cf. al-Djabartī's statement under the 4th Rabīʿ II 1216). In 1182 (1767-8) he was appointed one of the 24 Beys, in 1186 as Amīr al-Ḥadjdj he led the Egyptian pilgrim caravan to Mecca. On his return the dispute between Muḥammad Abu 'l-Dhahab and ʿAlī Bey had already been decided in favour of the latter. During the few years of his brother-in-law's rule his prestige must have increased considerably. In 1187 he was Defterdār, in 1189 he remained in Cairo as Shaikh al-Balad while Muḥammad undertook his expedition to Syria and when the latter died at ʿAkkā, Ibrāhīm as his nearest relative inherited his great wealth and influence. With Murād Bey, another Amīr of Muḥammad's house, whom the troops had chosen as their leader, he shared the rule over Egypt so that he took over the civil rule as Shaikh al-Balad i. e. Lord Mayor of Cairo, while Murād took control of the army. The predominating position of these two is clear from the number of their Mamlūks. According to Volney, who was in Egypt in 1783, Ibrāhīm Bey had 600 Mamlūks, Murād Bey 400, the other Beys between 50 and 200. That this division of power lasted was mainly due to Ibrāhīm Bey's complaisance and love of peace. He probably dealt warily with the impulsive Murād Bey so that serious differences only arose between them in 1198-9. Their joint rule lasted till the French expedition to Egypt in 1213 (1798), although it was twice interrupted when Ismāʿīl Bey, the most influential amīr of the house of ʿAlī Bey, came into power. In 1191 he was only able to hold out for six months; in 1201 (1786) he was again made Shaikh al-Balad by the Turkish Kapudan (Ḳapṭān) Pasha (Admiral) Ḥasan. The object of the latter's expedition to Egypt was to strengthen the power of the Porte, the influence of which had sunk to a minimum since the days of Ibrāhīm Katkhudā and particularly under ʿAlī Bey. Although Ibrāhīm and Murād in whom Ḥasan Pasha saw the chief culprits, had to leave Cairo they did not dare openly to challenge the authority of the Porte's envoy, the latter however had to leave the rule of Egypt in the hands of the Mamlūks. Even after the departure of Ḥasan Bey, which was hastened by political complications with Russia, Ismāʿīl was able to retain his post of Shaikh al-Balad. Not till a pestilence had carried him and other amīrs off in 1206, could Ibrāhīm and Murād return to Cairo. They received an amnesty from the Porte and henceforth again shared the government of the country.

During the French advance of 1213 (1798) Ibrāhīm awaited the result of the fighting at the Pyramids on the east bank of the Nile at Shubra and Būlāḳ. He ordered the ships at Būlāḳ to be burned to make it difficult for the French to cross the Nile. After the battles of Khānkā and Ṣāliḥiyya

he succeeded in escaping with his train to Syria. He stayed at Ghazza and retired to the north-east when Bonaparte sent an expedition to Palestine.

Ibrāhīm returned to Egypt with the army of the Grand Vizier Yūsuf Pasha. When during the battle of Heliopolis Naṣūḥ Pasha, whom the Porte had designated governor of Egypt, entered Cairo in Febr. 1800, Ibrāhīm Bey was with him. He left the town with the Turkish troops when the French were able to hold it. He declined any rapprochement with the French, while Murād Bey made peace with them and received the governorship of Upper Egypt. He died soon afterwards of the plague in April 1801.

After the final evacuation of the town by the French in June 1801, Ibrāhīm Bey was again appointed Shaikh al-Balad by the Grand Vizier but soon afterwards on the 20th Oct. 1801 he was thrown into prison with the rest of the Mamlūk emirs by order of the Porte, who thought it a favourable opportunity to dispose of the Mamlūks. The English forced the imprisoned Mamlūks to be handed over to them. Ibrāhīm Bey thus succeeded in reaching Upper Egypt. From there in the next few years he repeatedly negotiated with the Turkish governor of Egypt, Khusrew Pasha. When the latter was driven from Egypt and the Albanian chief Ṭāhir, who had been appointed ḳā'immaḳām, was murdered, Muḥammad 'Alī summoned Ibrāhīm Bey to Cairo in April 1803 and gave him the office of Shaikh al-Balad to prevent Aḥmad Pasha, the governor designate of Djidda, who was passing through Egypt at the time, establishing himself there. The influence of the aged Ibrāhīm Bey was certainly not very great and he must have seen that he was only a tool in the hands of Muḥammad 'Alī. In any case, he developed a great distrust of Muḥammad 'Alī; he probably saw through the latter's policy of making use of the Mamlūks when it suited himself, while he took care not to allow them to become too powerful and continually sowed feuds among them. The coup de main which Muḥammad 'Alī attempted on 13th March 1804 against Ibrāhīm and 'Othmān al-Bardīsī, Murād's successor, failed in as much as both escaped imprisonment by flight. Ibrāhīm never again returned to Cairo. During the massacre of the Mamlūks on the 18-19th August 1805 he was at Ṭurā with his son Marzūḳ and inflicted heavy losses on Muḥammad 'Alī's troops there. His attempt to unite the Mamlūks in a common struggle with Muḥammad 'Alī failed owing to the dissensions among them and Muḥammad's skill in always winning to his side several of the most influential Mamlūks by flattery and gifts of honorary offices. Ibrāhīm declined an attempt at reconciliation made by Muḥammad 'Alī in 1809, saying that too much blood had flowed between them. Owing to Ibrāhīm's efforts the Mamlūks in 1810 were a power against which Muḥammad 'Alī did not dare to take open action. But by stratagem he succeeded in bringing most of the Mamlūks to Cairo. Here honours were heaped upon them and thus they were secured. They thus fell into the trap prepared by Muḥammad 'Alī and were massacred in the citadel on March 1st 1811. Ibrāhīm Bey with a few others had not trusted Muḥammad 'Alī's assurances. He remained on the southern frontier of Egypt and thus was saved. He spent the last years of his life at Dongola with the remnants of the Mamlūks "in the land of slaves, where they sowed millet and lived on it and clothed themselves in robes such as slave dealers wore there, till finally in Rabī' I 1231 the news of his death reached Cairo" (Djabartī). His widow who in 1811 had been allowed to seek and bury her son Marzūḳ's body, received permission from Muḥammad 'Alī to bring Ibrāhīm's body to Cairo. It arrived there in Ramaḍān 1232.

Bibliography: The chief authority is Djabartī's Chronicle *'Adjā'ib al-Āthār fi 'l-Tarādjim wa 'l-Akhbār* (Būlāḳ 1297, often reprinted, translated as *Merveilles Biographiques et Historiques*, 9 vols., Cairo 1888—1896), from 1190 there is frequent mention of Ibrāhīm Bey. The life comes after the events of the year 1231; C. F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte pendant les années 1783, 1784 et 1785*, Paris 1786 etc., Chapt. vi.—ix.; *Histoire scientifique et militaire de l'Expédition française en Égypte*, 10 vols., Paris 1830—36; A. A. Paton, *A History of Egypt Revolution from the Period of the Mamelukes to the death of Mohammed Ali*, 2 vols., London 1863, 1870. The article "Ibrāhīm Bey" by P. Ravaisse in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Tome xx, p. 519.

(P. Kahle.)

IBRĀHĪM ḤAKKĪ PASHA is the grandson of a Georgian who adopted Islām and the son of Meḥmed Remzī, who at the time of his death was president of the Constantinople city council (*Shehr Emāneti Medjlisi*). Ibrāhīm Ḥakkī Pasha was born on the 22nd Shawwāl 1279 = 12th April 1863 in the Beshik-Ṭash quarter of Constantinople. From 1877 to 1882 he attended the school of administration (*Mülkiye Mektebi*) in Constantinople and took particular advantage of the lectures of Meḥmed Murād Bey (History), Portuḳāl Mīkā'īl Efendi (Finance) and Ohānnes Efendi (economics). Passing out of the school with brilliant success he became a translator in the Yildiz palace of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd from 1883 to 1894. Through his literary and scholarly activities he obtained the professorship of history at the age of 23 in the Constantinople school of Law (*Ḥuḳūḳ Mektebi*) to which soon afterwards in 1888 the chair of constitutional law (*ḥuḳūḳ-i esāsiye*) was added. Ibrāhīm Ḥakkī's professorship of history lapsed in 1891. In place of it he was given in 1892 the chair of administrative law in addition to that of constitutional law, and in 1893 that of international law in the school of Law also. Being a brilliant orator and a comparatively bold critic he was able to attach students to himself — and what was more important — also to interest even non-Turks and non-Muslims in the welfare of the Ottoman empire. On Sept. 12 1894, Ibrāhīm Ḥakkī was appointed legal adviser (*ḥuḳūḳ müshāwiri*) to the Sublime Porte. The Grand Vizier Meḥmed Sa'īd Pasha in 1901 or 1902 wished to appoint him undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the Sulṭān did not approve. Ḥakkī Bey distinguished himself in the office of legal adviser which he held till 1908, and acted as member or president of over 30 commissions which discussed the conclusion of treaties or disputed questions of law. Being a linguist he was twice sent on mission to Europe by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and twice to America. When the Turkish constitution was re-established in 1908 Ibrāhīm Ḥakkī at once plunged into the political arena, championed extremely modern views, and

took the bold step, during the short time he held the portfolio of Minister of Education in 1908, of confirming in office only a hundred of the five hundred officials in the central offices. Soon afterwards he held the Ministry of the Interior for a short time. His great zeal horrified the backward officials so that he soon had to retire from these offices. He still continued to hold his legal chairs till in 1909 he was appointed ambassador to Rome. Having already for a long time been the candidate of the Committee of Union and Progress on Jan. 12 (Schulthess, Jan. 10) 1910 he was given the rank of vizier and then promoted Grand Vizier. Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī proved himself in the field of politics a distinguished orator, a man of striking, well-marked convictions which, however, lacked the elasticity usual and perhaps necessary in the east. In alliance with the Young Turks he held the office of Grand Vizier for 21 months and was a rigorous opponent of the Albanian and other separatist claims. As a result of Italy's declaration of war against the Porte, Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī's cabinet resigned on Sept. 29 1911.

The greatest political success of his vizierate was the successful operations of the Ottoman Chief of Staff, Aḥmed 'Izzet Pasha, against the rebels in the Yemen and in the conclusion of a peace with the leader of the Yemenī Zaidīs, Imām Yaḥyā, which was based on religious, legal, and in part financial independence. This treaty was also Aḥmed 'Izzet Pasha's work.

Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī Pasha's literary works deal mainly with jurisprudence and to a secondary degree with history. His first book was an "Introduction to International Law" (*Medkhal-i Ḥuḳūḳ-i Düwel*) and was soon followed by an "History of International Law" (*Tārīkh-i Ḥuḳūḳ-i beine 'l-Düwel*, Istanbul, 1303 = 1885-6). Both are concise, unexceptionable and reliable compendiums for university teaching. In conjunction with Meḥmed 'Azmī he published about the same time a "Brief History of Islām" (*Mukhtaṣar Islām Tārīkhi*) which was intended for the lower classes of intermediate schools (*Rushdīye*); (6th edition Istanbul 1321 = 1903-4). Likewise with Meḥmed 'Azmī he prepared a "Brief Ottoman History" and then from his own pen a "Small Ottoman History" for elementary schools (Istanbul 1301 = 1890). Soon afterwards he published his most important historical work a "General History" in three volumes from the earliest times to the xvith century (*Tārīkh-i 'umūmī*, Istanbul, 1305 and 1306 = 1887-8 and 1888-9). There is nothing original in any of these works.

Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī's most valuable work is his Administrative Law (*Ḥuḳūḳ-i Idāre*, 1st ed. Istanbul 1308 = 1890-91; 2nd 1312 = 1894-95) in two volumes octavo. The work deals for the first time with a many branched and complicated subject in a masterly fashion. It still far surpasses all similar compilations. He has also prepared a number of unpublished works, which his activities devoted for twenty years to education and politics have not yet allowed him to publish.

Bibliography: Schulthess' *Europäischer Geschichtskalender*, N. S., 26th year, 1910 (München 1911), 27th year 1911 (München 1912); Aḥmed Iḥsān, *Nevsāl-i Thervet-i Fünūn*, Istanbul 1311 = 1893-1894), p. 47—59, 60; Ismā'īl Ṣubḥī ve-Maḥmūd Fu'ād, *Sālnāme-i Thervet-i Fünūn*, Istanbul 1327 = 1911-12 and 1328 = 1912-13; Sa'īd Pasha, *Khāṭirāt*, ii. 2 (Der-i Se'ādet 1328 = 1911), p. 23 sq.; much personal information from Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī Pasha.

(K. Süssheim.)

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN the ancestor of the Ibrāhīm Khānzāde family, was the son of the Princess Ismākhān, a daughter of Selīm II, by her first marriage with the famous Grand Vizier Meḥemmed Ṣokolli Pasha who was murdered on the 10th Sha'bān 987 (11th Oct. 1579). Tradition relates that he was consoled by his father at his birth, so that he was the first who broke the laws of the house of 'Osmān, according to which all sons of the Princesses, were to be put to death at birth (*Ḥadīḳat al-Djewāmi'*, ii. 38; cp. article DAMĀD), likewise contrary to the rule Aḥmad I appointed him to the post of governor general in different provinces, as a reward, it is said, for the fact that he had presented the Sulṭān with the property on which the palace of his father Meḥemmed Ṣokolli Pasha stood, for the building of the great Mosque on the Atmeidān (Hammer-Bernhauer, *Relazione* etc., p. 181). Ibrāhīm died some time after 1031 (1621-1622) and his descendants, the Ibrāhīm Khānzāde, formed like the Ewrenoszāde and the Ṭurkhānzāde, one of the historic families of the Empire, although they never filled important positions in the State. 'Alī Beg, a grandson of Ibrāhīm Khān, is one of the few mentioned repeatedly by the chroniclers (Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, ii. 220 sq.; Knolles-Rycaut, *The Turkish History*, p. 263; v. Hammer, *Geschichte d. Osm. Reiches*, ix. 563, No. 2696; de la Motraye, *Voyages*, i. 326). About the decline of the 17th century, the legend arose that the Ibrāhīm Khānzāde would succeed to the throne, in case the Osmān dynasty should die out, and that for this reason the Sulṭāns were bound to respect the life of all members of this family (de la Motraye, *op. cit.*, i. 261 sq.; von den Driesch, *Historische Nachricht*, etc., p. 137; Kantemir, *Ottoman History*, p. 107; Lüdeke, *Beschreibung des Türk. Reiches*, i. 202, ii. 63). They had their residence in the suburb of Eiyūb on the Golden Horn, and are still the *mutewellī* (administrators) of the *Ewḳāf* of their ancestor Meḥemmed Ṣokolli Pasha (Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, vi. 198).

Bibliography: besides the works quoted in the text see *Sidjill-i 'Osmānī*, i. 99; White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, ii. 307.

(J. H. Mordtmann.)

IBRĀHĪM LODĪ, The last king of India of the house of Lodī (s. SIKANDAR LODĪ), came to the throne in 1510, and reigned at Agra for about 16 years when he was overthrown and slain by Bābur at Pānīpat in April 1526. He was violent and tyrannical, and alienated his nobles who called in Bābur to help them. He fell, however, fighting bravely, along with thousands of his Afghāns. Like Harold, he had trouble with his own family, before being called upon to encounter a foreign foe. His father's brother, 'Alā' al-Dīn, attempted to dispossess him, first from Gudjarāt, and afterwards from Kābul where he got help from Bābur. But Ibrāhīm defeated his uncle who gained nothing by joining the Mughals.

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Dīn: *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*; Bābur's *Memoirs*, trans. Erskine and Pavet de Courteille; Elphinstone's *History*; *Tārīkh Dā'ūdī* by 'Abdallah of which there is an account, with extracts, in Elliot, *Hist.*, Vol. iv. 434. Ni'mat Allāh, *Hist. of the Afghans*, Dorn's translation, p. 70.

(H. Beveridge.)

IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. MĀHĀN B. BAHMAN, also known as al-Nadīm al-Mawṣilī, one of the most celebrated musicians of Arab history, a man of Persian origin, was born at Kūfa in 125 (742) and died at Baghdād in 188 (804). He studied music under Persian masters, and attained an extraordinary degree of skill both in singing and in the use of the lute. He stood in high favour at the ʿAbbāsid court, under al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and (especially) al-Rashīd. His son Isḥāḳ, a very learned and accomplished man, followed in his footsteps, being a musician and composer of fully equal ability, and a prominent figure in Baghdād under al-Rashīd, al-Maʾmūn, and al-Muʿtaṣim. Marvellous tales were told of Ibrāhīm's proficiency, e. g. *Aghānī* V, 41, 1—15. Two anecdotes concerning him which became very widely popular are the story of the singing-girls whose house he entered in a basket (*Aghānī* v. 41 *sq.*; al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, i. 245 *sq.*; Ibn Badrūn, ed. Dozy, p. 272 *sq.*; and the *1001 Nights* [in the two latter cases, told of Isḥāḳ]); and the story of his visit from the Devil, who taught him a wonderful melody (*Aghānī*, v. 36 *sq.*; al-Ghuzūlī, i. 241 *sq.*; and the *1001 Nights* [told of Isḥāḳ]).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, nº. 9 (Trans. de Slane, i. 20 *sq.*); *Aghānī* (1. ed.), v. 2—49, 52—131; *Fihrist*, p. 140—142; Barbier de Meynard, *Ibrahim, fils de Mehdi*, in *Journal Asiatique* 1869, p. 201—342; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, ii. 71 *sqq.*; Ahlwardt, *Abu Nowas*, p. 13 *sq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, i. 78. (C. C. TORREY.)

IBRĀHĪM MUTEFERRIḲA (i. e. court-steward), the first Turkish printer, was born about 1674 in Kolozsvár (Hungary) of Calvinistic parents and, at the age of 18, was taken prisoner by Turkish troops, making a raid into Hungary. He was brought to Constantinople and sold as a slave. He then turned Musalman and occupied himself with theological studies. In 1715, the Porte entrusted him with a political mission to Prince Eugen (von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii. 193 *sq.*); Ibrāhīm was next attached to the staff of Francis Rakoczy of Transylvania, the leader of the Hungarian malcontents, who lived as a refugee in Turkey from 1718—1735; at the same time, Ibrāhīm also fulfilled the duties of a dragoman of the Porte. Early in 1717 he was sent as ambassador to Poland (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, vii. 480—520) and took part in the war against Austria as secretary to the artillery corps (*top ʿarabadjīlarī*). In the following years we see him interested and entangled in the political intrigues of his time, and specially connected with the French ambassador and the adventurer Bonneval. (Vandal, *Une Ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV*, p. 181; von Hammer, *op. cit.*, vii. 520 *sq.*, viii. 43; Pertsch, *Verzeichn. d. türk. Handschr. Berlin*, p. 256). At the end of Radjab 1156 (Sept. 1743) the Porte entrusted him with the investiture of Aḥmed Khān Usmai as Khān of the Raitaks in Dāghistān (Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh*, f. 221 *vo.*). He died in 1157 (1744). But his chief fame does not lie in his political activity; far more important is the part he played as founder of Islamic typography. With the help of the enlightened Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha, and encouraged by Saʿīd Muḥammad, who had accompanied his father, Yirmi Sekiz Čelebi Muḥammad, in 1721 on his embassy to the court of Louis XV, Ibrāhīm established the first printing office in Constantinople, after having received the authorisation for this by an imperial firman in the middle of Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1139 (beginning of July 1727). The maiden work of this printing office was the dictionary of Wānḳūlī published in two folio volumes on the 1st Redjeb 1141 (31st January 1729). In October 1734 the work in the office was dropped, but resumed after an interval of six years, and then stopped altogether in 1155 (1742), the office having in all printed 17 books, the incunabula of Islamic typography. (see exact list in v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, vii. 583 *sq.*).

Bibliography: J. de Karmaon in the *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane*, Nº. 3, 173—183, with the additions given by B. A. Mystakides, *ibid.*, Nº. 5 and 7; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i. 127; the firman of the year 1139, in the preface of the first print of Wānḳūlī; the epitaph of Ibrāhīm, with the chronogram of the year of his death, has been published in the newspaper *Ṣabāḥ* Nº. 8505 of the 14th Djumādā II 1331. (J. H. MORDTMANN.)

IBRĀHĪM PASHA, the eldest son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, a great general and viceroy of Egypt. He is often described as Muḥammad ʿAlī's adopted son. Amina, a relative of his foster-father, the governor (*Čorbadji*) of Kavalla in Macedonia, was certainly a divorced woman when Muḥammad ʿAlī married her in 1787 and it cannot be denied that Muḥammad ʿAlī had a certain preference for his son Ṭūsūn, who died on the 28th September 1816. There was certainly also a rivalry between Ibrāhīm and Ṭūsūn (cf. Mengin, ii. 81 *sq.*). The year of his birth is decisive, however, and this is usually given as 1789, but occasionally also as 1786. In the older authorities like Djabartī and Mengin we find no hint that he was not Muḥammad ʿAlī's real son. Djabartī in 1228 (1813) describes him as a young man of not yet twenty, which certainly does not fit in. On this question cf. Gouin, p. 151 *sq.*; Clot Bey, i. p. lxxxiii; Murray, p. 41 *sq.*

Ibrāhīm played an important part in the history of Egypt in the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī (cf. the article KHEDIVE). He has been called the mailed arm of his father and as a matter of fact the successes of his father's policy would have been impossible without his military achievements.

When his position in Egypt had been somewhat secured, Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1805 sent for his two sons Ibrāhīm and Ṭūsūn, and in 1809 for his wife and the younger children, Ismāʿīl and two daughters. In 1806 Ibrāhīm was sent with the Kapudan Pasha to Constantinople as a hostage for the tribute promised by his father; after the departure of the English fleet from Alexandria in 1807 the Porte sent him back. In 1810 Ibrāhīm became *defterdār*. After the great massacre of the Mamlūks in 1811 he was sent by his father to Upper Egypt to collect the taxes. He drove the remnants of the Mamlūks out of the country, subdued the Beduins, and restored order and security in the country. In his efforts to collect money he must often have used very ruthless measures. Djabartī gives a terrible account of his procedure at the end of his survey of the events of 1228 (1813). He remained in charge of the administration of Upper Egypt till the beginning of 1816. In the meanwhile he had been given the

title of Pas̲h̲a by the Porte in recognition of the services of his father (Mengin, ii. 48).

In 1816 his father sent him to Arabia to make a final reckoning with the Wahhābīs, against whom his brother Ṭūsūn had been fighting successfully from 1811 to 1813 and, from 1813 to 1815, Muḥammad ʿAlī himself also. After three years of heavy fighting the goal was achieved, Derʿiya [q. v.], the capital of the Wahhābīs, was destroyed and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Saʿūd with his relatives sent as prisoners to Egypt (cf. above p. 416a). In December 1819 Ibrāhīm made his triumphal entry into Cairo. Soon afterwards the Sulṭān appointed him governor of Djidda. In the meanwhile, Muḥammad ʿAlī had entrusted his third son Ismāʿīl with the conquest of the Sūdān. The discovery of the ancient goldfields and the capture of slaves, who were to form the basis of Muḥammad ʿAlī's new army, were the two objects of this expedition. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a was sent thither with reinforcements to support his brother. He seems to have gone there with very adventurous plans (Vaulabelle, ii. 231), but a severe attack of dysentery forced him to return hurriedly to Cairo in the beginning of 1822.

In the years following Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a took part in training the new troops (*niẓām djedīd*), who were entrusted to the French Colonel Sèves. Ibrāhīm was an industrious pupil of the European instructor and the latter under the name of Sulaimān Pas̲h̲a became his main support in his later campaigns.

When Muḥammad ʿAlī was appointed to conquer the Morea by a firmān of the Sulṭān, dated 16th January 1824, he sent his son Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a there with an excellent army trained on the European model and ample supplies of war material at the end of July 1824. The capture of Navarino and his entry into Tripolitsa practically brought the Peninsula under his sway. February to April 1826 were devoted to the siege and capture of Missolonghi. After the intervention of the Great Powers had been declined by the Porte and Muḥammad ʿAlī, the naval battle of Navarino took place in October 1827, in which the greater part of the Egyptian-Turkish fleet was destroyed by the allied fleets of England, France, and Russia and finally Muḥammad ʿAlī was forced by the English Admiral Codrington, who appeared before Alexandria, to recall his son and the Egyptian troops. He arrived in Alexandria on the 10th October 1828.

In 1831 Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a was entrusted by the father with the conduct of the Syrian campaign. On Nov. 1 he arrived with his troops in Palestine. After a six months' siege he obtained the surrender of ʿAkkā on the 27th May 1832, after previously gaining victories over the Pas̲h̲as of Tripolis and Aleppo on the plain of Zerʿā south of Ḥomṣ. Ibrāhīm's march, that followed, through Syria and Asia Minor was made possible by his victories over the advance guard of the Turkish army under Muḥammad Pas̲h̲a of Aleppo at Ḥomṣ on the 8/9th July, over the main Turkish army under Ḥusain Pas̲h̲a in the pass of Bailān at Alexandretta (29th July), and over the Turkish army under Rashīd Pas̲h̲a at Ḳonia (21st December). These victories showed the superiority of the Egyptian army, Ibrāhīm's skill as a leader, and the cleverness of his policy of uniting the various groups in Syria under one banner by the cry of "liberation from the Turkish yoke" and in winning to his side the influential Amīr Bas̲h̲īr of the Lebanon. Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a advanced as far as Kutahiya. There on May 1833, not without pressure from the European powers, a treaty was signed between the Porte and Muḥammad ʿAlī by which Syria and ʿAdana were ceded to the latter. Ibrāhīm received from the Sulṭān the title of *muḥaṣṣil* of ʿAdana. His father appointed him to administer the new territory: a difficult task in view of the varied nature of the population of the country. Although the latter were agreed in their disinclination for Turkish rule, the strict *régime* introduced by Ibrāhīm did not suit them either. Risings everywhere were the result and Ibrāhīm was partially successful in suppressing them by the general confiscation of arms. The recruiting of the population for military service resulted in the emigration of great numbers to Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and the commandeering of beasts of burden for military purposes resulted in the decline of agriculture and trade. Although there was quiet generally in the land, the discontent was very great.

When the war was begun again by Turkey in 1839, Ibrāhīm on the 24th June won a decisive victory over the Turkish army under Ḥāfiẓ Pas̲h̲a at Nizib west of Biredjik and the Turkish fleet under Fevzī Pas̲h̲a went over to Muḥammad ʿAlī. The intervention of the powers, whose negotiations led to the Treaty of London on the 15th July 1840 (the so-called Quadruple Alliance), altered the situation of things. Hoping for support from the French, Muḥammad ʿAlī declined the demand that he should evacuate Syria as far as ʿAkkā and confine himself to the hereditary pashalik of Egypt. No support was given him and the coasts of Syria and Egypt were blockaded by the allied fleets. Ibrāhīm was in a difficult position between their landing army and the hostile people of the Lebanon who were stirred up against him. After the capture of ʿAkkā by the English Admiral Napier and the latter's negotiations with Muḥammad ʿAlī in Alexandria, the latter was forced to agree to the evacuation of Syria on 22nd Nov. 1840. On the 29th Dec. Ibrāhīm left Damascus with his troops and returned to Egypt via G̲h̲azza, sending a portion of the army home via ʿAḳaba under Sulaimān Pas̲h̲a.

In the years that followed Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a was mainly concerned with the administration of Egypt. His interest in and knowledge of agriculture is praised. He was several times in Europe, sometimes visiting watering places to improve his health. He was well received in Europe. At the beginning of 1848 he was in Malta when his father's condition made it necessary for him to return. In June 1848 he became practically ruler of the country. In September he was formally granted the pashalik of the country by the Sulṭān in Constantinople and on the 19th Nov. 1848 he died in his sixtieth year. He was buried in the family mausoleum near the Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī. Of his sons he was survived by Aḥmad (born 1825), Ismāʿīl (afterwards Khedive born 1827), and Muṣṭafā (born 1832).

A portrait of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a is given in Cadalvène and Barrault, *Histoire*, etc.; descriptions of his personality in Clot Bey, i. p. xxxiii *sqq.*; Paton, ii. 55.

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IBRĀHĪM PASHA, the celebrated Grand Vizier and favourite of Solimān the Magnificent, was born towards the end of the xvth century of Christian parents in Parga in Epirus. Kidnapped in his early youth and brought as a slave to the Imperial Serai during Selim I.'s reign, he was afterwards attached to the retinue of the heir apparent Solimān as long as this latter resided as Governor General of Ṣarūkhān in Magnesia. His social and musical abilities soon won him the young Crown Prince's special favour, and on his accession to the throne in September 1520 Solimān made him his *khāṣṣ oda bashi* (master of the inner chamber) and *ir doghandjilar aghasi* (high court falconer). On the 13th Shaʿbān 929 (27th June 1523) the Sulṭān made him Grand Vizier, at the same time granting him the governorship of Roumelia. During the thirteen years that Ibrāhīm filled these high offices he enjoyed more than any other ever did before or after him the Sulṭān's entire confidence. The Sulṭān actually shared his monarchical powers with him and gave him the insignia of the sulṭanate. He granted him the *ṭabl khāne* (military music) and the tuġh of the Imperial bodyguard, as well as the title *seraskar sulṭān* (sulṭān commander-in-chief). Ibrāhīm's wedding (18th Radjab 930 = 23rd May 1524), which the Sulṭān himself attended, was celebrated with such pomp and splendour that it has become famous in the annals of Ottoman history. Shortly afterwards, owing to the troubles caused by the insurrection of Khāʾin Aḥmad Pasha, Ibrāhīm went to Egypt (October 1524—September 1525) to re-establish order and to re-organise the administration of the country. In 1526 he conducted Solimān's first campaign against the Magyars. (Battle of Mohacs 28th August, capitulation of Ofen-Pest 10th Sept. 1526). Three years later, he undertook a second expedition against Hungary together with the Sulṭān. Ibrāhīm captured Ofen which had been reoccupied by king Ferdinand, and led his army up to Vienna. (Siege of Vienna 27th Sept. till 15th October 1529). In 1532, Ibrāhīm invaded Hungary for the third time, but he did not advance further than Güns, and had to be content with pillaging the country. The armistice concluded with Ferdinand in the spring of the following year was chiefly due to Ibrāhīm's influence. The decision of the dispute between the king and John Zapolya regarding the Hungarian possessions was placed in the hands of the Sulṭān, who again entrusted the Venetian Luigi Gritti, Ibrāhīm's favourite, with the delimitation of the frontiers. In his Persian expedition 1533-1534 Ibrāhīm was not less successful. After occupying the most important frontier fortresses he entered Tabrīz on the 13th July 1534 and took Baghdād on the 31st December of the same year. He returned to Constantinople in January 1536 and there contracted in February the first French capitulation with the ambassador of Francis I. Ibrāhīm had now reached the zenith of his power and splendour when he was suddenly executed, without apparent reason, by the Sulṭān's orders in the Imperial Serai, where he was spending the evening (22nd Ramaḍān 942 = 15th March 1536). His body was disposed of with equal secrecy and buried in the vicinity of the Oḳmaidān near the Arsenal, where his alleged grave was in later days shown in the Darwīsh monastery Djawi. It was said that Ibrāhīm in his ambition coveted the throne for himself and that decisive proofs were in the hands of the Sulṭān; the fact is that the Sulṭān had done everything to nourish and encourage such thoughts in his confidant; and it seems that Ibrāhīm's attitude fully justified current rumours. A series of legends and sayings soon gathered around the figure of the *maḳbūl* and *maḳtūl* Ibrāhīm Pasha, some of which are still current among the common people. A number of mosques, *ʿimāret*'s [q. v.], bridges, and aqueducts in the capital and in the provinces, chiefly in Roumelia, likewise perpetuate his name and preserve his fame to the present day. His splendid Serai near the Atmeidān was later occupied by the Imperial pages, and his gardens along the Golden Horn remained for centuries famous among the sights of the town.

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IBRĀHĪM PASHA (DAMAD), the favourite of Murād III and three times Grand Vizier under his successor Muḥammad III. He was of Slavonic origin, born in the neighbourhood of Ragusa; brought up in the Serai he was appointed silāḥdār (armour-bearer of the Sulṭān) in 982 (1574-1575); from Dhu 'l-Ka'da 987—Djumādā II 989 (End of Dec. 1579—July 1581) he was Aghā of the Janissaries and then Beylerbey of Roumelia; he was sent to Egypt in 990, where he remained for a year and a half as Governor General. In the beginning of 1585 he conducted the campaign against the Druzes of the Lebanon, and thence he returned to Constantinople in September of the same year. His wedding with the Princess 'Ā'isha, daughter of Murād III, was celebrated there in Djumādā II 994 (end of May 1586). At the end of Radjab 995 (end of June 1587) he was made Ḳapudan Pasha, and held this office for about a year. Shortly after the accession of Muḥammad III he was appointed ḳā'immaḳām (deputy) of the Grand Vizier on the 17th Sha'bān 1003 (16th April 1595) and a year later on the 5th Sha'bān 1004 (4th April 1596) Grand Vizier. He accompanied the Sulṭān on his march against Eger (Erlau, Turk. Egri), was dismissed on the day after the battle of Keresztes, on the 27th October, but restored to office for a second time after six weeks, at the end of Rabī' II 1005 (middle of Dec. 1596). The whims of the Sulṭān prevented him completing a year in office; he was dismissed on the 23rd Rabī' I 1006 (3rd Nov. 1597), but recalled to his functions for a third time on the 9th Djumādā II 1007 (7th Jan. 1599) and entrusted with the continuation of the war against Hungary. In two expeditions 1008-1009 (1599-1600) he succeeded in stopping the advance of the Austrian army. In Rabī' II 1009 (end of October 1600) he captured the stronghold of Nagy Kanisa, and as a reward the Sulṭān granted him the grand vizierate for life. Ibrāhīm then returned to Belgrade, where he died on the 9th Muḥarram 1010 (10th July 1601).

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IBRĀHĪM PASHA (ḲARA), Grand Vizier under Muḥammad IV, born in 1030 (1620-21) at Khundawerk near Bāiburd, began his career as a levend, then became ič aghā (page) of the outlawed Firārī Muṣṭafā Pasha (v. Hammer, Osm. Gesch., vi. 26), and afterwards served several Pashas including Ḳara Muṣṭafā as ketkhudā (steward or agent), till on the 2nd Rabī' II 1081 (8th August 1671) he received the office of küčük mīrākhōr and a few weeks later that of büyük mīrākhōr (under and chief marshall). From the 17th Ramaḍān 1088 till the 12th Rabī' I 1090 (13th Nov. 1677—23rd April 1679) he was ḳapudan pasha and at the same time administered for a period the grand vizierate as ḳā'immaḳām and again after Djumādā II 1094 (June 1683) during Ḳara Muṣṭafā's campaign against Vienna. After the execution of the latter on the 6th Muḥarram 1095 (25th Dec. 1683) he was appointed Grand Vizier, deposed on the 22nd Muḥarram 1097 (19th Dec. 1685), banished to Rhodes on the 18th March 1686, and was strangled there a few months later in Sha'bān 1097 (June-July 1686).

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IBRĀHĪM PASHA. [See ČENDERELI.]

IBRĀHĪM PASHA (DAMAD), favourite of Aḥmad III, and his Grand Vizier for many years. He was the son of a certain 'Alī Aghā and was born about 1678 in Mūshkara near Urgüb, in the district of Nigde. At the age of 22 he came to the capital, where he obtained a position as ḥelwādjī (confectioner) in the Ancient Serai. His remarkable intelligence and his ability in writing must have attracted notice, for soon afterwards he was appointed clerk of the imperial harem, and it was in this office that he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Prince Aḥmad, afterwards Sulṭān. After Aḥmad's accession to the throne in 1115 (1703) Ibrāhīm occupied for six years the post of secretary of the chief eunuch and, although the Sulṭān was willing to grant him the rank of a vizier, Ibrāhīm contented himself with very modest offices as muḥāsebedji (accountant) and defterdār (treasurer) in the provinces. In 1128 (1715) he accompanied Damad 'Alī Pasha on his campaign against Hungary, and after the defeat at Peterwardein (15th August 1715) he was entrusted with the difficult task of informing the Sulṭān of the fatal course of the war. As a result of this mission he again came into personal contact with the Sulṭān who appointed him Master of the Horse and the following year, on the 16th Shawwāl 1128 (3rd October 1716) deputy Grand Vizier. After his marriage with the 13 year old Princess Fāṭima, daughter of the Sulṭān (6th Rabī' I 1129 = 18th February 1717), he was definitively appointed Grand Vizier (8th Djumādā II 1130 = 9th May 1718). The next 12 years during which Ibrāhīm held this post, form one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Turkey. Both Aḥmad III and his prime minister were men of high culture and refined taste and emulated one another in the patronage of art and learning. Numerous kiosks were built on the Bosphorus and in the Valley of the Sweet Waters (Kāghid-Khāne), which was transformed into a sort of Versailles. Religious and secular ceremonies were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and were increased in number. At the same time public institutions,

libraries, e. g. the Serai library and the library of Ibrāhīm Pasha, were founded. The art of printing was also introduced in this era by Ibrāhīm Mutefarrika [q. v.]. In his foreign policy, the Grand Vizier's object was to maintain friendly relations with the European Powers. After entering upon office he put an end to the conflicts with Austria by the treaty of Passarowitz (1718). A treaty with Peter the Great (1724) regulated the question of the boundary provinces of Persia; by virtue of this the Turkish forces occupied in the following years all the most important cities: Hamadhān, Gendje, Eriwān, Tebriz, etc., definitive possession of which was assured to Turkey by the treaty of Hamadhān (3rd Oct. 1727). In 1730 however Ṭahmāsḳuli Khān invaded the newly acquired province, which resulted in a declaration of war by the Porte, though the Sulṭān agreed to this much against his will. This was the cause of a serious insurrection (September 1730), as the people were discontented with Ibrāhīm Pasha's government, and resulted in the fall of both Sulṭān Aḥmad and his favourite vizier. Aḥmad would not deliver Ibrāhīm alive into the hands of the infuriated mob and had him strangled in the Serai on the 30th Sept. 1730; on the following day he himself was forced to abdicate.

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AL-IBSHĪHĪ (AL-ABSHAIHĪ or perhaps AL-ABSHĪHĪ) BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FATḤ MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD (SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ABBĀS) B. MANṢŪR B. AḤMAD B. 'ĪSĀ AL-MAḤALLĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī, an Arabic scholar of Egypt, born in 790 (1388) in the province of al-Gharbīya in the place ابشيه (Abshīyah: cf. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 92; de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, p. 631, N°. 7; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *al-Intiṣār*, Cairo 1310, v. 82 *infra*). Here, after learning the Ḳur'ān by heart by his tenth year, he also received instruction in Fiḳh and Grammar. In 814 = 1412 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He often came to Cairo and heard the lectures of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī. He became *khaṭīb* of his native place in succession to his father. For the rest he devoted himself to literary activity, showing a particular preference for *adab*. According to al-Sakhāwī, his grammatical knowledge was not thorough nor his language free from errors. He is the author of the Adab work *al-Mustaṭraf fī kull Fann mustaẓraf* (pr. Būlāḳ 1272, Cairo 1275 [lith.], 1279, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1308), which G. Rat translated into French (*Al-Mostaṭraf, Recueil de morceaux choisis . . . . par le Sheïh Shihâb-ad-dîn Aḥmad al-Abshîhî* etc., Paris—Toulon, 1899—1902). According to al-Sakhāwī, he also composed a paraenetic work in two volumes, *Aṭwāḳ al-Azhār 'alā Ṣudūr al-Anhār*, and began a book on epistolography (*fī ṣanā'at al-tarassul wa 'l-kitāba*). He may be also the author of the *Tadhkirat al-'Ārifīn wa-Tabṣirat al-Mustabṣirīn*, Hs. Damascus, Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazā'in al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ* etc., p. 80, N°. 24.

Ibn Fahd and al-Biḳā'ī met al-Ibshīhī in 838 in al-Maḥalla and heard his lectures. He died after 850 (1446).

The same *nisba* was borne by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā, a Shāfi'ī teacher in Cairo, d. [8]92 (al-Sakhāwī, *o. c.*, Hs. Warn. 369a, p. 318 *sq.*), Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Miṣrī (*ibid.*, p. 661) and Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad . . . al-Ma'zāwī al-Kalīlī al-Mālikī, known as Ibn al-Ḥidjāzī, born 21st Ramaḍān 834, d. 898 in Cairo (al-Sakhāwī, *o. c.*, Hs. Warn. 369a, p. 582).

Bibliography: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, Hs. Warn. 369a, p. 589; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 56.

(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IBTIDĀ' (inf. viiith form of *bd'* "to begin"), "beginning", "inchoative". Technical term of Arabic grammar denoting the use of a word as subject (*mubtada'*) of a nominal sentence. "The *mubtada'* is any noun (or its equivalent) with which a beginning is made in order that a statement may be built upon it; the *mubtada'* and what is built upon it are both in the nominative case; and there can be no *ibtidā'* unless something built upon it follows" (Sībawaihi, i. 239 . . .). Thus e. g. in *Muḥammadun rasūlu 'llāhi*, a beginning is made with *Muḥammadun*, which is nominative by *ibtidā'*, and *rasūlu 'llāhi* is "built upon it" to complete the sense. The distinctive feature of the nominal sentence is that the relation of its subject and predicate is one of logical necessity, and is unexpressed by any finite verb. In general the subject precedes the predicate, and hence any sentence in which the subject comes first is regarded as nominal; cf. *Zaidun māta*, where *Zaidun* is *mubtada'*, while in the sentence *māta Zaidun Zaidun* is *fā'il* or agent (see esp. Wright, *o. c.*, ii. 251 A. B.). The precedence of the subject is however not universal, and cases are quoted in which inversion (*taḳdīm*) occurs, usually for emphasis or other special reason.

In Prosody, *ibtidā'* is a name for the first foot of the second hemistich of a line. [Cf. MUBTADA', MUSNAD.]

Bibliography: Sībawaihi, *Kitāb* (ed. Derenbourg), i. 239, 240, 222, et passim; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal* (ed. Broch[2]), p. 12—14; Ibn Ya'īsh (ed. Jahn), p. 100—124; al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt* (ed. Flügel), p. 4-5; Muḥammad A'lā, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger), p. 107-108; Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, ii. 250 *sqq.*; Freytag, *Darst. der arab. Verskunst*, p. 118, 510. (ROBERT STEVENSON.)

IČ-IL (T.) "interior" the name of a province in Asia Minor, which at present forms an independent sandjaḳ of the wilāyet of 'Adana [q. v.] with Selefke as its chief town; 47 villages belong directly to it and also the nāḥiya of Aṭāeli with 63 villages and Bolidjala with 6 villages. This sandjaḳ comprises four ḳaḍā, viz. Ermenek [q. v.], Mūt, Gulnar (Kilindria, Celendaris) and Anamūr (q. v., capital Čorakī. The population consists of

45,000 Turks, 15,500 Kurds, 14,000 Greeks, 12,000 gipsies, and 8780 of various origins. The hills are covered with woods (221,518 hectares). The products are wood for building purposes and cereals. The Kurd nomads in the hills prepare butter and cheese, which they sell in the villages. Industry is carpet weaving. The district is covered with Roman remains. It is the ancient Tracheotis (Cilicia Petraea). The principal rivers are the Lamas-ṣu (Lamus) and the Gök-ṣu [q. v.]. The source of the Ṭalli-ṣu near the sea is probably indentical with the Νοῦς of the Greeks.

The origin of the name Ič-ili may be traced to the Saldjūḳs for considered from their capital Konia this district really seems to be in the interior of the mountains. It has also been suggested that the name is a corruption of Cilicia.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djewād, *Djoghrāfya Lughāti*, p. 133; *Sālnāme*, ed. 1325, p. 816; Ḥādjdjī-Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 611; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 63 *sqq.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 148.

(CL. HUART.)

IČ-OGHLAN (T.), "servant of the interior" (*i. e.* of the palace) was the name given in Turkey to the pages in the Sulṭān's service. They were Christian children who had either been taken in war or given as tribute in Europe; Asia was free from this levy. The most beautiful and best developed were chosen and those who seemed to be best endowed and to possess the best character. Their names, ages, and country of origin were noted and then they were converted to Islām and circumcised. They received a strict training for fourteen years under the supervision of eunuchs. They were divided into four chambers. The first comprised 400 pages, who received a daily pay of four to five aspers, learned to read and write and were instructed in religion and good behaviour. After six years they entered the second chamber, where the same education was continued and they also received a military training, which included riding and fencing. The third chamber contained 200 pages, who learned to sew, embroider, and make arrows, also to play musical instruments, and perform the duties of a chamberlain. The fourth chamber consisted of only forty picked pupils who received a daily pay of nine to ten aspers; they were dressed in satin, brocade, and cloth of gold and acted as chamberlains, as keepers of the wardrobes, major-domos, first barber, first manicurist, secretaries, and inspectors. The highest offices in the empire were open to the latter class and their occupants were chosen from them. From the end of the xviith century therefore the tribute of boys was abolished, as the Turks were ready to pay to get their own children into the corps, so that they might attain the highest offices in the state. The Galata Serai (cf. i. 875ᵃ), in which the Lycée Impérial now is, was formerly the training house of the *Ič-Oghlan*; there was another in the Imperial Palace at Adrianople but it was abolished by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (1049—1058 = 1639—1648).

Bibliography: Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage au Levant* (1717), ii. 10 *sqq.*; Ricaut, *Etat présent de l'empire ottoman* (trad. Briot), p. 83 *sqq.*; A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*², i. 302; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, vii. 47 *sqq.*

(CL. HUART.)

ʿĪD, festival. The word is derived by the Arab lexicographers from the root $\sqrt{}$ ʿWD and explained as "the (periodically) returning". But it is really one of those Aramaic loanwords, which are particularly numerous in the domain of religion; cf. for example the Syriac *ʿēdā* "festival, holiday".

The Muslim year has two canonical festivals, the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* [q. v.] or "sacrificial festival" on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* "festival of breaking the fast" on the 1st Shawwāl. The special legal regulations for these are dealt with in the following articles. Common to both festivals is the *ṣalāt al-ʿīd(ain)* festival of public prayer of the whole community, which is considered sunna. In many ways it has preserved older forms of the *ṣalāt* than the daily or even the Friday *ṣalāt* (although in other points it has come to resemble the latter) and in its general style much resembles the *ṣalāt* for drought and eclipses. It consists only of two *rakʿa* [q. v.] and contains several *takbīr* [q. v.] more than the ordinary *ṣalāt*. After it a *khuṭba* [q. v.] in two parts is held. It has no *adhān* [q. v.] and no *iḳāma* [q. v.]; as in the oldest times the only summons to it is the words *al-ṣalāt djāmiʿatan*. It should be celebrated in the open air on the *muṣallā* [q. v.], which is still often done, though mosques are frequently now preferred. The time for its performance is between sunset and the moment when the sun has reached its zenith.

At both festivals, which last three or four days in practice, the Muslim puts on new or at least his best clothes; people visit, congratulate, and bestow presents on one another. The cemeteries are visited, and people stay in them for hours, sometimes the whole night in tents. These more popular practices are more usual at the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* than at the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*; the festival of breaking the fast is much more joyfully celebrated because the hardships of Ramaḍān are over, so that at the present day the "minor festival" has in practice become of much greater importance than the "major festival".

Bibliography: The Fiḳh books in the chapter *Ṣalāt al-ʿīdain*; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p. 126 *sqq.*; Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* (*Abhandl. d. K. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, *Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1913, Nº. 9), p. 19, 27 *sqq.*, 40—41; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris 1788), ii. 222—31 and 423—36; Sell, *The Faith of Islām*, 2nd ed. (London 1896), p. 318—26; Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les particularités de la religion musulmane dans l'Inde*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1869), p. 69—71; Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, London 1832, p. 261—269; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 139 *sqq.*; do., *Mekka*, ii. 91—97; do., *The Achehnese*, i. 237—244; do., *Het Gajōland* (Batavia 1903), p. 325 *sq.*; Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, Chap. x.

(E. MITTWOCH.)

ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ (also called *ʿīd al-ḳurbān* or *ʿīd al-naḥr*) "sacrificial feast" or *ʿīd al-kabīr*, "the major festival", in India *baḳar ʿīd* (*baḳra ʿīd*) in Turkey *büyük-bairam* or *ḳurbān-bairam* (cf. BAIRAM). It is celebrated on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the day on which the pilgrims sacrifice in the valley of Minā (cf. ḤADJDJ), the *aiyām al-tashrīḳ*. The old Arab custom of sacrificing on this day in Minā was adopted by Islām not only for pilgrims but also for all Muslims as sunna. (It is

only a necessary duty [*wādjib*] by reason of a vow [*nadhr*]).

This *sunna* (*sunna muʾakkada ʿala ʾl-kifāya*) is obligatory on every free Muslim who can afford to buy a sacrificial victim. Sheep (one for each person) or camels or cattle (one for one to ten persons) are sacrificed. The animals must be of a fixed age and be free from certain physical defects (one eyed, lameness etc.). The period of the sacrifice begins with the *ṣalāt al-ʿīd* and ends with sunset on the 3rd of the three *aiyām al-tashrīḳ*. The following practices are recommended to the sacrificers: 1. the *tasmiya* i. e. the saying of the *Basmala* [q. v.]; 2. the *ṣalāt ʿala ʾl-nabī*, the blessing on the Prophet; 3. the turning towards the *ḳibla*; 4 the threefold *takbīr* before and after the *tasmiya*; 5. a request for the kindly acceptance of the sacrifice. If the latter is offered on account of a vow, the sacrificer must eat none of it but must give it all for pious purposes. If the sacrifice, as is usually the case, is made voluntarily, the sacrificer enjoys a portion (a third) of the animal and gives the rest away.

On the public prayer and the usages at the festival on this holiday see ʿĪD.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned at the art. ʿĪD the Fiḳh books in the chapter on *Uḍḥiya*. (E. MITTWOCH.)

ʿĪD AL-FIṬR, "festival of the breaking the fast" or *al-ʿīd al-ṣaghīr* "the minor festival", Turkish *küčük-bairam* or *sheker-bairam* (cf. BAIRAM), is the festival celebrated on the 1st Shawwāl and the following days. If the Muslim has not paid the *zakāt al-fiṭr* [cf. ZAKĀT] before the end of the period of fasting, he is legally bound to do this on the 1st Shawwāl at latest and is recommended to do it before the public prayer *Ṣalāt* which is celebrated on this day [cf. ʿĪD].

As this festival marks the end of the difficulties of the period of fasting, although called the "minor", it is celebrated with much more festivity and rejoicing than the "major festival"; cf. ʿĪD.

Bibliography: The fiḳh books in the section *Zakāt al-Fiṭr* and the bibliography to the article ʿĪD. (E. MITTWOCH.)

AL-ʿIḌĀDA (A.) is the line of vision (diopter) marked on the reverse of the astrolabe, turning round the axis or pivot, with the aid of which various observations can be made, particularly the taking of the altitude of a star (see above i. p. 501a). (H. SUTER.)

IḌĀFA (A.) (infin. iv.th form of ḍyf "to draw near"); the adjoining of one thing to another; annexation. Technical term of Arabic grammar commonly named the "genitive relation", or the "construct state"; the relation of two words of which the former is determined or particularised by the latter. The former (*al-muḍāf*, "the annexed") is said to be in the construct state, and the latter (*al-muḍāf ilaihi*, "that to which the annexation is made") is in the genitive case. Their relation expresses the genitive of possession, quality, material, cause or effect, part or whole, or object or agent, and its distinctive features are: 1) that its two members together form one idea, and cannot be separated in writing; hence any adjective or its equivalent qualifying the *muḍāf* must follow the *muḍāf ilaihi*, as *bintu ʾl-maliki al-ḥasanatu*, "the beautiful daughter of the king"; 2) that both the *muḍāf* and the *muḍāf ilaihi* are definite in sense, or both are indefinite; in either case the former is regarded as sufficiently defined by the latter, and is regularly written without the article and without *tanwīn* (cf. with above example *bintu malikin*, "a king's daughter"). An exception to this is seen when the *muḍāf* is an adjective which qualifies a definite noun, and which must therefore have the article: this is *iḍāfa ghairu ḥaḳīḳiya* or "improper annexation". In the strict Arabic interpretation the fact that the *muḍāf ilaihi* is in the genitive is due to the government of a preposition expressed or implied e. g. *baitu Zaidin* ("Zaid's house") = *al-baitu ʾlladhī li-Zaidin* ("the house which belongs to Zaid").

Bibliography: Sībawaihi, *Kitāb* (ed. Derenbourg), II, 64., sqq.: al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal* (ed. Broch 2), p. 36—44; Ibn Yaʿīsh (ed. Jahn), p. 303—356; Muḥammad Aʿlā, *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger), p. 888—893; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1814; Wright, *Arabic Grammar*3, II, 198 A, 234 B. (ROBERT STEVENSON.)

ʿIDDA (A.) is the prescribed period of waiting, during which widows and divorced women cannot contract a new marriage after the dissolution of the previous one. The *ʿidda* prescribed for widows is legally 4 months and 10 days (cf. Kurʾān ii. 234). Among the ancient Arabs a longer period of mourning was prescribed. Then it was the custom for a widow after the death of her husband to withdraw to a small tent, where she spent a whole year during which she was not allowed to cleanse herself. See J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (*Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen* 1893, p. 454 sqq.). *ʿIdda* after divorce was unknown to the ancient Arabs. Whoever married a divorced woman who was pregnant, was considered the father of the child born after the marriage even though the previous husband was really the father. In Islām, however, the actual father was considered the father of the child and no woman was allowed to remarry within a definite period (*ʿidda*) after the dissolution of the first marriage. If she bore a child during this period only the previous husband could be considered its father. This *ʿidda* after divorce lasts, according to Muslim law, for three menstrual periods (*ḳurūʾ*) or for non-menstruating women three months; if a divorced woman is pregnant she must not contract a new marriage in any circumstance for 40 days after the birth of the child (cf. Kurʾān ii. 228; lxv., 4). An *ʿidda* is also prescribed for slave women, but in place of an *ʿidda* of four months and 10 days, it only lasts two months and 5 days, and in place of an *ʿidda* of three *ḳurūʾ*, one of two *ḳurūʾ* and in place of an *ʿidda* of three months, one of one and a half months. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

IDDIGHĀM (according to the Baṣra school of grammarians) or IDGHĀM (according to the Kūfa school), technical term used in Arabic grammar to denote the close association in pronunciation of two consecutive homogeneous consonants. This may take place without complete assimilation, but in most cases the one consonant "enters into" and is assimilated to the other, which is then written and spoken as if doubled. The following is a summary of the rules as given by al-Zamakhsharī.

1. In general *iddighām* may occur when both

letters are vocalised (as *radda* from *radada*), or when the first is silent and the second vocalised (as *aḳultaka* for *aḳul laka*), but not when the first is vocalised and the second silent (as *fararta*, *ḍalilta*, etc.). This applies equally to pairs of identical letters, as exemplified above, and to letters which are phonetically related. Thus in the guttural group change may take place from *h* to *ḥ* (as *idhabbihādhihi* for *idhhab bihādhihi*); from *h* to *ḥ* (as *lammā ra'ahhāla* for *lammā ra'āhu ḥāla*), from *'ain* to *ḥ* (as *irfaḥḥālim*^{an} for *irfa' ḥālim*^{an}); from *gh* to *kh*, etc., and parallel changes are seen among the dentals, sibilants, and labials (as *niddjib*^{an} from *nid djib*^{an}, *'amtar* from *'anbar*, etc.). There also occur cases of interchange between dentals and sibilants (as *aṣḥābushshire*^{an} for *aṣḥābut shire*^{an}). The usual tendency is for the weaker letter to coalesce in the stronger, though exceptions are to be found (as *kalakkulla* for *kalaka kulla*). The letter *Alif* is not subject to *Iddighām*, and *Hamza* only in the nominal form *fa''āl*— (e. g. *sa''āl*^{un}, *ra''ās*^{un}). Generally *r*, *sh*, *ḍ*, *f*, and *m* are not assimilated to any letter but themselves.

2. The verbal forms V. and VI. are frequently influenced. With verbs initial dental the prosthetic often assimilates, as *iṭṭayyara* (with additional prosthetic *alif*) for *taṭayyara*. In the form VIII the inserted *t* becomes *ṭ* after *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, or *ẓ* (e. g. *iṭṭalaba* for *itṭalaba*; *iḍḍaraba* and *iṣṭaraba* for *iḍtaraba*), and *d* before *d*, *dh*, or *z* (*izdāna* for *iztāna*). Mention may also be made of verbs initial or medial dental such as *iththa'ara* and *itta'ara* for *ithta'ara*, and more rarely, *ḍṭamala* (with loss of *alif*) for *iḍṭamala*.

3. The *l* of the definite article is always assimilated to the first letter of nominal forms beginning with any of the so-called "solar letters" *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *sh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *l*, and *n* (as *arrasūlu* for *al-rasūlu* etc.).

Bibliography: al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, pp. 188—197; Ibn Ya'ish (ed. Jahn), pp. 1456—1496; Sībawaihi (ed. Derenbourg), ii. 452, 497; Muhammad A'lā, *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger), i. 501; Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, i. 13^{c}, 16^{c}, 64^{c}, 66^{a, b}, 67^{a} *et passim*; Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, pp. 23—36; Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre* (Leiden, 1911), pp. 23, 49—53.

(ROBERT STEVENSON.)

IDHADJ. [See MĀL AMĪR.]

IDHN (A.) i. e. permission. Special regulations on *idhn* are given in the Muslim law books in the chapter on the law of slaves. According to law, slaves as a rule are not considered capable of making valid transactions. If however a master wishes to use the services of his slave in the management of a business, he can empower him to perform the necessary legal transactions. A slave who possesses such authority is called *ma'dhūn lahu* in the law books i. e. one who has been given an *idhn*. Contracts made by the slave so empowered are valid and binding as long as he does not overstep the limits of the powers granted him and he guarantees his pledges to the creditors with the goods his master has entrusted to him to carry on the business with.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

IDJĀB (A.) i. e. offer (in contracts), really the solemn declaration that the offer is irrevocable (cf. the Arabic expression *ḳad wadjaba al-bai'* i. e. the contract of sale is binding and irrevocable). In all legal transactions the observation of the prescribed legal form is most necessary and the mutual declarations, known in the *fiḳh* books as *īdjāb* and *ḳabūl* (i. e. offer and acceptance) are as a rule indispensable. Nevertheless in detailed books on law the question is discussed how far contracts are legal without such an *īdjāb* or *ḳabūl*. For example, in cases where it is the local custom for parties to exchange goods at their value without further formalities, can a valid transfer of the property take place without *īdjāb* and *ḳabūl*? Many scholars reply in the affirmative, but others hold such an "exchange" without the legally prescribed declarations to be only valid in cases of things of very little value.

Bibliography: The chapter on *Bai'* in the *Fiḳh* books and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, ii. 353 (*The Achehnese*, ii. 320), vgl. *Indische Gids*, 1884, i. 745, 753—55.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

IDJĀZA (A.) Permission, a technical term in the science of Tradition, the permission granted to any one by a competent "carrier" of a text or even a whole book — whether it is the latter's own or an older text which he is able to trace back by a reliable chain of transmitters to the original transmitter or to the author — to transmit further the work, and to quote the transmittor as an authority. The *idjāza* does not require immediate contact between the person receiving the permission and him who grants it. And there is a difference of opinion as to what formula has to accompany a text which has been acquired by means of *idjāza*. Even the 'Abbāsid Caliphs al-Nāṣir and al-Musta'ṣim gave a number of *idjāzat* for *ḥadīth*'s which they had themselves received; the former gave authority to individuals to exercise this function in his name (Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'*, Cairo 1305, p. 181, 186). In time the acquisition of the *idjāza* from important persons became a favourite hobby. Fathers collected *idjāzat* for their sons from all possible shaikhs (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ii. 2, ed. Popper, p. 194). The celebrated Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (died 1061 = 1651) while going round the Ka'ba (*ṭawāf*) at Mecca on his pilgrimage, was besieged for *idjāzat* (Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, iv. 199). Princes sought *idjāza* from scholars (e. g. in Ufrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, ed. Houdas, p. 131); the Ottoman sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I and his grand vizier Raghib Pasha sought and obtained the *idjāza* for Tradition from the author of the *Tādj al-'Arūs* (cf. ii. 970 of this work). People take advantage of the presence of travelling scholars to obtain from them the *idjāza* for their works: this is recognised as an honour to the scholars themselves ('Abd Allāh al-Makkī (1250 = 1834) *Riḥlat Sālār*, p. 70, 76, 90). On the other hand, as early as the 7th century A. H. the *idjāza* system had developed to such unrestrained limits that a man before dying would declare that he gave all Muslims living at that time the *idjāza* for the traditions he knew (Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, iii. 363; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, p. 614). Cf. such general grantings of *idjāza* in the viii^{th} century in Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 14). Out of modest beginnings (a specimen in Kern, *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lv. 74) there soon developed a high sounding rhetorical *idjāza* style with extravagant epithets (*idjāza ṭannāna*, Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*,

p. 246, 2 from below). Even in the 19th century the poetic form was used (cf. examples in the works given below). The traveller Ibn Djubair gave a politicus the *idjāza* in both prose and verse (*nathr^an wa-naẓm^an*, ed. Wright—de Goeje, p. 201. 15). See *idjāza* poems also in Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (*Dīwān*, p. 481—483, for his own poems); *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *Djz*, v. 369; *Ḥadīḳat al-Afrāḥ*, p. 76.

In the modern language *idjāzat-nāmah* is used to denote "diplomas of authorisation".

Bibliography: Sprenger, *Über das Traditionswesen bei den Arabern*, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, x. 9 *sqq.*; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, i. 34—35; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 188—193; W. Marçais, *Le Taqrîb de en-Nawawî*, traduit et annoté (Paris 1902), Index s. v., particularly, p. 115—126; Mīrzā ʿAlī Taḳī, *al-Idjāza*, *containing Licenses to Learned Men* (Text, Lucknow 1286 = 1869).

(I. GOLDZIHER.)

AL-**ĪDJĪ**, ʿAḌUD AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AḤMAD, theologian and philosopher, author of various handbooks which were often annotated by later authors. His principal work is *al-Mawāḳif fī ʿIlm al-Kalām*, a philosophical and theological treatise which has become known in Europe also; Th. Soerensen has published the last two chapters of it and the appendix with al-Djurdjānī's commentary under the title *Statio V^ta et VI^ta et Appendix libri Mevakif auctore ʿAdhad-ed-Dîn el-Îgî cum Comm. Gorgânii*, Leipzig 1848; complete edition Constantinople 1839. He also wrote a brief catechism known as *al-ʿAḳāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyya*, which has several times been annotated and has been printed at Constantinople 1827, St. Petersburg 1313. Other works are given by Brockelmann, *Gesch.* etc., ii. 208 *sqq.* Very little is known of al-Īdjī's life. We only know that he was a native of Īdj, a fortress in Fārs, held the office of ḳāḍī and mudarris at Shīrāz (see Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, ed. Rosenzweig, iii. 243) and died in the year 756 = 1355.

Bibliography: given in the article.

ʿ**IDJL**, a North Arabian tribe, an important branch of the Bakr b. Wāʾil (q. v.). Their ancestor ʿIdjl b. Ludjaim was notorious for his stupidity and the expression "more stupid than ʿIdjl" was proverbial (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i. 48, n. 3). During the heathen period they formed a portion of the so-called Lahāzimgroup, which included the Dhuhl and Yaghkur. Some of them professed Christianity. Abū Nadjm, the radjaz poet, belonged to the ʿIdjl.

They lived in al-Yamāma (al-Khiḍrima, al-Khaḍārim, also called Djaww al-Khiḍrima) and in the country between Kūfa and Baṣra. The following villages belonged to them: Dhawāt, Dhu 'l-Arāka (in Yamāma), waters: al-Buḳaiʿ, al-Ruwaiḍa, Sīḳ (between Kūfa and Baṣra), Shuhrum (in the Bādiya of Kūfa), Ẓabya (in Yamāma, jointly with the B. Suḥaim), Zumm and ʿAin al-Kaiyāra (two days journey from Wāsiṭ). A section of the ʿIdjl is said to have allied themselves closely in Baḥrain with Persian immigrants from Iṣṭakhr and to have been later incorporated in them.

Historical. In the battles between the Bakr b. Wāʾil and the Tamīm at Nibādj and Ṭaiṣal the ʿIdjl with other tribes of the Lahāzim group were on the side of the Bakr. In another battle they fought with the Lahāzim, all under the leadership of an ʿIdjlī, against the Tamīm (cf. ḤANẒALA B. MALIK, p. 262^a). At al-Kharba the ʿIdjl were attacked by their relatives, the Dhuhl, because they had given shelter to Ḥārith b. Ẓālim, who slew Khālid b. Djaʿfar; Ḥārith b. Ẓālim who did not wish to be the cause of hostilities left the ʿIdjl and went to the Taghlib. Together with the Dhuhl (under Ḥārith b. Waʿla) they fought under the leadership of Muḥallim b. Ḥanẓala against Kais b. Masʿūd, chief of the Shaibān, by whom they had been insulted on a visit. Of other battles of the ʿIdjl we may mention that of Musallaḥa (Musallaha) against the Kais b. ʿĀṣim and Tamīm, who together made a raid on the ʿIdjl, that of Irāb and one with the Mishḳar. At the battle of Dhū Ḳār, the ʿIdjl under Ḥanẓala b. Thaʿlaba took a prominent part (see BAKR B. WĀʾIL, i. 605^b); they formed the advanced guard of the Bakr and bravely resisted the Persian attacks. Ḥanẓala slew the Persian leader Djalābazīn, and another of their group the leader of a Persian body of cavalry named Hāmarz. In the battle of Ullais (12 = 634) between Khālid b. al-Walīd and the Persians, along with other Christian Arabs on the side of the latter there were also ʿIdjl under Abū 'l-Aswad al-ʿIdjlī. When in 22 = 644 Kalʿat Namair near Nahāwand was taken by the Muslims, in addition to Ḥanīfa, there were many ʿIdjl among the latter. In Mesopotamia we still find ʿIdjl in the third century 250, e. g. during the rising of the ʿAlid Yaḥyā b. ʿOmar at Kūfa, in whose following were ʿIdjlī cavalry under the leadership of al-Haidam b. al-ʿAlī.

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AL-ʿ**IDJLĪ**, ABŪ MANṢŪR, called AL-KISF (the piece) and AL-KHANNĀḲ (the strangler) lived at the beginning of the ii^nd = viii^th century and was executed by Yūsuf b. ʿOmar, governor of al-ʿIrāḳ in 120—126 = 738—744. His nickname al-Kisf owes its origin to the fact that he applied to himself the words of Ḳurʾān, lii. 44 "If they (the unbelievers) saw a piece fall down from heaven, they would say it was a thick cloud", because he alleged he had been in heaven, God had touched him with his hand and let him down to earth with a divine mission. According to some statements he is said at first to have recognised the ʿAlid Abū Djaʿfar al-Bāḳir Muḥammad b. ʿAlī as imām. His mission was to proclaim the abrogation of Muḥammadan law and to interpret Muḥammadan beliefs allegorically; to spread this doctrine it was thought permissible to slay their opponents and take their wives and property. This explains the nickname al-Khannāḳ, for he and his followers, who

were called Manṣūriya after him, used to strangle their victims. Friedländer has aptly compared them to the Indian Thugs. On these and similar aberrations in Islām see Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo, ii. 96 *sqq.*, and the discussion of this passage in Van Vloten, *Worgers in Iraq* in the *Feestbundel Veth*, p. 57 *sqq.*

Bibliography: The main references to Abū Manṣūr are given in Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites* etc. in the *Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, xxix. 89; al-Baghdādī, ed. Muḥ. Badr, p. 234 *sq.*

IDJMĀ' (literally "agreeing upon") is one of the four *uṣūl* from which the Muslim faith is derived and is defined as the agreement of the *mudjtahid*'s of the people (i. e. those who have a right, in virtue of knowledge, to form a judgment of their own; see *idjtihād*), after the death of Muḥammad, in any age, on any matter of the faith. As this agreement is not fixed by council or synod but is reached instinctively and automatically, its existence on any point is perceived only on looking back and seeing that such an agreement has actually been attained; it is then consciously accepted and called an *idjmā'*. Thus the agreement gradually fixed points which had been in dispute, and each point, when thus fixed, became an essential part of the faith, and disbelief in it an act of unbelief (*kufr*); cf., however, Goldziher, *Über idjmā'* in *Nachr. K. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1916, p. 81 *sqq.* Each agreement, that is, became a *ḥudjdja* for its own and all succeeding periods. It could be expressed in speech (*idjmā' al-ḳawl*) or in action (*idjmā' al-fi'l*) or by silence regarded as assent (*idjmā' al-sukūt wa 'l-taḳrīr*); cf. the similar classification as to the *sunna* of the Prophet. It is especially excluded that it means the agreement of the masses (*al-'awāmm*), and in al-Shāfi'ī's earlier view, before he went to Egypt, a statement by a single Companion was binding on the following generations. But later he gave up this opinion and it has now been generally abandoned.

A general principle of agreement was held in different forms from an early period. The legal system of Mālik b. Anas was built largely on the agreement of al-Madīna, the city of the Prophet; this agreement was local. The agreement of the two camp-cities (*amṣār*) of Kūfa and al-Baṣra, with their masses of veterans of the early wars, had great weight. For later generations the agreement of the Companions was naturally decisive. But it was al-Shāfi'ī who developed this general principle into a definite *aṣl*, and ranged it with the other three. Further, from deciding points left uncertain by the other *uṣūl* it has come to be regarded as stamping with assurance points decided by another *aṣl*. This is in virtue of a divine protection against error (*'iṣma*) which inheres in the Muslim people. In Shāfi'ite books of *fiḳh* the statement is normal: — "such and such a passage (Ḳur'ān or Sunna), before the Agreement (*ḳabl al-idjmā'*), is the basis for such and such a rule." At present the Wahhābites (following the vanished Ẓāhirites) reject the universality of this principle and limit agreement to that of the Companions. And such specific sects as the Shī'a and the Ibāḍites are, of course, quite outside of the *idjmā'* of the Sunnites.

The statement of the principle, which is given formally by the canonists, is as above. But the real working has been even wider. The local tradition from Muḥammad runs: "My people will never agree in an error", — and there are also Ḳur'ānic texts, iv. 115, denouncing those who follow other than the way of the believers (*ghaira sabīli 'l-mu'minīn*), and ii. 137: "We have made you a normal people" (*ummatan wasaṭan*, cf. Baiḍāwī). In consequence there is in the thought and working of the people as a whole a power to create doctrine and law, and not simply to stamp with approval that which has otherwise been reached. By means of *idjmā'* what was at first an innovation (*bid'a*, the opposite of *sunna*), and as such heretical, has been accepted and has overridden the earlier *sunna*. Thus the cult of saints has become practically part of the *sunna* of Islām and, strangest of all, in the doctrine of the infallibility and sinlessness (*'iṣma*) of Muḥammad, the *idjmā'* has overcome clear statements of the Ḳur'ān. In this, *idjmā'* has not simply fixed unsettled points, but has changed settled doctrines, of the greatest importance. It is thus regarded by many, at present, both within and without Islām, as a powerful instrument of reform; the Muslim people, they assert, can make Islām whatever they, as a whole, please. Yet as to this there is grave divergence of opinion. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 56, viewing the matter historically, sees great possibilities in the future; Snouck Hurgronje (*Politique musulmane de la Hollande*, p. 42, 60), looking at *fiḳh* as a crystallised system, sees in *idjmā'* no hope.

Bibliography: Shāfi'ī, *Risāla*, ed. Cairo, 1312, p. 125 *sqq.*; Ḳarāfī, *Sharḥ Tanḳīḥ al-Fuṣūl fi 'l-Uṣūl*, ed. Cairo, 1306, p. 140 *sqq.*, also, on its margin, *Sharḥ* of Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim on *Sharḥ* of Maḥallī on *Waraḳāt* of Djuwainī, p. 156 *sqq.*; *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 238 *sqq.*; Goldziher, *Ẓāhiriten*, p. 32 *sqq.*; *Muh. Studien*, ii. 85, 139, 214, 284; *Vorlesungen*, by index; Snouck Hurgronje, *Le Droit Musulman* in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, xxxvii. p. 15 *sqq.*, 174 *sqq.*; Juynboll, *Handb. des Islām. Gesetzes*, p. 46—49. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

IDJTIHĀD means the exerting of one's self to the utmost degree to attain an object and is used technically for so exerting one's self to form an opinion (*ẓann*) in a case (*ḳaḍiyya*) or as to a rule (*ḥukm*) of law (*Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 198; *Lisān*, iv. 109, ll. 19 *sqq.*). This is done by applying analogy (*ḳiyās*) to the Ḳur'ān and the sunna. Thus in the earliest usage *idjtihād* was formally equated with *ḳiyās*, as by al-Shāfi'ī in his *Risāla* (ed. Cairo, 1312, p. 127, 7 *sqq.*, *Bāb al-Idjmā'*). In his section on *idjtihād* he quotes first as a proof, Ḳur. ii. 145, and demonstrates that it involves that each must follow his own judgment as to the direction of the *ḳibla*. It was therefore for Shāfi'ī practically the same as *ra'y*, "opinion" and the *mudjtahid* was one who by his own exertions formed his own opinion, being thus exactly opposed to the *muḳallid*, "imitator", who, as Subkī in his *Djam' al-Djawāmi'* says, "takes the saying of another without knowledge of its basis (*dalīl*)". For thus applying himself he would, according to a tradition from the Prophet, receive a reward even though his decision were wrong, while, if it was right, he received a double reward (Goldziher in *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, liii. 649). The duty and right of *idjtihād* thus did not involve inerrancy. Its result was always *ẓann*, fallible opinion. Only the con-

tinued *idjtihād* of the whole Muslim people led to *idjmā'*, Agreement, and was inerrant. On the controversy as to the possibility of error in *mudjtahids* see Taftāzānī on the *'Aḳā'id* of Nasafī, ed. Cairo, 1321, p. 145 *sqq.* But this broad *idjtihād* soon passed into the special *idjtihād* of those who had a peculiar right to form judgments and whose judgments should be followed by others. At this point, and from the nature of the case, a difference entered between theology (*kalām*) and law (*fiḳh*). Even to the present day many theologians assert that *taḳlīd* does not furnish a saving faith; see, for example, the *Kifāyat al-'awāmm* of Fuḍālī, *passim*, and the translation in D. B. Macdonald's *Development of Muslim Theology*, pp. 315—351. But all canon lawyers for centuries have admittedly been *muḳallids* of one degree or another. When later Islām looked back to the founding of the four legal schools (*madhāhib*), it assigned to the founders and to some of their contemporaries an *idjtihād* of the first rank. These had possessed a right to work out all questions from the very foundation, using Ḳur'ān, *sunna*, *ḳiyās*, *istiḥsān*, *istiṣlāḥ*, *istiṣḥāb* etc., and were *mudjtahid*'s absolutely (*muṭlaḳ*). Later came those who played the same part within the school (*fi 'l-madhhab*), determining the *furū'* as the masters had settled the broad principles (*uṣūl*) of *fiḳh* and had laid down fundamental texts (*nuṣūṣ*). If the view so stated was found implicitly in a *naṣṣ* of the founder of the *madhhab*, it was called a *wadjh*. Still later and inferior were those who had a right only by their knowledge of previous decisions to answer specific questions submitted to them; these were called *mudjtahidūn bi'l-fatwā*, "by legal opinion." All *mudjtahid*'s had been in a sense *muftī*'s, givers of *fatwā*'s; but these were *muftī*'s only. Such was the formal and generally accepted position. But from time to time individuals appeared who, moved either by ambition or by objection to fixed positions, returned to the earliest meaning of *idjtihād* and claimed for themselves the right to form their own opinion from first principles. One of these was Ibn Taimiya (d. 728), a Ḥanbalite (Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten*, p. 188 *sqq.*). Another was Suyūṭī (d. 911), in whom the claim to *idjtihād* unites with one to be the *mudjaddid*, or renewer of religion, in his century. At every time there must exist at least one *mudjtahid*, was his contention (Goldziher, *Characteristik ... as-Sujūṭī*'s, p. 19 *sqq.*), just as in every century there must come a *mudjaddid*. Another, but a very heretical one, was the Emperor Akbar (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 311). In Shī'ite Islām there are still absolute *mudjtahid*'s. This is because they are regarded as the spokesmen of the Hidden Imām. Their position is thus quite different from that of the *'ulamā'* among Sunnites. They freely criticise and even control the actions of the Shāh, who is merely a *locum tenens* and preserver of order during the absence of the Hidden Imām, the ruler *de iure divino*. But the Sunnite *'ulamā'* are regarded universally as the subservient creatures of the government (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 225—228, 233, 285).

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IDJTIMĀ' [See IDJTIHĀD.]

IḌMĀR, infinitive of the IVth form of the root *ḍmr*, to conceal; technical term of Arabic grammar denoting the use of a *ḍamīr* (see the art. ḌAMĪR). *Iḍmār* (ellipsis or suppression) of a verb or phrase is not uncommon: cf. the frequent omission of the verb of "Saying" before quotations of speech (*e. g.* Ḳur'ān ii, 119, 121, 127 etc.), and such expressions as *saḳyan wa-ra'yan*, meaning in full *saḳāka 'llāhu saḳyan wa-ra'āka 'llāhu ra'yan*, "God give you abundant water and pasture!"

In Prosody *iḍmār* means the quiescence of the second syllable of a foot; it applies to the *Kāmil* metre, in which the foot *mutafā'ilun* may be shortened to *mutfā'ilun*.

Bibliography: Sībawaihi (ed. Derenbourg), i. 107 ... 240 ... 288 ..., ii. 320 *sq.* et *passim*; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, as quoted under ḌAMĪR, and cf. 16—25, 26, 29, 33—34, 134; al-Djurdjānī, *al-Ta'rīfāt* (ed. Flügel), p. 29; Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, i. 33 *sq.*, 100 *sq.* et *passim*; Freytag, *Darst. der arab. Verskunst*, pp. 81, 355-6. (ROBERT STEVENSON.)

IDRĪS, the name of a man, who is twice mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Sūra xix. 57 *sq.*: "Mention Idrīs in the book. Verily he was an upright man, a prophet and we raised him to a high place". And Sūra xxi. 85, mentions him along with Ismā'īl and Dhu 'l-Kifl as one of the patient (*ṣābirīn*) ones. These passages are not calculated to give any explanation of this character. Even the name was for long a puzzle to orientalists till Nöldeke pointed out that it probably concealed the name Andreas (*Zeitschr. für Assyr.*, xvii. 84 *sq.*). That this Andreas who was raised to a high place, is Alexander's cook who obtained immortality has been suggested probably rightly by R. Hartmann (ibid. xxiv. 314). The post-Ḳur'ānic Muslim writers unanimously insist that Idrīs is the Biblical Enoch who also obtained immortality or, as Jewish literature says, was taken alive into Paradise.

The information given by these Arab writers regarding Idrīs is mainly derived from Apocryphal and later Jewish sources. The Biblical Enoch has three striking features which are repeated in the Muslim legends from Jewish models (Genesis v. 23 *sq.*): 1. he is a pious man; 2. he lives 365 years on earth which suggests a solar hero; 3. God takes him to himself. The name Enoch, the consonants of which suggest the meaning "initiated" has probably also affected the formation of this legend.

As to the last point, Idrīs appears also in Muslim literature as 'initiated' in sciences and arts. He was the first to use pens (*ḳalam*), to sew garments and wear them; previously people had been content with skins. He is therefore the patron saint of tailors, one of the seven patrons in the guild system. He was also the first astronomer and chronologist and was skilled in medicine (*ṭibb*).

As a pious man he was the first to mount horse to fight "on the way of God" against the wicked descendants of Cain. As a prophet he received revelations through Gabriel. Thirty books (*ṣaḥīfa*) were revealed to him in this way. For his activity as a prophet and king see partic-

larly Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (ed. Lippert), p. 1 sqq. He received the name Idrīs because he was thoroughly versed in former revelations as the result of industrious study. Baiḍāwī's philological conscience, however, does not allow of such an etymology from the Arabic; it might perhaps be possible in the cognate languages. His ascetic piety aroused the admiration of the angels. The angel of death asked Allāh for permission to visit him. He came to him in mortal form and invited him to sup with him. But Idrīs declined; the same thing happened on the two following nights. On the third day Idrīs asked him who he was. When he heard his answer, Idrīs asked him to receive his spirit. He therefore remained an hour without his *rūḥ*; he then received it back. He next asked to be allowed to be taken into heaven to see it and Paradise. When he reached Paradise he would not come out again. He held fast to a tree and appealed to two texts of the Ḳurʾān: "Every soul shall taste death", for he had already tasted death; and "no one shall drive them out". He therefore would not leave. God then allowed him to remain. He is to return from thence. He and Jesus live in heaven; al-Khaḍir and Ilyās are immortal on earth.

In this version the character of Idrīs as solar hero is seen from the fact that his soul is taken from him at sunset. In another version there are also several traits which point to a solar myth. When one day on a journey he found the heat of the sun unpleasant, he asked God to alleviate it in favour of "him who has every day to travel five hundred years in this heat" (i. e. the sun angel). He begged the latter to postpone his death. The angel took him with him to the place where the sun rises and transmitted Idrīs' request to the angel of death. The latter could not grant his request. The angel of the sun however was allowed to tell him the day of his death. The angel of death opened his dīwān but could not find the date in it. He explained this to mean that Idrīs must die at sunrise. The angel of the sun actually found him dead then.

Nevertheless Idrīs is immortal; expressed in the language of myth this means: the sun dies every day and is revived every day, and is thus immortal. Another recollection of the solar character of Idrīs is preserved in the explanation of the high place of Sūra xix. 57 as the heart of the spheres i. e. the sphere of the sun.

Idrīs is also identified with Ilyās and al-Khaḍir. The Greeks are said to know him under the name Hermes, or as Bar Hebraeus says (*Hist. Dynast.*, ed. Pocock, p. 9) Hermes Trismegistos. For further information see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *l. c.* In agreement with passages of the apocalypse of Enoch Muslim legends also tell that he went through Hell.

On the relation of the Ḥarrānīs to Idrīs-Hermes see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, Index, s. v.

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IDRĪS I, b. ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [q. v.], an ʿAlid, founder of the Idrīsid dynasty in the Maghrib, took part in the ʿAlid rising against the ʿAbbāsid Mūsā al-Hādī [q. v.] and after defeat and death of his nephew al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan at Fakhkh [q. v.] near Mecca on the 3rd Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 169 = 11th June 786, where he had himself fought, remained some time concealed, but later succeeded in reaching Egypt accompanied by a faithful freedman al-Rāshid, and with the assistance of the postmaster there, al-Wāḍiḥ, in secret a Shīʿī, escaped to the Maghrib, where he was received by Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad, chief of the Berber tribe of the Awraba. At the instigation of this chief, Idrīs was on the 4th Ramaḍān 172 recognised as sovereign by the Awraba and later by the Zenāta, Zawāgha, Lemāya, Lawāta, Ghomāra and Sadrāta, who inhabited the north of the modern Morocco, but this recognition of a ʿAlid by the Berbers, who only shortly before had been Khāridjīs was based more on political than religious motives. Idrīs, who only took the title of Imām, is even said by al-Bakrī to have adopted the Muʿtazilī teachings of Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad. In the district of Tāmesnā he attacked Jewish, Christian, and heathen tribes, whom he seems to have defeated rather easily, and in a campaign eastwards (about 173 or 174 = 789-790) also brought under his sway the town of Tlemcen (Agadir) and its practically independent prince, Muḥammad b. Khazar b. Ṣūlāt, who recognised Idrīs as the rightful Imām. In Tlemcen where he spent some time, he founded a mosque (Ṣafar 174), the pulpit of which, with his name inscribed on it, still existed in Ibn Khaldūn's time. Soon after his return to the capital Walīlī (the ancient Volubilis) he was poisoned at the instigation of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, apparently by a certain Sulaimān al-Shammākh (1st Rabīʿ II. 177 = 16th July 793). The details given by some historians of this murder and the means used (a piece of watermelon, a grape, a toothpick, or tooth-powder) as well as of the prosecution of the murderer by al-Rāshid are only romantic additions.

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Leo Africanus, *Dell' Africa* (Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi*, Venice 1563), f°. 31, D; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i. 395—400, 447—449; A. Müller, *Der Islam* etc., i. 488, 492, 550.

(René Basset.)

IDRĪS II, son and successor of Idrīs I [q. v.]. The latter at his death left no children but one of his concubines named Kanza was pregnant by him. His freedman al-Rāshid persuaded the Berbers to wait till the child was born and in case it should be a son, to proclaim him imām and successor to his father. This expectation was fulfilled. Kanza gave birth to a son on the 1st Djumādā II 177 (793), who was recognised as Idrīs I's successor and entrusted to al-Rāshid's care. The attachment of this man to the family of Idrīs brought upon him the persecution of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, the almost independent governor of Ifrīkiya. He was murdered in the same way as his master, but replaced by a Berber named Bahlūl. When the latter was won over by Ibrāhīm, he had to entrust the regency to Abū Khālid Yazīd b. Ilyās. To prevent further intrigues the Berbers summoned the eleven year old Idrīs to the throne and took the oath of fealty to him in the mosque of Ulīlī. But Ibrāhīm continued his intrigues while Idrīs alienated the Berbers by his too openly displayed preference for Arabs and by choosing an Arab wizier. When fifteen years of age he had Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad put to death in spite of the great services he had rendered his father, under the pretext that he was negotiating with Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, and by this stern, not to say unjust, measure thwarted any attempt at a rising. About the same time 192 (808) he built his new capital Fās [q. v., p. 76b sq.] and at the age of eighteen again had the oath of fealty sworn to him, while Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, being busy putting down risings, was unable to interfere with him. At the same time Idrīs changed his policy and became more friendly to the Berbers. After a campaign against the Maṣmūda, whose towns he captured, he marched against Tlemcen (Agadir) which had made itself independent, and put the government of the town in the hands of his cousin, Muḥammad b. Sulaimān b. ʿAbd Allāh. After several engagements with the Khāridjī Berbers, the details of which are not known, he died at Fās in Rabīʿ I 213 (May 20—June 18, 828) at the age of 36, according to the Khalīfa of poisoning; according to al-Bakrī, he was choked by a grape seed. He owes his fame mainly to the foundation of Fās, which has kept his memory so green to the present day in Marocco that the beggars there still seek alms in his name. However little we may know of the details of the careers of him and his father, it is clear that he was the less important of the two.

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(René Basset.)

AL-IDRĪSĪ (formerly usually written Edrisi) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Ḥammūdī (see above Ḥammūdids) al-Ḥasanī, usually al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī (as a descendant of the Prophet), was born at Ceuta in 493 (1100), died in 560 (1166) (cf. especially Khed. Libr., *Fihrist al-Kutub al-ʿArabiya*, v. 166), studied in Cordova, thence called al-Ḳurṭubī (*Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, p. 610 and the Italian version, ii. 487); while the *kunya* and *nisba* Ibn al-Tha(y)rī given by Ibn Rashīḳ in the *Kharīda* of ʿImād al-Dīn is still unexplained, after various travels spent a long time at the court of Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily in Palermo (and is therefore also called al-Ṣaḳalī, the "Sicilian"), where shortly before Roger's death (548 = 1154) he completed the description of the great silver plate map of the world, the celebrated "book of Roger", the *Kitāb Rudjār* or *al-Kitāb al-Rudjārī*, or *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ fi 'khtirāḳ al-Āfāḳ*, the text of which (and 71 maps) is only partly published, but the whole was translated (very incorrectly) into French by Amédée Jaubert (1836—40). For William I (1154—66) he wrote a still larger geographical work, *Rawḍ al-Uns wa-Nuzhat al-Nafs* or *Kitāb al-Mamālik wal-Masālik*, which however is only available in the extract preserved in the Ḥakīm Oghlū ʿAlī Pasha Library in Stambul (N°. 688) (first noticed a decade ago by J. Horovitz in searching the Stambul libraries for historical manuscripts), while the superficial synopsis of the Book of Roger, entitled *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ fī Dhikr al-Amṣār wal-Aḳṭār wal-Buldān wal-Djuzur wal-Madāʾin wal-Āfāḳ* was printed in Rome as early as 1592 and translated by the Maronites Gabriel Sionita and Joannes Hesronita inaccurately into Latin in 1619 as *Geographia Nubiensis* (from the false reading in Clime 3, part 4, at the beginning, dealing with the sources of the Nile: *arḍinā* "our land" for *arḍihā* "their land"). An edition and annotated translation of this the most important geographical work of the Middle Ages with the important maps from the manuscripts at present known, Paris (2), Oxford (2), Stambul (only Aya Sofya, as the other all too summary statements of catalogues only refer to the Roman edition of 1592 or to Jaubert!), Petrograd, and Cairo is one of the most urgent tasks for Arabic scholarship. I am already meditating an edition of the smaller unique in Stambul, as I have photographs of it.

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North Africa; Brandel, *Om och ur den arabiske geografen Idrisi*, Upsala 1894. Syria and Palestine, Arabic and Swedish (with imperfect Bibliography); Seybold, *Edrisiana*, *I. Teilt*, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, lxiii. (1909), 591—6; do., *Analecta Arabo-Italica* in *Centenario Amari* (1910), ii. esp. p. 223—5; Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byzantin. Litteratur*², p. 421; Lagus, *Oriental. Kongress Florenz*, i. 395—401 (Baltic Provinces); Nöldeke, *Finnland*, Dorpat 1873; Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum fontes arabici*, Christiania 1895; Grandidier, *Madagascar* (al-Idrīsī's map); H. v. Mžik, *Ptolemaeus und die Karten der arab. Geographen*, with 7 Tafeln (5 by al-Idrīsī), Wien 1915 (Extr. of *Mitteilungen der K. K. geogr. Gesellsch.*, Wien 1915, Vol. 58, Heft 3); W. Tomaschek, *Ḥummelsheimer* (XII. Jahrh.), *Sitz.-Ber. d. Wiener Ak.*, cxiii. (1886); Massignon, *Le Maroc*, Alger 1906; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii. 65—70. *Kitāb al-Mufradāt* (Simplicia); Wüstenfeld in *Zadie's Ztschr. f. vgl. Erdkunde*, i. (1842), 41; Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Âge*, 1852—7; *Encyclopédie arabe*, ii. 674; Sawy, *Dictionnaire Universel*, p. 812. (C. F. SEYBOLD.)

IDRĪSIDS. We have dealt above with the reigns of Idrīs I and Idrīs II. The decadence of the dynasty began with the death of the latter. He left eleven sons of whom the eldest, Muḥammad, succeeded him. But at the instigation of his grandmother Kanza, he divided his heritage into fiefs, which he allotted to eight of his brothers, some of whom must have been still children. He doubtless reserved a kind of suzerainty for himself but this did not prevent the rivalries and quarrels which broke up the empire. The statements of the historians on this division do not agree perfectly. This is the most probable table: al-Ḳāsim obtained Tangier, Ceuta, Ḥadjar al-Nasr, Tetuan; ʿOmar, Tīgīsās and Targha; Dāʾūd, the land of the Hawwāra, Tasūl, and Tāza and the land of the Ghayātha; Yaḥyā: Baṣra, Aṣīla and al-ʿArāʾish (Larache); ʿAbd Allāh: Aghmāt and the land of the Nafīs and Sūs; ʿĪsā: Shāla (Chella), Salā (Salé), Azammūr and the land of the Tāmasnā; Aḥmad: Miknāsa (Mequinez) and Tādlā; Ḥamza: Ulīlī and its dependencies. At the same time, Tlemcen (Agadir) remained in the hands of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, cousin of Idrīs II. Civil wars began at once, the possessions of ʿĪsā and al-Ḳāsim, who had revolted against their brother Muḥammad, passed to ʿOmar. The imām of Fās died in Rabīʿ II 221 (836); he was succeeded by his son ʿAlī, who was replaced in Radjab 234 (848) by his brother Yaḥyā. The latter founded the celebrated mosque of al-Karawīyīn in 245 (859) [cf. FĀS, p. 73, 78]. His son Yaḥyā II succeeded him, but his great debauchery cost him his power and his life. His father-in-law and cousin, ʿAlī b. ʿOmar, took advantage of the disturbances that broke out on the death of Yaḥyā to seize Fās and reconstitute in part the empire of Idrīs II. But he was overthrown in a rebellion of Berber Ṣufrīs and the power passed to one of his cousins, Yaḥyā III b. al-Ḳāsim, called al-Miḳdām. A revolution replaced him by Yaḥyā IV b. Idrīs b. ʿOmar in 292 (905). Civil war was complicated by dangers abroad. In Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib the impotent Aghlabid dynasty had been driven out by the Fāṭimids. Spain, flourishing under the Omaiyads, threatened the Maghrib, and in the country itself, the chief of the Miknāsa, Mūsā b. Abī 'l-ʿĀfiya, a mortal enemy of the Idrīsids, established his independence in the valley of the Mulūya. The power of the latter at Fās was destroyed by the Fāṭimid general Maṣāla [cf. FĀṬIMIDS, p. 89], cousin of Mūsā b. Abī 'l-ʿĀfiya in 310 (922). The princes of this family had to seek refuge in the Rīf and among the Ghomāra [q. v.]. Their fortunes seemed to revive under al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, called al-Ḥadjdjām, the "bloodletter" from the wounds he caused. He recaptured Fās, defeated Mūsā b. Abī 'l-ʿĀfiya in 314 (926) and regained a part of the territories of his ancestor. But the Omaiyads gained a footing in the Maghrib by the occupation of Melila. Al-Ḥasan was treacherously handed over to Mūsā by the governor of the Ḳairawān quarter in Fās; then died while attempting to escape. The last Idrīsids only held two small states comprising a part of the Rīf and the land of the Ghomāra, from Tangier to Ceuta [q. v.], where they were pursued by the hatred of Mūsā b. Abī 'l-ʿĀfiya. In establishing themselves at Ceuta the Spanish Omaiyads dealt a terrible blow at the greatly reduced dominion of the Idrīsids in 319 (931). The latter reappeared a little later, but it was as governors for the Caliph of Cordova. A semblance of power was left them around Ḥadjar al-Nasr [q. v.]. But the final ruin of the Idrīsids, tossed between the Fāṭimids and Omaiyads, was consummated in 363 (974). On Muḥarram 1, 364 (Sept 21, 974) [cf. AL-ḤAKAM II], the Omaiyad general, Ghālib, made a triumphal entry into Cordova, bringing in his train the last Idrīsids. Their rule had lasted two centuries. At a later date a branch of this family succeeded in forming a state at Malaga which lasted a little over twenty years (cf. ḤAMMŪDIDS). In Morocco itself, a certain number of families of Sharīfs claim descent from the Idrīsids. It is not impossible that some of them are, but as a rule these claims are dubious.

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(RENÉ BASSET.)

IFLĀḲ, the Turkish name for Wallachia. In 1391, the Voivod Mircea became tributary to the Turks, but the land remained independent.

The Boyars retained the right to choose their ruler, who was thereupon confirmed by the Porte. This state of affairs remained practically unchanged till the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, although alterations were made more than once in the terms, when a voivod refused tribute or Austria or Russia interfered in the affairs of the principalities. For example, as early as the xvth century, the notorious Wlad Drakul, whom the Turks always call Kazykly (the impaler) Voivoda, rebelled against the Turks, had the Turkish ambassador, Hamza Pasha, impaled according to his custom, and ravaged Bulgaria. This provoked a campaign by Sulṭân Muḥammad II, through which Drakul was forced to flee to Hungary and Radul was installed as voivod (1462). After his death in 1477 the cruel tyrant returned, but he was very soon murdered in 1479. Towards the end of the xvith century the Voivod Michael succeeded for a brief period — he was murdered in 1601 — in bringing Transylvania and Moldavia under his sway. In the period following, the custom came into operation whereby the Voivods in order to obtain confirmation had to pay large sums to the Porte, to raise which the unfortunate inhabitants had of course to be bled. This was especially the case, when, from 1716 onwards, Greek Fanariot families (see FANAR) supplied the princes of Wallachia as well as of Moldavia. It is true that from time to time the Porte issued orders fixing the tribute and the obligatory presents at a definite sum and abolishing the payments in kind, corn, sheep and wood, but the abuses continued to exist, nor were they improved when at the beginning of the xixth century at Russia's instigation an arrangement was made that the princes should be appointed for seven years and only be deposed with the approval of the Russian ambassador. At the peace of Adrianople this arrangement was abolished; the rulers were henceforth to be appointed for life and in addition to their annual tribute had to pay a lump sum in commutation of the tribute in kind. The Turks had also to evacuate the towns on the left bank of the Danube (Braila, Giurgiu and Turnu Magurele) and Muhammadans were forbidden to reside permanently in the principalities. When in 1858 Cuza was elected prince of both Wallachia and Moldavia and the union of the two was proclaimed and confirmed by the Porte, the bond between Turkey and Wallachia was broken, although it was not till the treaty of Berlin in 1878 that Rumania was recognised as an entirely independent kingdom.

IFREN, a Berber tribe, which played an important part in Northern Africa during the first three centuries of the Hidjra. The Ifren whom the Berber genealogists trace back to Ifri b. Islîten b. Masrâ b. Zâkiyâ b. Ursîk b. Adîdât b. Djânâ were the most powerful of the Zenâta tribes at the time of the Arab conquest. Their various sections were scattered through the south of Ifrîkiya (Banû Wargû, Marandjîsa) and on the edge of the high Algerian plateaus in the regions of Tîhart and Tlemcen. After having adopted Islâm, the Ifren eagerly embraced Abâḍî [q. v.] doctrines and played a great part in the Berber risings of the iith century A. D. One of their chiefs, Abû Kurra, founded a Berber kingdom around Tlemcen. Defeated at first by the Arab generals, he resumed the offensive in 767. At the head of 40,000 men in 771 he joined the Khâridjî forces who were blockading 'Omar b. Ḥafṣ, governor of Ifrîkiya, in Tobna. He consented to depart for 40,000 dinârs but nevertheless took part with his troops in the siege and capture of al-Ḳairawân in 772.

In the century following the Banû Ifren returned to orthodoxy. Some of them, however, continued to be Khâridjîs, for example the Banû Wargû from whom arose in the time of the Fâṭimids Abû Yazîd [q. v.] "the man with the ass". This rising resulted in the ruin of the Banû Wargû who, severely punished by the Fâṭimids, henceforth led a seminomadic life.

The Ifren of the central Maghrib remained masters of Tlemcen and the adjoing plains but had to recognise the supremacy of the Idrîsids in the ixth century A. D. In the century following they sided with the Omaiyads of Spain against the Fâṭimids and took advantage of this struggle to extend their own dominion. Their chief, Ya'lâ b. Muḥammad, received from the Caliph al-Nâṣir the government of the whole of the western part of the central Maghrib and made his authority felt as far as Oran, which he took and utterly destroyed in 343 (954-955). In 338 (949-950) he had built himself a capital, Ifgân [Fekkân] in the southeast of Mascara and peopled it with natives of the surrounding country. But Ya'lâ's power was of short duration. He fell in 347 (958) in a battle with Fâṭimid troops, whose general Djawhar [q. v.] sacked Ifgân.

The confederation of the Ifren was then broken up. Some sections went to Spain where one of their chiefs, Abû Nûr, succeeded in 405 (1014-1015) in seizing the town of Ronda. The others after first taking refuge on the edge of the Sahara, tried to reinstate themselves in the central Maghrib by combining with the Maghrâwa against the Ṣanhâdja. Defeated and scattered once again by Bulukkîn b. Zîrî in 970, they then tried their fortune in the extreme Maghrib. Yaddû b. Ya'lâ after first of all showing a vigorous attachment to the Omaiyad cause tried to form a principality for himself at their expense. He twice took Fâs from Zîrî b. 'Aṭiya the governor of the Maghrib, but could not hold it. One of his relatives, Hammâma, revived the fortunes of the Ifren. He conquered the land of Tâdlâ and maintained himself there in spite of the attacks of the Maghrâwa of Fâs. His brother and successor, Abu 'l-Kamâl Tamîm, led the Ifren in a holy war against the Berghwâṭa. He destroyed the power of these heretics and installed himself in Shâla. He also took Fâs from the Maghrâwa but was driven out again in 429 (1037-1038). He died at Shâla in 446 (1054-1055). The kingdom, which he had founded, did not long survive him. It was destroyed by the Almoravids, who massacred the Ifren in all the conquered localities. The remnants of the tribe having sought refuge in Tlemcen were exterminated after the capture of the town by Yûsuf b. Tâshfîn.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldûn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii. 186 *sqq.*; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, passim. (G. YVER.)

IFRÎKIYA (according to Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i. 239, more exact than the spelling Ifrîkiya used hitherto), the name given by the Arabs to the eastern part of Barbary, the name Maghrib being reserved for the western part. Ifrîkiya is simply a corruption of the Latin Africa, which name the Romans gave first of all to the province organised by them after the destruction of Carthage and which was then extended to Bar-

bary and finally to the whole continent of Africa. Nevertheless the name has been given various fanciful etymologies. "Some", writes al-Bakrī, "say that the name means the "queen of heaven"; others derive it from Ifrīḳos b. Abraha al-Rā'ish, who led an army into the Berber country and built the town of Ifrīḳiya (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, ed. Paris, iii. 224). According to others, the country took the name from Afrīk, son of Ibrāhīm and Ḳaṭūrā, the second wife of the patriarch, or from Fāriḳ b. Miṣraim. According to Ibn Khaldūn, Ifrīḳiya is derived from Ifrīḳos b. Ḳais b. Ṣaifī, one of the kings of Yemen. According to al-Maḳrīzī (in Ibn Abī Dīnār) Afrīḳush b. Abraha b. Dhi 'l-Ḳarnain, having conquered the west built a town there which he called Afrīḳa. But al-Shabbābī (quoted by Ibn Abī Dīnār) connects Ifrīḳiya with *faraḳ* "clear" because "in Africa there are no clouds in the sky". Leo Africanus and Ibn Abī Dīnār derive Ifrīḳiya from *faraḳa* "to divide" because it is separated from Europe by the Mediterranean and from Asia by the Nile, or also because it lies between east and west.

The boundaries of Ifrīḳiya, according to al-Bakrī, were Barḳa on the east and Tangier on the west. From north to south it extended from the shores of the Mediterranean to the "sands which mark the beginning of the country of the negroes". Ifrīḳiya would thus have comprised, in addition to the Africa proper of the Romans, Tripolitania, Numidia and even Mauretania. Earlier and later geographers give narrower limits. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, for example (ivth century A. H.) places Ifrīḳiya between Barḳa and Tāhart (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, i. 36 and 45). For Abu 'l-Fidā', Ifrīḳiya begins at the eastern extremity of the land of Bougie [q. v.] which, according to him, forms part of al-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ and terminates at Barḳa. In a general way, however, one may regard the western border of Ifrīḳiya as corresponding to the meridian of Bougie. In the south, al-Idrīsī and later, Leo Africanus, clearly distinguish al-Ifrīḳiya from Bilād al-Djarīd (the Numidia of Leo). In the Sahara, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the Muzāb separates the desert of al-Ifrīḳiya from that of the Maghrib. It appears moreover that besides this general sense, the term Ifrīḳiya was often used in a narrower sense. Ibn Khaldūn often applies it to the central and northern part of Tunisia and opposes Ifrīḳiya to Tripolitania, al-Djarīd and the province of Constantine. (Cf. especially the passages in this author referring to the Hilālī invasion). Abu 'l-Fidā' places Bougie, Bône and and Gafsa outside al-Ifrīḳiya. The limits of the country would thus be those assigned by Marmol to the province of Tunis "which is called Africa", that is to say, on the west the province of Constantine, on the east that of Tripoli, on the south the mountains of the Atlas with the province of the Zāb and a part of Numidia and of eastern Libya, on the north the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Megerade (Medjerda) towards Bicerta to Capés (Gabis). Finally, in the xviith century, Ibn Abī Dīnār tells us that "scholars understand by al-Ifrīḳiya the land of al-Ḳairawān".

At the beginning of the Hidjra, al-Ifrīḳiya was still in the power of the Byzantines (Rūm). It was peopled by Berber tribes (Hawwāra, Lawāta, Awragha, Nefūsa, Ifren, Nefzāwa, etc.) and descendants of foreign immigrants into Africa, who were called Afāriḳ by the Arab writers. It included a large number of towns and villages and was covered with flourishing fields. The weakness of the Byzantine authorities and the richness of the country attracted the attention of the Arabs, whose incursions began immediately after the conquest of Egypt. The first Muslim expeditions, of which however we only possess incomplete and contradictory accounts, were simply raids. The invaders evacuated the country after having pillaged it and did not try to capture the strongholds held by the Byzantines. The conquest proper did not begin till after the foundation of al-Ḳairawān by 'Oḳba b. Nāfi' in 50 (670). Arab dominion in the country however remained very precarious to the end of the viith century. The Greeks held the most important towns; on the other hand, the revolts of the Berbers forced Zuhair b. Ḳais, the successor to 'Oḳba, to evacuate al-Ifrīḳiya on two different occasions. It was only under the governorship of Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān that the Berbers were forced to submit and the Byzantines lost Carthage and the principal towns in the country.

Placed at first under the governor of Egypt, al-Ifrīḳiya was next made an independent governorship under Mūsā b. Nuṣair, who was directly under the Caliph in Damascus in 86 (705). The conquests of this general extended the boundaries of the province to the Straits of Gibraltar. But from the middle of the viiith century the Khāridjī revolts considerably diminished the Arab territory. Al-Ifrīḳiya properly so called was ravaged by the Ibāḍī Berbers of the east (Hawwāra, Wafardjūma) and by Zenāta of the central Maghrib. It even was lost by the 'Abbāsid caliphs for a time. Al-Manṣūr however succeeded in establishing 'Abbāsid rule in Ifrīḳiya again from 144 (761) onwards, while independent Berber principalities were set up in the Maghrib. However, the Aghlabid [q. v.] dynasty (ixth century A. D.) only nominally recognised the suzerainty of the Caliph. The overthrow of the Aghlabids by the Fāṭimids caused al-Ifrīḳiya to pass into the power of the Shī'is, who gave it a new capital, al-Mahdiya, and when they established themselves in Egypt made it a vice-royalty under the Zīrids. The foundation of the Ḥammādid kingdom was however not long in depriving the Zīrids of the western part of al-Ifrīḳiya. On the other hand the Hilālī invasion, a result of the repudiation of Fāṭimid authority by the Zīrid al-Mu'izz in 440 (1048-9) [cf. FĀṬIMIDS, p. 90a], exposed the country to the most terrible disasters. Al-Ifrīḳiya, previously very flourishing and covered with vineyards and farms, was ravaged by nomads and almost entirely ruined. Some Arab tribes, notably the Riyāḥ and the Djusham, installed themselves in the country and perpetuated there their habits of disorder and brigandage. Finally, at the beginning of next century, the Normans of Sicily occupied the principal points on the coast. As a result of the Almohad conquest, al-Ifrīḳiya became one of the provinces in the vast empire founded by 'Abd al-Mu'min [q. v.], but she soon recovered her independence under the Ḥafṣid [q. v.] dynasty. The rule of these princes was at first extended over Tunisia, Tripolitania, the province of Constantine, Bougie and the Zāb, but from the end of the xvth century it was reduced to Tunisia in the strict sense of the word. Henceforth the history of al-Ifrīḳiya is merged in that of this country.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afri-*

par septentrionale, ed. and trans. de Slane, text, p. 21-2; trans., p. 52; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie*, trans. Reinaud, Paris 1848, Vol. ii., chap. iii.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ed. de Slane, text, i. 15, 106; trans., i. 168; Léon l'Africain, *L'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, Vol. i. p. 1; Marmol, *Africa*, ii. 431; Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Ḳairawānī, *al-Mu'nis fī Akhbār Ifrīḳiya* . . . . trans. Pellissier et Remusat, Paris 1849, Book ii.; Castiglioni, *Mémoire géographique et numismatique sur la partie orientale de la Berbérie appelée Afrikia par les Arabes*, Milan 1826; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, i. Paris 1875, p. 31 *sqq.*; A. Müller, *Der Islam* etc., i. 351 *sqq.*, 419—423, 446—451, 486—9, 547—556, 606—622; ii. 513—6, 613—7, 621—631, 645—653. See also the bibliographies to the articles ALGERIA, TRIPOLITANIA and TUNISIA.

(G. YVER.)

'IFRĪT, according to the usual explanations, is one who overcomes his antagonist and rolls him in the dust (*'afar*); who successfully carries matters through (*mubāligh*); who is, therefore, powerful in a hostile sense, evil, crafty (Zamakhsharī and Baiḍāwī on Ḳur. xxvii. 39; *Lisān*, vi. 263, l. 1 *sqq.*, l. 14 *sqq.*; De Sacy, *Ḥarīrī*², p. 355). The classical and only Ḳur'ānic occurrence is in Ḳur'ān xxvii. 39, "an *'ifrīt* of the *djinn*." Hence it has come to be used peculiarly of the *djinn*; but in the first instance it was plainly a general epithet, and thus the Ḳur'ānic passage might be translated, "a powerful *djinnī*". So, too, "an *'ifrīt* of the djinn" occurs in two traditions from Muḥammad in Damīrī's *Ḥayawān* (ed. Cairo, 1313, i. 179, l. 15 *sqq.*, ii. 104, l. 22 *sqq.*, under *djinn* and *'ifrīt*). But soon the word became identified with the *djinn* and especially with the more satanic and malignant element among them. So Rāghib, in his *Mufradāt* (p. 393) speaks of its application to human beings as metaphorical, and even Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xix. 93, seems to limit the word to the *djinn*. But it was not understood as meaning a specific class of these as e. g. *ghūl* (q. v.); contrast the classification (*aṣnāf*) in *Ākām al-Mardjān*, p. 17 *sqq.*; and in the *Fihrist* (p. 309, l. 21) *'afārīt* is used as a general name for both *djinn* and *shaiṭān*'s. Even the distinctive meaning of hostility seems often to have been lost. In *The 1001 Nights* (Galland MS. of xivth cent. A. D.; Story of Second Shaikh, Night vii.) it is said of a benevolent Muslima, *ṣirat 'ifrīta djinnīya*, "she turned into an *'ifrīta*, a *djinnīya*". In Egypt the word has come to mean also the ghost of a murdered man, or of one who has died a violent death. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. x.; Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*², p. 371 *sqq.*; "Niya Salima", *Harems et Musulmanes d'Égypte*, chap. xiv.; St. John, *Two years residence in a Levantine family*, chap. xx.). It also survives in the original sense of a strong man of violence, e. g. the *ḥārat al-'ifrīt* in Cairo which is explained as the one-time abode of a *ḥarāmī*. But the most normal modern usage is of a powerful, evil, clever *djinnī*.

Bibliography: has been given above. Add: Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 143, and Fleischer, *Kleinere Schr.*, ii. 640. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

IGHARGHAR, the valley of a river of the Quaternian epoch in the Sahara, which has now disappeared and is reduced to a subterranean sheet of water. The Igharghar, according to Duveyrier, rises near Arakām-n-Akar, in the massif of the Haggar at a height of about 6000 feet. It ends near the oasis of Gūg, in the south of Tuggūrt, after a course of about 800 miles (900, if one includes the Wādī Ghir, which is its continuation). Its basin extends from the crests of Tademayt in the west to the oasis of Ghāt in the east and from the Haggar to the Shott Melghir, i. e. from the 23rd to the 34th degree of North Latitude.

The Igharghar flows at first from S. to N., passing near Idelès, sometimes in a fairly narrow valley, where springs burst up in the middle of its bed, sometimes also broadening out into a plain with banks indefinitely marked 5 to 8 miles broad. After running along the massif of the Muydir to the west and the Tassili plateau in the east, it describes a curve to the east and reaches the foot of the Ḥammāda of Tinghert. In this part of its course it receives a certain number of wādīs, the valleys of which present the same characteristics. The principal are those of the Igharghāren, the Wādī Assud-Kifaf which drains all the southern part of the Tassili of the Adjjer, the Wādī Issawān, of which the confluence however is still to be found, and lastly the Wādī Ahanat, which comes from the sands of Edeyen.

The Igharghar then traverses the plateau of Tinghert where it cuts for itself "a well marked channel" (Foureau) and receives lower down a large number of streams from the eastern side of this plateau, which rejoin it after having disappeared in the sands of the Erg. In the region of sandhills the bed of the Igharghar becomes quite invisible. It probably passes in the vicinity of the Ḳaṣr Twīl (see 'ARBĀ) without however mixing with it. Foureau's observations permit us to suppose that it formerly ran much farther east. On leaving the Erg, it can hardly be more easily recognised, except at certain points, for example at the ravine of Shegga near Tuggūrt. However the continuity of the subterranean sheet of water is attested in this region by the existence of a number of wells.

Bibliography: Bernard, *Deux missions françaises chez les Touaregs*, Alger 1896; Dournaux—Duperré, *Voyage au Sahara* dans *Bulletin Soc. Géographie de Paris*, 1874; H. Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, Paris 1864; Foureau, *Coup d'œil sur le Sahara français*, *Annales de Géographie*, 1895; do., *Dans le Grand Erg*, Paris 1896; do., *Mon neuvième voyage au Sahara et au pays Touareg*, Paris 1898; do., *Documents scientifiques de la mission saharienne*, Vol. i. Paris 1903, chap. iv.; Largeau, *Le Sahara algérien*, Paris 1881; G. Rolland, *Géologie et hydrographie du Sahara algérien*, Paris 1890—1894, 2 vol., 1 atlas; Ministère des Travaux publics, *Documents relatifs à la mission dirigée au Sud de l'Algérie par le lieutenant-colonel Flatters*, Paris 1884; Schirmer, *Le Sahara*, Paris 1893. (G. YVER.)

IḤRĀM (A.), infinitive ivth from the root *ḥ-r-m*, which has the meaning of "warding off" (*man'*), as the *Lisān*, xv. 9 says: "to declare a thing *ḥarām*" or "to make *ḥarām*". (The opposite is *iḥlāl* "to declare permitted"). The word *iḥrām* has however become a technical term for "sacral state"; one who is in this state is called *muḥrim*. For example, a person fasting may be called *muḥrim*. The word *iḥrām*, however, is only used for two states: the sacred state in which one per-

forms the *ʿumra* and *ḥadjdj*, and the state of consecration during the *ṣalāt*. Thirdly the word can be used of the dress in which the *ḥadjdj* and *ʿumra* are made.

1. **The iḥrām in the major or minor pilgrimage.** The law declares it meritorious for the pilgrim to assume the *iḥrām* at the very beginning of his journey to Mecca. But as this is very inconvenient, it is usually only done when the pilgrim approaches the sacred territory (*ḥaram*, q. v.). Pilgrims who make the journey by steamer often however assume the *iḥrām* as soon as they arrive in Djudda. The law has prescribed several stations (*mawāḳīt*, plur. of *mīḳāt*) where this is usually done namely: Dhu ʾl-Ḥulaifa for the pilgrims from al-Medina; al-Djuḥfa for those from Syria and Egypt; Ḳarn al-Manāzil for those from Nadjd, Yalamlam for those from Yemen; Dhāt ʿIrḳ for those from ʿIrāḳ. Any one who assumes the *iḥrām* too late has later to sacrifice an animal in atonement. These *mawāḳīt* are also called *muhall* i. e. the place where the *ihlāl* begins. The latter means "loud calling" i. e. the calling of *tabbaika* (q. v.). *Ihlāl* is thus used in the same sense as *iḥrām* and one says for example, *ahalla bi ʾl-ḥadjdj* in the sense of *aḥrama bi ʾl-ḥadjdj* i. e., to assume the *iḥrām* for the *ḥadjdj*. The law further ordains that people who live within the area bounded by these villages shall assume the *iḥrām* in their dwellings (*Tanbīh*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, p. 72), when it is a question of performing the *ḥadjdj*. For an *ʿumra* they must go to one of the boundary places of the *ḥill* (q. v.); usually Tanʿīm is chosen for this purpose, and is thus erroneously also called al-ʿUmra by modern travellers.

As one can only enter a state of consecration after casting off all that is ritually impure, one must first of all perform the ceremonies necessary for this. The *ghusl* is usually performed; the pilgrim dyes his nails and perfumes himself, all of these ceremonies which were connected with exorcism. Frequently also the pilgrim has himself shaved, his beard trimmed and his nails cut (Burton, *A Pilgrimage* (London 1857), ii. 133, 377; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāzīya*[2], p. 172). On the significance of shaving, see below.

A particular dress has to be worn in which no seams are allowed. This dress consists of two pieces: a sheet that reaches from the navel to the knees (*izār*) and another thrown round the body, which partly covers the left shoulder, back, and breast and is knotted on the right side. This latter is called *ridāʾ* and from the manner in which it is knotted *witāḥ*. Both garments are ordained by law to be white, but red stripes are also found (see the illustration in Burton, ii. facing p. 58). On this dress we may remark that it is probably the old Semitic sacred dress. The upper garment of the High Priest in the Old Testament was according to Josephus (*Antiq.*, iii. 7, 4) also made without a seam. The Jewish priests wear the ephod around the hips and the Meʿīl around the shoulders. In Islām itself there are analogies at the *ṣalāt* and the burial service. The old Arabs also, when consulting an oracle, as well as the later ascetics wore two garments (Goldziher in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xvi. 138, 328; Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], p. 122). White is also the sacred colour in many religions: at first the mourning colour (cf. Wilken, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ed. van Ossenbruggen, iii. 416—422). It was next adopted as a sign of a consecrated state: the ephod of the priests as well as the robes of ascetics are white.

The *iḥrām* dress is thus very old and does not owe its origin to Islām. The wearing of shoes is also forbidden. The most that may be allowed is sandals. This custom is also an old Semitic one. Among the Jews mourners as well as the officiating priests went barefooted. In the consecrated state also it is forbidden to cover the head; perhaps this is also an old mourning custom (cf. Ezekiel, xxiv. 17).

Women need not wear any particular dress. But they usually wrap themselves in a long robe which reaches from the head to the feet, while the face, which really ought to be uncovered, is concealed by a kind of mask (cf. the picture in Burton, *l. c.*, ii. 58).

A *ṣalāt* of two *rakʿa*'s is offered and the *nīya* (q. v.) is pronounced. The latter can be done in three ways. The *iḥrām* can be assumed:

a. either for the *ḥadjdj* or for the *ʿumra*. This method is called *ifrād* (separation).

b. for the *ʿumra*, although the *ḥadjdj* is to be made at the same time. This is called *tamattuʿ* (*bi ʾl-ʿumra ila ʾl-ḥadjdj*), i. e. the utilisation of the *ʿumra* for the *ḥadjdj*.

c. for both *ʿumra* and *ḥadjdj*. This is called *ḳirān* i. e. combination. On the origin and estimation of these three kinds of *nīya* a good deal has been written in Muslim literature. The four schools of law (*madhāhib*, q. v.) have different views on the order of importance of the various *nīya*'s, as regards the merit acquired by them. The kind called *tamattuʿ* owes its name to an expression in the Ḳurʾān (Sūra ii. 192[b]), which later became a technical term. According to Snouck Hurgronje's suggestion (*Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 86 *sqq.*), the restrictions which were imposed by the *iḥrām* became too severe for Muḥammad, so that during his stay in Mecca before the *ḥadjdj* he conducted himself in a secular fashion. As his followers looked askance at him for this, the revelation in Sūra ii. 192[b] is said to have been given: "Any one who avails himself of the *ʿumra* until the *ḥadjdj* (shall offer) as many animals as is convenient for him; any one who is not in a position to do this shall fast for three days during the *ḥadjdj* and seven days after his return". What therefore appeared to the Prophet and his contemporaries as an omission which could be atoned for by a punishment, was considered by later generations as a thing permitted. Pilgrims who arrive in Mecca long before the *ḥadjdj* secure themselves by the *tamattuʿ* from a painful abstinence. As soon as they have performed the *ʿumra*, they put off the *iḥrām* and only assume it again when the time of the *ḥadjdj* approaches. But the *tamattuʿ* is forbidden to those who have sacrificed animals with them (Sūra ii. 192). Originally the *ʿumra* took place in the month of *Radjab* and, according to some traditions, an *ʿumra* during the *ḥadjdj* period was an unheard of thing in pre-Islāmic times.

When one has formulated the *nīya*, the *tabbaika* calling begins, which is to be repeated as often as possible and only ceases after the shaving on the 10[th] Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja.

The state of consecration imposes certain pledges of abstinence: sexual intercourse, care for one's

toilet, the shedding of blood, hunting and the uprooting of plants are forbidden. With regard to this the following remark may be made. In other cases in other Semitic religions a state of consecration excludes sexual intercourse, at least in the monotheistic ones. The neglect of the body is a well known feature of a sanctified condition among the Semitic peoples. The old Arab mourning women who were in a sanctified state of mourning are described as being dirty and having dishevelled hair (*sha'ith*; al-Khansā', *Dīwān*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1896, p. 28, v. 4).

During mourning the Jews are forbidden to bathe or clip their nails. It is reported of the pre-Islamic pilgrims and of Muḥammad that when in the state of *iḥrām* they smeared something on their hair to make its filthy condition more endurable (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kit. al-Ḥadjdj*, Bāb 126; Muslim, with Nawawī's comm., Cairo 1283, iii. 295; cf. *Lisān*, iv. 391). In a tradition given by Ibn Mādja (*Bāb mā yūdjib al-Ḥadjdj*) Muḥammad in answer to the question: "What is the *ḥādjdj* (pilgrim)?" said: "He whose hair is dishevelled and whose mouth smells (*al-sha'ith al-tafil*)". The idea underlying all these customs, including the shaving at the beginning of the period of consecration is perhaps that everything that grows on the body during the period of consecration is devoted to the object of the sanctified condition. At the end of the period in most cases an offering of hair may have been made. The endeavour to make oneself unrecognisable may also have played a part.

The *muḥrim* is not ordered to fast. But there are numerous traditions which answer this question, some in the negative and some in the affirmative. It may be that in ancient times this ascetic custom was associated with the others.

When one arrives in Mecca from his *mīḳāt*, he performs the *ṭawāf* and *sa'y* [q. v.], sometimes also drinks water from Zemzem and has his hair cut, if the *iḥrām* was only assumed for an *'umra*. But if it was assumed for a *ḥadjdj*, the shaving and hair cutting is not performed till the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja in Minā, after the ceremonies of the *ḥadjdj* proper are over. The pilgrim can now assume his ordinary dress again. But it is usual to put on new clothes (Burckhardt, *Travels*, London 1829, ii. 60). The law however prescribes another *ṭawāf* in Mecca and many pilgrims only put on their ordinary dress after this ceremony. Finally on leaving the holy city a farewell *'umra* has to be performed. For this purpose the pilgrim goes to Tan'īm, performs a *ṣalāt* of two *rak'a*'s, returns to Mecca to perform the *ṭawāf* and *sa'y* there. He then definitely puts off the *iḥrām*.

2. The consecrated state during the *ṣalāt*. This state also can only be entered when one is ritually pure and dressed in a prescribed fashion and has taken one's stand behind a *sutra* [q. v.]. This state is announced by the *takbīr* [q. v.] which is also called *takbīr al-iḥrām*. The ceremonies of the *ṣalāt* proper begin then and can only take place during this consecrated state. One has to avoid everything which might destroy the latter, that is: every superfluous act and every superfluous word. The jurists specially mention greeting, sneezing, coughing, laughing, all that is connected with sexual life or the process of digestion. These are all actions which were originally ascribed to demoniac or animistic influences. We frequently find the idea that angels are present during the *iḥrām* (cf. the commentaries on Sūra xvii. 80).

The consecrated state is ended by the two *taslīma*'s, that is the formulae of greeting pronounced while turning the head first to right and then to left. According to some jurists, the object of the first is to leave the consecrated state as well as to greet those present; the latter is only a greeting for those present. Who these are is a question which is answered in various ways: according to some, it is the angels who are summoned by the *takbīrat al-iḥrām* and are now dismissed by the *taslīmat al-taḥlīl* (the formula by which one returns to the secular state).

The transition from the sanctified to the secular state is dreaded for demoniacal influences. These are averted by the so-called *ḳunūt* (cf. Goldziher in *Orient. Studien Theod. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i. 323 *sq.*).

Bibliography: On 1: Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 122 *sqq.*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 68 *sqq.*; Juynboll, *Handb. des islām. Gesetzes*, p. 143 *sqq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*², p. 418 *sqq.*; the *Fiḳh*- and *Ḥadīth*-books s. v. *Ḥadjdj*; the travels of Burckhardt, Burton, v. Maltzan, Keane; H. Kazem Zadeh in *Revue du Monde musulman*, xix. 198 *sqq.*; A. J. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of mourning and Religion* in *Verhandl. der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch.*, Nieuwe Reeks, Dl. XVIII, N°. 1, *passim*. On 2: The *Fiḳh*-books s. v. *Ṣalāt*; Juynboll, *o. c.*, p. 79 *sq.*; A. J. Wensinck in *Der Islam*, ed. by C. H. Becker, iv. 229—232.

(A. J. Wensinck.)

IḤYĀ' (A.) "bringing waste land into cultivation". The Muslim *Fiḳh*-books in the section on legal transactions have a chapter on *iḥyā' al-mawāt*, literally, making the dead (soil) alive. Land which is not being used is called *mawāt*. Every Muslim who cultivates neglected land for himself becomes the proprietor if it does not belong to another Muslim. According to most *faḳīh*'s express permission from the authorities is not necessary. The *imām* Abū Ḥanīfa however considers it illegal to cultivate a *mawāt* without permission from the authorities.

Bibliography: Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (Būlāḳ 1302), p. 36 *sqq.*; al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīya* (ed. M. Enger), p. 308 *sqq.*; al-Nawawī, *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn* (ed. L. W. C. van den Berg), ii. 171 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī, *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb* (ed. v. d. Berg), p. 392 *sqq.*; al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fī 'khtilāf al-A'imma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 93 *sq.*; E. Sachau, *Muhamm. Recht nach schāfiitischer Lehre*, p. 583 *sqq.*; N. v. Tornauw, *Das Moslemische Recht*, p. 225 *sqq.*

(Th. W. Juynboll.)

IḲĀB (A.), punishment, retaliation; especially the punishment from God which will fall upon the sinner after death (often used in the Ḳur'ān in this sense). Cf. 'ADHĀB and: Sprenger, *A Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, p. 947.

(Th. W. Juynboll.)

IḲĀMA (A.) is the second call to the *ṣalāt* which is pronounced by the *mu'adhdhin* in the mosque before each of the five prescribed daily *ṣalāt*'s as well as before the *ṣalāt* at the Friday service. This second call gives the moment at which the *ṣalāt* begins. The formulae of the *iḳāma* are the same as those of the *adhān* [q. v.]. According

to the Ḥanafīs, they are repeated as often as in the *adhān*; according to the other *Fiḳh* schools, they are pronounced only once with the exception of the words "God is great", which are repeated twice at the beginning as well as at the end of the *iḳāma*. Moreover after the formula "come unto blessedness", twice in succession there are repeated the words "*ḳad ḳāmat al-ṣalāt*" (now begins the *ṣalāt*). In the lawbooks the calling of the *iḳāma* is recommended as *sunna* also to every believer who is performing the *ṣalāt* alone.

According to E. Mittwoch (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, *Abh. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1913, phil.-hist. Kl., N. 2, p. 24) the calling of the *iḳāma* was borrowed by the Muslims originally from the benedictions in Jewish prayer. According to C. H. Becker (*Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, *Der Islam*, iii. 389) on the other hand, this Muslim custom developed out of the original *adhān* in the mosque, which was modelled on the Christian mass (see however al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 271, l. 14—15).

Iḳāma denotes the action of the *mu'adhdhin* (the calling of the prescribed formulae) by which he causes the *ṣalāt* to begin. On this linguistic usage see C. Brockelmann, *Iḳāmat aṣ-Ṣalāt* (*Festschr. E. Sachau*, 1915, p. 314—320) and J. Weiss in *Der Islam*, vii. (1916), 131—136; cf. the expressions: *aḳāma 'l-ṣalāt* and *uḳīmat al-ṣalāt* (Gloss. to Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, s. v.; Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ*, *Adhān*, N⁰. 23-24). In the *Fiḳh*-books however *iḳāma* is also explained as the call which is intended to summon the believers to rise for the *ṣalāt*. See Bādjūrī (Būlāḳ 1307), i. 167, l. 12.

Bibliography: In addition to the collections on tradition and the *Fiḳh*-books see also: Dimiashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fi 'khtilāf al-A'imma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 14 *sqq*.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

IKHLĀṢ (A.), to keep (or make) clear and pellucid, to keep free from admixture. In connection with the Ḳur'ānic use of the expression *ikhlāṣ al-dīn li-'llāh* (cf. iv. 145, vii. 28, x. 23, xxxix. 14, 16, etc.), i. e. to honour and serve Allāh exclusively, *ikhlāṣ* by itself received the meaning (cf. Ḳur'ān, ii. 133) of "absolute devotion to Allāh" and became used in opposition to *ishrāk*, *shirk*, "associating divine beings with Allāh". Sūra cxii. which emphasises the unity and uniqueness of God and denies that he has any associates was called *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (also *Sūrat al-Tawḥīd*); this Sūra is frequently recited in the *ṣalāt*.

With the development of the conception of *shirk*, which covers "every kind of worship of God which is not an aim in itself" and also the cherishing of interested motives in religious practice (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 26), the development of *ikhlāṣ* is somewhat parallel. According to al-Ghazālī, *ikhlāṣ*, apart from the above technical sense, properly means only that one's action should be dictated by a single motive, so that for example it can be ascribed to one who gives alms only with the intention of being seen to do so. In the language of religious ethics as developed especially by the Ṣūfīs, *ikhlāṣ* particularly refers to the effort to come nearer to God and means the keeping free of this ideal from all subsidiary thoughts. In this sense it is often opposed to *riyā'*, the wish to be seen. *Ikhlāṣ* demands unselfishness with regard to one's own religious practice and the abolition of the selfish element which mars devotion to God. At the highest stage of *ikhlāṣ* even the consciousness of *ikhlāṣ* itself must disappear and all thought of divine reward in this world or the next be put aside. Cf. al-Ḳashānī, *al-Kamāl fi 'Ilm al-Taṣawwuf*, Cairo 1318, p. 111—4; al-Harawī, *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn*, Cairo 1326, p. 16 *sq*.; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1282, iv. 323—332; ed. with comm. of al-Murtaḍā, Cairo 1311, x. 42 *sqq*.; transl. by H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, I. *Über Intention, reine Absicht u. Wahrhaftigkeit* etc., Halle a. S. 1916, p. 45 *sqq*.; R. Hartmann, *al-Kuschairîs Darstellung des Ṣûfîtums* (*Türk. Bibl.*, Vol. xviii.), p. 15 *sqq*., 59, 60. (C. VAN ARENDONK.)

IKHMĪM. [See AKHMĪM.]

IKHSHIDIDS, an Egyptian dynasty. On the general place in history of the dynasty see above ii. p. 8ᵇ. The name of the dynasty is derived from the old Persian princely title *Ikhshīd* which the Caliph al-Rāḍī was induced to grant to the founder Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj in 326 = 937. It was the title of the old rulers of Farghāna (see ii. p. 62ᵃ) from which the dynasty claimed descent. Ikhshīd is said to mean "king of kings", although others interpret it as "servant" (cf. Ibn Sa'īd, ed. Tallqvist, Arab. text, p. 23 *sq*.; transl. p. 41), presumably in the same sense as 'Abd Allāh was used as an honorific of the Caliphs. Al-Ikhshīd's father and grandfather were already in the service of the Caliph; he himself worked his way slowly upwards and seems to have had a supporter in the vizier al-Faḍl b. Dja'far of the celebrated family of the Banū 'l-Furāt [s. IBN AL-FURĀT, 3]. After he had arranged the disorganised affairs of Egypt (323 = 935), he had to defend his new position against the powerful Amīr Muḥammad b. Rā'iḳ [s. IBN RĀ'IḲ] who penetrated up to the gates of Egypt but then granted the Ikhshīd the country as far as Ramla on payment of tribute. Five years later new difficulties arose, and the undecisive battle of al-Ladjdjūn was fought, after which the contending Amīrs made an alliance by marriage. The Ikhshīd paid a yearly tribute of 140,000 dīnārs. After the death of Ibn Rā'iḳ a new enemy to the Ikhshīd arose in the Ḥamdānids, and being now at the height of his power he took part in the contest for the position of Amīr al-Umarā'. In Muḥarram 333 (Sept. 944) he met the Caliph al-Muttaḳī at al-Raḳḳa, just on this side of the Euphrates, and thought for a time of sharing the fortune of the Caliph in the struggle against the Turk Tūzūn, who was ruling in Baghdād. But he ultimately returned to Egypt and began the struggle with the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla, which ended in a treaty by the terms of which Damascus remained in possession of the Ikhshīd on payment of tribute. He died at the end of 334 (July 946). Two sons nominally succeeded him but they were only *rois fainéants*. The real power lay in the hands of an Abyssinian eunuch named Kāfūr, who on the death of the second son was formally granted the government of Egypt and successfully defended Egypt and Syria henceforth from the attacks of the Ḥamdānids. On Kāfūr's death a grandson of the Ikhshīd was appointed governor, but the dynasty had completely lost its hold on the country and Egypt with Syria fell into the hands of the Fāṭimids who were advancing from North Africa.

The following table gives the names and order of the Ikhshīdids:

323 Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīdid 935
335 Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Unūdjūr b. al-Ikhshīd 946
340 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ikhshīd . . 960
355 Kāfūr, ruler in name also, . . . 966
357–8 Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad b. 'Alī . . 968–9.

The name Unūdjūr is transmitted in various forms. The Ikhshīd and Kāfūr were certainly important personalities. The Ikhshīd is described as strong physically, but as cowardly and particularly avaricious and greedy. No man's property was secure in his reign. More pleasing human traits are also credited to him however. Kāfūr was probably the more important. In spite of his repulsive features, by his intellectual endowments he carved a career for himself, unique even in those days, from black slave to wielder of the dynastic power. At the height of his power he never forgot his humble origin. More features of his character that are pleasing than those that are displeasing have been handed down to us. Both princes cultivated the literary taste of their times. Al-Mutanabbī sang both their praises, but afterwards lampooned them. Under the Ikhshīd began the struggle between the two dynasties of Caliphs ('Abbāsids and Fāṭimids) for the nominal suzerainty over the various governors who had set up dynasties. These soldiers of fortune played them off one against the other. The Ikhshīd seems to have seriously considered recognising the Fāṭimids, but he remained faithful to the 'Abbāsids as their prestige was still too great.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, ed. Tallqvist, where the other literature (al-Maḳrīzī, al-Ḥalabī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Khaldūn, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, al-Suyūṭī, Wüstenfeld, *Statthalter*, iv. etc.) is utilised. The only new addition is al-Kindī, ed. Guest.

(C. H. BECKER.)

IKHTILĀDJ (A.), trembling of the limbs; whence *'ilm al-ikhtilādj*, the alleged science of prophesying from the involuntary twitchings of the limbs, also called palmology. The oldest work on the subject is probably Μελάμποδος ἱερογραμματέως περὶ παλμῶν μαντικὴ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον βασιλέα (J. G. F. Franzius, *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres*, Altenburgi 1780, p. 451 *sqq.*). The Arabs however usually ascribe the origin of this science to the Indian Ṭumṭum. Who he was has not yet been explained. A suggestion is given by Hauber, *Ṭumṭum* (*Ṭimṭim*) = Δίδυμος = *Didymus*, in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, lxiii. 457 *sqq.*

Bibliography: Fleischer, *Über das vorbedeutende Gliederzucken bei den Morgenländern* in *Verhandl. der Kön. Sächs. Gesells. der Wissensch.*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1849, p. 244 *sqq.* (= *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. 199 *sqq.*); M. Gaster, *Das türkische Zuckungsbuch in Rumänien* in *Zeitschr. für Rom. Philologie*, iv, 65 *sqq.*; H. Diels, *Beiträge zur Zuckungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients* in *Abhandl. der Berl. Akademie*, 1907 and 1909; Ivestrantzew in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arch. Obšč.*, xviii. 222 *sqq.*

IKHTILĀF (A.), difference of opinion; in contrast to *idjmā'* [q. v.], the difference of views among the authorities on Muslim law and dogmatics on details of legal practice and doctrine which do not affect great principles, particularly among the former, as it appears in the diversities between the *Madhāhib* [q. v.] and also in those within each one of them. In opposition to contrary views urging unity of practice, and in face of the reality of the existence of this difference of opinions, the conviction has arisen in Muslim orthodoxy that they are of equal value and this view finds expression in an authoritative form in the saying attributed originally to various Caliphs and latterly to the Prophet himself "difference of opinion in the Muslim community is a sign of (divine) favour". The registering of these differences has produced a great literature in Islām since the foundation of the study of Fiḳh and this has been most comprehensively recorded by Fr. Kern.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxxvii. 178 *sqq.*; Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, p. 94—102; do., *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 51—53; do. in *Beiträg. zur Religionswiss.*, by the Society for the Study of Religions in Stockholm, i. (1913/1914), p. 115—142; F. Kern in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lv. 61—73, and his Introduction (Arabic) to his edition of Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahā'* (Cairo 1902).

(I. GOLDZIHER.)

IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ'. We have evidence in the second half of the iv.th (x.th) century (373 = 983) of the existence of a religious and political association with ultra-Shī'ī, perhaps to be more accurately described as Ismā'īlī views and tendencies. The members of the association, the head quarters of which were in Baṣra, called themselves the "Pure and Faithful", as their chief aim was to further the salvation of their immortal souls by mutual assistance and by every means, especially purifying knowledge (γνῶσις). Nothing is known of their political activities, but a collection of treatises arranged in encyclopaedic fashion dealing with the objects of their society, survives as the outcome of their attempts to work out theories of edification. The period of the collection and editing of their *Rasā'il* (52 in number: the Bombay edition as stated in the table of contents at the beginning and the concluding note in the first *Risāla* consists of 52 treatises, but in the last treatises in part iv. only 51 are mentioned) is usually given as the middle of the iv.th (x.th) century and among the collaborators are mentioned Abū Sulaimān Muḥammad b. Mushīr al-Busti, called al-Muḳaddasī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Hārūn al-Zandjānī, Muḥammad b. Naḥradjūrī, al-'Awfī and Zaid b. Rifā'a. Further details cannot be ascertained, mainly because the Pure loved to express themselves in very confusing language. Quotations in the *Rasā'il*, as far as they have been identified, are mainly taken from the literature of the viii.th and ix.th centuries A. D. The philosophical position is that of the older eclectic translators and collectors of Greek, Persian, and Indian wisdom. Hermes and Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato are often quoted and thought more highly of than Aristotle. The latter appears as the "logician" and also as the author of the Plotinic "Theology" and the "Book of the Apple". Of the knowledge of a relatively purer and more complete Aristotelianism, which begins with al-Kindī, the treatises of the "pure ones" show no trace. It is characteristic of their mental attitude that al-Kindī is not quoted, at least not by name, although his renegade pupil, the fantastic astrologer Abū Ma'shar (died 272 = 885), is. It is not impossible, however, that they had literary connections with al-Kindī and his school. According to the mediaeval Latin translation of the 13th *Risāla*, this treatise was composed by a "Mahumet discipulus Al-quindi". Cf. T. J. de Boer, *Zu Kindi und*

einer Schule in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos.*, viii (1894), p. 177 *sq.*

The contents of the *Rasā'il* are of a pronouncedly eclectic nature. The central point is the doctrine of the heavenly origin and the return of the soul to God. The world is derived from God by the way of emanation, like the word from the speaker or the light from the sun. In successive stages there comes forth from the divine unity a second, the intelligence, from this a third, the soul, and then a fourth, primitive matter, a fifth, nature, a sixth, bodies or spatial matter, a seventh, the world of the spheres, an eighth, the elements of the sublunar world, a ninth, the products of the world: minerals, plants, and animals. In this cosmic process the corporeal first appears as the basis of individuation, and all evil and imperfection. The individual souls are only part of the world soul, to which they return purified after the death of the body, just as the universal soul will return to God on the Last Day. By the 'pure ones' death is called the minor and the return of the world-soul to the creator the major resurrection.

The religions of all times and peoples agree with this wisdom according to the 'pure ones'. The object of all philosophy as well as of every religion is to make the soul become like God as far as is humanly possible. To carry out this spiritualistic interpretation of religious doctrine the Ḳur'ān is interpreted allegorically. The same allegorical interpretation is applied to tales of western origin, such as the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. As Goldziher has shown, the story of the ring-dove, in which it is told how the animals by being faithful friends to one another (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*) escape the snares of the hunter, determined the choice of the name for the association.

The whole of the 51 treatises, written in a paraenetic tone, prolix and with many repetitions, superficially at least looks like an encyclopaedia of the sciences. The first part comprises in 14 treatises mathematics and logic as propaedeutics, the second in 17 treatises natural sciences including psychology, the 10 *Rasā'il* of the third part deal with metaphysics, and lastly the 11 *Rasā'il* of the last part discuss mysticism, astrology and magic. In an essay in the fourth part (No. 45 of the whole series) the nature and organisation of the association is also discussed.

Bibliography: In addition to that given in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i. (1898) p. 214, there may be mentioned: T. J. de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, p. 76—89 (English transl., p. 81—96); I. Goldziher, *Über die Benennung der "Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'"* (in *Der Islam*, i. 22—26); Louis Massignon, *Sur la date de la composition des "Rasā'il Ikhwān al ṣafā'"* (*Ibid.*, iv. 324).

(T. J. DE BOER.)

AL-IKLĪL (A.), the crown; the name of several constellations, namely:

1. *al-Iklīl*, is the name given to the stars β, δ, π, forming a blunt wedge close together on the brow of the Scorpion. These stars mark the seventeenth station of the moon.

2. *al-Iklīl al-shamālī*, Greek στέφανος, Latin *Corona*, the northern crown, a constellation of eight stars which follows the staff of Bootes and is also called *al-Fakka*, the "breach", and *Ḳaṣ'at al-Masākīn*, the "alms bowl", Pers. *Kāsa-i Darwīshān*, the "beggar's bowl" and *Kāsa shikasta*, the "broken bowl", because the ring of stars is broken at one spot. *Al-Fakka* is also the name of the principal star α of the Crown.

3. *al-Iklīl al-djanūbī*, Gr. στέφανος νότιος, the southern Crown, a constellation of 13 small stars near α β on the ankle-joint of Sagittarius. It is also called *al-Ḳubba* the "Cupola" or *Udḥīy al-Na'ām*, the "ostrich's nest", because it is south of the two ostriches, the twentieth station of the moon.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 32, 37, 41, 48; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung der Sternnamen*, S. 55, 176, 281. (J. RUSKA.)

IḲLĪM, the Greek word κλίμα, inclination. Eratosthenes (d. 195 B. C.) divided the *orbis terrarum notus* into seven longitudinal zones, of which the limits were arbitrarily fixed. Hipparchus (c. 150 B. C.) made the zones equal in latitude. The division into seven climates of equal width was taken over by the Arabs, though sometimes the countries to the S. of the Equator were reckoned as eighth, and those in the extreme N. a ninth. Al-Idrīsī [q. v.] has arranged his book on geography according to climates. The determining factor in defining the limits of the climate is the length of the longest day within it. In Abu 'l-Fidā the inhabited world lies practically between 10° and 50° N. Latitude, and the length of the longest day increases by half-an-hour in each climate from the S. to the N. The following table shows the S. and N. limits of the seven climates, the length in hours of the longest day at the S. limit of each and the breadth and length of each in degrees.

Climate	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
S. Limit	12° 40′	20° 27′	27° 30′	33° 37½′	38° 54′	43° 22½′	47° 12′
N. Limit	20° 27′	27° 30′	33° 37½′	38° 54′	43° 22½′	47° 12′	50° 20′
Longest Day .	12¾	13¼	13¾	14¼	14¾	15¼	15¾
Breadth	7° 47′	7° 3′	6° 7½′	5° 17′	4° 28½′	3° 49½′	3° 8′
Length	172° 27′	164° 26′	154° 30′	144° 17′	135° 22′	126° 27′	119° 23′

The length of the longest day at the N. limit of the seventh climate, that is, at 50° 20′ N., is 16¼ hours. Inhabited lands, however, lie both to the N. and S. of these climates. The climates also diminish in length as they ascend northwards. Thus, according to al-Bīrūnī [q. v.], the length of the first climate from E. to W. is 172° 27′, or, taking 1° = 18⅔ parasangs nearly, about 3252 parasangs. On the older basis of 22⅔ parasangs to a degree it would be 3832 parasangs. The length of the seventh zone is 119° 23′ or about 2235 parasangs (on the other computation 2651 parasangs). These measurements are adopted by Abu 'l-Fidā.

The term *climate* (*keshwar*) was also used by the Persians to denote one of the seven parts of

kingdoms into which they divided the world, and which had no dependence on latitude. Persia was placed in the centre and Arabia, Africa, the Romans, the Turks, China and India grouped round it. A similar seven fold partition of the earth is found in al-Masʿūdī (chapter viii.). Climate then came to be used locally for "country", *e. g.* "Syria, ʿIrāḳ, etc. Abu 'l-Fidā calls this the popular climate as contrasted with the "real" or astronomical climate, which depends on the latitude.

Iḳlīm al-Ruʾya is another name for the *Falak al-Burūdj*.

Bibliography: Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda* I. ccxxiv *sqq.*, ii. 8 *sqq.*; *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger, Lees, etc., p. 1223 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, ed. Quatremère (*Notices et Extraits*, etc., xvi. 92 *sqq.*, xix. 112 *sqq.*); al-Hamdānī's *Geographie der arab. Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 1—44.

(T. H. Weir).

IḲRĀR (A.), Confession. If the accused in the case before the *ḳāḍī* confesses that the prosecutor is right, no further proof is needed according to Muslim law. The judge can at once give his verdict. An *iḳrār* however can only be considered valid when it is made by a person of age in full possession of his faculties and without any pressure before the ḳāḍī. Measures to extort a confession are absolutely forbidden. Even an *iḳrār* made by some one perhaps from fear of a flogging is invalid. If the case concerns the law of property, the one who acknowledges the demand must be capable of independent action (*rashīd*). If the justice of an accusation is once recognised in a case, a later repudiation of the *iḳrār* is invalid, except when the accused has confessed a crime which is liable to be punished as a *ḥaḳḳ Allāh* (see ʿADHĀB, i. p. 132).

Recognition of children who are not born in wedlock is of no value according to Muslim law. If, however, the paternity of a legitimate child is uncertain and the husband expressly acknowledges his paternity, then no further proof is required. The paternity of the child is then established by the *iḳrār*. The declaration however must be neither contrary to the actual circumstances nor the law.

In other cases also a person's genealogy can be established beyond all doubt by *iḳrār* without further proof in certain circumstances, for example, if a male Muslim who has attained his majority declares that any one is his father, brother or uncle. If however relationship is claimed with some one still living, the latter must confirm the *iḳrār*, if he is not incapable of doing so on account of youth or mental deficiency. If the *iḳrār* refers to more distant degrees of relationship (e. g. brother or uncle), the men through whom the alleged relationship has arisen (e. g. father grandfather) must be already dead.

Bibliography: The chapter on *Iḳrār* in the Fiḳh books; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Rechtstoestand van kinderen buiten huwelijk geboren uit Inlandsche vrouwen die den Mohammedaanschen godsdienst belijden*, in *Het Recht in Nederl.-Indië*, lix. (1897), 133—136, 285—290, lx. (1898), 87—92; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. d. islām. Gesetzes*, S. 192 *sq.*, 314.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

AL-IKSĪR [s. ELIXIR.]

IḲṬĀʿ (A.) in Muslim countries means: 1. the act of bestowing land which is not private property in return for taxes or tithes; 2. the act of giving the produce of land in place of or as a guarantee of payment on the part of the state treasury. *Iḳṭāʿ* may consist of: 1. the granting of a whole province as a fief to a governor (e. g. the granting of Egypt to Ibn Ṭūlūn by the Caliph on payment of tribute), as well as the granting of a few fields in return for tithe (*ʿushr*) or taxes (*kharādj*) or rent (*kharādj-udjra*) or a poll tax afterwards converted into *kharādj* (*kharādj-djizya*); 2. the allotment of the revenue from a piece of ground as salary or pension. The conception of *iḳṭāʿ* was then extended and used to mean the farming of taxes and customs duties and tolls on rivers and canals. *Iḳṭāʿ* later came to be used to designate especially a military fief. Al-Māwardī has given a theoretical account of the prescriptions of the *iḳṭāʿ* in Ch. xvii. of his "Constitutional Law" (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīya*, ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 330—343). He distinguishes at the outset between the granting of the property and the yield from it and investigates under what conditions land may be capable of *iḳṭāʿ*.

I. There are three kinds of land.

A. Mawāt (uncultivated land). *a.* Waste land without trace of cultivation or an owner. The *muḳṭaʿ* (the person to whom the land is granted under certain conditions) promises to cultivate it (cf. the Roman *emphyteusis*) and for three years he pays nothing. (He then pays a rent which is fixed by public auction [*muzāyada*]; but lands were probably often allotted at a definite rent which was not considered capable of being increased, cf. Becker, *Die Entstehung von ʿUšr- und Ḫarāǵ-Land*, s. *Bibliography*). If he does not cultivate it, it may be taken from him at the close of three years unless he can give satisfactory reasons for his neglect. Otherwise he is granted the land on a long lease with the right to dispose of it, so that it is in a way his property, in return for a pledge to pay a certain sum. *b.* If the land was previously cultivated, the same regulations hold, if it was cultivated in the *Djāhilīya* (i. e. the period before Muḥammad). If it was cultivated within the Muslim period, the practice varies.

B. If it is a case of cultivated land in private possession, it can only be given to some one if it is in an enemy country but has already been promised as *iḳṭāʿ*, before it is conquered. The *muḳṭaʿ* receives by *iḳṭāʿ* a preferential claim, after the conquest of it, if it is granted at all, if for example the owners migrate. Conquered land that is not private property, for example the private domains of the former ruler or lands belonging to inhabitants who have left the country, is in part reserved for the *bait al-māl* (treasury) and can only be leased for rent (*kharādj udjra*) but never become private property. The unreserved parts become *kharādj* lands (i. e. liable to land tax); they either belong to the *faiʾ* (booty) [q. v.] and are immobilised, in which case they can only be rented and not become the private property of the *muḳṭaʿ* or they remain in the private ownership (of an unbeliever); then it is not possible to grant them and the *kharādj* due from them takes the place of the poll tax *djizya* [q. v. i. 1051 *sq.*]. Lands which fall to the state, because the owner has no heirs are administered like foundations. Many legal authorities hold the opinion that the government is free to dispose of them: in this case they may

be assigned, according to some, only on rent, according to others, as private property.

III). *Iḳṭāʿ* of the produce only takes place as a substitute and guarantee for the payments which the treasury has to make to subjects; the sum which the government has to pay to the persons concerned must therefore be fixed if instead of money a grant of produce is to be made. There is a distinction between:

a. Iḳṭāʿ of the tithe (*ʿushr*). The revenues from tithes (*ʿushr*) are intended for the *zakāt* (alms for the poor). They therefore cannot be bestowed because the claims on the *zakāt* in the individual cases are only defined when payment is made and the *ʿushr* is only paid at the end of the year so that the two dates do not coincide.

b. Iḳṭāʿ of the *kharādj*. The yield of the *kharādj* for the reasons just mentioned cannot be granted to any one in substitution for the claim to *zakāt*. For the same reason, officials holding special offices but receiving no fixed salary or appointed for an indefinite period cannot receive the yield of the *kharādj* as *iḳṭāʿ*. On the other hand the *iḳṭāʿ* of the *kharādj* is readily given to members of the army in place of their definite pay because the settlement is easy in this case.

On the kinds of *kharādj* (*kharādj djizya* and *kharādj udjra*) see the articles DJIZYA and KHARĀDJ. The *kharādj udjra* can be granted for a number of years in compensation for a definite payment.

If the *muḳṭaʿ* remains in active service till the end of the period he naturally retains the revenue: if he dies it goes back to the state. His heirs receive a pension from other funds: if he breaks down in health his usufruct of the revenue is settled by local practice, according as his pay is continued or a pension is given from other sources on account of ill health. There is no *iḳṭāʿ* with rights for life and the right of transmitting to heirs, as the financial sovereignty of the state would thus be injured by losing the right of disposal. An *iḳṭāʿ* for life without the right of bequest is only possible when, according to local practice, in cases of retiring on account of ill health, it continues to be paid undiminished. These are in the main al-Māwardī's theories. On the special regulations for the granting of mines etc., see al-Māwardī at the end of the chapter quoted. He does not discuss the *iḳṭāʿ* of land to Muslims as *ʿushr* land. We know that this kind of *iḳṭāʿ* was usual in Muslim countries. Becker in particular has explained the practice (*Steuerpacht*, etc., p. 81 *sqq.*, see *Bibliography*; in this book the eastern and western systems of granting fiefs are compared). Al-Māwardī points out that *iḳṭāʿ* of *kharādj* was especially suitable for members of the army: and in reality the military fiefs did develop out of it. Soldiers and amīrs were given the rents either as a guarantee of their pay or as part of it. When the rent came in with increasing irregularity, they were gradually given the estates themselves. This state of affairs lasted about 130 years from the time of the Būyids [q. v.] to the reign of Sulṭān Malik Shāh (465—485 = 1072—1092) under the administration of his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (see Becker, *Steuerpacht*, p. 89). The latter distributed the estates as fiefs to the troops and allotted them as revenue and income. The Saldjūks introduced an innovation inasmuch as they made the fiefs hereditary in return for military service. This is best explained by the fact that as an invading tribe of nomads it was their interest at first to have as many of their own people as possible in their army. They thought that in this way they could secure for themselves a particularly true and devoted army (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 216 quotes a statement on this point by a *djundī* (mercenary) of the army of the Saldjūk Atābeg, the almost independent prince Nūr al-Dīn of Aleppo 541—569 = 1146—1173): "The fief belongs to us, it is our property, we pass it on to our children from father to son and in return for it we are willing to run the risk of death"). The system of hereditary fiefs in return for military service is also found among the Mongols. It was different in the Mamlūk period (see Becker, art. EGYPT, ii. p. 14[b] *sq.*]: the whole country under his rule, apart from private property, endowments, fallow or desert land, is the feudal property of the Sulṭān. It was divided into 24 parts from the time of Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn (678—689 = 1279—1290) (*ḳīrāṭ*). Four parts were for the Sulṭān, out of which he granted fiefs to his guards, officers and soldiers, 10 parts were for the amīrs, 10 for the mercenaries (*djundī*) but the amīrs also held a part of the fiefs for the mercenaries. The land was redistributed from time to time after a survey (at least once in 30 years) but frequently more often, if abuses prevailed, so that for example the highest amīrs got hold of very large estates and introduced a latifundian system or the smaller amīrs did not pass on the fiefs to the mercenaries. New surveys were also ordered by sulṭāns to give fiefs to their mamlūks. Sulṭān Lādjīn (696—698 = 1296—1298) for example took 14 *ḳīrāṭ* of the land for fiefs reserved for his guards. In the survey of Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad of the year 715 (1315) 10 *ḳīrāṭ* were for the Sulṭān, 14 for the amīrs and their mercenaries. Another abuse first appeared in the first Mamlūk dynasty in the reign of the extravagant Sulṭān al-Kāmil Shaʿbān: the mercenaries exchanged or sold their estates to private individuals and in return paid considerable sums to the treasury. This practice was even sanctioned by the institution of a special office (*Dīwān al-Badal*). (See for further details, Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscr. Arab.*, ii. n°. 44). This abuse was however of short duration only; it is described by the chroniclers as a wicked, illegal, and arbitrary act. When Sulṭān Selīm I in 922 (1516) conquered Syria and Egypt, he had these lands resurveyed and divided as crown estates and fiefs according to the Ottoman principles. As elsewhere throughout the Ottoman empire the principle of inheritance was gradually introduced. Muḥammad ʿAlī was the first gradually to deprive the Mamlūks and the small vassals of their fiefs and to introduce a system of direct payment into the army. The Turkish Sulṭāns (see the article TURKEY) claimed a part of the conquered territory as their property and granted the yield of the taxes of whole districts (*liwāʾs*) to their grandees for life (MALIKĀNE-I MĪRĪYE, q. v.). The governor who was granted a fief in this way, received the ground tax and other dues, while he in return placed a certain number of soldiers at the Sulṭān's disposal according to the size of his estate: later he only paid a definite tribute to the Porte. It thus came about that the great pashas were often almost independent of the Sublime Porte. There arose for example small dynasties

in Syria at Ḥimṣ, Baʿalbek, in Lebanon and Nābulus. The smaller fiefs were called, according to their size, *zaʿāmet* (from *zaʿīm*, the leader of an army) and *tīmār*; the number of soldiers to be provided varied with the size of their booty. They were hereditary and were divided according to certain principles among the sons or heirs of the holder of the fief in return for military service. It may be said that almost the whole empire consisted of military fiefs. This circumstance which in course of time by its decentralising tendency brought about a weakening of the empire was gradually abolished by the reforms (*tanẓīmāt*) of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Madjīd, which Sulṭān Maḥmūd II had gradually prepared the way for (1223—1255 = 1808—1839). The situation was definitely settled by the land legislation of 1856. General military service for Muslims had already been introduced in 1839. Certain hereditary fiefs granted to grandees of the empire, which every new Sulṭān has to confirm, still exist.

Bibliography: Arabic sources: al-Māwardī s. above; Badr al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Djamāʿa, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām*, s. Voller's *Kat. der Islam.... Handschriften der Univ. Bibl.*, Leipzig 1906, Nº. 399; *Multaḳā* (*Madjmaʿ al-Anhur fī Multaḳā ʾl-Abḥur*) by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, Būlāḳ 1287, and the other law books; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 87 *sqq.*, ii. 215 *sqq.*; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1302; Ibn Djīʿān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-saniya fī Asmāʾ al-Bilād al-Miṣriya*, Cairo 1315; Ibn Mamātī, *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, Cairo 1299. — Translations: Complete transl. of al-Māwardī by Fagnan, Algiers 1915; and the pertinent passages in Worms (s. below) and van Berchem (s. below); extracts from Ibn Djamāʿa by Worms (*Journ. Asiat.*, 3rd Ser., xiv. (1842) 371; and again in Belin (*ibid.*, 5th Ser., xix., 186); Extracts from the *Multaḳā* in Belin (*Journ. Asiat.*, 5th Ser., xviii., xix.); al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. in Bouriant, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Miss. arch. française*, T. xvi. 255 *sqq.*, Cairo 1895; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii., excerpts in Belin (*Journ. Asiat.*, 6th Ser., T. xv., 1870, p. 202 *sqq.*); al-Ḳalḳashandī, extract from his book on style transl. by Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1879. — European authors for the Arab period: C. H. Becker, *Die Entstehung von ʿUshr- und Kharādj-Land* in *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xviii. 301 *sqq.*, 1904-5; *Steuerpacht und Lehnswesen* in *Der Islam*, p. 82—92, 1914; M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale* etc. Geneva 1886, with many quotations from al-Balādhurī; M. Hartmann, *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des ältesten Islam* in *Orient. Lit. Zeitung*, vii., Nº. 11 u. 12; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902 (particularly the reign of ʿOmar II); Worms, *Recherches sur la constitution de la propriété territoriale dans les pays musulmans* in *Journ. Asiat.*, 3rd Ser., xiv. (1842), 4th Ser., i. (1843), iii. (1844) with reference to various Muslim countries; Tornauw, *Das Eigentumsrecht nach muslimischem Recht* in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxvi. — For the later period: C. H. Becker, Art. EGYPT, ii. 11—16; Behrnauer, *Kōjibeg's Abhandlung über den Verfall des osmanischen Staatsgebäudes etc.* in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xv.; M. Belin, *Étude sur la propriété foncière* etc. (*Journ. Asiat.*, 5th Ser., xviii. (1861), xix. (1862), refers to the older period also); do., *Régime des fiefs militaires dans l'Islamisme* in *Journ. As.*, 6th Ser., xv. (1870); A. Gurland, *Grundzüge der muhammedanischen Agrarverfassung u. Politik*, Dorpat 1907; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman* (specially vii. 243, 250, 279, 374); Padel, *De la législation foncière ottomane*; Sylvestre de Sacy, *Recherches de la nature et sur les révolutions du droit de la propriété* in *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France*, i. v. vii.; A. von Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in den moslemischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872 (deals with Persia and India also).

(M. SOBERNHEIM.)

IḲTIBĀS means to take a *ḳabas*, a live coal or a light, from another's fire (Ḳur. xx. 10; xxvii. 7; lvii. 13); hence to seek knowledge (*ʿilm*) and, as a technical term in rhetoric, to quote specific words from the Ḳurʾān or the traditions but without indicating them as quoted. If the source is indicated and the quotation is put into verse the figure is called *ʿaḳd*, "binding", and if it is verse, not Ḳurʾān or tradition, that is quoted, and in verse, the figure is *taḍmīn*, "inserting". In *iḳtibās* the original application of the words may be preserved or may be changed. As to the lawfulness of this there has been much dispute. The Mālikites generally pronounced it unlawful; but others allowed it under conditions, e. g. in preaching and prayer and praise (following the usage of Muḥammad), but not in verse, where it was disliked (*makrūh*). Yet others permitted such quotation, even in verse, if done in a right spirit. But it is altogether abominable to twist words referring to Allāh so as to make them refer to a creature; or to use any Ḳurʾānic words in light jesting. But, as a matter of fact, such quoting and alluding has been quite common, even in the most unseemly contexts as in *kutub al-bāh*, just as the doubt whether the *basmala* should be prefixed to poetry (Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ed. Cairo, 1325, ii. 250) has had no practical consequences. The *Fihrist* (p. 104, 12) notes a *Kitāb al-Muḳtabas* by Madāʾinī (d. A. H. 215 or 225) and another by Marzubānī (p. 133, 15) but it is uncertain whether their *iḳtibās* was this technicality. In the *Asās al-iḳtibās* of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn (d. A. H. 928; Brockelmann, ii. p. 103) it is extended to cover proverbs, verses and even short *ḥikāyāt*.

Bibliography: *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 1187; Mehren, *Rhetorik der Araber*, p. ١٣٠, ١٣١, 136, 140, 211; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie*, p. 202; *Lisān*, viii. 48.

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

AL-IḲWĀʾ (A.), a technical term in metre, meaning an error in prosody, which consists in the vowel of the vocalised, rhyme-forming, terminal consonant (*rawī*) being a *ḍamma* in one verse of a poem and a *kasra* in another, irrespective of whether the majority of the verses of the poem end in one or other of these vowels or not. According to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, *al-iḳwāʾ* means the presence of an unusual vowel with the rhyme-forming consonant, so that the verses end partly in *i* and partly in *ā* or *ū*. Other prosodists on the other hand call the insertion of verses with the terminal vowels *ū* or *ī* in a poem rhyming in *ā*, *iṣrāf* or *iṣfāf*.

Bibliography: Freitag, *Darstellung*, p. 162,

328 *sqq.*; Ibn Kaisān in Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, p. 55; R. Basset, *La Khazradjiyah*, p. 126—128; Cheikho, *'Ilm al-Adab*, p. 413.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

ILĀH is undoubtedly the same as אֱלוֹהַּ and has the same problem of ultimate derivation (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii. coll. 3323 *sqq.*; Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 42 *sqq.*; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schr.*, i. 154 *sqq.*). Here only the Arabic side is considered. The pre-Muslim Meccans regarded *Allāh* as a proper name (*ism 'alam*) and this view is practically universal in Islām; for the arguments of the few who held that it was a descriptive noun (*ṣifa*) see Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, ed. Cairo, 1307, i. 83, 11 *sqq.* But, according to Rāzī (*loc. cit.*), al-Khalīl, Sībawaihi and the most of the formulators of the Muslim fundamentals (*al-uṣūliyūn*) held also that it had no derivation, was *murtadjal*. This Rāzī supports with various *a priori* arguments. Others, according to Rāzī, held that *Allāh* was of Syriac or Hebrew origin; others, of the school of al-Kūfa, that it was from *al-ilāh*; and others, of the school of al-Baṣra, that it was from *lāhā*, the infinitive of LĀH, "to be high", or "to be veiled". Of course, as to *al-ilāh*, "the Deity", Rāzī had no doubt that it had a derivation, although its usage had come to be practically as a proper name and equal to *Allāh*. Later Islām has decided that, while *Allāh* is a proper name, it is also derived (*mashtaḳḳ*, *manḳūl*) and most probably from *al-ilāh*, in some one or other of its meanings. *Al-ilāh*, then, would mean i. "the god already mentioned", the article being *li-'ahd*, ii. "the Deity", iii. it was softened to *Allāh* by frequency of usage and in that form came to be a proper name. But *ilāh*, "a god", still survived in the construct and undefined, as also *ālihat*, "gods", in the plural. Apparently *al-ilāh* does not occur in the Ḳur'ān as a form; but there are cases where *Allāh* has the same meaning. So in Ḳur. vi. 3, *wa-huwa 'llāhu fi 'l-samawāti*, "and he is the deity in the heavens" (cf. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, p. 394); and in Ḳur. xxviii. 70, *huwa 'llāhu lā ilāha illā huwa*, "he is the deity than whom there is no deity" (cf. *Kashshāf*, p. 1064). Then later *al-ilāh* came back in the two senses noted above and was used and is still used by theological writers much as is our "the Deity". Eight derivations have been suggested for *ilāh* (Rāzī, i. 84—86; Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 4) but they practically reduce to the following: 1. *Aliha*, "worship", but, as Zamakhsharī points out (*Kashshāf*, p. 8), this with the v[th] and x[th] stems are derived from the noun. 2. *Aliha*, "be perplexed, confounded" — for the mind is confounded in the experience of knowing Allāh; *waliha* has the same meaning. 3. *Aliha ilā*, "turn to for protection, or to seek peace, or in longing", again *waliha* has the same meaning. For Allāh the school of al-Baṣra preferred the derivation from *lāha* in either of its two meanings, "to be veiled" or "to be lofty". Zamakhsharī mentions only 1 and 2, the latter being his choice; in 2 and 3 *waliha* may easily be more original; for the interchange cf. *Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, p. 172, l. 20.

Bibliography: Add to above Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i. 40; on margin, p. 53, 63; *Gharā'ib* of Naisābūrī (d. circ. 710; follows Rāzī closely but corrects him); on margin of Rāzī, p. 18, 19; *Tafsīr* of Abu 'l-Su'ūd (d. 982); *Lisān*, xvii. 358; article ALLĀH, i. 302 above, and in Hastings, *Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, both by present writer. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

ILĀT, Arabic plural of the Turkish word *il* "people" (cf. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, p. 15 and 135, N. 2) is the name given in the Persian administration to the tribes that have remained nomadic in the empire (syn. *ūlūs*); they are for the most part of Turcoman origin; liable to military service in case of war, they form the only cavalry in Irān (Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, *Maṭla' al-Shams*, p. 29 *sqq.*), except for the regiment of Cossacks. They are also called *ḳara-ḳādir* (black tents) from the colour of their hair tents. Their hereditary chief is called *īlkhānī* "chief of the people"; he enjoys absolute authority and rules his clan in a way absolutely independent of the royal authority. They have teachers of the Ḳur'ān and of Persian poetry; this is all the education the nomads receive. When the course of the seasons requires the movement of the tribe, they strike their tents, their chief holds a review (*sān*); while the men on foot stand with a large stick in their hands and surrounded by their hunting dogs, the women and children sit on asses, males, and horses, their domestic chattels being loaded on camels. The nomads pay various revenues to the state: a tax for pasturage (*ḥaḳḳ-i čarā*), a certain number of camels and asses to be sent annually to the court, in addition to the usual presents; each tribe furnishes a regiment of infantry (*fawdj*) and a reserve squadron of irregular cavalry (*suwār-i radīf*).

The reforms at present planned by the Persian government aim at increasing gradually the number of tribes who have adopted a settled life, and forcing those who remain nomadic to make their migrations without damaging the interests of the settled tribes on their route. For Fārs, a council of the tribes is to be created on which the *īl-khānī*'s will be present in person or represented by delegates, in addition to representations of the great families and prominent personages of the region. This organisation will be later extended to the whole of Persia.

Bibliography: Polak, *Persien*, ii. 94 *sqq.*; Demorgny, *Le Fars* (cf. *Bulletin de l'Union franco-persane*, iv., 1913, n°. 4, p. 13); do., *Les réformes administr. en Perse. Les tribus du Fars* dans *Revue du Monde musulman*, xxii. 85 *sqq.*; do., *Essai sur l'administration de la Perse*, Paris, 1913, p. 53; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, i. 219; Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 112, 270. (CL. HUART.)

ILČI (T.) properly *ilči*, from the Uigur *il*, peace, alliance, and the suffix of nouns indicating profession, *-či*, = peace-maker, ambassador, plenipotentiary. The word *il* "peace", which is found in Mongol and Manchu, also occurs in Kutadghu Bilig, 3, 10 and *Kutadghu Bilig*, 154, 10 (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, i. 826). In Turkey a distinction was formerly made between *büyük ilči*, ambassador, *ilči murakhkhaṣı*, minister plenipotentiary and *orta ilči*, resident minister. At the present day the diplomatic titles, the employment of which was fixed at the treaty of Vienna, are officially the following: for the first, *sefīr-i kebīr*; for the second *sefīr*. The Ottoman Empire has no resident ministers. It maintains embassies at Paris, London, Petrograd, Berlin, Rome, Vienna, and Teheran. The title

büyük ilči was nevertheless retained for ambassadors accredited to the Sublime Porte and that of *orta ilči* for ministers plenipotentiary (*Sālnāme*, 1325, p. 1072, 1078). The reception of these agents by the Sulṭān was formerly the occasion of extraordinary ceremony. Now they are content to follow the ordinary European usages. When Ferdinand of Austria sent Nicolas Jurischitz and Joseph von Lamberg (in 1530) on a mission, fifty *čawush* came to meet them half a league from Constantinople and conducted them to the ambassadors' caravanserai (*ilči-khān*), the ruins of which still exist in Stambul. They shut them in there by the Sulṭān's orders, but took care that they lacked nothing. Three weeks after their arrival they were ceremonially received in audience. The *ṣolak*, the court valets wearing golden headdresses, and 3000 Janissaries stood before the chamber of the *dīwān*, where the Grand Vizier, two other viziers, the Beylerbey of Rumelia, the two *ḳāḍī-'asker*, the three *defterdār*, and the secretary of State (*re'īs efendi*) awaited them; then the Chief Marshall and the High Chancellor introduced them to Sulaimān. The first envoy from the Porte to Vienna was a *čawush*, messenger of state or courier (1533), and the practice was continued of appointing ambassadors to foreign countries from this lower category of officials. In 1616 the judge of Galata, who was a negro, forced the ambassadors to pay capitation (*il caragio*, the word *kharādj* being then popularly used as a synonym of *djizya*, cf. Meninski, *Lexicon*, s. v.); it was necessary to produce the text of the capitulations to have this judgment of the ḳāḍī annulled by the Grand Vizier. In 1076 (1665) the first account of a mission was inserted in the annals of the empire, on the occasion of an embassy sent by Sulṭān Muḥammad IV, which included Ewliyā Efendi and Meninski. Von Hammer at the end of his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, xvii. 134 *sqq.*, has given a list of embassies sent by the Porte or received by it down to the peace of Ḳainardja.

Persia only has an ambassador in Constantinople (*safīr-i kabīr*). It was represented elsewhere by ministers plenipotentiary, envoys extraordinary (*wazīr-i mukhtār wa-ilči-i makhṣūṣ*) one for England, Germany, and Holland, one for Russia, and one for France and Austria.

Bibliography: Rycaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, trans. Briot, p. 268 *sq.*; von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, iii. 245, v. 149, 179, xi. 275. (CL. HUART.)

ILDEGIZ, SHAMS AL-DĪN, Atabeg of Adharbaidjān, was originally a slave of the Saldjūḳ vizier al-Sumairimī, murdered in 515 or 516 (1121 or 1122) and afterward of Sulṭān Mas'ūd. The latter appointed him governor of Arrān, whereby he became one of the first amīrs in the kingdom. In this remote province he soon took up a more or less independent position and troubled himself little about his Saldjūḳ overlord. His marriage with the widow of Sulṭān Toghrul I gave him a favourable opportunity to champion the cause of his stepson Arslānshāh and raise him to the Saldjūḳ throne in 556 (1161) while he himself came forward as his Atabeg. Some amīrs, namely Ināndj in Raiy and Zangī in Fārs attempted to put up Muḥammad, a brother of Arslānshāh, against him; but their troops were not a match for those of Ildegiz and the plan soon failed miserably. Ildegiz finally got rid of his troublesome rival Inānḍj by assassinating him with the help of the vizier Sa'd al-Dīn Asa'd al-Asḥall, who as a reward was made vizier to Pahlavān, son of Ildegiz. Ildegiz, who had several times to wage difficult wars with the Georgians (cf. the additions to Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, p. 361 *sq.*), thus became the virtual ruler of the Saldjūḳ empire, and firmly established the rule of his family in Adharbaidjān. According to Ibn al-Athīr, he died in 568 (1172) at Hamadhān in the same month as his wife, Toghrul's widow. If the tomb at Nakhdjuwān described by M. Hartmann (*Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1899, off-print, p. 21) is that of this princess, her name was Mu'mina Khātūn; but the writer's view that Ildegiz had the tomb erected is contradicted by the date 582. The *laḳab* Shams al-Dīn's proves nothing, because Ildegiz's son Pahlavān [q. v.] also bore it. Cf. Awfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne, I, 356 *sqq.* Dawlatshāh, ed. Browne, p. 117, however, says that both Ildegiz and his wife were interred in Hamadhān.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xi., see Index; *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 472; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Lucknow, 1891, ii. 201 *sqq.* (= *The History of the Atabaks of Syria and Persia*, ed. Morley, p. 10 *sqq.*).

ILEK-KHĀNS, a Turkish dynasty in Central Asia, iv.th—vi.th (x.th—xii.th) centuries. From this house which ruled the lands north and south of the Thian-Shan came the first Turkish conquerors of Mā warā' al-Nahr in the Muslim period; the first monument of Muslim literature in Turkish, the *Ḳudatḳu-Bilik* or *Ḳutadghu Bilik*, was written about 462 = 1069-1070 for a prince of this dynasty. In Persian histories the dynasty is usually called "family (*āl*) of Afrāsiyāb (q. v., i. 175[b]) sometimes also "Khāns of Turkistān", the name "Īlek princes" or "Īlek-Khāns" was introduced by European numismatists (Tornberg and especially Dorn) from a title peculiar to this dynasty, which, however, is not by any means borne by all its rulers, and which it seems cannot be traced in Muslim literature at an earlier or later period. In the pre-Islamic period the word appears as a princely title among the Eastern Turks; cf. the expression "*ilig khān mshīkhā*" in the Christian text publ. by F. W. K. Müller (*Uigurica*, Berlin, 1908, p. 6). The pronunciation and etymology of the title is uncertain; the historians and the coins have *ilik*, sometimes also *ilik* and *alik*, the Uigur ms. of the *Ḳutadghu-Bilik*, *elik* or *ilik*, the Arabic (both the Cairo ms. and the newly discovered ms. of Namangan in Farghāna) *ilik*; cf. W. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, i. 816, "if this word were pronounced *ilik*, it could be connected with *ilk*, "the first". Naṣr b. 'Alī (d. 403 = 1012-1013), the conqueror of Mā warā' al-Nahr was the "ilek" or "ilek-khān" *par excellence*; the title was used later also mainly by the kings of Mā warā' al-Nahr (cf. Baihaḳī, ed. Morley, p. 631 infra) but only so long as there were nominally at least the relations of vassal and overlord between them and the Khāns of Kāshghar. The expression "the khān (or the khāns) and the ilek" is frequently used (e. g. Baihaḳī, p. 844 *sq.*); the "ilek" is thus not the "khān", but a prince subordinate to him, just as the *ilik* introduced in the *Ḳutadghu-Bilik* as the personification of justice is not called "khān" but "beg". After the rulers of Samarkand had definitely assumed the title of Khān and founded an independent kingdom, the title *ilek* disappears from their coins. The word *ilek* is mentioned for

the last time about 1130 A. D. as the name or title of the ruler of Balāsāghūn (q. v. i. 615ᵃ).

The historical references to the "family of Afrāsiyāb" are very scanty; the limits of the kingdom as well as of the individual principalities, of which it consisted, are difficult to determine; the dates also are mostly uncertain; even the coins leave much to be settled here. The kingdom was never actually ruled by one man; feuds between individual members of the dynasty were usually settled by force of arms, frequently with foreign assistance. This state of affairs was first taken advantage of by the Ghaznavids (q. v., ii. 154 *sqq.*) and later by the Saldjūḳ sulṭāns for their own purposes: of the latter, Malik Shāh and his son Sandjar exercised a kind of suzerainty over the princes of Samarḳand as well as over those of Kāshghar; after the battle in the year 536 (1141) this suzerainty passed to the heathen Ḳara Khiṭāi (q. v.). The downfall of the dynasty in Mā warā' al-Nahr (c. 609 = 1212—1213) as well as in Kāshghar (about the same time) was brought about by the rebellion of the Muslim population against the Ḳara Khiṭāi and the resultant fighting.

Bibliography: B. Dorn, *Über die Münzen der Ileke oder ehemaligen Chane von Turkistan* (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, viii. 703 *sq.*; ix. 55 *sq.*; with bibliography up to 1880); Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik in Transscription herausgegeben*, St. Petersburg, Einleitung, p. lxxviii. *sq.*; F. Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra Khan et l'histoire* (*Journ. Asiat.*, 9ᵉ série, xv. 5 *sq.*); W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, ii. 266 *sq.* (W. BARTHOLD.)

ĪLGHĀZĪ (i. e. champion of the people) is the name of two Saldjūḳ semi-independent rulers of the Ortoḳid dynasty who attained power in northern Mesopotamia.

1. NADJM AL-DĪN ĪLGHĀZĪ I B. ORTOḲ. He was first of all a supporter of his brother-in-law Tutush in his struggle for the throne of the Saldjūḳ empire of Persia. After Tutush's defeat and death (488 = 1095) he withdrew to Jerusalem which he had received as a fief from Tutush jointly with his brother Sukmān. The two brothers had however after a 40 days' siege to surrender Jerusalem to the Egyptians (Sha'bān 489 = July-August 1096). At a later date (from 493 = 1100) Īlghāzī joined the new pretender Sulṭān Muḥammad, who appointed him governor of Baghdād in 494 (1100-1101). He held this important office for four years, ultimately in the service of Sulṭān Barkyaruḳ and his son Sulṭān Malikshāh.

When Sulṭān Muḥammad dismissed him from the governorship of Baghdād in 498 (1105), he fell out with this ruler. Between 498 and 501 (1105 and 1107-1108) Īlghāzī captured the hitherto impregnable fortress of Mārdīn, one of the most important in the whole of the nearer east, and in 501 we find him also lord of Naṣībīn. In 504, 505, 506-7 and 508 (1111, 1112, 1113 and 1115) he refused to perform military service in the war, which the Muslim amīrs of the west were conducting against the Crusaders in Mesopotamia and Syria by Sulṭān Muḥammad's orders. During the last of these campaigns he with two of his nephews even attacked the commander-in-chief of the Muslim armies Aḳsonḳor al-Bursuḳī (q. v., i. 226ᵇ *sq.*) and defeated him (May 1115), but then fled to Syria and together with Tughtegin concluded a truce injurious to the Muslim cause and even agreed to join arms with the Franks. Tughtegīn and Īlghāzī brought 10 000 Muslims to the 2 000 Franks. The Frank-Muslim allies encamped together till August at Apamea and Shaizar in face of the new commander-in-chief, Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ, sent by Sulṭān Muḥammad to fight the Crusaders, without however it coming to a battle between Bursuḳ and the allies. Shortly after (August or September 1115) Īlghāzī, while on his way back to Mesopotamia, was captured at al-Rastan (between Emesa and Ḥamā; Yāḳūt, ii. 778) by Khīrkhān, one of Sulṭān Muḥammad's generals, but released after some time for fear of Tughtegīn. Īlghāzī managed to get on very well with the Saldjūḳ government after the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad and the accession of his son, Maḥmūd.

Lu'lu', the governor of Aleppo, was murdered towards the end of 510 (1117). Owing to internal disputes the town and district of Aleppo were exposed to the inroads and depredations of the Franks. After Īlghāzī had temporarily occupied Aleppo in 511 (1117), he was appealed to in the following year by its inhabitants as their last hope and recognised as prince of Aleppo (Ibn al-'Adīm Kamāl al-Dīn). Īlghāzī in the second half of 512 (1118) succeeded in definitively gaining possession of Aleppo and thus became a neighbour of the Franks, against whom he at once made energetic preparations. The numerically weaker Franks were outflanked on June 28 1119 by his army of 20 000 men in the valley of Tell 'Afrīn, taken by surprise and for the most part cut to pieces or taken prisoner. Among those who fell was Roger, Prince of Antioch. It was one of the greatest battles which the Muslims had so far won against the Crusaders (the village of Balāṭ, after which the battle is often called, appears in Ibn al-'Adīm as Roger's camp on the night of June 20 1119, eight days before the decisive battle). Antioch now lay defenceless at Īlghāzī's feet; but he neglected to take the city.

The reputation of Īlghāzī's military ability now penetrated far and wide and he received the chief command over the Muslims in the war which Sulṭān Maḥmūd was waging in person against the Christian Georgians. Īlghāzī suffered a very severe reverse (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, 512 = 1121; Ibn al-Athīr *al-Kāmil*, 514 = 1120) which resulted in the loss of Tiflis to the Georgians. In 516 (1122) he was granted Maiyāfāriḳīn by the Sulṭān in addition to his other lands.

Soon afterwards on Ramaḍān 516 = November 3 1122 (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; Ramaḍān 6, al-Fāriḳī; Ramaḍān 17) Īlghāzī died at the age probably of barely 60 at Maiyāfāriḳīn (Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Faradj; 'Adjlain on the road from Mārdīn to Maiyāfāriḳīn, according to Ibn al-'Adīm, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, iii. 634; al-Fuḥūl, according to Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; on the way from Aleppo to Maiyāfāriḳīn, according to Michael the Syrian). At his death he was in possession of Maiyāfāriḳīn, Mārdīn, Aleppo and apparently also of Naṣībīn. He was buried at Maiyāfāriḳīn (for further details see the historian of this town, quoted in Amedroz's foot-notes to al-Ḳalānisī). Īlghāzī possessed an influence unequalled at that time over the Turkomans of Mesopotamia. He was a bold and ambitious personality, who claimed a leading position wherever he appeared. He was not a general of great genius; it is said that his drinking habits affected his military decisions. He

struck no coins so far as is known (I. Ghālib Edhem, *Catalogue des Monnaies turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894, p. 82). He married a daughter of Tughtugin, Il-Khātūn, and later during his rule over Aleppo also Farkhunda Khātūn, a daughter of the former Saldjūḳ ruler there, Riḍwān. We know the names of several of his children: the daughters Gulnar, (al-Fāriḳī: Kumār) Khātūn, who married the Arab chief Dubais b. Ṣadaḳa in 513 = 1119-1120; Yumna Khātūn, the wife of the Inālid Il-Aldī, lord of Āmid, who died in 536 = 1141-2; Ayāz, died 508 = 1114-1115, Sulaimān, Timurtāsh and Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd (?); an other daughter Ilghāzī whose name is not known married in 495 = 1101-1102 an unnamed son of Tekish, a brother of the great Sulṭān Malikshāh. Ilghāzī was one of those Muḥammadan amīrs who were the first to check the advance of Crusaders to north and east before the time of Zangī and Saladin. Ilghāzī I was the founder of the Ortoḳid dynasty of Mārdīn which survived till 811 = 1408.

Bibliography: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, *Hist. Orientaux*, ii. 1, 2, and iii.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, Vol. x.; Usāma b. Munḳidh, ed. Derenbourg, p. 29, 31, 67, 88; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhail Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Leiden 1908; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (Cairo 1275 = 1858-1859), i. 85 *sq.*; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. J. B. Chabot, T. iii. Paris 1905; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, ed. J. R. Jewett, Chicago 1907; Gregorii Abulfaragii *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. Bruns et Kirsch, Lipsiae MDCCLXXXVIII; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i. 1, p. 365—367; i. 2, p. 228 *sq.*; Max van Berchem, *Arab. Inschr. aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien* (= *Beit. zur assyriol. und semit. Sprachwiss.*, vii. 1, Leipzig 1913), p. 94 *sq.*; do. and Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, p. 54—60; Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck 1898 (where the questions raised are best discussed); W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, Cambridge 1907; Gustav Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. iii. (K. SÜSSHEIM.)

2. ḲUṬB AL-DĪN ILGHĀZĪ II, the son of Nadjm al-Dīn Alpi (probably another form of Alp-Bey) and a sister of the Turkish ruler of Armenia, Sukmān II, succeeded his father in 572 = 1176-1177, Michael the Syrian: July 20 1176) in the rule over Mārdīn, Maiyāfāriḳīn, and Ra's al-ʿAin (in Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 268, however, he appears as early as 569 in possession of Ra's al-ʿAin). We have only scanty information about his reign. He first of all oppressed his two paternal (according to another tradition, maternal) uncles, the rulers of Hānī (also written Hāna, the modern Hēne, north of Āmid) and Dārā, till they recognised his suzerainty as they had done that of his father: the two uncles appeared at Mārdīn and paid homage to Ilghāzī II. Soon afterwards the latter fell ill. On his recovery he subdued the Arabs who had become turbulent and is said — according to a statement which is probably exaggerated — to have killed several thousands of them and to have taken 12 000 camels from them. He proceeded to extend his sway towards the Euphrates in the district of Bīra (the modern Biredjik). His uncle Sukmān II seems to have had great influence over him. Ilghāzī for example joined the alliance which was concluded towards the end of 578 (beginning of spring 1183) by Sukmān II and ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd I of al-Mawṣil (a cousin of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ilghāzī) with the intention of checking Saladin's advance into Mesopotamia. The allies, however, found themselves helpless in face of Saladin's successes and, after the death of Sukmān II, we find Ilghāzī's troops in the army of Saladin in Syria (Ṣafar 580 = May-June 1184). Ilghāzī II died soon after at the beginning of Djumādā II 580 = Sept. 9 1184. His principality in addition to the areas mentioned also included Dunaisir. His name is mentioned in an inscription on the minaret of a mosque at Mārdīn dated in the year of his accession, but the credit of building it however is given to his father Alpi. On the coins struck by Ilghāzī (bronze only, which are called dirhams, are known) he calls himself "King of the Amīrs" (Malik al-Umarā) and, like other Ortoḳid rulers of Mārdīn before and after him, Shāh Diyār Bakr, although he did not rule in Āmid, the metropolis of this district. Ilghāzī II left two sons Ḥusām al-Dīn Yoluḳ Arslān, and al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Ortoḳ Arslān, who succeeded their father in turn. Niẓām al-Dīn Alpḳush, one of Ilghāzī's slaves, married his widow, while one of his daughters was married to Saladin's son, al-Malik al-Muʿizz, about the end of Djumādā I 578 (Sept.—Oct. 1182) or a little later.

Bibliography: Ibn Djubair, *Travels*, ed. W. Wright[2] (Gibb Mem. Ser., v.), p. 241; Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 268, 322 *sq.*, 335, 339 *sq.*; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. J. B. Chabot, iii. 368, 389; Gregorii Abulpharagii *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. Bruns et Kirsch, ii. 386, 395, 400; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Shāma, Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatain fī Akhbār al-Dawlatain* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, *Historiens orientaux*, iv. 249 and 256, according to Muḥammad ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb Ta'rīkh al-Djazīra* (bei Ahlwardt, *Verz. der arab. Handschr. zu Berlin*, ix. Nº. 9800), according to Ibn al-Athīr; Gregorius Abulpharagius, *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Edwardus Pocockius, Oxoniae, MDCLXIII, p. 412, transl. p. 271 *sq.*; Max van Berchem, *Arab. Inschriften* (= *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, vii. 1), p. 65—67; I. Ghālib Edhem, *Catalogue des Monnaies turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894, S. 71—76, 83—84; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Turkuman Houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee etc. in the British Museum*, London 1877, p. 145—147; *Mesükūkāt-i ḳadīme-i islāmiye* [Collection ʿIsmet Pasha], Constantinople 1901, p. 56 *sq.* (K. SÜSSHEIM.)

ILHĀM means literally "to cause to swallow or gulp down" (*Lisān*, xvi. 20, especially last two lines). In the Ḳur'ān it occurs only in xci. 8 — a celebrated but difficult passage — *fa-alhamahā fudjūrahā wa-taḳwāhā*, "then he (Allāh) made her (a *nafs*) swallow down her sins and her godly fear". The oldest exegetical tradition (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 115 *sq.*) gives two explanations: i. Allāh explained these to the *nafs*; ii. Allāh created these in the *nafs*. The Muʿtazilites chose the first (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, p. 1612) but orthodox Islām generally chose the second, the almost certainly correct view. Thus Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ*, ed. Cairo, 1308, viii. 438) and Naisābūrī (margin of Ṭabarī, p. 100) But Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, ii. 405) follows Zamakh-

djurī and Abu 'l-Su'ūd (margin of Rāzī, p. 273) follows Baiḍāwī; cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, ii. 439. But by far the most important use of *ilhām* is in connection with the doctrine of saints. Allāh reveals himself in two ways: to men individually by knowledge cast into their minds, and to men generally by messages sent through the prophets. The first, individual, revelation is *ilhām*; the second, and general, is *waḥy*. Saints, especially, are the recipients of this *ilhām*, because their hearts are purified and prepared for it. It differs from intellectual knowledge (*'ilm 'aḳlī*) in that it cannot be gained by meditation and deduction; but is suddenly communicated while the recipient cannot tell how, whence or why. It is a pure gift from the generosity (*faiḍ*) of Allāh. It differs from *waḥy* only in that the angel messenger who brings *waḥy* may be seen by the prophet and that *waḥy* brings a message to be communicated to mankind, while *ilhām* is for the instruction of the recipient. From *waswās*, or satanic whispering in the heart, it differs in respect of the causer — an angel as opposed to a devil; and in the things to which it incites — good as opposed to evil (Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, ed. with comm. of Saiyid Murtaḍā, vii. 244 *sqq.*, 264 *sqq.*; D. B. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 252 *sqq.*, 275 *sqq.*). But while the fact of *ilhām* was universally admitted, even Ṣūfīs raised the question of the certainty of the knowledge given by it. So Hudjwīrī (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 271) contends that *ilhām* cannot give assured knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of Allāh; but Ghazālī would probably have said that Hudjwīrī was using *ilhām* in the sense of an idea which one found in his mind, and not of the flashing out of the divine light on the soul which, once experienced, can never be mistaken. Others taught that, while it was sufficient for the recipient, it could not be used to convince others or reckoned as a source of knowledge for men in general. This appears to have been Nasafī's position; see his *'Aḳā'id* with commentaries of Taftāzānī and others, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 40 *sq.* A very curious use is by Ibn Khaldūn in the sense of "instinct" (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii. 331, transl. de Slane, ii. 384) but this, though a natural development, does not seem to have been taken up by others. Yet Ibn Ḥazm speaks of *ilhām* as a *ṭabī'a* and refers as an illustration to Ḳur. xvi. 70 on the instinct of bees (*Milal*, v. 17).

Bibliography: Add to references above *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1308; Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, ed. Cairo, 1321, p. 22 foot; Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt*, p. 471; Massignon, *Tawāsīn*, pp. 125—128. (D. B. Macdonald.)

ILI, a large river in Central Asia. Both the rivers Tekes and the Kunges which join to form it, rise in the northern slopes of the Thian-Shan; after their junction the river is called the Ili and then has a course of about 600 miles till it runs into Lake Balkhash (q. v., i. 624). At some places it is over half a mile broad. The upper course of the Tekes and the lower course of the Ili belong to the Russian empire, the Kunges, the lower course of the Tekes, and the upper course of the Ili to the Chinese empire. The river has several tributaries, of which the most important are the Kash in Chinese territory and the Čarin and Čilik in Russian territory. As usual in Central Asia, the tributaries are of greater importance for irrigation than the main stream. As soon as the river leaves the mountains and flows into the broad plain and no longer receives tributaries, it practically loses all importance for agriculture. The number of canals led from the Ili on Russian territory is extremely small, but there is one called Aḳ-Čaghan as far down as the lower course of the river, about 15 miles from its mouth; agriculture is there pursued by the Kirgiz.

The Ili is first mentioned in the history of the Chinese T'ang dynasty (vii.—ix. century A. D.). One of the main roads from China to Turkestan led even in those days through the Ili valley (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 11 *sq.*). The oldest Muḥammadan source to mention the river is the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (372 = 982-3); in it and in most later works the name is written Ilā. How and when Islām reached here is not known. In the vii.th (xiii.th) century the Ili valley is described as the boundary of the Muslim world. The lands to the east of it were only won for Islām in the Mongol period. On the Muḥammadan principality which then existed there, the civilisation of the upper Ili valley in the vii.th—viii.th (= xiii.th—xiv.th) centuries, on the decline of this civilisation and its restoration more recently under the rule of the Calmucks and Chinese, on the last Muḥammadan movement and its consequences, and the partition of the country between Russia and China see the article ḲULDJA.

Still more scanty are the historical notices of the other parts of the river valley. The name Kunges first appears in the history of Tīmūr's campaigns (*Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed., i. 481, where it is written Ḳünges); the Tekes is mentioned about the same time under the name Teke (in mss. also Yaka). The valleys of the two rivers have always been highly esteemed by nomads as pasture ground. The post route which now crosses the Ili at the village of Ilijskij vîselok (the only bridge over the river is here) seems roughly to correspond to the road described by Rubruk in 1253. North of the Ili and south of the mountains (obviously south of the pass of Altin-Imel) there was, according to Rubruk, a town inhabited by Persian speaking Saracens, which he calls Equius (*Recueil des Voyages*, etc., iv. 280 *sq.*; F. Schmidt, *Über Rubruks Reise*, Berlin, 1885, p. 42). From its situation it is the same town which is called at the same time by the Armenian king Hethum Ilanbalekh and is called by the Chinese I-la-ba-li or I-li-ba-li i. e. Ili-Balïḳ "town on the Ili" (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, etc. i. 169). The same name is used by the Chinese in the xv.th century as that of a district, and it is expressly stated that there are no towns there and that the population consists entirely of nomads (ibid., ii. 242). Below the high road the river breaks through a chain of porphyry rocks where there are Buddhist inscriptions and sculptures of the Calmuck period (xvii.—xviii. centuries); the rocks are therefore called Tamgali-Tas (inscribed stones) by the Kirgiz (N. Pantusow and A. Pozdnejew in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, vi., 273 *sq.*, with two plates). About a hundred miles below Ilijskij vîselok a dried river bed, the Bakanas, runs off from the modern river and reaches the Balkhash in three arms. There are said to be traces here of old canals and ruins of

ancient buildings (L. Berg, in *Izvěstiya Imp. Russkago Geogr. Obshč.*, xl. 590). To what period and people these remains are to be attributed is doubtful, as the literary sources are absolutely silent as far as is known (we may however here add to the article BALKHASH, i. 624b, that the lake is mentioned in the *Zafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed., i. 496, under the name Atrāk Köl). So far no inscriptions have been found there either.

The Ili like all Central Asian rivers is little suited for navigation and has so far not attained any importance in this respect, although several attempts have been made: cf. for example the voyage of L. Berg up the river from Ilijskij vise-lok to Lake Balkhash in 1903 (*op. cit.*, p. 588 *sq.*)

(W. BARTHOLD.)

ILIYĀ' [see AL-ḲUDS.]

IL-KHANS, Mongol dynasty in Persia, vii.th-viii.th (xiii.th-xiv.th) century. On the foundation of the kingdom and the meaning of the title of its rulers see the article HÜLĀGŪ (ii. 332b *sq.*); on the later rulers see the articles ABĀḲA (i. 4), ARGHŪN (i. 430a), GAIKHĀTŪ (ii. 128), BĀIDŪ (i. 591), GHĀZĀN (ii. 149b *sq.*) and ABŪ SA'ĪD (i. 103b *sq.*). With the death of the latter on Rabī' II 736 (Nov. 30 1335), the main branch became extinct in the male line; till 754 = 1353-1354, several princes, mainly from branch lines and even a princess, Sāti-Beg, sister of Abū Sa'īd 739-740) ascended the throne, but were not generally recognised. Some historians also include the Djalāir (i. 1003a) among the Ilkhāns; in reality these were only connected with their predecessors in the female line (Ḥasan the founder of the dynasty was through his mother a grandson of Arghūn).

The kingdom of the Ilkhāns at the time of its foundation included all the lands from the Oxus to the Indian Ocean and from the Indus to the Euphrates, with the addition of a great part of Asia Minor and the Caucasus countries. Later some lands in the east were lost to the Čaghatai (i. 813 *sq.*); on the other hand, the local dynasties, which were at first maintained in South Persia and Asia Minor, were gradually swept away and replaced by governors appointed by the Ilkhāns. The attempts to take Syria from the Egyptian Sulṭān met with no success. In Persia itself, in spite of the inevitable consequences of the Mongol conquest and misgovernment of most rulers, this period was in many ways one of progress. After the conquerors under Ghāzān-Khān had definitively adopted Islām new cities arose under their rule such as the extended Tabrīz and the new foundation Sulṭāniya, and splendid edifices like the mausoleum of Khān Öldjäitü in Sulṭāniya were built. The Mongol rulers naturally had little interest in Muslim theology or Persian belles-lettres; on the other hand, under their patronage the writing of history in Persia developed to an extent unknown before, so that we are much better acquainted with this period than with the events of preceding centuries. Among sciences astronomy, medicine, and mathematics were specially favoured.

Bibliography: D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii., iv.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, 2 Vols.; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Part iii. — On the organisation of the kingdom and the civilisation of the period cf. also Quatremère, *Mémoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de Raschid-eldin* (*Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en persan par Raschid-eldin*, Paris 1836); E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols par Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din*, Leyden-London 1910, and the review by W. Barthold in *Mir Islama*, 1912, p. 36 *sq.*; K. Süssheim, *Das Geschenk aus der Saldschukengeschichte* etc., Leiden 1909, Introduction; Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpis' na stěně Anyiĭskoĭ mečeti Manuče*, St. Petersburg 1911.

(W. BARTHOLD.)

'ILLIYŪN is mentioned in the Ḳur. 83, 18, 19 where it may be a place or a book. It is generally supposed to be a name of the seventh heaven, or of the register of the good deeds of the pious. For the various explanations see Lane's *Lexicon*, p. 2125 and 2147, and the commentaries on the passage. The word is regarded as a regular plural, or as a plural without a singular; but it is no doubt the Hebrew word *'elyōn* (Gen. xiv. 18, etc.).

Bibliography: The Commentaries on the Ḳur'ān.

(T. H. WEIR.)

'ILM is the broadest word in Arabic for "knowledge". In the lexicons it is often equated with *ma'rifa* and *shu'ūr* (Lane, p. 2138c), but there are marked distinctions in usage. The verb governs one or two accusatives as it indicates knowledge of a thing or of a proposition (German *kennen* and *wissen*). But *ma'rifa* is "coming to know by experience or reflection", and implies preceding ignorance. It thus cannot, unmodified, be used of Allāh's knowledge. Yet some contested this on the basis of actual occurrences of the word used of Allāh (*Kifāyat al-'Awāmm*, ed. Cairo 1315, p. 11). *Shu'ūr* is "perception" especially of details, the *shā'ir* is the "perceiver", "feeler", and thence "poet". Another early distinction has already been pointed out by Goldziher in his article on Fiḳh (vol. ii. 101 above). *'Ilm*, in its early usage, was knowledge of definite things (Ḳur'ān, *tafsīr*, *aḥkām*) but *fiḳh* was the independent exercise of the intelligence. So *faḳīh* (*fuḳahā'*), was one who was thus intelligent, but that word has come now to indicate a minor canon lawyer or casuist, while *'ālim* (*'ulamā'*), following a broadening of the meaning of *'ilm* to "science" and of *al-'ulūm* to "the sciences", has come to mean a scholar in a wide sense and especially one using intellectual processes. Against this change of meaning there is a vigorous protest by Ghazālī, in his *Iḥyā'*, Book i., *Bāb* 3, who denounces especially that the praises which have come down of the *'ālim* as to Allāh, should be applied to these dialecticians and canon lawyers. Further, this brought the *'ālim* into sharp distinction on another side from the *'ārif*, who is the mystical knower by immediate experience and vision, almost, but not quite the same as gnostic. For this distinction of *'ilm* and *ma'rifa* in Ṣūfī theology see Ḳushairī's *Risāla*, ed. Cairo, 1290, with comm. of Zakariyā, iv. 60 *sqq.* But when *'ilm* became philosophical it had to submit itself to the system of the scholastic theologians (*mutakallimūn*). They gave it a place in the scheme of Aristotelian predicaments (*al-maḳūlāt*). There it is an *'araḍ* ("accident", in the sense of the older logicians), one of those characterized by life (*mukhtaṣṣ bil-ḥayāt*), coming (along with will, power etc.) in the class of the modalities (*kaifīyāt*) of the *nafs*, the lower or appetitive soul (*Mawāḳif* of Īdjī with comm. of Djurdjānī, ed. Būlāḳ, 1266, pp. 272 *sqq.*; *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1061, cf. pp. 1055—

1006). It is divided into eternal (*ḳadīm*) and originated (*ḥādith*, *muḥdath*), according as it exists in God or in a creature, and there is no resemblance (*shabah*) between these two. Originated knowledge is of three kinds: intuitional (*badīhī*), necessary (*ḍarūrī*), by the evidence of the senses and by unanimous assertion (*khabar mutawātir*), deductive (*istidlālī*). See the *'Aḳā'id* of Nasafī with the commentary of Taftāzānī and others, ed. Cairo, 1321, pp. 18 *sqq.*, and for a number of short definitions of *'ilm* see the *Ta'rīfāt* of Djurdjānī, *sub voce*. Those scholastic theologians who distinguished between *'ilm* and *ma'rifa* used *'ilm* of compounds and universals and *ma'rifa* of simple things (*basā'iṭ*: see *basīṭ* in Djurdjānī's *Ta'rīfāt*) and particulars (Taftāzānī on Nasafī, p. 40). Another distinction enters in the relation of *'ilm* to *'amal*, "works" in the theological sense. There is *'ilm naẓarī*, such as knowledge of things; when you know them you have done every thing. But opposed to it is *'ilm 'amalī*, knowledge of religious duties (*al-'ibādāt*); your knowledge is not complete until you have acted upon it (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, p. 348). This is put rather differently in the *Tanwīr* of Kurdī (ed. Cairo, 1306, p. 193). It is the duty of every Muslim to seek knowledge; therefore he who knows and acts on his knowledge has two acts of obedience to his credit; if he neither knows nor acts, he has disobeyed twice; if he knows and does not act, he has obeyed once and disobeyed once. This in the end joins the question as to what is saving faith (*īmān*).

For a descriptive classification of all the arts and sciences which have been reduced to writing (*al-'ulūm al-mudawwana*) see *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, pp. 1—33. Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muḳaddima* (*Faṣl* v. vi.) deals with these more historically and philosophically in their development and their relation to the essential facts of life (De Slane's transl., ii. 319 *sqq.*; Quatremère's text, ii. 272 *sqq.*). But with regard to all sciences there is a fundamental distinction. They are divided into those praiseworthy and those blameworthy (*al-maḥmūda wa 'l-madhmūma*), and among the blameworthy are reckoned those which are not useful for this world or for that to come. The basis is the frequently quoted tradition: "It is of the beauty of a man's Islām that he leaves alone what does not concern him" (*mā lā ya'nīhi*). The religious Muslim should therefore avoid such sciences as are not demonstrably useful for this life or for his eternal salvation (Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Book I, *Bāb* 2; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii. 136; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 157, and review in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxvii. 532; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 11).

Bibliography is given above.

(D. B. Macdonald.)

ILTUTMISH, Shams al-Dīn, the slave and afterwards son-in-law of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aibeg [q. v.], who made him governor of Badā'ūn [q. v.]. After the death of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aibeg in 607 (1210), his adopted son Ārām Shāh succeeded to the throne, but some of the nobles conspired against him and invited Iltutmish to come to Dihlī; Ārām Shāh marched from Lāhōr to meet him, but was defeated and apparently put to death. Iltutmish had to contend with rival chiefs before he succeeded in firmly establishing his authority; in 618 he resisted the attempt of the unfortunate Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubertī [q. v.] to set up a kingdom in India; later on by a series of successful campaigns he extended his dominions so as to include Lakhnawti (in 622), Sindh (in 625), and Gwalior (in 630), and his expeditions into Mālwa (in 631—2) brought all India north of the Vindhya Mts. under his sway. He was the first of the Muhammadan princes of India to receive recognition from the Caliph of Baghdād (al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh), and on his coins and in his inscriptions after 626, he styles himself Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn. He continued the building of the great Ḳuṭb Minār [q. v.], which his predecessor had begun.

Bibliography: The best account of Iltutmish is given by his contemporary, Minhādj-i-Sarādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, trans. H. G. Raverty, (Index s. v. Iyaltimish); Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, (Index s. v. Shamsu-d din Altamsh); E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 41 *sq.*; S. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 70 *sq.*; J. Horovitz, *The inscriptions of Iltutmish* (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911—2).

ILYĀS, the Biblical prophet Elias, is twice mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. In Sūra vi. 85 he is mentioned with Zakariyā', Yaḥyā, and 'Īsā as one of the *ṣāliḥūn* without further details. In Sūra xxxvii. 123—130 his history is related in the fashion which is stereotyped for all stories of prophets in the Ḳur'ān. That Muḥammad however knew something more of him is clear from the mention of the Ba'l, which is differently interpreted by the commentators, sometimes as lord, sometimes as an idol who has given his name to the town of Baalbek, sometimes as a woman whom the Israelites served. Verse 130 calls him Ilyāsīn which has given rise to much conjecture; it is however clear from the context that this name was only formed by Muḥammad with his usual freedom to get a rhyme in *-īn*. The commentaries on Sūra xxxvii. 123 *sqq.*, as well as the universal historians and the collectors of legends of the prophets give the following about Ilyās. He lived in the reign of king Aḥāb (Laḥdjab in al-Tha'labī) and his wife Izabel (variously written). Aḥāb used to follow Ilyās, but the Israelites were worshippers of the Ba'l. One day, however, Aḥāb cast him off saying that the kings who served gods had as much success as he had. Astonished at this Ilyās prayed God to give him power over the rain. Thereupon a drought arose which lasted three years; Ilyās concealed himself during this period but was provided with food. He cured Alīsa', the son of a widow, who became his disciple. At the end of the three dry years God reproached him with causing the deaths of many innocent persons by his severity. Thereupon Ilyās proposed to the Israelites that they should appeal to their gods for help and, if they did not hear, they should return to God. The gods could not hear their worshippers and at Ilyās' prayer the desired rain fell. The Israelites however were not converted. Enraged at this obduracy, Ilyās begged God to take him up. When he came out with his disciple Alīsa', a fiery horse appeared. Then Ilyās ascended amid the cries of Alīsa'. God transformed him; he became a feathered being of light exalted above all human passions, half angel and half man, of earth and heaven at the same time. This is the version of al-Ṭabarī.

Al-Tha'labī is much more detailed. According to him, Queen Azbīl (Jezebel), the representa-

tive of Lādjab, is the incarnation of all wickedness. Her chancellor however is a pious man, who conceals his faith. As in the Bible, here also, the story of Naboth (Naboth is called Mardakī, obviously an echo of Mordechai) is the cause of Ilyās' exhortation and the king's wrath. Ilyās conceals himself for seven years in ravines. Thereupon Lādjab's most beloved son falls ill. Four hundred priests of Baal set out to slay Ilyās, the alleged cause of his illness. The latter, however, instils them with such respect that they return full of awe. Lādjab then sends 50 soldiers who call out to Ilyās that they have been converted. The latter prays God to consume them with fire, if they are lying. This happens and a second body of soldiers meets the same fate. Finally, Lādjab sends the believing chancellor to the queen with a free conduct and with a treacherous troop. At God's advice Ilyās goes with him to save the chancellor. On the arrival in the palace the child dies, so that the king forgets Ilyās and the latter is able to depart unnoticed. As he wearies of his stay in the mountains he enters the house of the mother of the prophet Jonah who, being then a child, was raised from the dead by Ilyās. He then goes back to the mountains and begs God to give him power over the rain for seven years. He is only granted it for three years during which he himself is fed by the birds. The whole of Israel has now to suffer famine, only one widow is supplied in a miraculous fashion by Ilyās with meal and oil. The rest of the story of Ilyās, the healing of Alīsa', etc. is practically the same as that of al-Ṭabarī. Here also Ilyās is described as half mortal and half heavenly, appearing to men on earth. Al-Tha'labī tells of a man who met Ilyās in Palestine; after talking to him he went away on his camel.

There is another Elias story in the Ḳur'ān, although the name is not mentioned and the person who here takes the place of Elias is not identified by tradition with him, but with al-Khaḍir. In Sūra xviii. 64 *sqq.* it is related how Mūsā and his servant while fishing met a servant of God whom Mūsā wished to follow. The unknown one however replied that Mūsā had not the necessary self-control. While travelling together the servant of God performed several apparently ungrateful and cruel deeds. Mūsā reproached him every time, so that the guide finally separated from him after showing him that each of his supposed wicked deeds was justified. Jewish legend relates a journey of Elias with Joshua ben Levi on which Elias did similar things to those of the unnamed servant of God in the Ḳur'ān. Here also Joshua ben Levi apparently rightly indignant at them is shown by Elias to be wrong in his premature judgment. The similarity between the two stories is so great that it cannot be doubted that the Ḳur'ānic one goes back to the Jewish. The unnamed servant of God in the Ḳur'ān is usually identified with al-Khaḍir. It should be noted, however, that al-Baiḍāwī for example says on Sūra xviii. 64: "it is also said that he is Alīsa' or that he is Ilyās". This confusion of Ilyās and al-Khaḍir is significant and further cases may be mentioned. The reason is that in view of the Biblical story of Elias's being taken up to heaven, the latter like al-Khaḍir is numbered among the immortals. Perhaps al-Khaḍir's name shows this. Al-Khaḍir "the green" is only an epithet of the man who was called B-l-y-ā or, according to another reading, Y-l-y-a, i. e. Ilyās. But elsewhere they are twins, not genealogically, but in their work and common activity. They go together to the fountain of life and drink from it, a trait which was originally only in the Alexander legend, but which again guarantees Ilyās's immortality, as his name shows which is interpreted as *al-Ās*, "the myrtle", the symbol of immortality. Ilyās and al-Khaḍir having survived to the first revelation to Muḥammad are said to have wished to die. But Muḥammad is said to have replied to them: "O Khaḍir, it is your duty to aid my community in the desert and you, O Ilyās, must aid them at sea". Usually however al-Khaḍir-Glaukos is the sea daemon, while Ilyās is the patron on land. The two spend Ramaḍān each year in Jerusalem, observing the fast. They then make the pilgrimage to Mecca, without any one recognising them, unless God grants this favour. Their food is pond-weed (*karafs*) and truffles (*kam'a*). After the pilgrimage they clip one another's hair and separate with eulogies. Any one who repeats these formulae three times at morning and evening is immune against theft, fire, and drowning (*sarḳ*, *ḥarḳ*, *gharḳ*), as well as against higher powers, Satan, snakes, and scorpions. Al-Khaḍir and Ilyās meet every night at Alexander's Dam where they fly in the air. In the Jewish legend he also flies about giving help everywhere. (See also the article AL-KHAḌIR).

Besides al-Khaḍir Muslim legend also knows the immortal Enoch-Idrīs [q. v.]. Ilyās is therefore sometimes also identified with the latter. In various genealogies of Ilyās he is said to be really Idrīs. Usually however his genealogy is traced to Aaron: Aaron-Eleazar-Pinehas. The latter is described as his grandfather. The name of his father has become, perhaps from Tishbī, N-s-b-y, Y-s-y, and finally Yāsīn.

It may further be noted that Ilyās, like al-Khaḍir, is often identified with St. George (see GIRGIS), probably because the latter is also a patron saint.

Bibliography: The Ḳur'ān commentaries on Sūra vi. 85, xxxvii. 123—130, xviii. 64; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 415, 540 *sqq.*; Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs*, i. 107; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Cairo, 1290), p. 221 *sqq.*; Ṭabarī (ed. Zotenberg), i. 409—411, 373; Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), Register s. v. Elias; Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 187 *sqq.* — The Jewish Elias legend: Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash*, v. 133—135.

(A. J. WENSINCK.)

'IMĀD AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. BUWAIH, first ruler of the Būyid dynasty. With the help of his two brothers 'Imād al-Dawla in 322 (934) conquered Shīrāz and thus became ruler of Fārs where he reigned till his death. He died in Shīrāz on Djumādā I 16, 338 (Nov. 11, 949) aged 57. According to another statement (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 491), he did not die till 339 [cf. the article BUYIDS.]

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

'IMĀD AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KĀTIB AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, a celebrated Arab stylist and historian, born at Iṣfahān in 519 (1125) of a prominent family, to which the celebrated Kātib al-Azīz, whose biography is given in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 77, also be-

longed. On him cf. *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, ii., Préface xix. *sqq.* He spent his youth in his native city and in Kāshān, but also studied in Baghdād particularly fiḳh and made a journey to Mawṣil and other places. When the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Muḥammad II besieged Baghdād in vain in 551 (1156), he was there and congratulated the Caliph on its deliverance in a *ḳaṣīda*, which gained him the favour of the vizier Ibn Hubaira [q. v.]. The latter appointed him nāʾib in Wāsiṭ; after the vizier's death in 560 (1165) however he lost this office and lived through two difficult years. Finally he applied to the Aiyūbids in Syria, who were acquainted with his family, particularly with the above mentioned al-ʿAzīz, who was an uncle of 'Imād al-Dīn. He found a friendly welcome there and was appointed *kātib* by Sulṭān Nūr al-Dīn and later *mudarris* at a madrasa built in honour of him. He was also sent on a diplomatic mission to the Caliph and finally appointed *mushrif* of the Dīwān. On Nūr al-Dīn's death in 569 (1173), however, his enemies were able to supplant him so that he had to leave his offices and go to Mawṣil. There he fell ill, but recovered and returned to Syria on hearing that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was preparing to conquer Syria. He congratulated him at his capture of Ḥimṣ in a poem, won great influence with him and accompanied him on all his campaigns. On Saladin's death in 589 (1193) he retired into private life and devoted himself to literary work till his death in 597 (1201). His chief work is undoubtedly the comprehensive anthology of the Arabic poets of the vith century entitled *Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr wa-Djarīdat Ahl al-ʿAṣr* (still unpublished). His history of the conquest of Syria is better known: *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī fi 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḳudsī*; *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Ṣalāḥ ed-dîn*, ed. Landberg, Leiden 1888. He also prepared a history of the Saldjūḳs in al-'Irāḳ on a basis of the records compiled by the vizier Anūshirwān and called it *Nuṣrat al-Fatra wa-'Uṣrat al-Fiṭra*; a synopsis by al-Bondārī [q. v.] has been published by Houtsma. Of his memoirs, *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*, only one volume and a few excerpts have come down to us. 'Imād al-Dīn's prose writings are characterised by an exceedingly ornate and bombastic style.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 715; further references in Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 314 *sq.*

'IMĀD SHĀHĪ DYNASTY, of Berār [q. v.], was founded by Fatḥ Allāh 'Imād al-Mulk, by birth a Brahmen of Vidjayanagar, who had been captured as a youth in an expedition of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī I to Vidjayanagar and educated as a Muslim. He served under 'Abd al-Ḳādir Khānd-jahān, governor of Berār, and in the reign of Muḥammad III Bahmanī succeeded his master. In 1490 Fatḥ Allāh followed the example of Aḥmad Niẓām al-Mulk of Aḥmadnagar and Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bīdjāpūr and declared himself independent, not from disaffection towards Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, but from disinclination to serve the minister, Ḳāsim Barīd, the real ruler of the kingdom, who kept the king in confinement and from whose control Fatḥ Allāh subsequently made a fruitless attempt to release him. Though a native Dakhanī, he was an intimate friend of the foreigner Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, and his great influence was ever exercised in the interest of peace between the quarrelsome sulṭāns of the Dakhan. Before he declared his independence, Berār had been divided into the two provinces of Gāwīl and Māhūr, of which he retained the former, but before his death he had added Māhūr to his dominions. He died in 1504 and was succeeded by his son 'Alā' al-Dīn, who was far inferior to him in ability and permitted himself to be drawn into quarrels, in which he had no genuine concern, and from which his kingdom suffered severely, with Maḥmūd Shāh Baiḳarah of Gudjarāt and Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh of Golkonda. He was also engaged in disastrous warfare with Aḥmadnagar regarding the possession of Pāthrī, on the Godāwarī. He died in 1529 and was succeeded by his son Daryā, a feeble ruler, during whose long reign the influence of Berār in the politics of the Dakhan was on the wane. He played a subordinate part in most of the quarrels between the other Muhammadan sulṭāns and, having joined the unnatural alliance between the sulṭān of Bīdjāpūr and the rādja of Vidjayanagar against Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh I of Aḥmadnagar, played a part more creditable to his orthodoxy and his political acumen than to his honesty in secretly helping Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and thus preventing the establishment of Hindu predominance in southern India. For some time before his death Daryā 'Imād Shāh was completely in the hands of his minister, Tufāl Khān, and when he died in 1560, Tufāl Khān placed his young son, Burhān 'Imād Shāh, on the throne but kept him a prisoner and governed Berār with hardly a pretence of subordination. Tufāl Khān was attacked by the sulṭāns of Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar for having declined to join the confederacy which finally crushed Vidjayanagar at the battle of Tālikota in 1565, but, though defeated and reduced to great straits, succeeded in playing off one of his enemies against the other and in bribing the sulṭān of Bīdjāpūr to retreat. In 1572 Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar again invaded Berār, on the pretext, on this occasion, of liberating Burhān 'Imād Shāh from his humiliating position. Murtaḍā captured Narnāla and annexed Berār, and carried off Tufāl Khān and his son, and Burhān 'Imād Shāh and all his family to a fortress in the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, where they all died in one night. The manner of their death is uncertain, but it was not fortuitous.

Bibliography: Firishta, *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*; *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, vol. iii.; *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*; *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan* by Major T. W. Haig. (T. W. Haig.)

IMĀLA (= deflection, Inf. iv. of *māla*, to bend) is a phonetic phenomenon, which, according to al-Zamakhsharī, consist in the *alif* inclining to *kasra*, so that the tone becomes homogeneous (*liyatadjānasa 'l-ṣawt*).... the cause is that a *kasra* or *yāʾ* occurs near the *alif*; or that it is changed from a letter moved by *kasra* or from a *yāʾ*; or that in a certain position it becomes a *yāʾ*. It is a question of the transition from long *ā* to *ī* or *ē* (the *imāla* may be *shadīda* "strong" or *mutawassiṭa* "of medium strength") under the influence of an adjoining *i* sound, a kind of Umlaut, which was noticed even by the old Arab grammarians and interpreters of the Ḳurʾān. The inclining of the short *a* towards *i* is also mentioned occasionally. As is clear from al-Zamakhsharī's definition the *i* sound which causes the *imāla* needs not actually appear; it may merely exist in

the root. Among such words are verbal forms like *ramā* from the root *r-m-y*, by analogy also *ghazā* (in spite of the original *w*), and nouns like *al-fatā* from *f-t-y*; also forms from stems with medial *y* and *w* like *khāfa* from **khawifa*, *ṭība* from **ṭayiba*, *nābun*, but *bābun* (med. *w*). Isolated forms are also found which cannot be explained by these rules: one even speaks of an *imāla* "as a result of frequent usage". The *imāla* is prevented by seven consonants, the emphatic *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ẓ*, *kh*, *gh* and *ḳ*, when they immediately precede or follow; if they are farther removed from the *ā*, special rules hold. It is remarkable that these consonants, as the example *ṭība* shows, do not prevent the *imāla* in such forms where the *i* sound is not actually present in form. A special case arises in connection with *r*: the syllable *ra* or *ru* prevents *imāla*, just like the emphatic sounds, *ri* on the other hand often produces *imāla* where the presence of an emphatic sound would otherwise prevent it.

How far the *imāla* is to be regarded as a phenomenon characteristic of "classical" Arabic cannot be settled. The very divergent statements of the older authorities are probably to be interpreted to mean that it was only a dialectical peculiarity of certain tribes. Chr. Sarauw, relying on Sībawaihi, has recently endeavoured with success to show that the kind of *imāla* which is due to the presence of an *i* sound is common among the eastern Arabs and is relatively modern, while the other variety belongs to the Ḥidjāz and represents an original Semitic *ē* sound. In answering the question as to how far the *imāla* spread in ancient times the Arabic names and words preserved in transcription in foreign sources are naturally of great importance.

The modern dialects also show a kind of *imāla*. This must, however, be interpreted differently from the literary *imāla*. In the Syrian dialect of Beirūt, for example, it depends mainly on the surrounding consonants and only exceptionally (for example with *r*) does an *i* sound exercise its influence. This is therefore a spontaneous transition from an *a* to an *e*. The sounds which prevent *imāla* are in this case not only the emphatic and velar but also the laryngal.

There has been considerable discussion as to whether the *imāla* was marked in Arabic script by a final *yā*, a question which cannot be considered to be definitely settled, in spite of Brockelmann's answer in the affirmative in his *Grammatik* and *Grundriss*. In Mss. there is no special sign for *imāla*. In edited texts however it is usual to indicate it by the figure — under the consonant.

Bibliography: Max Th. Grünert, *Die Imâla, der Umlaut im Arabischen*, Wien 1876 (from *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad., phil.-hist. Cl.*, lxxxi., 447—542), where further, especially the older, references are given; J. Karabacek, *Zur Kenntniss des Umlautes im Arabischen* (*Mitt. a. d. Samml. d. Pap. Erzh. Rainer*, v. 59—62); J. Barth and A. Fischer, *Umlaut, etc.* (*Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lix. 633—671); Chr. Sarauw, *Die altarabische Dialektspaltung* in *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxi. 31—49; A. Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre*, Leiden 1911, part. p. 38—45; E. Mattsson, *Études phonologiques sur le dialecte arabe vulgaire de Beyrouth*, Upsala 1911, in *Archives d'Études Orientales*, Vol. I., N°. 1, esp. p. 63—72. (EMANUEL MATTSSON.)

IMĀM (from the Arabic *amma*, "to precede, to lead") originally "leader", particularly "caravan leader, any one who guides a column of camels", a synonym of *ḥādī*; whence also a person or thing who serves as a guide or pattern, e. g. to the pupil in the school (*Lisān*, xiv. 291). In the Ḳur'ān, the word is found in the meaning of example, leader, pattern, model, or prototype (ii. 118; xv. 79; xxv. 74; xxxvi. 11). Since the foundation of the Muslim community, the term has been applied to the person who indicates the ritual movements of each *rak'a* to the believers assembled in rows for the canonical service (*ṣalāt*), which those who stand behind the imām copy. Originally the imām was the Prophet himself or in his absence some one authorised by him; after him his successors (*khalīfa*) or their delegates filled the office. The conduct of public worship became thus one of the chief attributes of the ruler and the transference of power to the governors of the provinces was seen in a form visible to all when the Caliph's deputy placed himself at the head of the community assembled for prayer. The jurists of Islām therefore give the name imām to the chief of the Muslim community, the spiritual and secular head of the nation, usually called *khalīfa* in his quality of successor to the Prophet. The imām leads the divine service and consequently decides the fate of the social body of which he is chief. His office is called *al-imāma al-kubrā*, the great imāmate, to distinguish it from *al-imāma al-ṣughrā*, the office of the man who conducts the service. Every Imām must be chosen (this was the rule at least with the first four caliphs and the Khāridjis). The electors require the following qualifications: 1. unblemished character, 2. knowledge of law, 3. the necessary insight and ability to judge. The electors living in the rulers's capital legally enjoy no privilege, but in practice, according to ancient custom they do, for the other towns of the empire and the provinces have only to confirm the choice. Candidates for the dignity of imām must possess the following qualities: 1. unblemished life and character, 2. the necessary knowledge of law to exercise *idjtihād* [q. v.], 3. eloquence, 4. freedom from any defect in hearing or seeing or in the limbs, 5. the necessary judgment to conduct the affairs of state, 6. the necessary courage to conduct a holy war, 7. descent from the tribe of Ḳuraish. His authority is recognised by the taking of the oath of fealty (*bai'a*, q. v.).

The Shī'is further demand that the imām should belong to the family of the Prophet, and thus the choice is limited to the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima. According to Shī'i doctrine, 'Alī [q. v. i. 283 *sqq.*] was appointed imām by a divine ordinance (*naṣṣ*) promulgated at Ghadīr Khumm [q. v.]. This rank is hereditary among his descendants so that the only thing to be decided is, which of his descendants is to be recognised as imām, a question which has frequently produced dissensions in the family of the Prophet. Some sects have excluded the descendants of al-Ḥasan [q. v., p. 274] and only recognised the claims of those of al-Ḥusain [q. v., p. 339] to the imāmate, because the latter married a daughter of the last Sāsānid king, Yezdegird III. They also consider the imām sinless and infallible (*ma'ṣūm*, see 'IṢMA). The most complete series of Imāms is that of the Ithnā 'asharīya [q. v.].

The *Zaidīs* assert that the texts quoted in support of the assignment of the imāmate to ʿAlī do not refer to him directly and personally but only according to his distinguishing marks as imām. They therefore say that a mistake could be made in regard to the description of the individual and that the community could legally choose the two shaikhs (Abū Bakr and ʿOmar) but that ʿAlī had a greater right to the imāmate. The former were preferred, although the latter had the greater right. The imām has not the right to appoint his successor; among the Imāmīs however the imām must be known by his predecessor and be regularly designated by him. The *Ghulāt* (extreme school) teach the divinity of the imām (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i. 355 *sqq.*, transl. de Slane, i. 400 *sqq.*; see ZAIDIYA).

Every *masdjid* [q. v.] has an imām, a principal mosque (*djāmiʿ*) may have several. The imām is sometimes an official of the town as he has also to supervise the morals and order of the quarter in which his mosque is. In the Turkish empire he has also the office of making out certificates (*ʿilm u khabar*) required for the conveyance of property, the determining of civil status etc.

To avoid any confusion in the two meanings of the word imām, the Persians call the acting leader of worship *pīsh-namāz*, "leader of prayer", a literal translation of the Arabic *imām*.

The founders of the four great orthodox schools of law are also called imāms and Abū Ḥanīfa was even known among his scholars as *al-imām al-aʿẓam* "the greatest imām". This name has also been given to a market place near Baghdād, originally called Ruṣāfa, where Abū Ḥanīfa is buried (Cl. Huart, *Hist. de Bagdad*, p. xiv). Finally, imām has become an honorary title of all scholars who have founded schools.

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IMĀM AʿẒAM, title of the Khalīfa. [See KHALĪFA.]

IMĀM-BĀRĀ A. H. ("enclosure of the Imāms"), a building in which the Muḥarram festival in India is celebrated, and the *taʿziyas* [q. v.] are kept when they are not being carried in procession; it sometimes serves also as the mausoleum of the founder and his family; the best-known examples are those in Lucknow and Murshidābād.

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IMĀM AL-ḤARAMAIN. [See AL-DJUWAINĪ.]

IMĀM SHĀH, a saint of the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿah sect, whose tomb is venerated at Pīrāna, about 10 m. S. E. of Aḥmadābād [q. v.]; he is said to have come from Persia and to have settled here in the middle of the 15th century, and the Mōmnās (properly Muʾmin) trace their conversion to him; but the majority of his followers are Hindus, who do not differ from other Hindus, except for their special devotion to Imām Shāh and their practice of burying the bones of their dead, after cremation, near the tomb of the saint at Pīrāna. He wrote a book of religious precepts, entitled *Sikshā Patrī*, which is read by all his followers; some of the Muslim Imāmshāhīs read it in preference to the Ḳurʾān. Some Hindus worship him as a god and in their prayers repeat the words "Imām Kēvalah" (the Imām is the One God), but most of his followers do not consider Imām Shāh to have been more than a religious teacher or a saint.

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IMĀM-ZĀDE, a Persian title for descendants of the Imāms and an abbreviated designation also for their graves. This name was also given to the Persian scholar, preacher, and poet, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Wāʿiẓ, born in Shurgh near Bukhārā (Schefer, *Chrestom. Persane*, i. p. 24 of the notes).

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IMĀMA. [See IMĀM.]

IMĀMĪS. [See IMĀM and ITHNĀ ʿASHARĪYA.]

ĪMĀN. The basal idea in the root ʾmn is rest of mind and security from fear (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, p. 24; *Lisān*, xvi, 160, l. 6 *sqq.*). In consequence the fourth stem can mean both "to render secure" and "to put one's trust in" something or some one. Hence in theology *al-īmān* means 1) the putting of one's trust, the having faith, in Allāh and his prophet and his message, and 2) the content of that message. A consideration of the first of these uses divides roughly into three; cf. the discussion in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*, Book ii. *Faṣl* iv.

I. The Ḳurʾān sometimes distinguishes and sometimes confuses *īmān* and *islām* and is ambiguous as to their relationship to good works. Theological controversy followed, which is mirrored in the traditions, and the technical use of *īmān* in *fiḳh* and *kalām* is, in consequence, very contradictory. A tradition, assertedly from Muḥammad, says that whoever has in his heart the weight of a grain of faith (*īmān*) will come forth from the Fire. But what here is *īmān*? Some taught that it is simply a holding fast in the mind (*ʿaḳd bil-ḳalb*), others added a testifying with the tongue (*shahāda bil-lisān*); others added a third element, works according to the fundamentals of the faith (*ʿamal bil-arkān*). The first has been the position of most Ashʿarites and Māturīdites; the second of the Ḥanafites and the third of the Khāridjites. The Karrāmites held that faith was simply acceptance with the tongue (*taṣdīḳ bil-lisān*), i. e. confession (*iḳrār*), the narrower sense of islām; others, such as the Djahmites, a sect of Djabrites, that it was only knowledge (*maʿrifa*) of Allāh gained by reason (*ʿaḳl*) and of the messages of the prophets gained by revelation. Orthodox Islām has come to the conclusion, which it, as usually, states as having been the position

of the Fathers (*al-salaf*), that faith consists of acceptance in the mind of and firm adherence to a belief (*taṣdīḳ*, *iʿtiḳād*, q. v.), statement with the tongue of this acceptance (*iḳrār*, *ḳawl*) and good works. The second is Islām in the narrower sense. He who has all three will enter the Garden. But in the case of one who possesses *taṣdīḳ* and *islām* and dies with a single mortal sin (*kabīra*) unrepented of, the Muʿtazilites held that he was neither a believer (*muʾmin*) nor an unbeliever (*kāfir*) but a *fāsiḳ*, a "reprobate", and that he would remain eternally in the Fire. In the last point the Khāridjites agreed; but they held also that all sins were mortal. Orthodox Islām applies the same name to such an one but holds that eventually he will enter the Garden; for sinful believers the Fire is Purgatory and not Hell, and good works are not of the essence of belief but are additions. At the opposite extreme were the Murdjiʾites, the "postponers". Historically they arose in early Islām from the difficulty which the pious found in treating as Muslims those who professed to be Muslims but were yet notoriously evil-doers. The Khāridjites said roundly that such were unbelievers; the Murdjiʾites preferred to "postpone" decision until Allāh revealed all secrets. In the meantime they treated as a Muslim him who claimed to be a Muslim. In one form or another and to one degree or another Islām has accepted this position. All who worship towards the Ḳibla are to be accepted as Muslims, with no questions asked. But the later Murdjiʾites developed this into antinomian heresy. It is faith that saves, they taught, and evil works do not hinder the effectiveness of faith, even as obedience in good works cannot save one who is an unbeliever (Van Vloten, *Irdjāʾ*, in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.*, xlv. 161 *sqq.*, Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, index sub *Murdjiʾa*). Lastly, there is the case of one who professes Islām and acts as a Muslim, that is, goes through the ritual and external observance of Islām, but has no internal faith. He is a hypocrite (*munāfiḳ*) and an unbeliever. In this connection it is to be remembered that "obedience" (*ṭāʿa*) and "good works" (*ʿamal ṣāliḥ*) in Islām primarily and ordinarily mean obedience to the ritual law (*al-ʿibādāt*).

II. Does faith increase and decrease? In the Ḳurʾān increase of faith is frequently mentioned and the Fathers (*al-salaf*) held that it increased with acts of obedience and decreased with acts of disobedience. By this, so later Islām taught, they meant that the mental acceptance (*taṣdīḳ*) remained and that the good works were not to be regarded as parts of it as essentially affecting it but as additions to it by which it was increased in amount. Conversely with acts of disobedience its amount diminished but it itself essentially remained. So the Prophet could speak of faith to the amount of a grain, showing that its amount could vary; and al-Ghazālī shows with great psychological truth and beauty how good deeds go to nourish faith. But the question remained as a subject for verbal dialectic. Those who held that faith (*īmān*) meant acceptance (*taṣdīḳ*) and good works (*ʿamal*) taught that it increased and diminished, and those who held that faith was simply *taṣdīḳ* taught that there could be no question of quantity in it.

III. There appears to have been an early disinclination to say, "I am a believer" (*ana muʾmin*) without the qualification, *in shāʾ Allāh*, "if it be the will of Allāh," and still more with the addition *ḥaḳḳan*, "in verity", or "really, or *ʿinda ʾllāhi*", in the sight of Allāh." Examples are quoted in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*, Book ii., *Faṣl* iv., *Masʾala* iii.; cf. the commentary of the Saiyid al-Murtaḍā. Hence the Ashʿarites with the mass of Shāfiʿites, Mālikites and Ḥanbalites insisted on adding *in shāʾ Allāh*, while the Māturīdites and Ḥanafites prohibited it and permitted the addition of *ḥaḳḳan*. They urged that to say "If it be the will of Allāh" implied doubt (*shakk*) and doubt in such a connection meant unbelief (*kufr*). In reply the Ashʿarites argued that the formula was used not to imply doubt of the reality of the absolute acceptance in the mind, but *a*) to guard against a making of one's self out to be pure (*tazkiyat al-nafs*; cf. Ḳur. iv., 52, liii. 33); *b*) out of courtesy (*taʾaddub*) and to gain a blessing (*tabarruk*) by submitting all things to the will of Allāh; *c*) to express a doubt as to the perfectness of the faith in question though not as to its reality or, if works are reckoned a part of faith, a doubt as to whether there will be works; and *d*) to express a doubt as to whether Allāh will permit the believer in question to die in the faith, for all things must be judged by their ends (*khawātīm*). For the Ashʿarite side see al-Ghazālī, reference above, and for the Māturīdite, al-Taftāzānī's commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 127 *sqq.*

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(D. B. Macdonald.)

ʿIMĀRET (A.), "building", "edifice", the name given in Turkey to eating-houses or hostels where schoolchildren and theological students receive their meals, which consist of bread and one or two hot dishes of mutton and vegetables. Similarly, such food along with a small present in money of 3—5 aspers a day per person, sometimes even as much as 10 aspers, is given to the poor. These institutions are maintained by pious foundations. The first of the kind was erected by Sulṭān Orkhān in 1336 in Nicaea (Iznīḳ) and devoted to the good of mankind; at the opening he presided in person, distributed food to the poor and was the first to light the lamps and candles. Murād II did the same thing after a feast which he had given to the ʿulamāʾ of his court in the *ʿimāret*. At the end of the xviiith century the *ʿimārets* of Constantinople fed over 30,000 people every day. There is an *ʿimāret* beside each of the great imperial mosques Aya Ṣofya (kitchen founded in 1155 = 1742 by Maḥmūd I), Bāyazīd, Fātiḥ, Selīmīye, Sulaimānīye, Aḥmedīye, Nūr-i ʿOthmānīye, etc. In Persia, where the word is *ʿimārat*, it means "palace", e. g. *Shams-ʿimāret*, the "Sun-Palace" at Ṭehrān.

Bibliography: M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, ii. 460; Neshrī quoted in Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*², i. 106; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain Iwānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, p. 3, 14, 16, 18, 22 (= Hammer, *op. cit.*, xviii. 1 *sqq.*); Jouannin and Van Gaver, *Turquie*, p. 90, 154.

(Cl. Huart.)

IMERETIA. [See kaukasus.]

IMOSHA. [See tuareg.]

ʿIMRĀN, the Biblical ʿAmrām, was the son of

Yiṣhar b. Ḳāhith b. Lāwī, and married Yūkhābid, who bore him Mūsā in his seventieth year. He lived 137 years (Ibn al-Athīr, i. 119, al-Tha'labī, p. 99; al-Kisā'ī, p. 201, and Ṭabarī, i. 443). This account differs from the Biblical in so far as, according to Exodus, 6, 18, Amram was son of Kehat and brother of Yizhar, and reached the age of 137. 'Imrān was appointed grandvizier of Egypt and had to keep watch every night by Fir'awn's bed (al-Kisā'ī, p. 201). One night he saw a bird in Fir'awn's apartments, carrying his wife upon its wings. He was at once enflamed with love for her and had intercourse with her. The bird then took her back home, without the thousand watchers outside the royal palace noticing. Next morning the astrologers announced to the king that the conception of his future enemy had just taken place and also that his star was in the ascendant and brilliant. Fir'awn ordered the midwives of Egypt to seek out and register the pregnant women from house to house. They did not however dare to examine Fir'awn's wife, as they knew that 'Imrān did not leave Fir'awn's side. Mūsā thus escaped certain death (al-Kisā'ī, ibid.). The Talmud likewise describes Amram as the most prominent man in Egypt (Soṭa 12; Baba B. 120; Exodus R. i. 13). The 'Imrān mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (Sūra iii. 31), whose wife dedicated the fruit of her womb to Allāh, is not identical with the Biblical 'Amrām or 'Imrān. Tha'labī (p. 220) expressly mentions this, with the note that there was an interval of 1800 years between the two bearers of this name. The Ḳur'ān also speaks of 'Imrān b. Māthān or b. Sāhim, whose wife Ḥanna, daughter of Fāḳūdh, was the mother of Maryam and the grandmother of Jesus. Our 'Imrān b. Māthān would thus be identical with the Jakob b. Matan of Matthew xv. (cf. MARYAM).

Bibliography: The commentaries on the Ḳur'ān by Zamakhsharī, Baiḍāwī, etc.; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1312, p. 91-92 and 220; al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 193—195; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 443—445; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 119-120; Weil, *Bibl. Legenden*, p. 131; Eisenberg, *Moses in der arab. Legende*, Cracow, 1910, p. 16.

(J. EISENBERG.)

'IMRĀN B. ḤIṬṬĀN AL-SADŪSĪ, an Arab poet born in Baṣra, a pious man learned in the Ḳur'ān and Tradition, who is numbered among the second class of the Baṣra Tābi'ūn and transmitted traditions on the authority of 'Ā'isha and of some Companions of the Prophet, but in his old age is said to have been won over by his wife to the Khāridjīs. As he was already too infirm to serve them with the sword, he is reckoned among the *ḳa'ada* (see Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, p. 29). He worked for the cause of his party as a preacher and particularly as a poet, for example he celebrated 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam, the murderer of 'Alī, in a poem. When al-Ḥadjdjādj became governor in the 'Irāḳ and began to persecute the Khāridjīs, he had to flee to Syria and found a hospitable welcome with Rawḥ b. Zinbā'. When his stay here became known to 'Abd al-Malik, he escaped to the Ḳināna to Zufar b. al-Ḥārith in Ḳarḳīsiyā. There he was also soon betrayed and now went to 'Omān, where admirers of Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udaiya received him. When al-Ḥadjdjādj again discovered his whereabouts, he found a final refuge in Rūdh Maisān not far from Kūfa, where he died.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt*, vii. i. p. 113; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, i. 132, 22; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 531—534; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xvi¹, 152 ff., ² 146—152; 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii. 435—441; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, p. 36, N. 3.

(C. BROCKELMANN.)

'IMRĀN B. SHĀHĪN played a great rôle in the swamps (Baṭā'iḥ, q. v.) of the lower Euphrates at the beginning of the Būyid rule. A native of al-Djāmida, a village between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, he had to go into hiding on account of a crime he had committed and henceforth led the life of a a robber, for which the neighbourhood offered excellent opportunities. He then entered into an alliance with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Barīdī [see AL-BARĪDĪ], who found in him to most suitable man to defend the swamps against his enemies. As his robberies however made the road to Baṣra unsafe, the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla was more than once forced to send troops against him, but they could do nothing in view of the nature of the country and were usually enticed to some place from which it was impossible for them to return. From sheer necessity Mu'izz al-Dawla appointed him governor of the district, which did not however prevent 'Imrān and his robbers from occasionally renewing their activity again. Repeated attempts by Mu'izz al-Dawla and his successor Bakhtiyār to put an end to this state of affairs by force met with no better success. Till his death in 369 = 979 'Imrān remained master of the swamps and transmitted his power to his son Ḥusain. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had the same experiences with him as his predecessors with his father. Ḥusain however was slain in 372 = 982-3 by his brother Abu 'l-Faradj, and the latter met the same fate in the following year at the hands of the Ḥādjib al-Muẓaffar b. 'Alī [q. v.] who had been leader of the army during his father's rule and now appointed a minor son of Ḥusain named Abu 'l-Ma'ālī as ruler, but soon afterwards put himself in his place by means of a forged appointment from the Būyid Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. Once again, in 412 = 1022, a son of 'Imrān, Abu 'l-Haidjā' Muḥammad, attempted to gain power but met with no success.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix.

AL-**'IMRĀNĪ**, MU'ĪN AL-DĪN AL-HINDĪ, born in Dihlī, studied with the 'ulamā' of his native land and became a renowned scholar. He spent a large part of his life in teaching students at Dihlī. At first Mu'īn al-Dīn much disliked the saints of the Čishtī order and especially Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, known as Čirāgh-i-Dihlī, "light of Dihlī" (d. 757 = 1356), who was his contemporary, but the latter's spiritual power and piety induced him to sit at his feet and at last to become his disciple. He was a great favourite of Muḥammad II b. Taghlaḳ (725-752 = 1324-1351) who sent him to Shīrāz to induce al-Ḳāḍī 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī (d. 756 = 1355) to come to Dihlī and adorn his court. Our author repaired there but instead of persuading the Ḳāḍī, he was himself persuaded to pass the remainder of his life there.

He is the author of the following works: 1. a commentary on 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī's compendium of Muhammadan law according to the Ḥanafī school *Kanz al-Daḳā'iḳ*; 2. a commentary on Sirādj al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sakkākī's (d. 626 = 1229) *Miftāḥ al-*

ʿ*Ulūm*; 3. a commentary on Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Akhsīkatī's (d. 644 = 1246) *al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, a work on the principles of Muhammadan law according to the Ḥanafī school.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 142; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-MarDjān*, p. 34; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, p. 892; Faḳīr Muḥammad, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafīya*, p. 304. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

IMRUʾ AL-ḲAIS, an Arab poet of the vi.th century A. D., whose real name was Ḥunduḏj b. Ḥudjr, belonged to the tribe of Kinda which had migrated from the Yaman. His ancestor, Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār, had founded (about 480) a principality in Nadjd which declined under his successors. On account of his inclination to love affairs, particularly on account of a poem which he dedicated to his beloved Fāṭima bint al-ʿUbaid of the tribe of the Banū ʿUdhra, Imruʾ al-Ḳais was banished by his father Ḥudjr. The latter is even said to have ordered his freedman Rabīʿa to murder his son but Rabīʿa instead slew a young antelope (*djuwdhar*) and brought its eyes to Ḥudjr (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Shiʿr*, p. 48, lines 7—11). After Ḥudjr had fallen in battle with the rebel Banū Asad, his son deprived of his kingdom began to lead a wandering life (whence his nickname *al-malik al-ḍillīl*, "the wandering king"). Pursued by his enemies, he fled to Samawʾal, the ruler of Taimā, who lived in the citadel of al-Ablaḳ, and practised a Jewish Christian religion.

About 530 the Emperor Justinian summoned him to Constantinople with the intention of using his services against the Persians on the advice of the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith V "the Lame", the phylarch of the Syrian *Limes*. After a longish stay in the capital he was appointed governor of Palestine and of the border tribes there, with the title of phylarch, but while on his way to take up his office he died at Angora (between 530 and 540; cf. Nöldeke, art. MUʿALLAḲĀT in the *Encycl. Brit.*). According to Arab legend, he was poisoned by order of Justinian whom he had insulted by seducing his daughter, by means of a robe of honour which covered his body with sores (whence the name *Dhu ʾl-Ḳurūḥ*, which tradition gives him), although there never was a princess corresponding to this description at the court of Justinian or of his successor Justin II.

He is said to have been the first to submit Arabic verse to fixed rules, and laid down definite laws for the rhymes. He also introduced that kind of *ḳaṣīda*, in which the poet asks two friends to stop and weep, and thus gave new life to the ancient stock of Arabic poetry, which had so far been limited to the *radjaz*. The form however in which his verses have come down to us is not original, although Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the use of a rare form of the *basīṭ* metre as well as the agreement between the methods followed by Imruʾ al-Ḳais and ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ guarantee the absolute genuineness of the poem. He was a freethinker: when he saw that fate prevented him from avenging the death of his father, he threw the three arrows with which divinations were made, at the head of the idol Dhu ʾl-Khalaṣa in the town of Tabāla.

His name means "the man of Ḳais", although it is not certain, whether Ḳais is a masculine paredros of the goddess Manāt, or the name of her sanctuary (Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, N°. 2; Ph. Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture*, p. 274 *sq.*; *Corpus inscr. semit.*, ii. 198; Dussaud, *Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islam*, p. 125; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p. 67).

One of his *ḳaṣīda*'s is preserved in the collection entitled *Muʿallaḳāt* (Lat. trans. by L. Warner [ed. by Lette]; Engl. by Sir W. Jones, London 1782; Swedish by B. M. Bolmeer, Lund 1824; French by de Sacy in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, Vol. i. 411; German by Nöldeke and by Gandz, see *Bibliography*). In the editions of the text of this collection the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳais is usually accompanied by the commentary of al-Zawzanī (first publ. by Hengstenberg, Bonn 1823); the commentary of al-Naḥḥās has been published in extracts by Lette (Leiden 1748) and completely by E. Frenkel (Halle 1876), the commentary of al-Tabrīzī by Ch. Lyall in *A Commentary on ten ancient Arabic Poems* (Calcutta 1894). The *Dīwān* of Imruʾ al-Ḳais was published by de Slane (*Le Diwan d'Amro'lkaïs*, Paris 1837), by Ahlwardt (*The Divans of the Six Ancient Arab Poets*, London 1870, p. 115 *sqq.*, cf. 196 *sqq.*), in Bombay 1313, and with the commentary of ʿĀṣim b. Aiyūb al-Baṭalyūsī in Cairo 1282; a free German translation was given by Rückert (*Amrilkais, der Dichter und König*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1843).

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, viii. 62 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, p. 37 *sqq.*; Cheikho, *Poètes arabes chrétiens*, p. 6—60; Ibn Abi ʾl-Khaṭṭāb, *Djamhara* p. 29—47; Fragments in the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, photogr. ed. Leiden 1909, and ed. by Cheikho 1910, s. Ind.; F. A. Müller, *Imruulkaisi Muʿallaka*, Halle 1869; Nöldeke in *Sitzungsber. der K. Akad. in Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., Vol. 140 (1899); S. Gandz, *Die Muʿallaqa des Imrulqais übers. und erkl.* in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Cl., Vol. 170 (1913); E. Griffini, *Una nuova qaṣīda attribuita ad Imru ʾl-Qais*, in *Riv. di Studi orient.*, i. 595 *sqq.*; R. Geyer, *Imruʾ ulqais' Muʿassarīḥ-Qaṣīdah auf Kû*, in *Ztschr. d. dtsch. morgenl. Ges.*, lxviii. 547 *sqq.*, 720; Iskandar Agha, *Tazyīn Nihāyat al-Arab* (Beyrout 1867), p. 50—66; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii. 302—332; Perron, *Femmes Arabes*, p. 91—101; Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten arab. Gedichte* (Greifswald 1872), p. 72 *sqq.*; id., *Über Poesie und Poetik der Araber* (Gotha 1856), p. 10 *sqq.*; H. Derenbourg, in *Études de critique et d'hist.*, Vol. vii of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, Sect. des sc. rel.; Ch. Lyall, *Translations of ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 103—106; *Dīwāns of ʿAbīd ibn al-Abraṣ* etc., p. 4 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 24; Huart, *Littér. arabe*, p. 10; I. Pizzi, *Letteratura araba*, p. 39; Nicholson, *A literary History of the Arabs*, p. 103—107.

INĀL, AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF SAIF AL-DĪN AL-ʿALĀʾĪ (so called from his first owner) AL-ẒĀHIRĪ (after Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, Barḳūḳ, q. v.) AL-AdjRŪD (the beardless), Sulṭān of Egypt and Syria, reigned from 857—865 = 1453—1460. Purchased as a slave by Sulṭān Barḳūḳ he entered his Mamlūk corps. His son Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Faradj [q. v.] set him free and enrolled him in the corps of the Djamdār [q. v.]. Under Sulṭān al-Muʾaiyad Shaikh he became *khāṣṣikī* (a member of the body guard) and on the latter's death, amīr of 10 Mamlūks. He rose to higher offices under Sulṭān Barsbey. He first of all became *ṭablkhānā* (officer accompanied by a band), then second *raʾs nauba* (deputy

chief of the watch); in 831 he was appointed governor of Ghazza. Two years later he accompanied Sulṭān Barsbey in the campaign against Āmid (Diyār Bakr) which met with little success. When the Sulṭān wished to place this frontier area under reliable administration, he appointed Īnāl governor of the almost entirely destroyed town of al-Ruhā (Edessa). Īnāl as well as others after him declined to accept this office, but finally the Sulṭān induced him to do so by granting him the fief of an amīr of a 1000 (*taḳdima*, q. v.) together with the salary of a governor. After two years he was summoned to Cairo as amīr of a 1000 (without office, at the disposal of the Sulṭān) and in 840 sent as governor to Ṣafad. When Sulṭān Čaḳmaḳ ascended the throne, he summoned him to Cairo in 843 and appointed him amīr of a 1000 without office and in 846 Great Dawādār. In 848 he became Atābek (commander of the army) and as such was chosen Sulṭān in place of Čaḳmaḳ's son 'Othmān, who was unable to hold his position after his father's death, in a rising of the Mamlūks. Although he was now 73, he was able to maintain himself on the throne by meeting the wishes of the Mamlūks as far as possible and often proving a too indulgent master for them. Sulṭān Īnāl's reign was on the whole beneficial. Although he could not curb the arrogance of the Mamlūks, he succeeded in healing another wound in his kingdom. Amid great difficulties he carried through a reform of the currency. The debased silver money which his predecessors had struck was gradually withdrawn from circulation and new and improved coins issued. In foreign politics also he was fortunate. He was on the best terms with the Prince of the White Sheep, with the prince of Albistān (q. v.) in southern Asia Minor), and particularly with the great conqueror of Constantinople, the Ottoman Sulṭān Muḥammad, to whom he sent a special embassy to offer congratulations on the conquest of Constantinople. Where necessary he was not afraid to fight. He drove out the prince of Karaman who had taken several fortified places in Cilicia from him and forced him to make peace. He was involved in European politics by the relations which had connected Cyprus with Egypt since the reign of Barsbey. In order to deprive the corsairs who ravaged Syrian ports of a base, Barsbey had taken Cyprus in 830 and forced King James to recognise his suzerainty and reinstated him on the payment of tribute. A small Egyptian garrison remained on the island. When one of his successors, John II, died in 862 = 1456, his daughter Charlotte was made queen. His natural son, James, Archbishop of Nicosia, who feared for his safety, fled to Egypt and set up there as a pretender. Both parties endeavoured to gain Īnāl's recognition and after wavering a long time (the ambassador of the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Rhodes intervening) he decided in favour of Charlotte. But the Mamlūks inclined to James and forced the Sulṭān to send him to Cyprus with a fleet. With its help James occupied the capital Nicosia without opposition. But when the siege of Cerines dragged on, the Egyptian fleet returned to Egypt, its Admiral apparently having been bribed by the queen, and only left a small garrison in Cyprus with whose help James held out but was unable to deprive Charlotte of her territory (for further developments see KHOSHḲADAM). Īnāl was a mild and kindly ruler, and as far as lay in his power, his subjects were ruled justly and lightly. He died in 865 = 1460. His son Aḥmad, whom he had acknowledged on his death-bed, was a far-seeing ruler who aimed at the good of the community, but he was not able to control the indisciplined Mamlūks, so that he was only able to hold the throne for four months.

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, s. v. Īnāl; Ibn Iyās, ii. 39—65; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. v., where oriental and western references are given.

(M. SOBERNHEIM.)

'INĀT, a town in Ḥaḍramūt, south east of Tarīm, on the wādī of the same name. The family of Shaikh Abū Bakr, the only Saiyid family in Ḥaḍramūt to bear arms, lives here. It has two *manṣab*'s of whom one is chief of the Banū Thanna [see ḤAḌRAMAWT]. In the eighties of last century there lived in 'Ināt the greatest saint of Ḥaḍramūt, Saiyid Ḥusain b. Sālim, of the family of Shaikh Abū Bakr, to whom people made pilgrimages from the whole country and from more distant lands, such as the Indian Archipelago, on account of the miracles performed by him. 'Ināt is the most important Hawṭa [q. v.] in South Arabia. According to a statement in an Arabic newspaper (*al-Djawā'ib* of Rabī' al-awwal 18 1299 = Febr. 8 1882), the town had 5000 inhabitants, according to van den Berg, however, only 1000. The forms Inan, Ainan, Ainad in Ritter and, more recently, Ā'ināt in Hirsch for 'Ināt are due to a false transcription.

Bibliography: Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 287, 288; Ritter, *Arabien*, i. 613, 617—618; Van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout* (Batavia 1885), p. 13, 22, 33, 41, 61, 93, 94; De Goeje, *Hadhramaut* in *Rev. Colon. Internat.*, ii. (1886), p. 111; Hirsch, *Reisen in Südarabien* p. 208; Hein, *Südarab. Itinerare* (*Mitteil. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellsch.*, Vienna 1914), p. 39 Nᵒ. 55; 43, Nᵒ. 73; 54, Nᵒ. 146.

(J. SCHLEIFER.)

'INĀYAT ALLĀH KANBŪ, author of the *Bahār-i Dānish* [q. v.] and of a universal history up to the reign of Shāhdjahān, entitled *Ta'rīkh-i Dilkushā*; he held office in Lāhōr under the Mughal government, but in later life retired from the world and devoted himself to prayer and the study of theology; he died in 1080 (= 1669), or, according to others, in 1082, at the age of 65, and his brother, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ [q. v.], who died five years after him, was buried by his side. During his life-time, he had erected an imposing octagonal building, with a dome supported by four lofty arches, for his place of burial; the tombs of the two brothers were of red sand-stone, but were destroyed by the Sikhs, who turned the building into a powder magazine; after the conquest of the Pandjāb by the English, it was used first as a private residence, but is now a church.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, p. 795 *sq.*, 1093ᵇ; Saiyid Muḥammad Laṭīf, *Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities* (Lahore 1892), p. 208 *sq.*; Ethé, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 325.

INDIA (BRITISH). 1. **Ethnology**. According to the census of 1911 the total population of British India was 315,156,396, out of which 66,647,299 persons were returned as Musulmāns. To this total the province of Bengal contributed nearly

24 million, the Pandjāb nearly 11 million, the United Provinces over 6½ million, the Province of Bombay 4 million (more than 2⅘ million of whom were in Sind), Madras 2⁷⁄₁₀ million (953,381 of whom were found in the single district of Malabar), Kashmir nearly 2½ million, and the North-West Frontier Province over 2 million. This Muslim population is unequally distributed among the adherents of other religions in various parts of the country; the largest proportion is found in the North-West Frontier Province where there are 2,030,994 Musulmāns, or 93 per cent, out of a total population of 2,196,933; in the opposite corner of India, in Bengal, 23,989,719, or 53 per cent, are Musulmāns out of a total of 45,483,077, the proportion ranging from 15 per cent in West, to 59 per cent in North, and 68 per cent in East, Bengal; in Kashmir there are 2,398,320 Musulmāns out of a population of 3,158,126, i. e. about 76 per cent of the inhabitants of this state; in the Pandjāb they form more than half the total population. In the United Provinces, one of the chief historic centres of the Maghal empire, there are only 6,658,373 Musulmāns out of a total population of 47,181,044, i. e. about 14 per cent, and in other provinces the proportion is still lower; e. g. in the Mysore state, in spite of the proselytising zeal of Ḥaidar ʿAlī [q. v.] and Tīpū Sulṭān [q. v.], there are only 314,494 Musulmāns, or 5 per cent, out of a population of 5,806,193. In the Ḥaidarābād state, embracing territory that has been under Muhammadan rule since the 14th century, there are only 1,380,990 Musulmāns, or 10 per cent, out of a total of 13,374,676, chiefly Hindus; while, on the other hand, it is noticeable that the Muhammadans are relatively more numerous in North Bihār, which has been from ancient times the home of Hinduism and Brahman domination, than in South Bihār, where there are old Muhammadan centres such as Patna and Monghyr. The proportion sinks so low as 2.7 per cent in Orissa, though this province was under the rule of Afghāns for several centuries.

Within this Muhammadan population of over 66 million there is a great ethnological diversity. One broad distinction may be drawn between the descendants of foreign Muslim immigrants on the one hand and of the indigenous converts on the other. Among the latter, the physical types that are most numerously represented are (1) the Indo-Aryan type, occupying the Pandjāb, Rādjpūtāna and Kashmir, to which belong the Rādjpūt and Djāt Musulmāns, (2) the Aryo-Dravidian type, found in the United Provinces and Bihār, and (3) the Mongolo-Dravidian type, represented by the majority of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal. (See *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I, *Ethnographic Appendices*, p. 50 *sqq.*).

Though by far the larger proportion of the indigenous Muhammadan population owes its origin to the lower Hindu castes or to outcasts, still there are few of the higher castes that have not at one time or another contributed converts to Islām. Brahmans were forcibly converted amid the savageries of conquest, or in periods of intolerance under some zealous Muhammadan government; other Brahmans embraced Islam through the persuasion of Muslim missionaries, or to gain some social or financial advantage.

From the warrior castes Islām has received large accessions from the earliest days of its entrance into India. Rādjpūt Musulmāns are found in large numbers in the Pandjāb and to a less extent in the United Provinces and Rādjpūtāna; in some cases tradition ascribes the conversion of their ancestors to the influence of Muslim saints, e. g. the Rādjpūts of the city of Pānīpat assert that their ancestor was converted by a saint named Abū ʿAlī Ḳalandar who died there in 1324 A. D.; in other cases, the change of faith was determined by political or social motives, e. g. in northern India there are several Rādjpūt families, the ancestor of one branch of which is said to have become a Muhammadan, in order to save the family property from confiscation.

From the lower castes among the Hindus there has been a constant stream of accessions during the whole Muhammadan period (for details, see the publications of the Ethnographic Survey of India), as well as from the aborigines of the country who stood outside the pale of Hinduism. Definite historical evidence of these conversions is for the most part wanting. In the case of the various Mongoloid or Mongolo-Dravidian tribes of Eastern Bengal, there was probably a mass-movement towards Islām on their part; adherence to the new faith raised them out of the despised condition to which the higher Hindu castes consigned them.

The Musulmāns of foreign origin are numerically fewer than the descendants of native converts, but their influence in the history of Muhammadan civilisation in India has been vastly more important; the various conquerors, Arabs, Turks, Paṭhāns and Maghals, brought into the country large bodies of foreign troops, whose services they rewarded by grants of land; when their power was established, their courts attracted into India military adventurers, poets, scholars and theologians, most of whom remained and settled in the country; this movement of immigration went on during the whole period of Muhammadan ascendancy and has not even ceased under British rule. One example may be taken from the 13th century, when the devastations of the Mongols had spread terror through the Muslim kingdoms of Central and Western Asia; refugees made their way into India from ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsān, Dailam, Turkistān, etc., and in the reign of Sulṭān Balban [q. v.] as many as 15 wards of the city of Dihlī are said to have taken their names from such refugees.

Of these foreign immigrants, the first to enter India were the Arabs who invaded Sind under Muhammad b. Ḳāsim in 712; the trade in spices, gems, etc., early attracted Arab merchants to the west coast of Southern India, and the Mapillas [q. v.] are descended from the Hindu women they married. Thus from the earliest period of the Muhammadan occupation to modern times there has been an immigration of Arabs into India; their numbers have been small, but their influence has been profound and wide-spread. There was a Saiyid dynasty in Dihlī from 1413 to 1451, and one in Bengal from 1493 to 1537; a dynasty of Arab origin ruled over the kingdom of Khāndesh from the 14th to the 16th century; in the second decade of the 18th century two Saiyids of Bārha for 7 years enjoyed the position of king-makers and set whomsoever they chose on the throne of Dihlī. As administrators, generals, men of letters, teachers and saints, the Saiyids in India have played an important part in the history of Mu-

hammadan civilisation. Among them there have been several families whose influence has been continuous from generation to generation. The Saiyids of Bārha formed a group of considerable political importance, and various members of it held high and important posts under the Mughal emperors for nearly two centuries, from Akbar's reign onwards; they claimed the privilege of leading the charge in the van of battle. (Blochmann, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 390 *sqq.*). The Bukhārī Saiyids, who claim descent from Saiyid Djalāl al-Dīn Surkh-pōsh Bukhārī (who is said to have settled in Ūčh [q. v.] in 642 A. H.), and the Gīlānī Saiyids, the descendants of Bandagī Muḥammad Ghawth (himself descended from the Ḳādirī saint Saiyid ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī [q. v.]), who also settled in Ūčh in 887 A. H., have contributed to the annals of Muslim hagiology a large number of saints who filled an important place in the religious life of their country and whose shrines are still venerated, especially in the north and north-west of India.

Numerically, the Arabs form the smallest group of Indian Muhammadans of foreign origin. Another important group, likewise not numerous, is made up of the descendants of the Turkī invaders, to whom the establishment of Muhammadan rule in Indian is really due; Maḥmūd of Ghaznī was a Turk, as also were the generals of Muḥammad Ghōrī, who founded dynasties in Dihlī and elsewhere, and Bābar, the founder of the so-called Mughal empire; the founders of the ʿĀdil Shāhī, Ḳuṭb Shāhī and Barīd Shāhī dynasties were all Turkish officers. These men achieved greatness out of a large number of soldiers of fortune and mercenaries, whose fate was more obscure. Tīmūr settled a number of families of Ḳarlugh Turks in what is now the Hazāra District [q. v.] (forming part of the North-West Frontier Province), on his return from his invasion of India in 1399, and their descendants are found there to the present day. A group of Ḳizilbāsh migrated from Kābul to the Pandjāb as recently as 1842 and their descendants have received grants of land and are permanently settled in the country.

Among the smaller groups of immigrants special mention must be made of the Persians, whose influence on Muhammadan culture in India has been considerable. Saints, religious teachers, poets and men of letters, as well as soldiers and statesmen, have brought into India the refinement and subtlety of the Persian genius. Traders from the Persian Gulf settled in the cities of Gudjarāt as early as the 9th century. The Ghōrīs and their Tādjīk followers belonged to the Iranian race. Reference has already been made to the refugees who fled into India to escape the savage onslaught of the Mongols; political troubles have driven Persians in other periods also to take refuge in India, e. g. in the 18th century some fled from their country when the Afghāns brought the Ṣafawid dynasty to an end in 1722, and others when Nādir Shāh seized the throne in 1736. Naturally, many Persians were attracted to the Shīʿah kingdoms in India, and Persian mercenaries still come as recruits to the Persian regiment of the Nawwāb of Cambay [q. v.].

A small number of Abyssinians or Somālīs, known as Ḥabashī or Sīdī, settled in Western India; mention of them as soldiers and sailors is found as early as the 13th century. The Sīdīs were admirals of the Mughal fleet, and a dynasty of Ḥabashī kings ruled over Bengal from 1486 to 1490; the chiefs of Djandjīra [q. v.] and Sachin [q. v.] are also of Ḥabashī origin.

The largest group of foreign stock is that of the Afghāns or Paṭhāns, who are found in greatest number in the north-west, but also as far east as Bengal and as far south as the Dakhan. The terms Afghān and Paṭhān are used indifferently by the natives of India to designate this large group of the Muhammadan population, but it is a matter of dispute as to whether the original Afghān and Paṭhān stocks were the same, or whether a purely Indian origin must not be assigned to the Paṭhāns [cf. AFGHĀNISTĀN, i. 149b]. There has been a constant stream of immigration from Afghānistān into India, from the end of the 12th century up to modern times. Most of the Muhammadan conquerors of India have entered the country through Afghānistān and have brought in their armies large numbers of Afghān soldiers, who received grants of land as military fiefs and settled in the country. Of the Afghān tribes found in India, the most widely distributed are the Yūsufzai, of whom a body of 1200 accompanied Bābar in his final invasion of India, and settled in the plains of Hindustān and the Pandjāb. Migrations on a large scale into the fertile plains of India have also taken place at various times, e. g. during the period of the Lōdī (1451—1526) and Sūr (1540—1555) Sulṭāns of Dihlī, the Prangī and Sūr tribes from which these dynasties sprang, and their neighbours, the Niyāzī, appear to have migrated almost bodily from Afghānistān into India. The great bulk of the Balōč has similarly migrated across the border into India; there are about ten times as many of them in India as in the whole of Balōčistān [q. v., i. 636 sq.].

2. POLITICAL HISTORY:

A. under Muhammadan rule.

The introduction of Islām into India dates from the invasion of Sind [q. v.] in 712 by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim [q. v.]. This led to a permanent occupation of the valley of the Indus as far north as Multān, but the rest of India was unaffected, and it was not until the close of the 10th century that a fresh invasion began with the raids of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī [q. v.], which extended as far east as Kālindjar in Eastern Bundelkhand and as far south as Sōmnāth; but the province of Lāhōr was the only part of the country permanently occupied by his troops. The conquest of the rest of India dates from the campaigns of Muḥammad Ghōrī [cf. GHŌRIDS, p. 162-3] and his generals (1175—1205); on his return to Ghaznī he committed the charge of the military operations to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aibeg [q. v.], who became the first of the Sulṭāns of Dihlī; the conquests of his general, Muḥammad b. Bakhtyār [q. v.], extended his authority over the greater part of Bengal. When Muḥammad Ghōrī died in 1206, the greater part of India north of the Vindhya had been subjugated by his Turkī officers, some of whom now became practically independent sovereigns. But the Sulṭāns of Dihlī claimed a suzerainty, which they were sometimes able to enforce, over the other Muslim states. Thirty-four sovereigns reigned in Dihlī from 1206 to 1526; they fall into five dynasties, 1. the Slave kings, 1206—1290; 2. the Khaldjīs, 1290—1320; 3. the Tughluḳs, 1320—1413; 4. the Saiyids, 1414—

1451, and 5. the Lodīs, 1451—1526. During this period the Muḥammadan conquests were extended farther to the east and the south, in spite of frequent internal conflicts and revolutions, and the disasters caused by the inroads of Mongol hordes, at intervals from 1223 to 1305, and by the invasion of Tīmūr [q. v.] in 1398-1399. Outlying provinces took advantage of the weakness of the suzerain power, and a number of independent kingdoms arose which were ultimately absorbed in the Mughal empire; for an account of these, see the separate articles BENGAL, DJAWNPŪR, GUDJARĀT, MALWA, KHANDESH, BAHMANĪ DYNASTY (and the five dynasties that arose on the ruins of the Bahmanī kingdom, BARĪD SHĀHĪ, ʿĀDIL SHĀHĪ, NIẒĀM SHĀHĪ, ḲUṬB SHĀHĪ and ʿIMĀD SHĀHĪ). The invasion of Bābur [v. BABER] and his defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodī in the battle of Pānīpat [q. v.] in 1526 laid the foundations of the Mughal empire, but his son, Humāyūn [q. v.], was driven from his throne for 15 years, and the Afghān Shēr Shāh [q. v.] established the Sūr dynasty, which ruled in Dihlī from 1540 to 1555. Humāyūn regained his kingdom in 1555 but died the following year. His successor, Akbar [q. v.], was engaged in warfare during the greater part of his long reign (1556—1605) and brought under his authority the Muḥammadan kingdoms of Gudjarāt, Bengal, Kashmīr and part of the Dakhan [q. v.], and after breaking down the opposition of the Rādjpūts reconciled them to his rule by the wise policy he followed of conciliating his Hindu subjects. His son, Djahāngīr [q. v.] (1605—1627), and his grandson, Shāhdjahān [q. v.] (1627—1658), kept intact the Indian dominions of Akbar, and Awrangzīb [q. v.] (1658—1707) brought the Mughal empire to its greatest extent by the conquest of the last of the independent kingdoms of the Dakhan, Bīdjāpūr [q. v.] and subjected the whole of India as far south as Tanjore to his rule; but his intolerant policy towards the Hindus alienated the Rādjpūts, and the last twenty years of his life were spent in a vain attempt to crush the rising power of the Marāṭhās. Under his successors, the Mughal empire rapidly declined; the Marāṭhās encroached upon one district after another, and during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719—1748) a general revolt of the provinces began, which resulted in the independence of the Dakhan from 1723 under the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād [q. v.], of Awdh (Oudh) under Saʿādat Khān [q. v.] about the same period, of Bengal under Allahwardī Khān [q. v.] in 1740, and of Rohilkhand under the Rohillas [q. v.]. Further, the invasion of Nādir Shāh [q. v.] struck a blow at the very centre of the empire, from which it never recovered; his successor to the throne of Persia, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.], invaded the Pandjāb and occupied Dihlī in 1756-1757, and though he joined with other Muḥammadan forces to overthrow the Marāṭhās in the third battle of Pānīpat [q. v.] in 1761, the ruin of the Mughal empire was complete. Shāh ʿĀlam [q. v.] (1759—1806), in an endeavour to assert his authority in Bengal came in conflict with the English (1760-1761), and having fallen under the power of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, Nawwāb Wazīr of Oudh [q. v.], shared his defeat in the battle of Baksar (1764). In the following year he granted to the East India Company the Dīwānī or financial administration of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa in consideration of an annual subsidy of 2,600,000 rupees, and under the protection of the British kept his court in Allāhābād until 1771, when he was persuaded to return to Dihlī; after a brief period of prosperity he was blinded by one of his officers in 1788 and became a puppet in the hands of the Marāṭhās, until General Lake's victory over them in 1803 set him free and left him with a nominal sovereignty over the city of Dihlī and the surrounding district, and a monthly pension of 90,000 rupees. (For an account of the short-lived Muḥammadan kingdom of Maisūr, 1761—1799, which was brought to an end by the capture of Seringapatam and the death of Tīpū Sulṭān [q. v.], and of the kingdom of Oudh, which was annexed by the British in 1856, see these articles.) Shāh ʿĀlam's son, Muḥammad Akbar (1806—1837), and his grandson, Bahādur Shāh (1837—1857), retained the empty titles of their ancestors, as pensioners of the East India Company, but Bahādur Shāh's complicity in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 led to his banishment to Rangoon, where he died in 1862.

None of the self-governing Native States under Muḥammadan rulers joined in the attempt to drive the English out of India, while the more important of these States, e. g. Ḥaidarābād, Bhopāl and Rāmpūr, rendered substantial and valuable assistance, without which the condition of the English would have been still more precarious than it was. After the government was assumed by the Crown in 1858, the territories of these States were enlarged by grants of land, and other rewards for their loyalty were given to them.

Bibliography: It is not possible to give here a detailed list of the numerous works on the history of the Muḥammadans in India; a bibliography of the original sources may be found in H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own historians. The Muhammadan Period. Edited and continued by J. Dowson* (London, 1867—1877); H. M. Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India* (Calcutta, 1849); H. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (Oxford, 1903); C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879—1895). The works of several of these historians have been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. A full bibliography is given in vol. iv. of N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653—1708*, translated by William Irvine (London, 1907-1908). For the bibliography of the works of Europeans who visited India during the Muḥammadan period, see E. F. Oaten, *European Travellers in India during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries* (London, 1909). For separate dynasties and individuals, see the bibliography under the articles concerned. Among general histories, reference may be made to E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi* (London, 1871); A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* (Berlin, 1885—1887); Muḥammad Dhakā Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Hindūstān* (Dihlī, 1897-1898); M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, 9th ed. (London, 1905); H. G. Keene, *History of India* (Edinburgh, 1906); S. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule* (London, 1903); S. J. Owen, *The Fall of the Mogul Empire* (London, 1912). Two volumes of the forthcoming *Cambridge History of India* will be devoted to

the history of the Muhammadans. A bibliography of works on *Numismatics* is given in O. Codrington, *Manual of Musalman Numismatics* (London, 1904) and in *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. ii. (Chap. iv.)

B. under the British crown.

(i.) *Native States.* Nearly two-fifths of the total area of British India is administered by native chiefs. Of these Native States (693 in number) a certain number are governed by Muhammadans, under the suzerainty and protection of the British Crown; their rulers and their subjects are free from the control of the laws of British India; the rights of the chiefs as rulers within their own territories are guaranteed by the suzerain power, but they are not permitted to enter into political relations with foreign nations or other States. As a separate article is devoted to each of these States, all that is needed here is to give an enumeration of them, with bare details as to the annual revenue and the population in 1911. The largest of these Muhammadan States is Haidarābād, area 82,698 sqm., pop. 13,374,676, of whom about one-tenth are Musalmāns; the annual revenue is about £ 1,760,000; this is the only Muhammadan State that is in direct political relations with the Government of India; the others communicate either with an Agent to the Governor-General or with one of the Provincial Governments. In the Balūčistān Agency, Kalāt (area 73,278 sqm.) has a population of 359,086, of whom all but 13,180 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 51,000, and Las Bēla (area 7,132 sqm.), a population of 61,205, of whom all but 1819 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 15,000. In the Bombay Presidency, Khairpūr (6,050 sqm.), pop. 223,788, of whom 182,827 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 108,000; Djunāgaṛh (3,284 sqm.), pop. 434,222, of whom 88,130 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 175,000; Pālanpūr (1,766 sqm.), pop. 226,250, of whom 25,138 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 48,700; Cambay (350 sqm.), pop. 72,656, of whom 9,715 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 37,000; Djandjīra (324 sqm.), pop. 88,747, of whom 14,769 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 40,000; Rādhanpūr (1,150 sqm.), pop. 65,567, of whom 8,520 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 26,000; Balāsinor (189 sqm.), pop. 40,563, of whom 4,578 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 8,333; Sachin (42 sqm.), pop. 18,903, of whom 2,278 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 20,000; Savanūr (70 sqm.), pop. 17,909, of whom 5,448 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 6,666; three small States pay tribute to the Mahārādjā Gaikwar of Baroda, — Dābha (12 sqm., rev. £ 266), Pāndra (11 sqm., rev. £ 1,000), and Ranūn (6 sqm., rev. £ 200); these three chiefs are descended from a Rādjpūt, named Harsinhdjī who was in the service of Maḥmūd Bīgara, Sulṭān of Gudjarāt, and became a Musalmān in 1483. In the Central India Agency, Bhōpāl (6,902 sqm.), pop. 730,383, of whom only 81,996 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 200,000; Djaora (568 sqm.), pop. 75,951, of whom 13,686 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 60,000; Baonī (122 sqm.), pop. 20,121, of whom 2,549 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 6,666; among the 153 minor states connected with this Agency there are a few whose rulers are Muhammadans, e. g. Korwai (111 sqm.), pop. 18,456, of whom 2,309 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 2,500; Basoda (40 sqm.), which is nominally subordinate to the Mahārādjā of Gwalior, but pays him no tribute, pop. 4,630, of whom 737 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 1,266; Muḥammadgaṛh (29 sqm.), pop. 2,863, of whom 422 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 866; Pathārī (22 sqm.), pop. 3,866, of whom 390 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 600, and a few still smaller ones. In the Madras Presidency, Banganapalle (255 sqm.) is the only Native State with a Muhammadan ruler, pop. 39,355, of whom only 8,054 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 6,400. In the Pandjāb, Bahāwalpūr (15,918 sqm.), pop. 780,641, of whom 654,247 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 182,000; Malēr Kōṭla (167 sqm.), pop. 71,144, of whom 25,042 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 24,000; Lohāru (222 sqm.), pop. 18,597), of whom 2,401 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 4,400; Paṭaudī (52 sqm.), pop. 19,543, of whom 3,338 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 5,400. In the Rādjpūtāna Agency, Tōnk (2,600 sqm.), pop. 303,181, of whom 40,432 are Musalmāns, rev. £ 89,000, is the only State with a Muhammadan ruler. In the United Provinces, the only Muhammadan State is Rāmpūr (892 sqm.), pop. 531,217, of whom 244,604 are Musalmāns, rev. about £ 240,000.

(ii.) *British India.* After the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny, the Musalmāns (especially in Northern India) found themselves exposed to grave suspicions on the part of the British government. Though large numbers of Hindus had taken part in this insurrection, the ostensible aim of it had been the restoration of the Mughal Empire and had consequently enlisted the sympathies of many Muhammadans. The estates of those who were convicted of complicity with mutineers were confiscated, and thus a number of families of the old Muhammadan aristocracy were ruined. The members of these aristocratic families for the most part held aloof from the service of the British government and sullenly watched the Hindus crowd into those numerous administrative and judicial posts which the Muhammadan aristocracy were by tradition and training peculiarly fitted to fill. Saiyid Aḥmad Khān (q. v.), himself a member of an old Dihlī family, whose maternal grandfather had been wazīr to the Mughal emperor, Akbar Shāh II, laid upon himself the task of reconciling his co-religionists to British rule. He first combated the opinion held by some British officials that the Muhammadans had taken a predominant part in the Mutiny, in his treatise, "*Risālah-i-khair-khwāhān Musalmānān* (*An Account of the loyal Mahomedans of India*)", (Urdu and English, Meerut, 1860), in which he enumerated the various instances of distinguished devotion to the English on the part of Muhammadan soldiers, officials and others. At the same time he sought to reconcile his co-religionists to the rule of a Christian power, by refuting the intolerant opinions of those fanatics who condemned all social intercourse and friendship with non-Muslims. In this connection he published a pamphlet entitled *Aḥkām-i-ṭa'ām-i-ahl-i-kitāb* (Benares, 1868), the purpose of which was to prove by means of quotations from the Ḳur'ān, the Ḥadīth, and the works of theologians and jurists, that it was lawful for Muhammadans to eat with Christians and to mix in familiar social intercourse with them. Muhammadan opinion at this period was much exercised as to the question whether India under British rule was to be regarded as *Dār al-Ḥarb* or as *Dār al-Islām* and whether a *djihād* against the Christian rulers was obligatory on the Musalmāns. A considerable

literature was published on this subject and even the 'Ulamā' of Mecca were asked to deliver a *Fatwā* (v. W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans* (London, 1871); Syed Ahmad Khān, *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans* (Benares, 1872)). The opinion began to prevail that inasmuch as the British Government left the Muhammadans free to practise the observances of the faith and made no attempt to restrict their religious freedom, they might live under its rule as loyal subjects. But their power and wealth had been steadily declining under British rule, largely through their failure to adjust themselves to the changed conditions of administration. Up to the early part of the nineteenth century they had enjoyed the greater part of state patronage, as collectors of revenue, military and police officers, and judges, but as the old order changed, these posts came to be filled by English and Hindu officials; when in 1837 Persian ceased to be the official language, and English or the provincial vernaculars took its place, a considerable number of subordinate offices passed out of the hands of the Muhammadans, and the abolition of the posts of Ḳāḍī and Ḳāḍī al-Ḳuḍāt closed to a large number of learned men what had previously been an honourable means of livelihood. (Act xii. of 1880 gave power to the Provincial Governments to appoint a Ḳāḍī in any particular locality if the Muhammadans of the place so desired). Though the more far-sighted members of the community recognised that the altered conditions of the country called for a change in the methods of Muhammadan education and urged their co-religionists to study western sciences and learn English, their efforts for some time remained fruitless and met with much opposition.

In 1877 Saiyid Amīr 'Alī founded in Calcutta the National Muhammadan Association, which was afterwards, when branches had been started in other cities of India, styled the Central National Muhammadan Association; in 1882 this Association endeavoured to establish a national conference of Muhammadans, but the project fell through on account of the strong opposition of Saiyid Aḥmad Khān. In 1885 the first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay; this is a deliberative assembly, composed of delegates from all parts of India, which meets once a year to discuss questions of politics and administration. While the third meeting was being held in Madras, Saiyid Aḥmad Khān delivered in Lucknow on the 28th December, 1887, the first of a series of political lectures with the object of inducing the Muhammadans to hold aloof from the National Congress and similar political movements. He also endeavoured to organise the Muhammadan opposition by the formation of a society entitled "The United Indian Patriotic Association", to which more than fifty Andjumans in various parts of the country became affiliated; but its activity was short-lived, mainly through lack of funds to continue its propaganda. (*Pamphlets issued by the United Indian Patriotic Association. No 2. Showing the Seditious Character of the Indian National Congress and the opinions held by eminent natives of India who are opposed to the movement.* (Allahabad, 1888)). But though his efforts were successful in persuading the main body of his co-religionists to refuse their support to the National Congress, each yearly gathering continued to be attended by a small number of Muhammadans, especially from the cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Lucknow, and on two occasions the deliberations of the Congress were presided over by a Muhammadan, — the third (Madras, 1887) by the Hon. Mr. Badruddīn Taiyibdjī, (afterwards Judge of the High Court), belonging to a cultivated family of Bohoras in Bombay, and the twelfth (Calcutta, 1896) by Raḥmat Allāh Muḥammad Saiyānī; the latter in his presidential address enumerated and discussed the objections of the Muhammadans to joining the Indian National Congress; they were mainly that the success of the aims of the Congress would imply that a preponderating share in the administration of the country would pass into the hands of Hindus and that the Muhammadans would be reduced to an inferior position; that the movement was disloyal to the British Government; that western methods of government, and especially of selecting officers for administrative appointments on the basis of educational qualifications, etc., were not suited to India and would be detrimental to the Muhammadans, as owing to their backwardness in education they could not readily adapt themselves to such methods. (*Report of the Twelfth Indian National Congress*, p. 16 *sqq.* (Calcutta, 1887)); Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān: *The Present State of Indian Politics* (Allahabad, 1888)). The main body of the Muhammadans continued to hold aloof from the Indian National Congress, and from 1886 held on the same dates a separate gathering of their own, entitled the Muhammadan Educational Conference (v. § 3). But after the powerful personality of Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān was withdrawn, some of the younger generation came to the conclusion that Muhammadan interests suffered in consequence of their abstention from political life and they founded an organisation entitled the All-India Muslim League, the first meeting of which was held at Dacca in December 1906. In October of the same year a deputation of influential Muhammadans had presented a memorial to the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, and urged that special consideration should be given to the Muhammadans in the proposed enlargement of the Legislative Councils and in the bestowal of posts in the higher branches of the Public Services. This deputation gave the impulse to the formation of the All-India Muslim League, which rapidly extended its organisation by the establishment of Provincial Leagues affiliated to the central body, and holds a general meeting every year in some city with a large Muhammadan population.

In 1907 Nawwāb 'Imād al-Mulk Saiyid Ḥusain Bilgrāmī (formerly Director of Public Instruction in the Haidarābād State) was made a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and was the first Indian to become a member of that body. In 1909 Saiyid Amīr 'Alī (formerly a judge of the High Court, Calcutta) was appointed by the King a Privy Councillor, and as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sits in the final court of appeal for Indian cases. In 1910 Saiyid 'Alī Imām was made Legal Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, being the second Indian to hold such high office. These appointments were made in pursuance of a policy of associating Indians more closely with the direction of affairs of state, — a policy which led to the passing of the Indian Councils Act in 1909. This Act and the regula-

tions and rules under it increased the size of the legislative councils, and arranged for the inclusion of elected members instead of all the members being nominated as before, and gave to these councils greater liberty of discussion and interrogation than they had before enjoyed. While in the Governor-General's legislative council an official majority is maintained, in all the other (i. e. the provincial) legislative councils, there must be a non-official majority. The Muhammadans claimed to be represented as a separate community, and special regulations were framed for securing the election of Muhammadan members, in accordance with the relative importance and numerical strength of the Muhammadans in different provinces. Much dissatisfaction however was expressed in regard to the regulations for the Muhammadan electorate, and the Muhammadans felt that due consideration had not been paid to their claim. The declining fortunes of such independent Muhammadan States as Morocco, Persia and Turkey excited much sympathy in India, and this excitement of feeling was intensified by the successive disasters of the Turks in their wars with Italy and the Balkan States. It was believed that the Christian powers of Europe had banded themselves together to destroy Islām, and the British Government was blamed for not intervening to save Turkey from its enemies. This bitterness of feeling was intensified by the refusal of the Government of India in 1912 to grant powers of affiliation to the proposed Muslim University in Aligarh [q. v.], and by the re-adjustment of the boundaries of the province of Bengal, whereby the large Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal became again a minority in respect to the Hindus of Bengal, and lost that opportunity of self-development which had been opened to them in 1905 by the formation of the separate province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The most recent tendency in the political life of the Indian Muhammadans is the abandonment by some of the younger generation of the separatist policy of the older school, and co-operation with the Hindus in political activities; and a Muhammadan, — Nawwāb Saiyid Muḥammad, — was elected as President of the National Congress in 1913. The outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey in 1914 evoked a fervid expression of loyalty towards the British Government, in which the Musulmān princes, the Anjumans and other organised bodies, and the leaders of Muhammadan public opinion, all joined.

Bibliography: Materials for the history of this period are chiefly to be found in periodical literature, but many general works on India make special reference to the Muhammadans, e. g. Altāf Ḥusain Ḥālī, *Ḥayāt-i Djāwīd* (Kānpūr, 1901); W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans* (London, 1871); Ameer Ali, *A Cry from the Indian Mohammedans* in *The Nineteenth Century*, xii. 193 *sqq.* (London, 1882); Sir Richard Temple, *India in 1880* (London, 1881); Sir Alfred C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, First Series, chap. ix. (London, 1907); W. S. Blunt, *India under Ripon* (London, 1909); Sir John Strachey, *India*, chap. xvii., xxii. (3rd ed. London, 1903); E. Piriou, *L'Inde contemporaine et le mouvement national*, chap. v. (Paris, 1905); Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, chap. ix. (London, 1910); Sir Bampfylde Fuller, *Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment*, chap. vii. (London, 1910); J. Chailley, *L'Inde Britannique* (Paris, 1910); Sir J. D. Rees, *Modern India*, chap. xi. (London, 1910); *Islam and Missions*, chap. x., xv., xix. (New-York, 1911); S. Khuda Bakhsh, *Essays Indian and Islamic*, chap. vii. (London, 1912); S. Mitra, *Anglo-Indian Studies*, chap. xi. (London, 1913).

3. Social Organisation.

The official method adopted under Muhammadan rule for establishing a scale of social precedence was the granting of a *manṣab* (*rank, post*), which varied according to the number of men the *manṣabdār* was supposed to be placed in command of. Though primarily used of the military service, *manṣab* was not a term confined to this reference; all persons in the employment of the government above the position of a common soldier or messenger, whatever the nature of his duties, civil or military, obtained a *manṣab*. Some of the *manṣabdārs* were paid in cash, but the commonest method of payment was by the assignment of the land revenue of a certain number of villages or a tract of country. In the case of persons who were not in the active service of the state, a subsistence allowance was made either in the form of a cash payment (*waẓīfa*) or a grant of land (*milk* or *madad-i ma'āsh*); such grants were made to students, men distinguished for learning or piety, etc. By theory these appointments and grants were personal or for life only (for 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī's arbitrary resumption of all such grants, see Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, p. 283), but there was a tendency for them to become hereditary, and thus the original scheme of a graded scale of payment and official rank, dependent entirely on the good-will of the sovereign, broke down, partly on account of the unworkable character of the institution and partly in consequence of a lack of continuity in the administration. (See *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (Blochmann), i. 236 *sq.*, 268 *sq.*); Paul Horn, *Das Heer- und Kriegswesen der Grossmoghuls* (Leiden, 1894), p. 11 *sq.*; W. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls* (London, 1903), p. 3 *sq.*). A more popular classification of the various sections of Muhammadan society would appear to have owed its origin to the influence of the social system of the Hindus. Just as Hindu tradition gives the number of the higher castes as four, so the Ashrāf (or, noble) sections of Muslim society fall into four classes, (1) Saiyid, (2) Shaikh, (3) Mughal, (4) Paṭhān. (1) The Saiyids claim descent from 'Alī, either through Fāṭima (the Fāṭimī Saiyids) or through some other of his wives (the 'Alawī Saiyids). The Fāṭimī Saiyids have various designations according to the names of the twelve Imāms, e. g. Ḥasanī, Ḥusainī, Djaʿfarī, Mūsawī, Raḍawī, etc.; or according to the birth-place of the ancestor who first came into India, e. g. Bukhārī, Gīlānī, Kirmānī, Gardīzī, etc. The Saiyids in India tend to arrogate to themselves the position of an aristocracy in the Muhammadan community, but economic conditions compel them to follow all kinds of callings, and many of them are employed in humble occupations or gain a scanty livelihood as agriculturists. The well-to-do and educated Saiyids carefully preserve their genealogical trees and as a rule intermarry only with Saiyids or even with Saiyids of their own group. But many persons arrogate to themselves the appellation Saiyid, who have no rightful claim

to this honourable title. Akbar is said to have allowed some converted Brahmans to call themselves Saiyids. A well-known proverb, current throughout northern India, represents a successful man as saying, "Last year I was a weaver; this year I am a Shaikh; next year, if prices rise, I shall be a Saiyid." According to popular superstition, fire cannot harm a true Saiyid, and Saiyid Maḥmūd of Bārha (one of Akbar's generals) is said to have successfully submitted to this test by standing for an hour unharmed in the middle of a fire (Blochmann, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, p. 390). (For a modern example of this test being applied, see J. C. Oman, *The Brahmans, Theists and Muslims of India* (London, 1907), p. 323 *sq.*). (2) Shaikh is an honorific which is considered properly to belong to persons who can trace their descent from some member of the tribe of the Ḳuraish. The Shaikhs are further designated Ṣiddīḳī, if claiming descent from Abū Bakr, Fārūḳī, if from ʿUmar, ʿAbbāsī, if from ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, etc. But Shaikh is an honorific commonly assumed by Hindu converts, especially from among the lower classes, and as many as 28½ millions (i. e. nearly half the total Muhammad population of India) returned themselves in the Census of 1901 as being Shaikhs. It is of course quite impossible that more than a very small minority of these persons could have had any rightful claim to be of Arab origin. (3) The so-called Mughals in India claim descent from some ancestor who came into the country with the invading army of Bābur or was attracted thither during the reign of one of his descendants, but in cases where this claim can be made out, the family is generally found to be of Turkī origin. (N. Elias, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Introduction, pp. 88—90, 128). These persons add Beg after their names, as an honorific. As the number of persons, who style themselves Mughal, is small compared with either Shaikhs or Paṭhāns, the number of Muhammadans descended from Hindu converts who lay claim to Mughal descent is not very large, but there is a tendency (especially in the Pandjāb) for men of low social status to assume Mughal as a caste designation. In the Hazāra District the working of the Pandjāb Land Alienation Act (which was introduced in 1904 in the interests of petty landowners and agriculturists, to arrest the transfer of land to money-lenders) has given a great stimulus to this tendency, as increased prosperity prompts the wish to attain to a more dignified status. (H. D. Watson, *Gazetteer of the Hazara District*, p. 34, (London, 1908)). (4) Similarly, tribes of undoubted Hindu origin, and even Saiyids and Mughals, will assume the name of Paṭhān. Tribes dwelling on the border of Afghānistān and exposed to the raids of their turbulent neighbours are said to have invented histories of their Afghān origin, as a protection against ill-treatment; or in cases where this motive was absent but the Paṭhāns were the dominant race, it is common to find men of quite different stock, adopting Paṭhān as a caste-name; this is especially noticeable in the case of Hindu converts of Rādjpūt origin, who call themselves Paṭhān and even assume the title of Khān; thus we find a large and influential clan bearing the mongrel name of Lālkhānī Paṭhān, which claims descent from Lāl Singh, a favourite of the Emperor Akbar, who was given the title of Lāl Khān; his son was the first member of the family to embrace Islām. In Orissa, Paṭhān is used as a generic name for all Muhammadans, just as Turk is the synonym for Musalmān in some of the eastern districts of the Pandjāb.

Such Muhammadans as cannot lay claim to belong to the Ashrāf are styled *Adjlāf* and include the converts of low social status, especially those whose occupation causes them to be formed into functional groups, e. g. the weavers (Djulāhā, a widespread Muhammadan caste), cotton-carders, barbers, tailors, butchers, etc. These castes being descended from converts from Hinduism retain many customs with regard to marriage corresponding to those of the Hindu castes to which they formerly belonged; they also preserve the system of caste government, known as the *pančāyat*, which deals with breaches of the social custom of the caste in respect of trade, religion or morality, and imposes fines and other punishments. (Fazli Rabbee, *The Origin of the Musalmans of Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1895), chap. iv. v.; *Census of India, 1901*, vol. vi. 439 *et seq.*, vol. xvi. 244 *et seq.*)

The spread of western education led to the formation of societies, which introduced into India a form of social organisation previously unknown to the Indian Musalmāns. These societies or Andjumans give to energetic and enterprising men an opportunity of coming forward as leaders of the community, irrespective of their position in the old order of society, and each Andjuman tends to become a centre of social activity, and thus to introduce into the community a new principle of social organisation. The aims of these Andjumans are various, educational, social, political, religious. One of the earliest of them was probably the Muhammadan Literary Society founded in Calcutta by Nawwāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf in 1863. Later in the same year Saiyid Aḥmad Khān founded the Scientific Society of Ghāzīpūr (transferred in the following year to ʿAlīgarh), with the object of translating scientific and historical works from English into Urdū; a press was established in ʿAlīgarh and a series of translations printed there, but the activities of this Society ceased when the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was founded in 1875. In order to impress upon the Muhammadans the importance of higher education, Saiyid Aḥmad Khān in 1886 originated the Muhammadan Educational Congress (after the second meeting, styled Conference, and finally, the All-India Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference), a yearly gathering held in various cities, chiefly in Northern India; provincial educational conferences were organised later as well as educational associations in several towns. This Conference made its appeal chiefly to such Muhammadans as were interested in the promotion and spread of western learning among their co-religionists, but the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, established in 1895, was founded with the object of conserving the older learning, in Arabic and Persian, with such modifications and additions as were demanded by modern conditions; it conducts a school in Lucknow, the aim of which is primarily to train religious teachers. The Moslem Institute of Calcutta, started in 1903, is a literary society of the same type as those found in other cities, e. g. the Madras Muhammadan Literary Society etc. Some Andjumans combine educational work with other activities, e. g. the Andjuman Ḥimāyat-i Islām of Lāhōr has among its objects the refutation of objections brought

against Islām by its opponents, the spread of religious education, the care of orphans, the maintenance of preachers etc.; it accordingly has founded a number of schools and a college affiliated to the University of the Pandjāb, established orphanages, and by preaching and other means promotes the defence and the propagation of Islām. In most of the capital cities of India, there is a central body formed to promote Muhammadan interests generally throughout the province, — in Bombay, Lāhōr, Nāgpūr and Patna called Andjuman-i Islāmiya, in Madras Andjuman-i Islām, in Calcutta the Central National Muhammadan Association, in Dacca the Islām Association of Eastern Bengal. In addition to these societies having an extensive sphere of operations, there is hardly a town in India, with any considerable Muhammadan population, that has not got its own local Andjuman, but these Andjumans are too numerous for a list to be given here; many of them are short-lived and depend for their continuance in existence to the zeal of some one individual, and perish with him. In recent years, especially in Northern India, in consequence of the attacks made upon Islām by the Ārya Samādj, societies have been formed of an apologetic and propagandist character, e. g. Andjuman Ḥimāyat Islām (Ādjmīr), Andjuman Tablīgh-i Islām (Ḥaidarābād), Madrasa Ilāhiyāt (Cawnpore), Andjuman Hidāyat al-Islām (Dihlī) etc. The latest type of Muhammadan society to make its appearance is the political, in the form of the All-India Muslim League (v. § 2).

4. Law and Administration.

The system of law most widely accepted among the Sunnis of India was that of the Ḥanafī school, but that of the Shāfiʿī school also found adherents and is accepted by a small number of Muhammadans in the provinces of Bombay and Madras and the Pandjāb to the present day. The Shīʿahs, wherever possible, have put into force the precepts of their own law-books and the decision of their Mudjtahids. But even under Muhammadan rule, the extent to which Muslim law was followed, varied from time to time in different parts of the country. In towns and cities where the learned could make their influence felt and could uphold a standard of orthodoxy, the prescriptions of the *sharʿ* could be more completely enforced; in country districts, however, among the converts from Hinduism earlier institutions survived, in spite of their being in direct contradiction to the ordinances of the written law. Justice was administered by Ḳāḍīs, with the assistance of Muftis as exponents of the laws of Islām, which by theory were independent of the state; but the real power remained in the hand of the sovereign and his officials, who did not hesitate to intervene when, and to whatever extent, they thought fit. Baranī [q. v.] gives an account of an interview (about 1300 A. D.) between ʿAlā al-Dīn Khaldjī and Ḳāḍī Mughīth al-Dīn in which the latter points out the many ways in which his sovereign's methods of administration ran counter to the laws of Islām, but the Sulṭān states that his policy is to consult for the good of the kingdom and the requirements of the situation, without considering whether the orders he gives are in accordance with the *sharʿ* or not (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 266 *sqq.*; Elliot-Dowson, iii. 183). Even the orthodox Awrangzīb could interfere with the legal decision of a ḳāḍī, when it did not fall in with his wishes (*Aḥkām-i ʿĀlamgīrī* v. Jadunath Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, pp. 141-2). The ḳāḍī dealt with all cases of dispute between Hindus and Muhammadans, and the penal ordinances of the Muslim law were applied to all criminal cases and offences against the state. But the Hindus were left to settle their internal disputes in accordance with their own laws or customs. When in 1765 the grant of the dīwānī of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa was made to the East India Company, Muhammadan law continued to be administered, as before, by Muhammadan judges, but in 1772 English judges were appointed who administered the same law, with the help of Muftis acting as expert advisers in the courts; similarly Pandits sat as assessors to advise in cases tried according to Hindu law. But from time to time the Muhammadan criminal law was modified by the Company's Regulations and the milder provisions of English law substituted, but the Muhammadan element did not entirely disappear until 1862, when the Penal Code and the first Code of Criminal Procedure came into force; in course of time also the laws relating to revenue, land tenures, procedure and evidence have been replaced by the enactments of the English legislature. But questions relating to family relations and status (e. g. marriage, divorce, maintenance and guardianship of minors, succession and inheritance), religious usages and institutions, and dispositions of property by gift, will and *waḳf* [q. v.], are still governed by the Muhammadan law, provided that the Muhammadans themselves wish it to be applied; for in certain parts of India, it has been superseded in many respects or considerably modified by customs adopted from earlier Hindu times, and sanctioned by the legislature and the courts; thus custom takes precedence of Muhammadan law in the Pandjāb, Oudh, the Central Provinces, the Bombay Presidency, and among the Māppillas of Madras. In the Pandjāb, for example, in some districts a widow is not entitled to a share in the property of a deceased husband, but merely to maintenance; following the Hindu practice of adoption, a sonless proprietor may appoint a kinsman to succeed him as heir; in contradistinction to the Muhammadan law of gifts (*hiba*), ancestral immoveable property is ordinarily inalienable, except with the consent of male descendants, or, in the case of a sonless proprietor, of his male collaterals. The Memans [q. v.] of Kačč, who are descended from Hindu converts chiefly of the Lohāna caste, are still governed by Hindu law in questions of inheritance, though a large section of the community wish in future to follow the Sunnī law of the Ḥanafī school to which they belong. Similarly, the Sunnī Bohoras [q. v.] of northern Gudjarāt follow Hindu law in matters of inheritance and succession. The Khodjas [q. v.] in the Bombay Presidency follow Hindu custom in refusing to females any share in their father's estate, and generally appeal to Hindu law or custom in regard to all questions of inheritance and succession; the right of divorce is limited by the necessity of obtaining the consent of the djamāʿat (or, assembly of the community) according to the custom of the sect. The Māppillas [q. v.] in North Malabar follow the Marumakkattāyam (i. e. descent through sister's children) system of inheritance, according to which property descends through the female

line and sons have no claim to a share of their father's property or to maintenance therefrom; they ordinarily follow the custom of holding family property undivided, as the joint property of all the descendants of a common ancestress, in the female line only, each member of the joint family being entitled to maintenance from the property so held; but some Mappillas, while following the Marumakkattāyam system in reference to the joint family property, are governed by Muhammadan law in regard to the self-acquisition of individual members of the family.

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Administration.

The early Muhammadan conquest of India was more of the nature of a military occupation than an actual appropriation of the soil of the country. The invaders were comparatively few in number, and were constantly engaged in fighting in order to make their position secure; they were content to receive tribute from the Hindu princes who submitted to the new rule, without interfering in the internal government of their dominions; in the parts of the country under the more immediate rule of the conquerors, the native revenue officers were not displaced and collected the revenue much as before. But as Muhammadan power became consolidated and more Muhammadans settled in the country, the internal management of the provinces came to be taken under the direct control of the imperial power, and the Hindu Rādjas tended to become revenue officials, and both the Rādjas and their former nobles sank to the position of landlords paying revenue to the government. At the same time there was a tendency for the government to enhance the amount of its demand; according to Hindu law the proper share of the king was one-sixth of the produce of the soil, but under Muhammadan rule attempts were made to exact more, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (1296—1316) at one time claimed as much as a half. The chief source of revenue was this share in the produce of the soil, supplemented by the *djizya* [q. v.], which in India was a poll-tax paid by the Hindus; but the latter tax was irregularly levied, and was abolished by Akbar, while Awrangzīb's attempt to re-impose it brought about a rebellion; a number of petty cesses were also imposed, often of a very oppressive character (Elliot-Dowson, iii. 182, 377). According to the Muhammadan system all land assessed for revenue was divided into the *khāliṣa* lands paying revenue direct to the royal treasury, and the *djāgīr* lands, the revenue of which was assigned to individuals, e. g. ministers, courtiers, and especially military commanders, who took the revenues for their own support or that of a military force which they were bound to maintain. The djāgīr was originally only a life-grant and reverted to the State on the death of the grantee, and the djāgīrdār was not allowed to take more than the sum assigned to him, according to the terms of his *sanad*, and if more came into his hands, he had to account for the surplus to the State treasury. But such djāgīrs tended to become hereditary, especially when the central government was weak, and the granting of a new *sanad* to the incoming heir became a matter of form, or no fresh *sanad* was granted at all and the djāgīrdār came to be looked upon as a proprietor of the land and could do much as he pleased. Attempts were made at times to reduce the system of land tenure and assessment to order, the most successful being that connected with the name of Akbar [q. v.], who entrusted his finance minister, Tōdar Mall, with the task of re-organising the revenue system; the object of the new system was to substitute a money-revenue at a fixed rate for a revenue in kind varying with the crop. A fixed standard of measurement, the *bīgha* (q. v.), was adopted, the land was surveyed, and the average yield was computated by ascertaining the actual produce for a number of years; the share of the government was fixed as one-third of the average produce, payable in money (unless the cultivator choose to continue to pay in kind). Tōdar Mall commenced the survey in 1571, but the new assessment was never successfully extended to all parts of the empire, and considerable changes were introduced by later rulers; but Akbar's land-revenue system is the basis of that found in India at the present day. Akbar further organised the administration by dividing his empire into 15 *ṣūba*'s or provinces, sub-divided into *sarkār*'s and these again into *pargana*'s; this arrangement secured a centralization of government and with some slight changes lasted throughout the period of Muhammadan rule.

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5. Religion.

a. **Sects.** The majority of the Indian Muslims are Sunnis [q. v.], and owing to the high level of theological learning maintained by the ʿulamāʾ for centuries and the close relations kept up with centres of religious life and thought in other parts of the Muslim world, there has always been a large body of orthodox opinion and practice among the Indian Sunnis, and these have not differed materially from similar manifestations in other Muslim lands. The Shīʿahs [q. v.] have always been in a numerical minority in India; under the rule of the Shīʿah sulṭāns of Bīdjāpūr [q. v.] and Golkonda [q. v.], and later under that of the Kings of Oudh [q. v.], the Nawwābs of Murshidābād

[q. v.] and such of the Nawwābs of Rāmpūr as became Shī'ah, they enjoyed the favour of the ruling power; but under Sunnī rule, they were often exposed to persecution and accordingly practised taḳīya [q. v.], i. e. concealment of their distinctive doctrines. The Shī'ahs in India form less than 10 per cent of the total Muslim population and are mainly of Persian or Turkī descent, with the exception of the converts of Hindu origin, belonging especially to the Ismā'īlī sections of the Bohoras and Khōdjas [q. v.]. Since 1907, the Shī'ahs have held an annual gathering, called the All-India Shī'ah Conference.

The expectation of the coming of the Imām Mahdī [q. v.] has given rise to various religious movements throughout the whole of the Muslim world; such manifestations as found in India will be found described under the separate articles MAHDAWĪ (GHAIRMAHDAWĪ), NUKṬAWĪ, NŪRBAKHSHĪ and ROSHANĪ.

Of the sects that have arisen through the influence of Hinduism, some account is given in § 5 (c) below. Among the modern sectarian developments, the most important are the Wahhābīs [q. v.], the Aḥmadīyah [q. v.], and the Ahl-i Ḳur'ān. The Wahhābī doctrines were introduced into India early in the 19th century by Saiyid Aḥmad [q. v.] and Sharī'at Allāh [v. art. FARĀ'IḌĪ], who initiated entirely independent movements; the Wahhābīs usually denominate themselves either Ahl-i Ḥadīth (people of the tradition), as accepting the Ḥadīth [q. v.] but rejecting the glosses of commentators and the four traditionary schools of legal interpretation, or Muwaḥḥid (Unitarian) as opposing all practices that obscure the recognition of the Unity of God, such as prayers to Muḥammad and the saints, visits to their tombs, etc., or Rafi'-yadain, because of their practice of raising the hands to the ears while praying. The Ahl-i Ḳur'ān, a small sect founded in 1902 by 'Abd Allāh Čakrālawī, go still further than the Wahhābīs in their rejection of all traditionary theology and accept the Ḳur'ān alone as their guide in matters of faith and practice; they have devised a new form of prayer and do not repeat either the Adhān [q. v.] or prayers for the dead. The Nēcharī, the followers of the rationalising theology of Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān, cannot rightly be described as a sect, nor are their small numbers as shown in Census Reports indicative of the wide-spread influence of this reformer on the theological opinions of his co-religionists; they are rather representative of a current of thought that is profoundly influencing the attitude of mind towards Islām of the younger generation of Indian Musulmāns. The Nēcharī, like the Ghair-muḳallid, forms no ecclesiastical organisation, but shares in the revolt against taḳlīd [q. v.], (or, the blind acceptance of religious authority), which has been described as "the one movement in the Sunnī Church which contains the greatest promise" (Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, London 1896, p. 521-522).

2. Religious orders. Abu 'l-Faḍl (*A'īn-i Akbarī*, i. 203-210, Trans., iii. 354) enumerates 14 religious orders, — all of the Sunnī sect. Those that have exercised the greatest influence over the religious life of India are the Čishtī, the Suhrawardī, the Ḳādirī, the Shaṭṭārī and the Naḳshbandī. The **Čishtī order** (founded by Khwādja Abū Aḥmad Abdāl Čishtī, ob. 966) was introduced into India by Khwādja Mu'īn al-Dīn Čishtī, who was born in Sīstān but came to India and settled in Adjmīr, where he died in 1236 [s. ČISHTĪ]; his tomb attracts to Adjmīr thousands of pilgrims every year and is venerated by Hindus and Musulmāns alike (*Journal of Indian Art*, vol. iii. p. 8). He counts among his successors some of the most famous saints in India: Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, who was born in Farghāna, but after a wandering life spent in visiting various eminent saints, passed his last years in intimate friendship with Mu'īn al-Dīn Čishtī and died in the same year as his spiritual teacher and friend; he is buried near the Ḳuṭb Minār at Dihlī; — Shaikh Farīd al-Dīn Shakarganḏj (ob. 1265), whose tomb is at Pākpattan, where an enormous fair is held every year, and the object of every pilgrim, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, is to get through the narrow gate of the shrine on the afternoon or night of the 5th Muḥarram (M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vi. 359 sqq.); — he had two illustrious disciples, one Ḳuṭb-i Abdāl Shaikh 'Alī b. Aḥmad Ṣābir (ob. 1291), whose tomb is near Rurkī (his followers are known as Ṣābir Čishtī), and the other, more famous, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (his real name was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāniyāl al-Bukhārī), (born at Badā'ūn in 1238), who was nominated by Farīd al-Dīn as his khalīfa, or successor, when he was only 20 years old, and died in 1325; some of the most distinguished of his contemporaries were numbered among his spiritual pupils, including the poets, Amīr Khusraw and Amīr Ḥasan Dihlawī, the historian, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, and a number of others. [For a list of these, see the biography of the saint, entitled *Maṭlūb al-Ṭālibīn* by Muḥammad Bulāḳ]. His tomb in the outskirts of Dihlī is surrounded by the graves of his followers and admirers and is much frequented by pilgrims. His khalīfa was Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad (or Maḥmūd) Čirāgh [s. ČIRĀGH DIHLĪ], who became his pupil at the age of 40 and died in 1356; his tomb at Dihlī is still a place of pilgrimage. The successors of these saints led to a wide extension of the Čishtī order, but it is not possible to mention more than two of the later saints, e. g. Shaikh Salīm Čishtī (ob. 1572), in whose house the emperor Djahāngīr [q. v.] was born; and Khwādja Nūr Muḥammad (ob. 1791), known as Ḳibla-i 'Ālam, who brought about a revival of the Čishtī order in the Pandjāb and Sindh. (For further details see the histories of the Čishtī order, e. g. *Sawāṭi' al-Anwār* by Muḥammad Akram al-Barāsawī, and the works quoted therein, and *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* by Ḥāmid b. Faḍl Allāh Djamālī). The **Suhrawardī order**, which takes its name from Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (ob. 1234), was introduced into India by Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyā, who was born at Multān but travelled to Baghdād, where he became the spiritual pupil of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī; he died at Multān in 1266 and his tomb, said to have been built by the saint himself, is one of the few examples of the architecture of this period in India. One of his disciples was Saiyid Djalāl al-Dīn Surkh-pōsh, the first of this order to come to India from Bukhārā, where he was born in 1199; after many wanderings he settled in Uččh, where he died in 1291; he is the ancestor of generations of saints, some of whom were active and successful propagandists of Islām. His khalīfa was his grandson, Saiyid

Sayyid b. Aḥmad Kabīr, commonly known as Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān (ob. 1384), who is said to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca 36 times and to have performed innumerable miracles. One of Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān's grandsons, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, known as Burhān al-Dīn Ḳuṭb-i 'Ālam (ob. 1453) [q. v.], went to Gudjarāt, where his tomb is still a place of pilgrimage at Baṭuwa (*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. vii. p. 60 *sqq.*); his son, Saiyid Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam (ob. 1475) became still more famous and played an important part in the political and religious life of his time; his tomb at Rasūlābād, near Aḥmadābād, is a beautiful example of the style of architecture characteristic of this district (id., vol. viii. p. 15 *sqq.*). The Ḳādirī order derives its name from 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī [q. v.], who is reverenced throughout India as Pīr Dastgīr, Pīrān-i Pīr, etc., his festival being widely celebrated on the 11th of Rabī' al-ākhir. This order was introduced into India by one of his descendants, Saiyid Muḥammad, known as Bandagī Muḥammad Ghawth, who settled in Učh in 1482 and died there in 1517; he was the progenitor of a number of saints and miracle-workers, and his descendants have remained in Učh to the present day (*Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State*, pp. 164—166, 391 (Lahore 1908)). The Ḳādirī saints are too numerous to enumerate here, but mention must be made of Shaikh Mīr Muḥammad, known as Miyān Mīr, the spiritual preceptor of Dārā Shikōh [q. v.], who wrote a life of the saint, entitled *Sakīnat al-Awliyā'*; he died in Lāhor in 1635 and his tomb is still venerated there. The Shaṭṭārī order gave several great saints to India, e. g. Muḥammad Ghawth, who numbered among his spiritual pupils the emperor Humāyūn; he died in 1562 and was buried at Gwāliyār in a magnificent tomb erected by the emperor Akbar (Saiyid Faḍl Allāh, *Manāḳib Ghawthīya*). His disciple, Wadjīh al-Dīn Gudjarātī (ob. 1589), a man of great learning, is buried at Aḥmadābād (*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, viii. 33), and another saint of the same order, known as Shāh Pīr (ob. 1632) at Mīrath in a tomb built by Nūr Djahān, wife of the emperor Djahāngīr. The introduction of the Naḳshbandī order into India is usually attributed to Shaikh Aḥmad al-Fārūḳī al-Sirhindī (ob. 1625), (for his letters, see Ethé, *Cat. Pers. MSS. India Office*, n°. 1891); this order has not enjoyed the same degree of popularity as those above mentioned, but there has recently been a revival of it in the Pandjāb and Kashmīr (v. *Manāḳib al-Naḳshbandīya*, Ethé, n°. 653). To the wide-spread influence of these orders it is largely due that Ṣūfiism has generally been regarded in India as compatible with orthodoxy. Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh, of Burhānpūr (ob. 1620), wrote a commentary on *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā 'l-Nabī*, to prove that the doctrines of the Ṣūfīs were in accord with the teaching of the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna.

In addition to the above so-styled *bā-shar'* orders, the members of which observe the customary ordinances of Islām as to prayer, fasting, etc., there are certain irregular (or *bī-shar'*) orders, peculiar to India, which are looked upon with disfavour by the orthodox; their adherents are almost entirely confined to uneducated persons of the lower classes. Among these are the Madārīs, who are followers of Zinda Shāh Madār, a legendary personage, said by some to have been a converted Jew (born at Aleppo in the 11th cent.), who settled in India and expelled a demon, named Makan Dēo, from the spot (Makanpūr) where his own shrine is now venerated; according to other accounts, he was a disciple of Shaikh Muḥammad Ṭaifūr Shāmī and died in 1436. The faḳīrs of this sect claim to be immune against fire and the bites of snakes and scorpions. The devotion to Shāh Madār is widespread, and pilgrims resort to his shrine from great distances. The Rasūl Shāhīs are followers of a certain Rasūl Shāh, of the Alwar State, who in the 18th cent. is said to have received miraculous powers from a saint in Egypt. They rub ashes on their bodies and faces, and shave the head, moustaches and eyebrows; they look upon the drinking of spirits as a virtue, and the sect is consequently considered to be a disreputable one by orthodox Muslims. In Gudjarāt they wander about begging, without wives or settled homes, but in the Pandjāb they are not celibate, being as a rule well-to-do citizens who are never seen begging, and some are said to be men of literary taste and are popularly credited with a knowledge of alchemy.

c. Saints. The Muslim saints of India may be counted by hundreds. Several of the more important have already been referred to in the account of the religious orders; these are historical personages of whom some record remains, and there are many more like them. But others are historical persons whose identity has become overlaid with a mass of legend, in which the record of history is almost entirely obscured, e. g. Ghāzī Miyān [q. v.], Sakhī Sarwar [q. v.], etc. Others are purely legendary, as Khwādja Khiḍr [q. v.], Bābā Ratan (v. Horovitz, *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, ii. n°. 2), Shaikh Saddū, etc. The process of canonization still goes on, and new saints are from time to time added to the calendar, e. g. at Mōrthārī (in Bengal) a Muḥammadan Pīr, named Pāgalī Sāhib (ob. between 1860 and 1870) is credited with miraculous powers and his aid is invoked especially by litigants. Besides the many miracles ascribed to these saints in their life-time, they are still believed to be able to work wonders for those who invoke their aid; miraculous cures especially are said to be wrought at their tombs, and childless women pray to them for offspring, and litigants for success in the law-courts; the beneficent activity of others has a more restricted reference, e. g. Khwādja Khiḍr, Malumiyār and Pīr Badr are the patron saints of boatmen and sailors, Shāh Shāh (of Multān) of persecuted lovers, Shāh Dawla takes microcephalic children under his protection, etc. Many of these saints are known as Pīrs, a title of honour applied not only to the famous historical saints abovementioned but also to living spiritual preceptors, who guide their disciples (*murīd*) in the practices of the devout life, — not only to the saints whose shrines are visited by thousands of pilgrims from distant parts, but also to those obscure individuals whose tombs are to be found by hundreds in the bye-lanes of a town or the outskirts of a village and enjoy only a local reputation. For the religious movement condemnatory of the worship of saints, see the art. KARĀMAT 'ALĪ and WAHHĀBĪ.

Bibliography: Besides the works already mentioned, see 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Saif al-Dīn al-Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*; Dārā Shikōh, *Safī-*

nis al-Awliyā; Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād al-Bilgrāmī, *Rawḍat al-Awliyā*; Muḥammad Amīn, *Safīnat al-ʿĀrifīn*; Ḥāmid b. Faḍl Allāh, *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (Trans., vol. iii.); Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Maḳāla 12; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā* (Lucknow 1873); Shēr ʿAlī Afsōs, *Arāʾish-i Maḥfil* (Calcutta 1808); R. C. Temple, *The Legends of the Panjāb* (Bombay 1884—1901).

d. Festivals. The chief festivals of the Muslim year are ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā [q. v.], (vulgarly known as *ʿīd-i ḳurbān* or *baḳra-ʿīd* or even *baḳrīd* ("the cow festival")), celebrated on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, and ʿĪd al-Fiṭr [q. v.], at the end of the fast of Ramaḍān. These are the only festivals recognised by the strictly orthodox, but there are several others that are commonly observed throughout India, e. g. *shab-i barāt* ("the night of the decree"), the 14th day of Shaʿbān; God is believed to register on this night the deeds and fortunes of men during the coming year; it is celebrated by the vulgar by letting off fireworks, while the pious spend this night or the eve of the festival in prayer for deceased relatives; *bārah-wafāt*, the 12th day of Rabīʿ al-awwal, in commemoration of the death of Muḥammad, or in some parts, the day of his birth (mawlid al-nabī) is observed on this date; *Ākhir-i chahār-shamba*, the last Wednesday of the month of Ṣafar, the day on which Muḥammad obtained some mitigation of his fatal illness and bathed for the last time. The first ten days of the month of Muḥarram [q. v.] are observed as days of mourning for the death of Ḥusain [q. v.] by Shīʿahs pre-eminently, but the 10th day is observed as a popular festival in most cities with a Muhammadan population, and Hindus also often take an active part in the celebrations; in the Gwāliyar State the Mahārādja provides a *taʿziya* [q. v.], and the expenses of the festival are defrayed from the state revenue (v. J. C. Oman, *The Brahmans, Theists and Muslims of India* (London, 1907), Part iii. chap. i.). In honour of the more famous saints, a celebration, called *ʿurs* [q. v.], is held on the anniversary of his death, when a large concourse of persons visits his tomb; prayers are recited, the Ḳurʾān is read, offerings are made to the guardians of the tomb, and alms are distributed to the poor.

Bibliography: Kāẓim ʿAlī Djawān, *Bārah-māsā* (Calcutta, 1812); Djaʿfar Sharīf, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, translated by G. A. Herklots, chap. xv.—xxvi.; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Mussulmauns of India*, i. chap. 2—4, 11; E. Sell, *The Faith of Islām*, chap. vi., 3rd ed. (London, 1907).

e. Relations with Hinduism. The Muslim conquerors of India for the most part showed little regard for the Hindu religion, but plundered and destroyed Hindu temples in large numbers without compunction. But the Arabs in Sind spared the temples in the towns that submitted to them, and the fact that Awrangzīb found so many temples left for him to destroy bears testimony to the limits that his predecessors put on their iconoclastic zeal. For the most part the Muslims in India have been either hostile or indifferent to Hinduism, and throughout the whole Muhammadan period it is not possible to find another work showing the same scientific interest in the faith or the same profound knowledge of its literature as the *India* of al-Bīrūnī [q. v.], the contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghazni. More than five centuries elapsed before Akbar's desire to learn the Hindu doctrines caused him to have the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana* and the other Hindu scriptures translated into Persian, and his friend, Faiḍī, compiled for his instruction a treatise on the *Vedānta* philosophy. Akbar allowed his Hindu wives to have the ceremonies of their religion performed in the royal palace, and under their influence and that of the Brahmans whose society he cultivated, he adopted several Hindu practices, e. g. he abstained from the eating of beef, and on certain festivals he wore the Brahmanical cord and had his forehead marked like a Hindu sectary. Djahāngīr had none of the religious earnestness of his father, but he kept up the Hindu customs that Akbar had adopted and observed such Hindu festivals as the Diwālī, or feast of lights, and on Siva-rātri, (or Siva's night), would invite Hindu yogis to the palace and eat and drink with them. A more earnest and sympathetic student of Hindu thought was Djahāngīr's grandson, Dārā Shikōh [q. v.], who diligently cultivated the society of Hindu yogis, and as a result of this intercourse (he tells us) came to the conclusion that the divergence between the doctrines of the Hindu pantheists and those of the Muslim Ṣūfīs was merely verbal; with the object of reconciling the two systems, he wrote his *Madjmaʿ al-Baḥrain*; he also translated, or had translated for him, into Persian, several works of Hindu metaphysics, including the *Upanishads* (under the title *Sirr-i Akbar*). The large number of such translations from Sanskrit and Hindi into Persian, that were made from time to time (see, Ethé, *Cat. Pers. MSS. I. O.*, nº. 1928 sqq.; *Grundr. der iran. Philologie*, ii. 352—7), bears evidence to the interest which many Muhammadans took in the beliefs of their Hindu fellow-subjects, and in mysticism especially they found a common basis for religious thought. Muslim saints numbered many Hindus among their disciples, and thousands of Hindus still worship at their tombs; on the other hand Hindu ascetics, though less rarely, numbered some Muhammadans among their spiritual pupils. Instances are not unknown of friendship between saints of the rival creeds, e. g. at Ghōsī (in the Pandjāb) the tombs of two ascetics, Djamālī Sulṭān and Diyāl Bhawan, who lived in close amity during the early part of the 19th cent., stand close to one another and are reverenced by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. (Bhagwant Dās, *Djīvan Caritra Srībhagat Diyāl Bhāvanjī* (Lahore, 1900)). Bāwa Fatḥū (*circ.* 1700), a Muslim saint whose tomb is at Rānītāl (in the Kāngra District), received the gift of prophecy by the blessing of a Hindu saint, Sōḍhī Guru Gulāb Singh. On the other hand Bābā Shāhānā, a Hindu saint whose cult is observed in the Djhang District, is said to have been the *murīd* or spiritual disciple of a Muslim *faḳīr* who changed the original name, Mīhra, of his Hindu follower into Mīr Shāh. With a still more remarkable liberality, some Muslim theologians have admitted into their system the gods of the Hindu pantheon, on the ground that the Ḳurʾān (xiii. 8; xvi. 38) teaches that God has sent a prophet to every nation, to guide it into the truth; thus (to give one instance only, from modern literature,) one of the present guardians of the shrine of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā, — himself a descendant of this saint, — maintains that the life and teachings of Rāma, Krishna and Buddha clearly show that they are the prophets

referred to in the Ḳur'ān, though no express mention is made there of India; for it cannot be supposed that God would have made so vast a country an exception to the operation of His general rule. (Ḥasan Niẓāmī, *Hindūstān ke do paighambar Rām o Krishn, ʿalaihimā al-salām*, p. 3 (Lahore, 1325 H.)). The Muhammadan poets of Bengal went still further in their recognition of Hindu theology, e. g. ʿAlāol (*flor.* 17th cent.) sang the praises of Śiva, and Mīrzā Ḥusain ʿAlī composed hymns in honour of the goddess Kālī. (Dinesh Čandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 626, 795 (Calcutta, 1911)).

Owing to the fact that the Muslims in India have lived for centuries in close contact with Hindus and are themselves to a large extent descended from Hindu converts, it is not surprising that Islām in India presents certain characteristics peculiar to this country. The process of conversion was often incomplete, and the converts, ill-instructed in their new faith, carried with them many of their old beliefs and practices. The sacred sites of the earlier faith continued under a changed name to be frequented by pious persons; this has happened in the case of Buddhist shrines in the Gandhāra country, and to an enormous extent in Kashmīr, where a Muhammadan *ziyārat* frequently marks the site of a Hindu *tīrtha*; it is then often stated to be the tomb of a saint, e. g. the tomb of Bāmadīn Ṣāḥib, a popular place of pilgrimage for Muhammadans in Kashmīr, has been identified with an ancient Hindu temple built by Bhīma Śāhi, the last Hindu king of Kābul (ob. 1026); the saint is now said to have been a Hindu ascetic, and to have borne the name of Bhūma Sādhi, before his conversion to Islām (*Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, translated by M. A. Stein, i. 240 (Westminster, 1900); A. Foucher, *Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhâra*, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, i. 333 *sq.* (Hanoi, 1901)). Such survivals from Hinduism are more marked in villages and country districts, remote from the influence of the ʿulamāʾ; here the Musulmans still continue to worship the tutelary godlings of the village, join in Hindu festivals and employ Brahmans at their marriage ceremonies. (For details see *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, i. 314 *sqq.*). This close association with Hindus has also led to the formation of some mixed sects, which attempt to bring about a reconciliation between Hindus and Muhammadans; among these are the Pīrzādas, a sect founded by Muhammad Shāh Dūlhā (about the middle of the 17th cent.), whose tomb is at Bahādurpūr (in the Central Provinces); he compiled a book containing a selection of passages from both the Hindu and Muslim scriptures and adopted as a supreme deity the tenth incarnation of Vishṇu, which is to come and is known in the sect as Nishkalanki, "the sinless one". The Ḥusainī Brahmans call themselves followers of the Atharva Vēda, but ask for alms in the name of Ḥusain; they adopt such of the doctrines of Islām as are not contrary to Hindu teachings, and observe Muslim customs, even keeping the fast of Ramaḍān, and have a special devotion to the saint, Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī of Adjmīr; the men dress like Musulmans, the women like Hindus. The Kartābhadjās, the members of a sect (founded in Bengal in the 18th cent.), who call their creed the Satya Dharma (*true faith*), include both Hindus and Musulmans, and in this sect a Muhammadan may even become the spiritual guide of a Brahman. The Saṅdjogīs, the Pāṅčpīriyās and the Lālbēgīs are similar sects on the borderland between Hinduism and Islām. A like syncretism shows itself in the teaching of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion (see T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. *Sikhism*), and would seem to have originated the worship of the Pānč Pīr [q. v.]. Such an approximation is sometimes indicative of the incompleteness of the process of conversion, as in the case of the Malkānās in Agra and the adjoining districts, who are converts to Islām but are reluctant to describe themselves as Musulmans; their names are Hindu and they use the salutation *Rām Rām*; they mostly worship in Hindu temples, but sometimes frequent a mosque, practise circumcision and bury their dead. Such imperfect conversion has rendered possible the recent return to Hinduism of the descendants of such converts. In 1880, about 260 families of Mātia Kanbīs, whose ancestors were converted in the 15th cent. by Imām Shāh [q. v.] of Pīrāna, formed themselves into a separate caste, calling themselves Vaishṇava Mātias, gave up all Muhammadan customs, employed Brahman priests and refused to eat with their Muhammadan brethren, the Pīrāna Mātias. The Ārya Samādj has been very active in the work of re-conversion, and one of the societies affiliated to it, called the Rādjpūt Śuddhi Sabhā, having for its chief object the reconversion of Muhammadan Rādjpūts to Hinduism, claims to have converted to the beliefs of the Ārya Samādj as many as 1052 of such Rādjpūts in the three years, 1907 to 1910. This change has been facilitated by the fact that intermarriage with Hindus has been common (esp. among the Čawhāns in the Eastern Pandjāb) and the tribal bond with Hindu sections of the tribe has always been stronger than any difference of religion.

6. Literature. Muslim India has always preserved a learned tradition and the study of Arabic has been diligently pursued by the ʿulamāʾ, but their literary activity in this language has been largely confined to commentaries, — on the Ḳur'ān and Ḥadīth, on the works of fiḳh, grammar, rhetoric, etc., commonly read by students. Among the commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, mention may be made of Faiḍī's [q. v.] *tour de force* entitled *Sawāṭiʿ al-ilhām*, in which all letters with diacritical points were avoided. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkōtī was an industrious commentator, who enjoyed the patronage of the emperor Shāhdjahān. Muḥibb Allāh al-Bihārī (ob. 1707) [q. v.] compiled a treatise on jurisprudence, *al-Musallam*, and another on logic, *Sullam al-ʿUlūm*, which became favourite text-books, and generations of commentators wrote glosses upon them. Another industrious commentator was Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (ob. 1810) [q. v.]. An important contribution to legal literature was *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīrī*, a collection of legal opinions by Ḥanafī jurists, compiled by Shaikh Niẓām and others in the reign of the emperor Awrangzēb. The greater part of the historical and mystical literature of Muslim India was written in Persian, but among Arabic writings mention may be made of *Tuḥfat al-Mudjāhidīn*, an account of the Muhammadans of Malabar, by Shaikh Zain al-Dīn (ed. D. Lopes, Lisbon, 1898), and *al-Djawāhir al-Khamsa* by Muḥammad Ghawth [q. v.] (Hi-

biography: Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, II. 219 *sqq.*, 415 *sqq.*, 503 *sq.*; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan, *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*; Catalogues of Libraries in India, e. g. Niẓām's Library (Haiderābād), Rāmpūr Library, Public Library, Bankipur, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, etc.). But the chief literary language of the Indian Muhammadans has been Persian [q. v.], which in modern times has been replaced by Urdū [q. v.] as a literary medium. Works written in the above languages have a vogue among educated Muhammadans throughout the whole peninsula, but there is also a considerable literature, consisting mainly of didactic and religious writings, translations, poetry and romances, in many of the provincial vernaculars, e. g. Bengālī, Gudjarātī, Hindī, Pandjābī, Pashtu, Sindhī, Tamil, etc. (v. separate articles).

7. Education. During the Muhammadan period, the condition of learning was apt to vary with the goodwill of the sovereign, but from the earliest period of Muhammadan rule scholars received generous patronage from the state. Muhammad Ghōrī founded *madrasas* in Adjmīr immediately after the conquest and his general, Muhammad b. Bakhtyār did the same in Bengal, and the example thus set by the early conquerors was followed by the majority of their successors, though instances are not unknown of the hostility or indifference of a ruler resulting in a corresponding decay of learning. But private benevolence was not lacking to supplement the generosity of princes; the remains of the vast *madrasa* built by Maḥmūd Gāwān in 1478—1479 are still standing at Bīdar, and that founded by Māham Anagah, the nurse of Akbar, in 1561, in the vicinity of Dihlī. From the outset these *madrasas* were well provided with learned teachers, and the devastations of the Mongols caused many scholars to take refuge in India, where they carried on the traditions that had made Muslim learning so famous in the West. The largest of these *madrasas* were naturally to be found in the chief centres of government, and the students trained in them became teachers in the *maktabs* and mosque-schools that existed in most Muhammadan villages up to modern times. The decay of the Muhammadan rule and the consequent loss of patronage led to a decline in Muslim learning. Warren Hastings attempted to arrest this decline by establishing a Madrasa in Calcutta in 1781; but the older type of education no longer fitted persons for employment in government service, with the disappearance of Persian as the official language and the substitution of English in the higher courts, and the vernacular language of the various provinces, in the lower courts. In 1835 Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India, established the policy of promoting education in the English language; while this policy was warmly supported by the Hindus, the Muhammadans almost entirely held aloof from the English schools and colleges, preferring a system of learning in harmony with their own faith, and thinking that English education induced a spirit of disbelief in religion. From time to time the Government of India proposed measures for dealing with the backward condition of education among the Muhammadans, and laid down the lines of policy to be pursued in Resolutions of 1871, 1885, 1888, 1894, and 1913, and liberal grants-in-aid have been given to colleges, such as that of Aligarh [q. v.], and other educational establishments, and scholarships granted to Muhammadan students. The total number of Muhammadan pupils under instruction in all classes of educational institutions in 1912 was 1 562 000. Of the various religious communities in India, the Muhammadan on the whole exhibits a greater degree of illiteracy than any other, with the exception of the Animistic tribes; only 60 men, and 4 women, per thousand are able to read and write. This backward condition of the Muhammadans generally is largely due to the low level of education in the parts of the country (e. g. the North-West of India and Eastern Bengal), where they are chiefly to be found. In the ancient centres of Muslim civilisation, their level of education is as high or even higher than that of the Hindus, and the number of Muhammadans attending the Universities is yearly on the increase.

Bibliography: N. N. Law, *The Promotion of Learning during Muhammadan Rule* (London, 1916); G. W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Panjab* (Calcutta, 1883); Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1900); Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India* (Aligarh, 1895); *Quinquennial Reviews of the Progress of Education in India* (since 1886).

8. Art. Space does not admit of any account being given here of the vast artistic activity of the Muhammadans in India, and reference must therefore be made to the literature on the subject. — Architecture: The architectural monuments of Muhammadan India are chiefly mosques and tombs (in large numbers), and some palaces in the chief cities. The early conquerors made use of materials taken from the Hindu and Djain temples etc. which they had destroyed, and employed Hindu workmen to erect buildings suited to the requirements of Muslim worship. In the great mosques at Adjmīr and Old Dihlī, built at the beginning of the 13th cent., Hindu pillars were re-erected without any alteration, except that dissimilar fragments were sometimes put together; while on the great gateways of the enclosures was lavished a wealth of ornamentation and of stately Arabic inscriptions, which mark out these buildings as among the most richly decorated examples of Muhammadan architecture in India. After this superb beginning followed a rapid development of architectural forms, varying considerably in the several independent kingdoms that arose in the different parts of India occupied by the Muhammadan conquerors. Of these local styles as many as thirteen have been enumerated. They vary from the stern and massive tombs of the early kings of Dihlī and the grand simplicity of the towering mosques of Djawnpūr, to the studied elegance and exquisite detail of ornamentation in the buildings of Aḥmadābād, and the degenerate tawdriness of Lakhnaw. For some account of the architectural monuments in these various localities, the reader is referred to the articles under the name of each, e. g. Bīdjāpūr, Dihlī, Djawnpūr etc.; but space has been found for a separate article on MOGHAL ARCHITECTURE, which was not limited to a single locality. — *Bibliography*: Reports and other publications of the *Archaeological Survey of India*; Gustave Le Bon, *Les Monuments de l'Inde* (Paris, 1893); J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. J. Burgess (London,

1910); E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture* (London, 1913); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. ii. chap. V (with bibliography). — Painting: Few examples of Muhammadan painting in India before the 16th cent. are known, but under the patronage of Akbar and his successors Indian artists produced a vast quantity of pictures, sometimes as separate works of art, but mostly as illustrations of manuscripts; the *mathnawī*'s of Niẓāmī, and romances both in poetry and prose, were frequently illustrated; but the Mughal school of painting excelled particularly in portraiture, and a large number of vivid and realistic portraits of the monarchs and courtiers of this dynasty has been preserved. The influences under which these artists worked were partly connected with the school of painters that enjoyed the patronage of the Tīmūrid princes, — and painters who preserved the tradition of this school were undoubtedly attracted into India, — but to a larger measure with indigenous Hindu art. European paintings and engravings were also sedulously copied and their influence can be traced in many pictures of the Mughal school. The majority of these pictures are unsigned, but some bear the names of the artists, e. g. Mīr Saiyid ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and other Musulmāns who painted for Akbar, — Manṣūr and Muḥammad Nādir, among the artists patronised by Djahāngīr, etc. — *Bibliography*: E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Part ii. (London, 1908); Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, chap. xiv. (Oxford, 1911); F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, chap. ix. (London, 1912); A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (with bibliography), (London, 1913). — Calligraphy: The art of the calligrapher was held in high honour in India, as in other parts of the Muhammadan world, and many mosques and tombs are decorated with inscriptions that reveal a superb mastery of the Arabic script. The same skill was shown in the copying of manuscripts, both Arabic and Persian, and monarchs and nobles vied with one another in their patronage of expert calligraphists. Some of these were attracted to India from other countries, e. g. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, known as Shīrīn Ḳalam, from Shīrāz, who was patronised by Humāyūn and Akbar; Mīr Khalīl Allāh, who went from ʿIrāḳ to the court of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II of Bīdjāpūr (987—1035 A. H.); Saiyid ʿAlī Khān, of Tabrīz, known as Djawāhir Raḳam, whom Awrangzīb appointed to teach his sons the art of penmanship. Under the influence of these and other masters in the art, a long series of native calligraphists was trained, who only slowly gave way before the introduction of the printing press. — *Bibliography*: *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (with bibliography) (Calcutta, 1908 *sqq.*); Ghulām Muḥammad Dihlawī, *Tadhkira-i Khwush-nawīsān*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusain (Bibl. Ind.) (Calcutta, 1910); C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman* (Paris, 1908). — Metal-work, Textiles etc.: *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (London, 1886 *sqq.*); Sir George C. M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880); T. N. Mukharji, *Art-Manufactures of India* (Calcutta, 1888); Maurice Maindron, *L'Art Indien* (Paris, 1898); Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi* (Calcutta, 1903); H. Saladin et G. Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, ii. (Paris, 1907); A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, chap. xii. (London, 1913); and the Monographs on Arts and Industries published by the Provincial Governments in India. — Garden design: C. M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals* (London, 1913).

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For newspapers see the art. DJARĪDA, iv.

(T. W. ARNOLD.)

INDIES (DUTCH EAST) comprise the Malay Archipelago and the western half of New Guinea as far as Long. 141°, except for the north coast of Borneo, which is English, the Philippines, which belong to the United States, and Portuguese East Timor. These Dutch colonies thus include thousands of islands which run from the largest in the world such as New Guinea and Borneo to archipelagoes of the smallest coral islands. From the geographical point of view they are divided into the Great Sunda Islands (Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and Java) with the archipelagoes belonging to them); Little Sunda Islands (Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Sumba, Savu, Rotti, and Timor with the surrounding islands), the Moluccas (Hal-

mahera with Ternate, Tidore, Makian, and Batjan, Sula Islands, Buru, Seram, Ambon, and Banda) and New-Guinea with the adjoining groups of islands such as Misol, Waigeu, Batanta, and Salawati in the west, and Kei, Timor-Laut, and Aru in the south-west. The area is about 35031 geogr. sq. miles. The whole area of the Dutch East Indies is as large as that of Europe without Central and Northern Russia.

The conditions of life in this island world are very much influenced by its position under the equator, between Asia and Australia, and between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, surrounded by warm seas everywhere. The formation and origin of the land is also of special importance. The form and situation of the larger islands is a result of the fold mountains which arise on the edge of the area of depression in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. One such range on the west and south edge of the Archipelago supports the islands of Sumatra, Java, and the Little Sunda Islands; the chain of mountains which crosses Borneo from west to east runs parallel to it. Celebes and the eastern islands as far as New Guinea show similar systems of folding which cross one another, being dependent on these two areas. The relative wealth of the larger islands in precious metals and other ores, which, like gold and silver, attracted foreign nations in quite early times, and like tin, which is now an important source of revenue to the government and to great mining companies, is due to the predominance of these chains of mountains formed of sedimentary and granitic rocks. Other valuable minerals, such as petroleum and anthracite, which are exploited on Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, come from the tertiary strata, which are common in the East Indies.

Of still greater importance is the volcanic nature of this chain of mountains, which is most marked on the series of islands from Sumatra to Timor and through its weathered eruptive products causes the unusually great fertility of those islands. Besides the very numerous volcanoes, the volcanic plateaus in Sumatra and the alluvial plains of volcanic origin (Sumatra and Java) are among the most highly cultivated and thickly populated regions of the East Indies. The island of Celebes and the Moluccas are also very volcanic.

Next to folding of strata and volcanic effects, coral has the greatest share in the formation of mountains in the Archipelago. From the very earliest period of the earth, countless coral reefs have been formed in these tropical seas in the shallows, where there is sufficient oxygen, light and temperature (about 22° cent.) and the process is still going on. The growth of the coral reefs is caused not only by the coral polypi but also by molluscs, chalk algae, diatomeae, and many other organisms. The Indian calciferous ranges formed by these reefs thus very rarely yield pure marble. In the course of time this part of the earth's surface has been subjected to great upheavals and depressions so that the old coral reefs have either been transformed into vast calciferous mountains of varying age or, although they could only be formed in the upper regions of the water, are now found at a great depth. On all the Great Sunda Islands one now finds those limestone mountains which are marked by infertility as are often also the neighbouring plains. The small islands formed of coral rock are also very numerous, which have recently become very important through the cultivation of the cocoa-nut palm. The caves washed out of the calciferous rocks supply the edible swallows' (of the Salanga kind) nests eaten by the Chinese.

Living coral reefs are found on almost all the rocky coasts of the Archipelago and in shallows in the high seas.

The climate of the Indies is a moist tropical one and besides being fertile produces a very exuberant vegetation. It renders possible the cultivation of the most valuable tropical plants such as sugar cane, tobacco, spices, indigo, etc. The most important factor for agriculture in the tropics is the rainfall. Only at isolated places is this less than 76 inches in the year, the minimum for the growth of tropical forests. The usual fall is 160—180 inches. In the north of Central Java as much as 360 inches a year has been recorded.

The situation between Asia and Australia causes a climate affected by the monsoons, the result of which is that, during our summer, dry winds from the east and southeast prevail and, during our winter, winds from the west and northwest with a rainy season predominate; in our spring and autumn changing winds form a transition.

The dry monsoon is strongest in the southeast: Timor and the adjoining islands have six or more months of drought each year, for which the winds from Australia are responsible. In the north and west this dryness of the wind is more or less alleviated by the greater breadth of the sea crossed and the vapours which the heat raises from it. The Moluccas, Celebes, Borneo, Java, and Sumatra thus feel this drought less and are more suitable for intensive agriculture throughout the year. Central and Northern Sumatra lie outside the monsoon area. The characteristic tropical temperature of about 27° Cent. with only slight variations in a day or year of ± 5° prevails only in the plains. In western Java at a height of 1800 feet it is much lower (23°) and shows greater variations and thus we have a subtropical climate. The cultivation of tea, coffee, Chinese and European vegetables is possible here. In other countries the transition varies more rapidly, for example on Borneo. These climatic conditions have favoured the growth of tropical forests, which must originally have covered the Greater Sunda Islands entirely, till man destroyed them, almost entirely on Java, in part on Sumatra, and only to a small extent in Borneo. Even at the beginning of our era mention is made of the products of the Sumatra bush, such as camphor and benzoic. In the last 60 years the great demand in Europe for products like rubber, guttapercha, rotan etc. has resulted in an economic revolution through the increased prosperity of the native population on Sumatra and Borneo.

The flora of the southeast on the other hand is of a prairie and savannah nature. Sandalwood has from ancient times been an important article of export here. The flora and fauna of these islands are predominantly determined by the proximity of Asia in the west and Australia and New Guinea in the east. The connections by land between Asia and the Great Sunda Islands existed for a long time, and Asiatic animals and plants were thus able to spread over them. There were also connections by land with Australia and New Guinea in the east, so that their plants and animals are

now found farther west on the Moluccas, etc. These alone have thus become the home of spices like nutmegs and cloves. Of Asiatic animals the tiger is found on Borneo, Java, and Bali, the elephant on Sumatra, the tapir on Sumatra and Java, monkeys on Sumatra, Borneo, and Java, only one kind on Celebes, and none farther east. Wild cattle are found in the woods of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo and Bali. On the other hand, the Moluccas possess no genuine mammals, but only the Australian marsupials, of which two kinds are found as far westwards as Celebes. One also finds the birds of the east even on this island, such as parrots and cockatoos, only the cassowaries and birds of paradise are not found till farther east. Thus these two opposite worlds have penetrated the archipelago somewhat disproportionately.

Population: The population of the Dutch Indies, numbering at present 44 millions belongs, with the exception of the Papuans of New Guinea and the surrounding region and isolated remnants of an earlier Vedda people, like the Toala in Celebes, to the Malay-Polynesian race which spread from Madagascar to Easter Island and from South Japan to Java. The archipelagoes between Celebes and New Guinea with the eastern Little Sunda Islands are inhabited by a cross between Malays and Papuans which is known as the Alfurs. The Malay type is only found in the interior of Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes, still comparatively pure. South eastern Asia has been indicated as the original home of the Malays. Linguistically they seem still to have left traces in the south of British India. If one remembers that the Polynesians must also have reached their present abodes by crossing the Malay Archipelago and that even Ptolemy mentions the man-eating Bataks of North Sumatra, it is clear that present conditions must be the results of thousands of years of migrations. In addition to the powerful influence of foreign peoples who arrived in later times and the influence of surrounding peoples, this affords an explanation of the complicated conditions in the varied population of these islands. Two groups are distinguished among the Malays of the Archipelago: an older stratum, the Bataks of Sumatra, the Dayaks of Borneo, and the Toradja of Celebes, and a younger stratum, which was more exposed to admixture in the foreign elements. The type of the latter is the Menangkabau Malays of Central Sumatra and it includes the Atjeh of North Sumatra, the Riaw Malays in the Riaw Archipelago, the Malays of the coasts of Sumatra and Borneo, the Javanese, the Balinese, and the coast peoples of the Moluccas. The Makassars and the Buginese [q. v.] are supposed to be Toradja greatly mixed with foreign elements. The present Minahassa are Toradja who have been educated by Christianity during the last 70 years. The Alfurs include the inland tribes of Halmahera and the neighbourhood, of Buru and Ceram and the adjoining small islands, of Timor, Flores, Sumba, and Sumbawa. The Buginese, who have been seafarers for centuries, have contributed a great deal to the admixture of the coast peoples of the whole Archipelago.

All these peoples are for the most part settled agriculturists; on the great rivers and on the seashore however the Malays prefer to fish and trade (previously they were also pirates). The people of the Archipelago as a rule only work when necessity drives them. They often appear lazy to us on account of their slight wants and the conditions of tropical life. The original Malays, like the Bataks, Dayaks, and Toradja, as well as the Alfurs and Papuans show a state of society broken up into very many small tribes. Each tribe forms a separate social unit, which as a result of war, feuds, or mistrust is only rarely on constant terms of intercourse with its neighbours and thus develops independently. The result is a great variety of languages, manners, and customs.

The patriarchal constitution of these tribes frequently includes a ruling family, freemen, and slaves. In the east among the Papuans and related tribes there appear to be no chiefs. Among the Malays they are chosen from the ruling family, most frequently the eldest son; if necessity arises, a daughter may be chosen. They manage the affairs of the tribe with the elders. The slaves (slavery is now abolished) usually come from prisoners of war or are slaves through debt. They are frequently considered the property of the tribe and then are allotted to the chiefs. They are well treated and often enter the ranks of the freedmen through marriage. They were rarely sold. For human sacrifices prisoners of war were used or men infirm through old age, who were purchased from the coast Malays. Slavery is now the exception even among the most remote tribes.

The density of this older stratum, including the Alfurs and Papuans, is very slight, from 3 to 4 per square mile. As the birth rate is not small, the main causes of the sparsity of population are the terrible devastations wrought by such illnesses as malaria, cholera, smallpox, dysentry and venereal diseases among these tribes, and their low development which makes them unable to take advantage of the not unfavourable conditions for agriculture, making clothes and homes, hunting and fishing, so that they often lead a very mean existence amid the luxurious tropical surroundings. Although each member of the tribe has collected a number of observations from his own experience he has no ability to co-ordinate facts. He has no idea of the nature of diseases and their cure, of the life and growth of man, animals or plants. Although well endowed intellectually, these men only develop (again, as a result of their social isolation) to a certain limited degree. In their little societies each household has to procure everything it requires. There is no division of labour and special ability or achievement gain no important advantages. Their intellectual capacities are not a little affected by their sanitary and economic conditions. Nevertheless, each of these tribes shows great ability in the field of industry or social institutions.

Animism is here also the characteristic religion, which prevails with its disadvantageous accompanying phenomena such as spiritualism, fetish worship, *pemali* or *tabu* restrictions, and belief in omens, among these primitive Malays, Alfurs, and Papuans. It of course assumes very varied forms among the numerous peoples but everywhere it strengthens the above mentioned causes of the sparseness of population. As about two thousand years of Hinduism and Mohammedanism have not withdrawn the higher developed peoples of the Archipelago from the influence of animistic beliefs, its disadvantageous influence on their fur-

this development can hardly be overestimated.

Among these heathen peoples are still parts of the Bataks, Dayaks, and Toradja, and almost all the Alfurs and Papuans.

The above rather detailed sketch of this old Malay population is important, just because we are probably not wrong in thinking that the whole population of the Archipelago at the beginning of our era was so constituted. But then began the overwhelming influence of Hinduism.

During the reign of the Emperor Augustus, pepper, cloves, and nutmegs were sent to Rome via the Red Sea, as Pliny mentions. The trade routes between southern Asia and the archipelago were thus known. Ptolemy in his *Geography* gives a whole series of names which refer to this Archipelago. He knows the name of the harbour of Pansur or Baros, from which the Sumatra camphor was exported and he also knows of the man-eating Bataks of North Sumatra.

We can thus conclude that even then the influence of the Hindu trading peoples must have made itself felt in the Archipelago. We also here find an explanation of the stories of the Buddhist monk Fa-Hien, who landed in Java in 412 A.D. on his return voyage from Ceylon to China, remained five months there, and clearly found a Brahman society there but no Chinese and very few Buddhists. Several kingdoms of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo are mentioned at later dates in the Chinese annals. According to an inscription in the modern Kedu, in Central Java, Çivaism prevailed there in the Çaka year 654 = 732 A.D. Soon afterwards we find the Mahayana there and, as ruins of temples and inscriptions prove, both religions continued peacefully beside one another on the island for several centuries till about the end of the Hindu period in the Archipelago, about 1500 A.D. These ruins have been found on Sumatra, Java, the coast of Borneo, Southern Celebes and the Lesser Sunda Islands, although they are by far the most numerous on Java. Besides these proofs of the earlier influence of Hinduism the modern languages, by their scripts and vocabularies give evidence of its spread at an earlier period. The alphabets used by the modern Javanese, Bataks, South Sumatrans, Balinese, Makassars, and Buginese are derived from Hindu alphabets and there are many Indian words in the languages of these peoples. There are many remnants of Hindu culture in manners and customs also.

Java [q. v.] was certainly the centre of Hindu rule and from this island Hindu influence for the longest period made itself felt in the Archipelago. If one remembers how much higher the civilisation of the Hindus was than that above described of the Malay peoples, one can understand that, during the period of over a thousand years when Hinduism prevailed, a great change must have taken place in the conditions of life in the Archipelago. This was very marked in the political field also; despotic kingdoms arose out of the disconnected patriarchal tribes, such as the Europeans found in Sumatra, Java, the coasts of Borneo, southern Celebes, and in Bali and Lombok, and among the Malays farther east also. At that period also arose the division into castes which is still found on Bali and Lombok and the effects of which can still be traced in Java.

In the economic field, agriculture, shipping, commerce, and industry developed. The introduction of writing must have given a great incentive to progress. What a permanent advance was made by these alterations in the Archipelago is shown by the height of development of these peoples, whose density of population is also much greater (up to 100 per sq. mile).

The influence of Hinduism on religion assumed a very peculiar form. We have discussed above the characteristic features that animism possesses in the Archipelago and what a crippling influence it has had upon the conditions of life of the Malay, Alfur, and Papuan populations. If one remembers how much higher are the ideas and philosophies underlying the Indian religions, one expects that these would have considerably altered the views of the Malays of the Archipelago. But the actual facts are quite different. As already mentioned, their mental attitude is, generally speaking, determined by their animistic ideas and even the most educated peoples, like the Javanese, are still much influenced by the belief in *pamali* and omens. The peculiar social institutions of the Hindus are probably the main cause of this. What we admire as the highest in the religions of India was and is only the property of the highest castes. The masses of the present Hindu peoples have by no means lost their animistic beliefs. It was presumably not the most educated classes in the Brahman and Buddhist kingdoms that undertook as merchants the dangerous journeys to the Indian Archipelago and settled there. It would hardly be possible for these colonists radically to transform the popular beliefs. In the powerful Hindu kingdoms of Java and the other islands of a later date the great religious problems were no doubt studied as in the mother country, but probably only among the priests, and the masses were little affected thereby.

The people of British India also had too little insight into the relations of the phenomena of nature to be able to destroy animistic beliefs to any considerable extent. They were as little able to do so after the introduction of Islām.

Although the religious beliefs were little influenced, the ceremonial and vocabulary of religion were transformed during the Hindu period. Among the above-mentioned peoples which were most subjected to this influence the animistic gods and spirits are given Hindu names, as will be shown below in reference to Java. The manner of worship of this world of spirits also exhibits many Indian forms. What form spiritual conditions in the Hindu kingdoms of the Archipelago took can best be seen in the islands of Bali [q. v.] and Lombok, which are still Hindu.

Islām. When the natives of British India in part became converts to Islām, its influence also spread in the Archipelago through the merchants who visited these islands and settled on them, at least during a monsoon or longer, and often married a native wife, who had first of all to adopt Islām, and thus a considerable influence over her family and tribe was gained. Among the simple peasants of the country the far travelled, experienced strangers enjoyed a certain prestige, which even now contributes a great deal to the spread of Islām in pagan countries. To become one of these men has a great attraction for the heathen and this makes it easy for him to adopt Islām. This was true in a less degree of the Hindu Malays and they therefore were not so affected by Muhammadan influences as the pagan Malays.

We know little that is certain of the beginning of this movement. Unfortunately the Malay and Javanese historians are little trustworthy and thus the accounts by Marco Polo (end of the xiiith century) and of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q. v.] (middle of the xivth century) of the Muslim kingdom of Pasei on the north coast of Sumatra form the first reliable material to go upon. Islām spread rapidly along the east coast of Sumatra, for in the second half of the xivth century Indragiri and Djambi are said to have been vassal states of Malacca. In 1377 Palembang was regained by the Hindu Javanese. The interior remained too long pagan and in parts is so still. It was probably due to the power of the Hindu Menangkabau kingdom on the west coast that Islām here met with more continued resistance, which was first broken from Atjeh. Not till the xviith century did the conversion of the south coast of Sumatra begin and that of the interior only in the xviiith century. The people in the mountains of Palembang are still little affected by Islām.

Native traditions give us no exact data for the spread of Islām in the island of Java. But we know from European sources that the great trading centres of the north coast like Djapara, Tuban, Grĕsik, and Surabaya at first formed principalities half or entirely independent of the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit, and that in the first half of the xvith century, in alliance with the prince of Dĕmak, they took the capital Majapahit. It was not till then that the considerable kingdom of Dĕmak was founded and later that of Pajan and finally that of Mataram. By the conquest of these kingdoms the conversion of the whole island to Islām made rapid progress.

Beside these secular states the princes of Giri at Grĕsik long held power which was based on religious prestige.

Soon after the fall of Majapahit a powerful movement in favour of Islām began on western Java of which we have fairly reliable accounts from the Portuguese de Barros, Pinto, and Couto. In the then Hindu kingdom of Padjadjaran Muslim merchants must have been long settled. The first foundation of a Muslim kingdom there was however the result of the efforts of a scholar from Pasei, who is now called Sunan Gunung Djati from his tomb at Tjirĕbon. He left his native town of Pasei in 1521 to study for three years in Mecca. He afterwards arrived in Djapara in Central Java and preached here with such success that he was allowed to marry a sister of the king of Dĕmak. He then went to Bantĕn in West Java, converted the governor here and with the help of Dĕmak gained the political power here also and in 1527 took Sunda Kalapa, the modern Batavia, from the king of Padjadjaran. This kingdom of Padjadjaran still existed in the interior, when he migrated to Tjirĕbon about 1546 and he must have died there about 1570. His grave on Gunung Djati is still highly venerated. He is also one of the eight or nine walī who, according to native tradition, spread Islām over Java. His son Hasanuddin (Ḥasan al-Dīn) was the ancestor of the princes of Bantĕn [q. v.] and lived till about 1570. His son Yusup (Yūsuf) succeeded about 1570 in capturing Pakuwan, the capital of Padjadjaran.

At the present day the native population of Java, numbering 33,000,000, is Muslim. The only exception is formed by Christians (about 10,000) and the two little hill peoples of the Badui in the west and the Tĕnggĕrese in the east who have remained faithful to the pre-Muhammadan tradition. The latter however frequently become converts to Islām.

On the island of Borneo [q. v.] the population of the west coast seems to have been converted from Palembang; on the south coast, on the Barito, probably from Java. The whole Malay population on the coasts and the great rivers is now Muslim and makes many converts among the still pagan Dayak tribes of the interior.

On the island of Celebes [q. v.] there are in the south the Muslim Makassars and the Buginese who were not converted till later. At the beginning of the xviith century their conversion began in Tello and Goa. They are all enthusiastic Muslims and have done much to spread their religion among the distant coast peoples of the east by their trading journeys and colonies. The Lesser Sunda Islands, Sumbawa and West Flores, which were formerly dependent on Goa, have certainly abandoned paganism through its influence.

The Moluccas in the north east of the Archipelago along with the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore adopted Islām very early, as a result of the spread of Islām by Muhammadan traders. This was the centre of the spice trade which attracted foreign traders so much. Under their influence Zainalabidin (Zain al-ʿĀbidīn), prince of Ternate, who ascended the throne in 1486, was converted, and also Prince Tjiliati of Tidore who reigned from 1495. They are called the first sulṭāns of their kingdoms, the second under the name of Djamaluddin.

The Alfur tribes in the interior of the larger islands like Halmaheira, Buru, Ceram, the Kei and Aru Archipelagoes, and Timor have remained heathen. Islām has only made little progress among the coast population of New Guinea.

The number of Muslims in the Archipelago is about 35 millions (in 1905, 35 034 025 of whom 29 605 653 were in Java), but they observe the precepts of their religion in very different ways. As is clear from the dates above given, Islām was introduced here when its system was already fully developed. Its characteristic features among these peoples took shape according to the country, British India, from which merchants or adventurers had contributed most to its spread. In British India Islām had already adapted itself to Hinduism and was thus all the more easily adaptable to the altered Hinduism of Java and Sumatra. The popular legends of the times of the Prophet and his first successors are modelled on those of India. In these tales as in individual customs of the Indonesian Muslims one can observe traces of the influence of the Shīʿa just as on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, where, as in the Indian Archipelago, in other respects the Sunnī, orthodox rite is followed, and in legal interpretation the Shāfiʿī school. Here as there, there is also a great love of mysticism, which among the more highly developed assumes a pantheistic form and among the lower classes is mixed with the strongest superstition.

The by no means slight influence of the Arabs was the result, not the cause of the conversion of the Malays in the Archipelago. Intercourse with the sacred cities Mecca and Medina increased steadily from the xviith century and a continually increasing number of young men remained there to

study. These and the Arabs who migrate to India from the poor district of Ḥaḍramawt (q. v.) often protest against the customs and ideas introduced from India.

As in other countries, Islām has here also adapted itself in a high degree to the views of the converts and therefore possesses several curious features. The mosque and its personnel forms even more than in other lands the centre of influence of this religion on the whole life of the people. There are Friday mosques in the more important places in Java, in Atjeh, and Central Sumatra; in the Malay districts of Borneo only in the chief towns, and among the Makassars and Buginese only in the capitals of the many principalities. In the east of the Archipelago they are rare. Smaller mosques in Java, Central Sumatra, and in Atjeh are fairly common. Only a small minority perform the *ṣalāt* here; on the other hand, a considerable assembly takes place during the two official festivals of Islām (see 'ĪD AL-AḌḤĀ and 'ĪD AL-FIṬR). The structure of the East Indian mosque is characterised by a broken roof which consists of two or four small roofs one above the other, crowned by a separate pinnacle. Only a few of the largest mosques have minarets. The *mu'adhdhin* (outside Java frequently called *bilāl*) sings his call to divine worship from this broken roof, but previously it is vigorously announced by the beating of a long wooden drum (*bĕdug* or *tabuh*).

The personnel of a mosque consists of at least four men: an *imām*, a *khaṭīb* (Jav. *kĕtip*), a *bilāl*, and a servant. There may however be as many as forty or even more. In the Dutch Indies these officials are not clergy any more than in other countries. In Java however they often carry out the duties of a ḳāḍī (Jav. *kali*) and perform wedding ceremonies, as they alone have the necessary qualifications. The outer gallery of the mosque (*serambi*) therefore becomes a court house for the settlement of all quarrels that are decided in these countries by religious law. In Java these include questions of marriage, family law and inheritance; the *panghulu* or chief of the mosque for this purpose sits with some qualified members of his staff, often on Thursdays. In 1882 the Dutch government regulated by law the *panghulu* courts and made them courts of justice (*Priesterraden*) with three to eight members.

These courts have in most cases to deal with complaints by women of insufficient attention or bad treatment from their husbands or to give official sanction to a request of a woman for divorce as a result of a previously pronounced conditional *ṭalāḳ* (*ta'līḳ*) [q. v.]. The Muslims of Indonesia have adopted the principle of a conditional *ṭalāḳ* as a corrective against the too great dependence of women according to Muslim law. In Java, Madura, and other islands it is a regular custom for the husband immediately after the marriage ceremony to secure for his wife the dissolution of the marriage by *ta'līḳ* in case he should not fulfil the obligations of a good husband. Only in the matriarchal people of Menangkabau and among the Achinese is this conditional *ṭalāḳ* not the custom, as the women there do not leave their family after marriage and remain more independent.

All that is acquired during marriage is in Java considered the joint property of the couple. On divorce therefore disputes as to its division thus frequently come before the *Priesterraad*. In cases of inheritance law the judges frequently demand 10% of the estate. *Waḳf* property is administered by these judges and quarrels about it settled by them. They appoint guardians for minors. They also appear as *walī*'s at the weddings of women who have not a *walī* available among their blood-relations.

The *zakāt* (Jav. Mal. *djakat*) to the Muhammadans of the Indies means principally the handing over of the tithes of the harvest of rice and similar fruits of the fields. Only in the Sunda countries (West-Java), Atjeh, Palembang, and some other districts of Sumatra do we find a kind of official collector. These however exercise no rights of compulsion regarding the collection. In other countries this religious duty is either entirely neglected or its fulfilment depends entirely on the degree of piety in the individual. Under various pretexts the staff of the mosque is able to get a considerable portion of the yield for themselves. Where the *zakāt* is delivered without an official collection, it is given by the pious to honoured scholars etc. At the time of the Atjeh war a considerable portion of the *zakāt* was expended on the "holy war".

The payment of *zakāt al-fiṭr*, the small poll tax ordered by law to be paid at the conclusion of the fast, is fairly general. It has practically assumed the character of a free-will offering.

The observance of the five daily *ṣalāt*'s varies considerably with place and time. In West-Java and South-east Borneo for example there are districts where almost every one of these services is regularly held. In Central Java and Atjeh they are neglected by the majority and those who observe them faithfully and at the same time refrain from the popular amusements banned by Islām, such as *gamĕlan*, *wayang*, dancing, *tandak* performances etc.) are given special names (*wong putihan*, *sĕbe*, *santri*) and distinguished from the great mass of the people (*wong abangan*, *bangsat*).

The fast of Ramaḍān (*puasa*) is more widely observed. The festivals at the end of it are celebrated as the most important of the year and regarded by Europeans as the Muhammadan New Year.

The *ḥadjdj* is very eagerly performed by the people of the Archipelago; in the last years (about 1913) the number of pilgrims was 20—30 000. These usually leave officially appointed harbours by European steamers for Djidda and return the same way. Of these multitudes, several young men always settle in Mecca for some years to devote themselves to religious studies. They form the Djawa colony there (about 7000 souls in 1914) and at their return home form the link which binds international Muhammadan culture with that of their native land.

The main characteristics in their religion or their conversion are considered by the Muslim natives to be circumcision and abstention from pork or alcohol. Of all religious duties these are the ones most punctiliously observed.

Elementary religious instruction (recitation of the Ḳur'ān and possibly practice in the *ṣalāt*) is given by the village "priests" or by other teachers. In many districts only a small number of boys and a still smaller number of girls receive this instruction.

In the larger centres of population there are scholars, who introduce pupils to a knowledge of Muslim learning in the mosque, in their own houses, or in a special building. The great reputation

of such a *guru* induces many young people from far and near to settle for a considerable time in his neighbourhood. Characteristic however are the institutes on their own ground, which as it were form separate villages, where students from various districts live together to devote themselves to study under the direction of one or more *guru's*. In Java these institutions are called *pĕsantrèn* (i. e. abodes of *santri*). They consist of the houses of the *guru's* with their families, and of *pondok's* or buildings, which are divided into two parts by a passage down the centre. Each of these consists of a row of cells, which serve as sleeping rooms and also as studies for two or more boys. The whole institute with its buildings and estates is often a foundation (*wakf*) by pious people; in Central Java there are frequently villages which were freed by former rulers from taxation, etc., and emancipated from all authority of the usual chiefs and dedicated as *pĕrdikan-desa's* exclusively to places of religious study.

In Atjeh such institutions are called *rangkang*, in Central Java *surau*. Their organisation shows some differences from that of the *pĕsantrèn*. In all these schools the young native Muslims are more or less initiated into the well known mediaeval cycle of Muslim learning: law, religion, and mysticism. The manuals used are the authoritatively accepted texts, which are translated from Arabic into a native language or read in the original itself. Advanced pupils also apply themselves to Kur'ānic exegesis, the sacred traditions, and their explanation, the theory of jurisprudence, etc. The period of study lasts from two to ten or more years, according to the goal aimed at by the *santri*. Those who study for a long time go from one *pĕsantrèn* to another to hear various distinguished scholars. In the country itself the more talented among them can make great progress in learning, but the greatest fortune that can befall the seeker after knowledge is to study in Mecca.

The Muslims of the Dutch Indies revere the international saints of Islām known to them. The main objects of their pilgrimages and vows however are their *walī's*, to whom is ascribed the introduction of their religion in their region. In Java they are the eight or nine *walī's* of the old trading-towns of the north coast, where the foreign Muslim merchants settled who first converted the native population in their neighbourhood. They also believe in patron saints of certain places and of certain spheres of daily life and, in opposition to the convictions of the educated believers, in trees, stones etc. being inhabited by spirits. There are also individuals who are worshipped as *keramat*, wonder-workers. Saiyids and shorfa reap advantages from these beliefs of the credulous multitude. No East Indian Muslim can conduct his affairs without the help of saints. The curing of a dear relative who is ill, the winning of the love of a woman, the blessing of getting children, protection of the harvest against insects, success of a son in a school examination, promotion of a native official to a higher post, appointment of a prince as heir apparent, all these and similar fortunate events are hoped for through the favour of saints and their intervention with Allāh, who is Himself enthroned too high to be directly approached with such requests. These often take the form of a conditional vow (*nadhr*, *kaul*, *niyat*, etc.). When a wish is fulfilled, the tomb of the saint is visited and recitations of the Kur'ān held, or a sacrificial animal is killed there, or a feast given or something else done which is known to be specially pleasing to the saints or some particular saint. The simple villager often promises something which he himself esteems very highly but which must be repulsive to the Muslim saint, such as the performance of a *wayang*. How much saints' graves were venerated in olden times in Java is seen from the fact that former rulers have freed certain villages from other burdens in return for the maintenance of these *astana's* (*pĕkuntjèn* villages).

From the earliest times the East Indian Muslims thought more of mysticism than the law, more of religious contemplation than of the fulfilment of ritual duties. The influence of Hinduism as well as the fact that it was Indians who sowed the first seeds of Islām favoured this tendency. In the tradition, frequently expressed in poetical language, of the eight or nine *walī's* of Java, pantheistic mystical sayings are attributed to some of them, and in the Malay poems of Hamza of Barus, whose doctrines won many adherents in the xviith century in North Sumatra and formed the subject of lively discussions at the court of Atjeh, the relation of man to God is described in erotic metaphors. In later times under the influence of Mecca and Ḥaḍramawt there was an increasing reaction on the part of orthodoxy against these heretical doctrines but this could not prevent works like the "Book of the Perfect Man" by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Djīlī [see AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL] continuing to be zealously read by a wide circle. Religiously inclined Javanese usually enter all kinds of quotations in private notebooks (*primbon's* in Java) which they consider suitable for the guidance of their daily life. Among these, pantheistic or even nihilistically coloured sayings are particularly common. Such wisdom is particularly in vogue under such names as *ilmu ḥaḳīḳat* (doctrine of the highest reality), "doctrine of the seven degrees of being", *ilmu salik*, "doctrine of the wanderer", i. e. on the path to reality. Half-educated people content themselves with learning some formulae by heart or with a kind of mystic catechism. Illiterates carry as amulets mystic figures with such sentences on them (*dawirah's*, from the Arabic *dā'ira*, circle).

Of the mystical orders (*ṭarīḳah's*) the Shaṭṭārīya gained the most adherents in Indonesia in the xvith—xviith centuries. It had then prominent representatives in Medina. It has since almost disappeared in the rest of the world of Islām, but still has many followers in the East Indies. Here it has adopted many heretical elements from popular beliefs. In later times the Ḳādirīya, Naḳshbandīya, Shādhilīya, etc. through Meccan influence attained considerable prestige. The Sammānīya with their noisy *dhikr* exercises spread among the lower classes and resulted in the rise of popular amusements like the Atjeh *sadati* performance, which look like a caricature of the *dhikr*.

Ethical mysticism of the type best represented by al-Ghazālī [q. v.] is also zealously studied in the Indies among such circles as lay particular stress on strict observance of religious law and on dogmatic orthodoxy.

The Chinese, Arabs, and Europeans also later found their way to this archipelago with its varied products. The Chinese probably traded with the Archipelago from the viith century. If one may judge

from present conditions, in addition to the traders, the poorest young men from South China emigrated to the Indies to make a living by their work and trade and often married native women. From them is descended the mixed Chinese population of the Archipelago, often prosperous and economically very important on account of their industry and thrift. As these half-caste Chinese people retain the manners and customs of their fathers they do not become merged in the Malays. With the more recent immigrants, some 600.000 in number, they are now settled far into the interior of the great islands and in the important places on the coast, following their industry or commerce. On the present immigrant Chinese see SUMATRA. The Arabs also, mainly from Hadramawt, go to the Dutch Indies to earn money. Clever and enterprising they rely, with much success in their relations with the Malay Muslims, on their religion and nationality, especially if they can call themselves *sharif* or *saiyid*. Although, like the Chinese, they often become well to do and return home, they leave behind them their families from native wives, which however show a greater inclination in the end to merge in the native population. Prominent Arab scholars from Mecca and Medina also visit the islands occasionally, go to the courts, sometimes remaining a long time, and certainly contribute to strengthen Arab influence, but on account of their slight numbers cannot be considered an important element in the population. The Arabs in the Archipelago are estimated at about 31.000.

Europeans. Of the foreigners the ruling Dutch are economically the most important. With isolated other Europeans they control the wholesale trade, the working of the plantations, and industry. Shortly before conquering Malacca in 1511 the Portuguese had reached this Archipelago and went in the following years to the Spice islands, where they made conquests, carried on trade, and endeavoured to spread their religion. Their enemies, the Spaniards, who had reached the Moluccas from the east, soon retired to the Northern Philippines again.

Towards the end of the xvi[th] century several European nations succeeded in reaching these islands. In 1594 the English, in 1596 the Dutch, and later the French, Danes, and Swedes with their armed ships came to the ports of North and East Sumatra, the north coast of Java, and the Moluccas to obtain spices, precious metals, and other products, which had previously been the monopoly of the Portuguese, Chinese, and Southern Asiatics.

The very many small Dutch societies for trading with the Indies united in 1602 into the "Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie" with a capital of 6.000.000 guilders. During the xvii[th] century this trading company extended its political power and influence, besides its trade from Africa to Japan, over the Southern Asiatic coasts and the East Indian Archipelago and maintained its position till the end of the xviii[th] century. The competition of the other European nations, the feuds and quarrels in and between the various native states, and its rigid monopoly system soon forced the company continually to conquer more territory, and the resultant costs of administration and war contributed largely to the fact that they were forced in 1800 to hand over their possessions and their burdens of debt to the Dutch government. Their rule then extended to the coast regions of the larger and entirely over many smaller islands. Their relations to the native population consisted almost entirely simply of contracts and trading agreements with the native chiefs for the monopoly of exports and imports. The European influence on the masses of the people was thus very small. During the Napoleonic wars, when the Dutch lost their independence, the English conquered their Indian possessions, but these were returned at the Congress of Vienna as far as they were situated in the East Indian Archipelago. In the xix[th] century and at the beginning of the xx[th] all the islands have been conquered right into the interior and the influence of the Europeans on the natives thus increased. This is best seen on the island of Java which has always been the centre of Dutch authority.

The Queen of the Netherlands possesses executive power with regard to the Dutch Indies and partly independently and partly in combination with the "Staten-Generaal" in the Hague, the legislative authority. The Indian budget of expenditure (366 million guilders in 1916) is fixed by the Queen in combination with the "Staten-Generaal". The Dutch minister of the Colonies takes upon himself the responsibility of the Queen. A Governor-General represents the Queen in the Indies. He also has legislative power in certain circumstances. In the exercise of his great power he is more or less dependent on the cooperation of the "Raad van Indië", a council of five officials of high rank. Under these authorities appointed by the Queen, seven directors, a commander of the army and a chief of the navy with their nine departments carry on the ordinary business of administration. The "Algemeene Rekenkamer", which controls finance, has, like the others, its seat in Batavia. The Dutch Indies are divided into 34 residencies and 5 gouvernements which are under residents and governors. There are 17 of the former in Java. Under these higher civilian officials are assistant residents, controllers, and deputy controllers, all Europeans. The Indian volunteer army consists of about 12.000 Europeans and about 23.000 natives under 1330 Europeans and a few native officers. The Dutch Indies has a navy of its own of small ships and the battle ships of the motherland are detached there.

Besides the area directly governed there are about 300 native principalities which enjoy a certain amount of independence but are otherwise entirely subject to the Dutch government.

This firm government conducted on European lines secures the natives important advantages in contrast to their previous conditions. There are no longer civil or foreign wars, and the exploitation of the masses by the native princes and nobles is very much limited. Among the primitive tribes there is now security of life and property. Trade and commerce have increased everywhere as a result of this security, and necessities of life such as fabrics, crude metals, salt, tobacco, etc. are imported into the interior of the islands much cheaper than formerly. While formerly nothing was done against the terrible tropical diseases, they are now combatted in many ways, although still to an insufficient extent. The Dutch government is as a rule neutral in matters of religion. The often enormous increase in population, for example in Java excluding immigration, from 4 to 5 mil-

lions in 1812 to 30 millions in 1905, is to be ascribed to these circumstances as well as to native customs such as early and general mariage.

The economic development which these colonies have undergone in the last 50 years through the cultivation by Europeans of products for the world market is of great importance also for the native population. In 1914 the exports of sugar amounted to 185 million guilders, of tobacco 6 million, copra 48 million, coffee 22 million, tea 27 million, rubber 28 million, pepper 11 million. Certain mining districts also yield important products like petroleum (exports 53 million guilders), tin (30 million), anthracite, gold etc.

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(A. W. NIEUWENHUIS.)

INDJĪL or *Andjīl* is corrupted from εὐαγγέλιον, gospel. From the Ḳur'ān as well as from numerous authors we see that the Muslims had a certain knowledge of the Gospels. It is easy to show with the help of a few quotations the extent of this knowledge. On the other hand, it is often difficult to define positively and not merely by way of induction how this knowledge was obtained. Some of it was certainly obtained orally in controversies or friendly conversations between Christians and Muslims. But this method of transmission for the most part lacks historical record. There were also reminiscences of Christianity which were brought in by Christians converted to Islām. A similar Christian influence made itself felt on the rise of Ṣūfīism, in the teachings of which traces of Christianity can be clearly seen (cf. the writer's, *Gazali*, Paris 1902). Finally, one may certainly assume that there were Muslim seekers after knowledge among the Arabs who read Arabic translations of the Gospels made by Christians. We therefore here give a brief survey of what can be known about these translations, followed by some instances of recollections of the New Testament in the Ḳur'ān or the writings of various writers.

The Christian Arabs translated the Gospels from the Greek, Syriac, or Coptic. The translation from the Greek took place very early, as is shown by the great antiquity of the manuscripts (Vatican,

Arab, 13, and Museo Borgiano-Propaganda), which date back to the viiith century A. D. According to Barhebraeus, there was a still older translation made between 631 and 640 by the Monophysite patriarch Johannes by order of an Arab prince, ʿAmr b. Saʿd.

George, Bishop of the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, a friend and contemporary of James of Edessa, wrote scholia on the Holy Scriptures; Sprenger (*Das Leben des Mohammed*, i. 131 *sq.*) even thought he could recognise in a passage in Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 149 *sq.*) a fragment of a pre-Islāmic translation. This fragment contains the verses 23—27 of John XV. The word *alma-n-ḥ-anā*, by which παράκλητος is translated, is neither Arabic nor Syriac but Palestinian and rather old. But even if so great an age cannot be given them, in any case the first translations from the Greek are hardly later than the Muslim conquest and the spread of the Arabic language, which followed it.

A likewise very old translation from the Syriac exists in a Leipzig ms.; according to Gildemeister's investigations (*De Evangeliis*, p. 35), it must have been made between 730 and 830 A. D. The Muslims were thus able to become acquainted with the principal books of the New Testament at quite an early date through direct reading of Arabic translations.

Besides the canonical gospels we possess Arabic recensions of the following New Testament apocrypha: the gospel of the Childhood, Protoevangelium of James, Apocalypse of Paul, a sermon by Peter, and one by Simon, a Martyrdom of James, and of Simon, as well as a small number of others, which do not appear to have been known in Muhammadan circles. R. Duval, *La Littérature Syriaque*, Paris 1899, p. 96, mentions an Apocalypse of Peter which, according to him, is an Arabic compilation of the xiiith century.

Muḥammad was less acquainted with the canonical gospels than with the apocryphal. He did not obtain his knowledge from purely Christian sources, but must have obtained it orally from Christian Jews. This is shown by the kind of legend preserved in the Ḳurʾān. They must have taken their form from those whom Muḥammad calls *ḥanīf*'s (see ḤANĪF) and who traced their religion to Abraham. This question however is only a particular case of the more general question of the origin and sources of Islām.

Poetry is also one of the ways by which Christian ideas found their way among Muslims. At the time of the rise of Islām poets were fond of visiting Hīra [q. v.], where they were on friendly terms with Christian Arabs. They then related in Arabic the legends which they had heard in the wine booths in Hīra. Among these poets are mentioned Zaid b. ʿAmr b. Nufail and Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, of whom the latter was particularly well versed in Jewish legends also. Poetry thus formed for a fairly long time a link between Muslims and Christians. We know with what favour the Christian poet al-Akhṭal [q. v.] was received at the court of the Omaiyads. Medicine and administration also led to much intercourse between the two religions. We need only recall the names of Sergius Manṣūr, secretary to four caliphs and father of John of Damascus, and the numerous Christian clerks who were employed by the Muslim government, as is evidenced by the order made by al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik forbidding them to keep their books in Greek. But let us come back to the Ḳurʾān.

Jesus, Mary, and the Gospel are frequently mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, and Muḥammad knows the essential difference between the Gospel and the Ḳurʾān regarding morals, namely compassion and mercy (lvii. 27); he also knows to some extent the parable of the sower (xlviii. 29) and the promise of another messenger of God (vii 156, cf. xxi. 17). He is also aware that the Gospel is put forward as a confirmation of the Pentateuch (v. 50). Of the miracles of Jesus he mentions the healing of the blind and of the leper as well as the raising from the dead.

The most popular tradition in those circles from which the Prophet obtained his knowledge, seems to have been that of the Annunciation. "He has chosen thee among women" the angel says to Mary in Ḳurʾān, iii. 37 (cf. Luke i. 28). He likewise adopts the virgin birth of Jesus (xxi. 91). When the crucifixion is denied in Ḳurʾān (iv. 156 and iii. 47), he is following the view of the Christian sect of the Docetae. The briefly mentioned ascension brings the life of Jesus to a conclusion at the moment when, according to the Gospels, the Passion should begin (cf. al-Zamakhsharī, ed. Lees, i. 169, where a tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās is quoted).

The calling of the apostles is distinctly mentioned (iii. 45-46). The institution of monasticism is connected with this as in the work of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [q. v.]. A miracle in the Acts of the Apostles finds mention in the Ḳurʾān: Jesus lets down from heaven a covered table for the apostles (v. 112—115; cf. Acts, x. 9 *sqq.*). The story that Jesus miraculously gave life to a clay bird (iii. 43; v. 110) is taken from the Gospel of the Childhood. The name "second Adam" given to Christ is approximately found in Sūra iii. 52. The expression "strengthened by the Holy Ghost", which Muḥammad uses in ii. 81, was not understood by him. He confuses the Holy Ghost with the Archangel Gabriel.

The commentators still further develop the legends in the Ḳurʾān connected with the New Testament, particularly those of the childhood of Mary. On the whole the figure of the Virgin Mary is a very attractive one in the Ḳurʾān and not very remote from Christian sentiment. On the other hand, the figure of Jesus is much more uncertain and, in comparison with the Gospels, a much lower one (cf. ʿĪSĀ). Jesus is rather only a pious prophet. Muḥammad leaves him the name Messiah (iv. 169 *sq.*), but this name does not seem to have any definite theological meaning with him. Of other New Testament personages, Muḥammad only mentions John the Baptist and Zachariah.

The New Testament had an important influence on Tradition (*Ḥadīth*, q. v.). Various miracles, sayings and ideas which are attributed to Muḥammad or his followers have their origin in the Gospel. The stories that Muḥammad increased supplies of food or water go back to the miracle of the loaves and fishes in the Gospel rather than to that of the wedding at Cana, as Goldziher thinks. Numerous traditions regarding the high position of the poor and the difficulty of the rich in entering heaven, again reflect the doctrine of the Gospel and are in contrast to the views of the heathen Arabs. As Goldziher has shown, an Arab traditionist, Abū Dāʾūd [q. v.], even puts a version

of the Lord's prayer into the mouth of Muḥammad. H. Lammens also points out to me that the tradition, according to which Abū Bakr is moved to tears on hearing the Prophet preach, is of Christian origin. The "gift of tears", which is known to Christian mysticism, was little fitting to the temperament of the Arab conquerors.

On the legends of the Mahdī and on Muslim eschatology Christian apocalyptic literature had a considerable influence.

In several Muslim historians we find a rather extensive knowledge of the Gospels. Al-Ya'ḳūbī, one of the fathers of Arab history, gives a synopsis of them. Such an inquiring spirit as al-Mas'ūdī does not conceal his relations with the Christians. In Nazareth, as he tells us, he visited a church highly venerated by Christians and received a large number of Gospel stories from them. He knows of the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, his childhood in Nazareth, the saying of God in Mattew III, 17: "This is My beloved Son", which he gives with slight alterations. He has also heard the story of the Magi who visited the infant Messiah, according to the Gospel and other sources. He gives the story of the summoning of the Apostles accurately. He also names the Four Evangelists and speaks of the "book of the Gospel", of which he gives a summary, as if he had seen it. On the other hand, he shows a certain distrust of this book, in contrast to the great reverence with which the Ḳur'ān speaks of it. Al-Mas'ūdī is comparatively well informed about the lives of the Apostles. He twice speaks of the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul, but ascribes to the latter the same kind of martyrdom as, according to tradition, was the fate of Peter only. He knows Thomas as the apostle of India. On the whole, Thomas seems to be the apostle best known to the Muslims next to Peter, and even Paul is less known than Peter.

Al-Bīrūnī is still better informed than al-Mas'ūdī. In order to write his *Chronology*, he had to consult Nestorian Christians. He knows various parts of the Gospels and also of the commentary of Dadīshō' (Jesudad, cf. Duval, *Litt. Syriaque*, 2nd ed., p. 64) and discusses it with a certain spirit of criticism. The four Evangelists to him are four recensions, which he compares with the four copies of the Bible, the Jewish, Christian, and Samaritan. He notices, however, that these recensions differ considerably from one another. Al-Bīrūnī gives the genealogies of Joseph in full from Matthew and Luke, and tells in a very interesting passage how the Christians explain this difference. He speaks of other gospels which the Marcionites, Bardesanites, and Manichaeans possessed, the two first of which differed, according to him, "in some parts" from the Christian Gospels, while the others were contradictory. In view of all these different recensions he concludes that one cannot rely very much on the prophetical value of the Gospels.

The Persian version of Ṭabarī's *Chronicle* (French ed. by Zotenberg) contains New Testament legends, which are more detailed than in the Arabic original and correspond with those found in the stories of the Prophets (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*). Certain details from the Passion for example are given, such as the repudiation by "Simeon", the betrayal by one of the Apostles, who is not mentioned by name, and the story of Mary under the Cross. For the rest the author holds the Muslim view that another person, whom he calls Josua, was substituted for Jesus. As to the history of the Apostles he gives the tradition which makes John come to Edessa.

In the mystic literature, one finds numerous allusions to the Gospel, there are even traces of some knowledge of the exposition of some passages in scripture by the Fathers of the Church. What is given by the Muslim mystics as sayings of Jesus, however, is very far from always agreeing with the Gospel. For example, the sayings ascribed by al-Ghazālī to Christ are almost all incorrect. On the other hand we find in al-Suhrawardī an accurate and complete version of the parable of the sower. The *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* contain remarkable passages about the crucifixion of Jesus, the actuality of which they assume, about the Resurrection, the assembling of the Apostles at the last supper and their scattering over the face of the earth. The *Acts of the Apostles* (*Af'āl al-Ḥawāriyīn*) is expressly quoted there (Dieterici, p. 605).

The philosophic literature also shows a large number of controversies between Christians and Muslims. Among the celebrated polemicists we need only mention here Abū 'Alī 'Īsā b. Zor'a, who in 387 composed a reply to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Balkhī, and Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, a Christian scholar and pupil of al-Fārābī. The latter produced an apology for Christianity, which he dedicated to Shaikh Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b. al-Warrāḳ. He also replied to strictures by al-Kindī on the Trinity. [See also the articles 'ĪSĀ and AL-MAHDĪ].

The Muslims in general respect the Gospels and revere Jesus and Mary. The Turks call it *Indjīl sherīf*. Various writers who have lived in Turkey say that many Turks in secret recognise the superiority of the Gospels to the Ḳur'ān. In particular they mention the case of Ḳābiḍ [q. v.], who in the reign of Sulaimān I openly professed his preference for the Gospels and was therefore executed (D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 153).

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(CARRA DE VAUX.)

INDJŪ. This name, which is properly a name for the royal estates under the Mongols, is usually given to the dynasty which reigned from about 703—758 = 1303—1357 in Fārs (Shīrāz), as its founder, Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūdshāh, had been first of all sent there by Ūldjaitū to administer the royal estates. According to a statement in the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, he was a descendant of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī [q. v.] Under Ūldjaitū's successor Abū Saʿīd he not only retained his office, but was able continually to extend his power so that by about 725 (1325) he was practically independent ruler of Shīrāz and almost the whole of Fārs. After the death of Abū Saʿīd he was put to death by order of his successor Arpa Khān in 736 (1335-6). According to the *Shīrāz-nāma*, he had four sons: Djalāl al-Dīn, Masʿūdshāh, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and Abū Isḥāḳ Djamāl al-Dīn. The first named was already ruling in Shīrāz in the lifetime of his father down to about 735, when during his absence his brother Kaikhusraw took his place. On his return however the latter refused to restore him his authority and a war broke out between the brothers, which ended in 739 (1338-9) with the death of Kaikhusraw. Masʿūd had imprisoned the third brother Muḥammad in Kalʿat Safīd, but he was able to escape and found support from the Čupānid Pīr Ḥusain. The latter collected a Mongol army and advanced on Shīrāz with Muḥammad, so that Masʿūd had to take to flight and Pīr Ḥusain entered Shīrāz.

But his rule did not last long, for, when shortly afterwards in 740 (1340) he put Muḥammad to death, the population took up such a threatening attitude that he found it advisable to retire, only however to return next year with new forces. But on this occasion also he had no good fortune, as he quarrelled with the Čupānid Ashraf and, when the two sides were drawn up in line of battle, he was left in the lurch by his own men, so that he had to seek refuge with Shaikh Ḥasan, who had him put to death. In the meanwhile, Masʿūd Shāh had retired to Luristān and made an alliance there with Yaghībasti, a brother of Ashraf, while Ashraf himself took the side of his brother Abū Isḥāḳ. Masʿūd, however, succeeded in reaching Shīrāz with the help of Yaghībasti, but there met the same fate as his brother: he was treacherously murdered by Yaghībasti in 743 (1343). The latter thereupon quarrelled with Ashraf but made peace again and they jointly attempted to subjugate Fārs, but their troops dispersed when the news of the murder of their brother Ḥasan Kūčūk [q. v.] reached them.

Abū Isḥāḳ, a younger son of Maḥmūdshāh, who had previously received the town of Iṣpahān from Pīr Ḥasan, now became lord of Shīrāz and of the whole of Fārs. As he endeavoured to extend his rule over Yazd and Kirmān, he came into conflict with the rising power of the Muẓaffarids [q. v.] with varying success. The result was that Abū Isḥāḳ was not only driven from Kirmān and Yazd, but was ultimately besieged in Shīrāz. The town had to be surrendered to the Muẓaffarids in 754 (1353). Abū Isḥāḳ had in the meanwhile fled to Kalʿat Safīd, received some support from the Ilkhān Shaikh Ḥasan from Baghdād and went to Iṣpahān. There also he was besieged and finally captured, handed over to the relatives of a shaikh who had been put to death by his order, and was killed by them 758 (1357). The Persian poet ʿUbaid Zākānī commemorated his Maecenas in an elegy.

Bibliography: Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, ed. Lucknow, iii. 157 *sqq.*; Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 622 *sqq.* Some data in the above text are taken from the unpublished *Shīrāz-Nāma*, whose author was a contemporary of Abū Isḥāḳ and who compiled a biography of him in an *ʿUmdat al-Tawārīkh*, which has not survived; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, ii. 63 *sqq.*; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 293; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 742 *sqq.*

INDO-CHINA. Further India. — Islam in French Indo-China. French Indo-China comprises the whole eastern zone, by far the greater part of the double peninsula which lies between British India and China. The western zone belongs to England and the rather small part in the centre to Siam, which serves as a buffer state between the two. French Further India comprises in the south Cochin China (Annamese Nam kỳ) which is a direct possession, in the centre the kingdom of Cambodia (in the dialect Srŏk Khmêr, Nokor Kampučā (Sanskrit, Kambuja)), in the north the kingdom of Laos (Laotic: Möüng Lao); to the east the empire of Annam (Annamese: Nu'ó'c Annam); in the north east the province of Tonking (Annamese Bắc kỳ), all of which are protectorates.

This country, one and half times the size of France, is only inhabited by about 12,000,000 Annamese, 1,500.000 Cambodians, 1,500,000 Laotians, and about 200,000 Tjams[1]) and Malays, 275,000 Chinese, 1000 Hindus, mainly Tamils, and about 500 000 savages[2]) or half civilised men.

[1]) In French Indo China *čăm* (*chame*) is written and pronounced *tiam*. It should be noted that: *ă* = *ia*, *ĕ* = *ä*, *ŏ*, *ō*, *ö* = *ü*, *j* = *dj*, *nh* = *ñ* in the above quoted Indo Chinese words.

[2]) The natives call themselves *Moi*, *Pnong* or *Kha*, which in Annamese, Cambodian and Siamese means "savage".

As regards religion, the Annamese like the Chinese are Buddhists or Confucianists, only a very small number being Christians; the Cambodians and Laotians are Buddhists, the semi-civilised are almost all animists, with a very few Christians; the Tjams, Malays, and a few Tamils are Muslims, except 20 to 25 thousand of the Binh-Thuận who have remained faithful to a very ancient Brahmanism. Some Tamils and Bengalese are Hindus.

The Tjams (*orang tjam*) live partly in Binh Thuận, in modern Annam, the last refuge of their nationality, partly in Cambodia, along the bank of the Mekong, and on the edge of the great lake (*Tonlé Sap*) partly around the towns of Châu đốc and Tây-ninh in Cochin China, and finally in a few villages in Siam.

The Malays who are almost equal in numbers live entirely near them in Cambodia as well as in Cochin China and are in constant relations with them. They are not found in Annam.

Islām at present plays only a slight part in Further India. It was at one time more important but never predominant, as long as the kingdom of the Tjams dominated the peninsula.

The Tjams, whose physical features and language are obviously connected with those of the Polynesian Malays, at one time founded a powerful kingdom in Further India, which seems to have comprised Cochin China, the modern Annam, with the exception of Tonking, and a part of Cambodia. A memorial of its greatness is the stele of Nhatrang, of the second or third century. In the thirteenth century the kingdom, although already declining, still aroused the astonishment of Marco Polo. In the fourteenth, however, it was broken up when the Cambodians and Annamese attacked it together and in 1471 there were only a few tribes in the valleys of the Binh Thuận who were much oppressed by Annam. At that time many of them fled to Cambodia, where their descendants still live.

The oppressed Tjams greeted the French rule with joy, but the French are not succeeding in elevating them. Physically they are not degenerates. They are taller and better proportioned than the Annamese, the skin is soft and of a light brown colour, the hair soft and often wavy, the face rather broad, the eye well formed, and with an open look, the mouth of medium size. They belong to those Asiatics whose type is nearest to ours, but their fertility is only very moderate. In spite of a certain childish liveliness and a great softness of character they are intellectually extremely apathetic. They practise neither commerce nor industry, live in very miserable villages (in Annam they are built on the ground and in Cambodia on piles), weave a few stuffs, and only do as much agriculture and cattle rearing as is necessary to maintain life without worrying whether they can improve their lot.

When was Islām introduced among the Tjams? This question has not yet been solved. One thing however is certain. It was preceded by Hinduism, the most accepted form of which was Çivaism, which is still practised with the most remarkable endurance by some thousands of Tjams who have remained true to this old faith and therefore call themselves *Tjam-Djat* (Sanskrit *jâti*), pure-bred Tjams. But by their Muslim fellow countrymen they are called *Akaphir* or *Kaphir* (Ar. *kâfir*) "infidels", without the one side or the other seeing an insult in the appellation.

Two hypotheses may explain the introduction of Islām into Further India. It was either brought in the xth or xivth century by Arab merchants, Indians or Persians, in the great movement of the general spread of Islām, or it came later as a result of a Malay immigration.

It is certain that the Arabs were acquainted with Further India at a very early period. As early as the viith century there were regular relations between Arabia, China, India and the Archipelago. By 758 the Arabs and Persians were so numerous in Canton that they laid the city waste with fire and sword. In the ixth century they raised a rebellion in Khan-fu, in which 120 000 of them perished by the sword. In these circumstances they must have been acquainted with Indo-China and if they knew it, they must also have endeavoured to win it for their religion with the well known missionary enthusiasm of the Muslims.

A passage in the *Annals of the Sung dynasty*, Chap. 489, which was ingeniously explained by Ed. Huber (*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, III, 55, N°. 1), shows that Islām was first brought to them by the Arabs or Persians. In the *Annals* it is stated: "There are (among the Tjams) also buffaloes which live in the mountains. They are not used for agriculture but only as sacrificial animals. When one is sacrificed, the men utter this prayer "*A-la-ki-ki-pa*" which means "may it soon rise again". According to Huber, this *A-la-ki-ki-pa* corresponds to *Allāhu akbar* and warrants the conclusion that there were already Tjams converted to Islām in the time of the Sung. In the same account of the Tjams it is said: "the customs and dress of the Tjams are similar to those of the population of the kingdom of Ta-che (Tādjīk i. e. Arabs)".

The historical statements of the Tjams are not to be taken too seriously. But it must be remarked that their legendary chronicles place at the head of the list of kings who had Śrī-Banöy as their capital, the Pô or lord Ovlah (Allāh) who reigned from 1000 to 1036. In the year of the Rat a man of the nature of Ovlah lived a perfect life in the Tjam kingdom, but the land was not converted. This man recommended his soul and body to the lord of heaven and settled for 37 years in Mokkah (Mecca), then came back to the Tjam kingdom..." Did the Muslim Tjams wish to number Allāh among their national rulers out of religious pride or merely give a place among their kings to the Persian or Arab pilgrim who brought them Islām? Both hypotheses are possible.

Another text which comes from the Tjams of Cambodia (see Delaporte, *Voyage au Cambodge*, Paris 1880, p. 417 *sq.*), reports that Nur Savan (Nūshirwān), the divine *luu* (youth), the first king of the Tjams, was the inventor of the alphabet, which is still used in profane books. The inhabitants who were previously worshippers of Buddha, were later converted to Islām by Fatemu Ali (cf. the Malay *Bag'inda 'Alī*), the father-in-law of Muḥammad. At the latter's birth Nur Savan had gone to Mecca to worship him as all the kings of the earth did, and was installed by him in his residence Bal-och Bali (= Śrī Banöy, the modern Qu-nhơn, Annam), the capital of Panpanang (the

modern Phan-ri and Phan-rang, Annam), to the east of Cambodia, and the Tjams still say that this is their place of origin.

In short, it is quite possible that Islām had already been introduced in the xith century by Arab, Persian, or Indian merchants. But it made only slight progress and but for the Malay immigration in the xivth and xvth centuries which kept it up and spread it, it would have probably disappeared again. It is moreover due to this immigration that Islām has retained its purity through the relation which the Malays keep up with the Tjams of Cambodia and Cochin-China.

But it is also possible that the law of Muḥammad reached them through the Malays of the Archipelago or of Malacca. The latter, as Prof. Kern has convincingly proved, themselves come from Indo-China and are related to the Tjams and, as inscriptions and legends show, were from the viiith century onwards in uninterrupted close relations with the kingdoms of Champa and Cambodia, partly through intermarriages of the ruling families and partly through invasions. These turbulent Malays, whose Islāmism was not of an intolerant type, thanks to the community of religion, kept in such close touch with the Tjams after their political decline that the two are usually confused in the history of Cambodia and Annam. Their common seditions and intrigues in the xviith and xviiith centuries disturbed the peace of the two kingdoms, particularly that of Cambodia. The chroniclers and more especially the Spanish theologians, who at the beginning of the xviith century had hoped to see Indo-China brought under the sway of Philip III, bitterly acknowledge at this period (1603) the influence of the "Moros" i. e. the Muslims whom the tolerance of the kings of Cambodia and of the Tjams allow to build mosques everywhere, who endeavour to proselytise and who hate the Christians to the extent of wishing to drink their blood (cf. *Brève et véridique relation des événements du Cambodge* par Gabriel Quiroga de S. Antonio .... New Edition of the Spanish text (of 1604) with a translation and notes by Antoine Cabaton, Paris 1914, p. 106, 124, and *passim*). Matters went so far that about 1624 a prince of Cambodia, Preḥ Rām, seized the throne supported by them, married a Malay woman, and adopted Islām to the great scandal of the true Cambodians who were faithful followers of Buddha.

The Muslim Malays and Tjams down to the xixth century took an active part in all the internal strife which disturbed the peace of Cambodia in its decline. For a time they played such an important part that one of them, Tjam Saiḥ Aḥmit (= Shaikh Aḥmad) — according to the chronicles, a Malay of royal descent, but perhaps simply a Tjam with some Malay blood —, in 1820 became regent and right hand man of Ang-Čan, the ruler of Cambodia. He aroused the jealousy of the Cambodians and the distrust of the Annamese, who would have liked the lands of Ang-Čan for themselves, to such an extent that his political enemies succeeded in having him condemned and beheaded without his fellow-Muslims, who would certainly have rescued and saved him, learning anything of it until too late. His sons and followers raised a rebellion in the province of Thbong-Khmum where the Tjams and Malays of Cambodia joined together and united with the Tjams of Chău-đôc and laid the country waste until Norodom ascended the throne in 1859 and French rule finally put an end in 1863 to the political importance of the Muslim element in Indo-China.

From the religious point of view, these Malay immigrants into Indo-China, who are mainly found in Saigon, Cho'lớn, Chău-đôc, Tây-ninh (towns in Cochin-China), Phnom Penh, Kampong-Luong, Kampong Tjam, Lovêk, Pursat and in other centres of Cambodia, show no original features. They entirely resemble their brethren in the Peninsula of Malacca, are in constant relations with them, and often receive from there missionaries whose duty it is to maintain the purity of their creed. They are intelligent, active, clever and prudent, but are considered to be treacherous, cruel, cunning and inhospitable. They keep quite apart from the Cambodians among whom they live and only maintain closer relations with their co-religionists among the Tjams. They are mainly traders, farmers, herdsmen, boatmen, drivers, growers of vegetables, and are respected if not loved in Cambodia for their intelligence and industry. Although they were well treated by their rulers, their fidelity seems to have been often rightly doubted and their interests do not seem to go beyond that of their community. They are Shāfiʿīs and in general are acquainted with the precepts of Islām and they read the Ḳurʾān and its commentaries. Among them we find for example the *ʿAḳīda* of al-Sanūsī, the *Si Burung Pingai*, Fiḳh and Ḥadīth books, the *Ṣirāṭu 'l-mustaḳīm*, various poetical works or legends such as *Sri Rama*, *Si Miskin Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah* etc.

These religious ideas and, to a less degree their religious development, the Malays of Cambodia have in common with the Tjams of Cambodia and Indo-China. Both observe the five daily prayers, the ablutions and circumcision, which is performed at the age of 15. They do not eat the flesh of pigs, dogs, crocodiles, tortoises, elephants, peacocks, vultures, eagles, and ravens, and they refrain from intoxicating drinks. If any one worships a strange idol, he is expelled from the community. Some make the pilgrimage to Mecca or pay a certain sum, for which a representative is sent on their behalf. In Cambodia the mosques are almost always built of wood and are placed on slight eminences. The inside are large bare rooms with a platform at the back. The mats which are used as praying carpets are hung up in a rack from the rafters. On the left at the entrance there is usually a large drum painted red (Tjam *gandaŋ* = Malay *gĕndang*, Javanese *kĕndang*). Outside is a little basin of masonry for ablutions.

Within these precincts the imāms give the children instruction in reading Arabic and in reciting the Ḳurʾān. The assembly of *djumʿah* cannot take place without a quorum of 40 believers. Ramaḍān is strictly observed by all, pious families are quite abstemious in this period. On Mondays they refrain from sexual intercourse.

The Tjams of Cambodia also observe the *bulan eh haji* (fasting month of the pilgrims) also called *bulan Ovlōh* (month of Allāh) three months after Ramaḍān. They also observe the *mulot* or *molut* (= Arab. *mawlid*?), when a lock of hair is cut from the children of 3 to 15 and they are given a religious name, which for boys is always ʿAbd Allāh or Muḥammad, for girls Phwatimah (Fāṭima). The imāms, at least four in number, are invited to pray

in the house in which the ceremony is being performed. This custom of hair cutting seems to be borrowed from the Cambodians.

The *tamat* (Arab. *tamma*) is a ceremony nearly always confined to the family circle, at which a boy, who has learned the Kur'ān entirely by heart, which however happens very rarely, is led round the village on horseback amid the acclamations of men and women. He is dressed in his best clothes and is greeted with the greatest reverence by men and women.

The *zerah* (pursuit), which is celebrated in the first Tjam month, is accompanied by two days' fasting and commemorates the migration of the Prophet (Hidjra).

By the *tapat*, which we also find among the Tjams of Annam, who call it *rawah* = Ar. *tawba*, old persons are purified from their sins by means of numerous prayers and sprinkling with holy water.

Malays and Tjams have common religious officials in Cambodia who are given the following names according to their office.

Malay	Tjam	Function
1. *mufti*	*muphati*	jurist
2. *tuan kadli*	*tuk kalli*	judge
3. *raja kadli*	*radja kalik*	„
4. *tuan fakih*	*tuan pakī*	jurist
5. *hakim*	*hakem*	doctor
6. *khatib*	*katip*	preacher
7. *bilal*	*bilal*	mu'adhdhin
8. *lebai*	*lebe* [1]	officiant

All are exempt from taxation. The four first have the following Cambodian names: 1. *okña vāñ kalay*, 2. *okña raja kalay*, 3. *okña tok kalay*, 4. *okña pakī*. They are appointed by the King, belong to his council and are the official superiors of the Muslims. They are regarded by the faithful as representing the four caliphs of the Prophet and enjoy a great spiritual authority.

The religious dignitaries are usually chosen from the most prominent families whose sons can become imāms at the age of 15 and whose daughters are educated with special care to make them worthy wives. The Muslims of Cambodia respect the graves of infants which they call *ka-lak*; they believe in witches, the werwolf, evil spirits, and in magic and have retained certain agricultural customs which are also found among the neighbouring peoples such as the Cambodians and Annamese. They are relics of an old animism.

The family bonds among the Muslims of Cambodia are very strong; the father has great authority. The wife is well treated but kept strictly within the house as well as the daughters, who are very early initiated into household duties and, being under strict control, are only allowed to marry Muslims.

The Muslim Tjams have adopted from the Cambodians the custom of filing and lacquering their daughters' teeth at the age of 15, an operation which is accompanied by prayers from the imāms and sprinkling with holy water.

The marriage customs are in general Muslim. The boys do not as a rule marry before 18 or the girls before 15. The wedding feast is accompanied with great expenditure. Divorce is possible but rare. If it is demanded by the woman, she loses her dowry (Tjam *sakarin*, Malay *mas kawin*) which the husband settled on her at the betrothal.

The burial ceremony is very simple. The corpse is washed twice with a decoction of jujube leaves or benzoin water, then in clear water, wrapped in a piece of linen and placed in a grave about ten and a half feet deep, with the head to the north. A mound of earth is then erected over the grave, which is covered with thorny branches to protect it from wild animals. On the third, seventh, tenth, thirtieth, fortieth, and hundredth day the imāms are invited to pray and eat with the family at the grave. The exhumation practised by the Tjams of Annam is not found here.

The husband mourns in white 40 days for his wife, the latter three months and ten days for the husband and she cannot marry again before a hundred days.

The Islām of the Tjams in Annam has quite a different stamp. It appears to have a Shī'i character, as Aḥan (Ḥasan), Aḥai (Ḥusain) and 'Alī are particularly revered and invoked there; they also play the main part in the few manuscripts of legends still preserved in Annam. It is however considerably penetrated by animistic and Hindu ideas and customs which preceded it and still survive alongside of it. The Muslim Tjams of Annam are Muslims mainly through the naive conviction that they are Muslims. They call their Hindu country men *kaphir* without the slightest derogatory intention and themselves *banis* = *bani*, the sons of religion, or Tjams Asalam (= Islām), Tjams of Islām. They say that they worship Ovlah (Allāh), but also Pŏ Devata Tuwor (Çvor) (Sanskrit *Devata Svarga*), God, Lord of Heaven, and they offer presents in certain agrarian rites, e. g. two eggs, a cup of rice brandy, and three leaves of betel, to Pŏ Olwah Tak Alā, the mysterious king of the underworld; in reality it is the Muslim expression *Allāh ta'ālā*, out of which they have made a god. They also worship the Brahman goddess Pŏ Ino Nogar = "Mother of the Land" (Umā, Bhagavatī), and her husband Pŏ Yang Amo, "the Lord God, the Father [of the land]" (Śiva), whom they identify with Pŏ Haraḥ (= *Ḥawwā'*), i. e. Eve and Pŏ Adam, the ancestors of mankind.

The Tjam Kaphir of Annam with as broad a tolerance have taken into their Pantheon Pŏ Ovlaḥ (= Allāh) an undefined bodiless god, the creator of Pŏ Rasullak (= *Rasūl Allāh*) and of Pŏ Latila (= *lā ilāha*), who lives in Mokah (Mecca) and who was created by Pŏ Ovlahuk (= *Allāhu*) the father of nabi Muhamat (= *Nabī Muḥammad*); we thus see that the Kaphir have made three gods out of the misunderstood formula: *Lā ilāha illa 'llāhu, Muḥammad rasūlu 'llāh*.

The Tjams Bani of Annam have a very high, but vague notion of Nabi Muhamat i. e. the prophet Muḥammad, and to them the Kur'ān is *tapuk* (= *kitāb*) *nabi Muhamat* = the book of the Prophet Muḥammad; they call it also *tapuk*

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[1] I translate this word by officiant for lack of a more suitable term. In Indo-China, the *lebai* of the Malays and the *lebe* of the Tjams is a pious man like the Javanese *santri*, who conducts the Friday service in the villages. According to van Ronkel (*T. v. I. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.*, 1914, p. 131), *lebai* or *lebbai* is of Tamil origin and originally meant "Muslim merchant", which confirms the supposition that Islām came originally from India, not from Arabia, to the Malay Islands and also to Indo-China.

asalām (= *kitāb al-islām*), the 'book' of Islām, *kitāb alamadu* = *kitāb al-Ḥamd*, the book of praise, *casak gāmarat*, the talisman book. They never use his real name. The Ḳur'ān moreover is hardly to be found among them at all. The few copies which exist are incorrect, and written on chinese paper with the brush and not with the reed pen. The Bani seem to esteem equally highly a mystical compendium which much resembles the Javanese *primbon* and is called *nūrshāmsu* by them. The "priests" copy it only during *ramawan* (= *Ramaḍān*) and they receive the princely remuneration of a buffalo for each copy.

The Tjams of Annam pray only on Fridays and during Ramaḍān the five *vaḳ* or *waḳtū* (= *waḳt*) "salāt", the names of which they corrupt as follows: *ṣubuhik*, *ṣobahīs* (= *ṣubḥ*) "morning prayer", *vaḳ ṣarīt* (= *ẓuhr*), "midday prayer", *asarik* (= *'aṣr*) "afternoon prayer", *magarip* = *maghrib*, "sunset prayer", *ikā*, (= *'ishā'*) "evening prayer". They are in the main content with reciting a few *sūra*'s, especially the *fātiḥa*, without understanding them, and the Arabic form is so corrupted in their pronunciation that it is almost unintelligible, e.g.

1. *ahiā simillā hyūr raḥ māmyōr rāḥ himiḥ* = Ar.: *bi 'smi 'llāhi 'r-raḥmāni 'r-raḥīmi*;

2. *hulaku akbabar*; *lā ilāha illāwaḥuḥ wāwaḥukal akkabar* = ar.: *allāhu akbar*; *lā ilāha illa 'llāh*.

They hardly observe any ablutions but are content with making signs as if they were taking water out of a hole in the ground. Circumcision (*katan*, *katat* = Ar. *khitān*) which is performed on boys at the age of 15 and must always precede marriage, is however only symbolical and consists in the imām with a wooden knife making the circumcision. The boy receives a new name (*asmal* = *asmaal*), usually 'Alī or Muḥammad. The Tjam Bani do not make the pilgrimage to Mecca and, while they do not eat pork, the priests as well as the faithful enjoy brandy made from rice, as well as other intoxicating liquors; the religious dignitaries do not however drink in the mosque. If the number of "40" is not present on Friday in the mosque, those missing are replaced by sacrificial cakes and the usual service, followed by a meal, takes place.

The people only observe Ramaḍān for 3 days. The imāms however must observe it till the end on behalf of the whole community. During this time they shut themselves up in the mosque with their prayer books, their rosary, their tea pot, their sleeping mats, their copper spittoon and their betel set, which they require to prepare the chewing material indispensable to all Eastern Asiatics. For a whole month they never cross the threshold except to perform complete ablutions in the river. The others are taken in the great cisterns under the penthouse roof of the mosque.

These mosques or *sang mugik* (*samigik*, *sangyik*; cf. Mal.: *masjit*) which are turned towards Mecca are usually rather poor straw huts with walls of bamboo lattice-work.

Even the names of the religious dignitaries in Annam suggest the strange alteration which Islām has suffered there. At their head is the *pō gru* or *ong gru* (Skr. *guru*), then come the *imām* (*imām*), from whom he is chosen and who are the men who really perform the ceremonies, then the *katip* (*khaṭīb*), who have to give the religious readings in the mosque; next come the *mādin* i. e. mu'adhdhin, the *ācar* (Skr. *ācārya* = "religious teacher"), a kind of religious instructors who belong to the mosque. In general, the word *ācār* in Annam is applied to all Muslim "clergy" in contrast to *baṣaiḥ*, which is the name of the Hindu priests.

All the religious dignitaries in Annam shave their heads and faces. In addition to the simple white fez worn in Cambodia, they also wear a voluminous turban with gold, red or brown fringes. The various ranks are distinguished by the length of the fringes. Like their Hindu brethren they carry a long Spanish reed, the lower part of which is woven into the form of a basket only in that of the *ong gru*. A white sarung, a long white tunic which is buttoned and cut open at the neck is their sole costume. On high feast days the minbar and the interior of the mosque are covered with white cloth; on these occasions they exchange the turban for a kind of disc, which is bored through the middle and fastened to the fez by a piece of linen. The whole looks like the biretta of a judge. These "priests" are almost as ignorant as their simple followers; they can hardly read Arabic, hardly study it at all, and only roughly understand their *sūra*'s which they repeat only "because their fathers also did so". They are free from taxation and forced labour and are held in fairly high esteem by the people; they are the more educated class, however slight the education may be. As they are quite indifferent and tolerant, they do not think ill of the faithful when the latter make offerings to the *Pō Yang* or various Hindu deities, endeavour to propitiate evil spirits and perform certain agrarian rites or magic ceremonies which have nothing Muslim in them. They live in perfect harmony with the Hindu *baṣaiḥ*, invite them to their religious and domestic festivities and are invited in turn, — only the food for the *imām* must be prepared by a Muslim woman — and give each other places of honour. From mutual tolerance both communities refrain from eating pork or beef.

Only from the Hindu cremations do the Muslim priests carefully absent themselves and this religious horror of corpses was previously, it is said, the reason why they alone could enter the royal palace to pray with women in child-bed and to watch his wives and children during the absence of the king.

Either as a result of ancient customs or of the Malay-Polynesian matriarchal system or through contact with the Hindus of Annam who have priestesses called *paḍjā*, the Muslims of Annam have priestesses for a domestic cult; they are called *raḍja* or *ridja*. If a sick member of the family has to be healed, for example, or a journey or business enterprise to be undertaken auspiciously, the *imām* first of all recites various prayers, then this *raḍja* — often the housewife herself — accompanied by the *mādin* who sings and beats the drum, perform certain ritual dances, or falls into a state of great excitement in order to influence the 'deities' or 'spirits of the dead', to whom sacrifices are at the same time made. This ceremony is always followed by a great feast. The *raḍja*'s, who must not eat the flesh of the pig or of the sand lizard, even play the principal part at the great annual festivals, which are celebrated in December—January and are probably of Malay or Indonesian origin — the name Java is repeatedly mentioned in them — and are regarded by the Muslim Tjams as the "New Year's festival of the ancestors".

The festival lasts two days and three nights. A great booth is built in an enclosure, if possible of quite new material, and the interior is hung with white cotton cloth. The altar is a simple large tray, with dishes on which are betel, food and fruits. Wax lights are stuck on the edge of the dishes and they also are bound round with cotton threads of different colours. A swing hung to two pillars is intended for the *rija*; she is assisted by three *imām*'s and the *madin*, who with his tom-tom conducts an orchestra consisting of a clarionet, a violin, cymbals and an oblong drum (*ganing*).

The festival which is interrupted by numerous meals is opened with the *bismillāh*, then follows the invocation of the mountain and forest spirits and of the shades of the "spirits beyond the sea, which may not be mentioned by name"; and finally the invocation of 38 deities or spirits by name; at each of them the three *imām* recite prayers.

The most characteristic part of the festival takes place on the second day at the rise of the morning star. After the *madin* has invoked the deities and the *rija* has performed a special dance in their honour, they take a small rowing boat made out of a single piece of wood, which is said to come from Java or China to collect tribute. The master of the house in which the festival is held, pretends not to understand Javanese and the *madin* acts as interpreter. Amid joking all round, eggs, cakes and the figure of an ape with jointed limbs are put in the boat, the participants then break up the walls and roof of the booth and fight for the cakes. On the third day the *rija* goes, accompanied by the officiants and the orchestra, to the river and solemnly places the boat with the ape on the water. This ends the festival.

While circumcision is only symbolical with the Tjam Bani of Annam, the *katat* for the old men is practised as in Cambodia and the *karoh* (literally, "enclosing") marks the declaration of a girl's fitness for marriage. Not till then dare they put up their hair and marry; until then they are *tabong* i. e. unapproachable, and the seducer would be severely punished. This festival takes place under the presidency of the *ong gru* and of two *imām*'s for a considerable number of girls on each occasion and lasts two days. It is opened with prayers to Allāh, Muhammad, the Hindu deities and the shades of their ancestors as well as with a feast at which the priests eat apart. Two booths are erected, the one for the ceremony itself, and the other as a dressing room for the girls, who sleep there under the supervision of four matrons. The *imām* spend the night praying; at 7 a. m. the girls appear wearing their finest clothes and ornaments, their hair loosened and covered with a triangular mitre. Before them goes an old woman and a man clothed in white, who carries a year-old child dressed exactly like the girls except for the mitre. They throw themselves down before the *ong gru* and the *imām*'s. The *ong gru* places a grain of salt in the mouth of the child, cuts off a lock of its hair and gives it some water to drink. The same is done with the girls, who then return in procession to their booth. If a girl has been seduced the lock is cut off at her neck as a mark of shame. A second feast, at which the priests eat before the faithful, concludes the ceremony.

Birth customs in Annam among the Bani are similar to those among the Kaphir except that the Bani do not sacrifice to the gods on such occasions. The seduction of girls is also severely punished. They do not marry till they are 17 or 18. In Panrang, evidently the result of the old Malay matriarchal system — which has left other traces also, like the right of inheritance of women and the tracing of descent through them and their practising the cult of ancestors — the custom prevails that the girls seek the young men in marriage, but everywhere else in Indo-China the reverse is the custom. The wedding (Tjam, *likhah* = Arab. *nikāḥ*), which is the occasion of long and costly festivities, is usually replaced by public cohabitation, which causes no scandal; the pair are free to celebrate it later when they can afford it, and they may already have two or three children to take part in it. It is far more elaborate among the Bani than among the Kaphir. The *imām*'s repeat prayers; the *ong gru*, who represents the "lord Muhammad", asks the bride, who is considered to be Fāṭima, whether she accepts the presents of the bridegroom, the lord 'Alī. Rich feasts take place at the weddings. The dowry given to the woman remains her property in case of a divorce. Divorce is fairly easy and leaves nearly two thirds of the joint property in the hands of the woman. Mixed marriages are rare and in them the children follow the religion of the mother. It sometimes happens that a Muslim woman marries a Hindu, very rarely the contrary.

The burial service is as simple among the Bani as it is elaborate among the Kaphir. The corpse is wrapped in white cotton sheets and placed in a small hut, where the *ong gru* and the *imām*'s repeat prayers. As soon as night falls the dead man is buried, with four *imām*'s present, almost secretly, without a coffin and with the face turned to the north. The relatives beseech his spirit not to come and afflict them. On the 3rd, 7th, 10th, 20th, 40th and 100th day as well as on the anniversary of his death a *padhi* i. e. a service at the tomb with prayers, a meal and presents for the *imām*'s is observed at his grave. The 7th and the 40th day are the most important. The dead person is almost always exhumed after a certain period on an anniversary of his death. His bones as well as his golden or silver ornaments are placed in a small coffin which is again buried in a particular place and considered sacred.

We thus see that Islām, while it has remained fairly pure in Cambodia, has been overlaid in Annam with a mass of elements and customs, partly animistic and partly Hindu. The Tjams nevertheless desire to be good Muslims; only their ignorance and long usage are the causes of their errors. Malay ḥādjdjīs who have come from the Archipelago to Cambodia on a religious mission have repeatedly succeeded in putting an end to sacrifices to heathen deities in various villages, although they have been unable to stop the enjoyment of rice brandy.

If France should succeed in regenerating the Tjams, as she is endeavouring to do by her humane and wise policy, the revival of their nationality could only be to the advantage of Islām and could only come through Islām in close combination with their brethren and the Malays of Cambodia.

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Tchams et leurs religions, Paris 1891; do., *Légendes historiques des Chams* (*Excurs. et Reconn.*, xiv. N°. 32); do., *Grammaire de la langue chame* (*Exc. et Rec.*, xiv. N°. 31); Aymonier et A. Cabaton, *Dictionnaire čam-français*, 8°, 1906; A. Cabaton, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams*, Paris 1901; le P. Durand, *Les Chams Banis*, . . . *Notes sur les Chams* (*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, iii. 54—62, 447—454, 597—603, v. 368—386); A. Cabaton, *Notes sur l'Islam dans l'Indochine française* (*Rev. du Monde mus.*, i. 27—47); do., *Les Chams musulmans de l'Indochine française* (*ibid.*, p. 130—180); do., Article *Chams*, in the *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, iii. 340—350. (A. CABATON.)

AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL. This expression, which means literally "The Perfect Man", is used by Muḥammadan mystics to denote the highest type of humanity, i. e., the theosophist who has realised his essential oneness with God. Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (ob. 261 = 874), quoted in the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushairī (Cairo, 1318, p. 140, l. 12 *sqq.*; cf. R. Hartmann, *Al-Kuschairis Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, *Türkische Bibliothek*, vol. xviii., p. 168 *infra sq.*), speaks of the mystic who after having been invested with certain divine names, passes away (*faniya*) from them and becomes "the perfect and complete" (*al-kāmil al-tāmm*). We may identify the person so described with *al-insān al-kāmil*, a phrase which occurs, perhaps for the first time, in the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī (cf. *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, Ch. 1) and forms the title of a well-known work, *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Maʿrifat al-Awākhir wa 'l-Awāʾil*, by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī, who died about 820 (1417). These authors base their theory of the Perfect Man on a pantheistic monism which regards the Creator (*al-Ḥaḳḳ*) and the creature (*al-Khalḳ*) as complementary aspects of Absolute Being. A similar but by no means identical doctrine had already been set forth by al-Ḥallādj (see *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, ed. by Massignon, p. 129 *sqq.*). "Man", says Ibn al-ʿArabī, "unites in himself both the form of God and the form of the universe. He alone manifests the divine Essence together with all its names and attributes. He is the mirror by which God is revealed to Himself, and therefore the final cause of creation. We ourselves are the attributes by which we describe God; our existence is merely an objectification of His existence. While God is necessary to us in order that we may exist, we are necessary to Him in order that He may be manifested to Himself."

Al-Djīlī, who differs from Ibn al-ʿArabī in certain details, gives a full and systematic exposition of the theory. His argument runs somewhat as follows:

Essence (*dhāt*) is that to which names and attributes are attached, although in reality there is no distinction between the Essence and its attributes. It may be either existent or non-existent. The existent is either Pure Being (God) or Being joined to not-being (created things). Absolute or Pure Being is the simple Essence, without manifestation of names, attributes, and relations. The process of manifestation involves a descent from simplicity, which has three stages (1) *aḥadiya* (2) *huwiya* (3) *anīya*. At this point appear the names and attributes whereby the Essence is made known. They are communicated by means of mystical Illumination (*tadjallī*). The Perfect Man, who typifies the emanation of Absolute Being from itself and its return into itself, moves upward through a series of Illuminations until he ultimately becomes merged in the Essence. In the first degree, called the Illumination of the Names, "he is destroyed under the radiance of the name by which God reveals Himself, so that if you invoke God by that name, the man answers you, because the name has taken possession of him". The second degree is called the Illumination of the Attributes. These are received by the mystic in proportion to his capacity, the abundance of his knowledge, and the strength of his resolution. To some men God reveals Himself by the attribute of life, to others by the attribute of knowledge, to others by the attribute of power, and so on. Moreover, the same attribute is manifested in different ways. For example, some hear the divine speech (*kalām*) with their whole being, some hear it from human lips but recognise it as the voice of God, some are informed by it concerning future events. The final degree, which is the Illumination of the Essence, sets the seal of deification upon the Perfect Man. He now becomes the Pole (*ḳuṭb*) of the universe and the medium through which it is preserved; he is omnipotent, nothing is hidden from him; it is right that mankind should bow down in adoration before him, since he is the vicegerent (*khalīfa*) of God in this world (cf. Ḳurʾān 2, 28). Thus, being divine as well as human, he forms a connecting link between God and created things. His universal nature (*djamʿīya*) gives him a unique and supreme position in the order of existence. Al-Djīlī divides the attributes of God into four classes; attributes of the Essence (Oneness, Eternity, Creativeness, and the like), attributes of beauty (*djamāl*), attributes of majesty (*djalāl*), and attributes of perfection (*kamāl*). While the attributes of beauty, majesty, and perfection are manifested both in this world and the next — Paradise and Hell, for instance, being respectively absolute manifestations of beauty and majesty — the Perfect Man alone displays the whole sum of divine attributes and possesses the divine life in all its fullness. This microcosmic function, according to the Ṣūfistic interpretation of Ḳurʾān 33, 72, he freely accepted as a trust from the hands of his Maker. He contains the types of every spiritual and material thing. His heart corresponds to the Throne of God (*ʿarsh*), his reason to the Pen (*ḳalam*), his soul to the Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), his nature to the elements (*ʿanāṣir*). He is the copy of God (*nuskhat al-Ḥaḳḳ*); cf. the tradition that God created Adam in His own image.

This theory shows the influence upon Ṣūfism of Gnostic ideas (cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 160 *sqq.*). The *Insān al-Kāmil* is the *Insān al-Ḳadīm* of the Manichaeans, the *Adam Ḳadmōn* of the Ḳabbālā. It was inevitable that on Islamic ground the representative Superman should be the Prophet Muḥammad, the dogma of whose pre-existence established itself, even in orthodox circles, at an early date (see Goldziher, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīt* in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxii. 324 *sqq.*). Many Ṣūfīs, adopting the Plotinian doctrine of emanation, identify Muḥammad, the Perfect Man, with Universal Reason or the Logos. Al-Djīlī takes care to state that Muḥammad is the Most Perfect Man

(*aḳṭāb*), to whom the saints and the rest of the prophets are subordinate. He holds that in every age Muḥammad assumes the form of a living saint and in that guise makes himself known to mystics (cf. Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, concerning the doctrine of the transmission of the *nūr muḥammadī*). We find a further concession to Islām in the principle that the Perfect Man must continue to obey the religious law. "Perception of the sublime Essence", al-Djīlī says, "consists in thy knowing, by way of divine revelation (*kashf*), that thou art He and that He is thou, and that this is not *ḥulūl* [q. v.] nor *ittiḥād*, and that the slave is a slave and the Lord a lord, and that the slave does not become a lord nor the Lord a slave".

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, *Gulshan-i Rāz* of Maḥmūd Shabistarī, ed. Whinfield, ll. 312—561; Tholuck, *Ssufismus*, Ch. 4; Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism*, Ch. 3; Shaikh Muḥammad Iqbāl, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, pp. 150—174, which provides the most complete account of al-Djīlī's philosophical ideas that has yet appeared; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, Ch. 6. (NICHOLSON.)

INSHĀ (A.) Invention. According to the book entitled, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, by ed. van Vloten, p. 78, *inshāʾ* has the special meaning of the preparation of a document which is afterwards examined by the head of the office and drawn up in its final form with or without alteration; that is to say, a rough draft of a document. The *ʿilm al-inshāʾ* is epistolography, the art of drawing up letters and documents. Among the Arabs the celebrated private secretary of the last Omayyad ruler Marwān II, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (on him cf. Ibn Khallikān s. v.), is regarded as the first who distinguished himself in this art. On the subject we have a large number of works in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, which incidentally include much valuable data for the history of culture. Such are the great work by al-Ḳalḳashandī [q. v.], *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, and the much shorter handbook by the Faḍl Allāh [q. v.] entitled *al-Taʿrīf bi ʾl-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*. Arabic guides to letter writing were also composed by Marʿī b. Yūsuf, *Badīʿ al-Inshāʾ wa ʾl-Ṣifāt fi ʾl-Mukātabāt wa ʾl-Murāsalāt*, repeatedly printed at Būlāḳ, Cairo and Constantinople, sometimes together with a similar work by Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār [q. v.] which is known by the simple title of *Inshāʾ al-ʿAṭṭār*. Older than the books mentioned is the *Ḥusn al-Tawassul ilā Ṣināʿat al-Tarassul* of Ibn Fahd al-Ḥalabī (Cairo 1298, 1315). In Arabic there are also a large number of collections of model letters. Cf. the sections concerned in the catalogues of Arabic MSS. Recent works: S. Sharṭūnī, *Manuel de style épistolaire*, Bairūt 1880; J. Harfūsh, *Correspondance Commerciale*, Bairūt 1902; E. Fumey, *Choix de Correspondances Marocaines*, etc. 1903 etc. In Persian in addition to the collections of letters by Ibn Muʾaiyad al-Baghdādī, by Hindūshāh al-Munshī al-Nakhdjiwānī, by Abu ʾl-Faḍl [q. v.] etc. we have the letterwriters by Harkarn [q. v.], by Khalīfa Shāh Muḥammad (*Djāmiʿ al-Ḳawānīn*, ed. Lucknow 1846 and Cawnpore 1864), *Saiyid al-Inshāʾ-i wara ḥukūr*, Tabrīz 1327 etc. Turkish letterwriters were composed by Nerkesīzāde, Kinalīzāde. On the celebrated collection by Ferīdūn enough has been said above ii. 93. Cf. also Khairī Efendi, *Inshāʾ* (Būlāḳ 1242). Modern works: Aḥmed Rāsim, *ʿIlmeh Khazīnet-i Mektūb* (Stambul 1331); Maḥmūd Fuʾād, *Rehber-i Kitābet-i ʿOthmāniye yakhod Mekmūʿa-i Munsheʾāt* (Stambul 1328); Saʿīd Efendi, *Guide complet de correspondance turc-français* (Constantinople 1331), etc.

The professional letterwriters (*kātib*, q. v.) in the chancelleries (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*) are called *munshī*, but in India every educated native, especially a native teacher of languages is called *munshī*. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Munshee. Cf. also the articles DAWĀTDĀR and KĀTIB, where further references are given.

IN SHĀʾ ALLĀH, "If Allāh wills". The duty of frequently using this phrase, even when no doubt can really enter, is based upon Ḳurʾān xviii. 23 and xlviii. 27. In these passages Allāh, addressing the Prophet, uses it; in the second passage the event so conditioned was certain to happen and is even qualified by Allāh himself with a *bi-l-ḥaḳḳ*, "in verity". This Allāh is said to have done to admonish (*li-taʾdīb*) the Prophet in the use of the phrase. A tradition is also quoted in which Muḥammad, addressing the dead buried in the cemetery of al-Madīna, saluted them with the Peace, and added, "and we, if it be the will of Allāh, shall join you" — a thing of which there could be no doubt. It is therefore used *a*) in cases where a doubt can really enter; *b*) to show modesty in replying to a question or remark of a flattering nature, but never when what is answered was unflattering; *c*) to show good manners (*taʾaddub*) towards Allāh in submitting verbally and formally to his will, and thereby to gain a blessing (*tabarruk*). This formal submitting of all things to the will of Allāh makes the phrase in usage equivalent to the expression of a desire or hope. If some one tells you that the death of a friend is imminent, you must not say *in shāʾ Allāh*, but you should if you are told that he is getting better. The Saiyid al-Murtaḍā (see reference below) says that a sect, al-Marāsiḳa, existent in his time in Egypt, followers of a certain ʿUthmān b. Marsiḳ, pushed the use of the phrase so far as to fall into heresy (*bidʿa*).

Bibliography: *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī with commentary of the Saiyid al-Murtaḍā, ii. 262 *sq.* (D. B. MACDONALD.)

INSHĀʾ ALLĀH KHĀN, Indian poet, born in Murshidābād; about 1200 he settled in Lucknow, where he secured the patronage of Prince Sulaimān Shikōh; he died about the year 1230. In addition to a Persian and an Urdū *dīwān*, he wrote a Persian *mathnawī* entitled *Shīr u Birindj*; by order of the Nawwāb of Oudh, Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1212—1229), he wrote a grammar of the Urdū language, entitled *Daryā-yi Laṭāfat*, and published a collection of the witty sayings of the same prince, under the title *Laṭāʾif al-Saʿādat*.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, p. 961, 968 *sq.*, 1096b; Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Littérature Hindoustanie*, ii. 33—38.

IʿRĀB (A.) Technical term in Arabic grammar, frequently translated by "inflexion", has however a much narrower meaning. For in the nouns it only applies to the formation of cases but not to numbers and in the verb it refers exclusively to the distinction of the moods of the imperfect and therefore is not applied, as Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen der Araber*, p. 15, erroneously assumes, to the formation of the genders of the

verb and its tenses and even to that of the personal forms, which are regarded as nominal elements added to the verb proper.

According to the view of the Arab grammarians in practice every occurrence of *iʿrāb* presupposes as effective cause a governing word, *ʿāmil* [q. v.], in contrast to *iʿrāb* is *binā'* [q. v.] which is applied to all words which retain their form irrespective of syntactical influences. According as it is capable of *iʿrāb* or not, a word is called *muʿrab* or *mabnī*. The two conceptions *ʿāmil* and *iʿrāb* have thus to be regarded as the central points round which the theory of syntax of the Arab grammarians turns. Where a distinction is made between declension (*taṣrīf*) and syntax (*naḥw* in the narrower sense), the theory of the *iʿrāb*, as ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, p. 61, so rightly says, is, in contrast to our view, excluded from the former. On the other hand, *ʿilm al-naḥw* is sometimes actually called *ʿilm al-iʿrāb* (Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 15, note 1).

The Arabs further differ from our grammatical notions in having no comprehensive terms for "case" and "mood"; but use the same terms without distinction for the various cases and moods if they agree in phonetic character. These terms are taken from the terminations of the cases of the triptote singular of the strong nouns and from that of the affixless forms of the moods of the imperfect of the strong verb. This results in the following division: 1. *rafʿ* (*u*) = nominative (e. g. *raḏjulu-n*) and indicative (*yaḳtulu*); 2. *djarr* (*i*) = genitive (*raḏjuli-n*); 3. *naṣb* (*a*) = accusative (*raḏjula-n*) and subjunctive (*yaḳtula*); 4. *djazm* (lack of vocalisation) = jussive mood (*yaḳtul*). The three first named are originally simply names of the vowels concerned; they are still used as such not infrequently by older grammarians, without reference to the *iʿrāb* and even for vowels in the interior of a word, and this use is even found in Sībawaih, in spite of the fact that (i. 2, 4) he expressly reserves them for *iʿrāb*. The usual usage in Sībawaih however proves that even then they were felt to be genuine terms for the corresponding cases and moods. They are in fact used by him in cases where the declension is formed in quite a different way from that of the above scheme. Thus e. g. the nominative of the sound masc. plural (*muslim-ū-na*) is called *rafʿ*, the oblique case (*muslim-ī-na*) sometimes *djarr* or *naṣb*, although here, according to the view of the strict Arab grammarians the declension is made through the consonants *w* and *y*. It is similar with the dual.

In the noun two kinds of declension are distinguished for the singular (in the widest sense, i. e. including the broken plural). The noun (*ism*) is either *munṣarif* i. e. it has all three cases (triptote) and has nunation (*tanwīn*); or it is *ghair munṣarif*, i. e. it has as its declension vowel only *a* for the genitive and accusative, that is, it has actually only two cases (diptote) and has no nunation. In this connexion it should be noted that those nominal forms of roots with weak third radical, which, like *ʿaṣā*, really show no case changes at all, and according to our view are indeclinable, are traced to corresponding strong forms through the application of definite phonetic laws and like the latter — although according to the terminology of the finished system only *taḳdīran* (virtually) — are considered *muʿrab* and further as *munṣarif* or *ghair munṣarif*. Moreover a noun has not *iʿrāb* as an unalterable character; although *raḏjulun* is in general considered *muʿrab*, this does not prevent that in the vocative: *yā raḏjulu-u* and in combination with the *lā* of the general negation: *lā raḏjula hunā*, the Arabic grammarians do not regard the *raḏjulu* or *raḏjula* as *rafʿ* or *naṣb* but as *mabnī* sui generis. The Arab grammarian always riveted his attention on the individual form and not on its place in a system of declension or conjugation, for which he has not even a name. It is therefore quite natural that he should in the imperfect also interpret the 2 and 3 pl. fem. (*yaḳtul-na*, *taḳtul-na*) as *mabnī*, because here the verb remains unaltered before the *na*, which is considered the representative of the pronoun, also in the strong stem in all three moods. In the other forms of the imperfect, which have the affixes *-na*, *-ni*, *-na*, *ī*, *ā* and *ū* or, according to the Arab view, the consonants *y*, *alif*, *w*, represent the pronominal subject, while the retention of the *n* with its auxiliary vowel is considered a mark of *rafʿ* and its omission as a sign of *djazm* and then of *naṣb*. The Arab grammarians do not recognise at all an energetic "mood" with a name of its own; to them there is simply a strengthening *n* (*nūn muʾakkida*) added to the imperfect forms, which become *mabnī* before it. As their *n* is not a formative element merged in the verb but is regarded as a separate particle, the energetic mood is discussed in Arabic grammars under the particles, which seems strange to us.

On the reason why the linguistic phenomenon here discussed has been given the name *iʿrāb*, later native scholars puzzled their heads and gave various unsatisfactory suggestions; cf. Ibn al-Anbārī *Asrār al-ʿArabiya*, p. 9, 15 ff. According to Wetzstein (*Ztschr. f. Völkerpsychologie*, vii. 461), *iʿrāb* means Beduinising, transferring into the language of the Beduins. V. v. Rosen similarly interprets it (*Ztschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxiii. 170): "to speak as a genuine desert Arab". Vollers (*Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, p. 141) entirely agrees with Wetzstein; on the other hand, Nöldeke (*Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 5) says that the application of the term to the Beduins as the only men speaking pure Arabic at the time is "indeed possible but not certain". The obvious thing may be here too the most probable: *Arraba*, the verbal noun of which is *iʿrāb*, means primarily, to arabicise, to give a word an Arabic form, to pronounce it in the genuine Arab way; the word is commonly enough applied, particularly also by Sībawaih, to foreign words adopted into the Arabic vocabulary in which case there is of course no possibility of a reference to the Beduins; as the contrast between *ʿadjam* and *ʿarab*, non-Arabs and Arabs, is obvious. If we reflect that the cradle of Arab learning was in the ʿIrāḳ with its population, predominantly Aramaic and Persian, whose language completely failed to distinguish cases and moods, that the latter must have been the most striking characteristic of Arabic in contrast to the foreign languages with which they were acquainted, especially as according to good and abundant evidence it was particularly difficult for the non-Arab proselytes, who contributed a strong contingent to the linguistic scholars, so that they frequently found it a stumbling block, one will find it quite natural that *iʿrāb* "arabicising", by narrowing of meaning should come to have the above limited technical meaning; *iʿrāb*

is therefore at bottom only arabicisation κατ' ἐξοχήν. How much *iʿrāb* was considered the exclusive advantage of the Arabic language is clear from the passionate polemic of Ibn Fāris [q. v.] against the assertion that the Greeks also had an *iʿrāb* (Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 214).

Bibliography: A very useful survey is given in the first sections of the *Adjurrūmiya* of Ṣanhādjī in Brünnow [Fischer]'s *Chrestomathie*; chapters 2 to 7, 40 and 41 of the *Asrār al-ʿArabīya* of Ibn al-Anbārī are more detailed and very suitable as an introduction to the controversies of the Arab grammarians. For the rest the student must be referred to the larger grammars in Arabic. (J. Weiss.)

AL-ʿIRĀḲ, also called *al-ʿIrāḳ al-ʿarabī* in contrast to *al-ʿIrāḳ al-ʿadjamī*. In the older period *al-ʿIrāḳān*, "the two ʿIrāḳs", meant the two oldest Muslim towns in the country, Kūfa and Baṣra (Yāḳūt, iii. 628, 11 sq.). Later this name was applied to al-ʿIrāḳ and al-Djibāl [q. v.] together; Yāḳūt iii. 15, 14 knows al-ʿIrāḳ alone as the name usual among the Persians for al-Djibāl and explains this by saying that the Saldjūḳ ruler who held the ʿIrāḳ also conquered al-Djibāl. As he lived in Hamadhān, the people referred his title as "Lord of al-ʿIrāḳ" to the province of which this was the capital; it is however rather to be assumed that the Saldjūḳ called himself "Lord of the two ʿIrāḳs" (with a well-known *mubālagha*) and that the people began to call the eastern part of the kingdom ʿIrāḳ also, at the same time differentiating *al-ʿIrāḳ al-ʿadjamī* and *al-ʿIrāḳ al-ʿarabī*.

The meaning of the name is uncertain. The Arab hypotheses are not satisfactory: *ʿirāḳ* = low lying ground, according to Ibn al-Aʿrābī in Yāḳūt, iii. 628, 17 sq.; "coastland", according to al-Khalīl in Yāḳūt, iii. 628, 21 sq. At the same time the ʿIrāḳ is called al-Sawād, i. e. the country of a dark colour, owing to the cultivated land, in contrast to the bright white-yellow steppes, the contrast between the two being expressed in the name by the Beduins, who are very susceptible to colour effects. But the two names are not synonymous: *sawād* is a movable term, *ʿirāḳ* is fixed; one talks of the *sawād* of Kūfa, but not of the *ʿirāḳ* of Kūfa. Balkhī's statement (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 85, 5; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 166, 7 sq.) is typical: "between Baghdād and Kūfa lies a sawād with a network (of cultivated fields) which shows no gap"; this is a statement based on a correct general conception. It consists only of one long, not very broad, strip of valuable fertile country running from N. to S. in the ʿIrāḳ and, if one wishes to describe the canal system, this continuous fruit garden must be taken as a basis. In Ibn Khurradādhbih there is still a memory of the name which ʿIrāḳ had under the Persian kings: *dil Īrānshahr*, which he translates "the heart of the ʿIrāḳ" (5, 10 sq.; cf. Ibn Rosta, p. 104, 3); this agrees with the fact that al-Khwārizmī understands by Īrānshahr Persia including the ʿIrāḳ, and that, according to Yazīd al-Fārisī, the whole of Īrānshahr was compared to a body of which the heart was the ʿIrāḳ, similarly also Aṣmaʿī (according to Yāḳūt, i. 417). The first Persian name of the ʿIrāḳ was Sūristān (Balādhurī, p. 276, 7; Ibn Rosta, p. 103, 11 sq.; Masʿūdī p. 177, [illegible]; Ṭabarī, i. 819, 7; cf. Nöldeke, p. 15, Note 3).

The following details of the *Geography* and *History* of the country may be given here:

Al-ʿIrāḳ is the flat country which is bounded in the west by the Syrian steppe, in the south by the steppe and desert areas of Arabia and the north shore of the Persian Gulf, in the east by the southern spurs of the Zagros (Djabal Ḥamrīn) and west Khūzistān, in the north by a line from al-Anbār to Takrīt. This northern border line marks the rising ground which in the oldest period formed the limits of the dry land; south of it alluvial land was gradually formed, which on account of its wealth of water, easy to distribute, possessed the most favourable conditions for profitable cultivation; it does not however appear that the administrative frontier ran along the natural boundary and the northern frontier is usually given as a line from Takrīt to al-Ḥadītha, which is about 60 miles N. W. of Hīt and was even included in al-ʿIrāḳ. From the geographical point of view Khūzistān (Susiana), which adjoins it on the east, also belongs to the ʿIrāḳ, as it is not separated by any natural boundary; the same is true of the Taff, i. e. the high lying ground of steppe-like character which begins before the gates of Baṣra and Kūfa. Wherever in the district the ground rises above the level of the river valleys in such a way as to form a barrier against inundation, and at the same time serves as a road, the Arab geographers speak of the *ẓahr* or "ridge" and frequently give the route along it as well as that by the river. If one takes together the many arms of the delta of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the banks of the great rivers with their tributaries and canals, the extent of coast is extraordinarily large in proportion to the whole; the sea with the rivers also forms a system. The possibilities of development appear unlimited; only the regulation of the rivers requires constant attention to prevent the banks being washed away by floods, which would make economic development impossible; breaking of the banks led to the formation of great swamps; the land between the rivers assumes a steppe-like character when there is no irrigation by canals. This was not sufficiently done even in the best period of the country. At present only about a tenth of the whole area of the ʿIrāḳ is under cultivation (agriculture and systematic cattle-rearing). The total area of the ʿIrāḳ from al-Ḥadītha to ʿAbbādān cannot be reckoned to be more than 26,000 square miles (about the size of Bavaria); of this only about 2690 sq. m. are under cultivation. I append the estimate of Drunsch (following Willcocks), *Mag. f. Technik und Industriepol.*, No. 7 of 4, x 1913: Babylonia has 21,500 sq. m. with 850000 inhabitants of which 1690 sq. m. are north, south and west of Baghdād. Tholens (*Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde Berlin*, 1913, p. 329 sqq.) estimates the area affected by the great irrigation scheme at 5290 square miles (cost of the scheme £ 26,500,000; to take 30 years to carry out). Tholens tells me that one of the main conditions for the complete opening up of the country is that the bed of the Tigris be dredged; along with this should go also the revival of the course which is usually thought to have been the principal one in Arab times, that of the modern Shaṭṭ al-Ḥaiy; although this riverbed at Kūt al-ʿAmāra (the Madhāriyā of the geographers) branches off from the present main course of the river, it is still doubtful whether it is the main bed of the Arabs and not rather a channel made by man (so de Sarzec in Heuzey, *Origines Orient. de l'Art*, p. 17); on

it lay Wāsiṭ; unfortunately however the exact site of this town is not known; the latest travellers to visit the ruins (Koldewey and Moritz) did not describe them (Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäolog. Reise*, i. 247). The Shaṭṭ al-Ḥaiy, on which Lynch in 1838 was able to travel in a steamer and on which it is still said to be possible for a part of the year to reach Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh, entered the swamps (al-Baṭā'iḥ [q. v.]) at al-Ḳaṭr, through which it reached, under the name Nahr Abī 'l-Asad, the Didjla al-'Awrā', the "one-eyed" Tigris, identical with the pre-Muslim and modern Tigris. The Euphrates divided somewhat below al-Musaiyib into the two arms, the western, Shaṭṭ Hindiya, and Shaṭṭ al-Ḥilla, the eastern; since the main stream was turned forcibly into the Hindiya arm, the bed of the Ḥilla arm has been in danger of drying up; it was not till the Hindiya Dam was finished at the end of 1913 that the waters were fairly distributed. According to Ḳudāma, the western arm, which makes a slight curve to the west, is called al-Alḳamī (p. 233, 12 sq.; so also Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 52, 3), and the eastern arm is called Sūrā; the former runs towards al-Kūfa and is lost in the swamps; the Sūrā arm, more accurately Nahr Sūrā al-A'lā (Ibn Serapion, p. 28), passes the important town of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubaira (ruins a little north of Babel, Tell 'Imrān 'Alī); 6 *farsakh* below Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubaira the upper Sūrā passes into the lower Sūrā canal; its direct continuation eastwards is called Ṣarāt al-Kabīra, and after passing the town of al-Nīl it is called Nahr al-Nīl and reaches the village of al-Ḥawl (4 miles from al-Nu'māniya on the Tigris), where one can tranship cargo and sail direct to the Tigris or turn to the south, reaching the Tigris at Nahr Sābus (opposite Mādharāyā, which lies on the east bank) (on the subsidiary name *Zāb*, Syr. *zābā*, see Marquart, p. 164). The lower Sūrā (Sūrā al-Asfal) passes several places, among which the locality called al-Djāmi'ān by Ibn Serapion is the al-Ḥilla of the later geographers (founded about 495 = 1102 by the Mazyadid Saif al-Dawla); this arm is the modern Ḥilla arm; at al-Ḥilla a canal branched off to the S. E., the Nahr Nars, said to be called after the Sāsānid Narses (292) who ordered it to be made. The Sūrā and the Nars finally pour their waters into the Budāt canal (*Badāt*, Yāḳūt, i, 770), which crosses the northern edge of the Baṭā'iḥ and is taken from the western arm of the Euphrates, a day's journey north of Kūfa near al-Ḳanāṭir, which is apparently identical with the Aramaean Pumbedita (= *fam al-Budāt*), the celebrated centre of Jewish scholarship (mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela in the xii[th] century); after it takes the waters of the Sūrā and Nars, the Budāt (Euphrates arm) after a course of about 40 miles enters the great swamp.

The two main rivers were joined higher up by canals, in addition to the above waterways. The important canal, Nahr Dudjail, which branched off from the Euphrates near al-Rabb (9 miles from Anbār, 16 from Hīt) and reached the Tigris between 'Ukbarā and Baghdād, does not belong to the 'Irāḳ but to al-Djazīra which adjoins it on the north; it sent off numerous branch canals into the districts belonging to the 'Irāḳ (Maskin, Ḳuṭrabbul); this canal, it appears, was silted up in 340 (951), and its name was transferred to an arm which branched off from the Tigris not far from Sāmarrā. From al-Anbār onwards four canals leave the Euphrates: 1. Nahr 'Īsā: its course is not certain but it may in general be identified with the modern Nahr Ṣaḳlāwiya; it is called after 'Īsā b. 'Alī (Ibn Serapion: Mūsā) b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, whose *ḳaṣr* lay only a little above the junction of the canal and the Tigris, within the zone of the city of the Caliph; according to Ibn Serapion (p. 14, and Yāḳūt, iv. 842), it left the Euphrates at Ḳanṭarat Dimimmā (Abu 'l-Fidā', p. 52, 14, has *Dahamā*, which is probably simply a mistake for Dimimmā); Abu 'l-Fidā, *l. c.*, also says (on the authority of Sulaimān b. Muhannā) that the canal comes from a place below al-Anbār (on the English map the ruins of al-Anbār are entered as "Sifera" on the north bank of the Ṣaḳlāwiya, 6 miles from its beginning) near al-Fallūdja; it irrigated the *ṭassūdj* Fīrūzsābūr; at al-Muḥawwal, a number of canals branched off towards Baghdād; it entered the Tigris below the Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubaira: on the English map the Ṣaḳlāwiya canal runs through the lake of Akkar Kuf, i. e. 'Aḳarḳūf of the geographers (e. g. Yāḳūt, iii. 697) which is assumed to be at the south end; Le Strange wishes to locate the Muḥawwal of Ibn Serapion there; on R. Kiepert's map in Oppenheim's book, the Khōr of the Ṣaḳlāwiya is called in the southern part Khōr al-'Asadj: not far from the beginning of the canal, west of the Euphrates, on the English map is marked the Habbania (Hibbāniya) lock, which is one of the main works in Willcocks's irrigation scheme; on Midḥat's plan for draining the Ṣaḳlāwiya swamp, see Oppenheim, ii. 281; a different account is given by Balkhī (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 84 sq.; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 165); according to him, small streams run off from the Nahr 'Īsā which again join together to form a stream, the Nahr al-Ṣarāt, which enters the Tigris, while the main stream, Nahr 'Īsā, itself reaches the Tigris in the middle of Baghdād: ships can sail on it to its end, while navigation is not possible on the Nahr al-Ṣarāt on account of the weirs; 2. Nahr Ṣarṣar branches from the Euphrates 3 farsakh (about 12 miles) below Dimimmā, flows through a part of the district of Bādūrayā (spelled -rayā in Yāḳūt, i. 460, this is not correct, it can only be -rayā or -rāyā) and reaches the Tigris 4 *farsakh* (16 miles) above al-Madā'in, so Ibn Serapion, p. 15; according to Balkhī (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 85; Ibn Ḥawḳal p. 166), the network of canals which intersects the continuous Sawād between Baghdād and Kūfa (*cf.* above p. 513[a]) begins with the Nahr Ṣarṣar, on which lies the little town of Ṣarṣar, 3 *farsakh* from Baghdād according to Yāḳūt, iii. 381, who says that the Nahr 'Īsā is sometimes called Nahr Ṣarṣar; there is obviously confusion with the Nahr al-Ṣarāt, on the connections of which with the Nahr 'Īsā, see just above; 3. Nahr al-Malik, branches from the Euphrates 5 *farsakh* below the Nahr Ṣarṣar and reaches the Tigris 3 *farsakh* below al-Madā'in; it is also the name of a *ṭassūdj* in the Sawād (so Ibn Serapion, p. 16); Le Strange's statement (p. 68), that the Nahr al-Malik began at al-Fallūdja is incorrect; this is impossible, for this place is only about 12 miles from the head of the Nahr 'Īsā, while the head of the Nahr al-Malik is at least 30 miles from that of the Nahr 'Īsā and should be sought on the maps somewhere about Khān Maḥmūd; Nahr al-Malik was also the name of one of the four *ṭassūdj*'s of Bihḳubādh al-Awsaṭ, while the two Fallūdja were *ṭassūdj*'s of Bihḳu-

Isḥāḳ al-Aʿlā; 4. Nahr Kūthā leaves the Euphrates about 3 *farsakh* south of Nahr al-Malik and reaches the Tigris to *farsakh* below al-Madāʾin; it flows through an extraordinarily rich country and many canals go off from it watering the *ṭassūdj* of Kūthā in the Kūra of Ardashīr Bābakān and a part of the *ṭassūdj* Nahr Djawbar; it flows past Kūthā Rabbā (Ibn Serapion, p. 15); Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 168 (Yāḳūt, iv. 317), mentions besides Kūthā Rabbā, where Abraham was born and buried, a Kūthā al-Ṭarīḳ (Arabicised Aramaic?); Kūthā Rabbā is perhaps to be sought in the Tall Ibrāhīm of the maps (due east of Musaiyib). Of the canals from the Tigris which are independent of the Euphrates, one has already been alluded to: Nahr Dudjail [see p. 514ᵃ]; in Balkhī (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 77 *sq.*; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 156) its exit (*fūha*) is a little below Takrīt; it waters parts of this town and then the Sawād of Sāmarrā up to the vicinity of Baghdād (Iṣṭakhrī: "a large part of the Sawād of Baghdād is irrigated by it"). This was the earlier state of affairs; later the name was limited to the southern part of the canal or (more correctly) of the Tigris arm; this is reflected in the account in Yāḳūt (ii. 555), where the river rises between Takrīt and Baghdād below Sāmarrā returning to the Tigris after flowing through a large area. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, who only compiled without troubling about discrepancies, gives both accounts; p. 56, 7, according to Yāḳūt's *Mushtarik*, p. 289, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ has however combined Ibn Ḥawḳal's version with a note by Ibn Saʿīd, to the effect that the Nahr al-Isḥāḳī is in the south of and east of Takrīt; the latter is fully dealt with by Ibn Serapion, p. 18 *sq.* (translation and commentary, p. 265 *sq.*); although the ms. of Ibn Serapion agrees in saying "east" with Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (or Ibn Saʿīd), "west" is certainly the correct reading. The difference in the statements may be explained by the various stages; in the older stage there was a large canal (arm) of the Euphrates, which was called sometimes Isḥāḳī after its maker, and sometimes by the diminutive Dudjail. Sāmarrā wrought great havoc: the senseless extravagance exploited the land for purposes of luxury; when the days of splendour were over, many a good work of the older period disappeared, including the northern works of the Isḥāḳī-Dudjail; only antiquaries still knew anything of it; the rest of the world only knew of the Dudjail which even the extravagance of Sāmarrā had not been able to destroy and which is said still to exist (entered on Kiepert's map in Oppenheim). To restore all these once lifegiving watercourses is the task to be solved by civilisation in the next decades. The scheme has been drawn up by the English engineer Willcocks (cf. his *Irrigation of Mesopotamia*, Cairo 1905). So far the Hindiya dam has been completed (opened in December 1913); the lock of Habbāniya is being built and it was intended to have it finished in 1916. One of the greatest tasks, the drainage of the marshes between Kūfa and the Tigris around Ḳurna and Baṣra and the restoration of a sufficiently deep and broad channel for the Euphrates, now becomes of subsidiary importance, for, although the waterway still retains its importance beside the railway which is to connect the two important cities of the land, the railway, which is to run along the south edge of the marshes and north edge of the Arabian steppe, will suffice to carry the traffic and waterways through the marshes will be mainly regarded as feeders for the railway. For certain goods the waterroute from and to Nedjef will be a necessity, if they are to be able to compete in the markets. The canals to be revived cannot be intended as transport channels; the principal rule for the ʿIrāḳ has been rightly laid down that the watercourses are there for irrigation purposes and not for navigation. But people have gone too far in their zeal against the latter use, and the two great rivers must not remain any longer unused, but they must be made to carry the valuable cargoes if we are not to be reproached with neglecting an economic factor of the first importance. The lower course of the Euphrates between Ḳurna and the junction of the modern main canal and Tigris at Gurmat ʿAlī (10 m. north of Baṣra) is a swampy area [Baṭīḥa, q. v.] which probably at an earlier period stretched to Muḥammara. Compared with the earlier extent of the Baṭīḥa as given by the Arab geographers (Ḳudāma, 5100 sq. miles? as only linear measure is given, uncertain; Sprenger's calculation, according to Masʿūdī (*Babylonien*, p. 47) is wrong; see thereon Wagner in *Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss.*, 1902, p. 239: the marshes began quite near Kūfa) the modern extent is limited, about 1730 sq. m. (but the area north of the Baṭīḥa, between Shaṭṭ al-Ḥaiy and the Tigris is not yet investigated: there are said to be extensive marshes there also). Even now there are still a number of *khawr* (vulg. *khōr*, also *hawr*: for some notes on the word, see Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, p. 144, note 5) i. e. lakes formed by inundation; the English map shows in addition to Khōr Abū Kelām and Khōr Djazāʾir also Khōr al-Hamar, the largest area of water. There are also lakes formed by inundation in the whole area between the Hindiya arm and the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥaiy; they are to be distinguished from the waters called *baḥr*, like Baḥr Nedjef and Baḥr al-Shināfiya; the Baṭīḥa and the borders of the *khawr*'s are intersected by navigable canals. The Khōr Huwaiza or Khōr al-Aʿẓam through which the Kherkha flows to the Tigris also belongs to the ʿIrāḳ. *Khōr* is also the name of the watercourses in the delta of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, which have a different character from the lakes formed by inundation.

The rich soil of this country provides a fertile crop of corn of the first quality. Knowledge of this at one time penetrated into Arabia, the Beduins of which were on terms of intercourse with the principality of al-Ḥīra [q. v.], which lay on the borders of the blessed country and saw both sides. Every rising political power in Arabia when it felt strong enough had to make its first attack on the rich ʿIrāḳ. Here the material basis was to be found for a government which wished to set out on a policy of conquest; here were found the means to satisfy the "warriors of the faith" to whom the booty offered them by the conquest of this country seemed more valuable than the prospect of the joys of Paradise. Arab tradition makes this clear in the story that the Beduins were urged by their wives to get them the rich corn that grew in the ʿIrāḳ. But ʿIrāḳ was at the same time the door for an invasion into the Persian empire. Muḥammad, who had a good political instinct, could not fail to notice that in his period a great struggle was raging between the two world powers of which he might be able to reap the benefit as

tertius gaudens. The only clear revelation on foreign politics which survives (others have been lost) hopes for the victory of the defeated Byzantines (Sūra xxx. 1): a weakened Persia was in the interest of the Arabian policy of conquest, the guiding spirit in which from the first was ʿOmar. The war on two fronts was taken up with a boldness which cannot be sufficiently admired. The conquest of Syria and of the ʿIrāḳ was completed so thoroughly that 25 years after the death of the Prophet the crisis of the first civil war could be passed without serious consequences. The conquerors fell upon the ʿIrāḳ in full strength and here they won their first great victories. In strong, sudden blows the Persian outposts on the Euphrates were taken and the advance relentlessly continued until in the battle of Nahāwand (21 = 642) the Sāsānid power was overthrown. With great skill the Arab generals created a strong base of operations about 400 miles long with the camps of Baṣra and Kūfa as its eastern and western termini (the whole of the materials on the founding of these two cities is given by Caetani, years 16, p. 238 *sqq*.; 17, p. 13 *sqq*.). The rich capital of the country, Ktesiphon, which consisted of a group of towns, was ruthlessly plundered and destroyed and the foundations of a new fortified town were not laid upon it, but on the ruins the unimportant al-Madāʾin (see Nöldeke, p. 16, note 1; Streck, p. 246—279) dragged on a miserable existence till it was absorbed by Baghdād. Great care was devoted to the administration of this part of the young empire by the far-seeing ʿOmar. Kūfa and Baṣra received separate governors, that of Kūfa was at first Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, whose place was taken at the wish of the constantly grumbling Kūfis by ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [q. v.] who was not fit for the office; he was succeeded by Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who had been dismissed from Baṣra on account of a scandal, until Saʿd was restored to office (25 = 646); then followed al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba (25—30 = 646—650) and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ (30—33 = 651—654). Baṣra was more stable; there Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [q. v.] ruled from 17—29 (= 638—650); he played an active part in settling the quarrel between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya after the battle of Ṣiffīn. He was succeeded by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [q. v.], who hurried to the help of ʿOthmān but arrived too late. In 35 (655) ʿAlī sent to Baṣra ʿOthmān b. Ḥunaif, and ʿAmmār b. Shihāb to Kūfa. Ziyād Ibn Abīhi (cf. Lammens' monograph) sent by Muʿāwiya as governor to Baṣra in 45 (665) became ruler of the whole of the ʿIrāḳ in 50 (670) and by a salutary firmness restored order in the turbulent country. He died in Kūfa in 53 (673), before his "brother" Muʿāwiya; his son ʿUbaid Allāh became governor of Baṣra and Kūfa in 55 (675); under him Ḥusain b. ʿAlī [q. v.] met his death and he persecuted the Shīʿa. An important change in the fortunes of Baṣra took place when in the period of confusion after Yazīd's death (64 = 683), the Tamīm, the northern Arabs of Baṣra, fell to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.], as did the people of Kūfa. The ʿIrāḳ seemed to be lost to the Omayyads for a time. The efficient ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair, who was firmly established in Mecca, appointed his governors in the ʿIrāḳ; the bold and cunning guerilla leader Mukhtār in 66 (686) was able to expel the governor of Baṣra, but in the next year he fell in the battle of Ḥarūrāʾ near Kūfa. The death of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair essentially altered the situation; his best officer, al-Muhallab, joined ʿAbd al-Malik [q. v.] and a governor of the Damascus government returned to Baṣra (72 = 691). The Khāridjis were a source of continual unrest; they were spread over the ʿIrāḳ and adjoining Khūzistān; they never permanently held a dominating position and were opposed by all the other parties. The governorship of Kūfa was sometimes combined with that of Baṣra, but in that case the governor-general had deputy governors under him. We know of the following governors of Kūfa: 53—55 (673—675) ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid, 55—58 (675—678) al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳais, 58—59 (678—679) Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam, 59—60 (679—680) al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr; 64 (684) we find ʿAmir b. Masʿūd (Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 109) as deputy (*khalīfa*) of ʿUbaid Allāh (cf. under Baṣra) in Kūfa; in the same year Mukhtār appeared in Kūfa, where ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubair had a governor. In Kūfa in 75 (694), the activity of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [q. v.] began; he had been appointed governor of the whole of the ʿIrāḳ by ʿAbd al-Malik and his able and energetic administration suppressed all rebellion. The revolt of the Baṣris, who had joined the pretender ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [q. v.], was finished by the battles of Dair al-Djamādjim [q. v.] and Maskin (83 = 702). Al-Ḥadjdjādj took efficient measures to put an end to the seditious activities of the towns of Kūfa and Baṣra: he created a centre of economic and intellectual life for the ʿIrāḳ in Wāsiṭ on the Tigris (Shaṭṭ al-Ḥaiy), from which Kūfa and Baṣra, which were not too far distant (Kūfa 120 miles and Baṣra 180), could be ruled. ʿAbd al-Malik's administrative reforms were also of great benefit to the ʿIrāḳ; their fundamental principle was that of unity, which was indispensable for a healthy development; the most important was the reform of the currency, which began in the year 75 (694) and replaced the Byzantine and Persian coins current in the empire by coins with Arabic legends (the older emblems were retained on some of the copper coinages; on the silver in some parts of the empire the bust of Khosraw and the fire altar were retained and only the confession of faith was placed on the margin). ʿAbd al-Malik acquired further merit by organising the postal service although it was only used for carrying persons and messages in the interest of the government. Finally Arabic was ordered to be the official language; previously official documents had been in the language of the country or in it and in Arabic. Under al-Walīd also (86—96 = 705—715) al-Ḥadjdjādj retained his peculiar position. The figure of this man, in spite of the contradictory, on the whole unfavourable, accounts of the Arab annalists is still quite distinct to us. We know that there was a whole school which systematically depicted in black colours all that the Omayyads did, especially all the actions of their great statesmen; this is the ʿIrāḳ school, the chief representative of which is Saif b. ʿOmar (clearly elucidated by Wellhausen, cf. Caetani, year 11, p. 305). Unbiassed historical research will do justice to the merits of al-Ḥadjdjādj, but it must confess that one element in his administration had a pernicious influence on the development of the whole empire: that was the way in which he favoured his north Arabian countrymen, the Ḳais. Therefore all the Yamanis in the army and the government and all elements in the population who sided with the

Yamanīs were against him, as were also the ʿAlids, whose pretensions he ruthlessly combated. He took energetic measures against all men who fought for their particular interests, like al-Muhallab, who used every party when it seemed to be for his advantage. The tension produced by al-Ḥadjdjādj's ruthless procedure did not find full vent in explosion, as al-Walīd, a true son of his father, by his cautious and clever policy was able to avoid fatal outbursts of the principal feud, viz. that between the Ḳaisīs and the Yamanīs. The storm burst as soon as al-Walīd had died, for his brother Sulaimān who followed him (96—99 = 715—717) was under the influence of the enemies of al-Ḥadjdjādj, the embittered Yamanīs. Al-Ḥadjdjādj was spared the pain of the change, for he died six months before al-Walīd. The new epoch which began with Sulaimān first showed itself in the appointment of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, one of the most dangerous intriguers and agitators, as governor of the ʿIrāḳ (95 = 714). The new lord began a reign of terror; the most prominent men of the North Arab party were persecuted and ill-treated. With Sulaimān's death there began a period of government by factions, which at every change in the throne resulted in intolerable uncertainty and dangers. ʿOmar II, son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, checked the activities of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab for a time by imprisoning him (in the citadel of Aleppo, Ibn al-Athīr, v. 39); scarcely had ʿOmar died (101 = 720) when Yazīd escaped; the rebellion which he at once stirred up in Baṣra was suppressed by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (102 = 721); as a reward his brother Yazīd II (101—105 = 720—724) appointed him governor of Khorāsān, Baṣra, and Kūfa, separate deputy governors for them being placed in them by Maslama. The appointment of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī as governor of the ʿIrāḳ by Hishām (105—125 = 724—743) had a beneficial result. With the death of Hishām, however, the completest confusion prevailed throughout the empire; passions were vented without restraint, and the factions of North and South Arabs into which all prevailing antithesis almost all other differences were merged, fell on one another. Al-Walīd II who followed Hishām was a Ḳaisī fanatic who had al-Ḳasrī cruelly executed. In Marwān II (127—132 = 744—750) a Marwānid once more took energetic steps against the rebellions. In the ʿIrāḳ he also put down Khāridjī risings. But the flame which the cunning ʿAbbāsids Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (al-Saffāḥ) and Abū Djaʿfar (al-Manṣūr) kindled in Khorāsān was no longer to be extinguished. Their general Abū Muslim in 130 (748) won the decisive battle against Marwān's governor, Naṣr b. Saiyār. The governor of the ʿIrāḳ, Ibn Hubaira, could not check the evil. The Yamanīs in Kūfa rebelled and gave up the city to the enemy and it became for a time the headquarters of the ʿAbbāsids. Marwān himself was decisively defeated on the Great Zāb in 132 (750). The ʿAbbāsids took the place of the Omayyads. Going back for a moment we may mention a political principle introduced by Muʿāwiya and maintained by his successors as a regular rule, but for which the rule of the Omayyads would certainly have disappeared more quickly. Muʿāwiya succeeded in consolidating his rule in the ʿIrāḳ and in stabilising and tranquilising the country in a relatively short time by his policy of wise moderation, which was seen especially in the consideration he paid to the inclinations of the people and in the introduction into the army of the principle of territorial military service. While at first the troops in the ʿIrāḳ were foreigners but stationed only in a few depots, the numerous conversions to Islām soon supplied sufficient men for the local forces. The fact that these troops were not used outside the country or only in campaigns against the east had the disadvantage that the enemies of the Omayyads were able to find a strong support in them. Abū Muslim fought with ʿIrāḳīs and Persians against the Omayyads, who only had the Syrian troops on their side. In the civil administration also Muʿāwiya and his successors showed themselves far-seeing statesmen: although they did not allow the ʿIrāḳīs to choose their own governor, but imposed rulers upon them, yet they wisely gave way to appeals and changed the individuals, an unimportant concession which in no way meant an alteration of the system. In yet another way the Omayyad rule was beneficial to the ʿIrāḳ. These rulers recognised that the ʿIrāḳ with its agriculture, dependent on special methods of cultivation, required to be administered with particular care; neither arbitrary interference nor complete laissez faire were here suitable. In not a few cases the representatives of the central government saw to improvements proposed by the natives, like Maslama, the Caliph's brother, who built a canal. The economic results of the Omayyad rule in the ʿIrāḳ are to be all the more highly appreciated as they had to reckon with the hostility of the population (Kūfa was in the hands of the Shīʿa, Baṣra in the power of the Khāridjīs). The difference between Syria and the ʿIrāḳ during the Omayyad period is that in Syria there was union and coherence and in the ʿIrāḳ continual strife. The Shīʿa and Khāridjī troubles have already been mentioned as well as the fighting between North and South Arabs, who opposed one another in the ʿIrāḳ under the names "Tamīm" and "Azd"; in spite of these troubles the great Marwānid succeeded in lessening the differences and bringing about a certain degree of coherence in the whole empire. The turn given to the Muslim empire by the victory of the ʿAbbāsids seemed likely to make the unity permanent. The transference of the Caliph's capital to the new city of Baghdād consolidated the connection of the regions belonging to the central zone. On the other hand, this measure already concealed the germ of decay, since the west could no longer be commanded from Baghdād, while this move did not result in a firmer authority over the eastern territories. Yet the area within the immediate sphere of the Caliph's influence, with Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, the ʿIrāḳ, and Persia, was still so important both in territorial extent and in values inherited from the pre-Muhammadan period that the ʿAbbāsids and their statesmen might have been able to build a permanent structure of indestructible political power and economic prosperity. Under al-Manṣūr and his immediate successors to al-Maʾmūn this great empire was a type of a political magnitude such as had hardly ever been attained before and can only be compared with the Roman empire under Hadrian. The Roman empire and the caliphate under the early ʿAbbāsids are hypertrophied structures, they are colossi with feet of clay. The imminence of collapse is the mark which they bear on their brows. In the causes of their decline they have much in com-

mon, but each of them had besides its own special conditions. The error in the structure of the caliphate, which was bound to prove fatal, lay in basing the sovereignty of the dynasty on aristocracy of birth and religion. Alongside of the clan which championed this was another of the same character which unceasingly endeavoured to make good its claims and to work for the overthrow of the dominant clan. The latter were the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, whose partisans formed themselves into a politico-religious party and were a great danger, not so much on account of their numbers, for then as now they cannot have numbered more than a tenth of all Muslims, but they formed the most intelligent and most industrious part of the Muslim population. Besides the clan and religious elements in the feud there soon appeared a third, the racial. The predominant majority was Arabic. These Arabs treated the Persians with contempt; the latter had also to attach themselves as clients to an Arab clan. Their ill-treatment led them to join with the other group, the Shīʿat ʿAlī "the followers of ʿAlī", who were severely oppressed by the dominant clan and its government. Their common sufferings formed a strong bond of union. A religious and nationalist party grew out of the at first purely Arab Shīʿat ʿAlī. "Persian" and "Shīʿa" gradually became synonymous. The danger was at first averted: a skilful policy bridged over the differences for a space of about 40 years. The Caliph al-Manṣūr, the second ʿAbbāsid (136—158 = 754—775), summoned a prominent Persian, named Khālid, of the Barmak family, said to be related to the old royal family, to a high office in the Government. Under his successors, unusually capable and clever men, this family attained an almost autocratic position. This period marks the zenith of the political power and economic prosperity of the caliphate, while at the same time a civilisation flourished that was conditioned by a limited external adaptation to the great cultural elements which the conquering Arabs found in Syria and Babylonia; but the foundations for a farther prosperous development were not created. Nor could it be otherwise; for the system of government which at the very beginning of the Omayyad period had replaced the originally democratic principle was based upon the idea that the prosperity of the Muslim community was secured by placing at the head of the government the man most worthy of this office. To exercise his control perfectly he had to have unlimited power and very soon this conception of the caliph became accepted to such a degree that he was actually regarded as the "Shadow of God". In practice this absolute ruler was usually not only not the most worthy but frequently one who had the gravest moral defects and at the same time a plaything in the hands of those who exploited the community in his name. In an administration of this kind two tendencies developed in a most disastrous fashion: the formation of gigantic fortunes and the preponderance of the "priesthood" of one particular theological school. At the same time a number of adventurers arose who troubled little about the superman on the Caliph's throne. The caliphate broke up into a number of communities which existed almost independently alongside of one another. In each of these communities developments followed the course settled by local conditions. The ʿIrāḳ also followed its own devices. From the beginning of the Būyid rule to the end of the Saldjūḳ period it was a province of a kingdom whose centre was in Persian ʿIrāḳ, but there was no marked policy of interference by the rulers: provided that the inhabitants bore patiently the oppression of their foreign masters and their heavy demands for money, they were allowed liberty to maintain their national life. The revival of the authority of the caliph under the vigorous Caliph al-Nāṣir brought no essential alteration. This period, besides, was soon ended by the Mongol invasion.

In the long period of ʿAbbāsid rule the ʿIrāḳ suffered many vicissitudes. When the caliphs were strong, the conflicts between the various elements and the aspirations of ambitious adventurers were speedily crushed; otherwise, the land suffered considerable unrest; for the Kūfa and Baṣra people were incurable as regards their main faults. The new capital attracted the worst elements to itself; at the same time the revival of economic prosperity brought masses into the country who when the time came could be stirred up by ambitious individuals, as for example happened with the rebellion of the Zandj imported from East Africa; finally, the religious fervour which was glowing beneath the ashes, again and again burst forth in burning and consuming flames. The extraordinary skill with which the Barmakids and, under their guidance, three caliphs maintained the delicate balance between Arabs and Persians, was lacking when the Barmak family was destroyed. The extermination of the Barmakids which resulted in an essential alteration in the ethnic balance of power in the ʿIrāḳ, meant that the policy of conciliation and mediation between the two main elements, the Arabic and Persian, was at an end. The overthrow of the balance first showed itself in a series of ʿAlid troubles, which began with the rising of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (199 = 815). The capital stood by the Sunnī caliphate and even went so far as to oppose the Caliph himself when the latter in pursuit of an untenable policy of conciliation made the mistake of planning to give the succession to the ʿAlid Imām al-Riḍā as husband of his daughter and adopting the green colour of the ʿAlids. As soon as he saw his mistake, he undid his measure not without the use of force. The extermination of the Barmakids did not conduce to the strengthening of the political power of the Arabs in the ʿIrāḳ, but to its destruction, for the dislocation of the intimate relations in the central province led to the introduction of a new element into the court service and thus into political life. Al-Muʿtaṣim created for himself a Turkish praetorian guard and lived under its protection in Sāmarrā which was founded by him. The Turkish force with which the caliphs surrounded themselves stood alone and the existing Arab bodies of troops fell into the background before it, as the former had much more energy and soldierly spirit. The people thus became unfit to defend themselves and were at the mercy of those who ruled the land with the help of foreign troops, either as the appointed representatives of the Caliph or as usurpers who entered the land by force. These foreign bodies also endeavoured to gain control of the other provinces. We have already seen that Turkish families gained the ruling power in Egypt and therefore in Syria, but this did not mean the

coming of a system of regionalism, although the land furnished hardly any troops worth mentioning. In the 'Irāḳ under al-Mutawakkil Turkish praetorians came into power and made any orderly government impossible. The caliphs with a few exceptions (al-Mu'taḍid 892—902) and al-Muktafī (902—908) were utterly incapable and occasionally criminally self-seeking. The struggle for power around the caliph, that is for the office of generalissimo (Amīr al-Umarā'), came to an end for a time through the rise of the Būyids (334 = 945), who ruled the two 'Irāḳs, Babylonia and Media (cf. the beginning of the article). During the great disturbances which attended the complete collapse of the decadent Būyid family and the rise of the strong Turk family of Saldjūḳs (447 = 1055) a peculiar combination arose: a Turk general of the Būyid army, Arslān al-Basāsīrī [q. v.], ruled for a short time in the 'Irāḳ in name of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir (451 = 1059). But as a result of the great distance between the 'Irāḳ and Egypt and southern Syria (the inhospitable Syrian steppe makes it necessary to take a devious route via north Syria) there could be no question of real Fāṭimid rule in the 'Irāḳ. The intervention of al-Basāsīrī was an episode which very soon passed. The Saldjūḳs, who appeared as the main champions of the Turks and held the caliph completely in their power, also considered themselves the protectors of the true Muslim doctrine and persecuted the Shī'a wherever it raised its head in the 'Irāḳ. Although they showed an inclination for Persian culture (the great Saldjūḳs resided not in Baghdād but in Iṣfahān), they did not interfere with the Arab culture of the 'Irāḳ. The temporary redemption of a certain amount of power by the caliphate under Nāṣir al-Dīn made only little alteration in the political and religious conditions. The 'Irāḳ became an easy prey to the Mongol conqueror Hūlāgū (656 = 1258), and its capital Baghdād sank to be a minor provincial town on the extinction of the caliphate. The desolation of the country, which as a result of the complete neglect of organised irrigation had begun as early as the beginning of the xth century, continued. The 'Irāḳ became steppe country with a few large villages and a few cultivated stretches on which the cultivation of the date-palm was alone of some importance. The incorporation of the 'Irāḳ in Persia by the powerful Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl (915 = 1509) was not permanent. The country very soon (941 = 1534) fell to the Ottoman empire, of which it was a province until 1918.

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(M. HARTMANN.)

IRAM, the name of an individual or tribe which occupies the same position in Muslim genealogy as Aram in Biblical, as may be seen from a comparison of the Muslim series 'Ūṣ b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ with the Biblical 'Ūṣ b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah. The Muslim line probably, like many others, entered historiography under Jewish influence and therefore gives us no new information regarding the dissemination of Aramaeans in Arabia. The name is identified with that of the Iram Dhāt al-'Imād discussed below, the vocalisation of which was established. Perhaps this explains why the Muslims say Iram instead of Aram.

Tradition has still further developed the connection with the Aramaeans. The people 'Ād [q. v.] were called Iram; when the 'Ādis were destroyed, the name Iram was transferred to Thamūd whose descendants were thought to be the Nabathaeans of the Sawād. It was also known to Muslim scholars that Damascus in ancient times was called Iram i. e. Aram.

Bibliography: see the next article.

(A. J. WENSINCK.)

IRAM DHĀT AL-'IMĀD occurs in the Ḳur'ān only in Sūra 89, 6: "(5) Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with 'Ād, (6) Iram dhāt al-'Imād, the like whereof hath not been created in the lands". — The connection between 'Ād and Iram in these verses may be interpreted in various ways, as the commentaries explain at length. If Iram is taken in contrast to 'Ād, it is intelligible why Iram also has been taken as a tribal name; 'Imād could then be taken in the sense of "tent-pole". According to others, the poles are a description of the giant figure of the Iram, which is thus particularly emphasised. If Iram stands in *iḍāfa* to 'Ād, it is more probable that Iram dhāt al-'Imād is a geographical term: "Iram with the pillars". This is the prevailing opinion among Muslims. What is exactly referred to, however, is a point on which opinions differ widely both in east and west. According to Yāḳūt, the view most frequently held is that which considers dhāt al-'Imād an epithet of Damascus [q. v. i. 903[a]]. Djairūn b. Sa'd b. 'Ād [see DAMASCUS, i. 904[b]] is said to have settled here and have built a town adorned with marble columns. Loth has used this tradition in support of his view that only Aramaic traditions are associated with the name Iram.

Iram, however, is frequently referred by Muslims to South Arabia to which 'Ād also belonged. 'Ād had two sons, Shaddād and Shadīd. After the death of the latter, Shaddād subdued the kings of the world; when he heard of Paradise he had a town built on the steppes of Aden which was to be an imitation of Paradise. Its stones were of gold and silver and its walls studded with jewels, etc. When Shaddād, after neglecting the warning of Hūd [q. v.], wished to see the town, he was destroyed by a tornado with his whole retinue a day's journey from Iram and the whole town buried in sand.

In a tradition given by al-Mas'ūdī (ii. 421) the story does not have a tragic ending. After Shad-

dād had built Iram, he wished to erect a duplicate of the town on the site of Alexandria. When Alexander the Great came to found Alexandria, he discovered traces of a great building with many columns of marble. On one of these was an inscription of Shaddād b. ʿĀd b. Shaddād b. ʿĀd in which he related that he had had this town built on the model of Iram dhāt al-ʿImād; but God put an end to his life: no one should be tempted to undertake too great a thing. — It is easy to see that this tradition is connected with the romance of Alexander, in which it is related (Pseudo-Callisthenes, ed. C. Müller, i. 33) that at the building of Alexandria a temple with obelisks was found which had an inscription of King Sesonchis who ruled the world. The warning mentioned in al-Masʿūdī's inscription is also quite in the tenor of the Alexander legend. We therefore must not expect here a tradition concerning the site of Iram. It must be noted, however, that Ṭabarī also in his commentary on the Ḳurʾān gives the view that Iram was identical with Alexandria.

It is further related that a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳilāba while seeking two lost camels came by chance on the buried town, from the ruins of which he brought musk, camphor, and pearls to Muʿāwiya. All these however became dust when exposed to the air. Muʿāwiya summoned Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [q. v.] to him and asked him about the town. The latter at once replied: "It must be Iram of the pillars, which was to be found in thy caliphate by a man whose appearance is as follows". The description fitted ʿAbd Allāh exactly. The hardly concealed tone of mockery with which al-Masʿūdī relates all this (*Murūdj*, iv. 88) is worth noting.

According to Muslim scholars, this Iram dhāt al-ʿImād lay near ʿAdan or between Ṣanʿāʾ and Ḥaḍramawt or between ʿOmān and Ḥaḍramawt. It should be noted that the form of the name Iram is South Arabian: Hamdānī mentions a hill and a well of the name Iram in South Arabia. This fact is a refutation of the opinion of Loth, who considers Aramaic references exclusively.

It is likewise clear that we have not to accept the connection between the tribe Iram = Aram and Iram dhāt al-ʿImād which is assumed by Muslim tradition. — The story of the finding of the family tomb of ʿĀd b. Iram is found in D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Studien* (*Sitz. ber. Akad. Wien*, philos.-histor. Klasse, lxxxvi. 134 *sqq.*).

Bibliography: Commentaries on Sūra, 89, 6; Masʿūdī (ed. Paris), ii. 41, iii. 271, iv. 88; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 214, 220, 231, 748; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 9 *sq.*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s. v.; Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs* (Cairo 1283), i. 76; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (Cairo 1290), p. 125—130; Hamdānī (ed. Müller), Index s. v.; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen u. Schlösser*, p. 418; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire*, i. 14; Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre Muhammads*, i. 505—518; Loth in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, xxxv. 625 *sq.*

(A. J. WENSINCK.)

IRĀN. (See PERSIA.)

IRATEN, Berber AIT IRATEN (cf. AIT); Arabic BANŪ RATEN, a tribe of Great Kabylia, whose territory is bounded on the north by the Sebau, in the west by the Wādī Aïssi, which separates them from the Banū Yenni, in the south by the district of the Ait Yaḥyā and in the east by that of the Ait Fraussen, and forms a hilly country from 3000 to 3500 feet in height, yielding olives and figs and some corn. The inhabitants are settled in several villages, of which the most important are ʿAdani, Tawrirt Amoḳrān, Usammir, and Agemun. To-day the Banū Raten form a single dwār community (cf. DAWĀR at the end) of 9781 souls belonging to the mixed community of Fort National.

We know little about the history of the Ait Iraten. Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 256) mentions them as inhabitants of "the mountains between Bougie and Tedellys". They were nominally under allegiance to the governor of Bougie and were on the list of tribes liable to *kharādj*, while they were actually independent. At the time when the Marinid al-Ḥasan undertook his campaign to Ifriḳiya, they were subject to a woman, called Shamsī, of the family of the ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, from whom the chiefs of the Ait Iraten were descended.

During the whole Turkish period, the Ait Iraten maintained their independence, secure behind their mountains. They formed one of the most powerful federations in Kabylia, which comprised five *arsh*: Ait Irdjen, Akerma, Usammer, Auggasha, and Umalu, and could put in the field a force of 2800 men. They kept their independence until in 1857 the French under Marshal Randon for the first time penetrated into the Kabylian mountains (Djebel Djurdjura: cf. ALGERIA, i. 270ᵃ). To prevent a hostile invasion of their territory the Ait Iraten arranged to give hostages and to pay tribute. Nevertheless, their land remained a hotbed of intrigues against French rule, so that Randon in 1857 decided to subdue them completely. The French troops leaving Tizi-Uzu on May 24 conquered all the Kabyl villages in succession and on May 29 destroyed the army of the Ait Iraten and their allies on the plateau of Sūḳ al-Arbaʿāʾ. On May 26 the Ait Iraten offered to submit. To keep them in check Randon at once began to build Fort Napoléon (now Fort National) in the heart of their country and thus placed "a thorn in the eye of Kabylia". The Banū Raten were then quiet for 14 years, but in 1871 they again had recourse to arms and took part in the siege of Fort National, which however the rebels did not succeed in capturing.

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IRBID or *Arbad* (corruption of an older Arbel, see the following article), the old town (of which the ruins only now exist) of Arbela, on a hill on the road from Tiberias through the so-called "Dove Ravine". Among the ruins those of a synagogue are noteworthy (see Kohl and Wat-

singer, *Synagogenruinen in Galilea*, p. 59 *sqq*.). The remarkable rock caves in the neighbourhood played an important role in later Jewish history. Tradition places here the tombs of the mother of Moses and of four of the sons of Jacob, Dan, Issachar, Zebulon and Gad.

Another Irbid-Arbail, likewise an ancient Arbela, lies in the district of Balḳā' [q. v.], 12 Arab miles from Baisān. There the Caliph Yazīd II died.

Bibliography: Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, p. 24; Buhl, *Geogr. des alten Palästina*, p. 219, 250; Dalman, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 1912, p. 56; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, i. 184; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 457; R. Hartmann, *Die geogr. Nachr. . . . . in Ḫalīl aẓ-Ẓāhirī* etc., p. 74; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1463; Schumacher, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal. Vereins*, xix. 222 *sq*., xxviii. 22 *sqq*., xxix. 99.

(Fr. Buhl.)

IRBIL, the name of various places in Mesopotamia:

1. a **town** in the wilāyet of Mōṣul, about 50 miles E. S. E. of Mōṣul, 12 hours N. of Altyn Köprü (see i. 322[b]) in 36° 11' N. Lat. and 42° 2' E. Long. (Greenw.). Irbil (Erbil, in the common language also Arbil) is the Arba-ilu of the Babylonian-Assyrian and the Arbira of the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions. This place, which is mentioned as early as in Assyrian documents of the ixth century B. C., played no special political role in antiquity. Its main importance was rather based in the pre-Achaemenid period on the possession of a highly venerated sanctuary of the goddess Ishtar. Arbaila was the Delphi of ancient Assyria; at the same time however it was of great importance as the junction of caravan roads. It is mainly to this favourable position at the junction of roads that Arbaila owes the fact that it has survived as an existence and a name alone out of the famous cities of Assyria.

Irbil, almost equidistant from the two rivers named Zāb, formed from the earliest times the centre of the district cut off on north and south by these two rivers. In ancient times this was called either Arbelitis, after the capital, or, from the Zābs, Adiabene (the Hedayab of the Syrians). It practically coincided with the "land (*arḍ*) Irbil" of the Arab geographers. As after the decline of Nineveh, Arbela was the only important town of Assyria proper, the name Arbelitis was later extended to Assyria (even as early as the time of the Diadochi). Adiabene was then also interpreted in this wider sense. In the second half of the second century B. C. a small kingdom arose there, which was able usually to maintain its independence during the Parthian period. Under the Sāsānids Irbil was the residence of governors, who occasionally enjoyed very great independence. One of them, Ḳardagh, who lived in the citadel of Melḳī near Irbil, suffered a martyr's death in 358 under Sapor II for adopting Christianity.

In the Muslim period Irbil does not appear until far on in the time of the later 'Abbāsids. In Ṭabarī's great history it is never mentioned; of the older Arab geographers only Ibn Khordādhbih 12[th] and Ḳudāma (21[b]) mention it in dealing with the division of Arab 'Irāḳ as the capital of a district (*ṭassūdj*) of the province of Ḥulwān; cf. *Bibl. geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, vi. 6, 5, 235, 4. Irbil was later considered to belong to the Djazīra, particularly to the province of Mōṣul. In 563 (1167) Zain al-Dīn 'Alī Kūčik b. Begtegin founded a small state with Irbil as capital. The most famous ruler of this Kurd dynasty of Begteginids [q. v. i. 688[b] *sq*.] was Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūri, Saladin's brother-in-law. Under him Irbil reached its greatest prosperity during the middle ages. Kökbūri in 586 (1190) considerably extended the kingdom which he had inherited from his brother. He conquered the adjoining minor principalities and also brought the district of Shehrizūr (with Kerkūk) under his rule. A number of foreigners then settled in Irbil, which soon became an important town. Several times a year Kökbūri gave brilliant festivals which brought visitors from far and near. This was especially the case with the feast celebrated with great ceremony on the birthday of the Prophet, which was combined with a great fair (cf. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, fasc. vi. 66). The lower town of Irbil at the foot of the citadel hill owes its origin to this prince. He also founded a school which bore his name, the Madrasa al-Muẓaffarīya, at which the father of the celebrated Arab historian Ibn Khallikān (born in 608—1211 in Irbil) was professor. For the Ṣūfīs Kökbūri built a monastery (*ribāṭ*) in Irbil.

When Kökbūri died childless in 630 (1232), he left his kingdom to the caliph al-Mustanṣir whose much shrunken secular power thus received a not inconsiderable accession. The latter had however first of all to use force to gain possession of his heritage, for the inhabitants of Irbil refused to recognise the 'Abbāsid as their suzerain. The general Iḳbāl al-Sharābī, who was sent by al-Mustanṣir, succeeded in occupying the refractory town after a siege; cf. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Ahlwardt), p. 37, 380, 10; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 466 *sqq*. and Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 468. Soon afterwards the Mongols knocked at the gates of Irbil. By 628 (1230) they had entered the radius of the town in their raids (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 328). In 633 (1235) they were plundering in its streets (cf. Barhebraeus *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Beirūt, p. 436, 3). In 634 (1236) they appeared again, set the lower town on fire and besieged the citadel, which was valiantly defended, but after 45 days they retired on payment of a considerable ransom; cf. Barhebraeus *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar*, p. 437, 10 *sqq*., and Wüstenfeld in the *Abh. d. Gött. Gesch. d. Wiss.*, xxviii. (1881) p. 120, and also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 69, 71, 73. When in 656 (1258) Hūlāgū began his advance on Baghdād, he at the same time sent one of his generals to Irbil. The fortress was defended by the Kurds against all attacks for over a year. It was only with the help of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' of Mōṣul that the Mongols finally succeeded in taking the hotly contested town. Cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse* (ed. Quatremère), i. (1836), p. 314 *sqq*.; Barhebraeus, *Chronic. syriac.*, p. 506, 5 *sqq*.; Barhebraeus, *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar*, p. 472, and Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv. 9; D'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii. 256 *sqq*. In the period that followed Irbil had again to suffer a great deal from the horrors of war and the raids of neighbouring Kurd and Arab tribes. The last days of storm and stress were experienced during the Turkish campaign of Nādirshāh in 1743. After a 60 days' siege the victorious Persian king was able to enter the town. Until far into the first half of the xixth century Irbil belonged to the great pashalik of Baghdād and as

one of the most important military points in it was garrisoned by a strong force of Janissaries. When the wilāyet of Mōṣul was separated from that of Baghdād, Irbil went with the former.

The conversion to Christianity of the district of Adiabene and the adjoining regions was mainly conducted from Irbil. A bishop had his seat here at a very early date. The diocese originally comprised only the area between the two Zāb, therefore it was called by the Syrians the diocese of Ḥadayab or, from the two seats of office, of Arbel or Ḥazza (a village near A.). At the beginning of the 4th century Irbil was elevated to the rank of an archbishopric, to which the whole of Assyria proper was subordinated. Not till a later date was the bishopric of Nineveh (Mōṣul) or Āthūr separated from it as an independent ecclesiastical province. On the importance of Irbil in pre-Islāmic Syrian church history, cf. especially the chronicle probably composed by a clergyman of the diocese of Irbil, which A. Mingana published in *Sources Syriaques*, i. (Leipzig 1908) and Sachau discussed in the *Abh. der Berl. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1915, N°. 6. This chronicle is primarily concerned with the history of the bishops and martyrs of our bishopric for the period 100—540 (551?) A. D. See also Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse* (1904), passim (Index, p. 356).

In 1268 the Nestorian Catholicos moved his see from Baghdād to Irbil. But as early as 1271 he removed from here to Ushnū in Ādharbaidjān, since the Christians as a result of the machinations of the Assassins became suspect among the Muslims and had to suffer many insults, cf. Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Eccl.* (ed. Abbeloos and Lamy), ii. 439; do., *Chron. Syr.*, p. 525, 10 *sqq.*, 526, 21 *sqq.*; D'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii. 469 *sq.* The position of the Christians of Irbil under the successors of Hūlāgū [q. v.], and specially under Ghāzān [q. v.] and Uldjaitū, was on the whole very miserable. Kurds and Arabs often fell upon them, plundering and murdering, first of all in the years 1274 and 1285; cf. Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syriac.*, p. 528—529, 557, 1 *sqq.* In 1295, as an inscription of the 11th century which still exists in the monastery of Mar Behnam records, the Ilkhān Baidū ravaged the region of Irbil, cf. H. Pognon, *Inscript. Sémit.* (Paris 1907), N°. 76, p. 135. In the year 1296, as a result of a royal edict, all Christian churches of the town were destroyed (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 596, 18 *sqq.*, and *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha*, ed. Bedjan, 1895, p. 113); in 1297 the Kurds besieged during several months the Christians who had taken refuge in the upper town (cf. *Hist. de M. Jabalaha*, p. 121—131). In 1310, in the reign of Uldjaitū, the Christians, after bravely defending themselves for over three months on the citadel against the besiegers, Arab, Kurd, and Mongol, were overcome and exterminated. We possess an illuminating description of these dark days for Irbil from the pen of the biographer of the then Catholicos Jabalaha III. (see *Hist. de M. Jabalaha*, p. 154—201). From this time onwards Irbil ceased to be a Christian town. But since then also dates the decline of the town. A few Syriac inscriptions on the walls of a building now used as barracks (*ḳishla*) recall the earlier Christian population; cf. Cuinet, *op. cit.*, p. 857. In Irbil itself there are no longer any Christian families; a few (united Nestorians) so-called Chaldaeans, are however to be found in the village of Ainkawa (also written Aiḳabba, Ankawa, Ankowa) a short hour's journey from Irbil, certainly the Amkaba of the *Hist. de M. Jabalaha*, p. 192, and probably the Amkabādh of Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Syr.*, p. 557, 11) as its exclusive inhabitants. Next to the Christians the Kurds form numerically the strongest element in the population of the town. From the 12th century the Ḥadhbānī or Ḥakamiya Kurds were settled in and around Irbil; on them cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 620; Quatremère in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, xiii. 301 note 1, 309—313 (extracts form the geographical and historical work of al-ʿUmarī, died 749—1348); G. Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten persisch. Märtyrer* (1881), p. 230, 272. The chiefs of these Kurd tribes, who possessed a considerable number of citadels in the region of Irbil, were frequently fighting with one another for the possession of the town. Accounts of such local feuds in the middle of the 11th century are given for example by the historians of Ibn Khaldūn and Badr al-Dīn Ainī; see Tiesenhausen in *Mém. présentés à l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. (1859), p. 141, 160—161.

As to the present population of Irbil, it numbers, according to Cuinet (1892), 3260 inhabitants of whom 497 are non-Muslims (Jews). The number of houses is said to be 1822 (Belck and Lehmann, in 1899, estimated those of the upper town alone as 800), besides the serai of the Turkish governor, 2 mosques, 10 Muslim chapels and 16 schools. According to the late administrative division of Turkey, Irbil was the capital of a ḳaḍā belonging to the sandjaḳ of Shahrizūr and was divided into two districts (*nāḥiya*'s) comprising 330 villages and 12000 inhabitants.

Irbil consists of the lower town and an upper town grouped around the citadel. The lower, built by Kökbürī (called Kotrak, according to Cuinet), which lies at the west and south bases of the citadel hill, makes a very poor impression and now lies for the most part in ruins. It was earlier much more extensive, as may be deduced from the fact that the ditch which once surrounded it now lies far beyond the present scanty group of houses. The lower town is the centre of commercial life and contains the bazaars and khāns. Of noteworthy buildings the remains of a large mosque with an imposing minaret, about 203 feet high and 48 feet round (cf. the description in Rich, ii. 15 *sqq.*), are especially striking; according to an inscription on the minaret, it was built by Kökbürī. This mosque is perhaps identical with the *Masdjid al-Kaff* mentioned by Ḳazwīnī (*loc. cit.*), in which, according to him, there was a stone with the imprint of a man's hand. Obviously this refers to a sanctuary with a print of ʿAlī's hand (*Kaff*, *pandja*), of which others are known in the ʿIrāḳ, Mesopotamia, and Persia; cf. for examples, v. Berchem, in Herzfeld-Sarre, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i. 24).

The upper town with the citadel rises from a round hill not quite 65 feet with fairly steep sides. It is obviously artificial. In its interior are massive vaulted subterranean passages and chambers. It is crowned by a strong castle which is surrounded by a wall now somewhat ruined, 45 feet high, set with crenellated parapets and bastions. This gigantic *tell* with the picturesque citadel upon it has always aroused the astonishment of travellers; from several hours' journey distant it can be seen commanding the

plain. To some extent it reminds one of the castle hills of Ḥimṣ and Ḥalab — with which it has been frequently compared —, but it surpasses both considerably in the grandeur of its mass. The castle is occupied by the *ḥükûmet-konaghy* and the other officials of the town. The houses of private citizens are quite close to the surrounding wall. Systematic excavations have not yet been undertaken in Irbil nor is anything known of any accidental finds of antiquities.

The importance of Irbil at the present day is mainly based on its position as a commercial depot and centre of a busy through trade. Important caravan routes enter it from different directions. First mention should be given to the very ancient road which runs from Baghdād via Kerkūk, Altyn-Köprü to Irbil and thence to Mōṣul; it is the most direct route between Baghdād and Mōṣul, as it was formerly between Babylon and Nineveh. Two roads run from Irbil to east and north and lead over rough mountain passes to the country of Ādharbaidjān; the one goes in the first place to Rowāndiz in the north east and the other to Khoi Sandjaḳ in the east. On the roads from Irbil and the distances, see especially Rich, ii. 296—297; Jones in the *Journ. of the Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1855, p. 380; and Cuinet, p. 793 *sqq.*; the road from Irbil to Marāgha is described by Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 231 *sqq.*

The town of Irbil is the centre of a splendid, very fertile country, which looks to the eye more a flat than an undulating plateau. With an average height of 1300 feet (the lower town of Irbil is 1332 feet above sea level) it forms the watershed between the two Zābs. There is a complete absence of trees, but it affords excellent corn-growing soil; cotton flourishes here exceedingly and is manufactured in the town. The Persian geographer Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī praises the cotton grown here in his geographical work *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* about 1340. Numerous streams run in winter through the plain but there is no perennial river so that irrigation has in part to be conducted by subterranean aqueducts. In the north the spurs of the Kurd Alps come fairly near Irbil; west of the town rises the Demir-Dagh to a height of 1600 feet. In the north east and east the plain is bounded by the Derdedawān Dagh; in the south (at Altynköprü) by the Zergazawān-Dagh. In the Southwest the plateau of Irbil is bounded by the Shemamlik lowland plain which stretches to the bank of the Great Zāb.

The well cultivated plateau is covered by numerous Kurd villages. The Kurd tribes, who camp in the summer in the hills of Rowāndūz, migrate hither in the winter. Most villages are built quite near characteristic tumuli; everywhere one finds extensive mounds of ruins, evidence of better days, when this land so richly endowed by nature was on a much higher level of civilization than at present.

Bibliography: For the Assyrian Period cf. Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (1881), p. 124, 256, and Streck, *Die Inschriften Assurbanipals* (1916), iii. 721; for the Graeco-Roman periods cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, ii. 407—8 (S. Fraenkel) and *Supplem.*, i. 117 (Streck). — For the Muslim period, apart from works already mentioned, the following are particularly important: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 186—188; Dimashkī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Mehren), p. 190; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 162—3; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'* (ed. Juynboll), i. 42, iv. 75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon* (ed. Tornberg), passim in Vol. vii—xii (s. index); Barhebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum* (ed. Bedjan, Paris 1890), passim, esp. p. 424, 432—3, 466, 506, 525—6, 528—9, 557, 596—7; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's *Djihān-numā* (versio latina by Norberg, Lund, 1818), ii. 33—35. — A four volume local history of Irbil, which Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Mubārak al-Mustawfī (d. 637 = 1240), wazīr of Kökbüri, composed, is lost. Yāḳūt received many notes for his geographical lexicon from Mustawfī with whom he was personally acquainted; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Abh. der Göttinger Ges. der Wiss.*, xxviii. (1881), p. 119—120; J. Heer, *Die hist. u. geogr. Quellen in Jāḳūt's Geogr. Wörterb.* (1898), p. 36. Ibn Khallikān, who pursued his first studies under al-Mustawfī in Irbil, also made great use of this chronicle for his biographical work; cf. Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.* — Of reports by European travellers the following are worth noting: Niebuhr (1766), *Reisebeschreib. nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, ii. (Copenhagen, 1778), p. 342—4; Olivier (1795), *Voyage dans l'empire Othoman*, iv. (Paris, 1803), p. 292—6; J. S. Buckingham (1816), *Travels in Mesopotamia* (London, 1827), p. 325—8; Cl. Rich (1820), *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (London, 1836), ii. 14—18, 293—305; H. Southgate (1838), *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan* etc., ii. (London, 1840), p. 214 *sqq.*; V. Place (1851), *Lettre à M. Mohl sur une expédition faite en Arbèles* (in the *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. 4, t. xx. 1852, p. 441 *sqq.* and 457—60); J. Oppert (1854), *Expéd. scientif. en Mésopot.*, i. (1863), p. 281—6; H. Petermann (1855), *Reisen im Orient* (Leipzig, 1861), ii. 321; Czernik (1873) in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitt.*, Erg. Heft N°. 45 (1876), p. 1—2; E. Sachau (1898), *Am Euphrat und Tigris* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 111—3; L. Belck and C. F. Lehmann (1899), in *Verh. der Berl. Anthrop. Gesellsch.*, 1899, p. 417; S. Guyer (1911) in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, lxii. (1916), p. 294. Cf. also [Rousseau], *Descript. du Pachalik de Bagdad* (Paris, 1809), p. 85; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 691—4, where the accounts of Niebuhr, Olivier, Rich, Dupré (1808), and Shiel (1836) are utilised; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. (Paris, 1892), p. 847, 848, 856—8. A good map of the environs of Irbil is given by Czernik, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii. On coins struck in Irbil cf. Lane-Poole, *Catal. of Oriental Coins in British Museum* (London, 1875 *sqq.*), iii. vi. ix. 1 and 2 (s. Indices), and the notes by v. Berchem in v. Berchem-Strzygowski, *Amida* (1910), p. 94, Note 4.

2. A place in Ṭūr-'Abdīn (in Mesopotamia), South East of Killit, in 37° 30' lat. N. and 41° 15' long E.

3. and 4. See under IRBID.

5. The statement by Yāḳūt (i. 189, 21) that the town of Ṣaidā (Sidon) was called Irbil is probably an error.

It is not impossible that the places named Arbela (Irbil, Irbid) outside of Assyria were founded by inhabitants of the Assyrian Arbela and were called by them after their native town.

(M. STRECK.)

IRTIFĀʿ (A.) = height: in astronomy the height of a constellation, that is its distance from the horizon measured on a circle passing through zenith and nadir (vertical, *al-dāʾirat al-irtifāʿ*); in geometry it is also used for the height of a plane figure (triangle, parallelogram) or of a body (prism, cylinder), but *ʿamūd* (pillar, plumb line) is much more commonly used. (H. SUTER.)

IRTISH a large river in Siberia, in the basin of the Ob. Its two sources, the Blue and the White Irtish, rise in the Great Altai; after their junction the river as far as Lake Zaisan bears the name "Black Irtish"; after leaving the lake it flows for about 180 miles through steppe country as the "White" or "Slow Irtish", then for 60 miles with a stronger current as the "Rapid Irtish" through a hilly country. At the town of Ustkamenogorsk it enters the Great Siberian plain which sinks away towards the Arctic Sea and besides several smaller tributaries, it receives on the right the Om and Tara, on the left the Ishim and the Tobol and falls into the Ob below the village of Samarowsk. The whole length of the river is 2230 miles of which only 253 are in the Chinese Empire. The railway bridge at Omsk is 765 yards long; the greatest breadth of the river in its lower course is about 875 yards.

The name is mentioned as early as the Orkhon inscriptions of the viiith century A. D. (W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 2nd Ser. p. 19; written without vowels). Masʿūdī in *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* (ed. de Goeje, p. 62) speaks of the "Black" and the "White Irtish" and makes both fall into the Caspian Sea. The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (f. 10b) thinks the Irtish a tributary of the Volga; the name is vocalised Artush (or Artush) in the ms. which is in keeping with the story based on a popular etymology (*ar tüsh* "Man, come down", given by Gardīzī (text in Barthold, *Otčet o poězdkě v. Srednjuju Aziju*, p. 82). In spite of the trading route from Fārāb [q. v., ii. 55], mentioned by Gardīzī, to the Irtish, the country was little affected in the middle ages by Muslim culture. The river is only seldom mentioned, e. g. in the history of Tīmūr's campaigns, *Ẓafarnāma*, Ind. ed., i. 475 and 495 (Irtish). The Muslim town found by the Russian conquerors on the lower course of the river, with its main fort near the mouth of the Tobol, was probably founded in the Mongol period by colonists from the Volga region. Whether the stories heard by Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*, i. 146) of the sending of preachers of the Muslim faith from Bukhārā are based on facts, is doubtful. In any case, Islām only began to spread up the Irtish from the north under Russian rule (see BARABA, i. 651b *sq.*). All the towns and villages on the Irtish, as well as in its valley, only arose under Russian rule; down to the xviiith century there was no town farther south than Tara; Omsk and the towns south of it were only founded by Peter the Great.

The Irtish is navigable almost up to the rivers which form it. Between Tobolsk and Ustkamenogorsk there is regular steamship traffic. Sometimes the steamers go up as far Zaisan and then up the Black Irtish to the Chinese frontier and even beyond it. Since the making of the Siberian railway, the Irtish is of still greater importance as a traffic route. (W. BARTHOLD.)

ʿĪSĀ, the proper name of Jesus in the Ḳurʾān, and thence in Islām, is explained by some western scholars (Marracci, ii. 30; Landauer and Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, xli. 720) as a form imposed upon Muḥammad by the Jews and used by him in good faith. They called Jesus Esau (עֵשָׂו) in hatred and said that the soul of Esau had been transferred to him. Others (J. Derenbourg, *Rev. des Études juives*, xviii. 126; Fränkel, *Wien. Zeitschr.*, iv. 334; Vollers, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, xlv. 352; Nestle, *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 861) hold that the name originated naturally by phonetic change from the Syriac Yeshūʿ (ܝܫܘܥ) combined with imitation of Mūsā. For the Muslim explanation of the name see al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳurʾān iii. 40 (ed. Fleischer, i. 156, l. 2). Titles and descriptions applied to Jesus in the Ḳurʾān and of importance for his position in the theological system of Islām are: "Son of Maryam" (e. g. iii. 40; iv. 169; xix. 35, and often); he was born of Mary, a virgin, by the direct creative act of Allāh; — "a Word (*kalima*) from Allāh" and "his (Allāh's) Word" (iii. 40, iv. 169); this is the creative word "Be" (*kun*) which Allāh cast (*alḳā*) into Mary; the creation of Jesus is thus compared (iii. 52) to that of Adam; — *al-Masīḥ* (iii. 40, iv. 169 and often), evidently from the Hebrew *māshīaḥ*, but how understood by Muḥammad is quite uncertain; for Muslim explanations see al-Baiḍ., i. 156, ll. 2 *sqq.*, — "a Spirit from Allāh" (iv. 169), as the angels are called spirits and he was a spirit directly from Allāh, so, too, Allāh formed Adam and breathed into him of his spirit (*min rūḥī*, xv. 29; xxxviii. 72); later Islām called him *al-Rūḥ* (*Lisān*, iii. 290, l. 15) and even *Rūḥ Allāh* (*al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī, ed. Lees, i. 338); — *ʿAbd Allāh* (xix. 31); "he is nought but an *ʿabd*" (xliii. 59); "he will never disdain to be an *ʿabd* of Allāh" (iv. 170); *ʿabd*, literally "slave", is best rendered theologically by our "creature"; man, for Islām, is the property of Allāh and not simply his servant, cf. *ʿebhedh* in the O. T. and δοῦλος in the N. T. and especially of Jesus in Philippians, ii. 7; — "One of those brought near" (to Allāh, *min al-muḳarrabīn*, iii. 40); again the angelic association; later Islām sometimes explains this of his state after his ascension (*rafʿ*), when he was a semi-angel flying round the throne (*ʿarsh*) of Allāh (*insī malakī*, *Ḳiṣaṣ* of al-Thaʿlabī, ed. Cairo 1314, p. 227); but Muḥammad in his *Miʿrādj* found him in the second heaven (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, v. 53, ed. Cairo, 1315); — *Wadjīh*, "worthy of regard in this world and in that to come", (iii. 40); al-Baiḍāwī explains, "as prophet in the one and as intercedor in the other"; — *Mubārak*, "blessed wherever I am" (xix. 32); but al-Baiḍāwī explains the word here and elsewhere as "possessing much profit for others", apparently possessing a *baraka*; — *Ḳawl al-ḥaḳḳ*, "the sure saying" in xix. 35 is obscure and may be not a title but apply to the statement made — see al-Baiḍ. i. 580, l. 25. He is a *nabī*, "prophet" (xix. 31) and *rasūl*, "messenger" (iv. 156, 169; v. 79), and he has a "book" (*kitāb*, xix. 31), which is the *Indjīl* (v. 50; lvii. 27). The sending of him is a "sign" (*āya*) and "mercy" (*raḥma*, xix. 21); he and his mother are a "sign" (xxiii. 52); he is made an "example", "parable" (*mathal*, xliii. 57, 59). He brought "proofs" (*baiyināt*) and "wisdom" (*ḥikma*, xliii. 63; v. 109), and was aided by Allāh with the

rūḥ al-ḳudus (ii. 81; v. 109), obscure like all mentions of *rūḥ* in the Ḳur'ān but explained by later Islām as Djibrīl; so al-Baiḍ. (*in loco*) and *Lisān*, iii. 290, l. 15. Allāh taught him (iii. 43; v. 110) and he possessed peculiar miraculous powers of raising the dead, healing the sick and making clay birds and, by the permission of Allāh, breathing life into them (iii. 44 *sqq.*; v. 110 *sqq.*).

On the death of Jesus the statements of the Ḳur'ān are contradictory. It is certain that Muhammad rejected the Crucifixion and accepted the Ascension, apparently in the birth-body and not in a glorified body; the crucifixion was prevented by a change of resemblance (*shubbiha lahu*, iv. 156), again an obscure phrase explained later by the commentators that his likeness was put upon another and the other crucified in his place. But his death is referred to: — "before his death" (iv. 157); "on the day I die and on the day I am raised, alive" (xix. 34), yet this verse may have been a mistaken repetition of verse 15. In iii. 48 Allāh says to him, "I am about to take thee to myself (*mutawaffīka*) and lift thee up (*rāfi'uka*) unto me". The first expression is commonly used of a blessed death, but that is not necessarily its meaning here, for it is also used in the Ḳur'ān (vi. 60) of Allāh's taking to himself the souls of sleepers during sleep, to be returned when they awake; cf. Frankel in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.*, lvi. 77. For his Second Coming the only Ḳur'ānic authority is xliii. 61, a very obscure verse, the reading even of which is in doubt. Some read, "And he is verily a knowledge (*la'ilmun*) of the Hour", i. e. by (the descent of) whom the approach of the Hour is known. But others read, "a sign (*la'alamun*) of the Hour" and even, "a reminder (*ladhikrun*)". Others, again, refer the pronoun to the Ḳur'ān, "it is". His second coming being taken as established, his death is put after it and the references in iv. 157 and xix. 34 are thus explained; so also the descriptive *kahlan* in iii. 41, because he was taken up by Allāh as a "youth" (*shābb*) before he attained *kuhūla*, "middle age" (cf. al-Baiḍ. on these passages). The later doctrine of his return is given soberly by al-Baiḍ. on xliii. 61: that he will descend in the Holy Land at a place called Afīḳ with a spear in his hand; that he will kill with it al-Dadjdjāl and come to Jerusalem at the time of the *ṣalāt* of the morning (*ṣubḥ*); that the imām will seek to yield place to him but that he will refuse and will worship behind him according to the *sharī'a* of Muhammad; thereafter he will kill the swine and break the cross and lay in ruins the synagogues and churches and kill all Christians (Naṣārā) who do not believe in him (ed. Fleischer, ii. 241). To this last point reference is supposed to be made in iv. 157, "there is none of the People of Scripture but will verily believe in him (or: in it) before his death". One of the explanations of this in al-Baiḍ. (i. 241, l. 4) is that after he has killed the false Messiah (*al-masīḥ al-dadjdjāl*) not one of the People of Scripture will be left who does not believe in him, so that the community (*milla*) will become one, the community of Islām. Then will come universal security of man and beast and Jesus will remain for forty years; thereafter he will die and the Muslims will hold funeral service for him and bury him (at Medina, it is universally accepted, beside Muhammad, in a vacant space between Abū Bakr and 'Umar). But others interpret, "before he — the believer — dies", even though it is thus a useless belief, he being at the point of death.

So little can be gathered from the Ḳur'ān. The oldest traditions have but little more, as in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī where 'Īsā is merely mentioned in connection with Dadjdjāl in *Kitāb al-Fitan*, Part ix. 60, ed. Cairo 1315. Muhammad had been interested in the idea of Anti-Christ as the story of Ibn Ṣaiyād shows (Macdonald, *Religious Attitude in Islam*, p. 34 *sqq.*), but the early Muslims, for political and theological reasons, developed elaborately in forged traditions the doctrine of the Last Things, and especially of the Mahdī and Jesus. Thus the *Maṣābīḥ* has much more, see ed. Cairo, 1316, ii. 136 *sqq.*, 140 *sq.* (chaps. on Signs of the Hour and on the Descent of 'Īsā). See, too, al-Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, p. 22 *sqq.*; the full account of 'Īsā, the most complete of all, covers pp. 215—229; Ṭabarī, ed. Leiden, i. 713 *sqq.*, and Ibn Wāḍiḥ, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, i. 74 *sq.*, give extracts from the Gospels. But in this development the rôles assigned to Jesus and to the Mahdī came to be confusingly alike, and one party tried to cut the knot with a tradition from Muhammad. "There is no Mahdī save 'Īsā b. Maryam". For this and also for their respective rôles when they were distinguished, see al-Sha'rānī, *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Tadhkira* of al-Ḳurṭubī, p. 118 *sqq.* (ed. Cairo 1324). Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muḳaddima* (ed. Quatremère, ii. 142—176 = De Slane's transl., ii. 158—205) gives a philosophical examination of the whole subject, showing the untrustworthiness of the different traditions and tracing the development of the idea of a restorer of Islām before the end, as it was influenced by Shī'ites of different degrees, by Fāṭimites and by Ṣūfīs. An explanation given by him of the tradition quoted above is: "None has spoken in the cradle (*mahd*, cf. Ḳur. xix. 30) save 'Īsā" (ed. Quatremère, ii. 163); for another see al-Ḳurṭubī, p. 118. On the whole subject Goldziher in his *Vorlesungen*, p. 230 *sqq.* and notes thereon, has a few luminous pages. See the same, p. 313 *sq.*, for the modern Aḥmadiya sect in India which teaches that Jesus escaped from Jerusalem, wandered to the East, settled at Srinagar in Kashmir and died there, where his tomb is still shown. Ghulām Aḥmad, the founder of the sect, professed to be both Jesus returned and also the Mahdī. Finally, Goldziher has well remarked that for Sunnī Islām, as opposed to Shī'ism and other outlying sects, the expectation of a future restorer of faith and life has never become fixed as a dogma but is only the mythological embellishment of an ideal representation of the future. This may well be due to lack of Ḳur'ānic basis.

From the above it is evident that Muhammad had learned a definite story of Jesus from some heretical Christian teacher, in defence of whose position he polemizes vigorously in the Ḳur'ān. He knows more, of sorts, about him than about any other of the religious figures of the past. But it is evident, too, that he omits something. For the appearance on earth of this unique figure, a second Adam, a semi-angel, a Logos much like that of Philo but with a difference, we are given no reason. It is not explained how he is a "sign", a "mercy", and an "example" or "parable" (xix. 21; xxiii. 52; xliii. 57, 59). At his birth he — as had been the case with his mother — was

guarded from the touch of Satan, who seeks by touching every newly born infant to implant a tendency to sin (iii. 31 and al-Baiḍ., *in loc.*). Some even say that he and his mother, in consequence of this, never committed sin (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, p. 210). But it should be noticed that the same is said, even more absolutely, of John the Baptist because he is called *ḥaṣūr*, "chaste" in Ḳur'ān iii. 34; cf. al-Baiḍ. and *Ḳiṣaṣ*, p. 211 *sqq*. But all the Ḳur'ān has is that Mary's mother exclaimed (iii. 31), "Verily, I put her and her seed in thy (Allāh's) care from the stoned Shaiṭān". How much or how little of the later view was in the mind of Muḥammad or was a legitimate development of his position it is impossible to say. He left something untold and classed 'Īsā with all the other prophets, although so essentially different. The story of the table with food sent down from heaven (v. 112 *sqq*.) which is to be to them a festival (*'īd*) and a sign to all generations seems a genuine confusion on the part of Muḥammad himself in regard to the eucharist. It is significant that the commentators (al-Baiḍ., i. 280) most commonly say that the food was a large fish, thus suggesting the ἰχθύς symbol.

Later Islām has pictured 'Īsā as separated from all human ties except to his mother, as constantly wandering, barefoot and without abiding place, passing the night in worship wherever he might be when the sun set, living from day to day for nothing but devotion and miracles of benevolence (*Ḳiṣaṣ*, p. 218). At the Judgment he will be the example of absolute poverty (*faḳr*, al-Ghazālī, *Durra*, p. 90 *sqq*.). At the *mawḳif* on that day men will ask him to intercede for them with Allāh and he will refuse, not for any sin of his own, as in the case of the other prophets, but because his followers have taken him and his mother as gods along with Allāh (*Durra*, p. 62 *sqq*.); cf. many other forms of this tradition in the *Iḥyā'*, ed. with comment. of Saiyid Murtaḍā, x. 489 *sqq*. Margoliouth has gathered a valuable catena of his sayings and doings from the *Iḥyā'*, in the *Expository Times*, vol. v., 1893-94, pp. 59, 107, 177, 503, 561.

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'ĪSĀ b. 'Alī [See 'Alī b. 'Īsā.]

'ĪSĀ b. Muhanna, Sharaf al-Dīn, an Arab Amīr, who played an important part during the war between the Mamlūks and the Mongols in Syria. His genealogy in Abu 'l-Fidā' (Constant. 1286 a. H.), iv. 91, is 'Īsā b. Muhanna b. Māni' b. Ḥadītha b. 'Aḍala b. Faḍl. Salamiya and Sarmīn were the seats of his family; he probably belonged to the Rabī'a. His grandfather Māni' and other members of the family are several times mentioned in the history of Ḥalab by Kamāl al-Dīn (cf. Blochet, *Histoire d'Alep*, p. 168, 210, 213). 'Īsā fought on the side of Ḳuṭuz in the battle of 'Ain Djālūt [q. v.] in 658 (1260) and in the following period also was usually on the side of the Mamlūks, although there were frequent quarrels, as the Mamlūk sulṭāns on the one hand had little trust in the Amīrs and the latter like true Beduin chiefs troubled little about the government and, if occasion arose, did not hesitate to join the Mongols. 'Īsā was already on bad terms with Baibars [q. v.] and the feud became fiercer under Ḳalā'ūn as 'Īsā had taken the side of Sonḳor al-Ashḳar. In 679 (1280) the two even called in the help of Abāḳā [q. v.] and his Mongols but this unnatural alliance did not last long; soon afterwards 'Īsā had a reconciliation with Ḳalā'ūn and fought on his side in the battle of Ḥimṣ in 680 (1281) against the Mongols. 'Īsā died soon afterwards and his son Muhannā Ḥusām al-Dīn succeeded him. The latter continued his father's policy; in 692 (1293) treacherously arrested by Sulṭān Khalīl, he was released again and recognised as Amīr of the Arabs. He intervened with Sulṭān al-Nāṣir on behalf of Ḳara Sonḳor, which gained him the former's enmity, so that he joined the Mongol Ilkhān. After the treaty of peace between the Mongols and the Mamlūks in 723 (1323) Muhannā returned to Syria. Muhannā, who made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 697 (see Wüstenfeld, *Chron. der Stadt Mecca*, ii. 275), died in 735 (1334—35). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris, i. 169 *sqq*.) gives a detailed account of him and (iii. 271 *sq*.) gives interesting information on the fortunes of a member of the family who was at the court of the Sulṭān of Dihlī, Muḥammad Shāh.

Muhannā left several sons but they soon fell out with one another. Nevertheless, the amirate of the Arabs remained for over a century in the family of 'Īsā b. Muhannā and the dynasty is said to have survived till 879 (1474). The authorities available, however, do not enable one to give in any detail the later vicissitudes of the family.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources quoted in the article, cf. the historians of the Mamlūks and Ilkhāns, especially Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. iv. (Index), and d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, Vol. iv.

'ĪSĀ b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, nephew of the two first 'Abbāsid Caliphs, al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. In the last year of his reign al-Saffāḥ had homage paid to his brother Abū Dja'far and after him to his nephew 'Īsā b. Mūsā as heirs-apparent. 'Īsā, who a few years previously had been appointed governor of Kūfa, retained this office after the accession of Abū Dja'far al-Manṣūr. When the 'Alid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh rebelled in Medīna in 145 (762), 'Īsā was sent with an army against him. On the advance of the Syrians, many of the people of Medīna saved themselves by flight and in Ramaḍān of the same year (Dec. 762) 'Īsā stormed the city. Muḥammad fell in the battle and his head was sent to the Caliph. In the meanwhile his brother Ibrāhīm had raised the standard of revolt in Baṣra. The Caliph's troops were defeated and as the revolt was spreading more and more, al-Manṣūr feared that the easily influenced people of Kūfa might be involved in the revolution, so he went in person to the city. He succeeded in keeping the city under control while 'Īsā hurried with help from Medīna. His advance guard under Ḥumaid b. Ḳaḥṭaba was defeated in Bākhamrā [q. v.] and a part of the main army also at first retired, but 'Īsā mastered the situation, Ibrāhīm's troops were put to flight and he himself was slain. By the victory of Bākhamrā on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 145 (Feb. 14, 763) al-Manṣūr's rule was secured. Nevertheless he treated 'Īsā slightingly and wanted

to exclude him from the succession. The Caliph had even said when he sent him against Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh: "I do not care which of the two kills the other", and in 147 (764—765) he had homage paid to his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī as successor and even deposed 'Īsā from his governorship, because he declined to abandon his rights. In the end 'Īsā had to give in and pay homage to al-Mahdī, on condition however that he was to follow the latter. After al-Manṣūr's death he wished to renew his claims as his consent had been extorted from him by threats; his attempts met with no success and in the reign of al-Mahdī he had again to renounce the succession in favour of Mūsā al-Hādī, son of al-Mahdī. He died in 167 (783—784).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii. 27 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), v. 313 *sqq.*; vi. 13 *sqq.*; Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 419 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 39, 225 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, iii. 177 *sqq.*; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. Paris), vi. 71, 90, 156, 161, 181 *sqq.*, 214—216; ix. 63 *sq.*; *Aghānī*, see Index; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 13, 24 *sqq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 446 *sqq.*; Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, pp. 124, 127, 140.

(K. V. Zettersteen.)

'ĪSĀ b. 'Omar al-Thaḳafī, Arab grammarian and reader of the Ḳur'ān, died 149 (766). He is regarded as one of the first representatives of the grammatical school of Baṣra and is said to have taught Sībawaihi [q. v.]. To the data collected about him by Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 29 *sqq.* and after him by Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i. 99, may be added that Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 100 *sq.* has an article on him.

'ĪSĀ b. al-Shaikh b. al-Salīl al-Shaibānī was appointed governor of Ramla in 252 (866) and a few years later (256 = 870) gained possession of Damascus also. But when he embezzled the Syrian taxes, al-Mu'tamid sent Amādjūr as governor to Damascus, who put to flight 'Īsā's troops commanded by his son Manṣūr. 'Īsā himself retired to Armenia, where the governorship of this province was given him by the Caliph. On the part which he played here, see Thopdschian in *Mitteil. des Seminars für Orient. Sprach.*, vii. 2, p. 119. In 266 (879) 'Īsā was in Āmid and with other Arab amīrs waged an unsuccessful war against Kundādjīḳ, governor of Mōṣul. Three years later, in 269 (882), he died. His son Aḥmad held his own in Diyār Bakr however, seized Mārdīn (279 = 892) and Marāgha (280 = 893) and fought successfully with the Armenian Sempad I (cf. Thopdschian, *op. cit.*, viii. 2, p. 173 *sq.*). He died in 285 (898). According to a statement by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (see his poem *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xl. 756, and the editor's note, *ibid.*, xli. 242 *sq.*), he had to hand over to the Caliph the treasures captured from Ibn Kundādjīḳ and found himself so hard pressed then in 281 (894) that he was on the verge of applying for assistance to the Christians. The Caliph after Aḥmad's death advanced against his son Muḥammad and besieged him in Āmid. In the end Muḥammad and his family were captured. The Shaibānids, nevertheless, still played a part later in Diyār Bakr, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris, i. 163) found them still in South Armenia.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, v. s. Index; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii, see Index; Mas'ūdī, ed. Paris, viii. 134 *sqq.*; Defrémery, *Recherches sur un personnage nommé Isa fils du Cheikh, et sur sa famille* in *Mém. d'histoire orient.*, i. 1 *sqq.*, and the works quoted in the article.

ISAAK. [See isḤāḳ.]

ISĀF, name of an idol at Mecca, which is almost always mentioned along with *Nā'ila*. Tradition relates that a man and a woman of the Djurhum were so called and were turned into stone as a punishment for indecent conduct in the temple. They were first of all placed as a warning on al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, but were later idolatrously worshipped by order of 'Amr b. Luḥaiy. It is therefore a question of two sacred stones, but the origin of their names is so far unexplained. Attempts are given in Dozy, *De Israeliten te Mekka*, p. 197.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*², p. 77.

ĪSĀGHŪDJĪ, Isagoge, from the Greek εἰσαγωγή, is an Arabic adaptation of the *Introduction* (*al-Mudkhal*) to the categories of Aristotle composed by Porphyry of Tyre. According to Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, Beyrout 1912, p. 49), the Arabic translation was made directly from the Greek by Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q. v.] and, according to the *Fihrist* (i. 244), it was made from a Syriac version by Aiyūb b. al-Ḳāsim al-Raḳḳī. In any case, it is certain that Arabic versions of Porphyry's work were multiplied quite early, in commentaries, epitomes and adaptations. Of the latter we only possess the two following: 1. that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm b. 'Omar al-Biḳā'ī al-Shāfi'ī (cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, ii. 142—3, N°. 14; with a commentary by al-Sanūsī, cf. *op. cit.* and Bibl. Nat. of Algiers, *Cat.*, N°. 1382 N°. 1); 2. that of al-Abharī [q. v. and add Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii. 137), which is the best known and the most annotated. This little treatise on logic discusses very succinctly the following subjects: term, definition, proposition or judgment, opposition, inversion, syllogism, controversy, rhetoric, poetics, sophistry. The *Īsāghūdjī* of al-Abharī was put into *radjaz* verses by al-Akhḍarī [q. v.].

Bibliography: al-Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 144; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī ed. Lippert, p. 220, 6—7, 256—7, 297, 14, 323, 18—19; Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ed. A. Müller, i. 105 *infra*, 220, 4, 235, 5, 235, 7—8, 241, 10; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i. 502—5, N°. 1533; Wenrich, *De auctorum graecorum versionibus*, p. 280—286; Steinschneider, *Die arab. Uebersetz. aus dem griechischen* (*Beihefte z. Centralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, xii.), Leipzig 1893, p. 97—9. (Moh. Ben Cheneb.)

'ĪSĀWĪ. [See naṣrānī.]

'ĪSĀWIYA, 'ĪSĀWA (Aïssaoua), a collective name from the singular *'Īsāwī* (cf. Marçais, *Textes Arabes de Tanger*, p. 397 *sq.*): a name given to the *ikhwān* [q. v.] or members of the Moroccan religious brotherhood founded by Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Īsā and derived from this last name.

In spite of the fame of this brotherhood, the life of Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Fihrī and his origin are little known. The ethnic al-Fihrī suggests a Spanish Arab origin. He travelled a great deal in his youth and was initiated in the east into the ecstatic exercises of the religious orders of the

zūliya and the Sa'diya. Returning to the Gharb, he became a disciple of the Shaikh Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḥārithī, who was a pupil of al-Djazūlī [q. v.]. On the death of his master, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā succeeded him at the head of his zāwiya of Miknāsa az-Zītūn (Mequinez). He died here about 1524—1525 and was buried in the zāwiya beside one of his shaikhs, named Boghān al-Ḥalabī, a native of the east. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā had greatly extended the organisation of his pupils. He formed them into an autonomous religious order administered by the shaikh or his khalīfa (lieutenant) with the assistance of a kind of council of 40 members. The latter live in seclusion in the zāwiya or mother-house of Mequinez and only leave their retreat once a year, on the day of the festival of the mūlūd or anniversary of the birth of the Prophet. This brotherhood follows the rule of the Shādhiliya Ṣūfīs, adding the special ecstatic exercises for obtaining physical insensibility. This insensibility is obtained with the help of a dance accompanied by jerking movements backwards and forwards, the adepts holding one another's hands and forming a chain round a brazier. Once they become insensible, the 'Īsāwiya devour living scorpions, pieces of glass, stick long needles into their bodies, beat themselves with the blades of swords, etc. At public festivals these ceremonies often end with a meal of a sacrificial and sacramental character when these highly wrought dervishes devour like madmen the raw flesh of an unskinned animal (sheep or goat) and tear and rend it in the most horrible and repugnant manner imaginable. According to the legend, God, at the prayer of Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, granted the disciples of this shaikh a complete immunity from wounds and disease. Accordingly these dervishes have the power of driving out illness, caused almost always by the djinn, by taking it upon themselves. This is why they are called to houses where there is illness or an epidemic and where they are begged to go through their usual exercises.

Since their appearance in the xvith century the 'Īsāwiya, who at first spread through the Mequinez and Fez regions, have enjoyed great influence on ignorant and fanatical populations. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā used his prestige to stir up the people to a holy war against the Portuguese and Spanish Christians. His successor, Abu 'l-Rawā'in, raised the people of Fez against the last Marīnids in favour of the new dynasty of Sa'dī Sharīfs. Since that date the political activity of the 'Īsāwiya has not been mentioned by historians; in any case they have not taken part in the various political revolutions — at least not as an organised brotherhood.

During the lifetime of Saiyidī Muḥammad b. 'Īsā one of his disciples, named Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. Abī Mahdī 'Īsā, founded a zāwiya of this brotherhood at Figuig (S. E. Morocco). From there the 'Īsāwiya spread through the regencies of Algiers and Tunis. Their present field comprises primarily Morocco, where they are numerous, especially in the west. In Algeria they have their principal zāwiya's at Remchī (in Oran); in the Dra' of Usera (province of Algiers) there is a zāwiya founded by a grandson of the founder of the order; they have also zāwiya's of less importance almost everywhere, notably at Constantine, Bona, etc. In Tunisia they are found especially at al-Kef, at Tunis, Bizerta, Susa, Sfax, Gabes and the island of Djerba. They are not widely disseminated in Tripolitania and are almost unknown in Egypt. Like all the great Moroccan religious orders they have a zāwiya at Mecca.

Bibliography: Ibn 'Askar, *Dawḥat al-Nāshir*, Text, p. 57; transl. in *Archives Marocaines*, xix. 133; Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Wafrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, ed. Houdas, Text p. 28 *sqq.*; transl. p. 53 *sqq.* (*Public. de l'École des Lang. or. viv.*, 3rd Series, Vol. ii.—iii.); al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, i. 185; Sir John Drummond Hay, *Western Barbary and its Nomad Tribes*, London 1844; De Neveu, *Les Khouans*, Paris 1845, p. 32 *sqq.* (an interesting work especially as regards the legendary part); Blakesley, *Four Months in Algeria*, Cambridge 1859, p. 56—61; Dumont, *Alger, ville d'hiver*, Paris 1878, p. 99—115; Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris 1885, p. 103—5; Delphin, *Les Aïssaoua in Oran et l'Algérie en 1887* (*Congrès pour l'Avancement des Sciences*, 1888, Vol. ii.); La Martinière, *Morocco*, London 1880, p. 345—350; Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, p. 349 *sqq.*, Algiers 1897; Macnab, *A Ride in Morocco*, London 1902, p. 317—325; Doutté, *Les Aïssaoua de Tlemcen*, Chalons s. M. 1900; do., *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, p. 482 *sqq.*; do., *En tribu*, Paris 1914, p. 398 *sqq.*; Masqueray, *Souvenirs et visions d'Afrique*[2], p. 151—3; Montet, *Le culte des saints musulmans dans l'Afrique du Nord*, passim; Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouans*, p. 303 *sqq.*; Ronquette, *Les sociétés secrètes chez les Musulmans*, Part 2, iv.

(A. Cour.)

IṢBA' (A.) "finger", the inch, an Arab measure of length, as in Europe the twelfth part of the foot (*ḳadam*), $^1/_{24}$ of the ell (*dhirā'*). The inch belongs to the earliest of the Arab measures of length and was marked, probably from the earliest period, on the Nilometer of the island of al-Rawḍa built in 96 A. H. [see MIḲYĀS]. Its length there is 2.2925 cm. = 1 inch (the ell is 54.07 cm. = 21.8 inches). Being a derived measure the inch is not an invariable magnitude, for example to-day in Cairo the inch of the *dhirā' mi'mārī* = 3.195 cm. = 1.25 inches, of the *dhirā' istanbūlī* = 2.82 cm. = 1.1 inch, of the *dhirā' hindāsa* = 2.618 cm. = 1.03 inch, and the *dhirā' baladī* or *miṣrī* = 2.404 cm. = .95 inch. In Turkey the most usual is the *dhirā' ḥalabī* of 68.58 cm. which gives an inch of 2.857 cm. = 1.15 inch. It should be noted however that the name *iṣba'* has long become obsolete in everyday life and the ell in the east is very commonly divided into quarters (*rub'*) and twenty-fourths (*ḳīrāṭ*), wherever the metric system has not completely driven out the native system.

Bibliography: Don Vasquez Queipo, *Essai sur les Systèmes métriques*, passim; M. van Berchem, *Corp. Inscr. Arab.*, i. 22; J. J. Marcel, *Mémoire sur le Meqyas de l'Île de Roudah* (*Descr. de l'Égypte, État moderne*, xv. 453). — Cf. also al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. v. Vloten, p. 66; al-Maḳrīzī, *Tract. de legal. Arabum ponderibus*, ed. Tychsen, Rostock 1800, p. 44, 45, 59, 62.

(E. v. Zambaur.)

IṢFAHĀN, 'Aspadana, Ptolemy, vi. 4; Firdawsī Sipāhān; in Arabic Iṣbahān), an important town in Persia, formerly the capital under the Ṣafa-

wids, now the chief town of the province of ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī. Its name means "the armies" (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī) and has been referred by a popular etymology and in derision to *sebāh*, which in the local dialect means "dog" (Median σπάκα, Herod. i. 110). It was formerly composed of two adjacent towns, Djayy, on the site later occupied by the *shahristān*, the "city properly so called", and Yahūdiya, "the Ghetto", a Jewish colony established there, it is said, by Nebuchadnezzar (Schreiner, *Revue des Études Juives*, xii. 259; Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 261, sq.) or under Yazdigird I at the request of his Jewish wife Shōshan-dukht (E. Blochet, *Liste des Villes*, § 54 in *Recueil des Travaux*, xvii., 1895; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 29). Ancient legends, which are transmitted by Ibn Rosta, attribute the building of the citadel to Kay-Kāūs [q. v.] and it was later rebuilt by Bahman, son of Isfendyādh. There are two versions of the story of the capture of Iṣfahān by the Muslims. According to the historical school of Kūfa, the capture took place in 19 (640); by order of the Caliph ʿOmar, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿItbān marched on Djayy, which was commanded by one of the four *pādhospān* of the Persian empire (= governors, Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, etc., p. 151, nº. 2; cf. A. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides*, p. 87), who, after several battles, capitulated on condition that the *djizya* was replaced by an annual tribute. Ṭabarī (ed. Leyden, i. 2637 *sqq.*) gives the date as 21 A. H. The Baṣra school says that in 23 (644) Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [q. v.], after Nehāwand, took Iṣfahān or that his lieutenant ʿAbd Allāh b. Budail received the capitulation of the town on the usual conditions of the establishment of *kharādj* and *djizya* (al-Balādhurī, p. 312): on these varying versions see Caetani, *Annali*, v., yr. 23, § 4—25. It was taken again, after a rebellion, in the Caliphate of al-Muʿtazz, during Mūsā b. Boghā's campaign against the ʿAlids of Ṭabaristān (247 = 861). Its population was decimated and its notables deported (al-Balādhurī, p. 314). It was henceforth an important town, the capital of a large province and a centre of industry and commerce. Ibn Rosta, who lived there and wrote his book probably about 290 (903), enumerates its four gates and 100 towers; the geometrician Ibn Ludda measured its diameter (it was round in plan) and found it to be 6,000 cubits or half a parasang. The Būyid Rukn al-Dawla increased the town and repaired its walls, which were still standing in the vith (xith) century. There was a building there like a fortress, which bore the same name as the citadel of Hamadhān, Sārūḳ (Sārūye, *Fihrist*, p. 240, 11, 27, 241, 14; Ḥamza, p. 197; Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 219, 241, 244). Silver mines were found in the neighbourhood, the exploitation of which had been abandoned since the Muslim conquest, and mines of copper, antimony, zinc, etc. The distribution of the water from the Zinda-rūd for irrigation purposes and the name Zarrīn-rūd, river of gold (cf. Flandin, *Voyage*, ii. 336), adopted by Ibn Rosta, were attributed to Ardashīr, son of Bābak. To the present day the cultivation of the poppy, cotton, and tobacco constitutes the wealth of the country.

Passing under the rule of the Sāmānids after 301 (913), it was taken by Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār in 316 (928) and taken from the Būyids by Maḥmūd of Ghazni shortly before his death in 421 (1030). It was the favourite residence of the Saldjūḳ Malik Shāh. The Ismāʿīlīs made numerous converts there at the beginning of the vith (xiith) century. During the Mongol invasion a battle fought under its walls by the Sulṭān of Khwārizm, Djalāl al-Mangobirti, although indecisive, saved the town (625 = 1228); it nevertheless became part of the Mongol Empire. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar took it from Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū in 757 (1356). When occupied by Tīmūr, the inhabitants rebelled and were massacred (pyramids of 70,000 heads, 790 = 1388). It was taken by the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaimān during the rebellion of prince Ilḳāṣ-Mīrzā (955-1548). After the battle of Gulūnābād (1134 = 1721) the Afghān Maḥmūd besieged Iṣfahān and it suffered terribly from famine and capitulated, which resulted in the abdication of Shāh Ḥusain. Its population was massacred for a fortnight after the victorious rising in Ḳazwīn (1136 = 1723); it was liberated by Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī Khān (Nādir Shāh) in 1141 (1729).

Choosing Iṣfahān for his capital, Shāh ʿAbbās I [q. v., i. 7b *sq.*] made it a large and beautiful town, with a large population (at least 600,000 in the xviith century), whence the Persian proverb *Iṣfahān nisf-i djahān* "Iṣfahān is half the world". It lies along the Zinda-rūd (now called Zāyinda-rūd), which is crossed by three fine bridges, one in the centre of the town, Pul-i Djulfā or Pul-i Allāhwerdi Khān, because it leads to the suburb of Djulfā [q. v.] and was built by the general of ʿAbbās I, now called Pul-i sī o sih Čashma (bridge of the 33 arches), the two others at the two extremities of the town, the lower, the bridge of Bābā Rukn, which led to the cemetery in which the mausoleum of this dervish stood, now called Pul-i Ḥasanābād; the bridge of Pul-i Mārnān (*Marnon* in Chardin, i. e. Mārnān, the name of a district) also called the bridge of Shahristān, higher up the river. A fourth bridge called Pul-i Čūbī („wooden bridge") connected the two parts of the palace of Saʿādatābād.

The town was surrounded by a wall of earth, badly kept and encroached on by houses and gardens. This wall had eight gates, — formerly twelve —, but four were built up (see their names in [Dupré] *Voyage en Perse*, 1819, ii. 158). Iṣfahān was divided into two parts, Djawbāra and Dardasht, which were inhabited by the hostile factions of Niʿmat Allāhī and the Ḥaidarī. The Maidān-i Shāh, "Royal Square", is a long rectangle enclosed by a canal built of bricks coated with a kind of plaster called *khāk-i siyāh*, "black mortar"; behind it along its margin are ranged the houses which separate the square from the bazaar which surrounds it outside, as well as large buildings like the gateway of the royal palace, the mosque of the Ṣadr, the clockwork pavilion, the royal mosque in the south and the imperial market on the north. The centre of the square was marked by a tall pole used for target shooting and two great columns of marble used as goals for the game of polo (*čawgān*). The Royal Mosque (*Masdjid-i Shāh*), which is still in existence, completely covered with enamelled bricks, was built by Shāh ʿAbbās I at the end of the xvith century; it is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world. Shāh Ṣafī I covered its gates with silver. The mosque of the Ṣadr, also called the mosque of Fatḥ Allāh, is much smaller. The pavilion of the clock was built for the amusement of ʿAbbās II; it was a clock which struck with musical chimes at each hour of the day; a clockwork arrangement caused large marionettes fastened to painted

figures to move along the wall, as well as birds and other animals in painted wood. The imperial market (*kaiṣāriyya*) was, like the other buildings in this square, entered by a gateway covered with bricks of faience; the centre was surmounted by a dome. The finest stuffs were sold there. The royal palace also had an entrance on this square through a large gateway (*ʿālī ḳapy*, the many coloured gateway), always open, day and night, used as a place of refuge (*bast*). In the centre of the garden was the pavilion called the Pavilion of the Forty Pillars (*čihil sutūn*), although there are only eighteen of them; it consists of a hall and two rooms covering the royal throne; its walls were covered with paintings.

The Kārwān-serāi of al-Khurāsānī and that of Maḳṣūd ʿAṣṣār (the presser of oil), the palace of the *Ṣadr mawḳūfāt*, "superintendent of religious endowments", built by Rustum Khān, the Kārwān-serāi Ḥalīlī built by order of ʿAbbās II, the tower of Khwādja ʿAlam, usually called *Gulbār*, "laden with flowers", the Tower of the Horns, covered from top to bottom with heads of wild beasts with their horns, a memorial of great hunts, the citadel called Tabarak (Chardin, Ḳalʿa-i Tabarruk, "Castle of the Benediction") were the most beautiful monuments adorning the capital. The garden of Hazār Djarīb was formed of twelve terraces and fifteen avenues of trees, of which some were watered by a canal; pavilions and fountains completed the decorations.

The misfortunes of Persia during the Afghān conquest and the removal of the capital to Teherān under the Kadjārs ruined Iṣfahān. The Avenue of the Čahār Bāgh still exists, as well as the Madrasa-i Mādar-i Shāh, the "college of the king's mother", but many of the beautiful plane trees which adorned it were cut down and taken to Teherān for the building of the palace of Ẓill al-Sulṭān. The three bridges are in a good state of preservation. One can still see the Madrasa of Sulṭān Ḥusain, which dates from a little before the Afghān invasion, the palace of Hasht Bihisht, which belonged to Ṣārim al-Dawla, Ẓill al-Sulṭān's minister, and in the village of Gulādān, in the environs of Djulfa, the two *Minār-i djunbān*, "moving minarets" (explanation of the phenomenon in Mme Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, p. 278). The Maidān-i-Shāh has preserved its fairy-like aspect; in the evening and morning the royal musicians (tambourines and trumpets) still play in the *naḳḳāra khāna* opposite.

The poet Khāḳānī (vi = xiith century) devoted a long ode of 82 verses to the praises of Iṣfahān (*Kulliyāt*, ii. 522).

On the Armenian colony New Djulfa see the article DJULFA.

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AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. DĀʾŪD B. ʿALĪ. Born in 255 (868), this *faḳīh* succeeded his father at the age of 16 as head of the Ẓāhirī school (cf. DĀʾŪD B. KHALAF); he died in Baghdād in 297 (909). His juridical polemics against Ibn Suraidj, al-Nāshī al-Akbar, al-Ḥallādj and al-Ṭabarī are recorded, but what has made his memory endure is a work of his youth, the *Kitāb al-Zuhra* (ms. Cairo, *Fihr.*, iv. 260), containing in 50 chapters 5000 verses selected from the poets on "the aspects of love, its laws and variations" accompanied by personal notes in very elegant prose. He there expounds the Platonic conception of *amour courtois* (*ḥubb ʿudhrī*) with a grace which has never been surpassed. The friendship which linked him till his death to Muḥammad b. Djāmiʿ al-Ṣaidalānī, to whom this book is dedicated, has become famous (cf. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, Vol. *fuḳahāʾ*, Ch. v., n. 7.; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 520). (L. MASSIGNON.)

AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ. [See ABU 'L-FARADJ.]

ISFARĀYĪN, formerly a small fortified town in the N. E. Khurāsān, south of the Atrek, in the province of Naisābūr, five miles distant from this town. Its name, which is still given to the plain in which it was situated, is derived by popular etymology from *isparāyīn* "shield-like" on account of the custom of the

inhabitants of carrying shields, but it used to be called Mihradjān, a name which since the time of Yāḳūt has been given to a village in the vicinity. The citadel which defended it was called Ḳal'a-i Zar "fortress of gold"; in the great mosque, there was a vessel of brass 12 cubits (*gaz*) in circumference. The district produced excellent grapes; there were many rice fields there. The inhabitants were Shāfi'is and have produced a certain number of jurists. Sacked by the Mongols in 617 (1220) it was destroyed in the Uzbeg invasion a little before 1006 (1597). Its site is now represented by the ruins of Shahr-i Bilḳīs.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 318; vii. 171, 278; Aboulféda, *Géographie*, ii. 448; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 246; Hasan Khān, *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, i. 38; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 34; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 393; Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, ii. 152, 258. (CL. HUART.)

ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU, the name of a Turkoman dynasty, which founded the independent kingdom of Ḳasṭamūnī on the decline of the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Ḳōniya, at the end of the vii[th] (xiii[th]) century in N. W. Asia Minor, in the ancient Paphlagonia. The name is taken from that of the best known ruler of this dynasty, Isfendiyār Bey; in the xvi[th] century we find the name Ḳizil Aḥmedli, from Ḳizil Aḥmed, the brother of Ismā'īl Bey. The Byzantines called the Isfendiyār Oghlu "the sons of Amurias" or of Omur. The founder of the dynasty appears to have been Shams al-Dīn b. Yaman Djāndar, who held a grant of the district of Alṭās; he went to war with Mas'ūd II (681—697 A. H.), captured the town of Ḳasṭamūnī and in 690 A. H. (Münedjdjimbashi) was appointed

GENEALOGY OF THE ISFENDIYĀR-OGHLU.

- 1. Yaman Djāndār (for Yaman b. Djāndār?)
  - 2. Shams al-Dīn (= Sonḳor Bey Shemsī Pasha?)
    - 3. Shudjā' al-Dīn Sulaimān Pasha
      - 5. Ibrāhīm Pasha
      - 6. 'Alī Bey
      - 7. Nastratios (= Nāṣir al-Dīn?)
    - 4. Emir Ya'ḳūb
      - 8. 'Ādil Bey ('Alī)
        - 9. Bāyazīd Kötürüm (Valī)
          - 10. Sulaimān Pasha
            - 14. daughter, married to Murād I.
          - 11. Mubāriz al-Dīn Isfendiyār (reg. 795—843 A. H.)
            - 16. Ibrāhīm, reg. 843—847 A. H.
              - 21. Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ismā'īl; reigned 847—864; in 844 A. H. married a daughter of Murād II.
                - 26. 'Othmān
              - 22. Ḳizil Aḥmad
                - 27. Meḥemmed, called Mīrzā, married a daughter of Bāyazīd II.
                  - 28. Shemsī Pasha
                  - 29. Muṣṭafā Pasha
              - 23. Khadīdja
            - 17. Ḳiwām al-Dīn Ḳāsim Bey, married (828 A. H.) a sister of Murād II.
              - 24. Iskandar, called Mīrzā Bey
            - 18. Khiḍir Bey
            - 19. Murād
            - 20. Ḥalīma, married 828 A. H. Sulṭān Murād II.
              - 25. Ḥasan, killed 855 A. H.
          - 12. Iskandar
          - 13. (daughter)
            - 15. Ḳara Yaḥyā

On this cf. the genealogy of Ismā'īl Bey in the *Ḥulefānāme-i Sulṭānī* in Rieu, *Catal. of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 11, and that of Shemsī Pasha in Peçewī, ii. 10 *sqq.*; 4 perhaps the brother of Sulaimān Pasha, called al-Efendī by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; the sons of Sulaimān Pasha, 5—7, in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 340, 348, Shihāb al-Dīn, and Pachymeres, ii. 327 *sqq.*, 611; 8 according to Münedjdjimbashi, son of Sulaimān Pasha; 13 according to Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 192; another sister of Isfendiyār and her son is mentioned by Clavijo, p. 92, but without giving her name; 14 according to *Ta'rīkh-i Ṣāf*, i. 39 *sq.*; on 17 see Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 277 *sq.*, 284 *sq.*, 318 *sq.*, 320 *sq.*; Hamid Wahbi, p. 1330 *sq.*; on 18 Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 287; on 19 Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 318 *sq.*; 21, the epithet in Ferīdūn, i. 250; on his marriage with a daughter of Murād II: Dukas, p. 243; Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 343; on 25 cf. *Rom. Hist.*, p. 390 *sq.*; on 24 Hamid Wahbi, p. 1354; on 26 Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 474, 476.

governor of the districts seized by him by the Il-khān prince Kaikhātū. He seems to be identical with Sonḳor Bey Shamsī Pasha, who conquered Bolī according to Ewliyā, ii. 173. His son, Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Sulaimān Pasha (700—740 A. H.), at first acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ilkhāns, but afterwards made himself independent and conquered Sinope, which was still in possession of a daughter of Masʿūd II. He is mentioned in the Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 343 *sqq.*), Shihāb al-Dīn (*Not. et Extr.*, xiii. 340 and 361 *sq.*) and Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ (*Géographie*, ed. Reinaud, ii. 1, p. 35; 2, p. 142, 145)] Pachymeres, ii. 345 *sqq.* and 456 *sq.*, knows him by the name Σολυμάμπαξ. His successors were: his son Ibrāhīm Pasha; ʿĀdil Bey, son of the Emīr Yaʿḳūb and grandson of Shams al-Dīn (about 746 A. H.); Djalāl al-Dīn Bāyazīd, son of ʿĀdil Bey, called Kötörüm by the Ottomans, died 787 A. H.; Sulaimān Bey, son of Bāyazīd, from 787—795 A. H.; Sulṭān Bāyazīd I killed him and seized the land (according to *Rev. Hist.*, p. 389; the Ottoman chronicles make no mention of Sulaimān Bey and make Bāyazīd Kötörüm reign till 795 A. H.). Mubāriz al-Dīn Isfendiyār, son of Bāyazīd, was restored by Tīmūr in 805 A. H. He died on Ramaḍān 22 843 A. H. About 820 A. H. he had to cede the towns of Tosia, Kiangri and Ḳalʿedjik and the district of Ḳōsh to Meḥemmed I and later the rich copper mines to Murād II; Ibrāhīm, son of Isfendiyār, 843 — beg. 847 A. H.; Ismāʿīl, son of Ibrāhīm; was deposed by Sulṭān Meḥemmed II at the instigation of his brother Ḳizil Aḥmad in 864 or 865 A. H. and died in Philippolis, which was allotted to him as a residence by the Sulṭān. He was the author of a widely circulated book, *Hulāṣatüʾl-Sulṭānī*, on the ritual prescripts of Islām. His brother Ḳizil Aḥmed fled to Uzun Ḥasan after the confiscation of Ḳasṭamūnī, returned to Constantinople after the death of Meḥemmed II, and was honourably received by Bāyazīd II; his son Mīrzā Meḥemmed married a daughter of the Sulṭān and his grandsons Shemsī and Muṣṭafā Pasha filled high offices under Selīm II and Murād III; Shemsī Pasha in particular had great personal influence as the confidant (*muṣāḥib*) of Murād III. He fabricated a genealogy of the "Ḳizil Aḥmedlu Isfendiyār-Oghlu" which went back to Khālid b. al-Walīd, and invented the name Ḳizil Aḥmedlu for the dynasty of Isfendiyār-Oghlu. Descendants of this family still exist and, when at the beginning of the xiith century it was feared that the Ottoman ruling house might become extinct, the Ḳizil Aḥmedlu were considered amongst others as possible claimants to the throne on account of their frequent marriages with relatives of the Sulṭāns.

Bibliography: Münedjdjimbashi, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār*, iii. 29 *sq.*; Ḥāmid Waḥīd, *Meshāhīr-i Islām*, N°. 43 (= p. 1329—1358 of the whole series); *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane*, p. 382—392 (monograph by Aḥmed Tewḥīd), the Byzantine historians Pachymeres, Dukas, Chalkokondyles, Phrantzes; Clavijo. On the coins of the Isfendiyār-Oghlu Ismāʿīl Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i Seldjūḳiye*, p. 120 *sq.*; Aḥmad Tewḥīd, *Meskūkāt-i ḳadīme-i Islāmiye*, iv. 400 *sqq.*

(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

ISFĪD DIZ. [See ḲALʿAT SEFĪD.]

ISḤĀḲ, the Biblical Isaac, whose birth, according to the Talmud (*Kitāb ʿarāʾis al-madjālis*, p. 11), took place at the feast of Passah and, according to Muslim tradition, in the night of ʿĀshūrā (al-Thaʿlabī, p. 60 and al-Kisāʾī, p. 150), was promised to his father Ibrāhīm a year previously by Allāh (also in *Gen. R.* 45). Ibrāhīm was in the habit of eating only when the poor and hungry shared his meals. On one occasion fifteen (al-Thaʿlabī, p. 48) or three (al-Kisāʾī, p. 146) days happened to pass without a guest appearing. Three strangers then appeared before whom he set a roasted calf. But they did not touch it (Ḳurʾān, xi. 73). They said "We eat nothing without paying its price". He said "The price is that you should utter a blessing before and after the meal" (al-Thaʿlabī, *l. c.*; *Gen. R.* 54). They then foretold to him the birth of a son. Sāra laughed at this, as she was 90 and Ibrāhīm 120 years old. The latter said: "Then he shall be sacrificed as an offering to God!" (These features probably have their origin in the accounts in the Midrash [*Gen. R.* 53; *Tanchuma Gen.* 40]). When seven years old, Isḥāḳ visited the sacred place. Ibrāhīm then received in a dream the order to make a sacrifice to God. In the morning he sacrificed a bullock and divided its flesh among the poor. In the night the voice again said to him: "God demands a more valuable offering". He killed a camel. In the following night the voice said: "God demands thy son as an offering". Ibrāhīm awoke in horror and said: "O my son, I saw in a dream that I must sacrifice thee" (Ḳurʾān, xxxvii. 101). The latter replied: "Father, do what was ordered thee. Thou wilt find me a patient person, if God will" (102). Taking a knife and a rope they went together to the mount. Isḥāḳ said: "Father, take my shirt from my body, lest my dear mother find blood upon it and weep for me. Bind me firmly, so that I do not move, and look away while sacrificing me, lest thou lose thy courage" (al-Kisāʾī and al-Thaʿlabī, *l. c.*, following *Gen. R.* 56; cf. also *Sifre ha-yāshār*, *Wayyērā* and *Pirḳē de R. El.* 31). "May God comfort thee for my loss! Give my mother my shirt that it may comfort her and do not tell her how thou didst sacrifice me. Never look at boys of my age, lest grief overwhelm thee!" Ibrāhīm directed the knife against the throat of his son but three times it slipped and glanced aside. Then a voice called to him: "Ibrāhīm, Thou hast satisfied the vision" (Ḳurʾān xxxvii. 105). Then a ram appeared, which said it had been the offering of Hābīl and had hitherto been in Paradise; it was offered as a sacrifice (*Aboth* V; *Pirḳē de R. El.* 32, and al-Kisāʾī). When a rumour arose that Isḥāḳ was a foundling adopted by Ibrāhīm, God gave father and son the same figure so that they were very like one another. But Ibrāhīm was grey (*Baba M.* 87; *Gen. R.* 53; al-Kisāʾī, p. 152).

As the Ḳurʾān verse above quoted does not state, which son was to have been sacrificed, many Muslim theologians refer the intended sacrifice to Ismāʿīl (al-Zamakhsharī and al-Baiḍāwī on the passage; al-Ṭabarī, i. 291; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 88; al-Thaʿlabī, p. 55—58; al-Kisāʾī, p. 150). But it must be said that the oldest tradition — al-Thaʿlabī expressly emphasises the "Aṣḥāb and Tābiʿūn", i. e. the Companions of the Prophet and their successors from ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār — did not differ from the Bible on this question.

Bibliography: al-Zamakhsharī, i. 224; al-Baiḍāwī, i. 233; al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (Cairo 1312), p. 48—60; al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-*

Anbiyā', p. 136—140; al-Ṭabarī, ed. Leyden, i. 272—292; Ibn al-Athīr, i. 87—89; Grünbaum, *Beiträge*, p. 110—120; Eisenberg, *Abraham in der arab. Legende*, 1912, p. 30—33; *Encyclop. Hebrew*, New-York, v. 18, s. v. Isak. (J. EISENBERG.)

ISḤĀḲ B. ḤUNAIN B. ISḤĀḲ AL-'IBĀDĪ, ABŪ YA'ḲŪB, the son of Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ [q. v.], a physician and philosopher, but more important as the translator of Greek, mainly philosophical and mathematical works into Arabic. He was in great favour with the caliphs al-Mu'tamid and al-Mu'taḍid and the vizier of the latter, Ḳāsim b. 'Ubaid Allāh. He died in Rabī' II 298 or 299 (Nov. 910 or 911) in Baghdād. Of his most important translations we may mention the *Elements* of Euclid, afterwards improved by Thābit b. Ḳurra, his *Data*, the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, also improved by Thābit, Archimedes' books On the sphere and cylinder, Menelaus' *Sphaerica*, Plato's dialogue *Sophistes* with the commentary of Olympiodorus, the *Categories* of Aristotle, his *Topics*, *Hermeneutica* and *Rhetorica*, *de Coelo et Mundo*, *de Generatione et Corruptione*, a part of the *Metaphysics*. Of these translations the following has been edited: — *Aristotelis Categoriae cum versione arabica Isaaci Honeini et variis lectionibus textus graeci e versione arab. ductis* a J. Th. Zenker, Lipsiae 1846. — Into the question, which of these translations were made from the Syriac and which direct from the Greek, we cannot enter here, but refer the reader to the *Bibliography*. In the case of several of these translations there are still doubts as to whether they are by Isḥāḳ or his father Ḥunain.

Bibliography: *Fihrist* (ed. Müller), p. 285 and 298; Ibn Khallikān (Cairo, 1310), i. 66, transl. by de Slane, i. 187; Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a (ed. Müller), i. 200; Steinschneider, *Die arab. Übersetzgn. aus d. Griech.* (*Centralblatt f. d. Bibliothekwesen*, Beiheft 12, Leipzig 1893), p. 16—102, and *Ztschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, l. 161—219 and 337—417; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 206; Suter, *Abhandlgn. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, x (1900), 39. (H. SUTER.)

ĪSHĀN, Persian pronoun 3rd pers. plur. The word is used in Turkestān in the meaning of *shaikh*, *murshid*, *ustādh*, *pīr*, teacher, guide [see DERWĪSH i. 950a], in contrast to *murīd*, adherent, pupil. When the term first appears has still to be investigated; it certainly existed in the middle ages; the celebrated Khodja Aḥrār (died 895 = 1490 in Samarḳand) is always called *īshān* in his biography. The rank of *īshān* is frequently transmitted from father to son. The *īshān* lives with his followers in a dervish monastery (*khānaḳāh*, in Central Asia pronounced *khonaka*), sometimes also at the tomb of a saint. Most *īshān*'s make journeys from time to time into the steppes, where they have more adherents among the Kirgiz and receive richer presents than from the settled population. Greater attention was attracted to the *īshān*'s by a rebellion stirred up by an *īshān* in Farghāna in 1898; but the literature on the subject is still extremely scanty. Cf. J. Geijer, *Materiali i izsledovanija otnositel'no musul'manskago naselenija Turkestanskago kraja. I. Ishani* (*Sbornik materialov dlja statistiki Sir-Dar'inskoi oblasti*, Vol. i.); *Sbornik materialov po musul'manstvu*, St. Petersb. 1899; Sattar-Chan, *Musul'manskie ishani* (*Pravoslavnij Sobesednik*, Sept. 1895, and later N. P. Ostroumov, *Sarti*, 2nd. 3e, Tashkent 1908, p. 206 *sq.*); Prince V. Masal'skij, *Turkestanskij krai*, St. Petersb. 1913, p. 355 *sq.*; Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg in Breisgau 1900, p. 198. (W. BARTHOLD.)

AL-**ISHRĀḲIYŪN** (scil. al-Ḥukamā') i. e. the adherents of the *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāḳ* or *mushriḳiyya* (read by many, e. g. Pococke, Munk, Renan, as *mushraḳiyya* = eastern). The name is given especially to the disciples of al-Suhrawardī (died 1191) but the name and the matter are older. On the name cf. ḤIKMA; it is really a question of the syncretic philosophy of Hellenism, which reached the east from Neo-Platonic, Hermetic and allied sources and was there amalgamated with old Persian and other speculations. It is a spiritualistic philosophy with a mystical theory of knowledge. God and the world of spirits are usually interpreted as light and our process of cognition as an illumination from above through the intermediary of the spirits of the spheres. The following are regarded as particular authorities for this doctrine: Hermes, Agathodaemon, Empedocles, Pythagoras, etc., and Plato more than Aristotle (at least the genuine one). These authorities are often described as prophets or inspired sages. From the beginning to the present day, this philosophy of revelation has influenced Muslim philosophy to a great extent. The so-called Peripatetics in Islām are in part under its influence, Ibn Rushd perhaps least of all.

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AL-**ISKĀFĪ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD [or IBRĀHĪM] AL-ḲARĀRĪṬĪ, al-Muttaḳī's vizier. In 323 (934—935) he is mentioned as secretary to Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt, chief of police in Baghdād, and in Shawwāl 329 (June—July 941) the Caliph gave him the office of vizier, but after only six weeks, in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da (July—Aug.) of the same year, the Amīr al-Umarā' Kūrtekīn dismissed him. Some time after Kūrtekīn's fall he received his rank again but could only hold it for 40 days. In Shawwāl 330 (June—July 942) he was again given the same office and after he had held it for 8 months 16 days, the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla [q. v.] dismissed him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, (ed. Derenbourg), p. 386 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. passim.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

AL-**ISKANDAR**, ALEXANDER THE GREAT (the Arab authors usually see the Arabic article in the first two letters of the name). In the Muhammadan accounts of the world-conqueror there are here and there echoes of genuine historical tradition but as a rule we have to deal with legendary tales, which originate in the romance of Alexander (see the article ISKANDAR-NĀMA below) and were considerably extended and embellished by later writers. We confine ourselves here to giving in its broad outlines what the older Arab historians relate on the subject. In the first place it should

be noted that Alexander's genealogy is artificially made up in various ways as may be seen from Friedländer's *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, p. 294 *sqq*. As a rule, however, the name of his father Philip is correctly given, frequently in the form Fīlḳūs, Failaḳūs or otherwise corrupted, as well as that of his mother Olympias (also almost always in a corrupt form); some authorities even give the name of his grandfather Āmintas or Āmintās. Even in the earliest historians however we find also the view, which owes its origin to Persian national pride, that Alexander was not the son of Philip, but of Dārāb (Dārā al-Akbar) so that he was the half-brother of Dārā (Dārā al-Aṣghar), the last Persian king. It is said that, when Philip was conquered by Dārāb and had to pay a yearly tribute in golden eggs, his daughter, who is given the name of Halai (otherwise in Firdawsī) to get a fantastic etymology for the name Alexander, was married by Dārāb but on account of her repulsive odour was at once repudiated by him and sent back to her father. They endeavoured in vain to cure her defect by a medicine called *sandarūs*; when the princess bore a son, he was called Alexandros after the name of his mother and that of the medicine. The boy was brought up at the court of his grandfather; his tutor was Aristotle, and after Philip's death he succeeded him. Alexander soon omitted to pay the tribute and, when his half-brother, who had in the meantime become king of Persia, demanded it Alexander sent the messenger home with the answer that he had killed and eaten the hen which laid the golden eggs. We omit here the story of the symbolic gifts which Dārā sent to Alexander and Alexander's reply, although it is found as early as al-Ṭabarī i. 699. Alexander then prepared for war, collected a great army and went first of all to Egypt, where he founded buildings (see AL-ISKANDARĪYA). In the meanwhile Dārā also had assembled his troops and Alexander advanced against him, until the two armies met on the Euphrates where a sanguinary battle took place (its site is also placed elsewhere), in which Alexander was victorious, Dārā fled, but was treacherously wounded to death by two of his own people who sought thereby to gain the favour of Alexander. According to some accounts, several encounters took place between Alexander and Dārā but in the end the result was the same and Alexander met his dying foe. The latter recommended his wife to his care and asked him to see to the punishment of the murderers and to other matters; in particular he expressed the wish that Alexander should marry his daughter Rawshang (Roxana). Alexander promised to fulfil his requests and ordered Dārā's obsequies to be carried out in regal fashion. As a result of his marriage with Rawshang he now acted as the legitimate ruler of Persia, ordered the affairs of the government, and advanced on India to conquer Fūr (Porus), who was allied with Dārā. He had a fierce battle with Porus and only succeeded in disposing of him by rendering his elephants innocuous by stratagem and finally overcoming his opponent in single combat. Another Indian king, named Kaid, submitted to him voluntarily and sent him four valuable gifts (a virgin of wondrous beauty, a vessel which never became empty, a physician and a philosopher who could answer every question). He then took an interest in the Brahmans (gymnosophists) and had a conference with them in which he put various questions which they answered. After thus becoming acquainted with India he began his expeditions throughout the whole world, which are however usually but briefly mentioned by the historians. After India, came China and Tibet (Dīnawarī mentions the meeting with Candace) and finally he went to the Land of Darkness and met Khiḍr (Khaḍir). The historians apparently knew a great deal about all this, but they omit to narrate it, either because they thought that it was not the contemporary of Dārā but an older Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain who was the real hero of these incidents, or for other reasons. We shall deal with this question below: here it is sufficient to say that Alexander finally died on his return to Persia at Shahrazūr or in Bābil, according to al-Dīnawarī, in Jerusalem, at the age of 36, after reigning 13 or 14 years (many other figures are also given). According to some accounts, he died from poison and having a presentiment of his approaching end, sent a letter of consolation to his mother in Alexandria. The corpse was placed in a golden sarcophagus, over which the philosophers spoke in turn and in brief speeches emphasised the vanity of earthly greatness. The sarcophagus was taken to Alexandria and buried there in a tomb, which, according to al-Mas'ūdī, still existed in 322 (964).

Among Orientals, Alexander is not only the world-conqueror and founder of cities — he is said to have founded 12, all called Iskandarīya —, but the hero who reached the ends of the earth (cf. I. Macc. i. 3). It was not lust of conquest but the thirst for knowledge that was his motive. Philosophers therefore accompanied him everywhere and the wonders of nature and enigmatical problems attracted his special interest. Mubashshir b. Fātik and al-Shahrazūrī, quoted by Mīrkhwānd, therefore deal with Alexander in their biographies of Greek philosophers. Cf. Meissner in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xlix. 583 *sqq*. At the same time he appears as the champion of the true faith, because his epithet, Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain, which is variously interpreted [cf. i. 961ᵇ *sq*.] led to his being identified with the prophet of the same name mentioned in Ḳur'ān xviii. 82 *sqq*. This is however not approved of by all expositors; the majority distinguish an earlier and a later Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain; the latter is thus identical with Alexander. For further details and the peculiar confusion with Mūsā in Ḳur'ān xviii. 59 *sqq*. see the articles KHIḌR (Khaḍir) and YĀDJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ. The connection indicated by Lidzbarski, Meissner and others of these stories with very ancient Oriental ideas and myths (Gilgamish epic) will there be dealt with.

Bibliography: All universal histories deal with Alexander so that we need here only mention the older Arab historians: al-Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 96, 161 *sqq*.; al-Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgass, p. 31 *sqq*.; al-Ṭabarī, ed. Leiden, i. 693 *sqq*.; al-Mas'ūdī, ed. Paris, ii. 250 *sqq*., Eutychius, ed. Pocock, p. 281 *sqq*.; al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is*, ed. Cairo 1314, p. 203 *sqq*., etc. Cf. also the references given in the article ISKANDAR-NĀMA.

ISKANDAR AGHĀ. [See ABKHĀSIA.]

ISKANDAR BEG [See SCANDERBEG.]

ISKANDAR BEG MUNSHĪ, was born about 968 (1560). After following the profession of an accountant for a time, he devoted himself to acquiring the art of composition, in which he soon became proficient and was appointed a *Mun-*

shî to Shâh ʿAbbâs I (996—1038 = 1587—1628). He was by the side of Wazîr Iʿtimâd al-Dawla at the time of his sudden death during the siege of Urmia, 1019 (1610). Abû Ṭâlib Khân, the son and successor of the Wazîr, was his patron. He died 1038 (1628).

He is the author of *Târîkh-i ʿÂlam Ârâ-i ʿAbbâsî*, a detailed history of the reign of Shâh ʿAbbâs I with accounts of his predecessors. Extracts from this work have been published by Dorn, *Muh. Quellen zur Gesch. der südl. Küstenl. des Kasp. Meeres*, iv. 238—374. Lithogr. Teherân 1314.

Bibliography: *Mirʾât al-ʿÂlam*, fol. 483; *Journal Asiatique*, v. (1824), 86—89; Morley, *A descr. Cat.* etc., p. 133; v. Erdmann, *De Manuscripto Iskenderi Monschii* etc., Casan, 1822; do., *Iskender Munschi u. sein Werk* in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, xv. 457—501; Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. Mss. Br. Mus.*, p. 185; *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii. 361.

(M. Hidayet Hosain.)

ISKANDAR KHÂN, a Shaibânid, ruler of Mâ-warâʾ al-Nahr, 968—991 (1561—1583). During his reign the authority was really exercised by his son ʿAbd Allâh [q. v. i. 25], who in Shaʿbân 968 (Apr. 17 — May 15, 1561) had declared his uncle Pîr Muḥammad, prince of Balkh, deposed and had his father Iskandar proclaimed Khân of all the Uzbegs. Iskandar himself like his father and grandfather was a weak-minded man; according to Abu 'l-Ghâzî (ed. Desmaisons, p. 183), the Khân had only two good qualities: he observed with painful exactitude all prescribed (*farḍa*) and recommended (*nâfila*) prayers and was unrivalled in his skill in falconry. He died on Wednesday 1st Djumâdâ II 991 (22nd June 1583); in one of the chronograms made on the occasion of his death he is called "prince of dervishes" (*pâdishâh-i darwîshân*).

For the *Bibliography* of the events of this period see the article ʿABD ALLÂH, i. 25.

(W. Barthold.)

ISKANDAR-NÂMA, the Romance of Alexander. The Ḳurʾân, Sûra xviii., gives evidence of the early acquaintance of the Muhammadans with the romance of Alexander (Pseudo-Callisthenes). What is there (vs. 59 *sqq.*) related of Mûsâ is really taken from this story. This is not the place to discuss the earlier history of this romance. For this see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Alexanderromans* (*Denkschr. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss.*, Vienna, xxxviii) and the older works quoted there.

According to this investigator, the source of the Syriac and Arabic tales of Alexander is to be sought in an original Pahlavi recension which, according to Fraenkel, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xlv. 319, may have been written by a Christian of Syrian nationality who wrote in Persian. The oldest Arab accounts in the Ḥadîth have been collected by Friedlaender in *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, p. 67 *sqq.*; and the oldest Arab historians have been mentioned in the preceding article. Later versions in Arabic are also discussed by Friedlaender, *op. cit.* The oldest poetic version of the Alexander saga in Persian is from the pen of the celebrated poet Firdawsî and is briefly analysed by Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen*. Another version was composed by Niẓâmî, also briefly discussed by Spiegel, *l. c.* On the works on the subject by Ethé, Bacher and Clarke, see the article NIẒÂMÎ. Amîr Khusraw [q. v.] and Djâmî [q. v.] have also dealt with this subject. A Persian prose romance is mentioned by Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, p. 568, and Pertsch, *Verzeichn. Berlin*, N°. 1033—1036.

A little known version in Eastern Turkî we owe to the celebrated Mîr ʿAlî Shîr [see NEWÂʾÎ]. The Ottoman Turkish version by Aḥmedî [q. v.] is based on the Persian of Firdawsî (see Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 203 *sqq.*). A similar work by Fighânî [q. v.] is also mentioned (Gibb, *op. cit.*, iii. 36).

On the Indian adaptations cf. Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. Hind. et Hindoustanie*², i. 494, ii. 431, iii. 473; J. F. Blumhardt, *Cat. of Hindustani printed Books in the British Museum*, mentions a *Sikandarnâma-i Sikandarî* by Gokulaprasâda (p. 102ᵃ) and a versified *Ḳiṣṣa-i Sikandar* by Djamâl al-Dîn (p. 147ᵃ). The Malay, Javanese and Buginese tales of Alexander are fully described in Vreede, *Cat. van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Hss.* (Leiden), p. 32 *sqq.*; H. H. Juynboll, *Cat. van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Hss.* (Leiden), p. 194 *sqq.*; and v. Ronkel, *Cat. van de Mal. Hss.* (Batavia), p. 355 *sqq.* See also the article *Alexander de Groote* in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2nd ed., i. 29 *sq.* ('s-Gravenhage—Leiden 1917).

Bibliography: In so far as it is not given in the article, it is most fully given in Friedlaender's book. Cf. also Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, vii. 79 *sqq.*

al-**ISKANDARÎYA**, occasionally al-Askandarîya, often Sikandarîya, Alexandria, the principal seaport of Egypt, in Ptolemaic times the second city of the world, now among the most important trade centres of the Mediterranean, with a population of nearly 400,000 including a strong foreign element, is situated at the Western angle of the Delta in latitude 30° 11′ N. and longitude 29° 51′ E. It was founded in 332 B.C. by Alexander the Great. When it came into the hands of the Arabs, it was the capital of Egypt and, though its glory had diminished, it was still a great and splendid town. Under Muhammadan rule it declined to the verge of utter ruin. Its revival dates from the beginning of last century. The present Alexandria is almost entirely modern and needs no description here. It covers the site of mediaeval Alexandria, of which nothing is left but the most scanty remains.

Topography. The port of Alexandria is formed by a peninsula, consisting originally of an island, called Pharos, joined to the mainland by a mole or causeway seven stadia long and known for that reason as the Heptastadium. On the north eastern point of the island stood the Pharos, the great lighthouse built by Ptolemy Soter. This famous building, prototype of all our lighthouses and generally acknowledged to have been one of the wonders of the world, survived the Arab conquest by several centuries. The Arab writers call it the *manâra* or *manâr*. Their accounts show that it consisted of a large and lofty structure of white stone, square in plan and massive in frame, above which rose a pile of brick and plaster in the form of an octagonal tower, tapering into a round tower towards the top, with a dome at the summit; they differ greatly as to its height. There are records of the Pharos having been damaged by earthquake and having been repaired on various occasions in the Muhammadan period. A

large part of it fell in 724 (1324), but some portion seems to have been standing a century later. Soon afterwards it had collapsed entirely and in 882 (1477) the present Fort Pharos was built by Ḳā'it Bāy [q. v.] on its ruins. The harbour to the east of the peninsula was originally the principal harbour of Alexandria, and (contrary to what is sometimes stated) was the one generally used in Muhammadan times. Even up to the middle of the xvii[th] century the western harbour was resorted to only by galleys, but later it came into use for trading ships, though Christian vessels were not admitted to it until 1803. The Heptastadium broadened in the course of time by the accumulation of silt from being quite narrow into an isthmus, some three-quarters of a mile in width; it was vacant of buildings in the middle ages. The town lay to the south, covering an oblong area of about 3 km. by one km. Its walls remained in existence till 1811. They consisted of an outer wall some 20 feet high, backed in most parts of the circuit by a thicker and higher inner wall distant some 20 to 25 feet from it; both inner and outer walls were flanked by frequent towers. A further defence was afforded by a moat or ditch designed to be filled from the Nile in case of need. The town had four gates: Bāb al-Baḥr leading to the Heptastadium, Bāb Rashīd, Bāb al-Sidra at the beginning of the road to al-Maghrib and Bāb al-Akhḍar leading to the cemetery. The walls had been repaired in the reign of Baibars [q. v.] and again in 703 (1303) after an earthquake, in which 17 of the towers had been thrown down; al-Ghūrī also repaired the towers during his reign. The whole system was a curious specimen of mediaeval fortification. It is not possible to say for certain when it was built. A solitary remnant was the so called Tour des Romains, which recently stood near Ramla railway station.

Statements by Arab writers of the ix[th] to xiiith centuries, when pieced together, give a general description of the town itself. It was laid out on a regular plan; eight straight streets intersected eight others at right angles, producing a chess board pattern with direct and continuous thoroughfares, a marked contrast to the meandering roads and blind alleys usual in Eastern towns. The streets were colonnaded, columns were used in most of the buildings; many of the columns were marble. Marble was abundant in the buildings and was employed also in paving some of the highways. There was a market street, a league (so it is said) in length, all built of marble, both its walls and floor. The columns and stones were often of prodigious size and enormous blocks were poised at great heights. Much variety and beauty of colour and fine workmanship were displayed. For instance, pillars like emerald and others resembling onyx are mentioned, all of the highest polish and finish. In the inside of the town there were gardens (*bustān*) and sycamores. A remarkable feature was that the houses were built on vaults supported by columns, rising above one another in as many as three tiers. The object of this subterranean architecture was to provide cisterns for the storage of water, which was derived from the Nile, and also from the rain, for Alexandria has a fairly considerable rainfall in winter. Materials for reconstructing the plan of the town are quite insufficient. The monuments and buildings noticed may be divided into three classes. In the first, those which dated back to ancient times, there come Pompey's pillar or the column of Diocletian (*'amūd al-sawārī*), the one important ancient remain still standing in its place; Cleopatra's needles (*al-misallatān*), the two well known obelisks removed in recent times, one to London and the other to America; the Caesarium, a most famous edifice, originally a temple and afterwards the patriarchal church or cathedral, which appears to be mentioned once under the name of al-Ḳaisariya and is probably to be identified with Kanīsat Asfal al-Arḍ, alluded to as a wonder; the remains of the still more famous Serapeum, consisting of a forest of columns known as Sawārī Sulaimān, many of which were still standing in position in the xiii[th] century; a magnificent dome called Ḳubbat al-Khaḍrā', spoken of by several writers; a colossal brass statue known to the Arabs as Sharāḥīl, which stood on a rock in the sea; its foot was as long as the utmost stretch of a man lying down at full length; this statue was melted down in the time of al-Walīd. In the second category come the churches, buildings but rarely alluded to by Muhammadan writers. Besides the patriarchal church referred to above, which was dedicated to St. Michael, there were two churches of St. Mark, a church of St. John, a church of Al-Sūṭīr (the Saviour), churches of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, St. Mary Dorothea, St. Faustus, St. Theodore, St. Athanasius, a Greek church of St. Saba. The list might be extended, but as a rule little more is known of the churches than their names, though one or two of them are described as beautiful or highly ornamented. The great church of St. Mark, which contained the tomb of the saint, was situated a short distance within the Eastern gate on the right hand of one entering. The shrine was known in the xvi[th] century. Whether the modern church of St. Mark occupies the same site does not appear, but it seems that none of the existing churches, even if they mark the site of old ones, preserve any features of interest. There are instances of churches having been built at Alexandria in Muhammadan times; on the other hand, some were destroyed in popular commotions or deliberately demolished and some were converted into mosques. The third class of buildings consists of additions made by the Muhammadans. In it may probably be placed the citadel (*ḥiṣn*), described as strong and swept by the sea from the west, whence it would seem that it was situated at the north west corner of the town. It was in existence as early as the viii[th] century. An ancient citadel, presumably pre-Muhammadan, which was in being in the x[th] century, contained a government house (*dār al-imāra*), built by one of the early Arab governors. The Mamlūk sulṭāns had a similar house (*dār al-sulṭān*), which was situated on the sea-shore and contained many columns of variegated marble and had courts paved with marble, — some ancient palace reserved for their use, but rarely, if ever used. One reads of a *ḳā'a* or hall of al-Mu'aiyad. There was an arsenal or armoury "sufficient to equip the people of Egypt". The places of worship included an oratory or *muṣallā*, which, as at Fusṭāṭ, had fallen into ruin within a couple of centuries of the conquest. There was a mosque attributed to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ [q. v.], but whether it stood on the same site as the present mosque

of ʿAmr seems doubtful. The second principal mosque, the western mosque or mosque of the Septuagint, also known as the mosque of the 1001 columns, had been a monastery up to the end of the ixth century, and seems to have been converted into a mosque between this time and the middle of the xth. A large mosque "built" by Badr al-Djamālī (q. v.) in 477 (1084) is presumably represented by the existing Djāmiʿ al-ʿAṭṭārīn, which would seem to be identical with the mosque and former church of St. Athanasius. Ibn Ṭūlūn built a mosque on the Pharos. Early shrines were a mosque of Mūsā near the Pharos, mosques of Sulaimān, of al-Khiḍr, and of Dāniyāl, still in existence — one notes the Jewish association of these names —; of Dhu 'l-Karnain or Alexander, and the mosque of al-Raḥma, marking the spot where ʿAmr stopped the slaughter when he entered Alexandria the second time.

In the xivth century, Alexandria is described by a European traveller as "exceeding beauteous and strong" and "exceeding clean" and "carefully kept". In 1507, according to another, there was "nothing to be seen but a prodigious heap of stones" and "it was rare to see a continuous street"; in 1634, the town was "almost nothing but a white heap of ruins". There is mention of many houses of Jews on the Heptastadium in (about) 1580, built there "in respect of the air", the earliest allusion, it seems, to habitations on the peninsula. The scanty remnant of the population concentrated there not long after, forming "a new city of very mean appearance" and leaving the town within the walls almost entirely deserted. Enough has come under European observation fully to prove the former splendour of Alexandria. At the present moment the principal remains, apart from the column of Pompey, are a few of the cisterns.

Alexandria was joined to the Nile by means of a long canal. This work had a tendency to silt up and, instead of being kept open by regular clearing, it was allowed from time to time to become more or less thoroughly blocked and then it was re-excavated. Occasionally after re-digging, it was open to traffic all the year round, but as a rule only for a part of the year. In 1800, the navigable period was only about 20 days. Sometimes communication by water was cut off altogether and the people of Alexandria had to depend on their cisterns for their drinking supply. In the earlier part of the Muhammadan period, the canal left the river at Shābshīr. In the xith century an alternative waterway from the Nile below Fūwa, through the lakes of Idkū and Abū Ḳīr to the neighbourhood of Alexandria, came into use. Al-Nāṣir in the xivth century either improved or reconstructed this channel, the original canal from Shābshīr being abandoned. Various lesser alterations took place subsequently. The damage resulting from the neglect of the canal can be easily understood. It is one of the reasons why the surroundings of Alexandria had become, generally speaking, a desolate waste at the beginning of the xixth century. Maryūṭ was once busy and thriving and the progress of its gradual decline can be traced. Buḥairat al-Iskandariya, identical with the now dry lake of Abū Ḳīr, has alternated between water and dry land more than once in the Muhammadan epoch.

History. When Alexandria was surrendered to the Arabs in 21 (642), a considerable number of Greeks took advantage of the terms of the capitulation and left it, abandoning their homes. The Arabs on taking possession did not molest the inhabitants. The well known story of the burning of the great library by order of the Khalīfa ʿUmar, which belongs to this time, cannot be accepted as true. On their re-entry into Alexandria after the invasion of Manuel in 25 (645), the Arabs revenged themselves on the inhabitants by a massacre; churches were burnt and the town walls, it is said, were thrown down. In the first century of the Hidjra, Alexandria was of great importance to the Arabs as a naval station. Hence, no doubt, the rapid increase in the number of its garrison, part of which was drawn from Madīna, and the frequency of visits by the Umaiyad governors of Egypt. The Arab occupation at first was purely military. An Augustal was in office late in the century, a sign that the civil administration continued unchanged for a long while. When the last of the Umaiyad khalīfas fled to Egypt, al-Aswad, a grandson of ʿUkba b. Nāfiʿ, declared for the ʿAbbāsids at Alexandria. His followers included 30.000 Muslims of Buḥaira and Maryūṭ. This host, however, was dispersed by a detachment of 500 troops sent to Alexandria by Marwān; the Khalīfa's men entered the city and there was slaughter there again. The ʿAbbāsids rewarded al-Aswad with grants of lands at Alexandria, which seem to have been Umaiyad possessions previously. In the course of the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, Alexandria was contended for by the Arab tribes of Lakhm and Mudlidj. A band of Arab adventurers or pirates from Spain, who happened to be in the port, took advantage of the opportunity to seize the town and managed to hold it against all comers for 16 years (196—212 = 811—827). Four or five sieges occurred during their tenure and, although there are not many details, it is clear that it was a period of tyranny, misrule and excesses, and altogether most disastrous to Alexandria. At this time a band of religious revolutionary fanatics styling themselves Ṣūfīs come into view. There are some signs of similar associations at Alexandria more than a century earlier. Al-Mutawakkil (not Ibn Ṭūlūn) built the walls of Alexandria in 244 (858), for fear of attacks by the Greeks. If these walls were the origin of the walls of 1800 — which is not proved — the town had already become reduced to half the size it had been at the conquest. But little appears during the next two centuries. Alexandria was occupied two or three times by the Fāṭimids (q. v.) before they achieved the conquest of Egypt. A notable event of the Fāṭimid period was the transfer of the Coptic patriarchate from Alexandria to Cairo. For a while during the slave revolt (about 460 = 1067) Alexandria was in the hands of the blacks. It was the centre of revolts in 479 and in 487 and on each occasion was taken by siege. A descent by Sicilian Normans on Alexandria in 550 (1155) is mentioned. Amaury, King of Jerusalem, in conjunction with Shāwar and forces of Egypt and aided by the Pisan fleet, besieged it in 562 (1166), when it was occupied by a Syrian garrison, which included Saladin himself. A formidable Sicilian attack on Alexandria in 569 (1173) was beaten off. Baibars built up the galleys at Alexandria and restored them to what they were before. In

762 (1365) Alexandria was surprised and plundered by the King of Cyprus. There is evidence that it had declined greatly in importance by this time, inasmuch as its governors were persons of quite minor rank. The Mamlūk sulṭāns very rarely visited it. They made constant use of it as place of imprisonment for political offenders. Guns were included in its defence in the xvth century, and al-Ghūrī, when he feared an attack by the Turks, sent a large quantity of ordnance to it in 922 (1516). After the Turkish conquest, the taxes of Alexandria were not included in the revenue of Egypt, but were paid direct to Constantinople. In the xvith century it served as the port of Turkish galleys, which were dismantled and hauled up during the winter. The corsairs of these vessels extended as far as the Straits of Gibraltar and the prisons of Alexandria held many Christians they had captured. The ruins of the town now began to be used to provide materials for beautifying mosques and other buildings at Constantinople. The French took Alexandria in 1798. It was taken from them by the British and held by them till 1803. The British took it again in 1807, but gave it up in the same year on the disastrous failure of their expedition in support of the Mamlūk Beys. Muḥammad ʿAlī restored its fortunes: he rebuilt the walls (1811), constructed the Maḥmūdiya canal (1819), built the arsenal or dockyard (1829), also the Palace of Ra's al-Tīn, and encouraged development in various ways. The population was estimated as low as 6000 in 1777, probably an underestimate, but after the events of 1798—1801, it is not likely to have been much more. In 1828 it is stated to have been 12,528 — smaller than that of Rosetta. By 1839, it was estimated at 40,000 and in 1862 at 164,400 in 1871, it was 219,600. As a result of disturbances during the rebellion of ʿArābī Pasha [q. v.] in 1882, the forts of Alexandria were bombarded by the British fleet in July; next day part of the town was destroyed by the mob.

Manufactures, trade. Alexandria was noted for its weaving. Its textiles are described as incomparable and are said to have been exported to all quarters (cf. EGYPT, ii. 17[b]). Some of the linen manufactured at Alexandria was so fine that the flax for the stuff was sold for its weight in silver and that for the embroidery in it for many times its weight. Alexandrian silks occur in Fāṭimid inventories (xth to xiith centuries) and it is believed that some of the fabrics presented by Popes to churches of Italy in the viiith and ixth centuries were executed by Alexandrian workmen. A great number of miscellaneous manufactures, the character of which is not specified, are said to have been carried on. It was as a market for the products of the Indies rather than those of Egypt that Alexandria was of special importance in trade, particularly for the spices, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, ginger and so forth, — though the list of commodities included other articles such as pearls and precious stones. After being landed on the west side of the Red Sea and carried to the Nile by caravan, this merchandise was transported to Alexandria by the river and canal. It was in constant demand in Europe and elsewhere, so that Alexandria was resorted to by people from all parts for commerce. This trade can hardly have been maintained during the early part of the Muhammadan epoch and for various reasons is not likely to have become active until the era of the Fāṭimids. Towards the end of the reign of the Umaiyads or the beginning of that of the ʿAbbāsids, Christian ships began to visit the port, and in the removal of the relics of St. Mark to Venice in 828, according to the well known story, there is evidence that commercial relations with Venice subsisted then. It seems, contrary to what might have been expected, that the trade with the west was stimulated and developed as a result of the Crusades. In the xiith century it was well established, and people from all Christian kingdoms resorted to Alexandria; a contemporary names 28 Christian towns or states represented by traders there. Among the number were Amalfi and Genoa, which with Venice appear to have been the earliest in the field, Ragusa, Pisa, Provence, and Catalonia. Besides Christians were to be met Muhammadans from Spain and Barbary and from Mesopotamia, Syria, and the countries towards India. It is known that ships belonging to Alexandria went at the same epoch as far as Almeria in Spain. Each of the various Christian communities at Alexandria had its own fondaco (*funduḳ*), a building in which the merchants warehoused their goods and also resided. The Venetians, as the leading commercial power, obtained a second fondaco in the xiiith century, besides other privileges, and they had also a fondaco at Fūwa. Their colony was presided over by a consul, and the Pisans, Marseillese and Genoese likewise had consuls there in the xiiith century. Florence established a consul in the xvth century. The first English consul was appointed in 1583. There are many details of commercial treaties, the customs, measures taken with regard to the trade by the Sulṭāns, disputes between Christians and the inhabitants and between the Christians themselves, and other similar matters showing the conditions under which the merchants carried on their work and the difficulties they suffered. The discovery of the route by the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 diverted the Indian trade from Alexandria and reduced the commercial importance of the port to small proportions. When the trade in coffee and other commodities began in some measure to flourish in about 1680, a certain revival at Alexandria manifested itself.

Bibliography: The materials for a history of mediaeval Alexandria are widely scattered. Contributions are to be found in almost every one of the principal Arab histories of Egypt: see the article EGYPT. To be noticed particularly are Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (ed. Massé, Cairo 1914, in progress; ed. Torrey, in preparation); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Cairo 1303; Paris, 1861—77); *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, i.—viii.; al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and De Goeje (Leyden 1866); Ibn Djubair, Gibb series, v.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Kitāb al-Ifāda wal-Iʿtibār etc.* (ed. White, Oxford 1800; and Cairo 1232, transl. and annot. by de Sacy, Paris 1810); al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ wal-Āthār*; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waḳāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*. The Christian writers Severus, ed. Evetts and ed. Seybold [cf. IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ, 3], and al-Makīn (Elmacin), Lugd. Bat. 1625, supply a few facts not to be found elsewhere. Benjamin of Tudela (many editions) has a brief but important notice. European travellers and accounts in Eu-

ropean languages include Arculfus (680), Bernard the Wise (870), Ludolf von Suchem (1350), all three in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's Series*; M. Baumgarten (1507) in Churchill's *Travels*; Leo Africanus (1517), Hakluyt Soc. 92—4; various articles in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Vol. v., relating to the xvi[th] century; Sandys' (1610) Travels; Blount (1634) in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x.; Maillet (1692); Pococke (1737); Volney (1783), and others.

Modern Works: *Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, Tome ii. (2e partie), p. 270 *sqq.*, contains full description of Alexandria in 1800, and Planches 84—91, map 1 : 10,000, views and plans, also *Antiquités*, Tome ii.; T. D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie* (Paris 1888, with map); A. J. Butler, *Arab conquest of Egypt* (Oxford 1902), p. 368 *sqq.*, contains a careful and full description of Alexandria at the conquest, with remarks on the subsequent period; map of Alexandria by R. Blomfield in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, N°. 8, 1905; Guide books, Murray and Baedeker; Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, Map of Alexandria 1 : 1000, Survey Department of Egypt, 1909 — in progress; ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, Section vii.

(Ehuvon Guest.)

al-**ISKANDARĪYA** = Iskandarūna [see Iskandarūn]. According to *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, iii. 270, al-Iskandarīya was the name of 16 distinct places called after Alexander the Great, including the town of Balkh as well as the two towns mentioned above.

(Ehuvon Guest.)

ISKANDARŪN (Alexandretta), the Iskandarūna or Iskandarīya of the Arabs (see the variants of the MSS. of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal), the port of Aleppo on the Mediterranean, is the ancient Ἀλεξάνδρεια κατὰ Ἰσσόν, which was afterwards also called little Alexandria (Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ μικρά in Malalas, ed. Bonn, p. 297), which was reproduced by the Aramaic diminutive form of the Arabic Iskandarūna; it should not be confused with the place of the same name between Ṣūr and ʿAkkā, cf. Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Mamloukes*, ed. Quatremère, ii. 2., p. 256 *sqq.*; Dimishḳī, transl. by Mehren, p. 280. The Ἀλεξανδρών of Skylitzes, ii. 677, is formed from Iskandarūna and from Ἀλεξανδρών there then arose the form ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέτ (Michael Attal., p. 120; Zonaras, iii. 601; Georgius Cyprius and the episcopal list, *Byz. Ztschr.*, i. 248); the form usual with us (the Roman diminutive formation) is used as early as the Western pilgrims of the middle ages (Wilbrand von Oldenberg, i. ch. xviii). Under Arab rule Iskandarūn belonged to the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn-Ḥalab; the castle is said to have been built in the reign of the Caliph al-Wāthiḳ (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, ii. 2, p. 33). In the wars between the Byzantines and the Arabs the town was repeatedly taken by the former (Muralt, *Chronogr. Byz.*, year 1068; Ibn Ḥawḳal p. 121). In Abu 'l-Fidā's time it was deserted. In the period following it again gained importance as the port of Aleppo, which was beginning to flourish, but the unhealthy climate, a result of the surrounding swamps, and the not very favourable conditions at the port have so far impeded the commercial development of this important place. It is the capital of a ḳaḍā with 10—15,000 inhabitants. It is connected with Aleppo by a road 60 miles long.

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(J. H. Mordtmann.)

ISLĀM is the name which Muhammadans in every country give to their own faith. The word means "submission", "resignation", (to God), and occurs eight times in the Ḳur'ān, in such verses as iii. 17, "The (true) religion with God is Islām"; v. 5, "This day have I perfected for you your religion and have completed My favour upon you and it is My pleasure that Islām be your religion"; vi. 125, "Whomsoever God wishes to guide, He opens his breast unto Islām". See further art. muslim.

In the present article merely a statistical account will be given of the extent to which the Muslim religion prevails in the various countries of the world at the present day. For an exposition of the religious tenets and ordinances of Islām, the development of dogma etc., the reader is referred to articles such as Allāh, Muḥammad etc., and for the biography, history, geography etc., of Muhammadan peoples, to the appropriate articles under each head.

Various estimates of the total number of Muhammadans in the world have been made, differing as widely as from 175 to 270 millions; but there is a large element of uncertainty about any estimate, as in several countries where Muhammadans are to be found in large numbers, no religious census has ever been taken, and accurate statistics are accordingly wanting. This is particularly the case in the land in which Islām had its origin, and any estimate of the total Arab population must be conjectural only. Some reliance may be placed on the figures given for the districts under European control, as 56,000 (Aden and the neighbouring islands, Perim, Soḳoṭra, etc.), and 89,000 (Baḥrain Islands), but estimates of the population in the independent parts of Arabia, e.g. Nadjd, Ḥaḍramūt, etc. — 2,500,000 (Zwemer), 3,500,000 (Hartmann) — and those (e.g. Ḥidjāz, Yaman), under Turkish suzerainty, — 1,050,000 — can be tentative only. The Arabs are not however confined to the limits of the country that bears their name; as early as the third century of the Christian era had commenced those scattered migrations of Arabs to the north which gradually led to the formation of settlements in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia; as time went on, advantage was taken of the conflicts between the Byzantine and Persian empires, and larger numbers of nomad Arabs settled in the more fertile countries bordering on the arid land of their origin. This migratory movement culminated in the vast expansion of the Arab race, rendered possible by the conquests of the seventh century, when the Arabs despoiled the Byzantine empire of some of its fairest provinces and subjugated the whole of the territories of the Persian king. The fact that the Arab language was gradually adopted throughout the greater part of Syria, Egypt and North Africa

is some evidence of the interpenetration of Arab blood in the population of these countries, and a steady, though intermittent, stream of migration from Arabia into Africa set in across the Red Sea. Another stream moved eastward across the Indian Ocean and by the middle of the eighth century Arab traders had made their way as far as China and were present in large numbers in Canton. Arab trading settlements are found scattered throughout the Malay Archipelago, and at different historical periods small groups have established themselves on the coasts of British India, and individual Arabs have made their way to most parts of the Muhammadan world, especially those accessible by sea. But no attempt has ever been made to estimate the total number of these Arabs living outside the limits of the Arabian Peninsula, as separate groups in the Muslim populations of which they form a part.

For some countries of Asia which are under European rule, we have accurate statistics. In India, where varieties of religious belief are carefully noted, the Muhammadans, according to the Census of 1911, numbered 66.647.299, out of a total population of rather more than 315 millions. (For details as to the varied composition of the population, see article INDIA, § 1). The Muhammadan community shows a tendency to increase in numbers relatively to their Hindu fellow-countrymen; in the decade ending 1901, while the total population of India increased by 2.4%, the Muhammadans increased by 8.9%; in the following ten years, their number rose by 6.7%, as compared with only 5% in the case of Hindus. Proselytism may partly account for this, but the chief reason for the rapid growth appears to be that their social customs are more favourable to a higher birth-rate than those of the Hindus; they have fewer marriage restrictions, and widows frequently re-marry. Conversions to other religions are not frequent, but Christian converts from Islām are numbered by thousands in Northern India, especially in the Pandjāb (*The Mohammedan World of To-day*, pp. 170, 294), and a certain number of Muhammadans of Hindu origin have been re-absorbed into Hinduism through the missionary activity of the Ārya Samādj (v. art. INDIA, § 5*a*). In Ceylon, in spite of the intimate trade relations with Arabia, Islām has not achieved any great extension among the inhabitants and there were in 1912 only 284.000 Muhammadans, out of a population of over four millions.

For the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, complete statistics are wanting. One estimate (Zwemer) gives 673.159 as the Muhammadan population of the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements, while another (Hartmann) gives nearly double that figure. Introduced into Malacca from India, Islām spread along the great trade route to Java and the other islands of the Archipelago. The Muslim population of the Dutch Indies in 1905 was 35.034.025, including 20.605.653 in Java, and was said to be rapidly increasing as the result of conversions to Islām from among the sections of the population that still remain heathen; on the other hand Christian missionaries have been in recent years winning converts from Islām in Java, where more than 300 baptisms are said to take place every year, and in 1906 there were living 18.000 Christians who had been converted from Islām (*The Mohammedan World of To-day*, p. 237); in Sumatra the various missionary societies working in this island claim to have made 6.500 Christian converts, together with 1150 catechumens, formerly Muhammadans, since the year 1860 (*ib.*, pp. 222, 228).

In Siam, Islām has never succeeded in exercising much influence; converts have been won in the north through contact with the neighbouring Malay States, and in the coast towns as the result of intercourse with the Malay Archipelago; but the total number of Muhammadans is probably not more than 300.000.

In other parts of Asia under European rule, there are found in the French possessions in Indo-China 1.146.000 Muhammadans out of a population of 17.800.000; in the Asiatic possessions (including the Caucasus) of the Russian Empire 11.966.700 Muhammadans out of a population of nearly 25 millions; and in the Philippine Islands, under American rule, 277.547 Muhammadans out of 8¼ million inhabitants.

But when we pass to countries in which accurate census returns after the European method are entirely wanting, there is still more uncertainty as to the figures. In Persia, an estimate made by Christian missionaries assigns to Islām all but 500.000 out of the five millions of inhabitants. In Afghānistān it is conjectured that there are about four million Muhammadans.

The first serious attempts to ascertain the number of the Chinese Muslims were made by Broomhall and d'Ollone; the former suggests 8.421.000 (*Islam in China*, p. 215), the latter (*Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, p. 430), 4.000.000 only. These figures are in striking contrast to the exaggerated estimates made in the 19th century when their number was alleged to be as much as 20 or 30 millions or even 70 millions; but some Christian missionaries consider that the more recent estimates are too low. But whatever proportion the present Muslims bear to the total population of China, it is probable that their numbers were considerably larger before the massacres that accompanied the suppression of the many Muhammadan insurrections of which a list is given by d'Ollone (*op. cit.*, p. 436), in which millions of persons are said to have perished. In Tibet there are believed to be as many as 28.500 Muslims, most of them settlers from China and Kashmir, with a few converts, and descendants of converts. Islām has succeeded in gaining but few adherents in Japan, and these in quite recent years; there are probably not more than 200 Muslims in Japan itself, but about 25.500 in Formosa.

In regard to some of the oldest parts of the Muhammadan world, now included in the Asiatic possessions of the Sulṭān of Turkey, and excluding the independent parts of Arabia, various estimates of the Muslim population are given e.g. 11.190.000 (Hartmann) and 12.278.800 (Zwemer), but in the absence of accurate census returns these figures can be considered as approximate only. (v. A. de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*[2], p. 457 *sqq.*, Paris 1914).

Next to Asia, Africa is the continent that contains the largest number of Muslims, but materials for an exact judgment are so wanting that estimates given even by the most recent investigators vary from 42 to 76 millions. The most rigid investigation has been made by Professor D. Westermann, and his figures, with a total of 42.039.349, have been adopted by Zwemer as follows: Abyssinia,

500,000; Egypt, 10.269.445; Liberia, 280.000; the rest of this continent forms part of the empire of one or other of the powers of Europe, but for the greater part of these vast dominions no exact census returns are available; Belgium, 60.000; France, 15.085.000; Germany, 1.480.000; Great Britain, 12.539.904; Italy, 1.365.000; Portugal 330.000; Spain, 130.000. While much of these estimates is necessarily conjectural, some reliance can be placed upon the figures given for those parts of the continent in which the population is almost entirely Muhammadan, e.g. Morocco (in which there are 3.100.000 out of a total of 3.220.000), or in cases where whole sections of the population such as the Hausas or the Fulbe have adopted Islām. This faith is still making progress among the heathen tribes and new converts every year come in to swell the numbers of the faithful.

In Europe, on the contrary, the influence of Islām continues to decline. What the population of Muslim Spain may have been in the days of its widest extent, it is impossible even to conjecture, but in 1492 the Jewish and Muslim community together numbered over two millions, and when Philip III expelled the last remnant of the Moriscos in 1609—1615, the number of those who left the country was probably about 500.000. (H. C. Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain*, p. 359. London 1901).

At the present time, the Muhammadans in Europe are almost entirely confined to Russia and those countries that formed part of the Turkish dominions at the beginning of the 19th century. In Russia in Europe, the total number of the Muhammadans is about 3.500.000, but there has been no religious census in the Russian empire since 1897; they are mainly Tatars by race, but proselytism has taken place to a considerable degree among Finnish tribes such as the Cheremiss, the Votiaks and the Chuvash. Since the promulgation of the edict of religious toleration in 1905, there has been an increasing number of accessions to the faith of Islām. There is a considerable amount of uncertainty about the religious statistics of the Balkan Peninsula, and even the official estimates are open to grave suspicion of being manipulated to suit some political or racial interest.

In Turkey in Europe (in 1900) there were said to be about 3.200.000 Muhammadans; Hartmann, writing in 1909, gives 3.295.000. In Bulgaria, the Muhammadans number 603.876 out of a total population of nearly 4½ millions. In Rumania there are about 43.700 Muhammadans, living for the most part in the Dobrudja. In Serbia in 1910 there were 14.435, and in Montenegro 14.000. In Albania the total Muhammadan population is said to be 334.000, of whom 12.000 are Gypsies, 40.000 Serbs and 26.000 Albanians. Greece still contains 24.000 Muhammadans, while in the island of Crete the number has shrunk to 27.852; but as recently as 1909 there were 33.496 Muhammadans on the island, and in 1881 more than 73.000. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the indigenous Serb population includes 612.137 Muhammadans, and in the rest of the Austrian empire there are about 1450 more. In the other countries of Europe, chiefly France and Great Britain, there are some small scattered groups of Muhammadans, mostly of African or Asiatic origin, temporarily resident in these countries.

Emigration and commercial activity have added 8000 Muhammadans to the population of North America, and 166,000 to that of Central and South America (including the West India Islands, where there are 10.499 in Trinidad and 3000 in Jamaica). In Australia there are 195.000, chiefly at Perth.

Bibliography: The first comprehensive attempt to give a statistical survey of the followers of the faith of Islām, was made by Hubert Jansen, *Verbreitung des Islāms in den verschiedenen Ländern der Erde* (Berlin 1897), but his figures are often very exaggerated, and later investigations have shown that much smaller estimates are nearer the truth. Martin Hartmann, *Der Islam: Geschichte—Glaube—Recht* (Leipzig 1909), gives detailed statistics, but does not mention his sources of information. S. M. Zwemer in chapter iii. of *Mohammed or Christ* (London 1916), gives a census of the Muslim World, with a bibliography. Separate studies have been made of the statistics of certain parts of the Muhammadan world e.g. by M. Broomhall, *Islam in China* (London 1910); S. Bobrovnikoff, *Moslems in Russia* (*The Moslem World*, vol. i. London 1911); D. Westermann, *Der Islam in West- und Zentral-Sudan* (*Die Welt des Islams*, i. 85 *sq.*, Berlin 1913); and G. Kampffmeyer, *Statistik der Mohammedaner auf der Balkanhalbinsel und in Österreich* (*ib.*, i. 32—33). For Africa and Asia see *The Mohammedan World of To-day* (New York 1906). Details as to the spread of Islam are given for their respective territories by the British and Dutch governments in their decennial official publications, the *Census of India* and *Koloniaal Verslag* respectively. Religious statistics are given in *The Statesman's Year Book*, published annually in London. The *Revue du Monde Musulman* contains articles giving statistics of the Muhammadan population of several countries, see *Index général des volumes I à XVI* (Paris 1912). (T. W. Arnold.)

ISLĀMĀBĀD, a town of some importance in the south-eastern part of the valley of Kashmīr situated at the head of the navigable channel of the River Djehlam. Its Hindu name was Anantnāg, but it was named Islāmābād after the Muhammadan conquest, probably by Sulṭān Zain al-ʿĀbidīn, 820—872 (1417—1467). The town was formerly famed for its shawl manufacture, but this has died out, and at present the only manufacture is that of white felt, embroidered rugs and embroidered tablecloths. In the immediate neighbourhood are the celebrated Hindū Shrine of Mārtand and Djahāngīr's gardens at Achbal.

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ISLĀMĀBĀD. The name Islāmābād was given on more than one occasion by the Emperor Awrangzēb to towns conquered from Hindūs. Of these the most important are Čittagong (Čātgām) [q. v.], at the head of the Bay of Bengal, Čākna in the Deccan, and Mathurā on the Djamnā. Islāmābād became a mint in gold and silver from the time of Awrangzēb to that of Shāh ʿĀlam II, and copper was also struck there by the last mentioned emperor. It is generally supposed that Čittagong was the place of mintage of these coins, but Mr. C. J. Rodgers ascribed them to Mathurā. Čākna

however received the name Islāmābād in 1070 (1659) and Čitgāṅ not till 1075 (1664). The name is not now in actual use for any of these three towns.

Bibliography: C. J. Rodgers, *Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum*, Calcutta, 1893, Preface, p. xvii; Longworth Dames, *Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors* in *Num. Chron.*, 1902; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 263, 275; Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum*, Vol. ii. (Oxford, 1914).

(M. Longworth Dames.)

ISLAMBOL. [See Istanbul.]

ISLĀM GIRĀY, the name of three Khāns of the Crimea.

1. Islām Girāy I b. Muḥammad Girāy, brother of Ghāzī Girāy I (q. v., ii. 151ᵃ). During the troubled period that followed the death of his father, he succeeded, as his brothers had done before him, in occupying the throne for a short time (a few years till 939 = 1523), but he was not recognised by the Sulṭān. After the appointment of his uncle Ṣāḥib Girāy, he rebelled against the Sulṭān and was murdered in 944 (1537).

2. Islām Girāy II b. Dewlet Girāy, brother and predecessor of Ghāzī Girāy II (q. v., ii. 151ᵃ), 992—996 = 1584—1588. In contrast to his successor he was not popular in his country and was only able to maintain his position with Turkish help.

3. Islām Girāy III b. Selāmet Girāy, 1054—1064 = 1644—1654; in contrast to the two other Khāns of this name, was a vigorous, warlike ruler who also took up a more independent attitude than his predecessors to the Porte and played a prominent part in the political events of his time, notably in the liberation of Little Russia from Polish rule. In his youth he spent seven years in Polish imprisonment. Several raids into Russia were made by him. About 1650 he even made an attempt but without success to enter into relations with Queen Christina of Sweden and to procure money from her for the campaigns against Russia. Islām Girāy died in the beginning of Sha'bān 1064 (begun 17 June 1654) at the age of 50 after reigning 10 years and five months. For the Bibliography see the article ĠHĀZĪ GIRĀY, i. 562 *sq.*; see also the documents edited by Veliaminof Zernof, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée*, p. 340 *sq.* The last document composed shortly before the death of Islām Girāy is specially important, it is a threatening letter from the Khān to the Czar Alexei Michaelovič (p. 475 *sq.*). (W. Barthold.)

ISLY, in Berber *isli* (the betrothed), a river in North Africa. It rises in western Morocco in the S. W. of Udjda, runs from S. W. to N. E. through the land of the Angad, passing near Udjda, then under the name of Wād Bū Nu'aim joins the Mulūya, a tributary on the left bank of the Tafna.

Several battles have been fought on the banks of the Isly. The 'Abdalwādī Sulṭān Yaghmurāsan was defeated there by the Marīnids in 648 (1250) and 670 (1271). On Aug. 14, 1844 Marshal Bugeaud won a decisive victory there over the Moroccan troops commanded by Mūlāy Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Mūlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The Moroccans were encamped at Djarf al-Akhḍar on the right bank of the river. The Moroccan camp was captured and the army scattered. This victory won for Bugeaud the title of Duc d'Isly.

(G. Yver.)

ISM (A.) plur. *asmā'*, properly "name", technical term in Arabic grammar for the first part of speech, the *nomen*, noun. The term corresponds exactly to the Greek ὄνομα used as early as Aristotle, and to the Sanskrit *nāman*, which is found as an established term in the *Nirukta* of Yāska, who lived many generations before Pāṇini, an authority of the fourth century B. C. There is however no interconnection; the term occurred spontaneously and obviously in every day speech, in which *nāman*, *ism* and ὄνομα comprise all words — not merely proper names — which signify a thing, especially one perceived by the senses. In fact, such words represent in the first class of words the predominant element for thinking and speaking (cf. *Zeitschr. d. Dtsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxiv. 380 *sq.*). It is not therefore a consideration based on grammatical science but the simple and most obvious semasiological point of view which underlies the term among the Indians, Greeks, and Arabs. The same is true of the Arabic term for the second part of speech, *fi'l*, which means "action", while the word ῥῆμα (saying), which goes back to Aristotle, the precursor of our "verb" and the Sanscrit *ākhyātam*, used already by Yāska, which means "communicated, related", point to the predicative function, i. e. they are chosen from a logical or syntactical point of view.

To the *asmā'*, first of all of course belong the substantives, for which there is no special term, and the proper name, *al-ism al-'alam* (see 'ALAM) is distinguished from the *ism al-djins* as class name; the latter again is divided into *ism 'ain* and *ism ma'nā* (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 3) accordingly as it denotes a concrete or an abstract. As with the Greeks and Romans the adjective (*ṣifa* [q. v.], also *waṣf* or *na't*) belongs to the *ism* and the numeral (*ism al-'adad*). Differing from them, the Arabic system includes the personal pronoun (*ḍamīr*, q. v.) under the *ism* — the reason being partly the meaning of the words concerned as characterising things and partly their conditions of inflexion — and the demonstrative pronouns (*asmā' al-ishāra*), classed as *mubhamāt* (q. v.), the relative (*al-asmā' al-mauṣūla*), and the infinitive (*maṣdar*, q. v.) and (as had been done by the Stoics) the participle, active and passive (*ism al-fā'il* and *ism al-maf'ūl*); at the same time the Arabs were by no means unaware of the close relations of the participle with the verb as regards etymology, meaning and syntactical application, which led the Greek grammarians to insert a part of speech called significantly μετοχή between the noun and the verb. Finally there are considered as nouns, even the exclamations and appeals of very different linguistic character, classed in our grammars under the inappropriate name of interjections, and even purely onomatopoeic formations like *ghāḳ* of the crows' caw. The Arabs called these words, when they have a verbal (usually imperative) significance, *asmā' al-af'āl*, otherwise *aṣwāt* i. e. tones, sounds (sing. *ṣawt*). That their classification under the nouns was really only made because they could not be placed anywhere else in the threefold scheme, is rather bluntly confessed by Ibn al-Ḥādjib in the commentary to the *Kāfiya* (Constantinople 1311) p. 75,2 a f.: *wa 'lladhī yadullu 'alā 'smiyyatihā in'idāmu 'l-ḥarfiyyati wa 'l-fi'liyyati fīhā* "and what shows their character as nouns is the circumstance, that the character of particle and of verb is impossible with them".

In order, however, to be just to the Arab grammarians, one must not forget that the division of the parts of speech usual among us, which goes back to the ancient grammarians, is of an arbitrary character, and that the attempt to build up a strictly logical system is quite impossible of execution (H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*[4], § 244).

Sībawaihi does not give a definition of *ism* in his survey of the three parts of speech in his first chapter, because the term was intelligible without more ado. He contents himself with three examples: *radjul* (man), *faras* (horse), and *ḥāʾiṭ* (wall), merely names of species of concrete things. The two definitions, made by the Baṣrī al-Mubarrad (d. 285 = 898) and the Kūfī Thaʿlab (d. 291 = 904) and given by Ibn al-Anbārī in *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, p. 2, have, as Ibn al-Anbārī himself says, more the character of an etymological explanation. The former, who derives *ism* from the root *smw*, the second conjugation of which, *sammā* means "to name", says: *al-ismu mā dalla ʿalā musammā*[n] *taḥtahu* "*ism* is that which indicates something named that underlies it". Thaʿlab, who derives *ism* from the root *wsm*, "to mark with a brand (*stigma*, *nota*)", says: *al-ismu simatun tūḍaʿu ʿalā 'l-shaiʾi yuʿrafu bihā*, "*ism* is a mark (*nota*) put on a thing by which it is recognised". This explanation by its remarkable similarity recalls that of Priscian (ed. Keil), i. 57, 5: *est*, *ut alii*, *nomen quasi notamen*, *quod hoc notamus uniuscuiusque substantiae qualitatem*. It is not till a later date that we recognise the Aristotelian definition: φωνὴ σημαντικὴ κατὰ συνθήκην ἄνευ χρόνου κτλ among the Arab grammarians. Thus al-Sīrāfī (d. 368 = 978) says: *Kullu shaiʾin*, *dalla ʿalā maʿnan*[n] *ghaira muḳtarinin*[n] *bi-zamānin*[n] *muḥaṣṣalin*[n] *min muḍiyyin*[n] *aw ghairihi*, *fahuwa 'ism'*, "everything that indicates a conception without being associated with a definite time namely the past etc., is an *ism*" (Jahn, *Sîbawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik*, Note 3 to § 1; Ibn Yaʿīsh, p. 25, 19). This is the definition which with slight variations became usual later (see Ibn Yaʿīsh, p. 16, 13). Instead of "with a definite time", the *Kāfiya* says "with one of the three times" (present, past, and future); Ibn al-Ḥādjib (*l. c.*, p. 7) gives a full explanation of the reason of this extension of the ἄνευ χρόνου and of the difficulties resulting from the nature of the Arabic language in regard also to this definition.

The points of view from which the Arab grammarians regard the declensions of nouns are given in their general lines in the article IʿRĀB. It may be further mentioned that Arab terminology has no equivalent for our "number" and "gender". The word *djins* borrowed from the Greek γένος is never used for grammatical gender, as Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, p. 145 and 151, erroneously assumes; even with the grammarians the word only means the genus to which the species (*nauʿ*) is subordinate (Ibn Yaʿīsh, p. 22—7). For all details of the theory of the noun in the system of the Arab grammarians, the reader must be referred to the original works, to which Fleischer's *Beiträge zur Arab. Sprachkunde* give valuable elucidation.

(J. WEISS.)

ʿIṢMA (A.), in dogmatics, immunity from error and sin, such as is ascribed in Sunnī Islām to the prophets and in the Shīʿa to the Imāms also. As to the extent of their immunity, the orthodox theologians differ in opinion as regards the prophets except Muḥammad (on such points as whether it also exists before or only after their prophetic calling or whether it includes immunity from all kinds of sin or only applies to minor slips). It is applied in unlimited fashion to Muḥammad only, in opposition to his own judgement. Among Sunnī authorities Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in particular extends the *ʿiṣma* to all prophets in the greatest degree. According to the Shīʿa teaching, *ʿiṣma* is inherent in the Imāms to a higher degree than in the prophets on account of their exalted qualities of substance. Abū Zaid al-Balkhī (d. 322 = 934) wrote a *Kitāb ʿIṣmat al-Anbiyāʾ* (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i. 142, 5 *a fine*), as did Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Brockelmann, i. 507, n°. 14). Every work on Muslim dogmatics contains a chapter on these questions and the different views in regard to them (e. g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, ed. Cairo 1321, iv. 1—31; *Mawāḳif*, ed. Soerensen, p. 220 *sqq.*); a mystic definition of *ʿiṣma* is given by al-Ghazālī, *Mīzān al-ʿAmal* (Cairo 1328), p. 116 *pen.*

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(I. GOLDZIHER.)

ISMĀʿĪL, the son of the patriarch Ibrāhīm, is mentioned several times in the Ḳurʾān. In Sūra ii. 130 (= iii. 78) and iv. 161 it is said of him that he received revelations. In xix. 55 he is called a messenger and prophet, who summoned his people to *ṣalāt* and *zakāt*. These references fit in very well with Muḥammad's account of the religion of Ibrāhīm. In Sūra ii. 127, he is called one of the fathers of Jacob, along with Ibrāhīm and Isḥāḳ; and in ii. 119, he, along with Ibrāhīm, is commanded to purify the Holy House at Mecca.

Tradition knows nothing of Ismāʿīl as a messenger nor of his revelations nor has it explained his relations to the spread of the religion of Ibrāhīm. It knows that his mother Hādjar bore him to Ibrāhīm as his first-born and that a feud arose between Hādjar and Sara. With the intention of disfiguring Hādjar, Sara even pierced her ears; so this then became the fashion with women. Ismāʿīl and Isḥāḳ are also said to have fought with one another occasionally. In the end, Sara's jealousy induced Ibrāhīm to decide to travel to Arabia with Hādjar and Ismāʿīl. The party was guided by the *Sakīna* or, according to others, by Gabriel (on the form of the *Sakīna*, cf. *The Navel of the Earth*, *Verh. Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, xvii. n°. 1 p. 60 *sqq.*).

When Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl had dug the foundations of the Holy House, Ismāʿīl helped his father in the building of the temple. When this work was completed, Ibrāhīm abandoned the boy with his mother in the barren country, afflicted by thirst. In her need, Hādjar stood on the hills al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and looked for water and ran hither and thither between them, the origin of the *saʿy* (q. v.). Gabriel then called "Who art thou? To whom did Ibrāhīm entrust thee?" The boy then impatiently thrust his foot (or finger) into the sand and a spring arose; if Hādjar had not hurriedly scooped up the moisture in her jug, the Zamzam would have become a bubbling spring. It is also said that Gabriel pushed his heel into the ground and the Zamzam burst forth beneath it.

In those days the Djurhum (q. v.) lived near

the sanctuary; after Hādjar's death, Ismāʿīl married one of their daughters. In his absence Ibrāhīm visited his wife but did not find a very hospitable reception; when the woman afterwards repeated to her husband some words which Ibrāhīm had said, he understood that the latter was suggesting he should divorce his wife. He did this; afterwards he married another woman of the Djurhum. Ibrāhīm visited her also and in the same allusive fashion gave his approval to the new choice.

Ibrāhīm and Hādjar, according to Muslim tradition, are buried in the *ḥidjr* of the Holy House, a distinction which they share with most of the prophets: the prophet belongs to the home of the prophets.

Muslim tradition also knows the story given in Genesis xxii. But there are several theologians who say, it was not Isḥāḳ but Ismāʿīl that was the *dhabīḥ*. For this view, the sayings of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿOmar, Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Shaʿbī, Mudjāhid, etc. are quoted. It is related, for example, that ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz asked a Jew convert to Islām about this difference of opinion and he answered: "The *dhabīḥ* is Ismāʿīl; the Jews know this also, but as they are jealous of you, they say it was Isḥāḳ".

Ibrāhīm is also considered the ancestor of the North Arabian tribes. In the native genealogies, the Arabs are divided into three groups: *al-bāʾida* (those who have disappeared), *al-ʿāriba* (the indigenous) and *al-mustaʿriba* (the arabicised). Ismāʿīl is considered the progenitor of the last group, whose ancestor is called ʿAdnān. The chain between Ismāʿīl and ʿAdnān is given in very divergent forms, sometimes in partial agreement with the list in Genesis xxv.

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(A. J. Wensinck.)

ISMĀʿĪL, formerly a Turkish fortress, now the district town in the Russian government of Bessarabia, on the left bank of the Kilia arm of the Danube, between the lakes of Jalpuch and Kutlabuch, with about 40.000 inhabitants (in 1897: 31293). The name *Ismāʿīl* (Moldavian Smail, Smil, or Smeil, also Simil) is said to be derived from the Slav *zmij*, a snake or dragon, the epithet of several Moldavian princes; according to a Turkish folk etymology, from the alleged conqueror, a Ḳapudan Ismāʿīl, who took the town under Bāyazīd II in 1484.

The origin of the town is unknown. It is said to have been at one time in the hands of the Genoese. It only attained importance under the Turks as a fortress to curb the Budjak Tatars, who had been settled there in 1569, and particularly as a *point d'appui* of the Turks against the advance of Russia, owing to its splendid strategic situation as the best gate of sortie from the north into the Dobruja and the intersection of the roads from Galatz, Khotin, Bender and Kilia. After Ismāʿīl had been taken by the Russians without a blow in 1770 in the First Russo-Turkish War, the Turks endeavoured with the help of foreign engineers to make the town, which was restored to them by the peace of Küčük Kainardja in 1774, the strongest fortress on the left bank of the Danube, an „army fortress" (*ordu ḳalʿesi*), i. e. the permanent quarters of large bodies of troops of a defensive character. The fortress, thought to be impregnable, was taken as early as Dec. 11 (22), 1790 by the Russians under Suworov in spite of a most valiant defence by the Serʿasker Aidosli Meḥmed Pasha; in the three days' massacre over 26.000 Turks, including the whole Muslim population, were killed, 9000 taken prisoners and only one escaped by swimming the Danube bearing the appalling news. This deed of arms, celebrated by Byron and Djerzhavin, aroused a tremendous sensation in Europe; in Constantinople it resulted in a revolution and the execution of the Grand-Vizier.

By the peace of Jassy in 1791 Ismāʿīl was restored to the Turks and fortified again by them. (The splendid stones with the *ṭughra* of Selim III, testifying to the restoration of the fortress in 1794—5, are in the Odessa Museum). But in 1809 Ismāʿīl again capitulated to the Russians, to whom it remained by the peace of Bucarest in 1812, whereupon many colonists settled there, viz. Russian fugitives and sectarians, especially Raskolniki, Rumanians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, Jews and Gipsies. In 1810 General Tutchkov founded at a short distance from Ismāʿīl the town of Tutchkov, which bears his name and gradually expanded to form one town with Ismāʿīl. By the peace of Paris in 1856, Ismāʿīl after the demolition of its fortifications was added to Moldavia with a portion of Bessarabia and remained Rumanian till its capture in the last Russo-Turkish War on 14 April 1877, by the Russians, to whom it finally passed by the treaty of Berlin.

Only a few ruins of the fortress exist. The town, which in spite of many vicissitudes of war (such as being plundered by the Cossacks) was at one time an important centre for traffic in fish etc., fruit and corn and a populous town (always with a very mixed population, in contrast to the purely Tatar population around), suffered severely through the wars and the forcible expatriation of the former population of Bessarabia. At the present day its commerce is again highly developed in spite of the by no means favourable shipping conditions.

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(Theodor Menzel.)

ISMĀʿĪL I, founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty of Persia, born of a Ṣūfī family, settled in Ardabīl [q. v., i. 425 sq.] in Ādharbaidjān since the time of the shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn, who was said to be descended from the imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. He was the son of the shaikh Ḥaidar [q. v.]; after the death

of his maternal grandfather, Uzun Ḥasan (about 883 = 1478), in the confusion of the anarchy that followed, supported on the one hand by the followers of his father and on the other by the seven Turkish tribes which had taken his side (Ustādjlu, Shāmlu, Tekkelu, Bahārlu, Dhu 'l-Kadr, Kādjār and Afshār), Ismā'īl collected an army of 7,000 men, who received the name of Ḳizil-bāsh [q. v.]. In 908 (1502) he was master of Shirwān, Ādharbaidjān and 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī and now took the title of shāh ("king"). In 914 (1508) he extended his kingdom eastwards as far as Harāt, westwards to Diyār Bakr and Baghdād; but the forcible propagation of the Shī'a tenets which he conducted in the newly won territories brought him the enmity of his nearest neighbours on the north and west, the Khān of Bukhārā and the Ottoman Sulṭān, both Sunnis.

The former, Muḥammad Shaibānī Khān, who had made himself master of Turkistān after his victory over Bābur [q. v.], was defeated near Merw by Ismā'īl in a great battle, in which he himself was killed (Sha'bān 916 = Dec. 1510). This success brought Ismā'īl into the possession of the whole of Khurāsān, but he could not prevent the Uzbegs from founding an independent kingdom in Khwārizm with Khīwa as its capital. He fought with less success against the Ottoman Sulṭān Selīm I. In the plain of Čāldirān (east of Lake Urmiya) the Persian cavalry gave way before the infantry of the Janissaries supported by artillery (2 Radjab 920 = 23 Aug. 1514). Tabrīz, Ismā'īl's capital, and Mesopotamia and West Armenia as far as Mosul were occupied by the Turks (921 = 1515). Ismā'īl compensated himself to some extent for this loss by the conquest of Georgia, but he sought to attain the realisation of his plans of revenge against his most dangerous enemy by an alliance with European powers. An offer of this kind was made him by Charles V, after Leo X and Maximilian I had previously in 923 (1517) thought of gaining Ismā'īl as an ally against the Turks, but on account of the great distance which separated the Shāh and the Emperor (it took almost six years for a letter to reach Charles V from Ismā'īl), no definite agreement was reached.

Ismā'īl died in 930 (1524) at Ardabīl where the tombs of the Ṣafawīs are. The beautiful and valuable MSS. on the history of the Ṣūfī family now in the Imperial Library at Petrograd came from the library attached to the tomb of Shāh Ṣafī. Ismā'īl restored the Persian kingdom and his dynasty ruled till its overthrow by the Afghāns over two centuries later.

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(Cl. Huart.)

ISMĀ'ĪL II. Ṣafawī of Persia, son and successor of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. After the latter's death on 15 Ṣafar 984 (14 May 1576) his son Ḥaidar Mīrzā with the support of the Turkish tribe of the Ustādjlu sought to usurp the throne, but on the day after his accession he was seized in the ḥaram on the information of his sister Perī-Khānum and murdered during a rising in which the Ustādjlu and Afshār fought the Ḳizil-bāsh. Ismā'īl, to whom his father had refused the rank of walī 'ahd (heir-apparent), as he knew him to be cruel and hard-hearted, had been a prisoner for nineteen and a half years in the fortress of Ḳahḳaha. But he was released by the Ḳizil-bāsh and proclaimed Shāh on 27th Djumādā 984 (22 Aug. 1576). A greedy and covetous man, he filled his treasury with all the gifts offered him without offering anything in compensation. He also neglected to visit his aged mother who had retired to the mosque of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aẓīm. He thus made himself hated by all his subjects. The princes of the ruling house were put to death by him in 985 (1577) under the pretext that they had planned a rising with the support of Turkish derwīshes. He forbade the Shī'a to curse the persons reverenced by the Sunnīs. He was particularly fond of giving himself the title 'Ādil (the noble), which he certainly did not merit. He died, after a reign of a little over two years, in his capital Ḳazwīn of apoplexy after taking an electuary in Ramaḍān 986 (Nov. 1578).

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ISMĀ'ĪL b. 'Abbād. [See ibn 'Abbād.]

ISMĀ'ĪL b. Aḥmad, Abū Ibrāhīm, a Sāmānid prince (amīr) of Mā warā' al-Nahr, who laid the foundations of the power of his dynasty, born in Farghāna in Shawwāl 234 (28 Apr.—26 May 849), from 260 (874) to 279 (892) governor for his brother Naṣr in Bukhārā; he continued to reside in this town even after he became amīr of Mā warā' al-Nahr by the death of his brother and in 280 (893) was confirmed in this position by the caliph. In the same year he undertook a campaign as far as Ṭarāz (the modern Awliyā-Atā, q. v.), conquered this town and changed its principal church into a mosque. On his struggle in Mā warā' al-Nahr with the Ṣaffārid 'Amr b. al-Laith see the latter article, i. 335b. Although Ismā'īl was declared to be dismissed from his office by the Caliph and his province granted to 'Amr, the Caliph expressed his satisfaction to the victor at the result of the struggle. The heritage of the Ṣaffārids in Khurāsān was disputed by Muḥammad b. Zaid, prince of Ṭabaristān. Ismā'īl's general, Muḥammad b. Hārūn, not only succeeded in driving the enemy out of Khurāsān but even conquered Ṭabaristān; but he then rebelled against his master, adopted the white colour, the colour of the rebels against the legitimate government (Ṭabarī, iii. 2208) and occupied Raiy: Ismā'īl had to take the field in person against the mutinous general; after his defeat, Raiy and Ḳazwīn were incorporated in the Sāmānid kingdom and its frontiers thus settled in the west (289 = 902). In 291 (904) an inroad by a numerous Turkish people was repulsed with the help of volunteers from other Muslim countries (Ṭabarī, iii. 2249). The date of Ismā'īl's death is given as 14 Ṣafar 295 (24 Nov. 907). In Bukhārā, which was made the capital of the Sāmānid kingdom by him (cf. i. 777a), his tomb is still shown, but its authenticity is not vouched for by inscriptions either on the building or on the sarcophagus.

Bibliography: Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, p. 75 *sq.*; Mirkhond, *Histoire des Samanides*, texte persan etc. par M. Defrémery (Paris 1845), p. 6 *sq.*, 117 *sq.*; W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skago nashestviya*, ii. 230 *sq.*

(W. Barthold.)

ISMĀ'ĪL B. Bulbul, Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr, vizier of al-Mu'tamid. In 265 (878—9) Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr was appointed vizier; but the real ruler was al-Muwaffaḳ, the Caliph's brother. At the beginning of Ṣafar 278 (May 891) a rumour gained currency that al-Muwaffaḳ, who was then very ill, had died in Baghdād. His son Abu 'l-'Abbās, the future caliph al-Mu'taḍid, had also a strong following among the population of the capital and, when Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr had the Caliph brought with his family from al-Madā'in to Baghdād and placed them in his own palace and not in that of al-Muwaffaḳ, the adherents of Abu 'l-'Abbās believed that Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr was going to take the side of the weak and insignificant Caliph, and forcibly liberated Abu 'l-'Abbās, who had been imprisoned in 275 (889) for disobedience to his father. But when they learned that al-Muwaffaḳ was still alive, Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr was abandoned by many of his followers and had to take refuge with al-Muwaffaḳ, while his house was plundered. After the death of al-Muwaffaḳ in Ṣafar, Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr was arrested however and all his houses given over to be plundered.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii. see index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vii. 227, 294, 306 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 341—347; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. Paris), viii. 105 *sqq.* 211, 238 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 476 *sq.*

(K. V. Zetterstéen.)

ISMĀ'ĪL B. al-Ḳāsim. [See Abu 'l-'Atāhiya.]

ISMĀ'ĪL B. Nūḥ, Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muntaṣir, a Sāmānid, after the fall of his dynasty in 389 (999) was carried a prisoner to Uzgend in Farghāna; he succeeded in escaping from there in disguise and for several years contested the rule of Mā warā' al-Nahr with the Turkish conquerors. After his last defeat, he fled with only eight followers across the Oxus and was murdered in Rabī' I or Rabī' II 395 (16 Dec. 1004 — 12 Febr. 1005) by the leader of an Arab tribe at Merv. Cf. the collection of the original sources in W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skago nashestviya*, ii. 282 *sq.*

(W. Barthold.)

ISMĀ'ĪL B. Sharīf, Mūlāy, Sulṭān of Morocco, second of the dynasty of 'Alawī or Filālī Sharīfs, also called Ḥasanī [q. v. for the genealogy of these Sharīfs].

On the death of Sulṭān Mūlāy al-Rashīd, the empire of Morocco was divided. Mūlāy Ismā'īl, governor of Meknes and brother of the deceased sulṭān, was proclaimed sulṭān in this town. He advanced at once on the capital Fās, which had declared against him and seized it. He was proclaimed there on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1082 (Apr. 14, 1672), being then 26 years of age.

But three rivals, his brother Mūlāy al-Ḥarrānī in Tāfīlālt, his nephew Aḥmad b. Maḥraz, proclaimed in Morocco and in Sūs, and thirdly the guerilla chief al-Khiḍr Ghīlān in the northwest, took the field against him. They were supported by the Turks of the Regency of Algiers who feared the establishment of a solid power in the west of the Maghrib and endeavoured to make trouble there. Mūlāy Ismā'īl at first drove his nephew Aḥmad b. Maḥraz out of the town of Morocco, defeated Ghīlān in the north of Fās and had him put to death. But Aḥmad b. Maḥraz once more raised the lands of the south and the Atlas. To obtain peace Ismā'īl had to recognise his nephew as Amīr of the lands south of the Atlas and his brother al-Ḥarrānī as Amīr of Tāfīlālt.

These civil wars, which had lasted five years, had hardly terminated when a descendant of the Marabouts of Dilā, Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdj al-Dilā'ī, also supported by the Turks of Algiers, fomented a terrible rebellion in the country of Tādlā and the provinces of western Morocco. But his Berber troops could not withstand Ismā'īl's disciplined troops, especially his artillery. Mūlāy Ismā'īl, being victorious, terrorised the people to keep them quiet; more than ten thousand were beheaded; thousands of prisoners of war along with Christian slaves had to help to build the palace of Meknes, which the Sulṭān made his military capital. At the same time the plague carried off thousands of victims (1090 = 1679) in the regions of the Gharb and the Rīf.

The vigorous repression of the Berber revolts and the epidemic afforded Mūlāy Ismā'īl a certain respite. He took advantage of it to raise a professional army. He enlisted former negro slaves gave them wives, allotted estates to them, trained them in the use of arms, and made of them the famous Black Guard of the 'Abīd-Bukhārī which was to assure him supremacy over all Morocco.

At the same time, nominally to favour the intransigeant religious party, but in reality to watch the dealings of the Turks and Europeans in the seaports, and to counteract the influence of the marabouts, he organised the corps of the *Mudjāhidūn* or "volunteers of the faith". The latter corps, the cadre of which was formed by several hundred carefully selected 'Abīd, waged an unceasing irregular warfare against the European possessions. They took La Mamora (al-Ma'mūra), the modern al-Mahdiya, by surprise from the Spaniards. Mūlāy Ismā'īl collected over 100 pieces of artillery there (1681). They harassed the English at Tangiers and the latter evacuated the town after blowing up the mole and the fortifications (1684) (cf. Davis, *The History of the Second Queen's Royal Regiment*, i., London, 1883, p. 128 *sqq.*). Larache also was forced to succumb to the blows of the "volunteers of the faith" in 1689, Arzila in 1691. But all attempts against Mlila and Ceuta failed. It was in vain that Mūlāy Ismā'īl endeavoured to get Louis XIV to aid him against Spain. French commerce had to suffer for some time as a result.

But the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 raised considerably Louis XIV's prestige above his enemies. Mūlāy Ismā'īl then sought his alliance against the Turks of Algiers who were mixed up in all the plots made in the Atlas against the Sharīfs of Fās. An entente between France, the Bey of Tunis and the Sulṭān of Fās was then concluded. The latter even tried to cement it by a matrimonial alliance and demanded the hand of the Princesse de Conti (cf. Plantet, *Moulay Ismaël et la Princesse de Conti*, Paris, 1893). In spite of the failure of the latter plan, the entente secured to France great commercial benefits at Salé, Tetwān and Safī. Frenchmen superintended the building of the palaces, roads, and forts of the Sulṭān and sometimes (like Pillet) accompanied his artillery. On his part, the Sulṭān organised

several expeditions against the Turks with the help of France, whose merchants supplied him with arms and munitions. But the slowness of the Moroccan armies did not enable Ismāʿīl to reap the advantages expected. He even allowed his ally, the Bey of Tunis, to be defeated near Constantine, which enabled the Turks of Algiers to come to fight the Moroccans in the west in full strength in 1701 and to drive them back.

The expeditions of Mulāy Ismāʿīl against the Turks, in spite of their relative lack of success, enabled him to pacify his frontiers where he built or renovated the fortifications. He built the fort of Reggāda in the mountain of the Banū Yaʿla commanding the high valley of the Wed Sharef and the lands of the Arab tribes of the High Plateaus. He built the fort of ʿAyūn Sīdī Mallūk in the plain of Angād and that of Salwān in the land of the Trīfa. He thus closed the exits on his north-east frontier. Forts built in the lands of each tribe kept the country quiet, especially the Marabouts, the natural allies of the Turks, whose privileges were tending to pass into the hands of the Sharīfs. The latter gradually took over the direction of the religious elements, which were organised into brotherhoods. Ismāʿīl completed his system of domination by the creation of military zones. Tāzā, notably, had its walls rebuilt. This town became the headquarters of the eastern march. A garrison of 2500 ʿAbīd secured the passage from western to eastern Morocco by the pass of Tāzā. It also had to keep in control the Berbers of the Rīf in the north of this region, and the Berbers of the middle Atlas in the south.

For this organisation and these works, Ismāʿīl raised his revenues from a monopoly of the commerce at his ports and from continual raids on the tribes of doubtful loyalty. The monopoly besides filling his treasury enabled him also to prevent contraband traffic in horses and arms.

But hardly had the Sulṭān, after reigning 50 years succeeded in imposing, either by skill or terror, peace within his territory than the rivalries of his sons brought his hopes to naught. He had centred all his policy on the struggle against the Turks of Algiers. He could not realise his dream. He died on 27 Radjab 1139 (March 30 1727) just when the dissensions that were breaking up the Regency of Algiers might have secured his success. He was succeeded by his son Mulāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī.

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(A. COUR.)

ISMĀʿĪL ʿĀṢIM EFENDI. [See ČELEBIZĀDE.]

ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ, SHAIKH ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ AL-BRUSAWĪ or AL-USKŪDĀRĪ, a celebrated Ottoman scholar and poet and one of the most prolific of mystical writers. Born in 1063 (1652—3) in Aidos in Rumelia, to which his father had retired after the great fire in Constantinople, he had at quite an early age the benefit of instruction by the Djelwetī Shaikh Faḍl Ilāhī ʿOthmān. In Adrianople he was initiated into the higher branches of knowledge and Djelwetī mysticism. At the age of 20 he began his fruitful activity as an author in Brusa. On account of some of his mystical tracts he was banished at the instigation of the ʿulamā' to Rodosto. The impulse to wander peculiar to many members of Muhammadan orders never allowed him to settle permanently anywhere, especially as he had not infrequently to suffer from the fanaticism of the ʿulamā'. After a two years' pilgrimage to Mecca and long stays in Üsküdar, Damascus and Scutari he finally settled in Brusa, where he built a mosque and monastery in 1135 and died in 1137 (1724—5). The date 1127 also given is in contradiction to the date of composition of several works.

Ḥaḳḳī composed over a hundred theological works and mystical treatises, which still enjoy considerable esteem and some of which are printed. The best are *Rūḥ al-Bayān* (Būlāḳ 1276 = 1859—60 in four volumes), a celebrated commentary on the Ḳur'ān; *Rūḥ al-Mathnawī*, a commentary on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and *Faraḥ al-Rūḥ* (Delight of the Soul), a commentary on the *Muḥammadīye* of Yāzidji Oghlu Meḥmed b. Ṣāliḥ b. Kātib, Būlāḳ 1252 and 1258, Constantinople (lithography) 1258. The following are also often mentioned: *Sharḥ al-arbaʿīn ḥadīth*, Constantinople 1253, ed. by Mollā ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ; *Kitāb Ḥaḳīḳat al-Bāṭin* and *Kitāb ʿAin al-Ḥayāt* (1294); *Tuḥfe-i Ismāʿīlīye* (1292); *Sharḥ al-Kabā'ir*, 1257 (1841); *Sharḥ Shiʿb al-Īmān*, 1303; finally a commentary on the *Pend-nāme* of ʿAṭṭār.

Bibliography: M. Nādjī, *Esāmī* (1308), p. 58—9; Semy, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii. 950; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iv. 135—137; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Handschr. . . . zu Wien*, iii. 145, 150 *sq.* 476—482.

(THEODOR MENZEL.)

ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ, a modern Turkish man of letters and literary historian, editor of the periodical *Mekteb*, a moderate follower of the old Asiatic school and a former officer of artillery. Besides a few poems, tales, translations, and articles in periodicals, a series of treatises on literary history have been written by him.

In 1308 (1890—91) appeared his collection of poems *Sonbahār Ḳhazān yakhod Tevbe* (Autumn Love or, Repentance too Late). Two Millī stories written under French influence: *Iki Ḥaḳḳī* (Two Truths) published in N°. 7 of the *Arabṭ kitāb khānesi djeb romanlary*, 1311 (1893—94). In the periodical *Mekteb* appeared his translation of Octave Feuillet's *Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* under the title *Ḥāl-i ṣaʿb*. He translated Lamartine's *Raphaël* and *Graziella*. His literary studies are more important, as there is by no means a superfluity of such works in Ottoman literature. In the four volumes of his *On dördündji ʿaṣrda Türk Muhar-*

yazilari (The Turkish writers of the xixth century), 1308—1311 [1890—3], he deals with Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi, Ekrem Bey, Djewdet Pasha and Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Bey. Of his *Muʿāṣir Shāʿirlerimiz* (Our contemporary Poets) only the first part appeared in 1311 (1893), which gives specimens of Nāʾilī-zāde Nāẓim Bey, ʿAlī Kemāl Bey, Emīr Humāyūn Bey and Muʿallim Nādjī Efendi. His *ʿOthmānli Muʾellifler-i Meshhūresi* (The most famous Ottoman Authors) stopped after the first volume: *Muʿallim Nādjī*, 1311. His *Muntakhabāt-i Terādjim-i Meshāhīr* also was not completed. Ḥaḳḳī also wrote on Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and the Čaghatai poets. In 1907 he published a very poor history of Russia to the time of Paul I from a French source: "Records of the North or the History of Russia".

Bibliography: Besides his own works are a few cursory notes in Horn, *Türkische Moderne*, p. 51, and Gordlewski, *Očerki po novoi osmanskoi literature*, Moscow 1912, vi. 71, 116.

(Theodor Menzel.)

ISMĀʿĪL PASHA, Khedive of Egypt (1863—1879), second son of Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v.]; born in 1830, he was educated in Paris, and was employed by his uncle, Saʿīd Pasha [q. v.] in various diplomatic missions, to the Pope, Napoleon III and the Sulṭān of Turkey. In 1861 he suppressed an insurrection in the Sūdān, and two years later succeeded his uncle as wālī of Egypt; he was the first of the descendants of Muḥammad ʿAlī [q. v.] to be styled Khedive, a title bestowed upon him in 1867, by Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q. v.], whom he had gratified in the previous year by increasing the tribute paid to Turkey from £ 376,000 to £ 720,000, obtaining in return permission to change the law of succession to direct descent from father to son, instead of to the eldest male of the family, according to the Turkish custom. In 1873, another firmān from the Sulṭān made the Khedive in many respects an independent sovereign.

Ismāʿīl was a man of large ideas, with extensive schemes for reform; he remodelled the customs system, and established a post office; introduced gas and water and other improvements into Cairo, Alexandria and Suez, created the sugar industry and otherwise stimulated commercial progress, by extending railway and telegraph lines, building docks and harbours, and digging canals for irrigation purposes. He encouraged education, established the first schools in Egypt for girls, the polytechnic school for the training of military officers and the medical college; on his accession there were only 185 public schools, but during his reign the number rose to 4,817. In 1869, he opened the Suez Canal, with great pomp and magnificence, in the presence of the Emperor of Austria, the Empress Eugénie and other princes, and availed himself of this occasion to take rank among European sovereigns. In 1875, in place of the old system of consular jurisdiction in civil cases, he established the Mixed Tribunals.

He endeavoured also to develop the Sūdān on the same lines as Egypt, and to suppress the slave trade there. In 1865 he had obtained from the Sulṭān of Turkey a firmān assigning to him the administration of Sawākin and Maṣṣawaʿ, and subsequently (1870—1872) extended his authority over the coast of the Red Sea from Suez to Cape Guardafui. In 1874 he sent an expedition to Dār Fūr [q. v.], defeated the forces of the slave-trader, Zubair Pasha [q. v.], and annexed this country, but further progress eastwards was checked by the resistance of the Abyssinians.

But these various schemes for the aggrandisement of Egypt were costly, and the Khedive had borrowed and squandered money recklessly, both for public purposes and personal ostentation, so that by 1876 the debt of Egypt to foreign financiers had risen to nearly one hundred million pounds, and the country was so impoverished that its ordinary resources were no longer sufficient for the most urgent needs of the administration. Being no longer able to raise loans in the European market, on April 8, 1876, he suspended payment of his Treasury bills. The European powers intervened on behalf of the bondholders and instituted a Commission of the Public Debt, and established the Dual Control, in accordance with which an English official was appointed Controller-General of the revenue and a French official Controller-General of the expenditure of the country. A Commission of Inquiry in 1878 led to the vast landed property of the Khedive being placed under a similar control, and Ismāʿīl accepted a constitutional ministry, including English and French ministers, under the presidency of Nūbār Pasha [q. v.]; but in February 1879 Ismāʿīl dismissed him, on the occasion of a military disturbance headed by ʿArābī Pasha [q. v.], and two months later dismissed his European ministers also, and resisted the demand of the Governments of England and France that the British and French ministers should be reinstated. On June 26, 1879, he was deposed, and four days later he left Cairo for Naples, where the King of Italy had placed a residence at his disposal; later, he went to Constantinople, where he died March 2, 1895.

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(T. W. Arnold.)

ISMĀʿĪL PASHA, called Nishāndji, Grand Vizier of the Turkish Sulṭān Sulaimān II, a native of Ayāsh in the province of Angora. After first of all filling the office of a *čokadar* (personal attendant) to the Sulṭān he was entrusted with the rank of Beylerbey of Rumili. In 1089 (1678) he [illegible]

the office of *teshrīfāt*-writer and on the occasion of arrest in the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad IV received the rank of a vizier (1098 = 1687). After the assassination of Siyāwush Pasha in the rebellion of the Janissaries, which took place on the accession of Sulaimān II to the throne, he was appointed Grand Vizier, but dismissed after holding the office for 69 days (1 Radjab 1099 = May 2 1688), imprisoned in the citadel of Ḳawāla and soon afterwards banished to Rhodes. Prosecuted by the heirs of Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Pasha, Beylerbey of Rūmili, who had been unjustly executed by his orders, he was beheaded in accordance with the *lex talionis* by order of the Grand Vizier Köprülü Muṣṭafā Pasha at the age of over 70 in Radjab 1101 = April 1690. Although of a mild temperament in his youth he grew tyrannical and cruel in the exercise of power. Instead of taking supreme command of the troops himself, he chose quite incompetent people as generals like the rebels Yegen ʿOthmān Pasha.

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ISMĀʿĪL AL-SHAHĪD, MAWLĀNĀ, was born on the 28th Shawwāl 1196 (1781) in a renowned Dihli family which traces its pedigree to the Caliph ʿUmar. He was the only son of Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ghanī and nephew of the illustrious Mawlānā Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1239 = 1823). While a mere boy he lost his father and was brought up as an adopted son under the care of his uncle Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (d. 1242 = 1826). In childhood he was very inattentive and fond of swimming in the Jamna, but as he had a retentive memory and a sharp intellect, in time he became a learned man. He was shocked at the gross *shirk* (idolatrous tendency) which then prevailed amongst the Muslims of India. He preached the doctrines of Islām against all opposition. It was at this time that he came in contact with al-Saiyid Aḥmad al-Mudjaddid. The religious sanctity of the Saiyid won his admiration and he became his disciple and was his constant companion throughout his life. In 1236 (1820) they made a pilgrimage to Mecca, whence they proceeded to Constantinople. There the Ḥādjīs were received with marked consideration. Six years later they returned to Dihli and began to deliver religious lectures with redoubled energy. Many people were reclaimed from the darkness of ignorance to which they had been reduced owing to the indolence of the professional Mullās. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl's rapid success excited the envy of the Mullās who afraid of being discredited with the public tried to lower him in their estimation by severe criticism and malicious censures. But truth triumphed and they were all silenced. In 1243 (1827) Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, with his religious guide, proceeded to Peshāwar and declared a religious war against the Sikhs. They were joined by large numbers of people and succeeded in establishing their authority at Peshāwar. But owing to some innovations upon the usages of the Afghāns, their authority was overthrown. They had to fly across the Indus but fell in with a Sikh detachment; a skirmish took place in which Ismāʿīl with his spiritual guide met with his death in 1247 (1831).

He is the author of the following works: 1) *Risālat Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*, a treatise on the principles of Muhammadan law according to the Ḥanafī school, printed, Dihli s. a. 1314. 2) *Manṣab-i Imāmat*, a Persian treatise on the problem of the imāmat. 3) *Taḳwiyat al-Īmān*, an Urdū treatise on theology, printed 1293, translated into English by Mīr Shahāmat ʿAlī (v. *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, xiii. 310 *sqq.*). 4) *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm*, a treatise in Persian on the Islamic doctrines; on its contents cf. *Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, i. (1832) 479 *sqq.*

Bibliography: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan, *Itḥāf al-Nubalāʾ*, p. 416; Sir Saiyid Aḥmad, *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd*, ii. 97, and *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, xiii. 310 *sqq.* (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.)

ISMĀʿĪLIYA, a *Shīʿa sect*, so called because it stopped the series of Imāms at Ismāʿīl, eldest son of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [q. v.], the sixth imām, so that Ismāʿīl to them was the seventh; his father had at first nominated him as his successor, but having learned of his eldest son's intemperance, he changed his decision and declared Mūsā, his second son, as his successor. The Ismāʿīliya refused to admit this alteration, claiming that the imām, being infallible, could not have prejudiced himself by drinking wine and that it was not permitted to God to change His opinion, contrary to what Djaʿfar had stated. Ismāʿīl died five years before his father at Medina in 143 (760/1) and was buried in the cemetery of Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad. In spite of the precautions taken by the father to have the death of his son confirmed by numerous witnesses, his partisans would not admit his decease, claiming that he was still alive five years after his father's death and that he was seen in the market at Baṣra, where he cured a paralytic by taking his hand. The sons of Ismāʿīl, involved in the political persecutions of which the ʿAlids were victims, left Medina; Muḥammad, the elder, went to hide in the district of Damāwand, near Raiy; his descendants concealed themselves in Khurāsān, then in the Ḳandahār region and migrated to India, where they still exist at the present day. ʿAlī, his brother, set out for Syria and the Maghrib. From their places of retreat, the descendants of Ismāʿīl sent out missionaries (*dāʿī* q. v., plur. *duʿāt*) to traverse the Muslim world and there preach the doctrine known as that of the esoterics (Bāṭiniya), whose starting point was the allegorical exposition of the Ḳurʾān. One of these missionaries was Maimūn, called al-Ḳaddāḥ "the oculist", whose son ʿAbd Allāh [q. v. i. 26] became chief of the branch of the Ḳarmaṭians [q. v.]. With the assistance of a rich Persian, Muḥammad b. Ḥusain, called Zaidān, who had read in the stars that the Iranians were going to regain the empire [*Fihrist*, p. 188; O. Loth, in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, p. 307, M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, p. 114), he made them adopt his system, at once religious and social. At the end of the third century A. H. ʿUbaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī, recognised as imām by the Berbers of the tribe of Ketāma [q. v.], founded in Tunisia the empire of the Fāṭimids [q. v.] or ʿUbaidids, soon afterwards extended to Egypt.

Ismāʿīliya of Persia. Ḥasan b. Ṣabbāḥ [q. v.] was born in Raiy and was there instructed in the doctrine of the Bāṭiniya; to perfect himself in it, he went to Egypt in the caliphate of al-Mustanṣir in 471 (1078—1079), after a stay of

a year and a half there, he was expelled and returned to Persia to act as a missionary and surreptitiously introduced himself into the fortress of Alamūt [q. v.], where he had already numerous partisans (6 Radjab 483 = Sept. 4 1090). Taking this castle as a base, he made raids in all directions with his disciples, taking the existing fortresses by surprise and building new ones. It is said that he made beautiful gardens in which the *fidā'ī*'s [q. v.], initiates of the first degree, enjoyed in anticipation the delights of Paradise; but it is more probable that this paradise was purely imaginary and was a result of the hallucinations caused by taking *ḥashīsh* [see the article ASSASSINS].

Thinking this a dangerous establishment, the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Malik-Shāh ordered the Amīr Arslan-Tash to attack Ḥasan b. Ṣabbāḥ (485 = 1092). He laid siege to Alamūt but was completely routed in a nocturnal sortie by the garrison. In the same year another centre of Ismā'īlī propaganda, the fortress of Dara, was besieged in vain by another lieutenant of the Sulṭān, Ḳizil Sārygh. The death of Malik-Shāh put an end to these attempts of repression. Forty days previously the assassination of the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk by a *fidā'ī*, named Ṭāhir Arrānī, had been the first of these mysterious executions which were to plunge the Muslim world in terror. Two of the disciples of the master, the *ra'īs* Muẓaffar and Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd (see BUZURGUMMĪD), seized respectively the fortress of Gird-kūh and Lamsar (Lanbasar, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 61) (495 = 1102). Sulṭān Muḥammad sent against the Ismā'īlīya Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, who for seven years ravaged the country round Alamūt, and next the Atābeg Nushtigīn Shīr-gīr, who was about to take Lamsar and Alamūt at the end of the year 511 (April 1118), when the Sulṭān's death interrupted the campaign. Sandjar, terrified by the sight of a dagger which a *fidā'ī* had plunged in the ground in front of his throne, made peace with the Ismā'īlīya.

Ḥasan dying on 26 Rabī' I 518 (June 12 1124) Kiyā Buzurg-Umīd succeeded him and reigned without being disturbed till his death on 26 Djumādā I 532 (May 11 1138); it was the same with the latter's son, Muḥammad (died 557 = 1162). Muḥammad's son Ḥasan, called 'Alā dhikrihi al-Salām introduced innovations into the cult. He placed the *minbar* opposite the *ḳibla*, while the rule is that the pulpit should be placed to the left of the *miḥrāb* (559 = 1164) and he claimed to be a descendant of Nizār, son of al-Mustanṣir, which gave him the quality of Imām; the sermon in which he took this title and fixed the Ismā'īlī doctrines, is called by his followers the sermon of the resurrection. At the end of four years he was assassinated at the castle of Lamsar by his brother-in-law, a descendant of the Būyids. His son Muḥammad II avenged his death by the execution of the members of the family of the murderer and reigned undisturbed for 49 years. While the latter had carried on his father's tradition, his son Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III on the contrary announced at his accession his intention of re-establishing the true religion of Islām. He ordered the mosques to be rebuilt and re-established public worship on Fridays. He was therefore given the name Naw-Musliman (new Muslim). He died of poison like his father. His son 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad III was only nine years old; his youth as well as a loss of blood caused by an accident in the fifth year of his reign forced him to withdraw from public affairs, thenceforth he lived confined to his palace and was murdered during a fit of intoxication (last day of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 651 = Jan. 21 1254) at the instigation of his son Rukn al-Dīn Khūr-Shāh. Hūlāgū [q. v.] having received orders from the Mongol emperor to destroy the stronghold of these dangerous fanatics (654 = 1256) laid siege to the fortress of Maimūndiz, where Rukn al-Dīn was. The grand-master surrendered, was kept a prisoner and taken to the court of Mangū, who refused to receive him; on his way back he was murdered on the banks of the Oxus. The fortress of Alamūt capitulated; that of Gird-kūh in Dāmghān held out for three years. The last traces of Ismā'īlīya disappeared from Kuhistān in the reign of the Mongol Khān Abū Sa'īd, who sent a proselytising mission to Ḳāin. Shāh-Rukh, son of Tīmūr, also had the last followers of heresy hunted out in the same province; the only persons that could be suspected were a few soldiers, Saiyids or darwīsh.

Ismā'īlīya of Syria. Their establishment in this country followed soon after their installation in the mountains of Dailam. They are found at Aleppo towards the last years of the 11th century of our era in the reign of the Saldjūḳ prince Riḍwān b. Tutush, who was converted to their doctrines by a physician-astrologer. Their first victim was the father-in-law of this prince, Djanāḥ al-Dawla Ḥusain, lord of Ḥimṣ, as he was about to march against the count of St. Gilles to make him raise the siege of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [q. v.]. He was assassinated while at prayer by three Persians disguised as Ṣūfīs. The astrologer was not long in dying suddenly (he was perhaps assassinated) and handed on his power to a companion, also of Persian origin, Abū Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ṣā'igh. The Ismā'īlīya took Apamaea by a ruse in 499 (1106), but the Crusaders took it from them again very soon afterwards. Their excesses provoked a massacre of their partisans at Aleppo (507 = 1113). The missionary Ibrāhīm, having escaped, tried to seize Shaizar on the Orontes by taking advantage of a Christian festival. In spite of the successful surprise, the inhabitants, led by the Amīrs of the family of Munḳidh, regained the barbacan (*bāshūra*) and were hauled up by ropes into the interior by the women who had remained there. Although the Ismā'īlīs had again gained a certain amount of influence in Aleppo the ruler Īlghāzī prevented their gaining possession of the Ḳal'at al-Sharīf [cf. p. 231[b] *infra*]. — On Ramaḍān 23, 515 (Dec. 5 1121) Ismā'īlī *fidā'ī*'s assassinated the Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī [q. v.].

A rising of the population of Āmid (Diyār Bakr) resulted in the massacre of the proselytes they had made in this town (518 = 1124) but the acquisition of the fortress of Bāniyās [q. v.] re-established their fortunes; Tughtigīn, prince of Damascus, wishing to save his favourite Bahrām from the ill-treatment of the Damascenes, had left it to him. Bahrām fell in battle in 522 (1128) against the rebel natives. Ismā'īl the Persian succeeded him; after the massacre of his partisans at Damascus (15 Ramaḍān 523 = Sept. 2 1129) he handed the citadel of Bāniyās over to the Crusaders.

To make up for this loss the Ismā'īlīya purchased from Saif al-Mulk b. 'Amrūn the castle of

Kadmūs (527 = 1132), where Benjamin of Tudela still found a few decades later the residence of the head of the sect, and captured by a trick that of Maṣyāth (Maṣyāf). At this time they held no less than six fortresses in Syria; — as many as ten according to William of Tyre —. To avenge the murder of Raymond I, count of Tripoli, the Templars attacked them and forced them to pay tribute.

At this period, the Ismā'īliya (from 1169) had at their head Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān, son of Sulaimān, grandmaster of the Assassins, who came from the neighbourhood of Baṣra and had studied at Alamūt. The immoralities to which they abandoned themselves roused against them the inhabitants of the town of al-Bāb, between Bāliś and Aleppo, who smoked them out of their retreats and exterminated them as far as possible (cf. also Ibn Djubair, ed. Wright—de Goeje, p. 249 *sq.*). On 11th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 571 (May 22 1176) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn just missed being a victim of an attempt against him by the fanatics and was saved by the strips of iron which lined his bonnet; to avenge himself he was going to lay siege to Maṣyāth, but refrained from taking the town on account of the fatigues undergone by his army or perhaps in face of threats of the Assassins. He even seems to have made a pact with his enemies, for he stipulated in the treaty concluded with Richard Coeur de Lion that it should apply equally to the lands of the Ismā'īliya.

On Rabī' II, 13, 588 (Apr. 29 1192) two Ismā'īlīs attacked Conrad of Montferrat, lord of Tyre, just as he was coming from dinner with a bishop and assassinated him. Later Raymond, elder son of Bohemund IV le Borgne, prince of Antioch, was killed in the church of Antarsūs.

Hūlāgū, before putting to death Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, grandmaster of Alamūt, received from him an order to the commandants of the fortresses in Syria to hand them over to the Mongols. Four of these castles were actually surrendered as soon as the Mongols appeared in Syria in 658 (1260) but were retaken soon afterwards by their old masters on the victory of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Kuṭuz. It was Sulṭān Baibars who finally conquered these fortresses from 668 to 671 (1270—1273). From that date the Ismā'īliya recognised Egyptian sovereignty and continued to supply assassins to rulers willing to employ them; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris, i. 166, 167) knew that they were in the pay of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kalā'ūn.

Ismā'īliya in India. They are known by the names of Khodja [q. v.] or Mawlā; their chief is the Agha Khān [q. v.], whose official title is His Highness Aga Sir Sulṭān Muḥammad, a great sportsman and devoted to travelling, a contributor to the *Nineteenth Century* and to *East and West*; he fills an important position in politics and in 1906 was president of the deputation sent to the Viceroy by the Muslims of India. He is the descendant of the old Imāms and can trace his descent direct to Abu 'l-Ḥasan, governor of Kirmān under the Zand dynasty, who afterwards retired to his estate of Maḥallāt near Kumm. The latter's son was Shāh Khalīl Allāh, called Saiyid Kahkī, murdered in 1817 at Yazd; to the latter's son, Agha Khān Maḥallātī, Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh gave the hand of one of his daughters; rebelling in 1838 he had to leave Kirmān and take refuge in Sindh, where he found some Nizārī Khodjas; he lived successively in Bombay, Poona and Bangalore. Muḥammad is the son of this Agha Khān; from his father he has inherited his taste for sport.

Present Distribution of the Ismā'īliya. There are still several thousands in Syria, who live in the ancient fortresses of Maṣyāth, Kadmūs, etc. They are inoffensive, and faithful subjects of the Ottoman empire; the plundering of the first of these cities by the Nuṣairīs in 1809 produced the ms. publ. and transl. by Stanislas Guyard (*Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis* in *Notices et Extraits*, xxii. i. 1874). In Persia there are some in the district above mentioned of Maḥallāt near Kumm; in Central Asia they are found in Badakhshān, Khokand and Karātegīn, as well as in a district near Balkh; in Afghānistān, they are known under the name of Mufradī. In Kāfiristān (valleys of Djalālābād and Kunar) there are many Mawlās, as well as in several valleys of the upper Oxus (Sarīkol, Wakhān and Yārūn). In India there are 50475 in the districts of Adjmīr, Merwāra, Bilūčistān, the Pandjāb and Kashmir, and 52058 in those of Bombay, Baroda and Coorg (*Census of India*, 1901, I. 561 *sqq.*). They are not all followers of the Agha Khān. Among the Bohora [q. v.] of Gudjarāt, the Da'ūdī, who form the bulk of the community (130,000), are Ismā'īlī (*Rev. du Monde Musulman*, v. 472).

They are numerous in 'Omān: there are some in all the towns; their headquarters are at Maṭraḥ, near Muscat. They are also found at Zanzibar and in what used to be German East Africa, where they number tens of thousands and are increasing in numbers by conversions.

Doctrine. God is entirely without attributes, incomprehensible and incapable of being cognised. He did not create the universe directly; by an act of will called *amr*, he made manifest Universal Reason, in which are all the divine attributes and which is God in his implied outward manifestation. As prayer cannot be addressed to an inaccessible being, it is turned toward his exterior manifestation, Reason, which thus becomes the real divinity of the Ismā'īliya. As one cannot attain to knowledge of God, but only of Reason, the latter is given the names of the Veil, the Place, the Antecedent, Spirit, the First.

Reason creates the universal Soul, whose essential attribute is life, as that of reason is knowledge; being imperfect in the latter respect, it necessarily strives to reach perfection. Whence arises a movement which is the inverse of emanation. The Soul produced primal matter, which forms the earth and the stars; it is passive and receives the impress of forms, the ideas of which exist in Reason.

There are two secondary and primitive entities, space and time. The combined action of these five entities produces the movements of the spheres and of the elements. The appearance of man is explained by the need which the universal soul feels to attain perfect knowledge in order to rise to the nature of universal Reason. When this end is attained all movement will cease. To gain salvation knowledge must be acquired, which can only come from the earthly incarnation of Reason, the Prophet, with his successors the Imāms. Incarnate reason is called *nāṭiḳ* "speaking", and the incarnate soul *asās* „foundation"; the first is the Prophet, manifesting the revealed word, the second is the interpreter of this word by means of the inner meaning which this word contains (*ta'wīl*).

the three last principles became the *ḥudūd*, the *ḥudjdja*, charged with giving proof of the mission of the *imām*, and the *dāʿī* or "missionary". Muḥammad was the *nāṭiḳ* and ʿAlī the *asās*.

There were several degrees of initiation (at first seven; then nine). The missionary began by putting embarrassing questions to the neophyte on knotty points of Muslim theology (the usual process with the Bāṭiniya) and led him quite gradually to admit that these difficulties were easily solved by the allegorical and symbolical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān. Calculations made from the numerical value of letters played an important part (see *Fragments* ii. of St. Guyard and the article ḤURŪF above ii. 338b). When the proselyte had acknowledged the force of his arguments, the missionary made him take an oath not to reveal any of the mysteries which were going to be entrusted to him and taught him that in order to be saved it was necessary to submit blindly, *perinde ac cadaver*, to the spiritual and temporal guidance of the Imām. The majority of the adepts did not pass beyond the first or second stages of initiation; the missionaries hardly reached the sixth. Only a few superior individuals could hope to reach the higher degree (cf. the theories of the Shīʿa and mystics on the *insān kāmil* [q. v.]).

Paradise allegorically signified the state of the soul which had reached perfect knowledge, hell was ignorance. No soul was condemned to hell eternally; it returned to earth by metempsychosis until it had recognised the imām of the epoch and had learned theological knowledge from him. Evil did not exist as a principle and would one day disappear through the progressive assimilation of all creation to universal reason. In spite of the reputation as assassins, which furnished the fame of the Ismāʿīliya, it should not be imagined that their crimes were the application of a dogma; one should rather see in this the excesses of the absolute political power which the grandmasters had arrogated to themselves. Rousseau (*Annales des Voyages*, xiv. 286) has noted that those whom he knew were hospitable and of a gentle temperament. They do not care to travel, are active at home, much attached to their religion, which however differs very much from the old creed, and are brave at need and obedient to their chiefs.

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ISMAʿĪLIYA, a town situated about the middle of the Suez Canal. It was laid out in 1863 during the construction of the Canal, and named after the Khedive Ismāʿīl. It was a place of much importance whilst the work of excavation went on, but as soon as the canal was completed, it quickly decayed. In recent years it has recovered some of its prosperity through the traffic between Cairo and the mail steamers. It is connected by railway with Port Saʿīd, Cairo and Suez, and there are good hotels, baths, etc. The town is surrounded by plantations and gardens, Lake Timsāḥ being on the south side.

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ISNĀD (A.) i. e. the chain of traditionists. See ḤADĪTH, ii. 190a and 190b *sqq.* (Sections ii. and iii.) and cf. on the connection with Jewish tradition, J. Horovitz, *Alter und Ursprung des Isnād*, in *Der Islam*, viii. (1917), 39—47.

ISPAHĀN [see IṢFAHĀN.]

IṢPAHBAD (Pahlavi *spāh-pat*, head of an army, Procopius' ἀσπεβέδης), general of cavalry. Under the Sāsānians, as a proper noun, it meant one of the seven privileged families of Arsakid origin; as a common noun, it was applied to the fifth of the great hereditary offices, the command of the cavalry (Theophylactus, iii. 8); the second of these offices, that of military affairs in general, was that of the *Ērān-spāhbadh*. Under Khusraw I Anōshirawān, Persia was divided into four great military commands, the chiefs of which had the title *iṣpahbad* and had each under their orders a *pādhgospān* (viceroy), who was formerly independent. After the conquest of Persia, Ṭabaristān, separated from the rest of the country by the high chain of Elburz, maintained its independence for a considerable time under princes who had the title *iṣpahbad* (Arab. *al-iṣbahbadh*, al-Balādhurī, p. 336 *passim*). Māzyār (Mayazdyār) b. Ḳārin was appointed by the Caliph al-Maʾmūn governor of this province with the same title (*ib.*, p. 339). The coins struck by these princes give the names of Khwarshēdh I in 93 (711) and 97 (715), Farrukhān (105—110 = 723—728), Dādh Burzh Mihr in 120 (738), Khwarshēdh II (122—148 = 740—765); after 151 (768) the names are those of Muslim governors. When in the vith (xiith) century, the family of Bāwand reconstituted an independent state in Ṭabaristān, these princes, who added Muslim titles to their Iranian proper names, received the title *iṣpahbad* (ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Shahriyār b. Ḳārin, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Rustam, Tādj al-Mulūk ʿAlī b. Mardāwīdj, Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr b. Ḥasan).

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(Cl. Huart.)

ISPANDĀRMADH (P.), twelfth month of the Persian solar year, also name of the fifth day of each month.

ISPARTA (in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Sabarta; Sabarta in the Arabic translation of the Acts of the Apostles, xxi. 1, for the Greek Πάταρα, cf. *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morg. Gesellsch.*, ix. 731), the ancient Baris Pisidiae (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. § 147; Ptolemy v. 5 § 5), was taken from the Byzantines by the Saldjūḳs of Ḳōnya in the reign of Ḳilidj Arslān III (600—601 = 1203—1204) (Houtsma, *Rec. de Textes rel. à l'Hist. des Seldjoucides*, iii. 62 = iv. 26). After the downfall of the kingdom of Ḳōnya Isparta belonged to the Ḥamīdoghlu [q. v.] and was sold by the last ruler of this dynasty in 783 (1381—2) with the greater part of his lands to Sulṭān Murād I (Leunclavius, *Hist.*, p. 258; Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 98). Under Ottoman rule Isparta was the residence of the *sandjaḳ-bey* of Ḥamīd-eli, now it is the headquarters of the *mutaṣarrif* of Ḥamīdābād and of the Greek Metropolitan of Pisidia. The population of the prosperous town is estimated at 30,000, of whom 6000 are Greeks and 500 Armenians; it has numerous mosques (13 *djāmiʿ*, 63 *masdjid*), the mosque of Firdawsbey being a work of Sinān, 9 medreses and a library of 600 volumes; also 8 Greek churches and one Armenian, the former not without interest. Among the products of industry may be mentioned carpets (600 looms), *ālādja* and *boghasi* (250 workshops), silk, attar of roses, and alcohol.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris), ii. 266; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnumā*, p. 639 *sqq.*; Paul Lucas, *Voy. dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine* etc., i. 246 *sqq.* (Ch. xxxiv.); Arundell, *A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia*, London 1828, p. 118—132; do., *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834, i. 316 *sqq.*, ii. 1—22; Hamilton, *Researches*, i. 483; Sarre, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, p. 167 *sqq.*; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 850 *sqq.* — View in de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 106.
(J. H. Mordtmann.)

ISRĀʾ. The term *isrāʾ* is taken from the Ḳurʾān, Sūra xvii. 1: "Glory to Him who caused His servant to journey by night (*asrā bi ʿabdihi lailan*) from the sacred place of worship to the further place of worship, which We have encircled with blessings, in order that We might show him some of our signs! Verily He (i. e. God) is the Hearer and the Beholder". — We do not know whether this verse originally formed part of chap. xvii or was first promulgated in some other context, nor need we enquire what may have been the real sense of the verse. In any case it is noticeable that the tradition gives but three explanations.

1°. The older one, which disappears from the more recent commentaries, detects in this verse an allusion to Muḥammad's Ascension to Heaven. This is the more interesting, as these traditions (Bukhārī, ed. Cairo 1278, ii. 185, *Bāb ḥadīth ʾl-isrāʾ* … *sūrat Banī Isrāʾīl*, vi. 2; Muslim, ed. Būlāḳ 1290, i. 59; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 3; cf. *Der Islam*, vi. 12, 14) retain also the original signification of the story of the Ascension which has been shown to be the initiation to the prophetic career (Bevan, *Mohammed's Ascension to Heaven*, p. 58; Schrieke, *Der Islam*, vi. 1 *sqq.*; see the art. MIʿRĀDJ). This explanation interprets the expression *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* "the further place of worship" in the sense of "Heaven" and, in fact, in the older tradition *isrāʾ* is often used as synonymous with *miʿrādj* (*Der Islam*, vi. 14).

2°. The second explanation, the only one given in all the more modern commentaries, interprets *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* as "Jerusalem" and this for no very apparent reason. It seems to have been an Umaiyad device intended to further the glorification of Jerusalem as against that of the holy territory (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 55 *sqq.*; *Der Islam*, vi. 13 *sqq.*), then ruled by ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubair. Ṭabarī seems to reject it. He does not mention it in his "History" and seems rather to adopt the first explanation (see *Der Islam*, vi. 2, 5, 6, 12, 14; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1157 *sqq.*, a passage which appears to represent the historian's final verdict formed on full consideration of the evidence before him, cf. Bevan, *op. cit.*, p. 57).

Explanations 1° and 2° concur in interpreting *ʿabd* in xvii. 1 by Muḥammad and this seems to be right (*Der Islam*, vi. 13, note 6). The *ḥadīth* admitted both interpretations and, when the Umaiyad version had arisen, harmonised the two by assigning to *isrāʾ* the special sense of night journey to Jerusalem. The Ascension, having lost its original meaning, was altered in date, being made to fall at a later period (see art. MIʿRĀDJ) and it became possible to combine both stories as appears, in fact, to have been done previously by Ibn Isḥāḳ in the oldest extant biography of Muḥammad (Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 54).

The story of the night journey to Jerusalem runs as follows:

One night as Muḥammad was sleeping in the neighbourhood of the Kaʿba at Mecca (or in the house of Umm Hāniʾ, *Der Islam*, vi. 11) he was awakened by the angel Gabriel who conducted him to a winged animal, called Burāḳ (Bevan, *op. cit.*, p. 55, 57, 59; *Der Islam*, vi. 12 *sq.*, with the literature quoted there and the art. BURĀḲ), and with Muḥammad mounted on this animal they journeyed together to Jerusalem. On the way thither they encounter several good and several wicked powers (*Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, ed. Dihli 1268, p. 521 *sq.*; Baghawī, *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna*, ed. Cairo 1294, ii. 179, with a harmonising interpolation) and visit Hebron and Bethlehem (Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, ed. Cairo 1312, i. 77 *sq.*; Nuwairī, MS. Warner 2°, p. 35, l. 5—10). At Jerusalem they meet Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, of whom a description is given (e. g. Bukhārī, ed. Cairo 1278, ii. 147). The *ṣalāt* is performed, Muḥammad acting as imām and thereby taking precedence of all the other prophets there assembled. This meeting with the Prophets at Jerusalem resembles and may well have been modelled on the transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor (Matth. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 1; Luke ix. 28), cf. *Der Islam*, vi. 15.

3°. The third interpretation of Sūra xvii. 1 is based on xvii. 62, where *ruʾyā* "vision" is explained as *isrāʾ*. This implies that the night journey was not a real journey but a vision.

Standing at the *hidjr* Muḥammad saw Jerusalem and described it to the unbelieving Ḳuraishites (Bukhārī, ii. 222, iii. 102; Muslim, i. 63; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 3, l. 14 a. f., etc.). The story is woven into a connected whole as follows: Muḥammad journeys by night to Jerusalem, returns and at Mecca describes his adventures; the Ḳuraishites disbelieve him and Muslims apostatise; Muḥammad seeks to defend the truth of his story, but he has forgotten the particulars; whereupon Allāh causes him to actually behold Jerusalem (see *Der Islām*, vi. 15 *sq.*).

In the more modern and longer narratives the story is further amplified (see e. g. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 58 *sq.*). The prophet is said to have held 70 000 conversations with Allāh, although the whole journey proceeded so quickly that, when he returned, his bed was still warm and the watercup which he had overthrown with his foot at his hurried departure, was not yet empty. By Muslim theologians the question has been discussed, whether the *isrā'* happened while Muḥammad was asleep or awake and whether it was his spirit or his body which journeyed. The orthodox opinion is that the journey was performed by Muḥammad with his body and awake. Ṭabarī in his commentary (xv. 13) very decidedly supports this meaning for the following reasons: 1) If the prophet had not been carried away in a corporeal sense the event would afford no proof of his divine mission and those who disbelieved the story could not be accused of infidelity. 2) It is stated in the Ḳur'ān that God caused his servant to journey, not that He caused his servant's spirit to journey. 3) If the Prophet had been carried away in spirit only, the services of Burāḳ would not have been required, since animals are used for carrying bodies not for carrying spirits (Bevan, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Schrieke, *Der Islam*, vi., 13; Ṭabarī, Baiḍāwī, and Baghawī, *Tafsīr*, ad xvii. 1). Mystics and philosophers often favour an allegorical interpretation (Goldziher, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Mittelalter* in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. v., p. 319).

Bibliography: Bevan, *Mohammed's Ascension to Heaven* in *Beihefte zur Zeitschr. für die Alttestam. Wissensch.*, vol. xxvii. p. 51 *sqq.*; Schrieke, *Die Himmelsreise Muhammed's* in *Der Islām*, vi., 13 *sqq.*, with the literature there quoted.

(B. SCHRIEKE.)

ISRAEL. [See YA'ḲŪB.]

ISRĀFĪL, the name of an **Archangel**, which is probably to be traced to the Hebrew *Serāfīm* as is indicated by the variants Sarāfīl and *Sarāfīn* (*Tādj al-'Arūs*, vii. 375). The change of liquids is not unusual in such endings. His size is astounding; while his feet are under the seventh earth, his head reaches up to the pillars of the divine throne. He has four wings: one in the west, one in the east, one with which he covers his body and one as a protection against the majesty of God. He is covered with hair, mouths and tongues. He is considered to be the angel who reads out the divine decisions from the well-kept Tablet and transmits them to the Archangel to whose department they belong. Three times by day and three times by night he looks down into Hell and is convulsed with grief and weeps so violently that the earth might be inundated by his tears.

For three years he was the companion of the Prophet, whom he initiated into the work of a prophet. Gabriel then took over this task and began the communication of the Ḳur'ān.

Alexander is said to have met him before his arrival in the land of darkness; there he stood upon a hill and blew the trumpet, tears in his eyes. If he is called Lord of the Trumpet, it is mainly because he continually holds the trumpet to his mouth in order to be able to blow at once as soon as God gives the order for the blast which is to arouse men from their graves. It is however also said that Isrāfīl will be first aroused on the day of the Resurrection. He will then take his stand upon the holy rock in Jerusalem and give the signal which will bring the dead back to life.

In modern Egypt it is said that his music will refresh the inhabitants of Paradise.

Bibliography: Kisā'ī, *'Adjā'ib al-Malakūt*, Ms. Leiden, 538 Warner, f. 4 *sq.*; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1248 *sq.*, 1255; Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. Gautier, p. 42; M. Wolff, *Muhammed. Eschatologie*, p. 9, 49; Sale, *The Koran, Preliminary Discourse*, p. 64; Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, p. 171, 208; Lane, *Manners and Customs* (London 1899), p. 80.

(A. J. WENSINCK.)

ISRĀ'ĪL, the name of the **patriarch** of Israel only appears once in the Ḳur'ān, apart from the frequent name, Banū Isrā'īl, for the people of Israel. In Sūra iii. 87 it is said: "All foods were permitted to the Israelites except that which Israel declared forbidden for himself before the Tora was revealed". According to the commentators, this means that the restrictions on food were only revealed as a result of the wickedness of the Israelites. Their ancestor himself only refrained from eating camel flesh or drinking camel milk; according to some, because he was afflicted with the disease called *'irḳ al-nasā*, which kept him awake by night and left him during the day. He therefore made a vow to abstain from his favourite food, if he should be cured. According to others, he did not eat the *'irḳ al-nasā* (*nervus ischiadicus*) by the advice of his physicians, or he abstained from all sinews (*'irḳ*). The word is a translation of the Hebrew *gīd* and *al-nasā* is a transcription of the Hebrew *nashè*. This points to *Genesis* xxxii., the well known story of the dislocation of Jacob's thigh by the angel as an explanation of the fact that the Israelites "to this very day" do not eat the *nervus ischiadicus*.

The question remains how could Jacob's private abstinence be obligatory for the Israelites. According to some, a prophet, as Jacob was, is by nature qualified to decide questions of law (Arabic *mudjtahid*). According to others, Jacob received God's permission to make this regulation.

The rest that is told of Isrā'īl in the Ḳur'ān is found under the name Ya'ḳūb. At first Muḥammad seems to have regarded Ya'ḳūb as a son of Ibrāhīm. In the prophecy made to Sara, he says: "Then we promised her Isḥāḳ and afterwards Ya'ḳūb" (xi. 74; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 32). The commentaries hasten to explain that according to the Arabic usage "afterwards" must refer to the grandson.

It is further stated in the Ḳur'ān that Ya'ḳūb on his death bed warned his sons to be steadfast in the faith of Ibrāhīm (ii. 126 *sqq.*); like most of the patriarchs he received revelations (ii. 130 etc.).

Muslim legend is acquainted with the main points of Jacob's history. Only divergent and non-Biblical

features will be noted here. Yaʿḳūb was actually older than his twin brother Esau. When he was going to be born in front of the latter, Esau was angry and the two brothers quarrelled even in the mother's womb. Esau then said: Wallāh, if thou wishest to be born first, I shall close up my mother's womb and kill her. Yaʿḳūb then yielded and Esau was the first born. — This story is also found in Jewish literature. — After winning the first born's blessing by trickery, Yaʿḳūb fled to his uncle. From fear of Esau he concealed himself by day and travelled by night (*yasrī* or *sarā al-lail*), hence the name Isrāʾīl. The Muslim legend therefore does not know of the change of name at Penuel. — As to his marriage with two sisters, it is said that Moses was the first to forbid this. But it is also said that Yaʿḳūb did not marry Raḥīl until after Lyā's death.

Bibliography: The commentaries to the passages quoted from the Ḳurʾān; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 353 *sqq.*; Yaʿḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), i. 26 *sqq.*; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (Cairo 1290), p. 88 *sqq.* (A. J. Wensinck.)

ISSIK-KUL (Turkish "warm lake"), the most important mountain lake in Turkistan and one of the largest in the world, situated in 42° 30′ N. Lat. and between 76° 15′ and 78° 30′ E. Long., 5316 feet above sea level; the length of the lake is about 115 miles, the breadth up to 37 miles, the depth up to 1381 feet, and the area 2400 square miles. From the two chains of the Tian-Shan, the Kungei-Alatau (in the north) and the Terskei-Alatau (in the south) about 80 large and small mountain streams pour into the Issik-Kul, of which the most important, Tüp and Djergalan, flow into it from the east; of the others there may be mentioned: on the south bank, the Karakol, Kizil-Su, Djuka (or Zauka), Barskoun and Ton, on the north bank, two Aḳ-Su's and three Koi-Su. On the origin of the depression Kutemaldi, which now connects the Ču with the Issik-Kul [cf. *EI*, i. 880b *sqq.*], views differ; it is said that the Kočkar, now the upper course of the Ču, previously flowed into the Issik-Kul and the latter had an exit to the Ču; at present the Kočkar sends an arm to the Issik-Kul through the Kutemaldi only when it is flooded; at other times there are only a few ditches there filled with water, without any definite current. The question is only of importance for geology and physical geography; in the historical period the Issik-Kul has, as all accounts show, always been a salt lake without an exit.

The oldest of these descriptions we owe to the Chinese writer Hiuen-Tsang (viith cent. A. D.); the Chinese name (Je-Hai = warm sea; the lake never freezes) corresponds exactly to the Turkish name. The latter first appears in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (372 = 982—3); in Ḳudāma (ed. de Goeje, p. 262) the lake is only mentioned, but not named. The ms. of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* has *Iskūl* (f. 3b) or *Iskūl* (f. 18a); the form was probably the same in the *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh* (the ms. has S-kūl, cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 19); Gardīzī (in Barthold, *Otčet*, etc., p. 89 all.) writes Isigh-Kūl. Ḳazwīnī quotes Iskūl from al-Gharnāṭī in Nallino, *al-Battani*, p. 175, but with *taḳdīd* over the *k*. In the history of Tīmūr's campaigns, in Sharaf al-Dīn (*Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed., i. 494, ii. 634), as well as in Ibn ʿArabshāh (Egypt. ed., p. 136) the form is Isi Kūl, in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (cf. the text in Barthold, *Otčet* etc., p. 50, note 1) Isigh Kūl.

In the oldest Chinese accounts (from the iind century A. D.) the land appears in the possession of the nomadic people of the Wu-sun. But from the viith century A. D. on, permanent settlements, even towns are mentioned. One of the trade routes from China to Western Asia at that time led through the Bedel pass to the south bank of the Issik-Kul and from there into the valley of the Ču; the most important market on the Issik-Kul was Barskhān, the name of which is probably identical with the modern name of the river Barskoun. Gardīzī gives a legend due to a popular etymology about Alexander the Great and Persians left behind by him on the Issik-Kul; this popular etymology makes certain the reading Barskhān against the form Nūshdjān given by de Goeje according to Yāḳūt, iv. 823. According to Gardīzī, Barskhān could put 6000 men in the field; according to Ḳudāma, the principal place on the shore of the lake could itself raise 20,000 men (Barskhān, according to Ḳudāma, consisted of nine towns, four of some size and five small ones). Three days journey west of Barskhān lay Tūnk, the name of which obviously corresponds to the name of the river Ton; between Barskhān and Tūnk there were only to be seen tents of the nomad Djikil; 12 *farsakh* west of Tūnk was the town of Yār, which could raise 3000 men. In *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* there is further mentioned "a prosperous place, visited by merchants", the town of Sikūl, on the border between the settlements of two nomad peoples, the Djikil and the Khallukh (Karluḳ); the town probably bore the name of the lake; a town "Yssicol" on the north shore of the lake of the same is still given in the *Carte Catalane* of the year 1375 A. D.; there was said to be an Armenian monastery with relics of the Apostle Matthew (*Notices et Extraits*, xiv. Pt. ii., p. 132 *sq.*).

Of this civilisation, which probably was destroyed about the same time (viiith = xivth century) and under the influence of the same causes as the civilisation on the Ču [cf. i. 881], only a few walls and mounds of brick, and some cemeteries have survived, including a Muhammadan cemetery on the Kungei-Aksu with inscriptions of the viith (xiiith) century (*Protokoll Turk. Kružka Ljub. arkh.* xi. 5 *sq.*) and a Nestorian cemetery discovered in 1907 on the Tjuka, with inscriptions in Syriac and Turkish; one of these inscriptions (of 1330 A. D.) was published by P. Kokowzoff (*Bulletin de l'Académie*, etc. 1909, p. 774 *sq.*, 788 *sq.*).

The Turkish and Mongol nomads liked to use the shores of the Issik-Kul as a winter resort on account of the favourable weather conditions (the snow here rarely lies to any considerable depth); so that the Issik-Kul is several times mentioned in the military history of Central Asia. A fortress was built by Tīmūr "in the middle of the lake", i. e. on an island, to which, amongst others the Tatars deported from Asia Minor were banished. It is probably the same fortress as is called Koi-su by Ḥaidar Mīrzā (q. v., ii. 219) (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. Ross, p. 78); a Mongol amīr is said to have sent his family there in the 16th (17th) century, to put them in safety from the inroads of the Kalmucks. At the present day there are no islands in the lake; the disappearance of the island mentioned, with the fortress upon it was probably caused by an earthquake.

Connected with this perhaps is the fact that pieces of bricks and other fragments are frequently washed up on the shores of the Issik-Kul. On the Issik-Kul itself it is said that a great town here was overwhelmed by the waters of the lake and its walls and buildings can be seen in clear weather; but this story has so far not been confirmed and is probably based on folklore about sunken cities (which is to be found in the most diverse countries). The catastrophe, if there was one, can only have happened comparatively recently; Haidar-Mirzā, to whom we owe the latest and fullest account of the Issik-Kul in Muhammadan literature (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 366 *sq.*), knows neither of the disappearance of an island nor of rubble being washed up, nor of any sunken towns. What Haidar-Mirzā has to say about the Issik-Kul corresponds in general to the facts, but there are a few peculiar assertions. He says for example that on account of the great proportion of salt in it, the water is unsuitable for washing in; in reality the proportion of salt is very slight.

In the xviith—xviiith centuries the shores of the lake were under the rule of Buddhist Kalmucks; Tibetan inscriptions in the country south-east of the lake still recall this period. The Mongol name of the Issik-Kul was Temurtu-Nor, "iron lake"; many of the mountain streams flowing into the Issik-Kul carry ferriferous sand; small knives, etc. are made from this iron by the Ḳara-Kirghiz; the Turkish peoples about the same time also called the lake Tuz-Kul ("Salt-lake"). Even in the Kalmuck period the Ḳara-Kirgis [q. v.] had grazing grounds here; the land remained in their possession after the conquest of the Kalmuck kingdom by the Chinese; Chinese rule was never firmly established here in spite of several attempts. About the middle of the xixth century the Russians advanced across the Ili; the Issik-Kul was reached in 1856 by Colonel Khomentowski; a part of the Ḳara-Kirgis was forced to submit to Russian rule as early as 1855 and the remainder in 1860. The Russians founded the town of Ḳaraḳol, called Pržewalsk since 1888, so far the only town in the country round the Issik-Kul (according to the census of 1897, 7987 inhabitants, now about 15000) and several villages; all these settlements are in the eastern part of the Issik-Kul valley; the western part is still inhabited only by nomads. The settlements are still, as in the middle ages, called after the rivers on which they lie; the official Russian names are rarely used, even by Russians; even the Russian peasant always says "Tüp" for Preobrashenskoye" and "Ḳizil-su" (which is corrupted to "Kaszilsu") for "Pokrowskaya". Thanks to the fertility of the soil, the villages are in a flourishing condition, in spite of the frequent earthquakes.

(Cf. L. Berg, *Ozero Issyk-Kul'* (*Zemlevêdênie*, 1904, Nov.).   (W. Barthold.)

ISṬAKHR, a town in Fārs [q. v., ii. 70]. The real name was probably Staḵhr, as it is written in Pahlavī; the Armenian form Stahr and the abbreviation ST on Sāsānian coins point in the same direction. The form with prosthetic vowel is modern Persian; it is usually pronounced Istakhar or Istakhr, also with inserted vowel Sitakhar, Sitakhr, Sitarkh; cf. Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, i. 94^a, 97^b, ii. 223, and Nöldeke in *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii. 192. The Syriac form is Isṭahr (rarely Isṭahr), in the Talmud probably Isṭakhar (אסטכר, *Megilla* 13^b, middle). According to the statements of Persian authors, the town received its name from the lakes or swamps there. Perhaps, however, it is better to be derived with Spiegel (*Erânische Altertumskunde*, i. 94, note 1) and Justi (*Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii. 448) from the Avestan *stakhra* "strong, firm"; for the latter word cf. Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, p. 1591.

Iṣṭakhr lies in 29° 50' N. Lat. and about 53° E. Long., a short hour's journey north of Persepolis, in the narrow valley of the Pulwār or Murghāb (also called Siwand-Rūd), which soon emerges into the fair fertile, but now partly inundated plain of Marwdasht. We have no accurate information regarding the foundation of the town. But it may be assumed with certainty that it took place very soon after the decline of the Achaemenid capital Persepolis, which was caused by Alexander the Great. The ruins of the latter in any case formed a quarry which was much used for the building of the new town. Iṣṭakhr was at first merely the chief town of the district of Fārs, the centre of which had probably always been in this neighbourhood. A few decades before the collapse of the Arsakid kingdom, it figures as the residence of local chiefs. The Sāsānians came from the region of Iṣṭakhr. Sāsān, grandfather of Ardashīr I, was superintendent of the fire-temple of the goddess Anāhīd in the town of Iṣṭakhr (Tabarī, i. 814), the fire of which is said to have suddenly been ominously extinguished in the night of the birth of Muḥammad. After the foundation of the Sāsānian kingdom this town was also considered its religious centre; the heads of slain enemies, including those of Christian martyrs were hung upon it by the Sāsānian kings as trophies of victory. Iṣṭakhr was henceforth considered the official capital of the New Persian monarchy, as Persepolis had been in the age of Achaemenids, but just as, with the latter, Susa had in practice been the centre of government, so with the Sāsānians, Ktesiphon was the real capital. The remote district of Fārs, difficult of access, is too little suited to be the centre of a powerful empire. The Byzantines seem to have known nothing of Iṣṭakhr, for them Ktesiphon alone was the centre of Sāsānian rule. Indeed Iṣṭakhr does not play a prominent part in history; it is only occasionally mentioned.

Soon after occupying the 'Irāḳ the Arabs conquered Fārs. The inhabitants of Iṣṭakhr in particular opposed a stubborn resistance to the advance of the Muslims. The first attempt to take the city, undertaken in 19 (640) by al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, governor of Baḥrain, with insufficient forces and against 'Omar's express orders, failed completely. The strong army raised by Shahrak, the prince of Fārs at that time, could not be checked by Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī. It was only with difficulty that he succeeded in fighting his way along the coast of the Persian Gulf to Baṣra with the help of troops sent to meet him from that place. It was not till 23 (643) that Iṣṭakhr had to capitulate to an Arab army commanded by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Othmān b. al-'Āṣ. But its citizens afterwards rebelled and slew the Arab governor set over them. The governor of Baṣra, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir [q. v.], whom the Caliph sent against the rebels, was only able to take the town after severe fighting. In the suppression of the revolution many Persians met their death. The estimates, no doubt exaggerated, of the Arab authors

speak sometimes of 40,000, sometimes of 100,000 of the enemy slain. This second capture of Iṣṭakhr probably took place in 29 (649); but according to some accounts, it was in 28 (648); cf. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. (1899) 114 *sq.* For other details of the Arab expeditions against Iṣṭakhr see: Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 389 *sq.*; Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. Leiden), i. 2546 *sq.*, 2549, 2690 *sq.*, 2830; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), ii. 420 *sq.*, iii. 30 *sq.*, 77 *sq.*; *Chronique de Tabari* (Pers. vers. by Bel'amī), transl. Zotenberg, iii. 452—3; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. 86—7, 103, and thereon A. D. Mordtmann in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vi. 455—6; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 151 *sq.*, v. 10—27, vii. 219—20, 248—56.

Iṣṭakhr, which in the Sāsānian period can have yielded little in size to the ancient Persepolis, remained a fairly important place during the early centuries of Islām also. However it gradually sank to be merely the chief town of a province and was the capital of the *kūra*, bearing its name, the largest of the five districts into which the province of Fārs was divided, comprising its northern and north eastern parts. The heaviest blow suffered by the erstwhile Sāsānian capital was the foundation in 64 (684) of Shīrāz (2 day's journey south of Iṣṭakhr), which soon became the capital of the province of Fārs and attained great prosperity, particularly from the iiird (ixth) century. Henceforth Iṣṭakhr declined visibly. From the description of the geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī, a native of the town, it was about the middle of the ivth (xth) century a town of medium size of the area of an Arab (= Roman) mile; the wall around it was in ruins. Al-Muḳaddasī, writing about thirty years later (985), praises the splendid bridge over the river in Iṣṭakhr and the fine park. Concerning the chief mosque, situated in the bazaars, he mentions the remarkable pillars with "bull"-capitals. This probably refers not to an original Achaemenid building, but to a Sāsānian, — al-Muḳaddasī mentions that the mosque was thought to have been previously a fire-temple —, in the building of which pieces of carving from Persepolis had been used. Only a few years after the date of al-Muḳaddasī's account, a fatal catastrophe overwhelmed the town, brought upon it by the rebellious attitude of its citizens to their suzerain Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, a son of 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q. v.]. The latter sent against it an army under the amīr Ḳutulmysh, who laid it in ruins. This sealed the ruin of Iṣṭakhr. In a description of the province of Fārs dating from the beginning of the vith (xiith) century, in the Persian *Fārs-Nāma*, it is described as a modest village with barely a hundred inhabitants. Probably the whole area of the former town was quite uninhabited before the end of the middle ages.

As to the mint of Iṣṭakhr, coins struck here in the Sāsānian period bear the abbreviation ST (סט) in Pahlavi characters; this certainly means Iṣṭakhr. Numerous specimens of these coins exist from the reign of Yezdegird II (from 438 A. D.) to the end of the dynasty. In the Muhammadan period also the Pahlavi legend with the above abbreviation was retained for a considerable time. Such coins struck in the name of the Caliph or of governors are known down to the year 70 (689); cf. for example the references in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, viii. 13, 147 *sq.*, xii. 36, xix. 400, xxxi. 148, xxxiii. 120, 131. On the other hand, the Pahlavi coins with mint-names Irān (אירן) and Ṣiṭin (סטן) — contrary to Mordtmann (*ibid.*, xxxiii. 114—5 and *Sitz.-Ber. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1874, p. 250—1) — are not to be attributed to Iṣṭakhr, cf. Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxxiii. 691—2. Of Arab coins struck in Iṣṭakhr specimens are known from 88 (706) and 90 (708) to 167 (783); Stanley Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Orient. Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, x. p. ciii; H. Lavoix, *Cat. des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibl. Nat.*, i. 518; and the notes in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, ix. 249, 250, xvi. 778, xxii. 288, xxxix. 19, 38.

The present system of ruins at Iṣṭakhr, which still awaits a detailed investigation, is fairly extensive (about 5—6 miles around); the Pulwār and a small irrigation canal led off from it across the ruins and divide the area into two almost equal parts. The remains of the town are mainly recognisable in the mounds of earth of varying height. Here and there parts of the surrounding walls still exist. The most remarkable seems to be a place lying towards the village of Ḥādjīābādh — called Ḥarīm-i Djamshīd = "Djamshīd's Harem" (cf. below) by the travellers J. Morier and Ker Porter —, where a column stands erect in the midst of an area covered with fragments of pillars. Its capital, composed of bodies of bulls, at once shows it to have been removed from Persepolis. We shall not go wrong, if we look here for the mosque mentioned above, described by al-Muḳaddasī. The most detailed account of the ruins of Iṣṭakhr is that of Flandin and Coste, who spent two months in the neighbourhood about the end of 1840; cf. the pictures in the great volume of plates, *Voyage en Perse*, ii. (Paris 1843 *sq.*), Pl. 58—62, and the archaeological text accompanying it, p. 69—72, and also Flandin's *Relation du Voyage*, ii. (1852), 137.

In the vicinity of Iṣṭakhr there are several other sites remarkable for their monuments or history. For example about 700 yards north of the village of Ḥādjīābādh, which lies quite near the north-west corner of the ruined area of the former Sāsānid capital, there are natural caves in the valley of Tang Shāh-i Sarwān. One of them, which contains an inscription of historical importance of Sapor I (241—272 A. D.), is usually called Shaikh 'Alī by the Persians, as a pious ascetic of this name is said to have ended his days in it; at the same time one hears it called Zindān-i Djamshīd, "Djamshīd's prison". Similar popular names like "Zindān, Ḥarīm" (cf. above Djamshīd's Ḥarīm) are also found elsewhere in Persia and in the 'Irāk; cf. HAMADHĀN, ii. 236, and my *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (Leipzig 1917), p. 55. Prominent buildings and monuments of antiquity are frequently attributed to Djamshīd, a mythical ruler of ancient Iran whom the Muslim Persians identified with the Sulaimān of legend (cf. below, Takht-i Djamshīd).

Another place of historical importance is the Naḳsh-i Radjab, "Sculpture of Radjab" (a legendary personage), about ¾ mile S. W. of Iṣṭakhr. This is a ravine-like split in the wall of rock on the south bank of the Pulwār, which is adorned with three Sāsānian reliefs. Sarre thinks (Sarre u. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, p. 98) that this decoration may be explained by the special purpose of the place (a sanctuary of the God Ormuzd?) as the consecrated place of coronation of the Sāsānian king-

On account of its considerable remains from the ancient and mediaeval Persian periods, the best known sites are Takht-i Djamshīd and Naḳsh-i Rustam; the former a short hour's journey south of Iṣṭakhr on the south bank of the Pulwār, the latter on the north bank of this stream about 1½ miles from Iṣṭakhr.

Takht-i Djamshīd is the most usual name among Orientals for the complex of Achaemenid palaces of Persepolis. Persian popular fancy frequently gives imposing buildings the name of *takht*, i.e. bench or throne, of a celebrated legendary king of the past. Besides Takht-i Djamshīd one also hears the older name Čihil, or abbreviated, Čil Minār (also Menāre), "the 40 pillars", which is found as early as the Persian historians of the xivth century. This name is taken from the most noteworthy parts of the whole site, the colonnade of King Xerxes I with its pillars originally 72, now only 13 in number. 40 is a round number very popular in the east to express a considerable number; a cave called Čihil Sutūn (the 40 pillars) is shown, for example, in the valley of Shīrwān in Luristān (cf. H. Grothe, *Wanderungen in Persien*, Berlin 1910 p. 62). The number 1000 is also used in quite a similar fashion to 40. This explains another name, common at an earlier period, Hazār Sutūn, "the 1000 pillars", which first appears at the beginning of the ivth (xth) century in the annals of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, as well as several times in later Persian chronicles. There is also the name Haft Sūr, "the seven walls", found as early as about 1100 A. D. The Arab geographers of the middle ages from about the iiird (ixth) century know the ruins of the Persepolitan terrace by the name Malʿab Sulaimān, "Sulaimān's playing-ground", with which we may compare the name Kursī Sulaimān, "Solomon's stool (throne)", found in the Persian history *Mudjmil-i Tawārīkh* (beginning of the vith = xiith century), which in its turn may have been the model for the present synonymous name Takht-i Djamshīd. It may be noted that Takht-i Sulaimān is also found elsewhere on Iranian soil as a geographical name: for example, a part of the group of ruins called Takht Mādar-i Sulaimān (Murghāb: q. v.), a mound of ruins in the S. E. of Ādharbaidjān, a mountain east of Kābul, and finally the town of Ūsh (see above, ii. 638) in Farghāna; cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*, vii. 482, viii. 132, 443, ix. 808; 1040.

The "Bench" or "Throne" of Djamshīd (Solomon) is an artificial stone terrace of polygonal, almost rectangular shape, which lies at the foot of a steep, dark grey mountain of rock. The latter, according to the reports of recent travellers, now bears the name Kūh-i Raḥmat, "hill of mercy", but this is not to be found in literature; it apparently dates only from the post-mediaeval period (first mentioned by Sir Thomas Herbert in the beginning of the xviith century). The name still heard by Ouseley, Shāh Kūh, "royal hill", might be older; it coincides with the *βασιλικὸν ὄρος* of Diodorus (xvii. 71). At the same time, according to the same authority, the inhabitants also use the name Kūh-i Takht, "hill of the throne (of Djamshīd)". The section of the Kūh-i Raḥmat which forms the back wall of the platform contains three tombs of Achaemenid kings. The people know these by the names of the "mosque", the "bath" and the "mill of Djamshīd", according to Stolze (*Verhandl. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x., 1883, p. 273). The terrace, which at the same time bears a markedly fortress-like character, was, as already mentioned, only intended for royal palaces and monumental buildings; the town of Persepolis lay in its immediate vicinity. Ancient remains of it may be still recognised. Older travellers were able to identify even more of these ruins lying outside the Takht-i Djamshīd in the area of the town. It may be expressly mentioned that the view held by Stolze and Andreas (*o. c.*, p. 256 *sq.*, and *Persepolis*, i. 3) that the citadel and town of Persepolis are to be sought at Naḳsh-i Rustam, to be exact, the former at Naḳsh-i Rustam and the town on the site of the later Iṣṭakhr, while the buildings in Takht-i Djamshīd were intended for solemn ceremonials closely connected with the cultus, does not appear tenable; cf. against it most recently Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *o. c.*, p. 100 *sq.* The Persian historians make a similar mistake when they identify Persepolis with Iṣṭakhr without more ado, and in order to be able to explain all the ancient and mediaeval monuments and ruins in the plain of *Marwdasht* and its more immediate vicinity as the remains of a single town, ascribe to it the fabulous extent of 16 parasangs in length and 16 parasangs breadth.

Iranian tradition varies regarding the founder of Persepolis-Iṣṭakhr; sometimes it is Kayūmarth, the mythical ancestor of the Persians, sometimes the builders or extenders are legendary rulers of the past like Kayūmarth's descendants Hōshang (Ushhandj), Ṭahmūrath, Djamshīd, Kai Khusraw. Solomon also is named, for whom the spirits (*djinn*) subject to him carried out marvellous works. A legendary princess, Humāy, who plays the rôle of Semiramis as a builder in Irān, is also mentioned. Persian tradition transfers to Persepolis-Iṣṭakhr the residence of the old Iranian kings and makes them be buried there also. According to Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, the town was the residence of the reigning dynasty from the time of Kai Kubādh. Muslim writers connect the origin of Persepolis with Solomon; the name given by them, Malʿab Sulaimān, has been mentioned above. According to their legend, this king dwelled alternately here and in Syria and was rapidly carried by the *djinn* from one place to the other. Separate buildings on the terrace of Takht-i Djamshīd bear in Arabic writings the names "mosque" and "bath of Solomon" (cf. with these the above mentioned names of two royal tombs of Kūh-i Raḥmat). Solomon — so the story goes — shut the wind up in a room there; Persian sources of the viiith and xivth centuries still speak of a "prison of the wind" here (*Zindān-i Bād*) (cf. the reports in Ouseley, *o. c.*, ii. 381, 387).

Unfortunately the Arab accounts of the monuments of Persepolis are rather defective and moreover in parts distorted into fairy tales; cf. especially the accounts of the geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Maḳdisī and al-Ḳazwīnī (see Schwarz, *l. c.*); various not uninteresting information is given by Persian historians of the later middle ages, especially Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (see Ouseley, ii. 380 *sq.*, 387 *sq.*). According to these two, the pillars of the ruins there were celebrated as a source of the *mūmiyā* (*mūmiyā*) important for medical purposes. The vandal disfigurement of the heads of the figures on the bas-reliefs of Takht-i Djamshīd (and still more so in Naḳsh-i

Rustam] is primarily due to the fanaticism of the Muslims with its objection to the representation of human faces.

The caliph al-Manṣūr (754—775) wished to use the ruins of Persepolis, like those of al-Madāʾin-Ctesiphon, as a quarry, but was persuaded against it by the advice of his vizier Khālid al-Barmakī, who said that Persepolis was used as place of prayer by ʿAlī; see *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), p. 256.

Various Muslim rulers have perpetuated their visits to the ruins of Persepolis by having inscriptions incised. Here are to be seen three Arabic inscriptions in Kufic characters by members of the Būyid dynasties (ivth = xth century); three inscriptions, two Persian and one Arabic, of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Tīmūr (ixth = xvth century), also three inscriptions (2 Arabic and 1 Persian) of ʿAlī b. Khalīl, a grandson of Uzūn Ḥasan (ixth = xvth century). These inscriptions were thoroughly discussed by de Sacy in his *Mém. sur diverses antiquités de la Perse* (Paris 1793), p. 139 *sqq.* Some emendations thereon were given by Nöldeke in Stolze, *Persepolis*, ii. 6. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii. 188, also mentions an inscription of the Muẓaffarid Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Manṣūr (d. 765 = 1363). The various verses scratched on the walls show the high respect in which Persepolis has always been held among the Persians; their modern poets often make allusions to the ancient capital of the country.

As to Naḳsh-i Rustam, its primary significance is only the steep south wall of the long, high mass of rock, Ḥusain Kūh, which has in niches four Achaemenid royal tombs and Sāsānian reliefs. But the name is often extended to the whole of Ḥusain Kūh. The name Naḳsh-i Rustam is due to the popular idea that the sculptured figures there represent the Iranian national hero Rustam. Before the wall of the tombs there rises a remarkable towerlike building, now called Kaʿba-i Zardusht, "the Kaʿba of Zoroaster". As to its real purpose the opinions of of scholars vary: probably it has something to do with a former fire temple. Two other small buildings are perhaps to be similarly regarded, not far from the Kaʿba-i Zardusht on the summit of a rock called Sang-i Sulaimān, "the stone of Sulaimān"; cf. Ouseley, *o. c.*, ii. 300. We may also mention that the Sāsānian sculptures of Bermi Delek 5 miles E. S. E. of Shīrāz are also called Naḳsh-i Rustam.

A stone platform in two layers on the south bank of the Pulwār (about 500 yards W. of Naḳsh-i Radjab) is called by the inhabitants of the district, *Takht-i Rustam*, "the throne of Rustam". The latter, in view of its limited dimensions, can only have served as the pedestal of a sepulchral monument or of a fire temple. Cf. Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii. 72—73 (and Pl. 63). Instead of Takht-i Rustam, the name Takht-i Ṭāʾūs, "peacock-throne", is also used. The name Takht-i Rustam is found elsewhere in Īrān also; cf. Ouseley, *o. c.*, ii. 522).

At a somewhat greater distance from Iṣṭakhr, about 3—4 hours journey N. W., on rocky peaks stand three forts within 1½ to 2 miles of each other. All three, which lie practically in a straight line, are frequently comprised under the name Ḳalʿa or Kūh-i Iṣṭakhr, "the citadel" or "the mountain of Iṣṭakhr", also Kūh-i Ramdjird, from a district of this name on the left bank of the Kur (into which the above mentioned Pulwār flows). Firdawsī in a distich speaks of the Sih Diz-i (Gumbadhān) Iṣṭakhr, "the three fortresses of Iṣṭakhr" (cf. Ouseley, *o. c.*, ii. 386). At the same time the separate castles have each their own names, which have however changed frequently in course of time according to the reports of the older historians and travellers. The most important of the three, the Ḳalʿa-i Iṣṭakhr in the narrower sense, is also called Miyān Ḳalʿa, "the central fort", from its position between the other two. Flandin and Coste heard it called Ḳalʿa-i Sarw, "the cypress castle", from a single cypress tree standing there. For the two other citadels Persian authors, for example, give the names Ḳalʿa-i Shikastah, "the broken (ruined) castle, and Ashkunawān (Ishkunawān and similar names). To judge from the traces of foundations and pieces of walls found between the forts there were once all linked up by fortifications.

In the Muslim history of Fārs, especially in that of Iṣṭakhr, these inaccessible fortresses played an important part. They were regarded as most essential military points d'appui for the holding of the surrounding country. The most prominent is the "citadel of Iṣṭakhr" proper, the origin of which Persian legend places in mythical times by assuming it was built by King Djamshīd. The old Iranian ruler Gushtāsp is said to have deposited the *Avesta*, written on cowhides with golden ink in the castle of Iṣṭakhr, after his conversion to the doctrine of Zoroaster; the citadel is therefore also called Diz-i Nibisht (Castle of the writing) or Kūh-i Nibisht (Hill of the writing; so in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī); cf. Ṭabarī, i. 676; and Ibn al-Athīr, i. 182, as well as the Persian reports in Ouseley, *o. c.*, ii. 344, 364, 370—1, 375, 384. Under the caliphate the governor of the province of Fārs very frequently resided in this stronghold, which was easily defended by its natural situation. Thus the governor Ziyād b. Abīhi was able to hold out up here against Muʿāwiya for a considerable time after ʿAlī's death; cf. *Wellhausen*, *Das arabische Reich*, etc. (Berlin 1902), p. 74. The Buyids, who not infrequently stayed in the region of Iṣṭakhr (cf. the inscriptions dating from their time mentioned above, at Takht-i Djamshīd; ʿImād al-Dawla [q. v.] was buried in Iṣṭakhr), paid particular attention to the citadel of Iṣṭakhr. ʿAḍud al-Dawla [q. v.] in the ivth (xth) century built on it a great system of cisterns, taking advantage of a natural pond already there, which could provide water for several thousand persons for a whole year and which aroused the admiration of contemporaries and of later generations. In 467 (1074) the rebel Faḍlūya, who had seized the government of Fārs, was besieged by the troops of Niẓām al-Mulk in the antiquarian of Malik Shāh in the citadel of Iṣṭakhr. An earthquake which suddenly caused the cisterns to overflow forced the besieged to a premature capitulation. Faḍlūya was then kept a prisoner in the fortress and put to death next year after an unsuccessful attempt to escape. The castle was later much used as a state prison for high officials and princes. About 1500 the citadel was still in good condition and inhabited. Some time afterwards a rebel general of Fārs took refuge in it and it was besieged by Shāh ʿAbbās I, stormed and destroyed. Pietro della Valle, who stayed here in 1621, therefore found it in ruins.

The citadel of Iṣṭakhr has so far been only rarely visited by European travellers, e. g. by Morier, Flandin (and Coste), and Vambéry. According to the account by Flandin and Coste, to whom we also owe drawings and plans of the citadel, it stands on a plateau 300 yards round, about 1300 feet above the plain. Of the old defences there have survived the powerful ramparts solidly built of stone; the great system of cisterns of the Būyids, among which a well hewn deep into the rock is specially remarkable, is still to be seen. All the ruins that survive seem only to date from the Muslim period. Cf. on the castles of Iṣṭakhr the accounts from Persian sources in Ouseley, *o. c.*, ii. 371, 376, 385 *sq.*, 389, 395—7, 399, 404—5, 497, 531; Ritter, viii. 863—5, 868, 873; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii. 71—72; Flandin's *Relation du Voyage*, ii. (1852), p. 140—2; Vambéry, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien* (Pest 1867), p. 250; Cl. Huart in *Revue sémitique*, i. (1893), p. 259 *sq.*, 337 *sq.* and in *Hist. de Bagdad* (Paris 1901), p. 28, 31; G. Le Strange, *o. c.*, p. 276; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *o. c.*, p. 114—5 (Pl. xvi. and Fig. 45).

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, passim; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 299 *sq.*; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 99; Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, passim. (s. Ind.); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā* (vers. lat. by Norberg, Lund 1818), i. 284—6; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, i. (1896), p. 13—16 (p. 13—30 on the Province Iṣṭakhr); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 275—6, 294—5. Full accounts of Iṣṭakhr-Persepolis are given from Oriental, mainly Persian, sources by Ouseley, *Travels of various countries of the East*, Vol. ii. (London 1821), p. 339—411. — C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschr. nach Arabien* etc. (Copenhagen 1778), p. 120—105; Ouseley, *o. c.*, ii. 187—191, 224—420; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 838—941; A. J. Rich, *Collected Memoirs* (London 1839), p. 231—261; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii. (Paris 1843 *sq.*), Pl. 57—112, and the accompanying Vol. of text, p. 68—155; Flandin's *Relation du voyage*, ii. (1852), p. 88—214; F. Stolze, *Persepolis*, Berlin 1882, 2 Vol.; do. in *Verhandl. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, x. (1883) 251—276; Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur pers. Geschichte* (Leipzig 1887), p. 134—146; Geiger in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* ii. (1896 *sq.*), p. 390 *sq.*; Justi, *ibid.*, ii. 447—456; A. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York 1906, p. 294—320; E. Herzfeld in *Klio*, viii. (1907), 1—68 (passim); Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910 (on Iṣṭakhr: see especially p. 100—2). — Of the old Persian inscriptions of Persepolis and Naḳsh-i Rustam the best accounts are given in Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* = *Vorderasiat. Bibl.*, iii. (Leipzig 1911: see also *o. c.*, p. xiv—xv, xvii—xx, the description of the monuments with references), and Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis* = *Abhandl. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, xxix. N°. 1, 1911. — On the Sāsānid monuments and inscriptions, see especially de Sacy, *o. c.*, p. 23—124; A. D. Mordtmann in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxxiv. 1 *sqq.* (passim); Nöldeke in Stolze, *o. c.*, ii. 3—6; West in the *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 76—78; Sarre in Sarre-Herzfeld, *o. c.*, p. 67—88, 91—97. — The best maps of Iṣṭakhr-Persepolis and its immediate neighbourhood are given by Flandin et Coste, ii. pl. 57 and 64.

[M. Streck.]

al-IṢṬAKHRĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī, an Arab geographer, whose biography is nowhere to be found, because in the geographical handbook ascribed to him, which bears the title *Masālik al-Mamālik* and is printed in the first volume of de Goeje's *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arab.*, no biographical data are given. De Goeje however has shown that his work is only a new edition of an older one by Abū Zaid al-Balkhī, just as later Ibn Ḥawḳal [q. v.] took al-Iṣṭakhrī's work as a basis for his own after giving up his first intention of only making some corrections to it, as al-Iṣṭakhrī himself, whom he had met in 340 (951—952), had asked him to do. It is thus at least certain that he must have lived in the first half of the 10th (4th) century. The text which was published in facsimile by J. H. Moeller as early as 1839 only contains a synopsis of the book.

Bibliography: De Goeje, *Die Iṣṭakhrī-Balkhī Frage* in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxv. 42 *sqq.*

ISTAMBOL. [See CONSTANTINOPLE].

ISTANKÖI, Turkish name for the island of Stanco = Cos; cf. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 435 *sqq.*

ISTĀR (στατήρ), a weight in the apothecary's or troy system, taken over from the Greeks and usually estimated according to two different scales. On the one hand we find the equations 1 *istār* = 6 *dirham* and 1 *dānaḳ* = 4 *mithḳāl* (an apothecary's stater); on the other, we have 1 *istār* = 6½ *dirham* = 4½ *mithḳāl* (commercial *istār* in the East). The first equation will only be correct if the coined *dirham* and the *mithḳāl* marjīl are taken $\frac{(2.97 + 2 \times 2.97)}{6} = 18.18 = 4.72 \times 4 = 18.18$); the second equation is approximately correct only if we take the coined *dirham* and the old *mithḳāl* (gold dīnār) ($2.97 \times 6.5 = 19.3 = 4.25 \times 4.5 = 19.125$). In both cases the result is a much larger amount than that of the usual Greek stater. The further ratio that 20 *istār* go to the *raṭl* (pound) is only true of the *istār* of 6½ *dirham* and the Baghdād *raṭl* of 130 *dirham*.

Bibliography: H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, s. v.; Don Vazquez Queipo, *Essai sur les Systèmes métriques*, i.

[E. v. Zambaur.]

ISTIBRĀʾ (A.) means the "inquiry whether the uterus of a slave woman is empty", prescribed by Muslim law. If a Muslim acquires a slave girl by purchase, inheritance or by any other means, the law forbids him to cohabit with her, until it is ascertained that she is not pregnant, in order that there may be no uncertainty about the paternity of the children. The prescribed period of waiting ends after the first menstruation or, in the case of pregnancy, after the birth of the child, and lasts a month for non-menstruating women. Further a slave, after she is manumitted, may only enter into a marriage after the expiry of the legal *istibrāʾ* period.

Bibliography: *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn* (ed. van den Berg), iii. 60 *sqq.*; *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb* (ed. van den Berg), p. 514 *sqq.*; al-Bādjūrī (Cairo 1307), ii. 182 *sqq.*; al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fi 'Khtilāf al-Aʾimma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 144;

al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Mīzān al-kubrā* (Cairo 1279), ii. 155; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 155.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

ISTIFHĀM (from the root *f h m* "to understand"; x. "to ask to be made to understand", i. e. to ask a question), technical term of Arabic grammar denoting "interrogation", "interrogative sentence". An interrogative sentence is nominal or verbal, and is subject to the grammatical rules governing the sentence in general. An interrogation may be indicated merely by the tone of the voice, but more often it is introduced by one of the interrogative particles (*ḥurūf al-istifhām*) *'a*, *hal*, *'am*, etc., or by an interrogative pronoun or adverb, e. g. *man* = who?, *mā* = what?, *kaifa* = how?, etc.

Bibliography: Sībawaihi, *Kitāb* (ed. Derenbourg), i. 39 ¹¹, 61 ¹¹ *sqq.*, 250 ¹¹, 394 ¹¹ *et passim*; and Ibn Yaʿīsh (ed. Jahn), pp. 1201—1204; Muḥammad Aʿlā, *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger), p. 1155-1156; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2453; Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, i. 274 A—276 D, 281 B—288 C, ii. 306 D—317 B, 336 B; Howell, *Gramm. of the Class. Arabic Language*, Part iii. pp. 615—624.

(ROBERT STEVENSON.)

ISTIḤSĀN (A.), i. e., to consider something *ḥasan* (i. e. good). This is the name given to a method of argument used in the Ḥanafī school to settle *fiḳh* rules in conformity with the requirements of every day life, equity or social conditions. The object of *istiḥsān* is much the same as that of *istiṣlāḥ* (i. e., to think that something is *ṣāliḥ*, i. e. in the general interest or most appropriate) applied in the Mālikī school. According to both methods, the results of *ḳiyās* (i. e. analogy) were often simply disregarded, when it was considered necessary or simply desirable to depart from the strict demands of theory. For this arbitrariness *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* are objected to by many and have never been generally recognised as reliable fundamentals in the science of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*).

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 206; do., *Das Princip des Istiṣḥâb in der Muhammedan. Gesetzwissenschaft* in *Wien. Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, i. 228—236.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

ISTIḲBĀL (A.), in astronomy means the opposition of sun and moon i. e. their relative positions when the difference of their longitudes is 180°, as is the case notably during an eclipse. *Muḳābala* is also occasionally used but this word is a common term among the astrologers for the opposition of two planets. The opposite of *istiḳbāl* is *iǵtimāʿ* = conjunction, i. e. the relative positions of sun and moon when they have equal longitudes, as is the case for example in an eclipse of the sun. In astrology other expressions are commonly used for the conjunction of planets among themselves or with the sun and moon, viz. *muḳārana*, *iǵtimāʿ* and *ḳirān*.

Besides these positions (opposition and conjunction), astrology further distinguishes the hexagonal (*tasdīs*), the tetragonal (*tarbīʿ*), and the trigonal (*tathlīth*) aspect, according as the angle between the two planets and the earth is 60°, 90° or 120°.

Bibliography: al-Battānī (ed. Nallino), ii. 349; *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger etc.), s. v. *istiḳbāl*, *iǵtimāʿ* and *ḳirān*; al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. van Vloten), p. 232.

(H. SUTER.)

ISTIKHĀRA (A.), the prayer (*duʿāʾ*) of a man who has not yet made up his mind, in order to be inspired with a salutary decision regarding an intended enterprise, a journey, etc. This term is connected with the first conjugation of the verb خار, especially in its use in phrases like *Allāhumma khir li-wa-khtar li* (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1832, 6); *khir lahu* (Ibn Saʿd, ii. ii, 73 11, 75, 4), *khāra 'llāhu li* (ibid., viii. 92, 15). The proverb *istakhir allāha fi 'l-ʿamal wa-stakhir lahu bi-ʿizzihi fi 'l-ḳaḍāʾ* (Ibn Saʿd, viii. 171, 16; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii. 106 *penult.*) is even given from the pre-Islāmic period, but it is hardly to be believed that such an aphorism could date from that time. In Islām the formality of the religious *istikhāra* consists of a form of prayer of some length, traced back to the Prophet in Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, nº. 10, *Daʿawāt*, nº. 48 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv. 202, 450), Ibn Mādja (Dihlī 1282, p. 99 *infra*) — the authenticity of which however is doubted even by Muslim critics, as Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *Fatāwī ḥadīthiyya*, Cairo 1307, p. 216 —, whereas Tirmidhī (Būlāḳ 1292), ii. 260, gives only the brief formula: *Allāhumma khir li wa-khtar li* (cf. Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, ed. Lucknow 1884, i. 315, 4) only as a ḥadīth of doubtful authenticity. It is introduced by two *rakʿa's* (*ṣalāt rakʿatai al-istikhāra*, Subkī, *Ṭab. al-Shāfiʿīya*, vi. 175, 6 *infra*). Directions are also given regarding the verses of the Ḳurʾān to be recited within the two *rakʿa's* (Nawawī, *Adhkār*, p. 56). In ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ed. Browne), i. 210, 14, people go to the mosque to perform the *namāz-i istikhāra*; but this is not obligatory. It is the rule that the *istikhāra* appeal should be made from case to case before a definite purpose, and not in a summary fashion (e. g. in the morning for all cases which may crop up in the course of the day) (ʿAbdarī, *Madkhal*, iii. 240 *infra*).

In keeping with the above mentioned traditional saying, Muslim practice shows the *istikhāra* in use from the earliest times. The oldest example, probably quite independent of that *ḥadīth*, seems to be *Aghānī*, xix. 62, 7 *sqq.* The poet ʿAdjdjādj (*Dīwān*, Nº. 12, 25; *Arādjīz al-ʿArab*, p. 120) praises Ḥadjdjādj, because he undertakes nothing without securing God's approval (*illā wa-ḳabla stakhārā*). And when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir enters on his office of prefect of the ʿIrāḳ, his father impresses upon him repeatedly in a letter of advice he sends him, to observe the *istikhāra* in all official business (Ṭaifūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, p. 49, 7, 52, 3 *infra*, 53, 4). In this way literature gives numerous examples of the custom that the Muslim before important as well as unimportant resolutions, in private as well as public enterprises, also conquerors before their expeditions, thought to secure the divine approval by *istikhāra*. This habit indeed is sometimes fictitiously credited to them, as for example when Muʿāwiya is made to observe the *istikhāra* before designating Yazīd as his successor (*Aghānī*, xviii. 72, 4). The Caliph Sulaimān tears up the patent of succession drawn up in favour of his son Aiyūb, when he feels that the salutariness of his decision was not suggested to him by *istikhāra* (Ibn Saʿd, v. 247, 6). Maʾmūn observes *istikhāra* for a month before appointing ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, Ṭaifūr, *op. cit.*, p. 34, 6). Cf. the lamp *istikhāra*

prayer of al-Muḳtadir on his accession (with four *rakʿa's*, ʿArīb, ed. de Goeje, p. 22, 14). In the *1001 Nights* in the tale of Uns al-Wudjūd and Ward fi 'l-Akmām the latter's mother performs a "*ṣalāt al-istikhāra* of two *rakʿa's*" in order to obtain an effectual indication in regard to her daughter's love affair (373th Night, ed. Būlāḳ 1279, ii. 260). The choice of a baby's name seems occasionally to be made after an *istikhāra* by the nurse (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii., 139, 1). There is no lack of examples to show that in deciding thorny theological questions the learned arguments were strengthened by *istikhāra* (e. g. Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 257, 3 *infra*). Authors in the introductions to their books very frequently mention *istikhāra* as the motive or excuse for the publication (cf. Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, ii. 288, 3). A story, of course quite unhistorical, makes ʿOmar II only allow the publication of a work of Alḳama b. Aʿyun which he had in his library, after he had exposed it for 40 days with an *istikhāra* at his place of prayer (Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, i. 163 *infra*).

The form of the *istikhāra* laid down by religious usage (*istikhāra sharʿīya*) is usually in actual practice accompanied by all kinds of forms not sanctioned in the Ḥadīth, for example the expectation of receiving the divine inspiration in a dream (*ὀνειρομαντεία*) after a prayer (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 16, note 4; Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 413) or strengthening the *istikhāra* formula by an auxiliary casting of lots, in which the alternatives are written on cards (Ṭalmasī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ḥikma*, Cairo, 1303, p. 100). Such additions are strongly condemned by rigid Sunnī orthodoxy (ʿAbdarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 91 *sqq.*). There is also the *istikhāra* by opening the Ḳurʾān (*al-ḳurʿa . . ., fi 'l-muṣḥaf . . . wa-mubādarat istikhārat*, in Ibn Bashkuwāl, p. 243 ult., cf. *Farādj baʿd al-Shidda*, i. 44; an anecdote on the subject is given by Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 125, 18 *sqq.*); other works (see Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 10, 17), as in the case of the *Sortes Virgilianae*, are employed for the purpose by the Persians, especially the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, or the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (cf. *Bankipore Catalogue*, i. nº 151). This use of the Ḳurʾān is likewise rigorously forbidden by most Sunna authorities (cf. Damīrī s. v. *Ṭair*, ii. 119, 1 *sqq.*, ed. Būlāḳ 1284; Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf al-Sāda al-Muttaḳīn*, Cairo 1311, ii. 285 *infra*): this custom in connection with the *istikhāra* has led among the people to an excessive use of *faʾl* magic with the Ḳurʾān, of which a full account is given in Lane, *Manners and Customs*[5], Ch. xi., i. 328. — There is a proverb *mā khāba man istikhāra wa-lā nadima man istashāra* (as *ḥadīth* in Ṭabarānī, *Muʿdjam Ṣaghīr*, ed. Dihlī, p. 203 *infra*). Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubairī in the beginning of the 4th (10th) century wrote a *Kitāb al-istishāra wa 'l-istikhāra* (Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, p. 744, 3).

Bibliography: The above mentioned Ḥadīth passages; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (Būlāḳ 1289), i. 197; Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf*, iii. 467—469; and the pertinent sections of the Fiḳh books. — Cf. *Journ. Asiat.*, 1861, i. 201; Note 2; 1866, i. 447; Phillott, *Bibliomancy, Divination, Superstitions among the Persians* in *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, 1906, ii. 339 *sqq.*; *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Oran* (1908), xxviii. Number 1.

(I. Goldziher.)

ISTIʾNĀF (A.) means in Muslim law: the performance over again from the beginning of a religious act (e. g. a *ṣalāt*) which has in some way been interrupted. If, on the other hand, only the part still to be performed when the interruption took place is later carried through, this is called *bindruʾ* (i. e. the continuation of an interrupted act).

Bibliography: *A Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (Calcutta 1862), i. 80.

(Th. W. Juynboll.)

ISTINDJĀʾ (A.) means a purification fully described in the *Fiḳh* books in the chapter on ritual purity. It is a religious duty (according to Abū Ḥanīfa, however, only a recommended action) for every Muslim who has attended to the call of nature. A Muslim is in general allowed to delay this purification until he is about to perform the *ṣalāt*, or has to be in a state of ritual purity for some other reason.

Bibliography: al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fī 'Khtilāf al-Aʾimma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 7; A. J. Wensinck in *Der Islam*, i. 101 *sq.*

(Th. W. Juynboll.)

ISTINSHĀḲ (A.), the inhaling of water through the nose, is considered by most *faḳīhs* as a *sunna* (i. e. a commendable act, according to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal however, a religious duty) both at the *ghusl* [q. v.] and the *wuḍūʾ* (i. e. the major and minor ritual purification).

Bibliography: al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fī 'Khtilāf al-Aʾimma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 8; al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. van Vloten), p. 10, 1.

(Th. W. Juynboll.)

ISTIṢḤĀB (A.), i. e. the seeking for a link (i. e. to something which is known and certain). This is the name of a process of settling *fiḳh* rules by argument, which was especially used in the Shāfiʿī school and with certain limitations among the Ḥanafīs also. This seeking for a link means the endeavour to link up a later set of circumstances with an earlier, and is based on the assumption that the *fiḳh* rules applicable to certain conditions remain valid so long as it not certain that these conditions have altered. If for example on account of the long absence of some one it is doubtful whether he is alive or dead, then by *istiṣḥāb* all rules must remain in force which would hold if one knew for certain that he was still alive. The Ḥanafīs only recognise *istiṣḥāb* in so far as it concerns the retention of rights already granted, the Shāfiʿīs on the other hand even where it is a question of assigning new rights. An absent man for example would not be recognised by the Ḥanafīs as legitimate heir to an inheritance falling due while he was away, but he would be according to the Shāfiʿīs, as the latter assume that even during his absence he can obtain new rights.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Das Prinzip des Istiṣḥāb in der Muhammedan. Gesetzwissenschaft* in the *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, i. 228—236. (Th. W. Juynboll.)

ISTISḲĀʾ (A.), prayer for rain. The treatises on canon law expound in what circumstances the *ḥadīth* prescribes the *istisḳāʾ* prayer as an obligatory act or leaves it to individual discretion. They also give details of the special ritual to be observed in this prayer. This ritual comprises 1. a prayer of two *rakʿa's* performed in the morning outside the town; 2. the faithful ought to put on ordinary dress, without elaboration or luxury; 3. the prayer

is followed by two *khuṭba*, of which the first is accompanied by a turning of the cloak (a sympathetic rite to produce a change in the weather); 4. the *duʿāʾ* which follows the prayer is a supplication for rain; 5. the usual *takbīr* is replaced by an invocation intended to implore God's pardon (*istighfār*). This prayer ought to be completed by a series of pious works recommended to the faithful (fasting, almsgiving). Prayers for rain by non-Muslims according to their religions (Jewish or Christian) are admitted and even recommended in orthodox Islām.

Rites and ceremonies to obtain rain are as ancient as man himself and vary not only according to different religious beliefs, but even among the different groups of human beings belonging to the same religion, as I have shown in my *Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de sécheresse chez les musulmans maghribins* dans *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publié en l'honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes, par les professeurs de l'École supérieure des Lettres et des Médersas*, Alger 1905, p. 49—98). The ceremonies and rites, rather varied for the Muslim countries and all, even in the orthodox ritual, much impregnated with animism and magic, may however be grouped under several rubrics: adaptation to the cult of saints; physical and moral sufferings which the faithful impose upon themselves; formulae, songs and hymns; rites relating to a kind of divinity of rain named *ghondja* or an analogous name in Barbary; sacrifices of victims and communal meals; sympathetic and symbolic acts.

In the article referred to, there will be found, in addition to useful bibliographical notes, references to analogous ceremonies in non-Muslim countries. There it will also be seen that for the Maghrib these religious services have rather the character of agrarian festivals and that they take place at a fixed period of the year, but not in every season.

Bibliography: Cf. also Goldziher in *Rev. de l'hist. des Rel.*, lii. (1905), p. 220—9; do. in *Oriental. Studien Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, i. 308—312, and in *Der Islam*, vi. 304; Nerlenhuber, *Aus dem Leben der arabischen Bevölkerung in Sfax*, Leipzig 1907, p. 26—29; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, diss. Leiden 1908, p. 140 *sqq.*; Juynboll, *Handb. des islām. Gesetzes*, p. 95; Biarnay, *Étude sur le Dialecte des Bettioua* (Alger 1911), p. 241—243; Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger 1909), p. 582—588.

(ALFRED BEL.)

ISTIṢLĀḤ (A.), i. e., to think that something is in the general interest. [See ISTIḤSĀN.]

ITĀʾ (A.), a term in prosody, meaning the presence of the same word with the same sense used as a rhyme at the end of several lines of the same poem.

Bibliography: Ibn Kaisān in Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, p. 56, 59 *sqq.*; Cheikho, *ʿIlm al-Adab* (Bairūt 1897); Coupry, *Traité de versification arabe* (Leipzig 1875), p. 185—9; *La Khazradjīya*, trans. with comm. by R. Basset (Alger 1902), p. 149. (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

ITĀḲ. [See ʿABD, i. 18.]

ITHNĀ ʿASHARĪYA (Arabic *ithnā ʿashara*, twelve), "the Twelvers", a name given in contrast to the Sabʿīya [*q. v.*], the partisans of the seven imāms, to those Shīʿīs who allow the series of twelve imāms and say that the imāmate passed from ʿAlī al-Riḍā to his son Muḥammad al-Taḳī, to the latter's son ʿAlī al-Naḳī, then to his son al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī al-Zakī, and finally to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who disappeared and will come again at the end of time to announce the last judgement and to fill the earth with justice. The series of twelve imāms is made up as follows: 1. ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā; 2. al-Ḥasan al-Mudjtabā; 3. al-Ḥusain al-Shahīd; 4. ʿAlī Zain al-ʿĀbidīn al-Sadjdjād; 5. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir; 6. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ; 7. Mūsā al-Kāẓim; 8. ʿAlī al-Riḍā; 9. Muḥammad al-Taḳī; 10. ʿAlī al-Naḳī; 11. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī al-Zakī; 12. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Ḥudjdja [see these names].

Such has been the succession which has been definitely admitted since the vth (xith) century; but this sect has not always been in agreement with itself, and at one time numbered no less than eleven parties, without special names but distinguished from one another as follows: 1. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī is not dead, he is only absent; 2. al-Ḥasan died without children, but he will return and rise from the dead; 3. al-Ḥasan nominated his brother Djaʿfar by will; 4. the latter died without leaving heirs; 5. Muḥammad son of ʿAlī is the imām; 6. al-Ḥasan had a son, two years before his death, who was called Muḥammad; 7. there was indeed a son, but he was born eight months after his father's death; 8. al-Ḥasan died without children and the world is without an imām, on account of the sins of men; 9. al-Ḥasan had a son, but he is not known; 10. an imām is necessary, but it is not known if he is descended from al-Ḥasan or not; 11. a stop is made at ʿAlī al-Riḍā and the coming of the last imām is awaited, whence the name Wāḳifīya given to this party, i. e. those who suspend their judgement regarding the imām's death. They were at first called Ḳaṭʿīya (Ḳiṭṭīʿīya), because, unlike the Wāḳifīya, they admitted the reality of the imām's death or, according to others, because they interrupted the line of the imāms at Mūsā al-Kāẓim, son of Djaʿfar, in order to keep it exclusively in the line of his descendants. Others admitted after Mūsā, the imāmate of his son Aḥmad, excluding ʿAlī al-Riḍā; it is also said that Muḥammad, the latter's son, being very young at the time of his father's death, had not been able to receive from him the training for the imāmate; others admitted his quality of imām, but asked which of his sons Mūsā or ʿAlī should succeed him. After ʿAlī the same question arose between Djaʿfar and al-Ḥasan. Those who admitted the imāmate of al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī were called by objectors al-Ḥimārīya because they describe the chosen imām as an ignoramus. After the death of al-Ḥasan, some adopted Djaʿfar, the pretended son of a concubine, al-Ḥasan according to them not having left any children.

The Ṣafawids, who claimed descent from Mūsā al-Kāẓim, made the Shīʿa and more particularly the doctrine of the Ithnā ʿasharīya the state religion of Persia, as it still is. After his accession Shāh Ismāʿīl (906 = 1500) gave formal orders to the preachers of Ādharbaidjān to preach the sermon in the name of the twelve imāms, and to the muʾadhdhins to add the Shīʿa formula: "I testify that ʿAlī is the saint of God". The troops were ordered to put to death any objector.

The cult of the twelve imāms has attained an extraordinary importance among the Persians; hypostases of the Divinity, they direct the destinies

of the world, and preserve it and guide it. With them all is salvation, without them all is perdition (Gobineau, *Religions et philosophies*, p. 60). Their ministry, their intercession (*shafā'a*) are indispensable. Prayers with special formula are reserved for them; Sunday is sacred to 'Alī and Fāṭima; the second hour of each day to al-Ḥasan, the third to al-Ḥusain, the fourth to Zain al-'Ābidīn and so on. Pilgrimage to their tombs (*ziyāra*) procures special rewards.

Bibliography: *al-Farḳ baina 'l-Firaḳ*, ed. Muḥ. Badr, p. 47; Ibn Ḥazm, cf. I. Friedlaender, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, Ind.; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, p. 17, 128 (transl. Haarbrücker, p. 25, 193); Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-Adyān*, in Schefer, *Chrest. pers.*, i. 151 *sqq.*, 184 *sqq.*; al-Djurdjānī, *al-Ḳāmūs*, ii. 280—3; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī (pseudo-Balkhī), *Kitāb al-Bad'*, ed. and transl. Cl. Huart, v. (1916), 132 *sqq.*; Ibn Bābūye al-Ḳummī, *Kit. Kamāl al-Dīn* etc., partly ed. by Möller (*Beitr. z. Mahdilehre des Islams*, Heidelberg 1901); 'Alī al-Baḥrānī, *Manār al-Hudā*, p. 314 *sqq.*; Khwāndemīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv. 5, 54; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, Ind. s. v. "Zwölfer". (CL. HUART.)

I'TIḲĀD is "belief" that a thing is so. It may be only in the sense of the English "thinking", the German "Glauben", or it may be a feeling perfectly assured, and so the word is used especially of belief in religious dogmas (Lane, Dozy, *Supplément*). It is then exactly equivalent to *taṣdīḳ*, firm acceptance in the mind of a thing as true, and is distinguished from *īmān*, "faith" in that some hold *īmān* to cover works (*'amal*) and confession (*iḳrār*). Al-Taftāzānī, in his commentary on the *'Aḳā'id* of al-Nasafī (ed. Cairo 1321, p. 7) explains that some of the revealed precepts (*aḥkām shar'iya*) connect with manner of action and are called *far'iya*, "derivative", and *'amaliya*, while others connect with belief (*al-i'tiḳād*) and are called *aṣliya* "basal" and *i'tiḳādiya* (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā Sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim*, Cairo 1311, i. 20; *Ḥāshiya 'alā Matn al-Sanūsiya*, Cairo 1283, p. 14 *sq.*; Luciani, *Les prolégomènes théol. de Senoussi*, p. 4 *sqq.*; *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s. v. *ḥukm*). In consequence *al-i'tiḳādāt* is used much in the sense of *al-'aḳā'id*, the doctrines of the faith. The exact scholastic definition of the word evidently gave difficulty. In the *Dict. of Techn. Terms* (p. 954) two uses are distinguished: one generally known, "firm belief", and a rarer, "conviction, certainty". The first is a mental judgment, absolute (*djāzim*), but susceptible of doubt (*yaḳbal al-tashkīk*); the second is a mental judgment, absolute or preponderant (*rādjiḥ*) and includes *'ilm*, "knowledge", which is a mental judgment incompatible with doubt or belief or opinion (*ẓann*). The second is sometimes called "certain knowledge" (*al-'ilm al-yaḳīnī*) and excludes "compound ignorance" (*al-djahl al-murakkab*), the ignorance that does not know that it is ignorance. Others distinguished the first *i'tiḳād* into two; that which corresponds to fact and that which does not. See ĪMĀN.

Bibliography: has been given in article. (D. B. MACDONALD.)

I'TIḲĀD KHĀN, title of a Kashmīrī named Muḥammad Murād, who gained such an ascendancy over the emperor Farrukhsiyar (q. v.) that he became his confidential adviser, received from him the title of Rukn al-Dawla I'tiḳād Khān Farrukhshāhī, and ultimately became his *wazīr*. When Farrukhsiyar was blinded and deposed in 1124 (1713), I'tiḳād Khān was thrown into prison and his property confiscated, but he was subsequently released, and died in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh [q. v.].

Bibliography: Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii. 700 *et seqq.*; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 469—473, 476—479; Ghulām Ḥusain Khān, *Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirīn* (Eng. trans. Calcutta 1789), i. 123 *et seqq.*

I'TIKĀF (A.) is the name of a religious custom of which the main feature is that the believer retires for a time from the world in a mosque. The *I'tikāf* is always considered meritorious (*sunna*) and is numbered among those good works which are recommended in the law-books to be performed during the last ten days of Ramaḍān, in order to participate in the blessings of the holy *Ḳadr* night. According to the Muslim tradition, the Prophet also used to spend the last third of the month fasting in the mosque in Medina. On the *Lailat al-Ḳadr* (Night of the Divine Decree) see Ḳur'ān, xliv. 2, xcvii. 1—5, cf. Ḳur'ān, ii. 181. The question what night is to be considered the *Ḳadr* night is not settled. According to the view of most Muslim scholars, it must be assumed that one of the last ten nights of the month of fasting (especially one of the five odd nights, *i. e.* 21, 23, 25, 27 or 29 Ramaḍān) is meant. According to others — and this was Abū Ḥanīfa's view —, there are no indications that the *Ḳadr* night belonged to this period of the year.

Bibliography: The chapter on the month of fasting and the *I'tikāf* in the collections of Traditions and the *Fiḳh* books; al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fi 'khtilāf al-A'imma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 50; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islām. Gesetzes*, p. 125. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

I'TIMĀD al-DAWLA (Arabic: support of the kingdom), title of the Persian Prime Minister under the Ṣafawids; also called *wazīr-i a'ẓam*, "great minister", *wakīl* ("Nabob", deputy) or *rukn al-dawla*, "the hinge of Persia". As the chief administrator of the kingdom he possessed far-reaching powers and no document of the king was valid without his seal; his position however was exceedingly precarious as his fate depended entirely on his master's humour. A controller (*nāẓir*, supervisor) appointed by the king assisted him as secretary. The residence of the Prime Minister was near the royal palace in Iṣfahān, in the vestibule of which he held his reception. At public audiences he stood on the right of the ruler and when the latter rode out through the city he accompanied him on the right, whence his epithet *wazīr-i rāst*, "minister of the right". His dismissal resulted in his banishment to some town where he lived as a simple citizen. His salary consisted of a definite sum called *ṣādirāt*, "fees", which he drew annually from the khāns or tribal chiefs whose interests he pledged himself to represent at court. In 1650 his income was estimated at 900 to 1000 tomans or £ 14,000 to £ 16,000.

Bibliography: Kaempfer, *Amoenitates exoticae*, p. 60 *sq.*; Tavernier, *Voyages*, ii. 290; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse* (ed. 1711), vi. 42; P. Raphaël du Mans, *Estat de la Perse*, p. 14, 15; Poullet, *Nouvelles relations du Levant* (Paris 1668), ii. 281. (CL. HUART.)

ITK. [See ʿAbd, i. 18.]

ITTIḤĀD, 'becoming one'. Muslim scholastics distinguish two kinds of *ittiḥād*, 1) 'real' (*ḥaḳīḳī*); 2) 'metaphorical' (*madjāzī*). The former class has two subdivisions, according as the term is applied *a*) to two things which become one, *e.g.*, ʿAmr becomes Zaid, or Zaid becomes ʿAmr; *b*) to one thing which becomes another thing that was not existent before, *e. g.*, Zaid becomes some individual who did not previously exist. *Ittiḥād* in this 'real' sense is necessarily impossible; hence the saying, *al-ittiḥād bāṭil* (or *muḥāl*). The 'metaphorical' class has three subdivisions, according as the term denotes *a*) one thing's becoming another thing by instantaneous or gradual transformation, *e.g.*, water becomes air (in which case the real nature of water is destroyed by the removal of its specific form from its substance, and to this substance the specific form of air is added), or black becomes white (in which case one attribute of an object disappears and is replaced by another attribute); *b*) one thing's becoming another thing by means of composition, so that a third thing results, *e.g.*, earth becomes clay by the addition of water; *c*) the appearance of one person in the form of another, *e.g.*, of an angel in the form of a human being. All these three species of 'metaphorical' *ittiḥād* actually occur. In the technical language of the Ṣūfīs, the name *ittiḥād* is given to the mystical union by which the creature is made one with the Creator, or to the theory that such a union is possible. This conception of the unitive state, like the parallel doctrine of *ḥulūl*, *i.e.* the doctrine that the Creator becomes incarnate in the creature, is generally regarded by the Ṣūfīs as heretical, on the ground that it involves homogeneity and is therefore inconsistent with the true notion of divine unity (*tawḥīd*), which admits no real existence except that of God. *Ittiḥād*, thus understood, presupposes the existence of two beings which are made one, whereas, according to the more orthodox mystics, human individuality is only a phenomenon that passes away in the One Eternal Reality (*fanāʾ fi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*). Sometimes the term *ittiḥād* is employed like the Ṣūfistic *waḥdat* or *tawḥīd*, in reference to the doctrine that all things are non-existent in themselves, but derive their existence from God and, in this respect, are one with God (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiya*, ed. by Sprenger, p. 3). According to ʿAlī b. Wafā (quoted by Shaʿrānī in *al-Yawāḳīt wa 'l-Djawāhir*, Būlāḳ, 1277 A. H., p. 80, l. 18 *sqq.*), the meaning of *ittiḥād* in the terminology of the Ṣūfīs is "the passing away of that which is willed by the creature in that which is willed by God".

Bibliography: *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans*, ed. by Sprenger, p. 1468; Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. by Fluegel, p. 6; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, translated by Nicholson, p. 254; Maḥmūd Shabistarī, *Gulshan-i Rāz*, ed. by Whinfield, ll. 452—455; Tholuck, *Ssufismus*, p. 141 *sqq.*; Macdonald, *The religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 258. (Nicholson.)

ʿIWAḌ (A.) means in Muslim law all that must be given or done as a guarantee of the fulfilment of what the other party is pledged to, in a contract of sale or other agreement.

(Th. W. Juynboll).

IYĀD, a great Arab tribe belonging to the Maʿaddī (Ismāʿīlī) group. Their genealogy is Iyād b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. The Bakr's, Anmār and Muḍar were consanguineous tribes of the Iyād. A section of the Iyād professed Christianity. The poet Abū Duʾād, famous for his descriptions of the horse, and the celebrated Ḳuss b. Sāʿida were members of the Iyād.

At first they dwelt in Tihāma up to the borders of Nadjrān [q. v.]. In the first half of the third century they emigrated in large bodies to Eastern ʿIrāḳ and thence to Mesopotamia. Among their settlements were: Anbār (they are said to have the first to introduce the Arabic characters there), ʿAin Ubāgh (behind Anbār), Sindād, Takrīt, Bandar Iyād (lying towards Kūfa), Bāriḳa, Dīr in al-Djabal (in the ʿIrāḳ), Djazīrat Zarād, al-Ḥaṣā, Khidād, Mawṣil (Mawṣila), al-Mustaʿid, al-Salawiya, Shibāk, al-Shiḳḳa (in the ʿIrāḳ), Sawwa 'l-Adjdād, al-Thaʿlabiya (between Mekka and Medina), al-ʿUdan. Among the waters of the Iyād were Laḳīṭ and al-Litb.

A section of the Iyād, probably before these large emigrations to the ʿIrāḳ, joined the Ḳuḍāʿa when the latter migrated from Tihāma to Baḥrain; another remained in Wādī Bīsha [q. v.]. We also find scattered settlements of the Iyād in Syria, e. g. in Antioch, Ḥimṣ (Emesa), Ḥalab, and in Greek territory at Ancyra (Angora in Asia Minor), Bagras (Πάγρας), etc.

History: Towards the beginning of the third century of our era a quarrel arose between the Iyād and Muḍar regarding the possession of the Kaʿba, which also involved dominion over Mecca, after the two tribes in alliance had driven the Djurhum from Mecca. The Iyād were defeated and emigrated to the ʿIrāḳ, where they established themselves mainly in ʿAin Ubāgh and in scattered settlements south of al-Ḥīra. During the first period of their sojourn in the ʿIrāḳ the Iyād were exposed to the invasions of Djadhīma b. Mālik of the Azd, whose rule extended over all the Arabs in the ʿIrāḳ. Djadhīma demanded from them the surrender of their relative, ʿAdī b. Naṣr; after long hesitation the Iyād submitted and delivered ʿAdī up, who then married Raḳāsh, sister of Djadhīma.

In the ʿIrāḳ the Iyād seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Lakhmid princes of al-Ḥīra. During the wars of Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ against the Kinda chief al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Ḥudjr we find them in Mundhir's train. At the beginning of the viith century the Iyād made inroads into Persian territory. They crossed the Euphrates. A detachment of Persian cavalry sent against them was completely destroyed by them near Kūfa [see DAIR AL-DJAMĀDJIM]. To defend himself against their inroads and to take vengeance on them, Khusraw (Kisrā) Anōsharwān sent an army against them under Mālik b. Ḥāritha, which is said to have included a detachment of the Bakr b. Wāʾil [q. v.]. In spite of the warning given them by their fellow tribesman, the poet Laḳīṭ, the Iyād were surprised and put to flight. The Persians followed them and, according to a tradition, inflicted a considerable defeat on them at the village of al-Ḥuraiḍiya. In consequence of their defeat, they are said to have retired into Syria. One section of them reached Byzantine territory at Ancyra, where they found others of their tribe already settled. An isolated tradition mentions a punitive expedition by the Persian king Sapor (Sābūr) Dhū 'l-Aktāf in the 4th century against the Iyād, but there is probably confu-

tion lay between Salīḥ and Kasr. In the battle of Dhū Ḳār (see BAKR b. WĀʾIL) they fought along-side the Ḳuḍāʿī tribes of Mesopotamia under Khālid b. Yazīd al-Bahrānī on the side of the Persians. A section of the Iyād had made secret arrangements with the Bakr and took to flight during the battle, thereby throwing the Persian lines into disorder. After the battle of Dhū Ḳār they, like the other Christian Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, remained a few more years under Persian suzerainty. In the battle of ʿAin Tamr (near Anbār) we find them on the side of the Persians along with the Mesopotamian tribes under Mihrān b. Bahrām Djūbīn. In the reign of Abū Bakr, in the year 12 (634), a large number of the Iyād, like many of the Tamīm and the Christian Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, joined the false prophetess Sadjāḥ [q. v.]. In the same year Khālid b. al-Walīd [q. v.] inflicted a serious defeat on them and the Persians, on whose side they fought, at Firāḍ (on the East bank of the Euphrates). In the caliphate of ʿOmar, in the spring of the year 17 (638), the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius made the last effort to regain the province of Syria, which had been lost to the Muslims. For this purpose he sent a large army which included Iyād along with the tribes on the Euphrates and Tigris to Ḥimṣ, the siege of which was begun. In the meanwhile the Muslims invaded Mesopotamia and conquered Takrīt, secretly supported by the Christian Arab soldiers in the city, among whom were Iyād, who then adopted Islām. When the Mesopotamian tribes besieging Ḥimṣ heard of a raid into Mesopotamia and the approach of an army, they abandoned the Byzantine army in order to defend their threatened homes. The Arabs in Ḳinnasrīn, Ḥalab, and other Syrian cities, who had previously joined the Byzantine army, negotiated secretly with Khālid b. al-Walīd and attacked the Byzantines, who were beaten and had to take to flight. The remnants of the Byzantine troops including Iyād retired to Cilicia, whither they were followed by the Muslims and almost entirely wiped out. When in the following year 18 = 639, Iyād b. Ghanm succeeded Abū ʿUbaida [q. v.] as governor of Ḥimṣ, Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, all the Mesopotamian tribes submitted and adopted Islām with the exception of the Iyād, who fled to Cappadocia in Asia Minor. Here, however, they only enjoyed their security for a brief space, for the Caliph ʿOmar demanded their extradition from the Emperor Heraclius under a threat of reprisals against the Christians in his provinces, and Heraclius was forced to agree. Four thousand of the Iyād then went to Syria and Mesopotamia and submitted to the Caliph. In later times we hear almost nothing of them.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, see Ind. s. v. and iv. 878; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, see Ind. s. v.; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), i. 685, 752—6, 1032, 1034, 1168—11, 1911, 2061, 2062, 2074—5, and Ind.; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 37; *Aghānī*, iv. 75, xiv. 41, 43, xv. 85—90, xx. 23—25; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Historia anteislamica* (ed. Fleischer), p. 192; Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 164, 283; Masʿūdī (ed. Paris), Ind. s. v.; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 2nd section: Ismāʿīl tribes, Table A. 4, and *Register*, p. 244; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme* (Paris 1847—8), s. Ind.; Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert* in *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxiii. 567 sq. (J. SCHLEIFER.)

ʿIYĀḌ b. MŪSĀ, ABU ʾL-FAḌL ʿIYĀḌ b. MŪSĀ b. ʿIYĀḌ AL-YAḤṢUBĪ AL-SABTĪ AL-MĀLIKĪ, known as al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, a Mālikī jurist, traditionist, historian, man of letters and poet, born at Ceuta on Shaʿbān 15, 476 (Dec. 29, 1083) and died at Marrākush, 7 Djumādā II (13 Oct.) or Ramaḍān 11 Dec. 544 (1149).

After studying in his native town he went in 507 (1114) to Cordova where he devoted himself particularly to Ḥadīth and attended the lectures of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAttāb and Abu ʾl-Walīd Ibn Rushd. His teachers numbered a hundred. He returned to his native town and held the office of Ḳāḍī where his administration was much appreciated. In 531 (1136-7) he became Ḳāḍī of Cordova but after a time again became Ḳāḍī of Ceuta. He was one of the first to welcome the arrival of the Almohads and went to Salā to pay homage to their chiefs, but when he saw in 543 (1148-9) that the Almohad dynasty was weakened by discords he fled from his native town and took refuge in Marrākush, where he died and was buried near the Bāb Aïlān.

Of the twenty works attributed to him we only know the following: 1°. *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ bi-Taʿrīf Ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā*, apologetic history of the Prophet, publ. at Constantinople, n. d. and in 1329, Cairo, 1276, 1312 and 1327 (var. ed.); 2°. *Mashāriḳ al-Anwār fī Ṭafsīr Ṣaḥīḥ* (var. ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ) al-Āthār, dictionary of rare terms found in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, *Ṣaḥīḥ* d'al-Bukhārī and *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Algiers, Fagnan, *Cat.*, n°. 549; Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, i. 420; 3°. *Kit. Tartīb al-Madārik wa-Taḳrīb al-Masālik li-Maʿrifat Aʿlām Madhhab Mālik*, biographical dictionary of Mālikī scholars, Zaouyah d'el-Hamel, *Giorn. della Soc. asiat. Ital.*, x. 56-7, Madrid, Real Academia, Codera, *Misión hist.*, p. 175, n°. 35; Part i., stopping at the end of 200, in my possession; extracts with transl. in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, i. 251—276 and 365—384, ii. 133; 4°. *Kitāb al-Ilmāʿ ilā Maʿrifat Uṣūl al-Riwāya wa-Taḳyīd al-Samāʿ*, theory of the transmission of *ḥadīth*, Aya-Sofya, n°. 433[bis]; Cairo, *Bibl. Arab.-Ḥuf.*, i. n°. 1567; 5°. *Ikmāl al-Muʿlim fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Constantinople, Nūr ʿOthmānīya, n°. 1035 and Rāghib Pasha, n°. 310; Cairo, i. n°. 1003—6; 6°. *al-Tanbīhāt al-mustanbaṭa ʿalā ʾl-Kutub al-mudawwana*, Cairo, i. n°. 983, al. n°. 686; 7°. *Bughyat al-Rāʾid li-mā taḍammanahu Ḥadīth Umm Zarʿ min al-Fawāʾid*, commentary on the story of Umm Zarʿ related by the Prophet, Berlin, n°. 1385-6; 8°. *Kit. al-Iʿlām bi-Ḥudūd Ḳawāʿid al-Islām*, exposition the five bases (*ḳawāʿid*) of Islām, probably Cairo, *v. s.*, i. n°. 1535, i.; with the comment of al-Kabbāb, Algiers, Fagnan, *Cat.*, n°. 570; 9°. *Ḳaṣīda* on the first 1st words of Ḳurʾān lxv. 7, Berlin, n°. 7691, i.; 10°. *Aḥādīth*, Cairo, Khed. Libr., *Fihr.*, vii. 295 (with anonymous commentary).

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5; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, Fās 1316, p. 172; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās 1309, p. 277; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās 1316, i. 154; al-Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-Riyāḍ fī Akhbār 'Iyāḍ*, i. (all publ.), Tunis 1322; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber d. Araber*, Göttingen 1882, p. 89, n°. 246; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, Madrid 1898, p. 218, n°. 174, and p. 505; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 369 *sq.*, ii. 700; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 232; Moh. Ben Cheneb, *Ét. sur les pers. ment. dans l'Idjâza du cheikh 'Abd al-Ḳâdir al-Fâsî*, n°. 90; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, Upsala 1917, p. 60. 112. 118 *sq.*, 147 *sqq.* (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

IYĀS b. MU'ĀWIYA was appointed ḳāḍī of Baṣra by 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and died at the age of 76 in 121 or 122 (739-740). He has become proverbial in Arabic literature on account of the many examples of ready wit and intuition (*adhkan min Iyās*, Freytag, *Prov. Arab.*, i. 593) related of him, which were collected by so early a writer as al-Madā'inī in a work (*Zakan Iyās*). In this way he has become a familiar figure in literature (cf. R. Basset, *Revue des Traditions populaires*, vi. 67).

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IZMID (older forms: ISKINIMID, IZNIKMID; in Ibn Khordādhbeh and Idrīsī: NIḲUMIDIYA; in modern times officially written IZMIT), the ancient Nicomedia, capital of the independent *Liwā* (*mutaṣarrifliḳ*) of the same name (cf. KODJA-ILI). The town was taken by the Saldjūḳs on their invasion of Asia Minor at the end of the xith century and belonged to the lands of Sulaimān b. Ḳutlumush (470—479 = 1078—1085) who had chosen Nicaea as his capital; shortly after his death it was recaptured by Alexius I Comnenus (Anna Comnena, ed. Reifferscheidt, i. 212, cf. 247, ii. 72) and, apart from the brief period when the Latin Emperors of Constantinople held the town (1204—1207), remained in possession of the Byzantines till it was taken from them by the Ottomans under Orkhan, according to the Turkish sources, in 727 (1326-26) or 726 (1326-7) or 731 (1330-31), according to Byzantine sources, in 1338; cf. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, i. 85 and 580; (for the legends associated with the Turkish conquest see Leunclavius, *Hist.*, p. 186-190; Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 34—37; Christo Papadopulos, p. 65 *sq.*). In 1399 Marshal Boucicaut had to turn back from the strong walls of the city (J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVe Siècle*, p. 371); in 1402 it was sacked by a body of Tīmūr's troops (Ducas, Bonn ed., p. 72). Under Turkish rule Izmid acquired special importance as an arsenal for the navy and as a yard for building small merchant vessels from the wood supplied by the rich forests of the neighbourhood. The arsenal, said to have been founded by the Kilidj 'Alī's, abandoned since the middle of last century, was to have been restarted again by English engineers. The population of the town may be put at 25 000, of whom the majority are Muslims, and the non-Muhammadan element is represented by a strong Armenian community (which immigrated from Persia at the beginning of the xviith century), several hundred Greeks, and a small Jewish community. Since 1873 Izmid has been connected by rail with Constantinople (terminal station Haidar Pasha; distance 70 miles) and since 1892 with Angora. — Only insignificant ruins exist of the ancient and mediaeval buildings; the Byzantine fortifications on the hill are better preserved, which Busbecq and Belon still saw in their original form in the xvith century. Of the Turkish buildings we may mention the madrasa founded by Sulṭān Orkhān in the upper city (originally a church, restored by 'Abd al-Madjīd); the mosques of Pertew Pasha, Muḥammad Bey and 'Abd al-Salām Bey, built by the architect Sinān, the baths of Rustam Pasha and the Khān of Pertew Pasha. The pleasure palace with park (*serāi baghčesi*) built by Murād IV has disappeared; another was built by Maḥmūd II and restored by 'Abd al-'Azīz. Among the Greek churches the oldest is that of St. Pantaleimon, said to be also the tomb of this patron of the city, destroyed in the reign of Murād IV, it was rebuilt in 1700 and again restored in 1861. In the neighbourhood of Izmid lay the Champ des Fleurs (*Čičeḳ Maidānī*), where Emmerich Thököly, prince of Transylvania, spent his last years, till his death on Sept. 13, 1705 in a voluntary exile (De la Motraye, *Voyages*, i. 309; Paul Lucas, *Voy. dans la Grèce, l'Asie Min.*, etc. Amsterdam 1714, i. 49); his remains buried in the Armenian cemetery were brought to Hungary in 1906 with his tombstone (cf. von Hammer, *Umblick*, p. 192).

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(J. H. MORDTMANN.)

IZMĪR (SMYRNA), the most important commercial town in Asiatic Turkey and the residence of the Wālī of the province of Aidīn. The form Izmīr (in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Yazmīr) corresponds to the form used by Western writers in the middle ages, *Smire*, Σμύρνη, etc. (Tomaschek, p. 28; *Zmire* in Ram. Muntaner, c. 202; *Ismira* in Schiltberger). On the incursion of the Saldjūḳs into Asia Minor at the end of the xith century the Turk Tzachas (Τζαχᾶς, only in Anna Comnena), the father-in-law of Ḳilidj Arslān I, who lived in Nicaea, established himself in Smyrna and undertook from there his campaigns of conquest against the islands of the Archipelago and the Hellespont. It was only after the Saldjūḳs were driven from Nicaea (June 1097) that Smyrna was restored to Byzantine rule. John Vatatzes Dukas, emperor of Nicaea (1222—1255), laid out the great system of defences on the Pagus hill (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, N°. 8749), which commands the town. After the dissolution of the Saldjūḳ king-

dom of Ḳonya, Aidin, Amir of Ephesus, seized the town about 1320 and it once more, as in the days of Tzachas, became the base for piratical raids against the islands of the Archipelago and the merchant ships of the Franks. To put an end to this the naval powers concerned combined under the aegis of the Pope and stormed Smyrna on Oct. 28th 1344 (Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i. 538). The Knights of Rhodes, to whom the defence of the town was entrusted, built at the harbour the fort of St. Peter, near the later custom-house, which survived up till about fifty years ago. The citadel, on the other hand, remained in the hands of the Aidin-oghlu: Bāyazīd I, who dispossessed them, installed a *subashi* (city governor) there. It was not till January 1403 that Timurlenk stormed the Frankish fort and drove the knights out of Smyrna (Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ẓafar-nāme*, ii. 464—477; Dukas, p. 72 *sqq.*; Chalkokondylas, p. 161, cf. von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, i. 332 *sq.* and 626 *sq.* After the withdrawal of Timurlenk from Asia Minor the adventurer Djunaid [q. v., i. 1063b *sq.*] seized the town; on his overthrow, about 1425, the town passed definitely under Ottoman rule.

The further history of the town is of little general interest. On Sept. 13, 1472, Smyrna was attacked by the Venetian fleet under Pietro Mocenigo, plundered and set on fire (Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, p. 207; Cippico, *Delle Guerre de' Veneziani nell' Asia*, p. xxvi *sqq.*; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, ii. 405). In the later wars of the Turks with the European sea-powers, the latter, in view of the numerous European inhabitants have repeatedly refrained from attacking the town, for example the Venetians in the autumn of 1694, when after the fall of Chios the Turkish fleet had retreated before them into the Gulf of Smyrna (Kantemir, *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, p. 649; Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, v. 175) and the Russians in 1770 after they had destroyed the Turkish fleet near Česhme (Ypsilanti, Τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, p. 466 *sq.*; cf. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, viii. 358). As a defence against such attacks from the sea, the Porte after the battle in the Dardanelles (June 26, 1656) in the war with Venice built defences at the narrowest part of the Gulf on Cape Sandjaḳ Burnu, called Sandjaḳ Ḳal'esi (saluting fort) or Yeniḳal'e, which was completely destroyed by the earthquake of July 10, 1688 and then imperfectly rebuilt. In modern times the batteries were remounted and mine barriers laid during the recent wars.

From the land Smyrna has been repeatedly ravaged by the turbulent Djalāli and Re'āyā, who were a plague to Anatolia from the beginning of the xviith century, e. g. in 1600 by the hordes of Ḳalenderoghlu and Ḳara Sa'īd (Sandys, *Travailes*, 6th ed., London 1658, p. 12; cf. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, iv. 398), in 1625 by Djennet-oghlu of Ḳarasi (Roe, *Negotiations*, p. 410; Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, iv. 55 *sq.*), and in 1736 by Saribey-oghlu of Khōnās (Pococke, ii. 2 p. 58; Ypsilanti, *op. cit.*, p. 334). Equally dreaded were the regular visits of the Barbary corsairs, who till the conquest of Algeria by the French had the permission of the Porte to recruit their crews from Smyrna and the neighbourhood (Dumont, *Voyages*, 1699, iv. 106 *sqq.*; Tournefort, ii. 198; Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, iv. 23, vii. 185, x. 233). The Jewish community of Smyrna produced in the xviith century the Messianic pretender Sabbatai Ṣebī, the founder of the Dönme [q. v.] sect (crypto-Jewish Muslims), which is still represented by a small body (cf. the contemporary narrative of Rycaut, the English consul at Smyrna, in the continuation of Knolles, *History of the Turks*, ii. 174 *sqq.*).

The town was twice visited by earthquakes and almost destroyed. In the first, that took place in July 10, 1688 (Ramaḍān 12, 1099), the Sandjaḳ Ḳal'esi was overwhelmed by the waves, most of the buildings collapsed, and thousands of people — at the lowest estimate 5000 — perished among the ruins (Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, i. 147a; Rycaut, *Turkish History*, p. 301 *sq.*; Carayon, *Relations inédites des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 291 *sqq.*; Pantinus Smit, *Vier jaren in Turkije*, p. 178 *sqq.*, 246 *sq.*; De la Motraye, *Voyages*, i. 182 *sq.*; Slaars, p. 76, 128). The second took place on July 3 and 5, 1778 and did equal damage, chiefly through the conflagration which broke out among the falling buildings (Björnståhl, *Briefe*, iv. 131—147; Slaars, p. 132 *sq.*). Almost equally dangerous was the rioting which broke out on March 14, 1797 as a result of a quarrel between Cephalonians and Croats, and spread fire and death through the town (Djewdet, *op. cit.*, vi. 270 *sq.*; Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, vii. 13 *sq.*). During the war of the Porte with Egypt, on Febr. 19, 1833, emissaries of Ibrāhīm Pasha, after he had defeated the Turks at Ḳonya (21 Dec. 1832) and advanced to Kütahya, occupied Smyrna for Muḥammad 'Alī but retired again after a few weeks (Rosen, *Gesch. der Türkei*, i. 174).

Smyrna is singularly poor in historical monuments. Nothing worth mentioning is left of the remains of antiquity. The amphitheatre and the circus, in which St. Polycarp, the patron saint of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom, were destroyed in the xviith century and the materials used to build the Bezestān and the Wazīrkhān (v. *infra*). The alleged tomb of Polycarp near the circus was changed into the grave (*türbe*) of a Muslim saint at the beginning of the xviiith century. The Byzantine castle on Mt. Pagus has for years been abandoned and left to decay; the old mosque and the great cistern (*bir dewi*), both presumably of Byzantine origin, are in ruins, and the historical foundation inscription of John Vatatzes, as well as the ancient colossal head of the so-called Amazon, which was formerly built into the wall over the entrance gate of the castle and formed the badge of the town, have in recent times been ruthlessly destroyed. The Turks considered this head to be that of Ḳaidafa, queen of Saba and therefore called the castle Ḳaidafa Ḳal'esi, which in the popular language has been corrupted into Kadife Ḳal'esi (Velvet Castle). Among the numerous mosques (ca. 20 large, *djāmi'*, and 40 small, *masdjid*) the following are specially mentioned: Hiṣār Djāmi' (said to be the old Frankish cathedral), Shadirwān Djāmi', Kestanepazari Djāmi' (traditionally said to have been at one time a Greek church), Kemeraltı Djāmi', Ḥadjdji Ḥasan Djāmi'; the large Wazīrkhān and the Bezestān were built in the years 1675—1677 by the Grand Vizier Aḥmad Köprülü. Other old *Khān*'s (warehouses) are the Derwīshoghlu Khān, Mādamā Khān, and the Ḳara 'Othmān-zāde Khān. A peculiarity of Smyrna are the numerous ... of the Frankish quarter, the so called *Ḳoḳhāne*'s (corrupted from *Ḳonaḳkhāne*). In the year 1808

(1696—7) a mint was instituted in Smyrna to strike ducats (*ashrafī*) and silver piastres (*ghurūsh*); it closed after a few years however (Fiḳhī, *Ta'rīkh*, i. 226; cf. Ismā'īl Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i 'Othmāniye*, nº. 597—600). Its great importance as a place of export for the products of the soil and industries of the interior (grain, figs, cotton, poppy seeds, opium, valonia, licorice, carpets, etc.) was attained by Smyrna in the 19th century. The goods of more distant lands, e. g. Persian silk and the camelots of Angora in those days and down to modern times found their way to the west via Smyrna. Numerous English and Dutch merchants settled there and the English colony has played a distinguished part in the development of the country, economic and cultural. Trade with Persia and Angora resulted in a considerable immigration of Armenians. The Jews (Sefardim) had the exclusive right to serve as brokers. The Europeans lived in the Frank quarter and conducted themselves there with the same freedom as in their own land. They were later joined by a strong community of trading Greeks, while the Muhammadan element was gradually driven into the back ground. Giaur Izmir ("infidel Smyrna") therefore became a name of the town; the quarter of the town inhabited by the Rhodians was already so called by Tīmūr's time in contrast to the upper town, which remained in the hands of Muslims (*Izmir-i Gāwrān* in Sharaf al-Dīn). — The present population is estimated at about 300 000, of whom 90 000 are Muslims, 110 000 Greeks, 30 000 Jews, 12 000 Armenians, 55 000 foreigners, including 30 000 Hellenes.

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(J. H. Mordtmann.)

IZNIK, the ancient and Byzantine Nicaea (*Niḳiya* in Ibn Khordādhbeh and al-Idrīsī), was besieged in vain by the Arabs in their first campaigns against Byzantium in 717 and 725 (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i. 397 and 405 *sq.*) and fell at the beginning of 1081 into the hands of the Saldjūḳ Sulaimān, son of Ḳutlumush, who made his residence there. The first Crusaders under Walther Habenichts were severely defeated before Nicaea in 1096 by Alp Arslān, son and successor of Sulaimān; next year, however, the town could not withstand the onslaught of the Crusaders, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, and surrendered on June 19/20, 1097 to the Byzantines in alliance with the Crusaders, in whose possession it remained till the Ottoman invasion. Sulṭān 'Othmān I is said to have attacked Nicaea, but it was not till the time of Orkhan that it was taken after a prolonged siege in 731 (1331); he moved his capital thither for a time ('Ashiḳpashazāde and Leunclavius, *Hist.*, p. 195; cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, iii. 508 *sq.*). In 1402 the town was taken and devastated by a raiding body of Tīmūr's troops (Ducas, p. 72; Sharaf al-Dīn, *Zafarnāma*, ii. 454), but it soon recovered from this blow, and it is described as flourishing and prosperous at the time of the rebellion of Prince Muṣṭafā (Leunclavius, *Hist.*, p. 525, l. 46); Bāyazīd II is said to have intended after the death of his father, Muḥammad II, to renounce the throne and retire to Nicaea.

The decline of the town began about the middle of the 17th century; the population then estimated at 10,000 (Grelot) has since sunk to 1500. The once flourishing manufacture of faience tiles (*Ḳāshī*), which Otter (*Voyage en Turquie*, i. 44) still found working in 1736, has now ceased. Only a slight memory of it, no longer understood, remains in the name Čīnilik (for Čīnī Iznīḳ, "faience Iznik"), which the town popularly bears. The present village occupies a small part of the area surrounded by the town walls and forms with its district a community (*nāḥiya*) of the Ḳaḍā of Yenishehr, in the wilāyet of Khudāwendigiār (Brussa), while Iznīḳ was formerly the capital of a ḳaḍā of the *eyālet* of Ḳodja-eli. The general decay has also affected the ancient buildings. The best preserved are the Roman and Byzantine walls consisting of a double rampart (best described by Prokesch and Texier, cf. Schneider, *Mitt. des Deutsch. Arch. Instituts*, Athens, xxiv. 398—400) with their monumental gateways and 238 towers (Texier). The Byzantine part of these defences dates from the time of Leo III the Isaurian, who had them built here after the Arab invasion of 726 (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, nº. 8664); Michael III in 858, and later Theodore Lascaris (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, nº. 8745—8747) completed and improved them. Of the foundations of Sulṭān Orkhān only a madrasa is still in use; the mosque (restored in the 16th century by Sinān for Sulaimān I) has with its 'Imāret been dilapidated for centuries; of the buildings of the family of Djandarli Khair al-Dīn Pasha, the Yeshil Djāmi' (built in 780—794 A. H.) and the mosque of Mahmūd Khātūn, dedicated to Ḳyzyl-Ḳashī Khān (flourished in the reign of Muḥammad II; cf. *Mitt. d. Seminars f. Or. Sprachen zu Berlin*, v. 2.

p. 164), are tolerably well preserved; the tomb of Eshrefzāde is still a much visited place of pilgrimage. Of the three churches which the Greeks still had at the end of the xviith century (Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 204), those of St. Theodore and of St. George have disappeared; the third, that of the Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου, restored in 1807, is a Byzantine building of the ixth century with additions of the xith and of interest on account of its old mosaic decorations.

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[J. H. Mordtmann.]

'IZRĀ'ĪL (in European literature one also finds 'Azrā'īl), the name of the angel of death, one of the four archangels (next to Djibrīl, Mīkā'īl, Isrāfīl). The name is perhaps a corruption of עזראל, which is given by Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 333, as the name of the prince of Hell. Like Isrāfīl, whose office of trumpet-blower at the last judgment is sometimes given to him, he is of cosmic magnitude; if the water of all the seas and rivers were poured on his head, not a drop would reach the earth. He has a seat (*kursī*) of light in the fourth or seventh heaven, on which one of his feet rests; the other stands on the bridge between paradise and hell. He is however also said to have 70 000 feet.

The description of his appearance agrees almost exactly with that in Jewish literature: he has 4000 wings and his whole body consists of eyes and tongues, the number of which corresponds with that of the living. He, however, is also said to have four faces.

At first he was an angel like others. When Allāh wanted to create man, he ordered Djibrīl to snatch from the earth for this purpose a handful of its main constituents. The earth, however, stirred up by Iblīs, offered resistance, so that neither Djibrīl, nor Mīkā'īl nor Isrāfīl could carry out the commission. But 'Izrā'īl managed to do it. On account of his hard-heartedness (*ghilẓat al-ḳalb*) Allāh then appointed him angel of death.

On account of his strength he is also master of death. When Allāh had created Death, he summoned the angels to look at him. When they saw his overwhelming strength, they fell down unconscious and remained lying for thousand years. Then they awakened and said: "Death is the most powerful of creatures". But Allāh said: "I have appointed 'Izrā'īl to be lord over him".

Several angels of death are mentioned, as in Jewish literature; and it is said that 'Izrā'īl deals with the souls of the prophets while the souls of ordinary men are under his *Khalīfa*. Special stress is laid on the beginning of Sūra lxxix. as authority for a number of angels of death: "By those who tear forth and by those who draw forth" etc. The former are said to be those angels who drag the souls of the unbelievers by force from their bodies, while by the latter are meant those who have to separate the souls of the believers from their bodies. The explanation of the verse however is not certain. In Sūra xxxii. 11 mention is made of the angel of death (in the singular).

'Izrā'īl keeps a roll of mankind. But he does not know the date of death of the individuals. Whether one belongs to the blessed or the damned, he sees from the fact that the names in the first category are surrounded by a bright and those in the second by a dark circle.

When the day of a man's death approaches, Allāh causes to fall from the tree below his throne the leaf on which the man's name is written. 'Izrā'īl reads the name and has to separate the person's soul from his body after 40 days.

But there are some people who strive against the separation, and object that the angel of death is acting arbitrarily. The latter then goes back to Allāh and tells him his experience. Allāh then gives him as a credential an apple from Paradise on which the *basmala* [q. v.] is written; when the man sees this, he yields.

Man also has other means of making it difficult for the angel of death to carry out his task. If the latter wants to creep into his throat to fetch out his spirit, the dying man recites a *dhikr* [q. v.] and thus closes the entrance. The angel then returns to Allāh, who advises him to try it with the dying man's hand. If the latter however is just making a *ṣadaḳa* [q. v.] the angel's entrance is again impossible. Finally however 'Izrā'īl writes the name of God on the man's hand. Then the bitter feeling of separation disappears and the angel can enter to fetch the spirit. — On the other hand, it is also said that he pierces men with a poisoned lance. Another account is as follows. When a believer is on his deathbed, the angel of death stands at his head and draws his soul out as gently as water runs out of a skin. He hands it to his assistants who carry it through the seven heavens up to the highest and then place it with the body in the grave (the soul's journey to heaven, cf. Bousset in *Archiv f. d. Religionswissenschaft*, iv.).

But if an unbeliever die, the angel of death tears the soul out of his body in the roughest fashion. The gate of heaven closes before the soul, as it is carried up, and it is thrown down to earth again.

Characters like Idrīs, Ilyās, 'Īsā and al-Khaḍir [q. v.], as is well known, were not subject to death. As regards Moses the same thing could not be asserted; but the Bible throws a veil over his death. Muslim tradition accordingly says that Moses defended himself against the angel of death, who came with the fatal message to him, and bruised his eye. Allāh said to the angel when he came back:

"If he places his hand on a cow, as many years are to be granted him as his hand covers hairs". "And then?" asked Moses. "Death", said Allāh. — It is also related that the angel of death came to Moses with an apple from Paradise; when he had smelled this, he died.

On an experience of Solomon's with the angel of death, see al-Baiḍāwī on Sūra xxxi. 34; on his visit to Idrīs, see that article.

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(A. J. Wensinck.)

'IZZ al-DAWLA, honorific name frequently assumed by Muhammadan princes, e.g. Bakhtiyār [q.v.].

'IZZ al-DĪN, honorific name, for princes often combined with the preceding (*'Izz al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn*). However, not only princes bear this name, but scholars also.

'IZZET MOLLA, Keçhedji-zāde Meḥmed, *'Izzet Efendi*, an important Ottoman statesman and poet in the reign of Maḥmūd II. Born in 1200 (1785-6) in Constantinople, the son of the ḳalpaḳ-maker Ṣāliḥ Efendi, he devoted himself to a theological and legal career, following in his father's footsteps. When he had reached the position of Mollā of Galata, he was subsequently involved in the fall of his patron Ḥālet Efendi, as he had written satirical verses on his behalf. He was therefore banished to Keshān near Rodosto. Pardoned a year later he regained Sulṭān Maḥmūd's favour, who chose him as a companion. Then received the highest religious offices. In 1245 (1829) he acted as a representative at the peace negotiation with Russia. His openly displayed bias in favour of peace at any price brought upon him the enmity of the war party, whose intrigues succeeded in getting him banished to Siwas. There he died soon after his arrival in 1245 (1829-30), of poison, it is said. One of his sons is the statesman Fu'ād Pasha.

In addition to numerous chronograms he composed two dīwāns, *Bahār-i Efkār* (Springtime of Thoughts), concluded about 1240 (1824-5), and *Khazān-i Āthār* (Autumn of Actions), only put together after his death. Neither transcends mediocrity. 'Izzet however won great renown through his two romantic Mathnawī: *Gülshen-i 'Ashḳ* (Rose-garden of Love), completed 1227 (1812), lithogr. Constantinople 1265, is a short romance on the old Persian model with a strain of Mewlewī mysticism. The subject matter shows a pretty and original imagination. But still more attractive is his thoroughly characteristic Mathnawī composed during his exile in Keshān with the ambiguous title *Miḥnet-Keshān* ("The Sufferer" or "Suffering in the place of exile at Keshān"). This is the poetical diary of an exile, in which ghazals, ḳaṣīdas and chronograms are scattered through the Mathnawī verses, and it gives an interesting insight into the world of ideas of a highly educated dignitary of the time and at the same time truthfully reflects provincial life in European Turkey at the period of the beginning of Maḥmūd's reforms. The work, the language of which is already remarkably national Turkish and is interspersed with Turkish every-day idioms, secures 'Izzet Mollā a distinguished place among the reformers of the language and the modernists. It was lithographed in 1269 at Constantinople. Ziyā Pasha also published it in his *Kharābāt: Türk Mathnawīyāt* (1292).

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'IZZĪ (Wak'a-Nüwīs Süleimān 'Izzī Efendi), Turkish historiographer-royal and poet. He was the son of Khalīl Agha, commander of the Baltadji Guard, and of Khadīdja, daughter of Aḥmad III, and entered the Imperial Dīwān as secretary. In 1156 (1743) he was appointed the seventh holder of the office of historiographer-royal (*wak'a-nüwīs*) in succession to Ṣubḥī. In 1160 he became master of ceremonies (*teshrīfātī*). He died in Djumādā II 1166 (March/April 1753) and was buried beside Sheikh Murād-zāde, who had initiated him into the Naḳshbandī order. 'Izzī left a *Dīwān* and a chronicle covering the years 1157—1165 (1744—1752). It was printed in 1199 (1784) as a continuation of Ṣubḥī's history. 'Izzī's prose is more praised than his poetry. But his style is the most exuberant and to us the most unpleasing of all Ottoman historians. His fondness for chronograms is notorious. He enjoyed a considerable reputation as a calligrapher.

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(Theodor Menzel.)

J.

JACOB. [See Ya'ḳūb.]

JAEN, situated at the foot on the north east of the Jabalcuz (= Djabal Kūz), west of the Guadalbullón, is the capital (1700 feet above sea level; 30,000 inhabitants) of the Spanish province of the same name (300,000 inhabitants), the area in which the Guadalquivir-Baetis takes its rise in Upper Andalusia; Andalusia is

the narrower use of the word (*al-Andalus*) comprises the whole basin of the Baetis and its tributaries and from west to east includes the five modern provinces of Huelva, Cádiz, Sevilla, Córdoba and Jaén, while Andalusia in the wider sense includes also the ancient kingdom of Granada, finally reconquered in 1492 by the Reyes Católicos, Ferdinand and Isabel, with the mountainous three modern provinces on the Mediterranean, Málaga, Granada and Almería, so that greater Andalusia corresponded to the ancient classical (Provincia Hispania) Baetica.

The name Jaén is derived from the Arabic Djayyān (in Spain pronounced Djeyyēn with imāla [q. v.]), the origin of which is unknown (old Spanish usually Gien), as Dozy's derivation from Gaëtanos (Edrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, transl., p. 248 *sq.*) seems impossible to us, especially as the ancient Ucia is rather to be sought on the Baetis itself near Andújar. Jaén is rather the ancient Aurgi or Flavium Aurgitanum, which still survives in Awrala (Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 400; ii. 180), if we read *Awriya* instead of *Awrala*. Awriyūlala is said by Yāḳūt to be the capital of the Kūrat Djayyān, also called simply al-Ḥādira, the capital. At the Arab conquest, the province of Jaén was colonized by immigrants from the Syrian Djund [q. v.] of Ḳinnasrīn. The most celebrated among its numerous scholars is the grammarian Ibn Mālik [q. v.].

The history of Jaén is naturally closely bound up with that of the adjacent capital of the western amirate and caliphate of Cordova, after the fall of which it formed for a time a small kingdom of slight importance until in 1246 it was conquered by the Ferdinand III the Saint, of Castile. In D. Miguel Lafuente Alcántara's *Historia de Granada*, based quite uncritically on Conde, the history of Jaén as well as that of Málaga and Almería is superficially discussed.

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(C. F. SEYBOLD.)

JANINA (*Ioannina*, Ἰωάννινα, Turkish *Yānya*), a town in lower Albania, on the west bank of the lake of the same name, at the foot of Mount Mitsikeli, 1900 feet above the sea-level. It was formerly the capital of the vilāyet of the same name. The palace of the Pasha and two of its mosques are situated on a peninsula which runs out to the middle of the lake; it was defended by several forts. It replaced the ancient Dodona which had become the see of a bishopric, and the ruins of which are still to be seen 12 miles away; after the invasion of the Goths under Totila in 551, it took the name Joannina, derived from that of St. John (ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης) who had become the patron saint of the town. In the reign of Sulṭān Murād II, after the capture of Salonika, the deputies of the town offered to surrender Janina to him, if he allowed the inhabitants to enjoy their privileges and liberties. The Sulṭān accepted their conditions, received the keys of the town and handed over to the deputies a *ḥaṭṭ-i sherīf*, signed with his own hand (1st Ṣafar 835 = 9 Oct. 1431); it is said that the ceremony took place at a place near Salonika called Kilidi (key). Eighteen officers under the charge of Sinān Beg were ordered to take possession of the town and to build outside the walls, in accordance with the treaty, the houses they were to live in; in spite of the pledge, the commissioners had the church of St. Michael in the middle of the town demolished and the fortifications dismantled, taking advantage of a festival celebrated in the church of the Pantokrator, they attacked the crowd and carried off the daughters of the best families. Janina had no particular history till the time when 'Alī Pasha of Tepe-Dilen [see 'ALĪ TEPEDELENLI], desiring to escape from the yoke of the Sublime Porte, made it his capital. He brought prosperity and life to the town, promoting agriculture and commerce. The siege of 1236 (1820) ruined the town. Of the 16 churches which formerly existed only six are left. The mosque of Aṣlān Agha was built in 1712 on the site of the ancient basilica of St. John; many ancient columns are still found there. Other noteworthy buildings are the Bairaḳly Djāmi' (the "mosque of the standard"), built by Bāyazīd II, and that of Muṣṭafā Efendi. Besieged by the Greeks at the end of 1912 it capitulated on March 6, 1913, and was definitely ceded to Greece by the Turkish Empire (Treaty of Athens, Nov. 14, 1913).

Local industries include the manufacture of blankets called *velenze*, fine carpets, a serge called *shayak*, slippers called *yāniya bashmaḳy*, mirrors, gold and silver thread, and garments embroidered with gold for the use of the Albanians. The population was given as 16,230 in 1874 by L. Moreau, French vice-consul in *Bull. de la Société de Géogr.*, 6th Ser., xii. (1876), 543 *sqq.* cf. *Petermann, Mitt.*, suppl. Vol. xxii. 42 *sq.* and *supra* i. 451ª).

The former province of Janina comprised the sandjaḳ of Yāniya, of Ergeri (Argyrokastro), of Prevesa and of Berat, and also, before the cession of Thessaly to Greece, that of Tirḥāla (Trikkala).

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(CL. HUART.)

JANISSARIES (Turkish *yeñi-čeri* [?], "new troops"), the name given to the regular infantry created by the Ottoman Turks in the xivth century, which became their principal force and rendered possible the vast conquests made in this and the following centuries. Their organisation goes back to Sulṭān Orkhan (726 = 1326), son and successor of 'Othmān, his brother and prime minister 'Alā' al-Dīn, and Ḳara Khalīl Čandereli [see ČENDERELI], brother-in-law of Shaikh Edebali. Before this time the chief Ottoman troops were, as in the Persian armies, bodies of horsemen called *akindji* (light cavalry); they were supported by infantry called in Persian *piyāde* and in Turkish *yaya* (foot-soldiers) who, although organised in companies of ten, a hundred, and a thousand men were in reality mere levies without any

great cohesion. It is Kara-Čendereli's merit that he created regular regiments of infantry at an age when mediaeval Europe was still at the stage of armed bands, before the organisation of the companies of archers in England, and a century before the first standing armies in France under Charles VII. It was very probably the contact with the legions of the Byzantines, although far sunk from their former glory, that gave the Turks the idea of supporting the Turkoman cavalry with well-trained infantry. But recruiting for the latter was carried out on entirely different lines, of which, moreover, the Janissaries are the only example in history.

In the article DEWSHIRME [q. v.] it has been explained how the Ottoman government used to levy from Christian peoples conquered by them a tribute of children, who were converted to Islām and educated in special schools and continued to be regarded as slaves of the sovereign (*ḳul*; the children of Janissaries married to native women in the Barbary regencies and their descendants are called *ḳul oghlu* "sons of slaves" [cf. i. 260ᵇ, 271ᵃ]). An institution of this kind was contrary to Muslim law which does not allow a sovereign to force the *dhimmī* [v. DHIMMA] to give their children into slavery; the Turks who were in the service of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs came from captures made on enemy territory (*dār ḥarb*) and not from conquered territory (*dār islām*); it was only possible to form the Janissaries by an act of the ruler (*ʿurf*), in disregard of canon law (*sharīʿat*).

From the first the new troops were under the patronage of the dervish Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh and regarded as affiliated to the religious order which he had founded (cf. BEKTĀSH and BEKTĀSHĪS); as headgear they were given a bonnet of white felt, to which there was attached behind a piece of cloth in memory of the benediction, during which the saint had left his sleeve hanging on the back of his neck. This bonnet had a wooden spoon as a badge. The names of the officers were taken from various departments of the kitchen: *čorbadji-bashi* (chief soup-maker), *ashdji-bashi* (chief cook), as we shall see later. The most sacred object in the regiment was the great cauldron of bronze (*ḳazan*) around which they assembled not only at meals but also to take counsel. Upsetting the cauldron was a sign of revolt, which became more frequent in course of time when, from the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad IV (1051—99 = 1641—87), the ancient practice of *dewshirme* fell into disuse.

The corps of Janissaries was called *odjaḳ*, "hearth"; it was divided into several tactical units called *orta*, "regiment", fixed in number and of varying strength (according to the period, 100, 500 and up to 3000 men); these *orta* were lodged in barracks called *oda* "rooms" (East Turk. *otaḳ*). In the field the regiments encamped under huge round tents on which were embroidered their distinctive emblems. Numbering 165 at first, the *orta* were increased in number to 196, not including 50 *orta* formed by the ʿAdjemi-oghlan [q. v.] and divided into three classes: *djemāʿat*, "reunion, assembly" comprising 101 *orta*; 2. *bölük*, "division", comprising 61 *orta*; 3. *segbān*, "huntsmen, hound-keepers", popularly called *sekbān*, to the number of 34 *orta*.

This corps was commanded by a general with the title *yeni-čeri-aghasi*, "*agha* [q. v.] of the Janissaries", who had a special residence in the capital and offices where the business of the corps was conducted. The Sulṭān was not obliged to choose him from among the officers of the *odjaḳ*. He was also in control of the police and of the maintenance of order in the capital; he was always followed by aides-de-camp carrying the *falaḳa* (see FALAKA). In war this general was preceded by a white standard surmounted by a horse-tail (*ṭugh*) and followed by footmen (*čoḳadār*) having the tails of their robes tucked up and fastened in their girdles. — The *segbān-bashi* was originally, as his name indicates, the chief of the *segbān*, but as, in time, the *orta* of the *segbān* were placed under the direct command of the *agha*, this post lost some of its importance; however when the *agha* set out for war at the head of the *odjaḳ*, the *segbān-bashi* acted as his deputy in the capital with the title of *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. The *ḳul-kiaya*, "superintendent of the slaves", commanding the *bölük*, was also adjutant to the *agha*; in war he was chief of staff of the corps; he enjoyed great influence, being chosen for the post by the Janissaries themselves and having the right, after reporting the matter to the agha, to appoint subalterns of a rank lower than that of the *čorbadji*. The other general officers of the corps were in order of precedence, the *zaghardji-bashi*, "chief of the bloodhound-keepers", commanding the 64th *orta*; the *muḥḍir-agha*, "chief of the ushers", who represented the interests of the corps with the Grand Vizier; the senior and junior *khāṣṣeki*, "charged with special duties", who were sent into the provinces to settle questions concerning the *odjaḳ* there; the *bash-čawush*, chief of the sergeants", commanding the 5th *orta*, the crier of of the council, who carried out its decisions and enrolled the recruits; the *kiaya-yeri*, "the lieutenant of the intendant", representing the *ḳul-kiaya* with the *agha*, who transmitted the latter's orders to the provinces; the *kiātib*, "secretary", who had to keep the registers called *kütük*, "tree-trunk".

The officers of each *orta* were 1. the *čorbadji*, colonel of the regiment, an expression which has survived in vulgar Turkish with the meaning "notable of a village"; 2. the *oda-bashi*, "chief of the barrack-room", adjutant to the preceding, who kept order on parade and saw that the rules were obeyed; 3. the *wekīl-kharčdji*, "controller of expenditure", who looked after the rations; 4. the *bayraḳdār*, "standard-bearer"; 5. the *bash-eski*, "chief of the veterans", the oldest soldier in the *orta*, who enjoyed great consideration on account of this title; as he was in command of the *ḳarawul*, "guards", he was also called *bash-ḳaraḳullukdji*; 6. the *ashdji-bashi*, "chief cook", the quarter-master of the regiment, having under his command the *yamaḳ*, "assistants", who was also head of the guardroom and of the prison of the regiment; his sign of office was a large knife; 7. the *saḳḳā-bashi*, "chief water-carrier".

The offensive and defensive weapons of the Janissaries varied at different epochs; we shall give here a few indications of their nature taken from Djewād, from a stock-taking made in the depot for old arms (Museum of St. Irene) in Constantinople: sling, bow and arrows (employed alongside of firearms until 935 (1528), according to Solaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 396, 429, 510, but kept as a sport down to our own times in the clubs of the archers called *ḳemān-kesh*, at the old exercise ground at the Oḳ-Meidān marble pillars mark the

thāmer of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd II's shot]; claw-footed and screw-jack and winding arbalests (*kem-ān*), javelin (*djerīd*), matchlock, flint-lock, blunderbuss (cf. Montecuccoli, *Memorie*, bk. II), pistol, bayonet (introduced in 1151 = 1738, then dropped and taken up again in 1168 = 1755), maces (*gürz*, *shishper*, *bozdoghān*), whips, flails, axes, scythes, halberds, bills, straight swords, for one or two hands, sabres (*kylyč*, *pāla*, *yataghān*), daggers (*ḥanǧer*), lances, bucklers, coats-of-mail covered in places with metal plates, helmets of copper or steel (the peak in imitation of the shape of a *fes*, terminating in a sharp point).

Each *orta* had an emblem which was placed upon its flags as well as upon the doors of the barracks; the Janissaries also had a habit of tattooing it on their arms and legs. Promotions in rank were always made by seniority. The Janissaries were only punished by their own officers; the punishments were imprisonment, the bastinado and death; in the last case the execution took place secretly at night at Rumili-ḥiṣār and the body was thrown into the Bosphorus with a cannon ball at its feet; a cannon shot however announced the execution of the sentence. Soldiers who became old and infirm or disabled, were retired with a pension; they were called *oturaḳ*.

The admission of foreign elements, outside of the recruits from the ranks of the *ʿadjemī-oghlān* [q. v.], gradually caused the corps of Janissaries to lose its value; the origin of these abuses dates back to the Sulṭān Murād III, who in 990 (1582) forced the *aghā*, in spite of the regulations and in spite of the resignation of the agha Ferhād, to receive into their ranks acrobats and wrestlers who had amused the people at the festivals on the circumcision of the prince who was later to become Sulṭān Muḥammad III. Since then individuals of every kind, to gain the privileges of the corps succeeded in gaining admission to it by patronage or purchase. In 1153 (1740) the authority to deal in salaried offices (*ʿulūfe*) which anyone could buy or sell, completed the ruin of the Janissaries as a military force. Those who were really soldiers no longer drew their pay but lived by exactions; soon hardly a dozen were found in every body of police to keep order in the streets and take their pay from the passers by.

Mutinies were frequent under the pretext of claiming an accession gift (*bakhshīsh*) which the Sulṭān used to distribute to the troops on his enthronement, since the abortive attempt, energetically suppressed, which the Janissaries made against Sulṭān Muḥammad II, on the occasion of his second reign (855 = 1451). From the time of the assassination of Sulṭān ʿOthmān II (1031 = 1622) the Janissaries played a part in politics, terrorised sovereigns, made and unmade grand viziers. They served as the tools of the factious, who remained in the background, escaping responsibility. The only exception was the glorious reign of Murād IV (1032—49 = 1623—40) who restored their discipline. The unfortunate wars against Russia at the end of the xviii[th] century persuaded the authorities that they ought to replace this useless and degenerate institution, incapable of reforming itself and ready to impede all progress, by new military formations. Sulṭān Selīm III, acting on the decisions of a grand council, decided to form a regular army on the estate of Levend-Čiftlik, lying on the heights of Orta-köi and Arnaut-köi (Bosphorus, on the European side) under the name of *niẓām-i djedīd* (new organisation). This attempt at reform, unpopular and opposed by the Janissaries, who did not wish to submit to military drill, led to the rebellion of Kabakči and the imprisonment of Selīm III in the Serāi, where he was not long in being assassinated. Bairaḳdār Pasha in vain gave the name *segbān* to the new militia, he had resolved to form, for it did not survive its creator.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd II finding himself pressed by the Russians, Egyptians and revolted Greeks, resolved to take up his brother's plans again; he created a body of regular soldiers who were called *eshkendji* "active soldiers", reviving an old designation given to the Janissaries when on active service; but the announcement of the beginning of regular drill provoked a mutiny (9[th] Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, 1241 = 10[th] June 1826) on the Et-Meidān (the meat-square) in the centre of the barracks. The Sulṭān at once went in a caique to the Serāi, consulted the ʿulamā, brought out the standard of the Prophet and summoned the Muslim population, victims of the exactions of the Janissaries, to come and fight them. The gunners and marines of the navy, formed one column; the bombardiers and sappers formed a second and marched on the Et-Meidān. The great gate was barricaded but soon fell before the canon; the barracks were set on fire and the rebels overwhelmed. A great assembly, whose decision was ratified by an imperial firman, pronounced the complete suppression of the Janissaries. Since then the Ottoman empire has been able to create a regular army modelled on those of Europe.

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(Cl. Huart.)

JAPHET. [See Yāfith.]

JAVA, the most important island in the Malay Archipelago, 2390 geographical square miles in area, in 5° south. Lat. is oblong in form, as it lies with Sumatra and the Little Sunda Islands on the southern Sunda fold mountains [see Indies (Dutch)]. In contrast to the western (Sumatra) and the eastern (Timor) end, the oldest rocks on the island of Java are entirely covered by tertiary and later volcanic products and coral limestones. The latter show that the island was at one time for the most part sunk below the sea-level and was afterwards raised at least 4000 feet; the former come from the 109 volcanoes of the island of which 13 are still ac-

tive, and cause by their weathering the great fertility of the plains and of the slopes of the volcanoes. The two groups of rock are fairly equally distributed in the mountains of the island. Flat country is found almost only along the north coast as the swell and the depth of the Indian Ocean prevents its formation in the south. The rivers are very numerous, almost all flow north and are of no great length. They are therefore of no importance for navigation except the largest, such as the Solo or Bengawan and the Brantas in Eastern Java. But they give the water to irrigate the ricefields and are therefore of economic importance.

The oblong shape, the fertility and the excellent climate of the island have all contributed much to its great economic development. As early as the beginning of the xixth century a road was made along the north coast for military purposes by Governor-General Daendels. Since then there has developed the system of roads between the chief towns of the interior, which has been supplemented in the last quarter of last century by railways. At the end of 1917, the state railways in the west amounted in length to 1240 kilometres, in the east to 989, and in Central Java there is a privately owned line 262 kilometres long. The tramlines of the whole island measure 2135 km. (1 km. to each 58.4 sq. km. and to 7350 inhabitants). On the north coast there are harbours at Tandjong Priok near Batavia and at Surabaya and in the south at Tjilatjap. Other trading centres like Cheribon and Samarang in the north and Patjitan in the south have only natural roadsteads.

The island of Java enjoys a very favourable tropical climate without excessive heat or drought. The average temperature of the coast towns is 26°—27° C., the daily and annual variation does not exceed 5° C. The monsoon climate of the Dutch Indies [q. v.] prevails here only in a modified form; as it becomes narrower towards the west, Western Java enjoys a more regular rainfall than Eastern Java, where during our summer months little rain falls in the plains. The annual rainfall amounts in low-lying districts like Batavia to at least 80 inches and rises to 178 inches at a height of 875 feet at Buitenzorg, while in isolated estates in the northern mountains of Central Java up to 360 inches is recorded. Its climate and fertility give Java a luxuriant vegetation which in the west displays the character of the tropical rain forests and towards the east with trees like *Tectona grandis* (teak) and, in the cool zone, with pines like *Casuarina*, approximates to the monsoon forests. In consequence of the dense population and the European settlements these forests have been almost entirely uprooted except in the southwest and east, and therefore great floods occur in the rainy season. The high slopes of the mountains are well fitted for intensive agriculture, of which the tropical zone (in West Java up to 2100 feet and 27°—23° C. temp.) bears plants like rice, sugar-cane, tobacco, coffee, indigo, rubber, sweet potatoes, palms, screw-pines and mangrove forests, the subtropical (up to 5000 feet and 23°—18° C.) plants like tea, coffee and cinchona, European potatoes and vegetables, the cool (up to 8200 feet and 18°—15° C.) coffee, oaks and other trees of temperate climates. Above 8200 feet, mosses and lichens are found. The fauna of Java belongs to the Asiatic zone of India [v. INDIA]. Among the larger kinds are apes, tigers, panthers, rhinoceros, wild cattle, deer and wild boar.

The earliest mention of the name Java is found in a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which Kern dates about 150. There Yavadvipa appears as the island of gold. About the same time Ptolemy (vii. 2, 29) mentions the island of Iabadiu as very fertile and yielding much gold. He interprets the name as barley-island, which is literally correct, but as barley does not grow on Java, the equally possible interpretation millet island may be more appropriate. How far these names agree with the modern geographical denotation is not clear. Java and Sumatra or a part of it are apparently regarded as a whole. (Cf. H. Kern, *Java en het Goudeiland volgens de oudste berichten*, and *De naamsoorsprong van Java*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, v. [The Hague 1916], 303—21.) In the old Javanese inscriptions of King Er-Langga of the 1031 the name is Yawa and in the Kawi poem *Nagarakṛtāgama* (1365) Java alternates with Yava as the name of the island.

The oldest Arabic source in which we find the name Djāwa seems to be Yāḳūt's (d. 626 = 1228) *Mu'djam*. But here as in some other sources it is not quite clear, what is to be understood by it, as the mention of an article of export like camphor points to Sumatra. From the time of Ibn Sa'īd (viith = xiiith century) Djāwa is usual as a name for Sumatra (Rashīd al-Dīn, Abu 'l-Fidā', Ibn Baṭṭūṭa), but in 'Alī Ra'īs (1554) we find Djāwa for Java. But so early a writer as Ibn Khordādhbeh (272 = 885/6) gives Djāba as the name for the island of Java (ed. de Goeje, trans. p. 46) and it is found in several later works (Ibn Wāṣif Shāh, al-Idrīsī, al-Ḳazwīnī, Ibn al-Wardī, Ibn Khaldūn). The name Java is also concealed in the name Zābadj, which most probably arose out of Djāwaga (Javaga) and means Javanese (Malay) (see H. Kern *Verspr. Geschriften*, iii. (The Hague 1915), 283 sq., and *Iabadiou* in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl.-Indië*, 7th Ser. iv [1905], 365 sq., cf. thereon C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Een mislukt Arabisch prinsje*, in *Tijdschr. voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xliii [1900], 85 sqq.). Al-Zābadj however refers sometimes to Central and South Sumatra and sometimes to Java and occasionally comprises the whole archipelago. Cf. on the above: *Relations de Voyages et Textes géogr. arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, trans. by G. Ferrand, i., ii., Paris 1913—14; G. P. Rouffaer, Article *Tochten (Oudste Ontdekkings-)* in *Encycl. van Nederl.-Indië*, 1st ed., iv. 363 sqq.). See also the article DJĀWA.

The trading journeys made by the Hindus along the coast, in dependence on the monsoon, to the Malay archipelago on the way to the Spice Islands, touched at this island also, which soon came to bear their most important colonies, presumably because of its fertility and the shelter offered by its north coast. The great accessibility of the interior enabled the Hindu peoples to settle here also, and thus their power and culture expanded quite early over this Malay island. A Chinese source mentions the presence of Hindus on the island of Java in the year 132 A. D. (cf. G. Ferrand, *Le K'ouen-Louen* etc., *Journ. Asiatique*, 11th Ser., xiii. 155 sq.). At a later period the Chinese Buddhist Monk Fa Hien says that in 414 A. D. he found many Hindus but few Buddhists on

this island, which he calls Yavadi. This Hindu period comes down to Portuguese times but offers great difficulty to the historian as literary and oral traditions have been distorted almost to unintelligibility by fantastic additions. The best data are afforded by the numerous ruins of temples, statues, copper plates (often charters of endowment) and bronze objects with inscriptions and dates, which are found principally in central and eastern Java. They are even sufficient to enable us to sketch the changing political conditions in this Hindu period. Only a few engraved stones are older than 700 A. D., and some copper-plates from Central and Eastern Java, of which the oldest are one of the year 732 from Central Java and another of 760 from Eastern Java.

Numerous inscriptions dated later than 760 exist and are evidence of a flourishing state of Hindu civilisation in Central Java which lasted to the year 860. Eastern Java then came into prominence. It has been established that the celebrated kings Sindok, Airlangga and Djaya-Bhaya ruled here in the xth, xith and xiith centuries. In 1222 the kingdom of Singasari in Pasuruan gained the ascendancy over that of Daha in Kediri. In 1294 arose the kingdom of Mādjapahit in Surabaya, which afterwards became a great power in the Archipelago. The latter existed down to the beginning of the xvith century.

The temple ruins by their situation and architecture considerably increase the importance of these facts. They may be divided into two groups, an older in Central Java and a younger in East Java. Both are rich in marvellous buildings, which however are executed in different styles. In Central Java they are built of tufa and are closely related to Hindu architecture in British India; in Eastern Java, on the other hand, they are mainly of bricks, and here a more independent Javanese style has developed, which shows Chinese influence. Of the latter we only know that the Emperor Khubilai of China in 1293 sent a military expedition to Eastern Java, which was only partially successful. We have only a few small antiquities from Western Java.

In Central Java are the ruins of the Buddhist temples of Bārā Budur, Tjandi Mĕndut, Tjandi Kalasan, Tjandi Sari, Tjandi Sewu and the Śivaite Tjandi Prambanan. In Eastern Java the most important are Tjandi Panataran, Tjandi Singhasari and Tjandi Tumpang or Djago.

Ruins like those of Bārā Budur are among the most beautiful Buddhist ones. From the mixed character of their very numerous statues of gods and religious and profane reliefs, it is clear that, as still the case on the island of Bali [q. v.], Brahmanism and Buddhism on Java were closely connected and existed side by side. The Buddhism of the Javanese at that time was of the Mahāyāna school.

In addition to these remains in stone, numerous objects in bronze, gold and silver, such as statues of deities, temple bells, plates etc., are found buried in the ground. Only few remains of secular buildings, even of royal palaces, have been discovered; probably these were of wood and other perishable material. (Cf. on archaeology and epigraphy, the works of Cohen Stuart, H. Kern, J. Brandes and N. J. Krom).

The above remarks show us how highly developed must have been the civilisation and how flourishing the prosperity of the island to enable so many costly works to be erected. In view of the lengthy period of their existence in Java it is not surprising that these Hindu kingdoms exercised a transforming influence on the Javanese culture. We shall probably not be wrong if we assume that the Javanese at the beginning of the Hindu period were probably in about the same stage of culture as the modern Dayaks or Toradja. It seems however certain that even then they knew how to grow rice on irrigated fields, as the technical terms used in this connection are not of Sanskrit but of Indonesian origin. But it must have been considerably advanced by the Hindus.

The formation of despotic Hindu kingdoms among Indonesian tribes organised on a patriarchal system was also of economic importance, as on the one hand it abolished the great insecurity and isolation of these tribes and secondly brought the masses of the people under the rule of their kings and nobles. The latter brought about the development of native arts and crafts whose ornamental motifs are still Hinduistic. That architecture and sculpture were greatly stimulated is shown by their products, temples and statues, and their disappearance after the introduction of Islām. Foreign trade arose through communications with the outer world in the West, and Java became the centre of the wholesale trade in spices, precious stones, timbers, cotton, etc. The Javanese still use an Indian alphabet and the vocabulary of their language contains a large number of Hindu words and expressions. The introduction of writing was of the greatest importance for the advancement of civilisation and on it is based the literary development of the modern Javanese.

When the Brahman sects finally attained preponderance in the island of Java, they gradually introduced the caste system in the form in which it is still found on the island of Bali. With the introduction of Islām this distinction of the classes disappeared. The gulf that exists between the common people and the nobility and official classes with the princes at their head and the submissiveness of the former must be regarded as consequences of the caste system. They are foreign to the aboriginal Indonesians.

Islām spread to Java from Malacca, into which it had been introduced by merchants from India (such as Persians and Gujarathi), and was predominant in the beginning of the xvith century. Besides the Indians, after the rise of Malacca, Malay traders also by their residence in Java created an opening for Islām. Around the families founded by such merchants at the ports, communities of native believers gradually grew up, which finally developed into small states. Influential traders no doubt succeeded in entering into close relations with princes of the seaports through marriage, whereby Islām could gain influence in the upper circles. The relations of the Mādjapahit kingdom to its vassal states also gave occasion for the advance of Islām; it is often reported that princes of Mādjapahit married Muslim princesses of conquered or allied states. At the same time commerce between Java and the states dependent on the island (Pasai) and an important commercial town like Malacca contributed in no small degree to the spread of Islām. In the last named place there was about 1500 large settlements of Javanese who were for the most part Muslims, according to Portuguese accounts. The same in

doubt influenced their mother country in religious matters. Influences like the above were of all the more effect in a period when there was no strong central authority in the kingdom of Mādjāpahit.

Following the trade route Islām first gained a footing on the coast of Eastern Java. There, in the xivth century, Tuban was the most important harbour of Mādjāpahit and in the following century the most important commercial town next to Grēsik. The oldest relic of the Muslim settlement in Java is the tomb of a certain Fāṭima bint Maimūn, d. 475 or 495 (1082/3 or 1101/2), in Lēran. The tomb of Mālik Ibrāhīm in Grēsik dates from 822 (1419); according to native tradition, he was a merchant. According to a statement of a Chinese Muslim, there were in 1416 not yet any native Muhammadans, but a settlement of Muslims who had come from the West and a group of Chinese, some of whom were converts to Islām. In view of the position of Islām in the Moluccas about 1450, it is very probable that about the same time the Muslims "were beginning to assert their influence in Java also in the coast region from Djapara(?) to Surabaya, Tuban and Grēsik particularly". In the course of the next fifty years the communities of native Muslims with the support of immigrant Muhammadans developed into small states on the coast, which soon endeavoured to assume authority over Eastern Java. (On the above cf. B. J. O. Schrieke, *Het Boek van Bonang*, Leiden dissertation, Utrecht 1916, p. 1—30 and the literature there quoted; H. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw*, Leiden diss. 1921).

Legend ascribes the conversion of Java to Islām to the joint activity of eight or nine *walīs*. The names of these saints who are called by the honorific title *sunan* (*susuhunan*) and are usually named after their place of burial or activity, are as follows: (1) The already mentioned Mālik Ibrāhīm (also called Mawlānā Maghrabī) who died in 1419. (2) Sunan Ngampel (Raden Raḥmat) who about 1450 married a princess of the family ruling at Tuban and died about 1470. His tomb is in Ngampel (Surabaya). (3) Sunan Bonang, son of Sunan Ngampel's marriage with the Tuban princess and born probably about 1465. His activity in Tuban, probably as head of the Muslim community there, must fall between 1475 and 1500. He perhaps lived to about 1525. His tomb is shown in two different places (cf. Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ff.). (4) Sunan Giri (Raden Paku), who is considered the ancestor of the so-called priest-kings of Giri and whose tomb is on the hill of Giri near Grēsik. (5) Sunan Gunung Djati, who left his native place Pasei in 1521 and after his studies in Mecca came to Djapara and probably also to Dēmak; he had great success with his religious teaching and he married a sister of the king of Dēmak. He then went to Bantĕn, where with the help of his brother-in-law he succeeded in gaining power. In 1527 he took Sunda Kalapa from the king of Padjadjaran, at whose expense he gradually extended his power. He finally settled in Tjirĕbon where he died about 1570; his tomb is to be seen near by on the hill called Gunung Djati. (See Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten*, Leiden Diss. 1913, Haarlem 1913, Index s. v. Goenoeng Djati). 6. Sunan Kudus, buried in Kudus (Res. Sĕmarang). 7. Sunan Muria, called after his tomb in the Muria Hills (Djapara). 8. Sunan Drādjat, a second son of Sunan Ngampel; his tomb is in the desa Dradjat on the road from Tuban to Sedayu. 9. Sunan Kali Djaga, whose tomb is in Kadilangu (Sĕmarang) (on him cf. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *op. cit.*, Index). — These nine, it should be noted, are also given with partly varying names (cf. the article *Heiligen* in *Encyclop. van Nederlandsch-Indië*², ii., and the literature quoted there).

About 1520 a coalition of Muslim kings of the coast states under the leadership of the king of Dēmak, Raden Patah, destroyed the Hindu Javanese kingdom of Mādjāpahit. An attempt made about 1546 to conquer Pasuruan did not succeed. It appears certain also that the kingdom of Dēmak was overthrown by that of Padjang (c. 1568) and the latter again by that of Mataram (c. 1586), out of which the present "Vorstenlanden" of Central Java have arisen.

For the development of political and religious conditions among the Javanese of the xviith and xviiith centuries Mataram has undoubtedly been the most important sultanate. It was brought to its greatest prosperity by Tjākrā Kusumā (1618—1646), also called Sulṭān Agung after 1641, and extended its rule over almost the whole of Java. During his reign there existed in the West the independent sultanate (since 1631) of Bantĕn and the sultanate of Tjirĕbon dependent on him. The kings of Giri-Grēsik at this time had great religious prestige.

By Agung's conquest of the Northern ports of Lasĕm (1616), Tuban (1618), Grēsik (1622), Surabaya (1625), and Madura (1627), and by their destruction, the foreign commerce and the shipping of Java received a severe blow, which was not repaired by the foundation of the state harbour of Djapara.

The European competition of the Dutch, English, Danes etc. was thereby much encouraged. By the foundation of the town of Batavia in 1619 on the site of the former Sunda Kalapa or Djakatra the former obtained a commercial and political centre in the sphere of the despot of Mataram, who had as little success in driving them out by a siege in 1628/1629, as had the Bantĕnese of the West.

The histories of the Javanese kingdoms of Mataram, Tjirĕbon and Bantĕn since that date show us classical examples of the destructive influence of the unbridled passions of their rulers and the latter's officials. Agung's kingdom suffered already from his many costly conquests, his successors and their relations only reigned to increase their revenues and gratify their lusts. Domestic conflicts in the royal house itself and several wars with enemies outside, incited thereby, weakened the kingdom more and more.

These circumstances had consequences which were of interest to the „Nederlandsche Generale Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie", founded for trading purposes only and managed from Holland, and were important for the development of modern Java. These and the endeavour to maintain a monopoly drove it to a policy of conquest, which became one of the main causes of its decline at the end of the xixth century. As early as Sulṭān Agung's death in 1646, the Company made a treaty of mutual support with his successor Amangkurat I. The latter in 1677 found himself forced

to call for the Company's help when pressed by the Madurese and Macassarese. He died a fugitive and his son Amangkurat II was only able to ascend the throne with the help of the Dutch Company. The kingdom was next shaken by two wars of succession (1704—1708 and 1746—1755). When the three claimants to the throne were all maintaining their position in the field during the latter of these wars, the Company found itself forced to divide the kingdom of Mataram between two of them in 1755. Thus arose the kingdom of the Susuhunans of Surakarta and of the Sulṭāns of Djokyakarta. In 1758 the third pretender had to be pacified, by granting him the semi-independent position of a prince Mangku Negārā. At that time the Dutch East India Company already possessed the North coast of the Mataram kingdom and the central part of the West down to the South coast. Up to the end of the xviii^th^ century the influence of this trading company on native culture remained relatively small, as their officials only dealt with the natives as far as was necessary for the compulsory deliveries of agricultural products by the kings and the monopoly of imports of clothes, opium, etc.

In the course of the xix^th^ century, when the kingdom of the Netherlands had assumed the suzerainty in the Indian Empire of the East Indian Company, the conditions of life among the Javanese population have altered very much. During English rule (1811—1816), the sultanates of Bantän and Tjirebon in the West were completely incorporated in the territory of the Indian government and considerable stretches in Central and East Java. The foundation of the independent kingdom of Paku Alam (1813) also broke the resistance of the Sulṭān of Djokya. When, after the rising of 1825—1830, the present residencies of Banyumas, Bagelen, Madiun and Kĕdiri were incorporated by the Dutch in their territories as a war indemnity, only 7% of the surface of the island remained to native princes. As they have since then been still further restricted in their powers, the situation of the masses of the people has been much improved. Before this can be judged, we must deal with the population. It consists of 33,000,000 natives, 318,700 Chinese, 72,700 Europeans, 20,370 Arabs and 3000 other foreigners; with a population of 254 to the square kilometre it is therefore one of the most thickly populated parts of the earth's surface. If we consider that in the first and second decade of the xix^th^ century, the Governor-Generals Daendels and Raffles estimated the native population at four and five millions and that this enormous increase has taken place without immigration, its explanation certainly appears desirable.

The foreign inhabitants of Java, if we except those only temporarily settled there, are for the most part half-breeds, sprung from intermarriages with native women. The Japanese are included with the Europeans. The Chinese, whose families in many cases have been living for centuries in Java, come from the South Chinese province of Kwan-Tung, the Arabs from South Arabia (Ḥaḍramawt) and the other foreigners from British India. With a very few exceptions, these all came with the object of earning a living by commerce or industry, and they often succeed very well.

The natives with few exceptions (Baduy in the West, the majority of the Tĕnggĕrese in the East and the Christian Javanese) are all Muslims. Their languages, customs and physique divide them into three groups: in the West the Sundanese, in the Centre the Javanese, in the East the Madurese. The differences are to be ascribed more to the influences of foreigners (Hindus) and surroundings, than to race. They all belong to the Malays of the Archipelago, but those in the West were less exposed to these influences than those in the East and Centre. The Sundanese therefore remained truer to the original type and more accessible to Islām. The Madurese on their relatively less fertile island have devoted themselves less to agriculture than to cattle-rearing and fishing and formerly to piracy, and thus became more energetic, vigorous and ruder than the Hinduised Javanese. In Western Java the latter only spread along the North and East coasts, while the Madurese are found in East Java in the residencies of Besuki, North Pasuruan and East Surabaya also. The native populations of the large towns like Batavia and Surabaya deserve special mention; in these commercial and administrative centres of the Dutch the native population arose out of traders, slaves, soldiers, political internees of the most varied origins in the course of the last three centuries. As the language formed here has become the *lingua franca* (Malay) of Europeans and natives for the whole archipelago, these conditions are of special importance.

The natives are an intelligent, circumspect, easily contented, agricultural people who cling firmly to their traditions. They are fond of festivals, games and the use of opium, which sometimes are lead to abuses. The long period of despotic rule has divided the people into two classes, the princes with the nobility and officials on one side and the bulk of the people on the other, and has caused a very complicated system of ceremonial to grow up, which has laid a firm hold on all their customs and also finds expression in their language. The subservience of the masses to their superiors is a further result of these political conditions. In keeping with their geographical situation the Javanese are more submissive than the Madurese and Sundanese. The awakening of Eastern Asia is now being felt even in Java.

The despot was possessor of the soil, granted it to the peasants in return for half the produce in kind and in addition levied taxes in labour and produce on his people regularly and irregularly. His relations and officials were granted lands, and in the "Vorstenlanden", where this system still prevails, these have since the beginning of the xix^th^ century been let more and more to European planters. Outside these principalities, the possession of land is private among the Madurese and Sundanese and partly communal among the Javanese. The most popular crop is rice, grown on inundated fields; other food-stuffs are sweet potatoes, beans, spices and fruits; for export tobacco, coco-nuts (copra), cotton and capok are grown. Of all these a number of varieties are known. The rearing of cattle and buffaloes is only subsidiary to agriculture. The horse is used for riding and as a beast of burden but is also eaten like the sheep and the goat. All these domestic animals except cattle were imported from Asia. Hunting as a means of livelihood is of very subordinate importance. The same applies to fishing in the rivers and in the sea. Many fish are reared in artificial ponds of fresh

water or on the seashore. The wholesale traffic of the island is in the hands of Europeans and Chinese, the retail is mainly carried on by Chinese and a few natives, and the huckstering in the markets is mainly in the hands of native women.

Javanese industries consist of handicrafts almost exclusively concerned with supplying local needs. Weaving and iron-smelting have decreased very much owing to the large imports of clothes, raw iron, and articles of iron. A few genuine Javanese arts like the making of krises (daggers), the manufacture of copper musical instruments and ornamental articles of copper, wood carving and batiking of cotton clothes are still practised. Only a few of their products such as brass gongs and batick clothes are exported. They bear witness to the abilities of the Javanese in these fields.

The language of the Javanese has developed out of the Old Javanese (Kawi) of the pre-Mādjāpahit period and the Middle Javanese current down to the new Kingdom of Mataram. At the courts of the Hinduistic princes the vernacular was frequently used for the adaptation of Indian and indigenous legends; when poets and men of letters of the Muhammadan kingdom of Mataram continued in this way, the contents of those literary products became modified, but the language remained Indonesian under these Hinduistic and Muhammadan influences. Both in vocabulary and subject matter, the very rich Javanese literature has adopted much from Hindus and Muhammadans. Javanese literature contains the modern Javanese recensions of the products of three periods. From the first came Kawi poems like the *Arjunawiwāha*, *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, *Bhāratayuddha* (an adaptation of the *Mahābhārata*) and *Rāmāyana* in addition to mythological poems like the *Manik Maya* on creation and mythology, and *Bandung* and *Adji Saka* which contain the mythical history of old Java. The versions of the *Mahābhārata* are prose works from this period. From the second period comes the *Pandji* cycle which celebrates the chivalrous, sentimental love of the Javanese prince Pandji for the princess Angrèni and his adventures. To the third period belongs the *Menak Hamzah* of Muhammadan Malay origin, which deals with a Muslim hero endowed with supernatural powers who only achieves his wonderful deeds through his belief in Allāh. The Javanese chronicles or *Babad*'s are in rhyme but are of no poetical value, and they are only of historical value when their writers are describing their own experiences. *Anbiya* contains the Javanese recension of the Muslim legends of prophets. The history of Moses is given in a prose work *Radja Pirangen*. In addition to the epic the Javanese have also didactic poetry (*Wulang Rèh*; also the beast fable with the dwarf deer, *kantjil*, as the main character). Poetry is principally cultivated at the Javanese courts, but a good deal is composed elsewhere also. The lack of Javanese prose works is striking. (Cf. also under INDIES (DUTCH), p. 493 *sqq.* and MALAY).

In the West of the island the language is Sunda and in the East Madura, both languages closely connected with Javanese and having a similar literature, which however in keeping with the less refined civilisation of the Madurese and Sundanese shows a simpler character as regards form and matter. On account of its general interest the language of the town of Batavia and the surrounding district deserves special mention.

The Islām of the native population possesses the same character as has already been described under INDIES (DUTCH) and indicated in its most important features for the island of Java. It is so important in the lives of the natives up to the highest classes of society that the prevailing political and economic conditions can only be understood if full account is taken of it. This Muhammadanism is grafted upon animism which often appears under Hinduistic forms.

From the economic point of view, agriculture, by far the most important industry, shows most significantly how powerfully the animistic mental attitude makes itself felt. As a result of lack of knowledge of the real conditions of growth, it causes and maintains the neglect of good tillage, of careful choice of plants, of care during growth and precautions at harvest time. Agriculture also labours under the burden of the many animistic sacrificial festivals and ceremonies, which are given a Muslim significance for the people, because a religious person prays for Allāh's blessing at them. The yield of all native crops is therefore much smaller than it would be under European management. It is the religious significance of agricultural customs to the natives that forms a great obstacle to their improvement under European guidance. The government has seriously attacked the question of the study and advance of it. It is similar with cattle-rearing; with the help of the ruling and other native chiefs, very satisfactory results have been obtained in Central Java in improving the breed of cattle and their care.

Politically Islām is only of importance so far as its teaching regarding infidel rulers makes it appear a subsidiary factor in all troubles which arise out of economic or political grounds. Further, the belief in the personal help of the Almighty and his saints, in amulets, in invulnerability etc. leads in local disturbances to the phenomenon so inexplicable to Europeans, that sometimes a very small number of people, often lead by a *guru*, vigorously resist the authorities.

The rule of the Dutch is to the advantage of the natives of the Archipelago in several respects, as has already been mentioned at the end of the article INDIES (DUTCH), and on p. 578a. As regards the island of Java, in the last fifty years, economic conditions have largely contributed to this result. The very dense population of the island could not possibly support itself on the yield of their fields and other sources. But in addition there have arisen the constantly increasing sources of revenue which the natives owe to the plantations of tropical products of the Europeans. What huge sums are involved may be gathered from the amounts paid out in wages and rent to the natives by the sugar industry, which moreover is the most highly developed one.

If we consider all these facts together with what has already been said under INDIES (DUTCH), the astounding increase of the population of Java in the last century will be understood. It could only have been attained however by the fact that marriages are general and early among the natives.

As regards administration, the islands of Java and Madura differ from the other islands (Buitenbezittingen); the civil officials are accordingly divided into two classes. There are 17 residencies in Java and

Madura and in districts under European residents and assistant-residents who have controllers under them. Alongside of these, the native officials with the regents at their head form the link with the people. The often peculiar organisation of the 32,000 native villages has been left untouched as far as possible.

The native princes occupy a special position. The four kingdoms arose out of that of Mataram, as was briefly outlined above. The residency of Solo or Surakarta contains the kingdom of the Susuhunan of Surakarta and in the South that of the Pangeran Adipati Aryā Mangku Negārā; the residency of Djokyakarta contains the kingdoms of Djokya or Djokyakarta and of Pangeran Aryā Paku Alam in the South-West.

Justice is administered with slight exceptions, in the native states as well as in Java and Madura, by jurists trained in Holland.

Public instruction in the present century is being continually extended by the government, missions and private persons. In the larger places, Dutch is often the language of instruction (at the end of 1917 in 5 secondary boys' schools and two secondary girls' schools and in 198 elementary schools with European teachers). The education of the natives was conducted in 130 schools in seven year courses with Dutch, and in 991 schools in four year courses. There were 4815 village schools with three year courses, 183 schools for Chinese and 30 for Arabs.

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JEREMIAH, the prophet. His name is vocalised in Arabic IRMIYĀ, ARMIYĀ or URMIYĀ (see *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, x. 157) and these forms are occasionally given with *madd* also (*Irmiyāʾ*).

Wahb b. Munabbih gives an account of him which turns upon the main points of the Old Testament story of Jeremiah: his call to be a prophet, his mission to the king of Judah, his mission to the people and his reluctance, the announcement of a foreign tyrant who is to rule over Judah. Jeremiah then rends his garments and curses the day on which he was born; he would rather die than live to see this. God then gives him the promise that Jerusalem shall not be destroyed except at Jeremiah's own request.

Bukht Naṣṣar then attacks the city on account of the increasing sinfulness of the people. God sent an angel in the form of an ordinary Israelite to Jeremiah to find out his opinion on the fall of Jerusalem. He twice sent the angel away to enquire how the people were behaving. The latter returned with the worst reports and communicated them to Jeremiah who was sitting on the wall; the prophet called out: O Lord, if they are on the right path, let them live, but if they are on the path of evil, destroy them! Hardly had he spoken these words than God sent a thunderbolt (*ṣāʿiḳa*) from heaven which laid the altar and part of the city in ruins. In despair Jeremiah rent his garments, but God said: 'You yourself gave the word'. He then realised that his companion was an angel in disguise. He fled into the desert (Ṭabarī, i. 658 *sqq.*). — The second episode in the Muslim legend of Jeremiah refers to his meeting with Bukht Naṣṣar. The king found the prophet in prison in Jerusalem, where he had been interned on account of his prophesies of ill fortune. Bukht Naṣṣar at once released him and showed him honour. He thereafter remained in Jerusalem with the miserable remnants of the population. When the latter besought Jeremiah to implore God to accept their repentance, God said to the Prophet: 'Tell them only that they are to remain here'. They refused to do this and took Jeremiah with them into Egypt (Ṭabarī, i. 646 *sq.*). According to Yaʿḳūbī, Jeremiah had hidden the ark in a cave before Nebuchadnezzar's entry into the city. — The third episode runs as follows. When Jerusalem was destroyed and the army had retired, Jeremiah came back riding on an ass. In his hand he carried a bowl of grape-juice and a basket of figs. When he stopped at the ruins of Īliyā (Aelia), he became irresolute and said: "How can God call all this to life again?" God thereupon deprived him and his ass of life. After a hundred years had passed, God awakened him and said: "How long hast thou slept?" He replied: "A day". God then told him what had happened and brought his ass to life again before his eyes; the grape-juice and the figs had remained fresh. God then granted him long life; he appeared to men in the city and in the desert (Ṭabarī, i. 666).

Of the first two episodes one can say that they are a development of Biblical statements. The third however is based on an misunderstanding connected with Sūra ii. 261: .... "like him who passed by a city which had been laid in ruins; then he said: How could God revive this after its death? Then God caused him to die for a hundred years; He

then wakened him and said: "How long wast thou dead?" He said: "A day or so". He replied, "Nay, a hundred years; look on thy food and thy drink; they are not corrupted; and look on thine ass: we will make thee a sign unto men: And look on the bones, how we will join them together, then clothe them with flesh".

The commentaries on the Ḳur'ān identify this doubting man with various Old Testament figures, including Jeremiah. But we know that the story in Oriental legend was associated with 'Ebed Melek, who appears in the story of Jeremiah (Jeremiah, xxxix. 10 *sqq.*; cf. *The Paralipomena of Jeremiah the Prophet*, ed. Rendel Harris). The confusion of Jeremiah with 'Ebed Melek has apparently given rise to another one. 'Ebed Melek, according to the Jewish view, is one of the immortals who never saw death. In Muslim legend al-Khadir is one of the immortals. This is probably why Wahb b. Munabbih explains al-Khadir, "the green", as an epithet of the prophet Jeremiah. This also explains the emphasis laid on his retirement to the desert where, as in the towns, he sometimes meets men; for this is a statement which elsewhere refers to al-Khadir in contrast to Ilyās [q. v.] who is the patron saint on the sea.

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(A. J. WENSINCK.)

JERUSALEM. [See AL-ḲUDS.]

JESUS. [See 'ĪSĀ.]

JETHRO. [See SHU'AIB.]

JEWS. [See YAHŪDĪ.]

JOHN THE BAPTIST. [See YAḤYĀ.]

JONAH. [See YŪNUS.]

JOSEPH. [See YŪSUF.]

JOSUA. [See YŪSHA'.]

(For other words generally written in English with J (*e. g.* Jahāngīr), see under DJ.)

K.

KA'ĀNĪ, ḤABĪB ALLĀH, a modern Persian poet, son of the versifier Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Gulshan; born at Shīrāz, was court poet to Muḥammad Shāh, successor to Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh (1250—64 = 1834—48) and to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. He was very precocious and attracted attention from the age of eight. His father died when he was eleven (*Perīshān*, Bombay, 1277, p. 19) and he had to go to Khorāsān to complete his studies. Prince Shudjā' al-Salṭana Ḥasan 'Alī Mīrzā, governor of Mashhad, took him under his protection. This was the beginning of his good fortune. In addition to the three classical Muslim languages, he learned French. He was addicted to opium but was not guilty of debauchery. He died at Ṭehrān in 1270 (1854). He left a collection of anecdotes in prose and verse entitled *Kitāb-i Perīshān*, "Book of Scattered Leaves", a parody of the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī (lithographed at the top of an edition of the *Dīwān*, Bombay 1277, and separately at Teherān in 1302), and a *Dīwān* containing his collected poems (lithographed at Bombay 1277, 1298, 1306 and at Teherān in 1277).

He is incontestably the greatest of the modern poets of Persia, and is perhaps the most witty of all Persian poets. His irony is deep and biting, unfortunately it is often coarse.

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(CL. HUART.)

KAARTA, the region of the French Sudan between the upper waters of the Senegal and the Sahara. The boundaries of Kaarta are in the north the land of the Dowaish Moors and the Hōdh [q. v.], in the east Bakhunu, in the south Beledugu and Fuladugu, and in the west the Senegal from the western branch of the Kulu pool to the confluence with the Baule. It is a vast schistose plateau inclining towards the S. E. so that the majority of its rivers run towards the Senegal. The climate is that of the Sahelian zone: a very short rainy season followed by long periods of drought; the showers are not abundant. Surface water is rare; hence the settlements have clustered round wells which serve to irrigate gardens, planted with millet and vegetables. Although the country is steppelike in character, it is not yet unsuited to agriculture. Stretches of soil on the banks of the rivers and areas uncovered when the streams are low are especially fertile and yield two crops a year. The principal products are rice, maize, millet, earthnuts, cotton and indigo. Cattle and horse-rearing are fairly well developed. The population is not a dense one. Before the conquest of the country by the Tuculor, Faidherbe estimated the population at 300 000 and the area at 20 700 square miles. To-day it does not seem to exceed 5 to 6 inhabitants to the square mile. This very mixed population comprises Khassonké, Peuhl and Moors in addition to the Bambara [q. v.] and Soninke, who form the most important element. Islām is observed by the Moors and Peuhl, while the Bambara refuse to have anything to do with it. The principal subdivisions of Kaarta are: — Diafunu (Tambaraka) and Diombuko (Koniakari) on the right bank of the Senegal, the Giudiumé (Niogomera) to the north of Diafunu; Tomora (Diala) in the centre; Baghé and Kaarta-Biné to the north of Fuladugu; Diangbirné in the east; Kingui (Nioro) on the Moorish borders. Adjoining the French possessions in Senegal, Kaarta was traversed at the end of the xviiith century by Houghton and Mungo Park (1795) and visited in the xixth by Duranton (1828), Raffenel (1846),

Mage and Quintin (1863), and Lenz (1880).

History. Kaarta after being included in the empire of Ghāna [q. v.] and in the Mandingo empire broke up into several small kingdoms on the dissolution of the empire of Malli, which at the end of the xviith century were conquered by the Bambara Massassi who came from Segu under a chief named Sunsa. The latter conquered Fuladugu, Kaarta, and Bambuk and took up his residence in a place called Suntanian. His successors had to wage continual war against the Bambara of Segu. Conquered at first, they regained the advantage under the direction of Sië Banmana (1709—1760) who collected the remnants of the Massassi and reconstituted their empire with Guemu as capital. He annexed Dianghirté, Diara, Diomboko and Bambuk. Towards the end of the xviiith century, the Massassi were again overwhelmed by the people of Segu, but their chief Dassé reconstituted his army by means of slaves taken from the merchants. His successor Musa Kurabo recaptured the lost territories and added Koniakari to them. The rulers who reigned after him, suppressed the rebellions which broke out in various provinces. The last of them, Kandia (1844—54), took Nioro as his capital and after seven years of war conquered the Diawara and forced them to migrate to the Sahara. Kaarta was then a powerful state measuring 190 miles from E. to W. and 110 from N. to S. (Raffenel). Power was exercised by a chief belonging to the family of Kulubari. He bore the title of *fama* and his dignity was hereditary in the collateral line. His authority was absolute but in matters of importance he summoned a council formed of the Kulubari, representatives of certain tribes, and the „chiefs of the captives".

The Kaarta kingdom fell before the blows of the Tucalor. Kandia having put to death an envoy from al-Ḥādjdj 'Omar, Kaarta was invaded by the bands of this marabout. The *fama*'s army which took the field against the enemy was routed and the *fama* himself obliged to submit. The town of Nioro was occupied by the Tucalor and the members of the royal family massacred. Kandia, spared at first, was not long in suffering the same fate. Kaarta henceforth formed a province in the Tucalor kingdom and was administered by a viceroy until 1894. At this date the Sulṭān of Segu, Aḥmadu, disturbed by the power of his brother Montaga to whom he had confided the government of Kaarta, decided to dispossess him of it. Montaga besieged in Nioro blew himself up rather than capitulate. Aḥmadu then installed himself at Nioro and lived there till the French undertook the conquest of the Tucalor empire. In 1890, the troops of Colonel Galliéni entered Kaarta and seized Koniakari. On Jan. 1, 1891, they took Nioro and completed the subjection of the country. Aḥmadu had to take refuge in Masina. Kaarta was incorporated in the French possessions and divided into the administrative districts of Nioro, Kita and Kayes.

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(G. Yver.)

KA'B AL-AḤBĀR, Abū Isḥāḳ Ka'b b. Māti' b. Haisū', the oldest authority for the Jewish-Muslim traditions among the Arabs, a Jew of Yemen who became a convert to Islām in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr or 'Omar and was called Ka'b al-Aḥbār or Ka'b al-Ḥabr, "the rabbi Ka'b", on account of his wealth of theological, particularly Biblical, knowledge. Lidzbarski (*De propheticis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis*, Berlin diss., Leipzig 1893, p. 34 *sq.*) supposes that his name was originally Hebrew, Aḳībā or Ya'ḳōb, and was afterwards changed into the Arabic name Ka'b. *Ḥabr* or *ḥibr* (plur. *aḥbār*) is taken from the Hebrew *ḥābēr*, a title of scholarship among the Babylonian Jews, lower than that of *rabbi*. Al-Khwārizmī also describes it as a Jewish title equivalent to the Arabic *'ālim* (*Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 35). We have very little information regarding Ka'b's life and work. According to al-Ṭabarī, he was on intimate terms with the Caliph 'Omar; he was in his retinue when 'Omar entered Jerusalem in 15 (636) (*Annales*, i. 2408), became a Muslim in 17 (638) (*ibid.*, p. 2514) and is said to have prophesied the death of 'Omar to him in 23 (644) three days before it happened (*ibid.* p. 2722). According to al-Nawawī (*Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 523), he was alive in the time of the Prophet, but never saw him. The Anṣārī Abu 'l-Dardā' [q. v.] said of him that he possessed great knowledge and that there was only one opinion regarding the vastness of his learning and his reliability (al-Nawawī, *ibid.*). From Yemen he moved to Medina in the reign of 'Omar and then from there to Ḥimṣ in Syria. The Omayyad Mu'āwiya, then governor of the province of Syria, is said to have taken Ka'b as teacher and counsellor to his court. In the conflict between 'Othmān and his opponents Ka'b vigorously championed the Caliph, which on one occasion brought upon him corporal chastisement by the pious Abū Dharr [q. v.] (Ṭab., i. 2940 *sq.*). He died under 'Othmān in the year 32 or 34 (652 or 654; Ṭab., iii. 2474 *sq.*) at Ḥimṣ and was buried there or, as others say (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, i. 222; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 595), in Damascus. His most important pupils were 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās [q. v.], one of the earliest expositors of the Ḳur'ān, and Abū Huraira [q. v.].

Ka'b's teaching was given orally only; that he ever wrote a book, is, at least, nowhere stated. Many sayings seem to be credited to him; in many, notably those given by al-Ṭabarī, an older origin can be proved from rabbinical or church-patriarchal traditions (for examples see Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 38 *sq.*). Reliable historians like Ibn Ḳutaiba and al-Nawawī do not quote him at all or, like al-Ṭabarī, only rarely; on the other hand, he is all the more frequently quoted as an authority by story-tellers like al-Tha'labī and al-Kisā'ī. In almost uninterrupted succession however he appears as narrator in the aljamiadic *Leyenda de José* (edited in Spanish transcription by F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de*

Alejandro Magno, Zaragoza 1888) so that it almost seems as if this *leyenda* was in its whole substance a tradition descending from Ka'b. The editor translates Ka'b al-Aḥbār (in Spanish transcription *Cāb Alaḥbar*, p. 4 note 2) by *Caab el historiador*, as he — like formerly von Hammer (cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 26 note 4) — confuses *Aḥbār* with *Akhbār* and calls him *el narrador* or *el cronista*. This Morisco legend is however for the most part, especially the first chapter, a literal translation of al-Tha'labī's Yūsuf legend, and also where al-Tha'labī mentions other traditionists or none at all, refers to Ka'b, who is mentioned as an authority only five times in al-Tha'labī's story, the first time in his introductory description of the creation and beauty of Joseph (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1324, p. 61, l. 4 *infra*). This passage is lacking in the *Leyenda*, as the first page of the MS is lost. The agreement with al-Tha'labī begins in the former at the very beginning, p. 3 l. 4 *infra*: *Y después kee Allah ouo* etc., in al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, p. 62, l. 23: *inna Allāha ta'ālā anbata* etc., where it is related that God made a tree grow up for Jacob in the courtyard of his house and whenever a son was born to him, made a branch sprout from the tree. As the boy grew, so did the branch and when the boy attained manhood, Jacob cut off the branch and gave it to his son. While al-Tha'labī here gives a quite general reference to the statements of people "who know the legends of the prophets and the history of past ages", the *Leyenda* as early as p. 4 and on almost every other page gives Ka'b as the narrator. This frequent reference to Ka'b is however, as a further comparison with al-Tha'labī's story shows, quite arbitrary in the *Leyenda*. Al-Kisā'ī in his legend of Yūsuf (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cod. Bonn 30 7, p. 315—382) quotes Ka'b once as an authority viz. at the beginning, where it is related that God gave Abraham five precious gifts, which afterwards all passed into Joseph's possession and that this aroused the envy of his brothers; then follows the story of Joseph and Jacob's dream (cf. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 101). We find Ka'b as narrator in one passage in Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* (ed. Ethé, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Ser., Part vi., Vol. I., Oxford 1908, p. 258, l. 2509) where he says: "Ka'b-i Aḥbār was the first to say this, from Ka'b I have the following true tradition"; here follows the description of the ruler of Egypt (here called Khaiṭūs or Khuṭrīsh with the *kunya* Abu 'l-Ḥasan) and of his vizier Raiyān b. al-Walīd (the Potiphar of the Bible) and his wife Zalīkhā and of the preparation for the sale of Joseph by public auction. The fact that al-Ṭabarī in his story of Joseph (i. 371—413) does not mention Ka'b at all, and al-Tha'labī, al-Kisā'ī and Firdawsī, on the other hand, in the same story quote Ka'b as authority in different, never in parallel passages, strengthens the hypothesis that this name is a late invention not only in the Morisco legend but also in the three authors last named.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, vii. ii. 156; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, s. Index; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 219; 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's* etc. (Gibb Mem. xxiv.), p. 24; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, iii. 121; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii. 635—639; do., *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Haidarābād 1326), viii. 438—440; Nawawī, s. v.; *Aghānī*, ii 50; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 10; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, iii. p. clx. Note 2; M. Grünbaum, *Zu Schlechta-Wssehrds Ausgabe des Jussuf und Suleicha* in *Ztschr. der Dtsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xliv. 458, 477; Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 31—40; H. Hirschfeld, Art. *Ka'b al-Aḥbār* in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vii. 400; M. Schmitz, *Über das altspanische Poema de José* in *Roman. Forschungen*, xi. (1901), 321; G. Salzberger, *Die Salomosage in der semit. Literatur*, Heidelberg Diss. (Berlin 1907), p. 19; B. Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Ka'b al-Aḥbār*, in *Rev. des Études juives*, lxix. 86 sqq., lxx. 37 sqq. (M. SCHMITZ.)

KA'B B. AL-ASHRAF, a Medina opponent of Muḥammad, according to one statement a Naḍīrī, according to another, a member of the Ṭaiyi' family of Nabhān but the son of a Naḍīrī woman. In any case, he was an ardent champion of Judaism (cf. the expression *raiyis al-aḥbār*, Ibn Hishām, p. 659, 12). Aroused by the result of the battle of Badr, he went to Mecca where he used his considerable poetic gifts (in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* he is called *faḥl faṣīḥ*) to incite the Ḳuraish to fight against the victor. He then returned to Medina, where he is said to have compromised the wives of the Muslims by love-songs. After the prophet had uttered his fateful "Who will rid me of this man?", Muḥammad b. Maslama offered to do so and he with several others including Ka'b's foster-brother succeeded by a despicable intrigue in enticing him out of the house on a bright moonlight night and killing him in spite of his valiant resistance: cf. the confirmatory allusions in Ka'b b. Mālik's poem, Ibn Hishām, p. 658 sq., while Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, n°. 97) gives an account of this murder and its counterpart, the assassination of Ibn al-Ḥuḳaiḳ, with startling frankness. According to al-Wāḳidī, the murder took place on the night of the 14 Rabī' I of the year 3 A. H., but this date, which is in contradiction to his own dating of the raid against Dhū Amarr, is probably due to the events being all compressed within the same period in the source he followed (cf. Ibn Hishām), which might make it appear that Ka'b was murdered soon after his return from Mecca. It is however clear from the poem (Ibn Hishām, p. 658, 16, 659, 11), as well as from a tradition in al-Ḥalabī according to which the Naḍīrī's were in deep mourning for Ka'b's death, when Muḥammad began to attack them, that his murder did not take place till the year 4 as a kind of prelude to the attack on his kinsmen. It is also natural that punishment only overtook him after the battle of Uḥud to which he had contributed by his instigation.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 548—51, 657—9; al-Wāḳidī, transl. by Wellhausen, p. 95—9; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1368—72; al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'Uyūn* (Cairo 1308), iii. 176—9; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 243); *al-Aghānī*[1], xix. 106 sq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 534—7; Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, 3rd ed., p. 280 sqq.; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina* (Leiden 1908), p. 152—5; R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Muhammeds*, Berlin 1910, p. 66—9. (FR. BUHL.)

KA'B B. MĀLIK, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH, a native of Medina of the Khazradj tribe of Salima. After taking an active part in the sanguinary tribal

battles in Medina, he was won over to Islām even before the Hidjra and took part in the momentuous second meeting at the 'Aḳaba [q. v.]. He was a poet and along with Ḥassān b. Thābit [q. v.] and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [q. v.] was employed by Muḥammad to glorify his military exploits and answer the polemical poems of the enemies. He did not fight at Badr [q. v.] but was in most of the other battles. At Uḥud, wounded himself, he found the wounded Prophet, who was thought to be slain. On the other hand, he was one of the few followers of Muḥammad who, in spite of their devotion to him, could not bring themselves to take part in the difficult campaign against Tabūk. But he later regretted it and after severe penance received the forgiveness of the Prophet (cf. Sūra, ix. 103, 107, 118 sq.). It is noteworthy that he who is fond of emphasising the connection of his tribe with the Ghassānids [q. v.], was at that time summoned by a Ghassānī chief to abandon Medina and Muḥammad. In the caliphate of 'Othmān we again hear of him when he with Ḥassān and Zaid b. Thābit vigorously championed the Caliph, when he was assailed; after 'Othmān's death he wrote an elegy on him and declined to pay homage to 'Alī. He died blind in 53 (673); according to others, as early as 50 A. H. His poems have a somewhat nobler tone than those of Ḥassān and show a real enthusiasm for the religion of Muḥammad besides a strong local patriotism.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, p. 294—301, 310, 575, 896, 907—13 (the poems, p. 520—871 passim, vgl. al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, p. 66, and on the other side Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 180); al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1217—1225, 1406, 1695, 1705, 2037, 3040, 3062, 3070; al-Wāḳidī, transl. by Wellhausen, p. 113, 123, 136, 160, 326, 393, 411—4; *al-Aghānī*, xv. 26—32; al-Nawawī, *Biogr. Dict.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 23 *sq.*; *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii. 224. (FR. BUHL.)

KA'B B. ZUHAIR, son of the celebrated poet and author of a *Mu'allaḳa*, Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā, and of Kabsha bint 'Ammār. Poetic talent seems to have been one of the privileges of the family, for, not to speak of Ka'b and his father, we have verses by eleven of its members, including the famous Tumāḍir (al-Khansā'). We do not know the date of his birth; he was the eldest of three brothers, the other two being Budjair and Sālim. Traditions, more than suspicious, report that he early gave proof of his poetic talents, in spite of the opposition of his father who ended in being convinced after a decisive test. He was involved in the wars of his tribe against the Ṭaiyi', the Ḳuraish and the Khazradj, as we see from various poems in his *Dīwān*. At the time of Muḥammad's mission, Budjair was converted shortly before the year 7, but Ka'b refused vigorously to imitate him and launched satirical verses against the Prophet. The latter solemnly authorised his assassination. Henceforth "the earth became too narrow for Ka'b" and he resolved to submit. He appeared unexpectedly in the year 9 in a mosque of Medina where Muḥammad was and recited to him his famous poem known as *Bānat Su'ād* (Su'ād has gone). The Prophet was overcome with admiration on hearing this eulogy of himself and the Ḳuraish and threw on his shoulders his own striped Yemen cloak, the *burda*, whence the name often given to this *Ḳaṣīda*. The date of Ka'b's death is unknown, but he seems to have reached an advanced age. The *Bānat Su'ād* has nothing of a religious poem; it is inspired with the sentiments of pagan poetry and begins with such a commonplace that Ḥammād al-Rāwiya [q. v.] claimed to know 700 poems with the same opening. It was frequently reproduced in the form of *takhmīs* and *tashṭīr*. Its commentators are numerous. The best known are: Tha'lab, Ibn Duraid, al-Tibrīzī (published by Krenkow, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxv. 241—279), Ibn Hishām (of which the best edition is that of Guidi, Leipzig 1871), Ibn Ḥidjdja, al-Suyūṭī, al-Bādjūrī. It was first published by Lette (Leiden 1740); of later editions we may mention those of Freytag with a Latin translation (1823), Nöldeke, *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum*, Berlin 1890, p. 110—114). I have given an edition with a French translation and two unpublished commentaries (Algiers 1910). The *Dīwān* is not yet published.

Bibliography: R. Basset: *La Bānat So'ād*, Introduction, p. 14—82, and the authors quoted, p. 9—13; Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Hell (Leiden 1916), p. 20—26. (R. BASSET.)

KA'BA, the palladium of Islām, situated almost in the centre of the great mosque in Mecca.

1. The Ka'ba and its immediate neighbourhood.

The name, not originally a proper name, is connected with the cube-like appearance of the building. It is however only like a cube at the first impression; in reality the plan is that of an irregular rectangle. The wall facing northeast, in which the door is (the front of the Ka'ba) and the opposite wall (back) are 40 feet long; the two other are about 35 feet long. The height is 50 feet.

The Ka'ba is built of layers of the grey stone produced by the hills surrounding Mecca. It stands on a marble base 10 inches high, projecting about a foot (*shādharwān*). Four lines drawn from the centre through the four corners (*rukn* pl. *arkān*) would roughly indicate the four points of the compass. Four perpendiculars from the centres of the four walls would run north-east, north-west, south-west and south-east. The north corner is called *al-rukn al-'irāḳī*, the western *al-rukn al-sha'mī*, the southern *al-rukn al-yamānī*, and the eastern *al-rukn al-aswad* (after the Black Stone).

The four walls of the Ka'ba are covered with a black curtain (*kiswa*) which reaches to the ground and is fastened there with copper rings, which are fastened in the *shādharwān*. Gaps are left in only for the water-spout and the door. The *kiswa* is prepared in Egypt every year and brought to Mecca by the pilgrim caravan. The old covering is taken down on the 25th (or according to al-Batanūnī, the 28th) Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da, and the Ka'ba temporarily covered with a white covering which hangs down to within 6 feet of the ground; the Ka'ba is then said to have put on the *iḥrām* [q. v.]. At the end of the Ḥadjdj it is covered with the new cloth. The door is covered by a separate covering also of Egyptian manufacture, which in Egypt is called *al-burḳu'* (the veil).

The *kiswa* consists of black brocade, into which the *shahāda* is woven (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilderatlas zu Mekka*, n°. xvii). At two-thirds of its height a gold embroidered band (*ḥizām*) runs round, which is covered with verses from the Ḳur'ān

in fine calligraphy. Every inch of the garment, which is taken down each year, is of course regarded as a relic and small pieces are sold by the Banū Shaiba, the door-keepers of the Kaʿba, as amulets.

In the north-east wall, about 7 feet from the ground, is the door, parts of which have mountings of silver-gilt. In Burckhardt's and Ali Bey's times the threshold was lit up every night by a row of candles. When the Kaʿba is opened, a wooden staircase (*daradj, madradj*) running on wheels is pushed up to the door; when not in use, it is kept between the Zamzam building and the Gate of the Banū Shaiba (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilderatlas zu Mekka*, nº. ii.). For a picture of the staircase, see Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii. 80.

In the interior of the Kaʿba are three wooden pillars, which support the roof, to which a ladder leads up. The only furnishing is the numerous golden and silver lamps suspended. On the inner walls there are many building inscriptions. The floor is covered with slabs of marble.

In the eastern corner, about 5 feet above ground, not far from the door, the Black Stone (*al-ḥadjar al-aswad*) is built into the wall; it now consists of three large pieces and several small fragments stuck together and surrounded by a ring of stone, which in turn is held together by a silver band. The stone is sometimes described as lava and sometimes as basalt; its real nature is difficult to determine, because its visible surface is worn smooth by hand touching and kissing. Ali Bey (ii. 76) gives a profile sketch of it which clearly shows the surface hollowed out in undulations. Its diameter is estimated by al-Batanūnī (p. 105) at 12 inches. The colour is reddish black with red and yellow particles.

The part of the wall between the Black Stone and the door is called *al-multazam*, because the visitors press their breasts against it while praying fervently.

In the east corner too, about five feet above the ground, another stone (*al-ḥadjar al-asʿad*), the "lucky", is built into wall. It is only touched and not kissed during the perambulation.

Outside the building there is still to be mentioned the gilt water-spout (*mīzāb*), which juts out below the top of the north-west wall, and has an appendage which is called the "beard of the *mīzāb*". The spout is called *mīzāb al-raḥma*, "spout of mercy" (on it cf. Ben Chérif, *Aux Villes Saintes de l'Islam*, p. 73); the part between it and the west corner is the exact *ḳibla* [q. v.]. The rain water falls through the spout on the pavement below which here is inlaid with designs in mosaic. The ground all round the Kaʿba is covered with marble slabs.

Opposite the north-west wall, but not connected with it, is a semi-circular wall (*al-ḥaṭīm*) of white marble. It is three feet high and about five feet thick; its ends are almost six feet from the north and west corners of the Kaʿba. The semi-circular space between the *ḥaṭīm* and the Kaʿba enjoys an especial consideration, because for a time it belonged to the Kaʿba [see ii.]; in the perambulation therefore it is not entered; the *ṭawāf* goes as close as possible along the outer side of the *ḥaṭīm*. The space bears the name *al-ḥidjr* or *ḥidjr Ismāʿīl*. Here are said to be the graves of the patriarch and his mother Hagar. The pavement on which the *ṭawāf* is performed is called *maṭāf*; a depression in it just opposite the door has still to be mentioned; it is called *al-miʿdjan* "the trough"; according to legend, Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl (q. v.) here mixed the mortar used in building the Kaʿba.

Around the *maṭāf*, and a little higher than it, runs a paved border, a few paces broad, on which stand 31 or 32 slender pillars. Between every two pillars hang seven lamps, which are lit every evening — to make the darkness visible, as Burton says. The row of columns is closed by the Bāb Banī Shaiba, an arch which stands opposite the north-west wall of the Kaʿba and affords an entrance to the *maṭāf*. Between this archway and the Kaʿba is a little building, a kind of pagoda, with a small dome, the *maḳām Ibrāhīm*. In it is kept a stone, on which Ibrāhīm is said to have stood at the building of the Kaʿba. Admission is granted to visitors on payment. Europeans have however not been able to see the stone. Burton says that the five dollars asked was too high for his finances. According to Oriental travellers and historians, it is a soft stone on which the footprints of Ibrāhīm can still be seen. During al-Mahdī's caliphate it was provided with a gilt band holding it together. Beside the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, also opposite the north-east wall of the Kaʿba and within the row of pillars, but farther north of the Maḳām, is the pulpit (*minbar*) of white marble. It consists of the usual staircase, shut at the foot by a door, and above the staircase are four short pillars supporting a spire like that of a Gothic church tower.

The pavement on which the row of pillars stands is somewhat lower than that which runs round them, to which eight paved paths from the colonnades round the mosque give access. On this outer paved part are four small buildings. Close beside the Bāb Banī Shaiba, on the left of the entrance and just opposite the Black Stone, stands the *ḳubba* built over the Zamzam well. In the room on the ground floor is the well, which is walled in; its water is drawn up in buckets, fastened to a pulley. On one part of the flat roof is a small chapel partly open, which has a roof with a small dome.

In d'Ohsson's as well as in Ali Bey's plan of the sacred mosque we find two farther buildings north-east of the Zamzam building, at the edge of the outer paving, which are called *al-Ḳubbatain*, "the two Kubba's", by him, Burckhardt and Burton. They are not marked in Snouck Hurgronje's pictures because they were demolished in the eighties and removed entirely. One held various objects, such as chronometers, jars for Zamzam water; the other, books.

The three other small buildings on the outer pavement are the so-called *maḳām*'s, the standing-places of the imāms of the various ritual schools during the *ṣalāt*. The *Maḳām* or *Muṣallā 'l-Ḥanbalī* stands south of the Zamzam building, opposite the south-east wall of the Kaʿba. It consists of a roof tapering to a point and supported by slender marble columns. The *Maḳām al-Mālikī* is of the same form and is opposite the south-west wall of the Kaʿba. The *Maḳām al-Ḥanafī* looks out on the *ḥaṭīm* and the north-west wall of the Kaʿba; it has two roofs, one above the other. — The Shīʿīs have no *maḳām* of their own; during the *ṣalāt* they stand under the *ḳubba* on the roof of the Zamzam well or at the Maḳām Ibrāhīm.

Finally we may mention receptacles placed here and there beside the pavements, in which various articles are kept (see Snouck Hurgronje *Bilderatlas*, nº. i., ii.; *Bilder aus Mekka*, nº. i., iii.).

II. History.

The Arabs possess no historical or semi-historical records of the origin of the Ka'ba, and we as little. According to Snouck Hurgronje's supposition, the Zamzam spring in a waterless valley may have been the cause of the rise of a sacred place. It is to be noted that Ptolemy (*Geography*, vi. 7) in place of Mecca mentions Macoraba, which is probably to be interpreted, as does Glaser, (*Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 235) as the South Arabian or Ethiopic *mikrāb*, "temple". From this one may conclude that the Ka'ba already existed in the second century A. D. The accounts of Abraha's campaign, which has been elaborated with legendary features, also suggest the existence and worship of the Ka'ba in the sixth century but tell us nothing of its appearance or equipment. The Tubba' As'ad Abū Karib al-Himyarī, who came to Mecca, is said to have for the first time provided the building with a *kiswa* and with a door with a lock. The information available regarding the distribution of the offices [see below iii.] among the sons of Ḳuṣaiy shows that the worship of the sanctuary had developed into a carefully regulated cult several generations before Muḥammad.

As to the history of the building of the Ka'ba the legends referring to the pre-Muḥammadan period are dealt with below [iv.]. Whether Ḳuṣaiy demolished and restored the building, as the historians say, is a question that cannot be definitely settled.

The historical references only begin with Muḥammad. When Muḥammad had reached man's estate, the fire of a woman incensing the Ka'ba is said to have caught the building and laid it waste. It happened that a Byzantine ship was thrown ashore at Djidda [q. v.] and the Meccans brought its wood hither and used it for the new building. In connection with this the name of a man Bāḳūm (it is given in various forms) is always mentioned, sometimes as the captain of the ship, sometimes as the carpenter whose advice was taken; he is said to have been a Coptic Christian.

The old Ka'ba is said to have only been of the height of a man and to have had no roof. The threshold is said to have been on the level of the ground so that the water had an easy entrance in the frequent floods (*sail*). The Ka'ba was then built of alternate layers of stone and wood, its height was doubled and a roof covered it. The door was placed above the level of the ground so that whoever wished to enter had to use a ladder. Unwelcome visitors were tumbled down from the high threshold. When the Black Stone was to be put in its place, the Meccans quarrelled among themselves as to who should have the honour. They had just decided that the first comer should be given the task when Muḥammad (who had been engaged in helping to carry the stones) came past. With superior wisdom he is said to have placed the precious object in a cloth — or in his cloak — and to have ordered the heads of tribes each to take an end. He himself then took out the stone and placed it in position. Legend and history are probably hopelessly confused in this story.

At the conquest of Mecca in 8 A. H. [see iii. below], Muḥammad left the Ka'ba as a building unaltered. But according to tradition, he later said that only the very recent conversion of the Meccans prevented him from instituting all kinds of innovations. These real or alleged intentions of Muḥammad were brought to realisation in 64 (683) by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.]. As anti-Caliph he was besieged by al-Ḥuṣain b. Numair [q. v.] in Mecca. Catapults were erected on the hills round Mecca, which hurled a hail of stones on the town and sanctuary and so damaged the house of Allāh that it finally looked "like the torn bosoms of mourning women". 'Abd Allāh and his helpers pitched their tents beside the sanctuary (he henceforth called himself *al-'Ā'idh bi 'l-Bait*, "he who took refuge at the temple") and again a conflagration did its best to complete the destruction. In the fire the Black Stone was split in three pieces.

When the Omayyad army was withdrawn, 'Abd Allāh discussed with the Meccan authorities the demolition and rebuilding of the Ka'ba. When he had made his decision and the ruins had to be cleared away, no one dared to begin the work. The bulk of the populace, with Ibn 'Abbās at their head, had left the town because they feared a punishment from heaven. But 'Abd Allāh climbed up himself, axe in hand, and began the grim task. When his people saw that he remained unharmed, they took courage and assisted.

During the building a covered scaffolding was left on the spot to mark the *ḳibla* and the *maṭāf* at least. The masons are said to have worked behind the covering. 'Abd Allāh guarded the Black Stone, wrapped in a piece of brocade, in the council hall (*Dār al-Nadwa*). When put back into its place it, or rather the three pieces, into which it was broken, was bound with a band of silver.

The Ka'ba was then built entirely out of Meccan stone and Yemen mortar and built to a height of 27 ells. According to the tradition of the Prophet, the *ḥidjr* was included in the building and two doors were made on the level of the ground, the eastern as an entrance and the western as an exit. In the *ṭawāf* the four corners were kissed.

These alterations lasted only a short period. In 74 (693) al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [q. v.] conquered Mecca and killed 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair. In agreement with the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik he again separated the *ḥidjr* from the Ka'ba and walled up the west door. The building, in keeping with the wish of the Omayyads, thus practically received its pre-Islāmic form again and this form has survived to the present day. The piety of the populace has always resisted any considerable innovations. Only to an unimportant degree have the authorities now and then made improvements. As was the case in the heathen period, floods have continued to be a danger to the building. When in 1611 it threatened to collapse, a girdle of copper was used to avert the disaster. But a new *sail* made this support also insufficient, so that in 1630 renovations were decided upon. But the old stones were used as much as possible for the rebuilding.

The Ka'ba successfully withstood the Karmatian invasion of 317 (929); only the Black Stone was carried off. After an absence of some twenty years it was sent back to Mecca (cf. de Goeje, *Mém. sur les Carmathes*, etc.[2], p. 104—111, 145—8).

The custom of covering the Ka'ba is said to have been introduced by the Tubba'. The annual re-covering of the Ka'ba only became an established custom in modern times; for the oldest Muslim period, the 'Āshūrā day is mentioned as

the day of covering, but in Radjab also and in other months the building has changed its covering. The *kiswa* consisted sometimes of Yemen and sometimes of Egyptian or other cloth; during 'Omar's Caliphate the building threatened to collapse on account of the many coverings hung on it. All sorts of colours are mentioned also. The Wahhābīs even covered the Ka'ba with a red *kiswa*.

The *maḳām*'s around the Ka'ba are mentioned as early as the 'Abbāsid period; sometimes under the name *ẓulla* ("a shade"). The present buildings are said to date from 1074 (1663). A dome over the Zamzam well is mentioned at an equally early period, the present one was built in 1072.

The Ka'ba had offerings dedicated to it in the heathen as well as the Muslim period. Al-Azraḳī devotes a detailed chapter to this subject (p. 155 *sqq.*). Many a worldly ruler has used these treasures for political purposes. Tradition reports that 'Omar said: "I will leave neither gold nor silver in the Ka'ba but distribute its treasures". To this, however, 'Alī is said to have raised vigorous objections so that 'Omar desisted from his plan.

III. The Ka'ba and Islām.

We do not know the personal feelings of the youthful Muḥammad towards the Ka'ba and the Meccan cult, but they were presumably of a conventional nature. What the biography of the Prophet tells us about his Meccan period in this respect can lay no claim to historical value. The Meccan revelations tell us nothing about these relations during this important period in the life of the Prophet. In any case he felt no enthusiasm for the Meccan sanctuary.

During the first period after the Hidjra Muḥammad was busy with very different problems. But when the expected good relations with Judaism and the Jews did not come about, a change set in. Henceforth — about a year and a half after the Hidjra — the Ka'ba and the Ḥadjdj are mentioned in the revelations.

The change of attitude was first shown in the *ḳibla* edict: the faithful were no longer to turn towards Jerusalem in the *ṣalāt* but to the Ka'ba. "We see thee turning thy face towards every part of heaven, but we will have thee turn towards a *ḳibla* that will please thee. Turn then thy face towards the sacred mosque and wherever ye be turn your faces towards that part. They verily to whom the Book hath been given know this to be the truth of their Lord: and God is not regardless of what ye do" (Sūra ii. 139). From the dogmatic point of view this volte-face was justified by an appeal to the "religion of Abraham", which was specially invented for the occasion (Sūra ii. 129, iii. 89 etc.), as Snouck Hurgronje has shown in his *Mekkaansche Feest*. This religion of Abraham, the prototype of Judaism and Islām, is said to have been obscured by the Jews and to have been brought to light again by Muḥammad. The Meccan cult was now drawn into it. Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl laid the foundations of the Ka'ba (Sūra ii. 121). The Maḳām Ibrāhīm is described as a place suitable for the *ṣalāt* (ii. 119). Ibrāhīm prescribed the pilgrimage to mankind at Allāh's behest (xxii. 28); and the Ka'ba is said to be the first sanctuary that was founded on earth (iii. 90); it is now called the Holy House (v. 98), or the Ancient House (xxii. 30, 34).

In this way there was created for the reception of the old heathen cult into Islām a basis in religious history, which was at the same time a political programme; henceforth the eyes of the faithful were turned towards Mecca.

In the year 6 A. H. a prospect of taking part in the Mecca cult was held out to the Muslims by the pact of al-Ḥudaibiya [q. v.]; in connection with it, the *'Umrat al-Ḳaḍā'* took place in the year 7. Muḥammad's political endeavours culminated in the conquest of Mecca in the year 8.

All the accumulation of heathendom, which had gathered round the Ka'ba, was now thrust aside. 360 idols are said to have stood around the building. When touched with the Prophet's rod they all fell to the ground. The statue of Hubal which 'Amr b. Luḥaiy is said to have erected over the pit inside the Ka'ba was removed as well as the representations of the prophets. When they began to wash the latter with Zamzam water, Muḥammad is said to have placed his hands on the pictures of Jesus and Mary and said: "Wash out all except what is below my hands". He then withdrew his hands. A wooden dove also which was in the Ka'ba is said to have been shattered by Muḥammad's orders. The two horns of Abraham's ram did not crumble to dust until the rebuilding of the Ka'ba by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair.

At the capture of Mecca, Muḥammad made arrangements regarding the religious and secular offices which had been filled in Mecca from ancient times. The historians say that in the old heathen period Ḳuṣaiy after a fierce struggle with the tribe of Khuzā'a became master of the Ka'ba and held all the important offices, religious and secular: the administration of the *Dār al-Nadwa* and the tying of the standard, the provision of the pilgrims with food (*rifāda*) and with drink (*siḳāya*) as well as the supervision of the Ka'ba (*sidāna* and *ḥidjāba*). His descendants

'Abd Manāf — Hāshim — 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib — 'Abbās, Abū Ṭālib
'Abd al-Dār — 'Uthmān — 'Abd al-'Uzzā — Abū Ṭalḥa — 'Abd Allāh

administered the offices after his death, 'Abd Manāf and his descendants getting the *rifāda* and *siḳāya* etc., while 'Abd al-Dār and his descendants saw to the *sidāna* and *ḥidjāba* etc.

When Muḥammad conquered Mecca his uncle 'Abbās [q. v., i. 9[b] *sq.*] or, according to another tradition, 'Alī asked for the administration of these offices. But Muḥammad said that they must all be crushed beneath his feet except the *siḳāya* and the guardianship of the Ka'ba. The former remained in the hands of 'Abbās; the latter he gave to 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa who allowed his cousin Shaiba b. Abī Ṭalḥa to act as his deputy. The Banū Shaiba are the doorkeepers at the Ka'ba to this day. The *rifāda*, which was in the hands of Abū Ṭālib, was taken over by Abū Bakr in the year 9; after his death the Caliphs looked after the feeding of the pilgrims.

Muḥammad's control over Mecca and the Meccan cult was first clearly marked at the *Ḥadjdj* of the year 9. As plenipotentiary of the Prophet, who did not participate in the pilgrimage, Abū Bakr announced to the assembled pilgrims the latest arrangements, which were put in the form of a revelation. They are contained in Sūra ix., which

from them is often called the Sūra of Immunity (*barā'a*) (v. 1—12, 28, 36 *sq.*).

According to it, idolators are henceforth forbidden to participate in the Meccan festival as they are impure (*nadjas*). Moreover, they are declared outlaws. A period of four months is given them during which they can go freely about the country; but after that "kill them wherever ye find them". Excepted are those with whom an alliance has been made in so far as they have punctiliously observed its terms and helped no one against the Muslims.

In the year 10 A. H. Muḥammad himself led the pilgrimage, at which therefore according to tradition not a single idolator was present: the Ka'ba had become an exclusively Muslim sanctuary, and Mecca was and is for Islām what Rome is to the Roman Catholic and Jerusalem to the Jew. At every *ṣalāt* the Muslims throughout the world turn towards Mecca and at the ceremonies of the pilgrimage the Ka'ba forms the beginning and the end of the holy rites.

Two special ceremonies concerning the Ka'ba may here be mentioned, the opening and the washing of the building. The opening takes place on definite days and men are first admitted, then the women. On this occasion the above mentioned staircase is pushed up to the building. The days in question change at the will of the Meccan authorities — but some usually fall in the month of the pilgrimage and one on the 10th Muḥarram ('Ashūrā day, q. v.). It is considered particularly meritorious to perform the *ṣalāt* in the Ka'ba.

After the Ḥadjdj is completed, at the end of the month Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the Ka'ba is washed, a ceremony in which the Grand Sharīf, the governor and other authorities as well as a number of pilgrims take part (or took part). The first to enter is the Sharīf, who after a *ṣalāt* of two *rak'a's*, himself washes the ground with Zamzam water which flows away through a hole in the threshold. The walls are washed with a kind of broom made of palm leaves. The Sharīf then sprinkles every-thing again with rose water and finally the building is fumigated with all manner of perfumes (cf. *al-Ḳibla*, nº. 409, p. 1). The Sharīf throws the broom away among the crowd of pilgrims who fight among themselves for possession of it. Al-Batanūnī says (p. 109) that the Zamzamīs and the Mudjāwirīs sell the pilgrims similar brooms for a minimum of half a real.

As is evident from this example, the veneration for the sacred building extends to all that comes in contact with it: — to the Black Stone, the water-spout, the *multazam*, and above all to the Zamzam water. It is however said — and probably with truth — that 'Omar thus expressed himself on the Black Stone: "I know that thou art a stone, that neither helps nor hurts, and if the messenger of Allāh had not kissed thee, I would not kiss thee". But then he kissed the stone. And hardly a single pilgrim will think of 'Omar's words during the *ṭawāf*. The *ṣalāt* under the water-pipe is described as particularly efficacious: "Anyone who performs the *ṣalāt* under the *mīzāb* becomes as pure as on the day when his mother bore him" (al-Azraḳī, p. 224). The Zamzam water, which the pilgrim has poured over him again and again, is useful for every purpose for which it is drunk (*mā' Zamzam li-mā shuriba lahu*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, p. 34).

There is abundant testimony in Muslim as well as European litterature to the intensification of devotional feeling which the sight of the Ka'ba produces in the pilgrims. We may here quote al-Batanūnī's description of the *ṣalāt* at the Ka'ba as particularly characteristic (p. 26). "The whole assembly stood there in the greatest reverence before this highest majesty and most powerful inspiror of awe before which the greatest souls become so little as to be almost nothing. And if we had not been witness of the movements of the body during the *ṣalāt* and the raising of the hands during the prayers, and the murmuring of the expressions of humility and if we had not heard the beating of the hearts before this immeasurable grandeur we would have thought ourselves transferred to another life. And truly we were at that hour in another world: we were in the home of God and in God's immediate presence, and with us were only the lowered head and the humble tongue and the voices raised in prayer and weeping eyes and the fearful heart and pure thoughts of intercession" (cf. also Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909, p. 216 *sqq.*; Ben Chérif, *Aux Villes Saintes de l'Islam*, p. ii, *sq.*, 45 *sq.*, 68).

Even the Shī'is and the Wahhābīs have left the Ka'ba its place in Islām. For the Ḳarmaṭians alone has an exception to be made, as can be well understood.

Although moderns like al-Batanūnī (p. 24) put the question: Why is God particularly worshipped in Mecca, when the whole world is His sphere, they themselves give the answer: "But Mecca is His citadel and the place of revelation of His dominion and power. And the Ka'ba is His temple and the place of His grandeur and grace. And is there in any of the four quarters of the earth a place not quite seven square miles in extent where half a million people assemble on a pilgrimage, all of whom call to God with one heart and one tongue? And although they differ in race and language, they all turn towards one *ḳibla* and at the *ṣalāt* move with one motion, without any hope other than the grace of the one God, who has not begotten and is not born and is without equal".

As to the mystics, their attitude to the Ka'ba depends on their position regarding the law. For the, so to speak, nomistic mystics like al-Ghazālī, the Ka'ba is, it is true, the sacred building which one has to go round in the *ṭawāf*. The *ṭawāf* and its object however only receive their value for man when they give them an inducement to rise to a higher spiritual level. Ibn al-'Arabī goes a step further when he says that the true Ka'ba is nothing other than our own being (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiya*, i. 733); the Ka'ba however also plays a part in his mystic experiences. Hudjwīrī however quotes some sayings of mystics, who no longer require the Ka'ba as an inducement to rise, and even despise it. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl says: "I wonder at those who seek His temple in this world: why do they not seek contemplation of Him in their hearts? The temple they sometimes attain and sometimes miss, but contemplation they might enjoy always. If they are bound to visit a stone, which is looked at only once a year, surely they are more bound to visit the temple of the heart, where He may be seen three hundred and sixty times in a day and night. But the mystic's every step is a symbol of the journey to Mecca, and when he reaches

the sanctuary he wins a robe of honour for every step". Abū Yazīd (al-Bisṭāmī) says: "If anyone's recompense for worshipping God is deferred until to-morrow he has not worshipped God aright to-day", for the recompense of every moment of worship and mortification is immediate. And Abū Yazīd also says: "On my first pilgrimage I saw only the temple; the second time, I saw both the temple and the Lord of the temple; and the third time I saw the Lord alone". In short, where mortification is, there is no sanctuary: the sanctuary is where contemplation is. Unless the whole universe is a man's trysting-place where he comes nigh unto God and a retired chamber where he enjoys intimacy with God, he is still a stranger to Divine love: but when he has vision the whole universe is his sanctuary. "The darkest thing in the world is the Beloved's house without the Beloved".

Accordingly, what is truly valuable is not the Kaʿba, but contemplation and annihilation in the abode of friendship, of which things the sight of the Kaʿba is indirectly a cause. (Hudjwīrī, transl. Nicholson, p. 327).

IV. The Kaʿba in Legend and Superstition.

The alleged religion of Abraham gave a basis for the esteem in which the Muslims held the Kaʿba. Legend attached itself to the Ḳurʾānic statements and spun them out. As Snouck Hurgronje has proved in his *Mekkaansche Feest* against Dozy's hypotheses (see his *Israëliten te Mekka*), there can be no question of a local Meccan tradition in this connection. There was, it is true, a local tradition, but it consists of semi-historical reminiscences of the last few centuries before Islām. But all that tradition relates regarding the origin of the Kaʿba and its connections with Biblical personages, belongs to Islāmic legend.

The latter first of all attached itself to the statement that Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl raised (*rafaʿa*) the foundations of the Kaʿba (ii. 121). God's command to Ibrāhīm to build the Kaʿba is by some placed before the episode of Hagar and by others after it. The patriarch came to Arabia led by the *Sakīna*, which had the shape of a stormy wind with two heads; it is also described as having a snake's head. When it reached the site of the Kaʿba it wound itself round its foundation [see below] and said "Build on me". According to others, Ibrāhīm built on its shadow. He was helped by Ismāʿīl in this; the stones were taken from five (or seven) hills: Ḥirāʾ, Thabīr, Lebanon, Mount of Olives and the Djabal al-Aḥmar near Mecca (other names are also given). When the building had risen to some height, he stood at his work on the stone, which still shows the impress of his feet, the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*. The Black Stone, which was still white in those days and only received its present colour as a result of contact with the impurity and sin of the pagan period, was brought to him by Gabriel after having been kept in Abū Ḳubais [q. v.] since the Deluge. Within the building (which was not high and had no roof) Ibrāhīm dug the hole, which afterwards served as a treasury. When the work of building was completed, he took his stand on the *maḳām*, which now rose high above the mountains, and proclaimed the pilgrimage to all men. From all sides they answered: *Labbaika, Allāhumma! Labbaika!*

On the other hand Muslim legend has developed the passage, Sūra iii. 90: "Truly, the first temple that was founded for men is that in Bakka; a blessed house and a guidance for (all) creatures". The ambiguous expression according to which Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl "raised" the foundations of the Kaʿba left room for the view that the foundations already existed on which he erected the building. Al-Ṭabarī in his commentary on Sūra ii. 121 (i. 408 *sq.*) however recognises that there are two views: according to the one, Adam, according to the other, Ibrāhīm laid the foundations. Legend relates the following regarding the foundation by Adam. When after the fall Adam was hurled out of Paradise on the earth, he came to Mecca. Gabriel with his wing uncovered a foundation, which had been laid in the seventh earth, and the angels threw blocks on it from Lebanon, the Mount of Olives, Djabal Djūdī [see DJŪDĪ] and Ḥirāʾ until the hole was filled level with the earth. God then sent from Paradise a tent of red jacinth in which Adam lived; what was afterwards the black stone, then a white jacinth from Paradise, served as a seat. When God made his covenant with men, the latter acknowledged God's sovereignty; the document on which their acknowledgment was written was given by God to be swallowed by the Black Stone. At the Last Day it will be given a tongue, to bear witness against men; according to others, because it was originally an angel.

There was a particular reason for sending down the prototype of the latter Kaʿba. Originally Adam's stature was so great that he could hear the song of the heavenly hosts around God's throne. As a result of the Fall, however, his stature was shortened; he then lamented to God that the higher spheres were now closed to him. God then sent down the tent around which Adam now performed the *ṭawāf*, following the example of the angels. But Mecca was without inhabitants and the sanctuary without worshippers. When he gave vent to his regrets on this point, he was promised by God that in time this place would be the site of a cult; that the sanctuary would enjoy a particular *karāma*; that it would be a *ḥaram* [q. v.] whose *ḥurma* would extend above, below and around, and to which men would make pilgrimage with dishevelled hair and covered with dust, breaking out of every cleft with weeping and *tahlīl* [q. v.] and *talbiya* [q. v.].

After Adam's death his descendants (Shīth is specially mentioned) built the Kaʿba. But the deluge washed the building away while the sacred stone was concealed by the angels in Abū Ḳubais. According to others, however, the flood did not touch the Kaʿba and Nūḥ performed the *ṭawāf* round the holy house. According to the first tradition, only a red mound was left of the Kaʿba, which Abraham afterwards found.

But the legends also extend to the period after Abraham. The hole in the Kaʿba, which is called *al-Akhsaf* or *al-Akhshaf*, is said to have been several times plundered under the Djurhum [q. v.]. Therefore at God's command a snake took up its abode there and guarded the treasures. When the Ḳuraishites wanted to pull down the Kaʿba, the monster opposed this plan, until God sent a bird which carried it off to one of the surrounding hills. — Every renovation of the Kaʿba is said to have been carried out amid ter-

rible portents, such as lightning-flashes. It is also said that on such occasions the foundation of the Ka'ba was brought to light and it looked like the necks of camels intertwined.

For the legend connected with the origin of the Zamzam well, see the article ZAMZAM. The following may however be added here. Once when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was sleeping in the *ḥidjr*, one appeared to him and in mysterious words ordered him to dig out the Zamzam, which was "at the battle-ground of the Ḳuraishīs", at the "Ravenhole", and at the "Ants' nest". Now when the Ḳuraish contested his right to it (or the claim to the well already dug) both parties went to the *Kāhina* of the Banū Sa'd b. Hudhail. On the way their water gave out. But the water which sprang from the impression of the hoof of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's mount was an indication from heaven that the latter was right. They therefore turned back to Mecca; and when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had begun to dig, he found there two golden gazelles which the Djurhum had concealed there, as well as swords and armour. All this was deposited at the Ka'ba or used to decorate the buildings.

This legendary story of the origin of the Ka'ba was easily brought into conformity with the cosmological views current among Christians and Jews in the East, the central point of which was the sanctuary itself. Muslim tradition at first adopted this cosmology completely, as is evident from the statements which are still wholly under the influence of the predominance of Jerusalem. They were however not content with this and transferred a considerable part of these sayings to Mecca. These traditions are grouped round the navel theory, the main ideas of which are as follows. The earth has a navel, whose functions are parallel to those of the human navel. It forms the part of the earth which was created before the rest of it and around which the rest stretches. It is also the highest point, the place which provides the whole world with its nourishment; and its forms the place of communication with the upper and under world.

This navel was at first Jerusalem and later Mecca. But not all the properties of the navel are attached in equal degree to Mecca. They may be briefly summed up as follows. About 40, according to others, 2000 years before the creation of the world, the sanctuary was an agglomeration (*ghuthā'*) in the world ocean. The beginning of the creation consisted in the stretching out of the earth around this point as centre, in the following order: after the substance of the earth (which coincides with the navel) heaven was formed and lastly the earth itself. In agreement with this theory is the fact that in the Ḳur'ān Mecca is called the mother of cities (*Umm al-Ḳurā*) (vi. 92, xlii. 5) and in popular literature the navel of the earth (Yāḳūt *Mu'djam*, iv. 278; *al-Khamīs*, i. 37; al-Ḥalabī, i. 195, etc.).

That the sanctuary is the highest point in the world cannot be scientifically maintained. The popular traditions however like to move in this direction. Thus, in the story of the creation, it is said that the earth is extended b e l o w the sanctuary. The semi-scientific cosmography says that the position of the Ka'ba corresponds to the Pole Star; as the latter is the highest point in the heavens, so the Ka'ba is the highest point on earth (al-Kisā'ī, *'Adjā'ib al-Malakūt*, MS. Leiden, f. 15*b*). This view is probably connected with the conception of heaven and earth as domes or tents put one upon the other, which can be shown to exist in Muslim literature.

The view that the sanctuary connects on the one side with heaven and on the other with the lower world is not so clearly stated with regard to Mecca as to Jerusalem. But it is said that no place on earth is nearer heaven than Mecca; and in the pagan period men are said to have gone up on to Abū Ḳubais to offer particularly urgent prayers. Whether the pit in the Ka'ba was really regarded as the entrance to the underworld, like the corresponding arrangements in Jerusalem and Hierapolis is uncertain.

One typical characteristic of the lower world is certainly possessed by Mecca. It is described as a tomb. Not only Ismā'īl, but a whole series of prophets, numbering hundreds, is said to have been buried round the Ka'ba. Every prophet belongs to Mecca. This is his essential starting point and termination of his career. Muḥammad therefore also belongs to Mecca and Mecca is his real grave as theoreticians say (al-Ḥalabī, i. 197) in opposition to the fact that he is buried in Madīna.

Traditions which emphasise Mecca's importance for the nourishment of the world are hardly represented at all.

These theories had to be brought into consonance with the later cosmology of Islām, which regards the universe as a series of stories of seven heavens and seven earths. The Ka'ba is now not only placed in the centre of the earth (according to the navel theory) but it forms the central point of the whole universe. Its foundations as well as those of Abū Ḳubais lie in the seventh earth and form a kind of axis which runs through all these worlds.

The so-called stories are exactly like one another in plan. Every one has a sanctuary in the centre so that if the top one fall down, it would fall exactly on the lowest in the seventh world. The highest of the sanctuaries is the throne of God. Of those which lie between the throne and the Ka'ba two are mentioned by name; the *Bait ma'mūr*, the name of which is taken from the Ḳur'ān (lii. 4) and *al-Ḍurāḥ*. Jewish literature was already acquainted with a heavenly sanctuary in which the angels act as priests. In Islām these priestly functions are usually replaced by the *ṭawāf*.

V. Comparative History of the Cult.

From the fact that Ptolemy calls Mecca Macoraba (i. e. *Mikrāb*, temple) we may conclude that in his time the Ka'ba was regarded as the dwelling of one or more deities. According to a statement of Epiphanius (*Haereses*, V, following the text in *Philologus*, 1860, p. 355), Dhu 'l-Sharā had his χααβου in Petra, in which word Ka'ba is also probably concealed. It is however not clear from Epiphanius, whether the temple in Petra was meant or the quadrangular black stone, which represented Dhu 'l-Sharā. Al-Bakrī (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 46) relates that the tribe of Bakr Wā'il [q. v.] as well as the main body of the tribe of Iyād had their centre of worship in Sindād in the region of Kāẓa and that their holy tent (or temple, *bait*) here was called Dhāt al-Ka'abāt (cf. however al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa Djazīrat al-'Arab*, p. 171, 14. 17, 230, 22). According to Wellhausen,

the Ka'ba owed its sanctity to the Black Stone; this may be right, for the religion of the ancient Arabs was essentially stone-worship.

The form of the building may be compared with the apse of the Jerusalem temple, which was twenty ells in each direction.

It is not related that the Black Stone was connected with any special god. In the Ka'ba was the statue of the god Hubal who might be called the god of Mecca and of the Ka'ba. Caetani gives great prominence to the connection between the Ka'ba and Hubal. Besides him, however, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, and al-Manāt were worshipped and are mentioned in the Ḳur'ān; Hubal is never mentioned there. What position Allāh held beside these is not exactly known. The Islāmic tradition has certainly elevated him at the expense of other deities.

It may be considered certain that the Black Stone was not the only idol in or at the Ka'ba. The Maḳām Ibrāhīm was of course a sacred stone from very early times. Its name has not been handed down. Beside it several idols are mentioned, among them the 360 statues.

The Ka'ba possessed in a high degree the usual qualities of a Semitic sanctuary. First of all it made the whole surrounding area into consecrated ground. Around the town lies the sacred zone (*ḥaram*) marked by stones, which imposes certain restrictions on each one who enters it [see IHRĀM]. Moreover, the sanctity of the area is seen in the following points. In the *ḥaram* the truce of God reigns. When the Arab tribes made a pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, all feuds were dormant. It was forbidden to carry arms. Next, the *ḥaram* — and the Ka'ba especially — is a place of refuge. Here the unintentional manslayer was safe just as in the Jewish cities of refuge. On the Ka'ba there was a kind of handle to which the fugitives clung (Al-Azraḳī, p. 111), an arrangement which recalls the purport of the horns on the Jewish altar.

Blood was not allowed to flow in the *ḥaram*. It is therefore reported that those condemned to death were led outside the *ḥaram* to execution. The idea of peace extended even to the flora and fauna. Animals — except a few injurious or dangerous sorts, — are not to be scared away; hence the many tame doves in the mosque. Trees and bushes were not cut down except the *idh-khir* shrub, which was used for building houses and in goldsmiths' work. These regulations were confirmed by Islām and are in force to this day.

As to the rites, it is said that in the heathen period victims were slain at the Ka'ba. Among the ancient Arabs the idol of stone replaced the altar; on it they smeared the blood of the sacrificial animals. In Islām the killing takes place in Minā.

It is a question, whether and how far the Ka'ba was connected with the *ḥadjdj* in the pre-Islāmic period. Wellhausen (*Reste Arab. Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 79) defends the view that originally only the *'umra* [q. v.] was concerned with the Ka'ba while the scene of the *ḥadjdj* was 'Arafāt, Muzdalifa and Minā. The connecting of pilgrimage and *'umra* is regarded by him as a rather clumsy correction made by Islām. It must be conceded that Wellhausen with justice points to the fact that the *'umra* far down into Islām was closely connected with the month of Radjab. Moreover, the *ḥadjdj* is called simply *ḥadjdj 'Arafāt* and, according to the Shāfi'ī school, the *wuḳūf* in 'Arafāt is the main ceremony of the *ḥadjdj*. On the other hand, it should be remarked that in the Ḳur'ān (iii. 91) pilgrimage is connected with the Ka'ba (*ḥadjdj al-Bait*) and that tradition nowhere gives us the slightest hint of this being an innovation. The facts emphasised by Wellhausen may however be interpreted otherwise. He himself has pointed out that the ancient Arabs were fond of connecting sacred places situated close to one another by ceremonial rites. It is therefore more probable that the rather clumsy alteration had taken place by the pre-Islām period and is to be regarded as the result of a connection of the cult of 'Arafāt with that of Mecca.

As was said above, the Tubba' is regarded as the first who covered the Ka'ba. Whether this tradition is historically correct is beyond our knowledge. It is noteworthy that the coloured cloths are mentioned which were placed over the building, a rite which one has to consider in connection with similar rites used in other cases. The Jewish tabernacle, the high places of Canaan (Ezekiel xvi. 16), the throne of Solomon, the throne of the bishops, the *maḥmal*, and sacred tents in ancient Arabia as well as the *Sidrat al-Muntahā* in Paradise are all covered with coloured cloths. It is misleading to give a general explanation of all such things. But the idea of a connection with the sun shining in the heavens seems obvious here; particularly for the *Sidra* this notion can be traced further. The question might even be asked whether and how far the Ka'ba was regarded as an astral symbol. For the affirmative there is the fact that the Ka'ba is the object of the *ṭawāf* and that *ṭawāf* and Ka'ba are represented by Muslim tradition itself as connected with the host of spirits round the throne of God. The throne of God is, as is well known, a cosmic magnitude, and the Ka'ba and the Black Stone are described as the throne of God's *khalīfa* on earth, Adam. The dance of the heavenly spirits can easily be interpreted as a dance of the planets. Moreover, golden suns and moons are repeatedly mentioned among the votive gifts (al-Azraḳī, p. 155 *sqq.*). According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iv. 47), certain people have regarded the Ka'ba as a temple devoted to the sun, the moon and the five planets. The 360 idols placed round the Ka'ba also point in this direction. It can therefore hardly be denied that traces exist of an astral symbolism. At the same time one can safely say that there can be no question of any general conception on these lines. The cult at the Ka'ba was in the heathen period syncretic as is usual in heathenism. How far also North Semitic cults were represented in Mecca cannot be exactly ascertained. It is not excluded that Allāh was of Aramaic origin. The dove of aloe wood which Muḥammad found existing in the Ka'ba may have been devoted to the Semitic Venus.

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(A. J. WENSINCK.)

ḲABAḲBĀZĪ, or *Ḳabaḳandāzī*, the gourd-game, the oriental form of the Popinjay. It was a sort of tilting at the ring, but the weapon was an arrow, and the archers were on horseback. A ring was shot through, but the mark was a pigeon or other bird set on a high mast. In Bābur's time the mark was a duck (v. *Bābur-nāma*, Gibb Mem. i. and Mrs. Beveridge's transl. i. 34, and P. de Courteille, i. 39). The game was much practised in Egypt (v. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mamlouks*, i. 243, note 118; also Dozy's *Supplément*). It was also practised in India and Persia, (v. *Akbarnāma*, i., transl. p. 440; Vuller's *Lex.*, ii. 710). The game is alluded to in the *Gulistān*, iii. Story 28. (H. BEVERIDGE.)

ḲABATASH. [See CONSTANTINOPLE, i. 875*b*].

ḲABḌ (A.) means the legitimate taking possession of a thing, for example by inheritance or as the result of a contract. *Ḳabḍ* is usually discussed in the Muslim law-books in close connection with delivery by a contract of sale, for example in al-Bādjūrī's *Ḥāshiya* on Ibn Ḳāsim's *Fatḥ al-Karīb*, at the beginning of the chapter on *Baiʿ* (Būlāḳ edition 1307, i. 338); cf. E. Sachau, *Muhammed. Recht nach Schafiitischer Lehre*, p. 283 *sq.*; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. des islam. Gesetzes*, p. 263. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

ḲABḌ (A.) "contraction, oppression", in Ṣūfī terminology means a state (*ḥāl*) which is the opposite of *basṭ*, "expansion, gladdening". (In the phrase *Allāhu yaḳbiḍu wa-yabsuṭu*, quoted by Ṣūfī authors from Ḳurʾān ii. 246, however, the words have a more general meaning). Both happen to the *ʿārif* (gnostic) only, while in the novice the corresponding emotions are fear and hope, but with the distinction that the latter refer to the future, while *ḳabḍ* and *basṭ* express a present feeling of spiritual dullness or joy. In the language of Western mysticism, they might be said to correspond approximately to the expressions *consolatio* (consolation) and *desolatio* (spiritual dryness).

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(H. BAUER.)

ḲABḌ, a term in prosody. It is the suppression of the fifth quiescent letter in the primitive feet *faʿūlun* and *mafāʿīlun* and is therefore found in *ṭawīl*, *hazadj*, *muḍāriʿ* and *mutaḳārib*.

In *faʿūlun*, *ḳabḍ* is recommended (according to some, it is obligatory) when this foot is the penultimate of the second hemistich of the third *ḍarb* of a *ṭawīl*; everywhere else it is optional. In *mafāʿīlun*, *ḳabḍ* is obligatory in the last foot of the first hemistich of a *ṭawīl*. In all other cases it is only permitted if the foot is not liable to *kaff* or suppression of the seventh quiescent letter (*n*); nevertheless, it is very rarely found in *ṭawīl*, *hazadj* and *muḍāriʿ*.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

AL-ḲĀBIḌ one of the names of God, see the article ALLĀH, i. 303*b*.

ḲĀBIḌ (ḲĀBIZ) a Turkish Sunnī theologian, founder of the sect of Khubmesīḥīs (popularly called Chapmesīḥīs). By order of Sulaimān he was tried before an extraordinary court, sentenced to death on 8th Ṣafar 934 (3 Nov. 1527) and executed on the following day as a *zindīḳ* [q. v.]. He maintained the (moral) superiority of Jesus over Muḥammad (*afḍalīyat ʿĪsā ʿalā Muḥammad*). On the occasion of this trial Ibn Kamālpashazāde wrote his treatise on Zindīḳism.

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(L. MASSIGNON.)

ḲĀBĪL, i. e. Cain. [See HĀBĪL.]

AL-KABĪR, one of the names of Allāh, see the article ALLĀH, i. 303*a*.

KABĪR, an Indian mystic, of the xvth century, who was claimed both by the Hindus and Musalmāns as belonging to their faith. A large collection of Hindi verses is attributed to him, but their authenticity is doubtful, and a like uncertainty attaches to his biography, which is obscured by legends. He is said to have been the son, or adopted son, of a Muhammadan weaver, and to have become the disciple of Rāmānanda, the Vaishnav reformer, at whose feet he sat in

Benares, joining in the theological and philosophical arguments that his master held with Brahmans and Ṣūfīs. He appears to have earned his living as a weaver, and to have been a married man, the father of a family, and to have been as contemptuous of the professional asceticism of the Yōgī as he was disregardful of the doctrines and ordinances of orthodoxy, whether Hindu or Muslim. The boldness with which he sang his mystical doctrine of the divine unity exposed him to persecution, and he is said to have been driven from Benares in 1495, when he was about 60 years of age, and to have died at Maghar, in the district of Basti, in 1518. Legend says that his Hindu and Muslim disciples disputed as to the disposal of his body, which the former wished to burn and the latter to bury; when they lifted the cloth that covered the body, they found in place of the corpse only a heap of flowers; of these, the Hindus burnt half in Benares, while the Muslims buried the rest at Maghar, where the shrine is still in the charge of Muhammadan Kabīr-Panthīs. Modern scholars, like Kabīr's contemporaries, claim him for one or other of the rival creeds: H. H. Wilson (*op. cit.*, pp. 69, 74) and R. G. Bhandarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 69) maintain that he was a Hindu; G. H. Westcott that he was a Muslim (*op. cit.*, p. 29 *sqq.*); G. A. Grierson's theory (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907, pp. 325, 492) that he derived his opinions from Christian sources, may be dismissed as a pious fiction. A study of his poems makes it clear that he had no desire to attach himself to any organised religion: "Let me make self-reflection my saddle, And put my foot in the stirrup of divine love .... Saith Kabīr, they are good riders Who keep themselves aloof from the Vedas and the Ḳur'ān"; nor did he attempt to formulate any religious or philosophical system of his own, but he popularised the current Vaishnav teaching of his age, without however connecting it with any particular incarnation, and he spoke of God indifferently as Rām, Hari, ʿAlī or Allāh. He rejected the outward signs of Hinduism, e. g. the sacred thread, the distinctions of caste, the ritual observances of temple worship, etc., and his references to Muslim authorities and institutions (e. g. the Ḳur'ān, circumcision, pilgrimage, the Mullā, the Ḳāḍī etc.) are accompanied with a denial of their validity. He represented God as the omnipresent reality, but maintained the separate individuality of the human soul, which could attain union with God through love, not by knowledge or by ceremonial observances. Through his homely illustrations and his close contact with daily life, he presented his doctrines in a form readily acceptable to unlettered persons, who appear to form the majority of his followers.

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(T. W. ARNOLD.)

KABĪRPANTHĪS (Hindī *panth*, a path, sect). Despite the non-sectarian character of Kabīr's teaching, his followers now form a distinct sect, the majority of whom are Hindus. The best account of their organisation is given by Westcott, *op. cit.*, chaps v. and vi. According to the Census of 1911, there were 597,199 in the Central Provinces, and 49,605 in the United Provinces; in the other provinces they either are not found at all, or their number is too inconsiderable to call for separate enumeration.

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(T. W. ARNOLD.)

AL-ḲABĪṢĪ, whose full name was ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ (also ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN) B. ʿOṮẖMĀN B. ʿALĪ, ABU 'L-ṢAḲR, an important astrologer probably of Persian descent. He was known to the Christian world of the middle ages as ALCABITIUS (also ALCHABITIUS). He lived for a considerable period at the court of Sulṭān Saif al-Dawla b. Ḥamdān (d. 356 = 969) and dedicated his principal astrological work to him: *al-Madkhal ilā Ṣināʿat Aḥkām al-Nudjūm* (Introduction to the art of Astrology) of which copies still exist in Oxford, Gotha and Cairo. It was translated into Latin by Joh. Hispalensis. This translation was printed in Venice in 1481, 1485, 1491 and 1521. The edition of 1485 is entitled *Libellus ysagogicus Abdilazi, id est servi gloriosi Dei, qui dicitur Alchabitius, ad magisterium iudiciorum astrorum. Interpretatus a Joanne Hispalensi*, Venetiis 1485. The edition of 1521 is called *Praeclarum Alchabitii opus ad scrutanda stellarum magisteria isagogicum*. A commentary on it was compiled by Joh. de Saxonia in 1331 and printed at Bologna in 1473, and again in 1485 and 1521 at Venice at the end of the editions of Alcabitius. Al-Ḳabīṣī also wrote several smaller astrological treatises. The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

Bibliography: A special article on this astrologer is given by al-Baihaḳī (c. 1150) alone among the Arab biographers, in his *Taʾrīkh Ḥukamāʾ al-Islām* (Ms. Leiden, 133*d*, Gol.), cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Naturwissensch.*, xx. 68; scattered notices are found in *Fihrist*, p. 265 (Art. *Buḳhdār*); in Ibn Khallikān (Cairo 1310), i. 365, transl. by de Slane, ii. 335; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 35. Cf. also H.

Suter in *Abhandl. z. Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 60, xvi. 165. (H. SUTER.)

AL-ḲABḲ, DJABAL (DJIBĀL) AL-ḲABḲ or AL-ḲABḲ, as al-Ṭabarī, i. 2660, 15, 2664, 4, 2666, 16 and Yāḳūt iv. 31, 23 have it, and as should be read everywhere in al-Masʿūdī (ed. Paris) for al-Ḳabkh, is a name for the Caucasus, common in Muslim authors. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.* (Leipzig 1897), i. 45 derives Ḳabḳ from Armenian *Kapkoh*, Pehl. *Kāfkōh*.

An older geographical conception regards this chain as belonging to the Ḳāf (q. v.) range which encloses the world (cf. B. Munkácsi, *Der Kaukasus u. Ural als "Gürtel der Erde"*, in *Keleti Szemle*, i. 236 *sqq.*). The name Alburz is no doubt connected with this idea, which Mustawfī, and apparently following him Kātib Čelebi, give to the Caucasus, while the name Ḳabḳ (*Djihānnumā*, *ḳ-y-t-ḳ*) is limited to its eastern (transl. p. 182 wrongly "western") side. Here the range appears to be considered the continuation of the North Persian mountain chain of the same name, with which also are associated notions of its being the boundary range of the world; (Cf. the article ALBURZ; F. Justi: *Beitr. zur alten Geographie Persiens*, i. 4 *sqq.*, ii. 4 *sq.*; Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, p. 27). To similar considerations is probably to be ascribed the fact that the Caucasus is connected with mountains which, beginning with Djabal al-ʿArdj between al-Madīna and Mecca (Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 172 *infra sq.*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 25, 7 *sqq.*, 295, 4 *sqq.*) or in Yemen (al-Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, p. 126, 25 *sq.*) run northwards through Arabia and Syria. The connecting of these mountains with Ḳāf led to the localisation in the Caucasus region of the rock, sea and village (Ḳurʾān xviii. 59 *sqq.*) known from the legend of Moses (Alexander) (Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 124, 3 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 287, 14 *sq.*; al-Muḳaddasī, p. 46, 16 *sq.*; Yāḳūt, i. 220, 22 *sq.*, 454, 3 *sq.*, iii. 282, 9 *sqq.*).

The Caucasus has further been regarded as the range beyond which dwell Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj (q. v.). The *al-Saddain* of Ḳurʾān xviii. 89, explained as "the two mountains", between which Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain caused a barrier to be built to check the inroads of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj is identified with Armenia and Ādharbaidjān (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvi. 121 *sqq.*; al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳurʾān xviii. 89). But when geographical knowledge was extended, Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj were placed further north.

The Sasanians in particular had closed the Caucasus passes with fortifications to prevent the inroads of the northern nomadic peoples. The most famous of these passes (cf. Ibn Khordādhbeh p. 123, 13 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt, i. 439, 2 *sqq.*) are Bāb al-Abwāb or Bāb Ṣūl or Derbend (q. v.) and Bāb Allān, the gate of the Alans, or the Darial pass.

The multiplicity of ethnic groups and languages in the Caucasus is mentioned by most Muslim geographers. According to an oft recurring statement, 70 (72) different languages are found there (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 25; al-Masʿūdī, ii. 2); according to al-Muhallabī's *Kitāb al-ʿAzīzī* (in Abu 'l-Fidāʾ), as many as 300. Wherefore the mountain ranges are also called Djabal al-Alsun "Mount of Languages" (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 71, 15 *sqq.*, 393, s. v. Tamīmasān, 405, s. v. Sarīr Allān).

For groups of peoples, states, and towns in the Caucasus the reader is referred to the separate articles and the literature given below. See the articles ABKHĀZ, ALLĀN, ARMENIA, ARRĀN, BĀKŪ, BARDHAʿA, DAGHESTAN, DERBEND, GANDJA.

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KĀBUL. 1. A river of Afghānistān which rises near the Unai Pass in Lat. 34° 21′ N., Long. 68° 20′ E. and flows past the city of Kābul, near which it receives the Loghar River on the south and the Pandjshīr on the north. From the plateau of Kābul it flows by rocky passes to the lower valley of Djalālābād in which it receives the Surkhāb on the south and the Kunar on the north. It then passes through a gorge in the Mohmand hills into the Peshāwar District of British India near Michni. Here it divides into two branches, the northern one of which receives the Swāt R. Afterwards the branches re-unite. After a course of 316 miles the Kābul falls into the Indus near Aṭak.

It is the Skr. Kubhā, and is called Kōphēn and Kōphēs by Arrian and Strabo, Kōa by Ptolemy. The Kubhā was undoubtedly one of the Seven Rivers of the *Rigveda*. The Arab geogra-

phers call this river by various names. Al-Bērūnī speaks of the River Ghorwand which falls into the Indus below Waihand, the capital of al-Ḳandahār (i. e. Gandhāra). This name is taken from the Ghorband Pass near which the Pandjshēr River rises. Al-Mas'ūdī says "the fourth river of the Pandjāb comes from the country of Kābul and its mountains which form the frontier of al-Sind". The modern name of the river in Pashto is Sind, (also a general term for "river"). Bābur speaks of the Sind river as rising in a mountain to the west of Kābul, and no doubt alludes to the Kābul R., though elsewhere he applies the name Sind to the Indus. The name Kāma given by Elphinstone (Appendix on Rivers) appears to be a misnomer, as Kāma is the name of a tributary only.

The town and district of Kābul seem to have taken their name from the river.

2. An important city, now the capital of Afghānistān, situated in 34° 30' N. 69° 13 E. 5780 ft. above sea-level, in a fertile and well watered plateau. Population about 150,000.

Although the Kābul River under various names [q. v.] is known from the earliest times, there is no mention of any town which can be identified with Kābul. Ptolemy's Karoura has been supposed by some to be Kaboura, and the people he names Bolitai are conjectured to be properly Kabolitai or people of Kābul, but these guesses rest on no evidence. Kōphēnē is probably the name of the whole valley derived from the river Kōphēn.

This territory was reoccupied by the Bactrian King Demetrios and formed a Greek kingdom until about the commencement of the Christian Era. The Parthian Gondophares seems to have held it for a time and the Kushan invaders were in possession of it during the 1st century. A vase bearing an inscription of King Huvishka has been found at Wardak near Kābul. Buddhism was the religion at this period. The Kushans were supplanted by the Ephthalites for a period, but some branches of the race seem to have recovered power afterwards, and held it when Hiuen Thsang passed through in 657 A. D. Kao-fu is the name given to Kābul by the Chinese at this period. Buddhism was gradually replaced by Brahmanism, and this was the religion of the later Kushan kings, known by the title of Shāhi, who, as we learn from al-Bērūnī, were superseded by their Brahman wazīrs, probably about the time of the first Muhammadan invasions. It is probable that after the first invasions the Hindū kingdom of Gandhāra was ruled from its capital Udabhanda (or Waihand) on the Indus, and extended to the foot of the mountains west of Djalālābād, but did not include Kābul proper, which continued as a separate principality under its own Shāh, sometimes under Muhammadan influence and sometimes independent, till Sabuktigin's time. By the earliest Arab chroniclers the country as a whole is termed Kandahār i. e. Gandhāra, which has often been mistaken for the town of Kandahār. Thus Ṭabarī tells us that under 'Omar in the year 23 'Āṣim b. Amr and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omair pressed on through Sīstān as far as the Indian frontier and Ḳandahār. The town of Kābul is not distinctly mentioned, the Kābul Valley and the adjacent Kōhistān up to the Hindūkush passes being described as the country of the Kābul-Shāh and the capital as an inaccessible mountain fort of an uncertain name (read Ghurwas by Le Strange). Ya'ḳūbī says that it was conquered under 'Othmān by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, but when he wrote it was known only by the export of the Chebulic (or Kābulī) myrobalans. Another expedition followed in Mu'āwiya's time, and again in 176 (793) under Hārūn al-Rashīd an army from Balkh invaded the valley from the north via the Bāmiyān Pass. There was another invasion in the time of al-Ma'mūn, which led to the submission of the Kābul-Shāh and his acceptance of Islām. These expeditions seem to have led to a nominal submission and acceptance of Islām but there seems to have been no actual occupation before that of the Ṣaffārīs in 257 (871). Pandjhīr with its silver mines was no doubt a powerful attraction and coins were struck there by Ya'ḳūb b. Laith. But it cannot be said that the name of Kābul applied to any particular town until later, and in any case it was not an important centre. It may be noted that the attack made by Ya'ḳūb b. Laith was from the north by way of the Hindukush passes, and not by the more obvious route from Sidjistān, by way of the Arghandāb Valley and Ghazna. The ruler of Kābul at this period is described as a Turk by race and a Buddhist by religion, and it is probable that he was a successor of the later Kushan [cf. AFGHĀNISTĀN, i. 161].

It was never a mint town before the time of the Mughal Emperors. Coins were first struck there by Bābur [see art. BABER]. Throughout the rule of the Ghaznavids [q. v.] and Ghōrids [q. v.] Ghazna was the capital. Al-Idrīsī mentions Kābul as a large Indian city on the border of Ṭukhāristān, and adds that no ruler could take the title of Shāh till he had been inaugurated at Kābul. His information was probably derived from authorities much earlier than his own period, when the kingdom of the Shāhis had long ceased to exist.

It seems probable that the frequent destruction of Ghazna led to the rise of Kābul and after Tīmūr's time it became the centre of a principality under some members of his family. After the death of Abū Sa'īd [q. v.], his son Ulugh Beg obtained possession of Kābul and held it till his death. His son was expelled by Muḳīm, a son of Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg Arghūn, who in his turn was driven out by Bābur in 910 (1504). This formed the foundation of Bābur's Indian empire, and even when his son Humāyūn was driven out of India, Kābul was not lost by the family, but was held first by Kāmrān and afterwards by Humāyūn himself till India was recovered. Bābur was fond of Kābul, and gives an enthusiastic description of its climate, its streams, its fruits and flowers. After his death at Agra his body was brought to Kābul and his tomb still exists in a garden laid out by himself near the town. From this time the history of Kābul is bound up with that of the Mughal Empire of India. It became a mint for gold, silver and copper, and coins of most of the emperors are found up till the time of Muhammad Shāh. In 1738 it fell into the hands of Nādir Shāh, and although a rupee of the emperor 'Ālamgīr II was struck there after Nādir Shāh's death, it never again belonged to the empire, but was very soon taken by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.]. It soon superseded Ḳandahār as capital of the Durrānī dominions, and has continued to hold that position under Sadozais and Barakzais till the present day. [For history see under art. AFGHĀNISTĀN, i. 169b sqq.]. The town grew in prosperity as the capital of an important kingdom, although it suf-

ered much during the various wars, especially those between 1839—1842 between the Sadozais and Barakzais, in which the British army of occupation took part, and in the civil war between Shēr ʿAlī and his brothers. Under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān [q. v.] and Ḥabīb Allāh the town has been improved and good roads and bazaars constructed. The Bālā Ḥiṣār or old palace citadel on a rocky hill has been dismantled, the upper part has become an arsenal. A new fortified palace known as the ʿArk was built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān outside the town between Shērpūr and ʿĀlamgandj.

In addition to the tomb of Bābur mentioned above, the tomb of Tīmūr Shāh Durrānī is also near Kābul.

3. Kābul is also the name of the province in which the capital is situated. It is bounded on the north by Afghān Turkistān, on the west by Herāt, on the south by Ḳandahār and on the east by Djalālābād. It includes the Paghmān Mts. to the north-west and the Hazāradjāt in the south-west. Ghazni is comprised in its limits, and the boundary between Kābul and Djalālābād is at Djagdalak.

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ḲABŪL (A.). Acceptance of the offer (in contracts); see IDJĀB.

ḲĀBŪS b. WASHMGĪR, SHAMS AL-MAʿĀLĪ, ABU ʾL-ḤASAN, nephew of Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār and fourth ruler of the Ziyārid dynasty (his genealogy is given by his grandson, Ḳābūs Unṣur al-Maʿālī in his preface to the *Ḳābūsnāmah*). Called to the throne by a military conspiracy, in 366 (976) he succeeded his brother Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bahistūn as ruler of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān. When the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.] had quarrelled with his brother ʿAḍud al-Dawla [q. v.] and the latter deprived him of his whole kingdom in 369 (979/80) Fakhr al-Dawla took refuge with his father-in-law Ḳābūs. As the latter declined to hand him over to the victor, ʿAḍud al-Dawla sent a force against Ḳābūs who after a defeat at Astarābād in 371 (981/2) fled with his protégé to Nīshāpūr to Ḥusām al-Dawla, governor of Khorāsān under the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Manṣūr. The latter sought to conquer Ṭabaristān for himself, but Ḥusām was defeated. On the death of the Vizier, Abu ʾl-Ḥusain al-ʿUtbī, Ḥusām was summoned to Bukhārā to succeed him and took Fakhr al-Dawla and Ḳābūs with him. Soon after the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla at Baghdād (373 = 983) Fakhr al-Dawla gradually reconquered Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān and wished to restore them to Ḳābūs but was persuaded by his vizier Ibn ʿAbbād al-Ṣāḥib [q. v.] to keep them for himself. After the death of Fakhr al-Dawla however Ḳābūs regained his inheritance after seventeen years' exile in 388 (998) and held it till in 403 (1012) his tyranny and the many executions ordered by him produced a rising of the troops, who deposed him and put on the throne his son Minočihr, who was summoned from Ṭabaristān. Soon afterwards he was put to death by the rebels in the fortress of Djenāshk between Djurdjān and Astarābād by being deprived of his clothes, while engaged in his religious ablutions, and then allowed to perish of cold. He was learned in several branches of knowledge, particularly astrology, and left several short treaties (*rasāʾil*) as well as Persian and Arabic poems. He was also a distinguished calligrapher. The poets Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī of Sarakhs and Ziyād b. Muḥammad of Djurdjān sang his praises (Muḥammad ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ii. 18, 19).

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KABYLIA, a mountainous country in the Algerian Tell. The name Kabylia or land of the Kabyls (Arab. *Bilād al-Ḳabāʾil*) is of comparatively modern origin; it is not found in the Arab historians or geographers, nor is it usual among the natives. It seems only to have been introduced as a geographical name by European scholars since the sixteenth century. The name Kabyle is taken from the Arabic *ḳabāʾil*, plur. of *ḳabīla*, "tribe", which some Arab writers use as a synonym for Berbers; this is found as early as the author of the *Kirṭās*, who several times (e. g. p. 217 and 238 of the Arabic text), in detailing the contingents of troops in the Marīnid armies, carefully distinguishes the Kabāʾil from the Arabs.

The European geographers sometimes give the name Kabylia to the whole mountain system of the Algerian coast from the mouth of the Isser to the Tunisian frontier. These elevations show in fact several common characteristics: predominance of the older strata with a few less extensive chalk zones intervening, an irregular outline, a striking development of forest flora, a population consisting of settled tribes who for the most part have retained their Berber dialects. According to the different mountain ranges, Kabylia is divided into the following fairly well defined areas: Great Kabylia or Kabylia of the Djurdjura, Little Kabylia or Kabylia of the Babor mountains between the Summam in the west and the Wād al-Kabīr in the east, Kabylia of Collo, Kabylia of the Djebel Edugh and Kabylia of Bōna. The first named of these areas is the most extensive and has the most marked character; it is therefore called Kabylia by preference and we shall deal with it alone in the following.

Great Kabylia is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Wād Būdūāu to Bougie, i. e. for a length of 100 miles. In the east it is bounded by the valley of the Wād Sāḥel (called Summam in its low course) and by the upper course of the Isser, in the west

by the valley of the Wād Būdūāu and the Mitīdja plain. The area thus included measures about 41 miles from N. to S. between Dellys and Bwīra (Bouira) and covers some 2307 square miles. Access is rather difficult except from the west. Here the gateway of Ménerville (pass of the Beni 'Ā'isha 450 feet high), the valley of the lower Isser, the depression of the Wād Shander and the pass of Haussonvillers (600 feet) afford an easy access to the Sebau plain, i. e. the heart of Kabylia.

Kabylia falls into three separate areas very different from each other: the Kabylian mountains in the narrower sense, the Djurdjura chain and the coast range. The Kabylian mountains "consist in the centre chiefly of gneiss and micaceous schists with larger or smaller intrusions of granulitic rocks and, on the flanks, of archaic schists and primary argillaceous schists, the layers of which form the outer spurs with their gentler slopes. In the west of these mountains and separated from the main group by tertiary deposits rise several isolated rocky peaks: Bū 'Arīs, the massif of the Khashna (2050 feet), the Djebel Belūwa (2310 feet) north of Tizi Uzū". The Kabylian massif is connected as it were by an isthmus with the central part of the Djurdjura and cut off on the other sides by a continuous depression, in the north by the valley of the Sebau, as much as 11 miles broad, in the west by the valley of Dra' al-Mīzān and in the south by the depression of Bughni. The whole system, sloping from west to east (from 4225 to 1950 feet) is divided by deep and narrow valleys into mountainous blocks (hills of the Ma'atka, the Fliesa and of the Zwāwa, etc.).

The Djurdjura forms in the south the edge of the Kabyl massif for about 40 miles from Tizi (Berber = pass) Djabūt (3850 feet) to Tizi-n'Shria (4010 feet). It consists of lias limestone, split up into a series of sharp combs or steep rocky walls, and maintains an elevation of a little over 6500 feet. The highest summits, which run in two rows, are the Haizer (6955 feet) and the Akukar (7490 feet) in the north and in the south the Lalla Khadidja (7500 feet). This altitude and the scarcity of the passes, which are impassable in the winter (the most important is the Tirurda Pass (8655 feet), make traffic between the two slopes very difficult. In the east of the Djurdjura proper, in the Djebel Arbala, there reappear scattered layers of limestone, running down to the sea where they end in the Gūraya of Bougie.

At a lower elevation (2600—3900 feet) the coast range stretches along the sea-coast from the mouth of the Sebau to the Djebel Akfadū and covers the greater part of eastern Kabylia with its sandstone formations.

From this variation in elevation and geological structure result marked differences in climatic conditions. In the valleys, notably in the basin of the Sebau, cut off from the sea by the coast range, the summer is very hot (mean July temperature in Tizi Uzū 35° C.). In the Kabyl mountain country on the other hand there is a long cold winter, during which the ground is often continually covered with snow, which lies on the summits of the Djurdjura from December to June. The rainfall is unevenly distributed — being particularly heavy in the east of the district where it averages 40 inches p. a., while the lowlands, notably that of the Wād Sāhel-Summam, which is sheltered from the moist winds by the wall of the Djurdjura, are relatively dry. Nevertheless Kabylia is one of the best watered areas in Algiers. Four river-systems are distinguished: — the Isser, the Wād Sāhel Summam, the coast rivers, and the Sebau. The latter collects the water from the north slope of the Djurdjura, supplied by tributaries, flowing at the bottom of narrow valleys cut through the Kabylian mountains. None of all these water-courses is navigable; they are all mountain torrents and are liable to considerable variations in their amount of water. The winter-rains and the melting of the snow produce a considerable, often devastating, increase in their volume.

Lying within the so-called Numidian zone which is marked by luxurious forests, Kabylia does not have the treeless appearance of most Algerian landscapes. The flint and sandstone formations of the eastern part support great wooded mountains (Yakūren, Tizi Ufella, Akfadū etc.) which are covered with different kinds of oaks such as the cork, the *zān* (*chênes zéens, quercus Mirbeckii*), the *afares* (*quercus castaneofolia*) and *ballūṭ* or hazelnut oak. Several cedar plantations, which however are on the verge of extinction, cover the slopes of the Djurdjura up to a height of 5900 feet. Trees are especially cultivated in the Kabyl mountains where they afford the inhabitants the greater part of their resources. The leaves of the ash-trees are used to feed the cattle, while its wood is used for agricultural and domestic implements and vines sometimes cluster round their stems. The fig and olive trees, the first of which is grown up to 3250 feet and the latter to 1950 feet, play an important part in the life of the Kabyls. Dried figs and oil form the basis of the food of the population; the superfluity is sold abroad. These fruit trees are therefore cultivated with the greatest care and in increasing numbers, so that we find fig and olive trees even on almost inaccessible slopes, where the soil has to be supported by mortarless stone walls. Vegetable fields and orchards surround the houses and villages and their produce serves to supply the daily wants of the inhabitants. Wheat is grown only on the low-lying ground and as a rule only in the districts settled by Europeans. As the scarcity of meadows hardly allows cattle to be reared, the native stock consists of a few cattle and sheep and a large number of goats. The mule is the only suitable beast of burden for this mountainous region.

Kabylia is the most populous part of Algeria as it has about 660,000 inhabitants or 230 to the square mile. The population however is very unevenly distributed. Scattered in Djurdjura, comparatively thin in the forest region, it is however very dense in the Kabylian mountains where the soil of the nature and abundant springs afford more favourable conditions for human settlements. The mixed community of Fort National and that of Djurdjura number, the former 61,728 to 145 miles, the latter 66,353 to 125 miles that is about 418 and 530 to the square mile or about the density of population in Holland. The natives live in groups in villages, sometimes up to several thousand in one village. These settlements lie on the hill-tops or on the mountain ridges which separate the valleys from one another. The choice of site was settled by consideration for the most profitable use of the arable part of the slopes and also for the necessity for securing a defence

against neighbouring tribes. Surrounded by a belt of gardens protected by cactus hedges and encircling walls of stone without mortar, accessible only by steep paths, these villages were really fortresses, sometimes impregnable to an opponent unless provided with artillery. Since however the French occupation guarantees the peace of the land, the natives show a certain tendency to leave the summits and move their dwellings nearer to the valley. In spite of the picturesque appearance which the closely huddled together white houses with their brown tiles make, these villages are in reality only piles of wretched dirty hovels. Most of the houses consist of one storey only and have neither windows nor chimney. As a rule they are divided into two by a wall breast high, of which one part is for men and the other for cattle. The very scanty furnishing consists chiefly of mats, which take the place of bedding, and stone vessels, which hold the family provisions. The groups of houses are separated from one another by narrow passages, which are just broad enough to allow a loaded mule through and are encumbered with dung and rubbish. The only public building is the mosque which, only recognisable by its minaret, is in almost as miserable a condition as the private dwelling houses. As there are no shops in the village where the natives could make their necessary purchases, they have to go to a market (*sūḳ*) which is held weekly at a definite place, usually in the neighbourhood of a river or spring. This market has a great attraction for the Kabyls as they come to it not only to purchase food and other necessaries but also to meet the inhabitants of other villages and learn what is going on. The market usages have therefore been very strictly regulated. The market formed a neutral area, visitors to it enjoyed a special protection called "*'anāya* of the market".

The Kabyl population is increasing steadily and rapidly, but the soil, which is of only average fertility, in spite of the aptitude of its inhabitants cannot support them all. The once flourishing native industries such as weaving, making carpets, ornaments, and arms (especially among the Flissa and the Banī Yenni) are disappearing more and more before European competition. The natives thus find themselves forced to leave their native land and seek work outside it, as moreover they used to do in earlier times also. Under Turkish rule hill dwellers used to come in considerable numbers to Algiers to gain a livelihood as servants, porters or gardeners. Others, notably the Banū Yaḥyā, the Banū Ilīten and the Banū 'Aṭṭāf went about among the Arab tribes as pedlars (*i'aṭṭāren*) and combined money-lending with commerce, as their descendants still do. The French conquest and the expansion of colonisation have opened new outlets for the industry of the natives. While they work in the coast towns as bricklayers, hodmen, and dock labourers, the Kabyls at the same time supply the farmers of the Tell of Algiers and Constantine with the labour so necessary for the harvest and vintage. They also readily labour on public works as well as in the mines of Algeria and Tunisia and for some years past in those of France also. Others again enlist in the native regiments, especially the *tirailleurs*. But the Kabyl's emigration is only temporary; — as soon as the pedlar, the agricultural labourer or the miner has saved a little capital, he returns to his village to buy a strip of land or at least a few trees at the earliest opportunity. The impulse to acquire property is very strong in them and the land is thus broken up into very small shares.

The Kabyls form the most important and at the same time the most compact Berber group in all Algeria. Yet they cannot be regarded as absolutely pure descendants of the old African race which inhabited North Africa before the foreign conquests and the immigrations of the historical period. The very formation of the country made it a place of refuge for the inhabitants of the plateaus and valleys, who were pushed back by the continual inroads of foreign peoples into North Africa. In addition, as Hanoteau points out, Kabylia was at all times an asylum for outlaws and evil doers. The present Kabyl type is therefore the result of numerous crossings and far from being homogeneous. Many individuals can hardly be distinguished from Arabs, others and indeed the greater number, with their large bones, their square heads and their coarse features resemble the peasants of Central France. As to the colour of their hair, two types can be distinguished, the brown and the much rarer blonde. Yet in spite of these differences, the natives of Kabylia have all the linguistic, social and religious peculiarities common to all the tribes described as Berber. They talk different Berber dialects, of which the Zwāwa spoken in Djurdjura and in the Kabyl mountains is the commonest. "The Zwāwa, especially the Banū Raten, are those who, owing to their isolation, are considered to have preserved the purest Berber dialect; this gradually changes by almost imperceptible degrees as one goes westward into the dialect of the Aït Khalfūn and eastward into the dialect of the Wād Sāhel (Wādī Sāḥil) and that of Bougie". (R. Basset, *Étude sur les dialectes Berbères*, Paris, 1894, Introd., p. viii.). The linguistic frontier even crosses the geographical boundaries of Great Kabylia and follows the watershed between the basin of the Wād Bū-Sellām and that of the Wād al-Kabīr. The persistence of these dialects is all the more remarkable as the French occupation, the extension of Muslim as well as European education and finally the continual development of emigration seemed likely to bring about a rapid decline in the use of Berber. Although many natives have a more or less superficial knowledge of Arabic and French, Kabyl is nevertheless still the language of the home, and the only language used by the women and children in the villages. In many districts a decline in Arabic has been noted. In the arrondissement Tīzī Uzū, for example, several Arabic speaking groups comprising some 18,400 persons have become completely berberised in the last few years (E. Doutté and E. F. Gautier, *Enquête sur la dispersion de la langue berbère en Algérie*, Algiers 1913).

The Kabyls possess no written literature but have a fairly varied and copious popular literature (songs, often inspired by current events, fairy tales, riddles, etc.). These productions, composed by illiterate people, often women, have been handed down by oral tradition and transmitted from village to village by wandering singers whose profession is often hereditary. Some of these singers (*meddāḥ, fāṣiḥ*) who sang the praises of the Deity, the feuds of the tribes and the heroic deeds of the warriors, were held in high esteem by their

countryman; others again who sang songs of love or humour to the accompaniment of the tambourine or the oboe were as despised as the butchers, measurers of corn and other individuals, who followed a trade regarded as degrading.

As Muslims, the Kabyls, like the other Berber tribes, adopted the creed without recognising the Ḳur'ānic system of law (see BERBERS, i. 702). Their customs are in many points contrary to orthodoxy. Lending money at interest, condemned in the Ḳur'ān, is generally allowed. "The acceptance of the principle that money is to be considered as goods", writes Hanoteau, "is a characteristic feature of Kabyl society which in order to remain true to its traditions has not shrunk from showing its contempt for the punishment of exclusion from the Muslim community, threatened as a punishment for usury". (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*[2], ii. 497). The social and material position of women is far behind that assured her by Muslim law. Woman has no civil rights, being continually in tutelage; excluded from participation in the paternal inheritance, she herself is one of the family chattels. Marriage is merely an act of purchase. The man who divorces his wife still remains her owner and he fixes the price which must be paid him before she can marry again. Polygamy is legal but little practised and only a few marabouts are rich enough to afford it. The position of woman thus appears a very miserable one; she is, according to Hanoteau, "a human chattel" (*Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Jurjura*, p. 287). In practice, however, it appears that her position is easier than one would expect from the rigour of customary law. She holds an important place in the family and even in the villages, and, according to some authors (Rinn, Masqueray, Boulifa), she exercises a by no means negligible influence in domestic life and even in political life.

In spite of the liberties they take with orthodoxy, the Kabyls are not, as is sometimes alleged, lukewarm Muslims. They have always been and still are to-day very susceptible to the influence of fanatics. Perhaps they, at one time, like many other Berber groups, embraced Khāridjī doctrines but they were regained for orthodox Islām at the beginning of the modern era and have since then remained steadfast in their faith. Their ignorance, it is true, leaves them defenceless against the incitements of marabouts. The latter held and still hold a special position in Kabyl society. Enjoying numerous privileges (exemption from taxation, entertainment allowances etc.) they were not expected to bear arms except in the holy war and, thus placed outside tribal wars and quarrels of the *ṣoff*, they kept for themselves the fruitful roles of intermediaries and peacemakers. The only representatives of education in the midst of an illiterate population, they gave the rudiments of instruction in the village schools and in the schools attached to the *zāwiya*, a word which among the Kabyls means a village exclusively inhabited by marabouts. Education in these schools (Kabyl *thimammert*, Arab. *maʿmera*) is confined to the elements of Arabic language and grammar, theology and law. The marabouts live either scattered among the people or grouped in families or tribes. Some claim for themselves an Arab or even Sharifian origin. These Sharīfs form a privileged caste and only marry among themselves. At all periods the part played by marabouts — male and female — has been considerable. It was they who stirred up the native resistance to the foreigners, Turk or French, who tried to conquer them. They were supported by the religious orders, of which the largest is that of the Raḥmānīya, which originated in Kabylia itself. Its founder was the marabout Sīdī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bū Ḳobrain, sprung from the tribe of the Aït Smā'īl, who lived from 1126—1208 (1715—1798). Recruited at first from the Guechtūla, a confederacy of which the Aït Smā'īl were part, the order gradually extended throughout Kabylia. Its chiefs were the fiercest opponents of the French in 1857 and in 1871; although its influence has declined, the brotherhood of the Raḥmānīya, of which the parent lodge is at Akbū, is still that which numbers most adepts (9000 members and 43 *zāwiya* in 1897, according to Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses du Maghreb*).

History. Practically nothing is known of the history of Kabylia before the xvith century A. D. There are no native chronicles and the notices supplied by Arab, Latin or European writers are few and fragmentary. The characteristic fact of Kabyl history during this long period seems to have been the resistance of the Kabyls to foreign penetration. In ancient times even the Romans did not succeed in establishing themselves in the massif. Their principal settlements Saldae (Bougie) Rusazus (Tigzirt), Rusucurru (Dellys) were situated on the coast. Military posts kept a watch on the valley of Wād Sāhel and of the Isser, but the Djurdjura (Mons Ferratus) remained practically independent under the rule of native chiefs, vassals of Rome. The inhabitants of the mountainous region formed the confederation of the Five Nations or Quinque Gentes: — the Massissenses (perhaps the Malsna of the Wād Sāhel), Isaflenses (Iflissen?), Jubaleni (Beni Jubar), Toudenses and Jesalenses. These natives rose in revolt several times, notably in the first century A. D., during the rebellion of Tacfarinas, then again in the time of Diocletian. From 288—297, they ravaged eastern Mauretania and western Numidia. To subdue them, Maximian had to deport them *en masse*. In the following century they adopted Donatist doctrines and again took up arms under their national leaders, Firmus (372—375 A. D.) and later Gildon.

We do not know at what period and under what conditions, Islām was introduced into Kabylia, taking the place of Christianity and paganism. We may, however, conjecture that this land must have for some time escaped the Arab conquest and served as a place of refuge for the last remnants of Roman and Byzantine population as well as for the Berber tribes fleeing before the invaders. In the ixth century however, the conversion to Islām was an accomplished fact, since Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 256) mentions the Zwāwa at the same time as the Kutāma among the partisans of 'Obaid Allāh and the founders of the Fāṭimid empire. Well treated by the Ṣanhādja Zīrids, the Kabyls then passed under the rule of the Ḥammādids, who reduced to obedience the mountain peoples of the Bougie region, and then under the sway of the Ḥafṣids. But Ibn Khaldūn himself says that the authority of the sovereigns of Bougie over the Kabyl tribes was quite nominal [cf. ISSER, ZWĀWA].

At the beginning of the xvith century, the people of Kabylia were divided into three political groupings called by western writers, the kingdom of Kūko, the kingdom of Labbès, and the principality of the Beni Jubar. The kingdom of Kūko stretched from Djurdjura to the sea, and through the port of Azeffūn was in touch with European countries. The kingdom of Labbès comprised several tribes of little Kabylia of which the most important was that of the Beni ʿAbbās in the east of the Wād Sāḥel [cf. the article ḲALʿAT BANĪ ʿABBĀS]. The principality of the Beni Jubar comprised the population of the coast east of Bougie. The Turks who appeared in Algeria at the same period and there founded a powerful state, relied on these different groups in turn. ʿArūdj contracted a close alliance with the Sulṭān of Kūko, Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī, who gave him auxiliaries and took part in the expeditions against Algiers and Tlemcen [see ʿARŪDJ], but he thereby alienated the Sulṭān of the Beni ʿAbbās, who took the side of the Spaniards. After the death of ʿArūdj, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī quarrelled with his successor Khair al-Dīn [q. v.]; he inflicted a bloody defeat on him on the land of the Flissat Umellil and remained for several years master of Algeria and of Mitidja. An alliance with the Beni ʿAbbās enabled the Turks to regain the advantage. Pursued right into their mountains, the Kabyls were forced to submit and to pay tribute. During the period of the Beylerbeys, the inhabitants of great Kabylia lived on good terms with the Turks. Khair al-Dīn and his successors recruited from among the Zwāwas soldiers whose fidelity they appreciated and on whom they could rely if necessary against the undisciplined soldiery of the Janissaries. The alliance with the Sulṭān of Kūko enabled Ḥasan b. Khair al-Dīn to triumph over the Sulṭān of Labbès who became in his turn a tributary of the Turks (1559). As to the ʿAbd al-Djabbār, they had shown themselves friendly to the Spaniards and after the reoccupation of Bougie by the Turks never ceased to wage war on its garrison.

The rulers of Algiers did not however succeed in definitely imposing their supremacy on the Kabyls. The latter during the closing years of the xvith century and during the whole of the next century, were in a state of almost permanent insurrection against the Turks. The expeditions undertaken by the Pashas to chastise the rebels yielded no permanent result. The conquered tribes agreed to pay tribute but cast off the obligation as soon as the Turkish columns had quitted the country. In the course of these struggles, important changes modified the political organisation of Kabylia. The kingdom of Kūko disappeared and was replaced by the confederation of the Zwāwa. A new confederation that of the Guechṭūla (Igūshdal) was founded in the middle of the xviith century by a shaikh named Gassem and united together the population of the western part of the Djurdjura. In the xviiith century, the Turks made some progress. They succeeded in taking the mountainous region between the Wād Bugdura and the Wād ʿAīsī (1745—46) but could not subdue the Banī Rāten. Their military posts at Bughnī, Sīwīra, Burdj Sebau were destroyed on several occasions. The first years of the xixth century were still more unfortunate. The Flissa invaded Mitidja several times; in 1816 the Guechṭūla seized the burdj of Bughnī and only spared the garrison at the intervention of the marabouts.

Turkish authority in Kabylia was therefore up to the end very precarious. The tribes which recognised it were distributed over two ḳāʾidats: the ḳāʾidat of Bughnī, which included the confederations of the Guechṭūla, the Banū Saʿadḳa and a part of the Maʿatka, and the ḳāʾidat of the Sebau, including, besides the town of Dellys, the Banū Khalfūn, the Banū Waguennūn, the Flissat al-Baḥar, the peoples of the upper Sebau and those of the Wād al-Ḥammām. In the north-east, finally, the Turks occupied Bougie. To maintain order and collect taxes, the ḳāʾids had at their disposal a few hundred janissaries installed in fortified posts (burdj), and zmala's, of which several were composed of negroes (ʿabīd). They levied taxes — which were however quite light — on the produce of the plain, collected dues in kind (sheep, grain, figs & oil) for the use of the garrisons, claimed the right of investiture of shaikhs and granted for a fee passports to natives, etc. In return the Turks interfered very little in local affairs and only did so when they thought they could make profit out of it. The most efficacious means employed by them to bring recalcitrant tribes to order was the blockade. As the country did not produce enough grain to feed its inhabitants they were not long in submitting. The Turks, moreover, observed local divisions with the greatest care and showed themselves full of consideration for influential marabouts, to whom they gave exceptional privileges. They heaped gifts on their zāwiya's and built ḳubba's on the tombs of the most venerated saints. Turkish rule therefore has left no feeling of hatred among the Kabyls. "The Turk", says Hanoteau (*Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Jurjura*, p. 63—64 note), "is the type of bravery and dignity in the popular songs; when the poet wants to praise one of his compatriots, he compares him to a Turk".

Whether nominally subject to the Turks or completely independent, the Kabyl tribes preserved intact their political and administrative institutions. Kabylia, far from forming a state, was simply an aggregation of little municipal republics, grouped in confederations of small size. The political and administrative unity was the village (*thaddarth*), whether a single village or a union of several hamlets (*ṭūfā*) and subdivided again into divisions called by different names in different districts (*adrūm*, *tharift*, *takherrūbt*, *kharūba*). Several villages bound together by mutual obligations formed a tribe (*ʿarsh*). At the time of the French conquest there were 1400 villages divided among 120 tribes. A confederacy of several tribes was called a *thaḳebilt* (Arab. *ḳabīla*). The chief of these confederations were those of the Guechṭūla, the Aīt Sedḳa, the Zwāwa, the Eastern Zwāwa, the Aīt Irāten, the Aīt ʿAīsī, the Maʿatka, the Flissat Umellil and the Flissat al-Baḥar (Iflissen), the Aīt Waguennūn, the Aīt Djennād, the Aīt Ghobrī, etc.). In certain cases several confederations could unite for some common defensive or aggressive purpose, but such leagues had never more than a temporary character. All tribes however were not grouped into confederacies and some were content merely to contract, when in case of need, temporary alliances with their neighbours.

The village, the fundamental element in the

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Number 25:

P. 491b, l. 10 a f., read "*al-'Ālamgīrīya*" instead of "*al-'Ālamgīrī*".

Number 26:

P. 560b, l. 30 a f.: The equation is to be read as follows:

$$2.97 \times 6 + 2 \times \frac{2.97}{6} = 18.81 = 4.72 \times 4 = 18.88.$$

P. 565a, l. 18 a f., read "[illegible]" instead of "[illegible]".

P. 566b, l. 8 a f., read "392 *sq.*" instead of "322".

Number 27:

P. 590b, l. 24 a f., read "*mu'mūr*" instead of "*mu'nūr*".

P. 592a, l. 17, add: Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke* (Paris 1923).

P. 594b, l. 24 a f., add: E. Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques au Caucase* (Lyon 1885—87).

P. 601a, l. 5, read "*amghār*" instead of "*amrar*".

P. 602a, l. 3 a f., add: H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger 1920).

P. 615a, l. 8 a f., read "162 *sq.*" instead of "1623".

P. 617b, l. 20 a f., read "*der*" instead of "*dre*".

l. 2 a f., read "*südlichen*" instead of "*südliche*".

P. 618a, l. 20 a f., read "*[illegible]*" instead of "*[illegible]*".

l. 9 a f., read "Winogradow, *Feodosiya*" instead of "Minogradow, *Feodosiva*"

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Kabyl organisation, was a kind of municipal republic subject to the authority of the assembly of its citizens (*thajemait*, Arab. *djamā'a*), which had most extensive powers. It appointed a president (*amokrane*, *amrar*, *amin*), who was charged with carrying out its decisions, and *temman* (plural of *tamen*), a kind of assistants, who had to support the *amin* in the exercise of his duties. The *djamā'a* fixed the quota and the apportionment of taxes, declared war, made peace, administered public charity and, lastly, modified, if necessary, local customs. All male inhabitants old enough to observe the fast of Ramaḍān took part in the assembly and were bound to be present, but in practice decisions were made by a minority of rich and influential persons, so that the government of the village was only democratic in theory. The authority of the *djamā'a* was, besides, limited by the obligation under which it found itself, to respect the rights of individuals or families, individual or collective guarantees sanctified by long custom, market-laws, etc. The tribe and the confederacy were organised on the model of the village, with deliberative assemblies and *amin*'s, but the bonds which united such groupings became more and more slack as the groups increased in size. There were frequently serious dissensions within these groups. The existence in the smallest village of *ṣoff*, that is to say, parties supporting the interests of influential personages, the exercise of the right of private vengeance (*rekba*) or of the right of reprisals (*nefqa*), the care taken to make respected the *'anāya* of individuals or of the community, provoked continual conflicts, which the intervention of the marabouts settled with great difficulty. The relations of the tribes and confederations were hardly more satisfactory than those of the villages with one another. Kabylia was, in a word, handed over to anarchy and there was a permanent state of war there.

The capture of Algiers by the French in 1830 put an end to Turkish rule. On hearing of this event, the garrisons retired to the Titteri, leaving the country to itself. The Kabyls, however, proved themselves no more able to unite than they had in the past. Various chiefs, Ben Sālem of the Banū Djād, Ben Zamun of the Flissa, Sī Djīlālī of the Zwāwa, Belkāsim or Kasi of the Amrāwa disputed for the supremacy with one another, but did not succeed in imposing themselves on all the tribes. 'Abd al-Ḳādir himself was no more fortunate [see 'ABD AL-ḲĀDIR, i. 43 *sq.*]. He appointed a *khalīfa* of the Sebau, but could not get himself recognised as Sulṭān by the tribes of the Djurdjura, who refused to pay him taxes as they had refused to pay them to the Turks. He was even nearly massacred by the people of Wād Sāḥel in 1839. The French, for their part, had been in occupation of Bougie since 1833, while the Kabyls of the east made frequent incursions into the Mitīdja. To dispose of such dangerous neighbours the government therefore decided to conquer Kabylia at a time when 'Abd al-Ḳādir seemed definitely reduced to impotence. A first expedition conducted by Bugeaud in the valley of the Sebau resulted in the submission of the Flissat al-Baḥr and the occupation of Dellys (1844). Interrupted by the Franco-Moroccan War, then by the struggle with 'Abd al-Ḳādir, who in 1849 again tried to raise the Kabyl tribes, operations were resumed in 1847 and brought the tribes of Wād Sāḥel to recognise French authority. But the Kabyl massif and the Djurdjura served as an asylum for all malcontents and continued to be a smouldering fire of rebellion, which was continually blazing out again. In 1849, the Zwāwa, the Gechtūla, and the Banū Mellīkeuch attacked the tribes who had already submitted; in 1851, the Sharīf Bū Baghla, with several thousands of mountaineers threatened Bougie, then, repulsed by French troops, sought refuge in the Djurdjura. Pélissier in 1851, Bosquet in 1852 had to take the field against him. To facilitate penetration of the country, roads were built from Algiers to Bougie, from Dellys to Aumale and finally from Sétif to Bougie across Little Kabylia, only recently pacified. The natives, however, were not yet subdued; they took advantage of the reduction of effective troops during the Crimea war to take up arms again. The rising of the tribes of the upper Sebau necessitated the despatch of a column which crossed the country between Bougie and Dellys and penetrated as far as the Benī Yaḥyā in the very heart of the Kabyl massif (June—July 1854). New disturbances provoked by the Raḥmānīya brotherhood in 1855 and 1856 forced the French once more to fight the tribes of the Sebau and the Gechtūla. The results obtained however would have remained insecure so long as the Banū Rāten, the most turbulent of tribes of the massif, were not reduced to impotence. A new expedition was therefore organised in 1857 by Marshal Randon, then governor-general, supported by Generals Macmahon, Renault and Yūsuf. While reconnoitring troops surveyed the southern slope of the Djurdjura, three divisions left Tizi Uzu and scaled the slopes of the massif. The Banū Rāten were the first to be attacked and defended themselves energetically for two days. The capture of their villages and the defeat inflicted on them on the plateau of Sūḳ al-Arbā'a forced them to sue for peace (25 May). The Aït Menguellet, their allies, continued the struggle and were crushed at Icheriden (24 June). The Aït Yenni had to submit in their turn in the beginning of July. The defeat of the Aït Illiten, who had been stirred up by the female marabout Lalla Fāṭma, terminated the campaign. The tribes delivered hostages and paid a war indemnity, but retained their municipal autonomy and their *kānūn*. The building of Fort Napoléon (now Fort National) on the plateau of Sūḳ al-Arbā'a enabled the French troops to control the whole massif. The country was opened up by roads, put under military rule and divided into four administrative districts.

The most complete tranquillity reigned until 1871, when the Kabyls rose again at the incitation of the grand-master of the Raḥmānīya, Shaikh al-Ḥaddād and especially of his son al-'Azīz, who made an alliance with Moḳrānī, the rebel bashagha of the Medjana. A holy war was proclaimed on April 8 at the market of Ṣeddūḳ and soon the rebels numbered 180 000 fighting men. Bougie, Delly, Tizi Uzu, Fort National, and Drā' al-Mīzān were blockaded by the natives, the village of Palestro was taken and sacked by the rebels in spite of the resistance of the Europeans. The rebels even threatened Mitīdja but were held up on the Alma by Colonel Fourchault's flying column. Troops sent from Algiers delivered the towns and garrisons besieged by the insurgents, who were routed at Icheriden on June 24. Shaikh al-Ḥaddād

surrendered to the French on July 13 and at the end of the same month, the valley of Wād Sāḥel was cleared of rebels. Kabylia lost its municipal autonomy and a war indemnity of 36 582 000 francs was levied on it. Besides, 446 000 hectares of land were sequestered and appropriated for European colonisation, for which centres were created in the valley of the Isser and in the valley of Wād Sāḥel. Since that date peace has not been disturbed and civil government has been organised in Kabylia as in the rest of the Tell (cf. the article ALGERIA). Primary schools with technical instruction have been established in the principal villages and education is compulsory for the natives. The latter seem to have adapted themselves to the new situation; their resources have increased to such a pitch that in some districts European colonisation has receded and considerable areas of land have been bought back by the natives. The isolation in which the Kabyls lived so long is tending to disappear and, if it is chimerical to hope even in the remote future for an assimilation of the Berber and European elements, perhaps it may be permitted to foresee for them sufficient community of interest to prevent new conflicts.

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(G. YVER.)

KAČČH (sometimes written Kač; al-Balādhurī and al-Ya'ḳūbī: قصّ; al-Bērūnī: كچ; Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 126, 11 al-Ḳaṣṣa, but i. 505, 20, iv. 94, 20: al-Ḳaṣṣ; in Anglicised spelling CUTCH), an Indian State attached to the Pālanpur Agency of the Bombay Presidency, lying between 22° 47' and 24° N. and 68° 25' and 71° 11" E. Its area is 7616 sq. m. and the population in 1911 was 513, 429 (Musalmans 126, 133). It is separated from the mainland of Sindh and Kaṭhīāwāḍ by the great salt-swamp known as the Rann of Kačč́h (Great and Little) which makes it a quasi-island. The Rann is included in its boundaries, but not in the area given above. The country is hilly in some parts, but is flat for the most part. There are signs of former volcanic action. Earthquakes have frequently occurred: that of 1819 wrought great destruction, including the capital Bhūdj.

The Rann was undoubtedly at one time an arm of the sea and may with probability be identified with the great lake described by Arrian as visited by Alexander near the mouths of the Indus. It has been identified by S. Julien, V. de St. Martin, Watters and V. Smith with the Ki-ch'a of Hwen Tsang, which he describes as under the suzerainty of the Vallabhī kings, but this is open to doubt as the province described by Hwen Tsang does not seem to have been near the sea.

Al-Balādhurī mentions a king of Ḳaṣṣa called Rāsak (Rāsil) in the time of the Caliph al-Walīd I (86—96 = 705—715). The town of Surasta (Sorashtra) situated in the Bay of Kačč́h still existed in the ixth century. It was inhabited by the Maid (Mēd), who were reputed as pirates. According to al-Balādhurī, the people of Kačč́h were Muslims in the time of Hishām 105—125 (724—743). When the power of the Muslims in the region of the Indus declined in this period, they endeavoured to maintain themselves in Ḳaṣṣ (al-Ya'ḳūbī). Al-Bērūnī describes the eastern branch of the Mihrān of Sindh (the Indus) as flowing into the ocean at a place called Sindhu-sāgara (the Sea of Sindh) in Kačč́h, and this is clearly the Rann of Kačč́h. The Rann was therefore an arm of the sea as lately as 1000 A. D., and a branch of the Indus still flowed into it. Kačč́h is described by al-Bērūnī also as the home of pirates (*bawāridj*). The Samma Rādjpūt rulers of Sindh conquered the country probably in the xivth century; the majority of them became Musalmans, but the Djhādēdjā clan, whose power was established by Mōda about 1270 to 1298, adopted a modified form of Hinduism. They have continued to rule the country under the suzerainty first of the Kings of Gudjarāt, then of the Mughal Emperors and lastly of the British Government. The Kalhōras of Sindh invaded Kačč́h in the xviiith century (1762—5). The early reputation of Kačč́h for piracy was revived in more recent times and led to the British occupation in 1815—1818. The *Rāo* was however soon restored.

The Djhādēdjā rulers bear the title of *Rāo*. Their capital is at Bhūdj and coins are struck there in the name of the *Mahārāo* joined first with those of the later Emperors of Dihlī and more recently with those of Queen Victoria and her successors. The port of Mandvi is a considerable town with a large coasting trade.

The Kačč́hī language is peculiar to the province. It belongs to the Western Indian group of languages and is commonly classed as a dialect of Gudjarātī, although, according to Grierson,

it may perhaps be more correctly considered a dialect of Sindhī. In accordance with its geographical position it forms a link between the two languages.

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(M. Longworth Dames.)

KAČČHĪ or **KAČČH GANDĀWA**, A province in Balōčistān extending from 27° 53' to 29° 35' N. and from 67° 11' to 68° 28' E. with an area of 6,415 sq. m. It forms a level plain enclosed on the N. and E. by the southern Sulaimān Mts. and on the W. by the Kīrthar Ranges. To the S. it is open being bounded by the plain of N. Sindh. Politically it forms part of the Khānate of Kalāt [q. v.] with the exception of the small area of Sībī in the north which was nominally part of Afghānistān and was transferred to the British Government under the treaty of Gandamak in 1879. This district is part of British Balōčistān. The tribes in the eastern half of Kaččhī, the Dōmbkī, Umarānī and Kahīrī are only nominally subject to the Khān. These tribes lie to the east of the railway from Jacobabad to Quetta, which traverses the province from south to north. The territory west of this line is also mainly occupied by Balōč tribes with the exception of the area near Dhādhar in the north, where nomadic Brahōīs are found. Everywhere there is a large settled population of Djatts. There are no large towns; Gandāwa, Shorān, Dhādhar, Sībī and Lahrī are the principal places. Cultivation is carried on by irrigation from the small streams and hill-torrents which issue from the mountains; the Nārī and Bōlān on the north, the Mūla and Sukleḍjī on the west, and the Lahrī and Čhattār on the east. Without irrigation, cultivation is impossible as the climate is intensely hot and the rainfall very scanty. The valleys of the Mūla, Bōlān and Nārī form passes by which communication with the uplands has been carried on from time immemorial. The two first-named are now traversed by railways which lead to Quetta and Peshīn by the Bōlān and Harnai countries. The strip of territory called Naṣīrābād is politically part of the Sībī district. It lies adjacent to the British District of Jacobabad in Sindh, and receives its irrigation from the Sindh Canals fed by the Indus.

The population is scattered but denser than in most parts of Balōčistān. Including the Sībī and Naṣīrābād tahsīls, and the Dōmbkī-Kahīrī country, all of which are geographically part of the Kaččhī plain, the total is 175,860 (census of 1911). The history of this tract is dealt with under arts. Balōčistān and Kandābīl.

Bibliography: *Census of India 1901 and 1911. Baluchistan.* (See also s. v. Balōčistān.)

(M. Longworth Dames.)

ĶAḌĀ' means literally "deciding" (*ḥukm*, *faṣl*, *faṣḥ*, *tarīḳh*, cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, iii. 51) but the root is developed in many diverging senses already in the Ḳur'ān, "commanding", "judging", "making so as to be fixed", "informing", "substituting", "discharging (obligation)" etc.; cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt*, p. 416, and *Lisān*, xx. 47 *sqq.* Technically it indicates *a*) the office and functioning of a judge (*ḳāḍī*); *b*) the discharging of a previously neglected religious obligation, e. g. of the daily worship or of fasting in Ramaḍān; thus opposed to *adā'*, the performance of the duty at the appointed time (Juynboll, *Handb. des Islām. Gesetzes*, p. 68, note); Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 38b); *c*) the eternal, universal decision of Allāh as to all existent things as they are continuously, very nearly the "eternal decree" of Calvinism. The point in doubt in the last use is the relation of the term to *ḳadar* (*ḳadr*), "measuring or estimating an amount", "assigning something by measure"; to *'ināya*, "providence"; and to the will (*irāda*) and knowledge (*'ilm*) of Allāh; further whether *ḳaḍā'* is one of the "essential qualities" (*aṣ-ṣifāt aḏh-ḏhātīya*) of Allāh or of His "qualities of action" (*aṣ-ṣifāt al-fi'līya*); is eternal (*ḳadīm*) or originated (*ḥādith*). For orthodox Ash'arites *ḳaḍā'* is the will of Allāh (al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳur. ii. 111) and its eternal connection (*ta'alluḳ*), while *ḳadar* is His bringing things into existence in accordance with His will. Or it is His eternal knowledge and its connection with the thing known, while *ḳadar* is His bringing the thing into existence in accordance with His knowledge. *Ḳaḍā'*, therefore, is eternal as one of the eternal qualities and *ḳadar* is originated because one of the "connections" of Allāh's quality of power. But others taught that *ḳaḍā'* is the bringing forth (*ibrāz*) of transitory things (*al-kā'ināt*) in accordance with the knowledge of Allāh, while *ḳadar* is the eternal defining of each thing with what of good and bad, advantage and disadvantage, it is to have when it exists. *Ḳaḍā'*, then, is originated and *ḳadar* is eternal. Further, *ḳaḍā'*, if it equals Allāh's will or knowledge, is one of the essential qualities, but if it is this "bringing forth" it is only one of the connections of Allāh's power, and these, according to the Ash'arites, are originated. But the Māturīdites called these "active qualities" and held that they were eternal because they were names for the Māturīdite quality *takwīn* (making to become) which the Ash'arites did not admit as a quality (al-Faḍālī with comment. of al-Baidjūrī, Cairo 1315, pp. 55, 61; al-Nasafī's *'Aḳā'id* with comm. of al-Taftāzānī etc., Cairo, 1321, p. 95). But the overwhelmingly accepted position makes *ḳaḍā'* the universal, general and eternal decree and *ḳadar* the individual development or application of that in time. A phrase quoted in the *Siḥāḥ* under ḲDR is significant, *Mā yuḳaddiruhu 'llāh min al-ḳaḍā'*, "That which Allāh measures out of *ḳaḍā'*". Al-Rāzī on Ḳur. xxxiii 37, 38 (*Mafātīḥ*, Cairo 1308, vi. 527) even applies the distinction to the problem of evil and of human responsibility. That which is by *ḳadar* comes in incidentally, almost accidentally, and the disadvantages (*ḍarar*) of the world are through it, while the good (*khair*) is by *ḳaḍā'*. Man was created by Allāh subject to lust and anger in order that, striving against these under the guidance of reason and religion, he might be rewarded. That leads in some to sin, but Allāh did

not produce this consequential sin in them by intention, although it was by His *ḳadar*. Again, that which is by *ḳaḍāʾ* being universal is always perfectly intelligible — we see it happening all the time; but some of weak understanding may ask the reason for a thing which is by *ḳadar*. Yet it must not be thought that these latter things are necessary consequences following of themselves according to the Muʿtazilite doctrine of *tawlīd* or the philosophical teaching that there is a nature in things (*ṭabʿ*). Everything is by the choice (*ikhtiyār*) of Allāh and He admits only a certain custom (*ʿāda*) in things. Among philosophers the tendency is to equate *ḳaḍāʾ* with Allāh's knowledge or with His eternal providence (*ʿināya*) or even to say that it is an expression for the existence of all existent things, taken as a whole, in the world of reason, while *ḳadar* is their external existence, separated, one after another (*Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1234 *sq.*).

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(D. B. MACDONALD.)

ḲAḌĀʾ (A.). In the terminology of Turkish administration *ḳaḍāʾ* (*ḳaẓā*) denotes a district governed by a *ḳaʾimmaḳām* (q. v.).

ḲADAM SHARĪF (KADAM RASŪL ALLĀH). Among the miracles (*muʿdjizāt*) popularly attributed to Muḥammad was the fact that when he trod on a rock, his foot sank into the stone and left its impress there. (This miracle is usually referred to along with others e. g. that he cast no shadow, that if one of his hairs fell in the fire, it was not burnt, that flies did not settle on his clothes etc. (v. al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabīya*, Būlāḳ, 1292, III, 407), or that his sandals left no imprint on the sand (v. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, commentary on al-Būṣīrī's *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Hamzīya*, I. 176. (Ind. Off. MS., Loth, nᵒ. 826, fol. 94). No early authority refers to such a miracle, nor can any *ḥadīth* be quoted in corroboration of it, as Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī himself pointed out (v. al-Ḥalabī, *op. cit.*, I. 497). But sufficient evidence of this miracle is considered to be provided by the numerous impressions of one or both of the feet of the Prophet, which are venerated in different parts of the Muslim world. The most famous of these footprints is that in the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, at Jerusalem, on the rock from which Muḥammad mounted Burāḳ for his journey to heaven (Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-Akhiṣṣāʾ fī Faḍāʾil al-Masdjid al-aḳṣā*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, xix., NS. (1887), p. 258–9). In a mosque near the southern gate of Damascus, on the road to Ḥawrān, is shown the imprint of the foot of the Prophet, when he half-alighted from his camel, but was warned by the angel Gabriel that God had given him the choice between the Paradise of this world and that of the next; whereupon he relinquished his intention of entering the city (W. G. Palgrave, *Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London, 1865, ii. 19). In Cairo there are two footprints, one in a mosque called Āthār al-nabī (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, ix. 689), the other at the tomb of Ḳāʾit Bey [*q. v.*] (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1914, p. 113), who, according to Aḥmad Daḥlān [*q. v.*], purchased it for the sum of 20,000 dinars; in Ṭanṭa, there are impressions of both the feet of the Prophet, in the shrine of Saiyid Aḥmad al-Badawī (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, xxii. 410); as, also, at Constantinople, in the mosque where Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I is buried (*ibid.*, ix. 473); cf. also CONSTANTINOPLE, i. 871ᵇ.

But it is in India that this veneration for the footprints of the Prophet appears to have attained its fullest extension, and such slabs of stone are found all over the country, — sometimes venerated in buildings specially erected for their reception, as the Ḳadam Rasūl Mosque at Gawr, or kept with other relics, as in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, Dihlī, or left disregarded in a corner of a cemetery, as in that of Shāh Djamāl, near ʿAlīgarh, or preserved in the house of some private person. Usually, there is the imprint of one foot only, but in the Ḳadam Rasūl building at Balasor (in Orissa), the stone bears the marks of both feet, as well as those of ʿAlī. (Abdus Salam, *The Qadam Rasul Building at Balasore* in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, iv. (1908), 31–2.) One of the most highly venerated of these footprints is that placed over the tomb of Fatḥ Khān, the son of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlāḳ [*q. v.*]; this monarch had associated his son with him in the government as early as 760 H., and the death of Fatḥ Khān in 776 H. was a cause of great grief to his father, who erected a stately tomb over his grave, with a mosque and a madrasa attached. The footprint is said to have been brought from Madīna by the great saint of the Čishtī order, Saiyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, known as Makhdūm-i-Djahāniyān; it is kept immersed in water, which is believed to possess healing power; a religious fair is held here every year, on the 12ᵗʰ of Rabīʿ al-awwal, the anniversary of the death of the Prophet (Saiyid Aḥmad Khān, *Description des Monuments de Dehli*, *Journ. As.*, 1860, p. 411—2). At Učh, which has a rich collection of relics of the Prophet, there is a footprint in the shrine of Bandagī Muḥammad Ghawth (ob. 923 H.), a descendant of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlī (*Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State*, Lahore, 1908, p. 166).

The slab of stone with the footprint of the Prophet, preserved in the Ḳadam Rasūl Mosque at Gawr [q. v.] is said to have been brought from Madīna by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, king of Bengal 1494—1521; the fine mosque in which it rests was built by his son and successor, Nuṣrat Shāh, in 1530 (J. H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur*, London, 1878, p. 20). About fifty years later, Mīr Abū Turāb, who had been appointed by Akbar leader of the pilgrims' caravan, brought back from Mecca, in 1579, a stone bearing the imprint of the right foot of the Prophet; that brought by Makhdūm-i-Djahāniyān to Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh is said to have represented the left foot. Akbar himself went out several miles from Agra to receive the holy relic, and carried it on his shoulder for about a hundred paces, his example being afterwards followed by his nobles and courtiers, who escorted the stone with great pomp and ceremony to the city. In the following year, when Mīr Abū Turāb was returning to his home in Gudjarāt he received permission from Akbar to take the footprint with him; he erected a building in Asāwal, near Aḥmadābād, as a shrine for this slab and for some hairs of the Prophet, which he had also brought from Mecca with him; after his death the footprint was placed over his tomb, which is still standing to the south of the city of Aḥmadābād, but the footprint is no longer there, having been removed (it is said) to Khambāy (Mīr Abū Turāb Valī, *History of Gujarat*, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 97-9). The footprint on the

grave of Saiyid Muḥammad Maḳbūl ʿĀlam, who is buried in the precincts of the shrine of his ancestor, Saiyid Muḥammad Shāh ʿĀlam, at Baṭuwā, to the south of Aḥmadābād, is said to be a copy made from the stone in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Dihlī (J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, London, 1905, ii. 20, 50). Similar copies on stone or on paper are sometimes found in the houses of private persons (G. A. Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, Madras, 1863, p. 153).

Closely connected with the veneration of the footprints of Muḥammad, is that paid to representations of his sandals. Copies of these are hung up in the houses of the pious, as a protection against the assaults of Satan, the evil eye, the depredations of robbers, etc.; they are also said to relieve the pangs of childbirth (al-Ḳasṭalānī, *al-Mawāhib al-laduniya*, Cairo, 1281 H., i. 337). Such representations are common in Algeria, Egypt, India and Syria.

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(T. W. Arnold.)

ḲADAR. The contradictory statements of the Ḳurʾān on free will and predestination show that Muḥammad was an opportunist preacher and politician and not a systematic theologian. It has been demonstrated (Grimme, *Einleitung in den Koran*, vol. ii.) that his predestinarian position steadily hardened towards the close of his life, and the earliest conscious Muslim attitude on the subject seems to have been of an uncompromising fatalism. *ḲDR* was the root used most generally to express it (see, too, ḲAḌĀʾ) and appears to mean primarily "to measure, estimate" and then "to assign specifically by measure" as though Allāh "measured out" his decrees. On the early opposition to this, which showed itself apparently before A. D. 700 and under Christian influences, see ḲADARĪYA. In the course of the conflict two extreme views and two mediating views developed, the mediating views becoming those possible in orthodox Islām. All could appeal to Ḳurʾānic texts and to traditions. The traditions are, of course, in great part shadows thrown back from the later controversies. They may be found in al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ḳadar* and also in part of the *Kitāb al-Tibb*; see, too, al-Ashʿarī, *Kitāb al-Ibāna*, Haidarābād, p. 84 *sqq.* (*Bāb al-Riwāyāt fi ʾl-Ḳadar*). The Djabrīya [q. v.] were absolute predestinarians; man had no part at all in the actions which apparently proceeded from him. This became an heretical position in Islām. The other extreme, that man produced his own actions, was that of the Ḳadarites who eventually merged in the Muʿtazilites. At first they did not venture to use the word "create" (*khalḳ*) — Allāh alone was *khāliḳ* — of this producing, but employed supposedly safer terms, such as *īdjād*, *ikhtirāʿ*, but eventually they came to speak of man "creating" his actions. The intermediate, orthodox, parties were the Ashʿarites and the Māturīdites. Of these the Ashʿarites had thought out their position most logically, while the Māturīdites stated simply the evident facts in the case. The basis of the upholders of free will seems to have been ethical; the justice (*ʿadl*) of Allāh requires man's freedom. But orthodox Islām in general cared little for that, although some, as al-Taftāzānī and al-Rāzī, spend dialectic on the point. It maintained the Pauline parallel of the potter and the vessels; Allāh could do what he pleased with his own. The orthodox difficulty was rather man's consciousness of freedom. This the Māturīdites met by admitting that man did possess "free choice actions" (*afʿāl ikhtiyārīya*) for which he is rewarded or punished" (al-Nasafī, *ʿAḳāʾid*, ed. with comment. of al-Taftāzānī, Cairo 1321, p. 97). Man knows the difference between a voluntary grasping and an involuntary trembling, but the contradiction of this with the absoluteness of Allāh's creative power is left unsolved. Al-Ashʿarī introduced the idea of *iktisāb* [see KASB] "accepting for one's self": man accepts for himself the action of Allāh and this accepting is man's consciousness of free will. Apparently al-Ashʿarī meant that this consciousness was only another part of Allāh's creative action. Man is still an automaton although part of his machinery is that he believes himself free. Between the two wide scope was left even in orthodox Islām for discussion. The ultimate, scholastic, Ashʿarite statement, denying that man possesses any action at all — which must not, however, be taken for the only possible one in Islām — will be conveniently found in al-Faḍālī's, *Kifāyat al-ʿAwāmm* with al-Baidjūrī's commentary, and in Luciani, *Prolégomènes théologiques de Senoussi*. This attitude struck so deep that even al-Ghazālī, and that even at the end of the wonderful psychological analysis of the book of the *Iḥyāʾ* on "the marvels of the heart", could quote with approval the tradition: "These to Heaven and I care not, and these to Hell and I care not" (ed. with comm. of al-Saiyid al-Murtaḍā, vii. 308); (cf. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude in Islam*, p. 301). For *ḳadar* among mystics see art. ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ above.

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(D. B. Macdonald.)

ḲADARĪYA is given regularly as a descriptive or surname (*laḳab*) of the Muʿtazila, but it points back to a pre-Muʿtazilite time when the Muslims were beginning to ask theological questions and

when, the first apparently among these questioners, there were doubters of the harsh predestinarianism of Muḥammad's last period. The later Mu'tazilites resented the name and held that it applied better to those who maintained Allāh's *ḳadar* of all things, good and bad, than to themselves who held that man has a certain power (*ḳudra*) over his actions. This, the orthodox said, was because they wished to avoid the saying of the Prophet. "The Ḳadarites are the Madjūs (*Zoroastrians, Dualists*) of this People", which meant that they made man a *khāliḳ al-af'āl*, "creator of actions", thus giving Allāh a partner in creating. But this saying was certainly later than the rise of the Ḳadarites and the name may well have been first invented and applied to themselves by those who claimed a *ḳadar* over their own actions. Another saying ascribed to Muḥammad in this connection is, "They are the opponents of Allāh in *ḳadar*", i. e. they profess to have a rival *ḳadar* to that of Allāh. Al-Taftāzānī (on al-Nasafī, p. 96) has a pointed story of how a certain Madjūsī silenced (*alzama*) 'Amr b. 'Ubaid on both these points. The name which the Mu'tazilites preferred for themselves in regard to this doctrine was "the People of Justice" (*'adl*); Allāh's justice required that man must be free if he were to be rewarded or punished.

Bibliography: See that of ḲADAR and add al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, Būlāḳ 1266, p. 620; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, i. 54 on margin of *Milal* of Ibn Ḥazm; Nallino, *Sul nome di Qadariti* in *Rivista degli Studi orient.*, vii. 461 *sqq.*

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

ḲADHF (A.) is slander in a special sense. If anyone accuses a respectable person (*muḥṣan*) of incontinence, without being able to bring four witnesses to support him, he is liable by law to a definite punishment (*ḥadd*) of 80 lashes for *ḳadhf*. The regulations on this subject in the law-books are based mainly on Ḳur'ān xxiv. 4. In a case of *ḳadhf*, all male and female persons are considered *muḥṣan* who have never been guilty of incontinence and who, in addition, are believers, freemen, of age, and in possession of their mental faculties. The right to demand the punishment of the guilty one is in the view of most faḳīh's a private right of the person slandered (i. e. a *ḥaḳḳ ādamī*) so that the latter (or his heir) may also voluntarily refrain from exercising it. In the view of the Ḥanafī school, however, the *ḥadd* punishment for *ḳadhf* is a right of of God (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*), and neither the person slandered nor his heir can avert this punishment from the guilty one. If a husband has accused his wife of unfaithfulness without being able to prove the charge in the prescribed manner, he can secure exemption from punishment by pronouncing the *li'ān* formula [see LI'ĀN]. Punishment, moreover, may not be inflicted on the father, mother or more distant ascendants of the insulted party, nor on minors and lunatics. For a slave the punishment is only 40 lashes.

Bibliography: The chapter on *Ḥadd* in the collections on Tradition and the *Fiḳh* books; al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā Sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī*, ii. 241 *sqq.* (Būlāḳ 1307); Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-thānī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Wiḳāya* (Ḳazān 1290), p. 167 *sqq.*; al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fi 'khtilāf al-A'imma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 142 *sq.*; E. Sachau, *Muhammed. Recht nach Schafiitischer Lehre*, p. 810, 820 *sqq.*; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. des islām. Gesetzes*, p. 303 *sq.*

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

ḲĀḌĪ (A.) is the judge, who, according to the theory of Muslim law, has to decide all cases involving questions of civil and criminal law. In practice, however, there has been from quite an early period throughout the Muslim east a twofold method of administration of law, usually distinguished one from the other, with a certain amount of correctness, as "religious" and "secular". Only such questions as are popularly felt to be closely connected with religion (e. g. disputes on points of family law or inheritance, legal questions concerning pious foundations, etc.) are brought to be decided, in conformity to canon law, before the ḳāḍī, the "religious" judge; all other questions, according to the popular view current in the east, come within the province of the secular authorities, and they as laymen usually decide them by other standards.

The ḳāḍī must, according to the law, be a Muslim scholar of blameless life (*'adl*), thoroughly conversant with the prescriptions of the sacred law. Originally the theory of most *madhhab*'s even demanded that the ḳāḍī should be able to derive the laws to be applied in his verdicts independently as a *mudjtahid* [see IDJTIHĀD] from the sacred sources. Later, however, no one was any longer considered qualified to give his own interpretation of the law; the judges could only be *muḳallid*'s, who were tied down to the decisions of earlier authoritative scholars. The ḳāḍī therefore in giving his decisions has to adhere strictly to the rules which he finds laid down in the *fiḳh* books of his *madhhab*.

The administration of justice is considered a religious duty for the Muslim community. In each district the competent authority must appoint a suitable person as ḳāḍī. If there is only one, who could be considered legally qualified for the office of judge, he is bound to accept the office if appointed and even bound to seek the office if the authorities should neglect to give it to him.

The ḳāḍī has to conduct his court exactly in accordance with the procedure laid down by the law. He has to treat the parties, if they are both believers, as equals in every respect. If the defendant admits that the plaintiff is in the right, no further proof is necessary. If the defendant, on the other hand, does not acknowledge any justification for the charge, the plaintiff must support his assertions by proofs. The judgement of the ḳāḍī is decisive for the parties; there is no appeal from it.

To secure the independance of the judge, the law forbids the ḳāḍī to take presents from people who are appearing in his court. He also should avoid engaging in trade, either personally or through the intermediary of persons known to be his agents, as people might then attempt to win him to their side by offering special advantages in business.

In spite of these and many other regulations to secure as faultless an administration of justice as possible "the bad ḳāḍī's" have at all times given cause for complaint in Islām. Most judges were ignorant and corrupt. If upright men filled the office, they frequently found themselves forced to bend the law to suit the will of authority. In religious circles then there soon arose a strong

disinclination to fill the office of judge. Traditions were put into currency in which the Prophet was made to utter grave warnings against accepting the position of ḳāḍī. Pious faḳīh's e. g. Abū Ḥanīfa [q. v.] declined to fill the office of judge.

For many centuries past no Muslim judge has any longer come up to the original theoretical requirements of the law; therefore any existing ḳāḍī is regarded by Muslim scholars only as *ḳāḍī 'l-ḍarūra*, i. e. as an emergency ḳāḍī, to whom one must go, in default of a better.

On the history of the office of ḳāḍī and of the ḳāḍī's see: R. J. H. Gottheil, *The Cadi, the History of this Institution* in *Revue des Études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, i. (1908), p. 385—393; *The History of the Egyptian Cadis as compiled by Abu Omar Muhammed al-Kindi*, ed. by R. J. H. Gottheil, New York 1908 (with an introduction); cf. *The Governors and Judges of Egypt of el-Kindi*, ed. by R. Guest (Gibb Mem. xix.), 1912; and also the important remarks on the office of ḳāḍī in Cordova by Ribera in the introduction to his edition of al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-Ḳuḍāt bi-Ḳurṭuba* (*Hist. de los Jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxani*, Madrid 1914; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 141, n⁰. 2279).

The Prophet and the early Caliphs often decided disputes in person as judges, as did their governors and prefects in the various provinces. Justice was always administered in Muslim lands to a great extent by local authorities, notably the police officials. This was sometimes called *Naẓar fi 'l-Maẓālim* (al-Māwardī, ed. Enger, p. 128 *sqq.*; H. F. Amedroz, *The Mazalim Jurisdiction in the Ahkam Sultaniyya of Mawardi*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1911, p. 635 *sqq.*; de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*[2], i. 132 *sqq.*).

Moreover 'Umar and 'Uthmān and their successors had appointed special officers as judges (*ḳāḍī*). These ḳāḍī's, who always belonged to the *faḳīh* class, never obtained an independent position in Islām. They were often dismissed — soon after their appointment — and always remained subject to the caprice of the ruler. Cf. for example *Autobiographie d'Ibn Khaldoun*, transl. M. de Slane, Paris 1844, p. 103—110 (*Journ. Asiat.*, 4th Ser., iii. 328 *sqq.*).

The ḳāḍī's had not only to decide cases but they had also to administer pious foundations (*waḳf's*) and the estates of orphans, imbeciles and other persons. They had often to draw up contracts of marriage for women without male relations, etc. The chief ḳāḍī in the capital was one of the high officials (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, i. 403). In eastern countries he was called *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, in the western *ḳāḍī 'l-djamā'a* (Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dict. Arab.*, ii. 363b). In later times the *ḳāḍī 'l-'askar* was also a high official (cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iv. 36; *Autobiogr. d'Ibn Khaldoun*, p. 102, *Journ. As.*, 4th Ser., iii. 327; J. v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, ii. 378 *sqq.*). Some ḳāḍī's were military leaders.

In the large cities, where numerous adherents of the different *fiḳh* schools lived together, a ḳāḍī was appointed, if necessary, for each *madhhab*. For example, there were in later times four ḳāḍīs in Cairo. (Quatremère, *Hist. d. sultans mamlouks*, i. i, p. 98, Note; *Autobiogr. d'Ibn-Khaldoun*, *loc. cit.*).

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(TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

AL-ḲĀḌĪ AL-FĀḌIL, ABŪ 'ALĪ 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMED B. AL-ḤASAN AL-LAKHMĪ AL-BAISĀNĪ AL-'ASḲALĀNĪ, MUḤYĪ (MUDJĪR) AL-DĪN, Saladin's celebrated vizier, was born on 15 Djumādā ii. 529 (3 April 1135) at Asḳalān [q. v.] where his father, a native of Baisān, called al-Ḳāḍī al-Ashraf, filled the office of judge. In 543/4 (1148—9) his father placed him in the *Dīwān al-Inshā'* in Cairo as a learner. By 548 (1153) he had entered the service of Ibn Ḥadīd, ḳāḍī of Alexandria, as secretary. As his elegant reports from there attracted attention to him in Cairo, he was summoned thither as superintendent of the *Dīwān al-Djaish* by al-'Ādil Ruzzīk b. al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i', the last representative of the vizier-family of the Banū Ruzzīk. When the latter soon afterwards was overthrown by Shāwar, prefect of Ḳūṣ, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil became secretary to Shāwar's son Kāmil and after Shāwar's murder to Shīrkūh, his successor in the office of vizier. In 563 (1167—8) he became deputy for Ibn al-Khallāl, chief of the *Dīwān al-Inshā'*, under whom he had begun his official career and on the latter's death on 23 Djumādā ii. 566 (March 4, 1171) was appointed his successor, Saladin having in the meanwhile taken over the vizierate. When in the next year, on the death of the last Fāṭimid, Saladin himself assumed the rule in Egypt, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil became his right hand man in carrying through the reforms necessary in the army and taxation. He then accompanied the Sulṭān on his campaigns in Syria. He was in Egypt from 585 to 586 (1189—90) to control the financial administration and re-equip the army and navy. He then returned to Syria and remained with Saladin till the latter's death on 27 Ṣafar 589 (March 1193). When al-

Malik al-Afḍal, who had taken over the government in Damascus, very soon jeopardised his authority by stupid measures, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil went to Egypt to al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. War soon afterwards broke out between the two brothers, but in 591 (1195) peace was made through the mediation of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil. He thereupon retired into private life. He died suddenly on 6 or 7 Rabīʿ ii 596 (26 or 27 Jan. 1200). Of the numerous state documents which al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil composed during his activity in the *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*, many examples are preserved in MSS. and in Abū Shāma. Helbig gives a complete list (p. 67—75). In addition there is his correspondence with Usāma b. Munḳidh concerning the latter's *Kitāb al-ʿAṣā* from the *Kharīda* of ʿImād al-Dīn in H. Derenbourg, *Nouv. Mél. Orient.*, p. 147—52; *Vie d'Ousâma*, French transl., p. 383—392. During his official career he also edited an official journal, *Mutadjaddidāt*, of which al-Maḳrīzī gives many specimens in the *Khiṭaṭ*. These are not only notes on official letters and the answers to them but reports also on important happenings in the kingdom or on gifts of honour granted by the Sulṭān.

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AL-ḲĀḌĪ AL-HARAWĪ. [See AL-ʿABBĀDĪ.]

ḲĀḌĪ KHĀN FAKHR AL-DĪN, AL-ḤASAN B. MANṢŪR AL-ŪZDJANDĪ AL-FARGHĀNĪ, was a Ḥanafī Muftī and scholar who composed a large number of esteemed juristic works and commentaries on Ḥanafī works. In particular his collection of legal decisions (*Fatāwā Ḳāḍī Khān*, in 4 vols. lith. Calcutta 1835; with the subsidiary title *al-Fatāwā al-Sirādjīya*, lith. Lucknow 1293—5; pr. Cairo 1282) has become widely know on account of its convenience. He died in Ramaḍān 592 (1196).

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ḲADĪM. [See ḲIDAM.]

AL-ḲĀDIR, the Mighty, one of the most beautiful names of Allāh; cf. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Baihaḳī, *al-Asmāʾ wal-Ṣifāt*, Allāhābād 1313, S. 15; Redhouse, *The Most Comely Names*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1880, S. 49.

AL-ḲĀDIR BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. ISḤĀḲ, ʿAbbāsid Caliph. After the deposition of al-Ṭāʾīʿ, his cousin Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad was proclaimed Caliph in Ramaḍān 381 (Nov. 991) with the name al-Ḳādir. The latter was a grandson of al-Muḳtadir; his mother was a slave. During his long reign he was entirely under the influence of the amīrs ruling in Baghdād and only once did he give evidence of having a mind of his own. This was when the Būyid Bahāʾ al-Dawla [q. v.] wished to replace the Sunnī chief ḳāḍī by a Shīʿī but his plan was frustrated by the opposition of al-Ḳādir, whereupon the Shīʿīs were given a superior of their own under the title *naḳīb* "intendant". For the rest, all heretics, notably the Muʿtazilites, were treated with the greatest severity. In this period arose the dynasties of the Marwānids, the ʿUḳailids and the Mirdāsids, and the Ghaznawid kingdom attained its greatest prosperity, while the internal disruption under the Būyids increased, and the Ḥamdānids and Sāmānids, which latter had long been a bulwark against the Turks, collapsed. Al-Ḳādir died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 422 (Nov.-Dec. 1031) at the age of over 80. He is also mentioned as the author of some theological treatises.

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ḲĀDIRĪYA, Order (*ṭarīḳa*) of dervishes called after ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [q. v.].

1. Origin. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (ob. 561 = 1166) was the principal of a school (*madrasa*) of Hanbalite Law and a *ribāṭ* in Baghdād. His sermons (collected in *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*) were delivered sometimes in the one, sometimes in the other; both were notable institutions in the time of Ibn al-Athīr, and Yāḳūt (*Irshād al-Arīb*, v. 274) records a bequest of books made to the former by a man who died in 572 (1176-7). Both appear to have come to an end at the sack of Baghdād in 656 (1258), till when it is probable that their headship remained in the family of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, which was numerous and distinguished. In the *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, where an accurate account of his descendants is given (pp. 113—117), it is stated that ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was succeeded in the *madrasa* by his son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (552—593 = 1157—1196), who was followed by his son ʿAbd al-Salām (ob. 611 = 1214). Another son, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (528—603 = 1134—1206-7), was a notable ascetic. Several members of the family perished during the sack of Baghdād, when it would appear that both these institutions came to and end.

A *ribāṭ* was at this time distinguished from a *zāwiya*, the former being a *coenobium*, the latter a place where an ascetic lived in solitude (al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, margin of the *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1306, i. 217). In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa *zāwiya* had come to be used in the former sense also, and his description of the religious exercises practised at the *zāwiya* (i. 71) would probably suit what went on at ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's *ribāṭ*. The body of rules and doctrines which had his authority was sufficient to constitute a system (*madhhab*; *Bahdja*, p. 102), and by accepting the *khirḳa* from the shaikh the *murīd* signified that he subordinated his will to that of the former (al-Suhrawardī, i. 192). A long list is given in the *Bahdja* of men who attained various degrees of distinction who had received the *khirḳa* from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, two of them at the age of seven and one at the age of one. These persons were said to "ascribe themselves" (*intasaba* or *intamā* or even *tasammā*) to

'Abd al-Ḳādir, and could bestow the *khirḳa* on others as from him; in doing so they would stipulate that the *murīd* was to regard 'Abd al-Ḳādir as his shaikh and director after the Prophet. In a tradition which is likely to be apocryphal (*Bahdja*, p. 101), dated 592 (1196), 'Abd al-Ḳādir declared that assumption of his *khirḳa* was not absolutely necessary for entry into his Order; personal attachment to himself was sufficient. It would appear that during his lifetime several persons carried on propaganda in favour of his system; one 'Alī b. al-Haddād obtained proselytes in Yemen, and one Muḥammad al-Baṭā'iḥī, resident in Baalbek, did likewise in Syria; one Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, also of Baalbek, was another propagandist, and one Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad in Egypt "ascribed himself to 'Abd al-Ḳādir and in treading the Path relied on him after God and His Apostle" (*Bahdja*, pp. 109, 110). Since all who ascribed themselves to him were promised Paradise, the Order is likely to have been popular; and even in recent times missionaries in Africa appear to have little difficulty in obtaining fresh adherents to it (cf. O. Lenz, *Timbuktu*, ii. 33).

That 'Abd al-Ḳādir's sons had some share in spreading it is likely, though Ibn Taimiya (ob. 728 = 1328) mentions that he had associated with one of his descendants who was an ordinary Muslim and not a member of it, and so did not agree with those who held fanatical views about him (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, p. 124). The *Bahdja* however does not bear out Le Chatelier's assertion (*Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, p. 35) that in 'Abd al-Ḳādir's life-time some of his sons had been preaching his doctrine in Morocco, Egypt, Arabia, Turkestan and India. It says much of 'Abd al-Razzāḳ, but nothing of the "mosque now in ruins, whose seven gilded domes have often served as the subject of description by Arabic historians", which this son is supposed to have built. Indeed this mosque appears to be later than Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (740 = 1339-40), the first author later than the *Bahdja*, who mentions 'Abd al-Ḳādir's tomb (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, transl. Le Strange, p. 42). Nor does it confirm the statement that this 'Abd al-Razzāḳ introduced the use of music in the ritual, and indeed the employment of this was earlier than 'Abd al-Ḳādir's time, and is discussed by al-Suhrawardī (ii. 116) without allusion to 'Abd al-Razzāḳ. E. Mercier (*Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, iii. 14) asserts that the Order of Ḳādiriya existed in Berbery in the xii[th] century A. D., and was closely connected with the Fāṭimides (whose rule terminated 567 = 1171), but he gives no authority for these statements.

Al-Suhrawardī holds that the exercises of each *murīd* should be determined by his shaikh in accordance with his individual needs, whence it is unlikely that 'Abd al-Ḳādir instituted any rigid system of *dhikr*, *wird* and *ḥizb*, and indeed those in use among different Ḳādirī communities differ (Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 183 *sqq.*). The initiation ceremonies given on Turkish authority by J. P. Brown (*The Dervishes*, p. 98) are quite different from those furnished by Rinn on North African authority. In one of these latter there is a tendency to set 'Alī above Muḥammad and to insist on the importance of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, which cannot well represent the views of the Ḥanbalite 'Abd al-Ḳādir. The *wird* of 'Abd al-Ḳādir in *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniya* is given on the authority of one 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Adjamī, who lived 185 years (536—731), and may be regarded as mythical.

2. **Development.** Ḳādirism seems from an early period to have developed on different lines according as 'Abd al-Ḳādir was regarded as the founder of a system involving rites and practices, or as a worker of miracles. In the latter direction it meant the deification of 'Abd al-Ḳādir, the extremists holding that he was Lord of Creation after God, absolutely, whereas the more moderate supposed that he was so only in his own age (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, *l. c.*). The latter was the view of Ibn 'Arabī, who takes him as an example of a *khalīfa* who showed himself and practised sovereignty (*taṣarruf*; *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiya*, ii. 407); such a *khalīfa* in his system is independent of the revelation to Muḥammad (*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, § 16). But there was also a theory that 'Abd al-Ḳādir practised in his grave all the activities (*taṣarruf*) of the living (Ibn al-Wardī [ob. 749], *Ta'rīkh*, ii. 70); and Ibn Taimiya (*al-Djawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, i. 325) mentions him among saints who in his time still appeared to people, being in reality impersonated by demons. In the initiation ceremonies recorded by J. P. Brown, *l. c.*, the candidate for admission to the Order sees 'Abd al-Ḳādir in dreams; in one case so often and so clearly that without having seen 'Abd al-Ḳādir's portrait he could recognize him among a thousand. The form of Ḳādirism which means the worship of 'Abd al-Ḳādir seems to prevail in North Africa, where it is called Djīlālism (for Djīlānism), and whole communities are called Djīlāla. Their system has been described as the application of Ṣūfic mysticism to beliefs that are certainly pre-Islamic, and the materialization of that mysticism under the form of a cult of hidden subterranean powers (E. Michaux-Bellaire in *Archives Marocaines*, xx. 235). Here the word *khalwa* is used for a heap of stones where women attach rags to reeds planted between the stones and where they burn benzoin and styrax in potsherds (*ibid.*, xvii. 60). Such *khalwa*'s are to be found in all the Arab villages. Similarly "in the province of Oran on all the roads and on the summits of the chief mountains *ḳubbah* are to be found in the name of 'Abd al-Ḳādir Jilali" (E. de Neveu, *Ordres Religieux chez les Musulmans d'Algérie*, p. 30). The society of the Genāwah or Negroes of Guinea has placed itself entirely under the protection of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Ḳādir with all his array of male and female demons; wherein M. Michaux-Bellaire finds traces of the powers which, according to the Ḳur'ān (and even earlier authorities) belonged to Solomon. The cult of 'Abd al-Ḳādir is most ardently practised by the women in the Khlot and Ṭlīḳ, who come to the *khalwa* for every sort of object, and to satisfy their loves and hates in all the acts of their existence. The men on the other hand chiefly go to the *khalwa* when they are ill (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi. 329).

That this development is inconsistent with Islamic orthodoxy is evident, and it is attacked by such authorities as Ibn Taimiya and Ibrāhīm al-Shāṭibī (*I'tiṣām*, i. 348 *sqq.*). The system to which the name Ḳādiriya is more ordinarily applied differs from other orders mainly in ritual, although, through circumstances connected with its origin, "it has not that homogeneity of statutes which is to be found in other congregations, which seem to form small exclusive churches outside which

there is no salvation" (Rinn, p. 186). Though the founder was a Ḥanbalite, membership is by no means confined to that school, and the Order is theoretically both tolerant and charitable.

3. Geographical Distribution. Since historical and geographical works rarely distinguish between the different *ṭuruḳ* in their accounts of religious buildings, little can be said with certainty of the date at which the first Ḳādirī *zāwiya* or *khānḳāh* was established in any country save ʿIrāḳ. The Order is said to have been introduced into Fez by the posterity of two of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's sons, Ibrāhīm (ob. 592 = 1196 in Wāsiṭ) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (who died in Djiyāl, a village of Sindjār); they had migrated to Spain and shortly before the fall of Granada (897 = 1492) their descendants fled to Morocco. The full genealogy of the Shurafāʾ Djīlāla of Fez is given in *Arch. Maroc.*, iii. 106—114, on the authority of *al-Durr al-Sanī* of Ibn al-Ṭaiyib al-Ḳādirī (1090 = 1679), who claims to have used a series of authentic documents. The *Madrasa* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in Fez is mentioned as early as 1104 = 1692/3 (*ibid.*, xi. 319). The order was introduced into Asia Minor and Constantinople by Ismāʿīl Rūmī, founder of the *khānḳāh* known as the Ḳādirīkhāneh at the Top-khāneh. This personage (ob. 1041 = 1631), who is called *Pīr thānī*, "Second Shaikh", is said to have founded some 40 *tekke*'s in these regions (*Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*). A Ḳādirī *ribāṭ* in Meccah is mentioned by Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī in *al-ʿAlam al-Shāmikh*, p. 381, about 1180 (1669/70), but the assertion that a branch was established there during the lifetime of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Le Chatelier, *o. c.*, p. 44) is not improbable, since Meccah has a natural attraction for the Ṣūfīs. In the *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī* (about 1600; transl. Jarrett, iii. 357) the Ḳādiriya Order is mentioned as one that is highly respected but is not included among those recognized in India; nor does there appear to be any allusion to it in the list of Indian Ṣūfīs in the *Maʾāthir-i Kirām* (1752), though some other Orders are noticed, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir himself is mentioned. Yet see Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii. 604 and art. INDIA, p. 489.

Some statistics (to be received with caution) of the Ḳādirīs and their *zāwiya*'s are given by Depont et Coppolani (*Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, pp. 301—318). Much of its development is admittedly recent, and may be due to the fame won by the namesake of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir who for so many years resisted the French occupation of North Africa (see i. 43 *sq.*). It is doubtless represented in all Islamic countries, though it would appear that certain derived *ṭuruḳ* enjoy greater popularity in many places. Thus the Ḳādirism of Fouta in Guinea, which has become a distinct sign whereby the Diakanke tribe can be recognized, is derived through the Sīdia from the Ḳādirism of the Kounta of Timbuctu (P. Marty in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, xxxvi. 183). These Kounta however form a *filiale* of the Ḳādiriya, and some of them prefer to call themselves Shādhiliya (*ibid.*, xxxi. 424).

4. Organization. The Ḳādirī community acknowledges nominal allegiance to the keeper of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's tomb in Baghdād, and the deeds of investiture published by Rinn, p. 179, and in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, ii. 513 and ix. 290, are from this source. It would seem however that the actual authority of this personage is chiefly recognized in Mesopotamia and India. The latter periodically send gifts which form the main source of the revenues of his establishment; the members of this family find it worth while to learn Urdu. The Meccan *zāwiya*'s are subject to the *Shaikh al-Ṭuruḳ*, who has the right to nominate their *muḳaddam*. The Egyptian branch is under the control of the Sayyid al-Bakrī, who is also *Shaikh al-Ṭuruḳ*; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (iii. 129; see also F. Kahle in *Der Islam*, vi. 154) reckons the order as one of the four which go back to a *ḳuṭb*, but asserts that it has neither *furūʿ* nor *buyūt*. In Africa, according to Rinn, each *muḳaddam* names his successor; in the event of one dying without having nominated, an election is made by the *ikhwān* at a *ḥaḍra*. The approval of the head of the order in Baghdād is then solicited, and has never been refused. The organization of the Order in North Africa is described somewhat fully by Rinn, Depont et Coppolani, in the works cited. The system appears to be in general congregational, i. e. the *zāwiya*'s are independent, and the relation between them and the central institution in Baghdād is very loose. The principle whereby the headship of a *zāwiya* is hereditary is generally recognized.

5. Symbols and Rites. The sign of the Turkish Ḳādirīs is said to be a rose which is green, having been adopted by Ismāʿīl Rūmī. The candidate for admission to the Order after a year brings an ʿ*araḳiye* or small felt cap, to which if the candidate be accepted the Shaikh attaches a rose of 18 sections, with Solomon's Seal in the centre. This cap is called by them *tādj*. The symbolism of this is explained by J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 98 *sqq.* (copied by Wilberforce Clarke, transl. of ʿ*Awārif al-Maʿārif*, p. 159; the Urdū translation *Kashf Asrār al-Mashāyikh* adds nothing to Brown's information). According to him, they prefer the colour green, though they allow others; in Lane's time the turbans and banners of the Ḳādirīs in Egypt were white; most members of the Order were fishermen, and they in religious processions carried upon poles nets of various colours (*Modern Egyptians*, 1871, i. 306). In India there are festivities in honour of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir on 11 Rabīʿ II, and pilgrimages are made in many places in Algeria and Morocco to the *zāwiya*'s and shrines of the saint (Rinn, p. 177). The *Mausim* of the Djīlāla at Salé is described at length by L. Mercier in *Arch. Maroc.*, viii. 137—139; it commences the seventh day of the *Mūlūd* (*Mawlid*), i. e. the Feast of the Prophet's Birthday, and lasts four days 17—20 Rabīʿ I. Sheep and oxen are presented to the descendants of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. M. Michaux-Bellaire distinguishes in Morocco between the ceremonies of the Ḳādiriya, who recite the *ḥizb*, and the Djīlāla, who recite the *dhikr* to the accompaniment of instruments; and again between the Djīlāla of the country, whose instruments are the *bendīr* (a sort of big tambourine without bells) and ʿ*awwāda*, and those of the town, whose instruments are the *ṭbīla*, *ṭabl* and *ghaiṭa* (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi. 330 and xvii. 60). A description of the *ḥaḍrat al-mulūk*, a performance executed with these last instruments, which leads to ecstasy, is given by him in the first passage cited. He further records some special ceremonies connected with the Awlād Khalīfa in the Gharb (*ibid.*, xx. 283). All the Hilālī of the Gharb are Djīlāla, and in all the *ḥaḍra*'s (services) of the

Djilāla the presence of at least one Khalīfa is necessary for the direction of ceremonies, and when no actual Khalīfa is present, some one there takes the name in order to perform the priestly duty. The origin of the name Awlād Khalīfa is obscure (p. 284); it may be noticed that the *Bahdja* mentions one Khalīfa b. Mūsā al-Nahrmalikī as having played a leading part in the propagation of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's system. "The *ḥadra* of the Djilāla of the country contains neither the *ḥizb* nor the *dhikr* instituted by the Shaikh, but a plain *dhikr* of improvised words in the ceremonial rhythm of the *banādir* (plur. of *bendir*). These improvisations always terminate with the words "Thus spake Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḳādir" or "O Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḳādir!"" (Michaux-Bellaire, p. 288).

Various collections of rituals supposed to have been recommended by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir have been published in Egypt, Turkey and India. In *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniya* he who is about to enter upon *khalwa* (retreat) is advised to fast in the day and keep vigil at night. The *khalwa* lasts forty days. "If a figure reveal itself to him saying "I am God", he should say "nay rather thou art in God", and if it be for probation, it will vanish; but if it remain, then it will be a genuine revelation (*tadjalli*)" (Dihli 1330, p. 60). Reduction of food during the 40 days should be gradual till for the last three fasting is complete. At the end he returns by degrees to his former diet.

Some practices peculiar to the Djilāla of Tangier are recorded by G. Salmon (*Arch. Maroc.*, ii. 108). Those who make vows to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir are in the habit of depositing in the *zāwiya* white cocks, which are called *muḥarrar* (Sūra iii. 31); they do not kill them, but leave them free to rove about the *zāwiya*, where however they do not long survive; the Sharīf who lives hard by takes them for his food. The four daughters of a deceased Sharīf continued to live on the revenues of the *zāwiya* and carry away the *muḥarrar* fowls. The *muḳaddam* at this *zāwiya* was the Sharīf, who conducted the ceremonies at which the Ḳurʾān is repeated without the *ḥizb* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir being pronounced, and where dances similar to those of the ʿIsawīs [q. v.] are performed. Circumcisions are performed at the *zāwiya* on the first day of the *mawlid*. A nightly meeting called *laila* is held on the eve of this day, at which the *ḥizb* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir is recited. At El-Qṣar, where there are also some local practices, all the potters belong to the Djilāla, among whom the richer members of the community are to be found (*ibid.*, ii. 163).

The first time that the Ḳādirīs appear to have played a political part was during the French conquest of Algeria, when the chief of the Ḳādiriya Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn, having been offered the leadership in the war against the infidel, permitted his son ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to accept it. This person was able to utilise the religious organisation of his order in order to establish the sovereignty which the French had accorded him, and when his sovereignty was threatened could fall back on his rank as *muḳaddam* of his order to win fresh recruits (H. Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910, p. 800, 863 etc.). Since the fall and exile of this personage it would appear that the Ḳādirīs in Africa have lent their support to the French government. "In 1879 when there was a local insurrection in Aurès the shaikh of the Ḳādiriya of Menāʿa, Si Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās, displayed unimpeachable loyalty [s. art. AWRĀS, I. 523a]; and the same order helped the French government to extend their influence in the Sahara at Wargla and El-Wad. Their *Nāʾib*, Si Muḥammad b. Ṭayyib, fell on the French side at the battle of Charouin, March 2, 1901." (Israel Hamet, *Les Musulmans Français du Nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1906, p. 276). — In the Ottoman revolution of 1908 it is said that their sympathies were with the revolutionists, but that for fear of being outdone in religious zeal by the rival Rifāʿī order they joined in Baghdād in the "pogrom" against the Jews (L. Massignon in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, vi. 461).

Bibliography: Oriental editions cited: ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Shaṭṭanawfī, *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, Cairo (Maimaniya Press), 1304; *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*, Cairo (Dhāt al-Tahrīr Press), 1302; Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī, *al-ʿAlam al-Shāmikh fī Īthār al-Ḥaḳḳ ʿala ʾl-Ābāʾ wal-Mashāʾikh*, Cairo (Manār Press), 1328; *Kashf Asrār al-Mashāʾikh*, Lucknow, 1881; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., 1869—74; *Irshādāt al-Murīd*, Cairo (Kurdistān Press) 1329. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.)

AL-ḲĀDISĪYA, the name of several places in the ʿIrāḳ and in Mesopotamia:

1. A town in the ʿIrāḳ, on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 8 miles S. E. of Sāmarrā. With the latter it seems to have been closely connected in its period of prosperity. We do not know what special part al-Ḳādisiya played at that time. Perhaps, as Herzfeld, (*op. cit.*, p. 107) suggests, it is really identical with the town of al-Ḳāṭūl which Hārūn al-Rashīd or the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim began to build before the foundation of Sāmarrā. Yāḳūt and other Arab geographers mention the glassworks of al-Ḳādisiya. In the middle ages the important Dudjail canal left the Tigris opposite the town. The ruins of al-Ḳādisiya lie in Lat. 34° 5′ N., between the two still existing out of the former three Tigris canals, called al-Ḳāṭūl; they are a short quarter of an hour distant from the bank of the Tigris. The old name has survived and is now popularly pronounced Ḳādisiya (occasionally corrupted to Djāsiya and Djisiya). We owe full accounts of these ruins particularly to Ross and Jones; E. Herzfeld also has recently investigated the ruins. Jones gives a plan of the ruins of the town, which Herzfeld says is entirely correct.

The enclosing walls which measure about 6000 paces form a regular octagon. They are flanked by towers at the corners and defended by 16 bastions at intervals. They were built of bricks which in technique, plan and preservation resemble the castra of Sāmarrā. According to all criteria, these ruins belong — in Herzfeld's opinion — to the ʿAbbāsid period, not to an older one. Ten minutes from al-Ḳādisiya, just on the river bank, are also mounds of ruins, called al-Ṣanam. They mark the site of a mediaeval or ancient town, half of which has already been washed by the Tigris. On a remarkable find of statues made here, see Cl. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, 1836, ii. 152. Al-Ṣanam perhaps was within the area of al-Ḳādisiya and is to be regarded as its port.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 9, 13; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 228—9; Lynch in the *Journ. of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xviii. (1848), p. 5; H. Kiepert, in the *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde* (Berlin), 1883, p. 25, 27; M. Frhr. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer*

zum persischen Golf (Berlin 1900), ii. 229; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen* (Leiden 1900 *sq.*), i. 35, 223—4; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i. (1911), p. 105—7 (where the references to Rich, Ross, Jones are given).

2. A town in the 'Irāḳ, SSW. from Kūfa, a station on the pilgrim road from Baghdād to Mecca. According to the itineraries of the Arab geographers, it was 15 Arab (= Roman) miles from Kūfa. Al-Ḳādisiya was situated in the western part of the *Taff*, that steppe region rising above the Babylonian cultivated country (*al-Rīf*) and characterised by springs (e. g. that of al-'Udhaib), which forms the transition to the high plateau of the Arabian desert. This *Taff* in the Sāsānian period was protected by a series of watch-houses (*maslaḥa*'s) and a great wall and ditch (*khandaḳ*) from the raids of Arab tribes. The last village of the *Taff*, just before entering the desert, was al-'Udhaib, also a station on the Baghdād-Mecca road already mentioned. The distance between it and al-Ḳādisiya, with which it was connected by two walls was 6 (according to another source, 4) Arab miles. On the geographical conception of the Taff cf. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 539 and Seybold in the *Orient. Lit. Zeitung*, vi. (1903), col. 241—4. The breadth of the 'Irāḳ is usually measured by the Arab geographers by a line which runs from Ḥulwān in the northeast to al-Ḳādisiya (or al-'Udhaib) in the southwest; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, i. 2, 5.

The exact location of al-Ḳādisiya was unknown until quite recently. An attempt had been made to identify it with the early Muḥammadan ruins of al-Ukhaiḍir (25 miles S.S.W. of Kūfa) — for example by Ritter, *op. cit.*, xi. 956, Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London 1857), p. 64 note, and Justi in the *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 546. This identification, however, is to be definitely rejected as erroneous. Besides, Ritter, *op. cit.*, x. 186 places al-Ḳādisiya much too far north, while the locations of al-Ḳādisiya and al-'Udhaib given by Wagner (*Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, 1902, p. 257—9) are fairly correct. A. Musil, on his journey of exploration in 1912, was the first to rediscover the real site of al-Ḳādisiya, cf. his report in the *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wien. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1913, i. 11 (12 of the reprint). Musil there remarks that the spring al-'Oḏeyb rises in the valley of of Mseyjīd: "on the left bank of that valley, on the edge of a swampy *ḳīr* we were shown the ruins of al-Ḳādsijje or Dār al-Ḳāṣr (= Ḳādisiya)". According to the map which Musil appends to his essay in the *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.*, xxix. (1916), p. 461, the ruins mentioned are situated in 31° 45′ N. Lat. and 44° 8′ E. Long. (Greenwich) directly south of Nadjaf and 19 miles from Kūfa.

The locality of Kaides which Beauchamp in his excursion to the ruins of Babylon in 1780 heard of as the find-spot of a statue some considerable distance away (see the reprint of his account of his journey in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, x. 190) is perhaps also identical with the remains of al-Ḳādisiya discovered by Musil. Kaides is probably = Ḳādis, the shorter form of the name, which is occasionally found alongside of Ḳādisiya, as for example in an old Arab poet (see al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 226). In al-Ṭabarī, etc. Firdausī writes Ḳādisī and Ḳādisiya. In the neighbourhood of al-Ḳādisiya there was a village called al-Ḳudais, "little Ḳādis". The poets give the whole district round al-Ḳādisiya the collective name al-Ḳawādis.

The Arab geographers of the ivth (xth) century (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī) describe al-Ḳādisiya as a small town with two gates and a mud fortress, in the midst of cultivated fields and groves of date-palms, watered by a canal led from the Euphrates, the last running water in the 'Irāḳ. In ancient times the inner arm of the Persian Gulf seems to have stretched up to the region of al-Ḳādisiya. The main arm of the Euphrates once flowed, as al-Mas'ūdī notes (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, i. 215), towards al-Ḥīra, where its ancient bed was still visible and was called *al-'Atīḳ* "the old (river)". It took its course between al-Ḳādisiya in the north-east and al-'Udhaib in the southwest; at al-Ḳādisiya there was a bridge across it called Djisr al-'Atīḳ or Djisr al-Ḳādisiya.

In the Sāsānian period al-Ḳādisiya played a prominent part as an important frontier town of the Persian empire. It was not till the Muhammadan period that the town became very famous on account of the decisive battle fought in its vicinity, with which the Arab opened their second campaign against the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris in the most successful fashion. The Muslim army was under the command of Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, while the Persian troops were led by the imperial commander-in-chief Rustam. Statements differ very considerably regarding the numbers on each side; the number given for the Arabs varies from 6000 to 38000 and that for the Persians 30000 to 120000 men. The latter were undoubtedly superior to the Muslims in strength. The estimate of an almost contemporary Armenian historian may be fairly near the truth when it puts the Persians at 80000 men and the Arabs at 9—10000, besides the Syrian reinforcements of 6000 men who arrived in the last stage of the fight.

It was only after the two sides had stood watching each other for weeks that they joined battle. The battle lasted three (or four) days. These days in the specifically 'Irāḳ tradition have special names, which are probably to be explained as place-names. In spite of all the heroic courage of the Arabs, the balance would finally have turned in favour of the Persians, if at the critical moment of the decision the troops hurried from Syria had not arrived in time. Their rapid and vigorous intervention decided the victory of the Arab arms. It was, however, not a cheap victory for the Muslims, as about a third of their whole force perished. About the doubtless very heavy Persian losses the accounts are contradictory. The Persian commander in chief Rustam was captured and killed in the heat of battle. Very considerable booty was taken by the victors. The most important trophy was the Persian imperial standard said to date from the early Īrānian period (on it see Sarre in *Klio*, iii. 358 *sq.*), Dirafsh-i Kāwiyān, which was cut in pieces and distributed. In the fighting with the retreating Persians the Arabs also captured the celebrated treasure of Nakhāridjān (properly Nakhwērgān) which consisted of valuable ornaments for women; cf. on it Nöldeke in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxiii. 523—4.

The glorious day of al-Ḳādisiya, which made the Arabs masters of the 'Irāḳ west of the Tigris, is

one of the most celebrated events in the great period of the Muslim conquests. It laid the foundations for the supremacy of the religion of Muḥammad in the nearer east. Of course tradition has woven many legends round the victory; it is frequently mentioned in the older Arab poetry.

The date of the battle is very uncertain. The statements in the different sources vary from the years 14 to 16 (635—637). One thing is certain that the battle was fought in the spring and that Baṣra was founded after it. Wellhausen (*op. cit.*, vi. 72) decides for 15 (636), while Caetani prefers 16 (637) (*op. cit.*, p. 629—633); see also Justi, *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 546.

The Armenian historians call the battle after Ḥīra (Armen. Herthican); see the account by Sebeos in Hübschmann, *Zur Geschichte Armeniens und der ersten Kriege der Araber* (Leipzig 1875), p. 14 and Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

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In addition to the two towns mentioned above, Yāķūt knows three other places called Ķādisīya, namely two villages in the district of al-Mawṣil, on the Nahr al-Khāzir between al-Mawṣil and Irbil, and a third near Djazīra b. 'Umar in Mesopotamia; see Yāķūt, *al-Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 337. Ibn al-Athīr also mentions an al-Ķādisīya near Baghdād (*op. cit.*, xii. 91). We also find the shorter form al-Ķādis beside al-Ķādisīya, e. g. for the battlefield (cf. above), for a village near Herāt (see *al-Mushtarik*, p. 337; al-Balādhurī, p. 409, 2) and near Marw al-Rūdh (Yāķūt, iv. 7, 3). Probably in all these place-names, as Nöldeke suggests (*Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, xxxiii. 1623), we have to deal with traces of a lost people of unknown nationality, namely the Kadishaeans, who appear in Syriac literature of the vth and vith centuries as a wild warlike people in the region of Sindjār. The places called al-Ķādisīya and al-Ķādis in Mesopotamia, Babylonia and on Persian territory are perhaps to be explained as settlements of branches of this stock, made by the Sāsānian kings. Of the celebrated al-Ķādisīya near Kūfa, it is at least definitely stated that its name comes from Ķādis near Herāt, from which the garrison of the fort belonging to the military cordon on the frontier had come. Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 157 *sq.*, 162; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (*Abhandlungen der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1901), p. 77, 78. (M. STRECK.)

ĶĀDJĀR (*ķaǰar* "marching quickly"; cf. Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughat-i Čaghatai*, Stambul 1298, p. 214), the name of the present ruling dynasty of Persia. It takes its origin from the Turkoman tribe of the same name settled in the district of Astarābād [q. v.], but which had not always been there. Persian historians assert that it is a branch of the great tribe of Djalāir [q. v.] and that it takes its name from Ķādjār Noyān, son of Sertāķ Noyān, who had been the tutor of Ghāzān Khān [q. v.]; this Sertāķ is without doubt the same as he who was put to death by Baidū [q. v.], because he was a partisan of Gaikhātū [q. v.] in 694 (1295) (Waṣṣāf, Bombay 1269, iii. 282; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 115). This tribe had, it is said, settled on the frontiers of Syria after the reign of Abū Sa'īd [q. v.], in 736 (1335); Tīmūr is said to have brought it back to Persia and into Turkestān, its native country, in 803 (1400). It was one of the seven Turkoman tribes which placed the Ṣafawī dynasty on the throne of Persia. To it belonged Shāh Ķulī *Ķurčī* (body-guard), who was twice appointed ambassador to treat for peace with the Turks in 962 (1555) and in 975 (1567) (Pečewī, i. 327, 334; v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Fr. transl., vi. 69, 320; Riḍā Ķulī Khān, ix. 2 is wrong in giving the date 969). In 995 (1587), Shāh 'Abbās I finding them too numerous divided the tribe into three groups: 1. at Merw against the Uzbegs; 2. at Gandja and Erīwān; 3. at Astarābād in the fortress of Mubārakābād which he had just built; those who established themselves in the high part were given the name *Yukhārī-bash*; those who lived in the lower part adopted the name *Ashaghā-bash*. The object of settling them in this region was to protect it from the inroads of the Turkomans from beyond the frontier.

A member of the Astarābād branch was Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, the son of Shāh Ķulī b. Mahdī Khān b. Walī Khān b. Muḥammad Ķulī. To avenge the death of his two brothers he seized Astarābād. In 1135 (1723) he went to the defence of Iṣfahān against the Afghāns at the head of 1000 horsemen; but being denounced to Shāh Ḥusain as dangerously ambitious he returned to his province, abandoning the Ṣafawī king to his unfortunate destiny. Called to their help by the people of Ray, he fought without success against the Afghāns at Ibrāhīmābād in Warāwīn, and returned to Māzandarān to offer his services to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. During the advance on Meshhed he was executed by order of Ṭahmāsp's general Nādir (the later Nādir Shāh) on 14th Ṣafar 1139 (12th 1139 Oct. 1726) (Mahdī Khān, *Ta'rīkh-i Nādirī*, Tibrīz 1266, p. 21).

His son Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, pursued by Nādir Shāh, took refuge with the Turkomans, collected supporters there and recaptured Astarābād, which he lost a little later again; it was then that the two obelisks of decapitated heads were built (*Kelleminār*) which Hanway saw (illustration in *Historical Account of British trade*, London 1753;

vol. i., reproduced in Sykes, *History of Persia*, 2nd ed., ii. 270). Muḥammad Ḥasan went to the tribe of Dāz, who expelled him under threats from Nādir. He then lived in the desert, where he heard by chance of the assassination of Nādir Shāh. He thereupon retook Astarābād (1160 = 1747). He was next attacked by Karīm Khān Zand, who besieged him for 40 days, then raised the siege and abandoned his camp (1165 = 1752). In 1168 (1755) Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.] seized Meshhed and sent Pesand Khān at the head of 15 000 horsemen to attack Muḥammad Ḥasan's possessions, but this army was defeated at Sabzawār. Muḥammad Ḥasan followed up this success by conquering Kazwīn and Gīlān. He marched on Iṣfahān. Karīm Khān lost the battle of Gulnābād, fought four parasangs from this town, and fled to Shīrāz. In 1169 (1756) he seized Ādharbāidjān, where the Afghān Āzād Khān was in command; he annexed this province in 1170 (1757) and appointed as its governor his son Agha Muḥammad Shāh, then aged 18. Next year he marched on Shīrāz but his army melted away owing to scarcity of provisions. He then had to suppress several local revolts. His troops, exhausted by their continual marches, abandoned him; he returned to Astarābād with a body of *Ashāķabāsh* and his own private servants. Defeated in a fight with Shaikh 'Alī Khān in the desert of Kasak, the feet of his horse sank in the mire and in this position he was killed by the Kurd Sabz 'Alī, one of his servants who had gone over to the enemy (1171 = 1758).

Ḥusain Ķulī Khān, second son of the preceding, surnamed Djahān-Sūz on account of his courage and fearlessness, entered the service of Karīm Khān who also attached to his court Agha Muḥammad Khān then aged 30. The latter went to Shīrāz; his family settled in Ķazwīn. Appointed governor of Dāmghān, but carried away by his ambition, Ḥusain Ķulī attacked Astarābād and there gave himself up to plunder and massacre. He seized Māzandarān and surprised at Bārfurūsh, the capital of Māzandarān, the governor appointed by Karīm Khān, Mahdī Khān. He was shot in his tent by rebel Yomūt Turkomans at the age of 27. He was the father of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh [q. v.].

Ķādjār Dynasty.

Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, born 1097 (1685) or 1104 (1693); accession 1133 (1721); died 1139 (1726—27); buried at Khwādja Rabī', near Meshhed.

Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, born 1127 (1715); accession 1164 (1751); died 1172 (1758—59); buried at Shāh 'Abd al-'Aẓīm.

Ḥusain Ķulī Khān, surnamed Djahān-sūz, born 1164 (1751); accession 1184 (1770); died 1191 (1777); buried at Astarābād.

1. Agha Muḥammad Shāh, born 1155 (1742); accession 1193 (1779); died 1211 (1796—97); buried at Nadjaf (Meshhed 'Alī).
2. Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh, born 1185 (1771); accession at Teherān 1212 (1797—98); died 1250 (1834) at Ķumm. — 'Abbās Mīrzā, *nā'ib al-salṭana*, born 1203 (1788—89); died in Khorāsān before his father (1249 = 1833—34); buried at Meshhed.
3. Muḥammad Shāh, born 1222 (1807); accession 1250 (1834); died 1264 (1848); buried at Ķumm.
4. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, born 1247 (1831—32); accession 1264 (1848); assassinated in 1896.
5. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, born 1269 (1853); accession June 8, 1896; died 14 January 1907.
6. Muḥammad 'Alī, born 1289 (1872); accession January 19, 1907; abdicated July 16, 1909.
7. Aḥmad Shāh, born 1314 (1898); attained his majority in 1914.

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(CL. HUART.)

ĶADR (A.) another pronunciation of ĶADAR [q. v.].

ĶADRĪ, a Persian poet who commemorated the capture of the island of Kishm and of the town of Hormūz by 'Abbās I in two short epic poems, *Djangnāma-i Kishm* and *Djarūnnāma*. The former is edited by L. Bonelli in the *Rendiconti della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, vi., Semester 1, fasc. 8. Cf. Ethé in the *Grundriss der iran. Phil.*, ii. 237.

KĀF, the 22nd letter of the usual Arabic alphabet (numeral value 20; cf. the article ABDJAD). The pronunciation of *kāf* as an unvoiced palatal explosive, found as early as Sībawaihi, has survived in modern academic speech. In the present day popular speech we find some variants (in addition to *k*) notably the affricate *č* (<*ć* <*k'*). Cf. the article ARABIA, ARABIC DIALECTS, i. 396b; and Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre*, Index.

(A. SCHAADE.)

ĶĀF, the 21st letter of the usual Arabic alphabet (numerical value 100; cf. the article ABDJAD). The form of the character goes back to the Nabataean *ķōf* and later in Arabic was assimilated in form to *fā'*, so that it had to be distinguished from the latter by pointing (cf. the article ARABIA, ARABIC WRITING, i. 383b and plate I). In Sībawaihi's time *ķāf* was pronounced as a velar *g*. This pronunciation is still frequently found among Beduins and peasants; in the ordinary popular language, however, *ķāf* is usually pronounced as *hamza*; for other modern popular pronunciations of *ķāf* see the article ARABIA, ARABIC DIALECTS, i. 396a. The modern academic pronunciation is *ķ* (i. e. velar *k*). Cf. Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre*, Index. — Ķāf is also the title of Sūra L. of the Ķur'ān.

(A. SCHAADE.)

ĶĀF in the cosmology of Islām is the name of the mountain range surrounding the earth. On the shape of the earth there were different opinions among the later Muslims:

cf. al-Ķazwīnī, i. 143 *sq.*; al-Dimashķī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (ed. Mehren), p. 9; Ibn al-Wardī, *op. cit.*, p. 9 and thereon Zenker in Lane, *op. cit.*, ii. 229, 231 *sq.*; Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i. p. clxxxi *sq.* and Radloff-Hochheim in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlvii. 220. Like the Hebrews and the Greeks in the period of Homer, Hesiod and the Ionian physicists, the ancient Arabs usually regarded the earth as a quite flat, circular disc; Muḥammad, to judge by passages in the Ķur'ān, entirely agreed with this view. The view held in the sacred revelation as well as in Tradition is still shared in Muslim countries by great masses of believers. The mountain Ķāf is separated from the disk of the earth by a region impassable to man. This, according to a statement of the Prophet (see the Persian version of al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*), is a dark stretch which it would take four months to cross. Another view connected with Greek and Iranian ideas regards the earth as immediately surrounded by a stinking, unnavigable body of water called *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ* or *Uḳiyānūs* (Okeanos), which in whole or part is veiled in deep darkness and whose shores no one knows (cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 19; al-Ķazwīnī, i. 104, 7; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 73; Zenker in Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 232, 234; Reinaud, *op. cit.*, ii. 1., p. 23 *sq.*). The whole, earth and sea, is then held together by the mountain wall Ķāf as by a ring.

From the descriptions given notably by Yāḳūt, al-Ķazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī, Ķāf is a formation of green emerald, the reflection of which causes the green (to us: blue) of the heavens. Slightly diverging from this, another version says that only the rock (*al-ṣakhra*) on which the mountain Ķāf proper rests is of a kind of emerald. This rock is also called *al-watad*, the peg, because God created it as a support for the earth. The earth cannot support itself by its own strength — so some think —, it therefore requires a prop like this. If Ķāf did not exist, the earth would — as the Persian version of al-Ṭabarī says — be constantly trembling and no creature could live on it.

There were, however, more complicated views regarding the "bearers" of the earth. As the earth — so relates a tradition in al-Ķazwīnī, i. 145, 16 *sqq.*: — at first swayed to and fro unsteadily, God created an angel who took it on his shoulders and held it with his hands (a reminiscence of the heaven-supporting Atlas). This angel stands on a quadrangular block of green jacinth which in its turn is borne by a gigantic bull, which rests on a fish swimming in the water. Ibn al-Wardī (p. 12, 15 *sq.*) gives a similar account, emphasising that Ķāf arises out of the above mentioned block of jacinth. Another variant in Ibn al-Wardī (p. 13, 11 *sq.*) gives a still larger number of earth-bearers (but leaving out the angel) partly in a different order, for example, the rock supports the bull. For further variants see Wensinck, *The Ocean* etc., p. 18 (and the quotation in note 2), also J. Meyer, *Die Hölle im Islam* (Basel 1901), p. 46. The Muslim Persians describe the animal supporting the earth sometimes as a bull (cf. Djāmī, *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā*, ed. Rosenzweig, Vienna 1824, p. 13, 2 *sq.*, and thereon Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, p. 190a; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 946b), sometimes as a monster, half bull and half fish (*gāwi māhī*; Firdawsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Vullers, p. 38, l. 59; 444, l. 190, and cf. Vullers, *Lex.*, ii. 947a). Baghdād folklore also knows the bull and fish as bearers of the earth; cf. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii. (Leipzig 1861), p. 301. Among the inhabitants of the Red Sea coast, the belief prevails, that the earth rests on the backs of colossal bulls, see E. Rüppel, *Reise in Abyssinien*, i. (Frankfurt a. M. 1838), p. 256. Al-Ķazwīnī gives for the bull and fish the names of the Biblical monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, and thus shows definitely that the Muslim idea is connected with the old Biblical views, which again can in the last resort be traced to the Babylonian Chaos-tradition. The basic idea of the bull supporting the earth is, as Reinaud (*op. cit.*) has emphasised, also to be found in India. The rock already mentioned as supporting the earth and as the starting point of the mountain Ķāf may well be associated with the stone Shetiyya, which Jewish legend regards as the navel-stone of the earth sunk by God in the depths of chaos or primeval ocean, and as the support of the world. For the Jewish legend cf. Feuchtwang in the *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judentums*, liv. (1910), p. 724 *sq.*; W. H. Roscher, *Neue Omphalos-Studien* (*Abhandl. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*), xxxi. (1915), p. 73 *sq.* It may be added that a tradition in al-Ķazwīnī (i. 144, 23) also gives the view that God made the world stand without any bond or support.

According to a very popular idea, Ķāf is the origin of all the mountains of the world. They are connected with it by subterranean branches and veins; if God wants to destroy any region, he simply orders one of these branches to be set in motion, which causes an earthquake. According to a different popular view, an earthquake is caused because the bull supporting the earth sometimes trembles under its burden.

Ķāf which is inaccessible to man is regarded as the end of the world; its name is therefore used as a symbol for this; cf. e. g. a verse in Djāmī's *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā* (ed. Rosenzweig), p. 1, 14). This mythical mountain forms the boundary between the visible and the invisible world. No one knows what lies behind; God alone knows the creatures that live there. Many say (cf. Ibn al-Wardī, p. 188) that the area behind Ķāf belongs to the next world, is a land white like silver, 40 days' journey long and is the abode of angels. According to an alleged saying of Muḥammad (see Zenker in Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 236), there are still other lands beyond Ķāf: one of gold, 70 of silver, 7 of musk, each 10 000 days' journey long and broad and all inhabited by angels. It is also said that Ķāf as well as the region behind it is the abode of the Djinn. Ķāf itself is especially known as the abode of the fabulous bird Sīmurgh, a kind of vulture, which is essentially the same as the *'anḳā'* [q. v.] of the Arabs. Existing since the beginning of the world, this marvellous bird retired in monastic solitude to Ķāf and lives there contented and satisfied, a wise counsellor consulted by the kings and heroes of the past. Ķāf, his residence, is therefore simply called "Mount of Wisdom" in poetry, symbolically also "Mount of Contentment". In his celebrated work, *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭair* ("The Dialogues of the Birds"), the Persian poet Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [see 'AṬṬĀR] describes the wandering of the Ṣūfī through the seven stages which the soul has to pass through till its complete merging into God, in the allegory of a very difficult, adventurous flight by a bird through

the seven valleys up to Mount Ḳāf, the throne of his all wise king Simurgh.

Ḳāf plays a part also in Arab fairy tales; in the *1001 Nights* it is several times mentioned. Oddly enough a number of Ḳur'ān expositors explain the title of Sūra l., the letter Ḳāf, as the name of the mountain Ḳāf.

In a narrower sense and localised on the earth, Ḳāf means that part of the Asiatic highlands which bounds the Muslim world in the North, especially the Caucasus and its spurs in Northern Persia. For this reason Demāwend, the scene, celebrated in the *Shāhnāma*, of the wonderful exploits of old Persian rulers and heroes is represented as the home of the Simurgh [see i. 937b].

There can hardly be a doubt that the Muslim idea of the mountain Ḳāf in the wider (mythic) and narrower sense is borrowed in its main features from the Persians. With them Alburz (Alburdj), old-Persian Hara-berezaiti ("the high mountain"), is originally the mythical mountain at the end of the earth which, like the Hellenic Olympus, also contains the palaces of the Gods. From the Avestan account one must regard the Hara-berezaiti as the backbone of the mountain system of the earth; for all other mountains of the world have grown out of it by subterranean connections. The Hara-berezaiti was imagined to be a range of mountains enclosing not only the whole earth but also a lake, named Wurukasha, which is likewise at the end of the earth, but according to the *Bundehesh* does not surround it. In the geography of this Pehlevi work moreover the name of Mount Ḳāf is actually found; cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien* (Berlin 1863), p. 7, 73: 73 Note 2. Alburz was next located on the earth itself and identified with the mountain-wall which encloses the world of Iranian civilization in the north. The name Alburz (Elburz) is thus found in several places to-day as the name of a mountain or range on the borders of the Iranian linguistic area, notably as the name for the chain which culminates in Damāwand (cf. ALBURZ, i. 251). It should be emphasised that Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*) expressly says that Ḳāf in ancient times was called Alburz; see also Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (Gibb Mem., xxiii., 1.), p. 191 *sq.*). Geiger (*op. cit.*, p. 51) thinks that Lake Wurukasha originally meant a definite locality (Lake Aral or the Caspian Sea), but as early as the *Avesta* it often appears removed into the region of myth. On Haraberezaiti-Alburz and Wurukasha (Vurukasha) cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 42 *sq.*; Fr. Spiegel in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vi. 85, and in *Erânische Altertumskunde*, i. 191 *sq.* (Leipzig 1871); W. Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Altertum* (Erlangen 1882), p. 42 *sq.*; F. v. Andrian, *Der Höhencultus asiatischer u. europäischer Völker* (Vienna 1891), p. 287 *sq.*

An idea nearly related to that of the Iranian cosmology is found among the Hindus also. In their literature, especially in the *Purāṇas* mention is made of the fabulous mountain girdle Lokāloka, which separates the visible world from the invisible world and beyond which nothing but darkness reigns. On Lokāloka cf. Spiegel in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vi. 86, and J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London 1879), p. 180. According to the teaching of the Jains, the ring-shaped mountain Mānuṣottara, that lies in the centre of the continent Puṣkaravara, is the limit of mankind; cf. Jacobi in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lx. 312.

That the Muslim idea of Mount Ḳāf possesses its prototypes in the analogous Indian and Iranian ideas of the mountains bounding the world, Lokāloka and Haraberezaiti-Alburz, was previously pointed out by Gesenius (*op. cit.*, p. 317) and Rosenzweig (*op. cit.*, p. 185).

Closely connected with the Muslim view is that of the Mandaeans. According to them (cf. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii. (Leipzig 1861), p. 452), the disk of the earth is surrounded by the ocean except on the north where a great mountain of rock of the purest turquoise cuts off the sea. Immediately adjoining this turquoise mountain, the reflection of which causes the blue of the sky, lies the pure world stretching to the north. Very probably the Mandaeans got their idea from Muslim sources. The contrary view of de Goeje (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Introd., p. cdxxxvii) that the Arabs got the idea of Ḳāf from Mandaean mythology, seems less plausible.

The idea of a frontier range to be located in the north, as found in the narrower interpretation of the ideas of Haraberezaiti-Alburz and Ḳāf (cf. especially the Mandaean legend) was widespread in Asia, notably among the peoples of the ancient East. It probably owed its origin to Babylonian cosmology, which locates its cosmic mount of the gods in the north; on the Babylonian-Assyrian view cf. Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig 1881), p. 29, 117 *sq.*; Fr. Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.*, ii. (Munich 1900), p. 345 *sq.*, and Zimmern in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd ed., Berlin 1903), p. 353, 355, 620. The traces of the existence of a similar view among the ancient Hebrews can still be seen in the Biblical books (cf. especially Isaiah xiv. 13); cf. thereon W. Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaia*, ii. (Leipzig 1821), p. 316 *sq.*, where the analogous non-Biblical views are fully discussed; Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaia* (5th ed., Leipzig 1898), p. 134. Among the Hindus Meru which, according to the usual Buddhist view, is the centre and navel of the earth (cf. W. Foy in *Festschrift E. Windisch*, Leipzig 1914, p. 213 *sq.*; E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 253, Index, and Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien*, Leipzig 1915, p. 72), is sometimes also interpreted as the Himalaya mountains bounding India on the north. For the Greeks, the mount of the gods, Olympus in Thessaly, marked the north frontier of their home.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 18, cf. i. 154, 4—2; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane), p. 16, 376; al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 170; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-'Adjā'ib* (ed. Cairo 1324), p. 13, 13 *sq.*, 118, 3 *sq.*; al-Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Cairo 1325), p. 4; (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir), *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, ii., Text, p. 6, 37, 46 *sqq.*, trans. p. 6, 35, 44, 46, iii., Text, p. 140, trans., p. 146 (*Publ. de l'Éc. des Lang. or. viv.*, 4e sér., xvii., xviii.); Pers. version of Ṭabarī by Bal'amī, trans. Zotenberg (*Chronique de Tabari*), i. (Paris 1867), p. 33; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 700a; W. Gesenius, *op. cit.*, ii. 323 *sq.*; Rosenzweig in his edition of Djāmī, *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā* (Vienna 1824), p. 185, 200; E. W.

Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 3d ed. (London 1842), i. 334, 336; and German translation by J. A. Zenker (Leipzig 1852), ii. 30, 232, 235 *sq.*; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i. (Paris 1848), p. clxxxi—ii.; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, ii. (Berlin 1862), p. 469—472; A. J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth* in *Verhand. der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterkunde, N. R., xvii. N°. 1 (Amsterdam 1916), esp. p. 5 *sq.*, 37 *sq.*; do., *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*, *ibid.* xix. N°. 2 (1918), esp. p. 17—18. — The monograph by J. L. Rasmussen, *De monte Caf commentatio* (Dissert., Havniae 1811), was inaccessible to me.

(M. Streck.)

KAFA or Kaffa, also written al-Kafa, a mediaeval town on the south shore of the Crimean peninsula, called in ancient times and again at the present day Theodosia (originally a Milesian colony). The name Καφᾶ, Καφά or Καφᾶ, is first found in Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos (*De administr. imperio*, Ch. 53). Sauromates V., king of Bosporus, is said to have been killed there in the fourth century in single combat with Pharnaces of Chersonesus. The view has been put forward (F. Köppen, *Krimskiy Sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1837, p. 107) that the name may be identical with the χάβον mentioned in Strabo, Ch. 312. With these exceptions, Kafa is never mentioned till the xiiith century. As a harbour on the south coast of the Crimea, for trading-vessels as well as for war-ships, we always find Sughdāḳ (even as late as the reference in *Recueil de Textes rel. à l'Hist. des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, iii., iv. see, Index), the modern Sudak.

Kafa only rose to prominence in the second half of the xiiith century, when the Genoese established themselves in the Crimea after the republic of Genoa had purchased this place from a Tatar chief. This chief is usually believed to have been the Urān Timūr, mentioned by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 173), son of Tūḳāi Timūr, and grandson of Djūčī, to whom the Khān Mōngke Timūr (1266—1280) had granted Kafa and the Crimea; the name is written by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (p. 178), Uz-Timūr, by Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Blochet, p. 126), Urang Timūr; but a consul of Kafa is mentioned as early as about 1263. It was not till the xivth century that "Gazaria" or "Gazzaria", the colony founded by the Genoese on the Black Sea with Kafa as its capital, became of considerable importance. It was controlled by the "officium Gazariae" in Genoa and its statutes (1316); the administration remained in the hands of the metropolis with a limited participation by the local population. The statutes of 1290 and 1316 expressly forbid the minting of a local currency but in the xvth century this was, in practice at least, allowed; the coins (with Latin and Tatar inscriptions) bear the badge of Genoa (after 1453, when the administration of the colony was placed in the hands of the Bank of St. George, the representation of this saint) as well as the seal (*tamgha*) of the Golden Horde (afterwards the *tamgha* of the Girāy; cf. ii. 171[b]). After 1318 Kafa appears as the see of a Catholic Archbishop, whose diocese comprised the whole area from Varna to Sarāi on the Volga and from the Black Sea to the Russian duchedoms. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (about 1330) describes Kafa as "one of the famous ports of the world" (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 358: *min marāsī 'l-dunyā 'l-shahīra*) of his time. In the harbour there were about 200 naval and mercantile ships. The Muhammadans there had their mosque and ḳāḍī. By the treaty of 1380 however, the Tartars could only live in the suburbs beyond the city walls; this limitation seems to have again been removed later. In the statutes of 1449 it is only laid down that Tartars living in Kafa are not to be subject to the *Titanus seu vicarius* i. e. the *Tudun* of the Khān of the Crimea. The fortifications still in existence belong in part to the period 1341—48 (successful wars against the Khān of the Golden Horde, Djānibeg), in part to the period 1383—86 (building of the city-walls as a protection, not only for the city proper (*burgus*), but for the suburbs (*antiburgi*) also. About 1470 the population is said to have been 80,000. As early as a letter from the Bank of St. George to the Pope Calixtus VI (1455—58), of Nov. 1, 1455, in which attention is drawn to the danger threatening the Black Sea colonies from the Turks, Kafa is described as *non ambitu quidem moenium sed populorum multitudine Constantinopoli facile praeferenda*.

The Turkish conquest, inevitable after the fall of Constantinople (1453) and Trebizond (1461), could not be long averted by the Christians of the Latin East either with their own forces or the oft summoned help of the Girāy (to whom Kafa was in some degree dependent from 1434, when a Genoese army was defeated by Ḥādjdjī Girāy). In 1475 the whole peninsula had to submit to the Turks; the south shore with Kafa was directly incorporated in the Sulṭān's empire and divided into three ḳāḍīlīḳ (Kafa, Mankūb and Sudāḳ) with a Pasha in Kafa. Under Bāyazīd II (1481—1512), at the time of the first Russian embassy (1498), this office was filled by a son of the Sulṭān, Muḥammad (this information does not seem to be found in Turkish sources, as it is only given by von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osmanischen Reiches*, 2nd ed., Pest 1834—36, i. 646, from Karamzin, *Ist. Gos. Ross.*, 2nd ed. St. Petersburg, 1818—29, vi. 169 *sq.* = *Gesch. des Russ. Reiches*, transl. from the 2nd edition, Riga 1824, vi. 215). For a short period the revenues of Kafa were occasionally surrendered to the Girāy; Kafa appears as a mint of the Girāy under Mengli Girāy from 899—906 (1493—1501) and again not till the reign of Shāhīn Girāy, regnal years 5 and 6 i. e. 1195, 1196 (1781—82).

Under Turkish rule Kafa (Turkish pronunciation Kefe) gradually assumed the appearance of a Muhammadan town, although many Christian churches remained in existence. The most detailed description is by Dortelli d'Ascoli 1634 (Russ. transl. in *Zapiski Odesskago Obshč.*, etc., xxiv.; text publ. by Dashkewič in *Čteniya w. istor. obshč. Nestora Letopisca*, Book 5), who had spent over ten years in the Crimea at the beginning of the xviith century. There were then in Kafa 70 mosques, 2 synagogues [one for Rabbanites and the other for Karaites], 15 Greek, 28 Armenian (according to Beauplan [1660], 12 Greek and 32 Armenian) churches and only one Catholic. The principal mosque (*Büyük djāmi'*), later described by Pallas in 1794 (*Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südliche Statthalterschaften des russ. Reiches i. d. J. 1793 u. 1794*, Leipzig 1801, ii. 262), stood

in the centre of the town; the dome of the main building, over 65 feet in diameter, was surrounded on three sides by eleven smaller cupolas; the two minarets were 115 feet high. A decline in the prosperity of the town under Turkish rule was noticed by Broniewski as early as 1578; as the world's trade had taken other routes, the shores of the Black Sea no longer had their former importance; yet to the end of Turkish rule Kafa remained the most important harbour on the north side of the Black Sea. Chardin (*Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, i. 46 *sq.*) says that in his 40 days' stay there (Aug.—Sept. 1672) he saw nearly 400 ships arriving and departing. In the town there were then about 4,000 houses of which 3,200 were Muslim and 800 Christian; there were no stone buildings with the exception of 8 churches in ruins (apparently dating from the Genoese period). Even in the xviii[th] century Kafa was still compared with Constantinople by the Turks and called Little Stambul (*Küčük Istanbul*).

In 1771 Kafa was taken for the first time by the Russians, but not finally incorporated in the empire till 1783. According to the oldest Russian plan of the city, there were then 20 mosques, 13 Greek and 22 Armenian churches, and 815 houses of which 694 were Turkish. In the description of the journey of the Empress Catherine in 1787 we already find the old Greek name (Russ. Feodosia) reappearing; the town is later called Kafa again and only definitely renamed in 1802. In the very early years after the conquest began the forced migration of the Turks and the voluntary of the Tatars; about 1794 (Pallas) Kafa had already "from a once celebrated and populous town become almost a mound of stones". About 1802 it is said to have had only 200 inhabitants. The Russian harbour of Feodosia, whose prosperity only began in the last decade of the xix[th] century (railway connections, building of commercial docks, Sebastopol being the naval port), must thus be regarded as a new foundation on the site of the Turkish Kafa. The number of the inhabitants, according to the census of 1899, was 27,238 (in 1894, only 17,000), of whom only 5,200 were Tatars. The Museum (founded in 1811) contains many inscriptions and other antiquities, particularly from the Genoese period.

Bibliography: cf. BAGHČE-SARĀI [i. 565a]; the works, mentioned there, by Broniewski, Pallas, etc., as well as the *Zapiski Odesskago Obshčestwa Istorii i Drewnostei* are indispensible for the study of the history of Kafa. In the *Zapiski* (from Vol. ii. to xxiv) the material from the archives of Genoa published in Italy (*Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*) is utilised. On the coins: O. Retowski, *Genuezsko-tatarskiya monety goroda Kaffi* (Simferopol 1897 and 1898). Cf. also F. Brun, *Černomorye*, i. (Odessa 1879), chap. 11 (*O poseleniyakh Italyantsěw w Gazarii*); J. Kulakowskiy, *Prošloye Tawridi*, 2nd ed. (Kiew 1914). An attempt at a connected survey is W. K. Minogradow, *Feodosiya (Istoričeskiy Očerk)*, 2nd ed. (Jekaterinodar 1902). Cf. also M. G. Canale, *Della Crimea* (Genoa 1855) and Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant* (Leipzig 1885/6), Ind. s. v. *Caffa*. (W. BARTHOLD.)

KAFĀLA (A.), the pledge given by any one (the *kafīl*) to a creditor (the *makfūl lahu*) to secure that the debtor (the *makfūl bihi*) will be present at a definite place e. g. to pay his debt or fine or, in case of retaliation, to undergo punishment.

If the *makfūl bihi* is not there at the time arranged, the guarantor can be kept prisoner till the debtor comes or until it is proved that he cannot come (e. g. because he is dead).

As to the question whether the guarantor is bound to pay for the *makfūl bihi* or to suffer his punishment, the opinions of the different *madhhab*'s vary. According to the Shāfi'ī school, he is not bound to do so, not even if he has expressly bound himself to do so.

Bibliography: al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā Sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī* (Būlāḳ 1307), i. 395 *sq.*; E. Sachau, *Muhammedan. Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, p. 405 *sqq.*; al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fi 'khtilāf al-A'imma* (Būlāḳ 1300), p. 81; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 482—486. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

KAFF (A.), a technical term in Arabic prosody. It means the dropping of the seventh, vowelless consonant of a foot, which ends with *sabab khafīf* (see the article 'ARŪḌ, i. 463b). The following feet are liable to *kaff*: 1. *mafā'īlun*, provided that the *y* remains (> *mafā'ilu*); 2. *fā'ilātun* and *mustaf'ilun* (the latter in the *khafīf*), provided that the next foot beginning with a *sabab khafīf* does not suffer *khabn* (> *fā'ilātu*, *mustaf'ilu*). [In the last mentioned case four short syllables would follow in succession! Editor]. *Kaff* is therefore found in the metres *ṭawīl*, *madīd*, *ramal*, *khafīf*, *hazadj* *muḍāri'* and *mudjtathth*.

Bibliography: See the article 'ARŪḌ. (MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

KAFFĀRA (A.), atonement, expiation, literally, what "covers" the sin. The *kaffāra* has usually to consist in releasing a Muslim slave or — for those who are not sufficiently well off — in a three days' (and in some cases even two months') fast or as a substitute — for those who are not able to fast — in bestowing food or clothes on a definite number of poor people (from 10 to 60).

In some cases the Ḳur'ān has already prescribed a definite *kaffāra* for the sinner, e. g. Ḳur'ān iv. 94, after killing by accident or by design, Ḳur'ān v., 91, to avert the evil consequence of breaking an oath, Ḳur'ān lviii. 4 *sq.*, if a man by pronouncing the old Arab *ẓihār* formula has sworn to refrain from all sexual intercourse with his wife.

These and many other cases (e. g. the breaking of the fast prescribed in the month of Ramaḍān by fornication or marital intercourse during the day) were afterwards more precisely defined by the *faḳīh*'s and fully described in the *fiḳh* books of the different *madhhab*'s.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī, *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb*, ed. L. W. C. van den Berg, p. 262, 266, 300, 568, 662; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p. 122, 225, 267, 298. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL.)

KAFĪL. [See KAFĀLA.]

KĀFIR (A.), originally "obliterating, covering", then, "concealing benefits received" = "ungrateful"; this meaning is found even in the old Arab poetry and in the Ḳor'ān, Sūra xxvi. 18. In the Ḳur'ān the word is used with reference to God: "concealing God's blessings" = "ungrateful to God", see Sūra xvi. 57 and xxx. 33: "That they are ungrateful for our gifts"; cf. also Sūra xvi. 85. The next development — probably under

the influence of the Syriac and Aramaic where the corresponding development took place earlier — is the more general meaning of "infidel" which is first found in Sūra lxxiv. 10 and is henceforth very common; plural *kāfirūn* or *kuffār*, once (Sūra lxxx. 42) *kafara*. The term is first applied to the unbelieving Meccans, who endeavour to refute and revile the Prophet: Sūra l. 2 and elsewhere. The subject of incredulity is sometimes more nearly defined with added *bi-*, e.g. Sūra xxxiv. 33: "We do not believe in your mission"; Sūra vi. 89. In the early Meccan period a waiting attitude towards the unbelievers is still recommended (Sūra lxxxvi. 17; lxxiii. 10 *sq.*; see also Sūra cix. entitled *al-Kāfirūn*), but later the Muslims are ordered to keep apart from them (Sūra iii. 114, also 27), to defend themselves from their attacks and even to take the offensive against them (Sūra ii. 186 and elsewhere). In most passages the reference is to unbelievers in general, who are threatened with God's punishment and Hell (cf. the article DJAHANNAM).

In the literature of Tradition also the ḥadīths — with minute elaboration in details — deal partly with the fate of the *kāfir* on the day of judgement and his punishment in hell, and partly with the believer's attitude towards him. For the rest they reflect the great controversy in early Islām on the question whether a Muslim should be considered a *kāfir* for committing a "major sin" (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Kit. al-Īmān*, Bāb 22). Thus we find ḥadīths such as: "If a Muslim charges a fellow Muslim with *kufr*, he is himself a *kāfir*, if the accusation should prove untrue"; or "The reproach of *kufr* is equivalent to murder" etc. Nevertheless, *kāfir* in theological polemics is a fairly frequent term for the Muslim protagonist of the opposite view.

Eternal damnation for the *kāfir*, has remained an established dogma in Islām. In the dogmatic controversies of the early centuries the reasons were discussed for which a Muslim could be identical with a *kāfir* and have to suffer eternal punishment. The most tolerant is the view of the Murdji'a that all the Ahl al-Ḳibla, even if they commit a mortal sin (*kabīra*) are to be considered believers and their ultimate fate is to be left to God. The most striking contrast to this is the strict view of Khāridjis (and Ibāḍis) that every Muslim, who dies with a mortal sin — and this means with them every sin which has not been repented of — on his conscience, is to be considered just a *kāfir*. Intermediate is the opinion of the Mu'tazila, who for this special case assume an intermediate between believer and unbeliever, the so-called "rejected" *fāsiḳ* (cf. the article ĪMĀN. — According to Nallino, in the *Riv. degli Studi orientali*, vii. 436 *sqq.*, the names Mu'tazila, Murdji'a, etc. [q. v.] are probably closely connected with their attitude on this point).

According to the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi. 459 *sq.*, the following kinds of unbelief are distinguished 1) *kufr al-inkār* = neither recognising nor acknowledging God; 2) *kufr al-djuḥūd* = recognising God, but not acknowledging Him with words, that is remaining an unbeliever in spite of one's better knowledge; 3) *kufr al-mu'ānada* = recognising God and acknowledging Him with words but remaining an unbeliever (obdurate) out of envy or hatred; 4) *kufr al-nifāḳ* = outwardly acknowledging, but at heart not recognising God and thus remaining an unbeliever, that is being an hypocrite [cf. MUNĀFIḲ].

In the systematic Fiḳh books the *kuffār* are discussed in the following passages: 1) in the *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra*. For the opinion deduced from Sūra ix. 28 that the unbeliever is unclean, we find all views represented, from the strictest to the most tolerant; just as on all questions of purity, the strictest is the Shī'a which reckons the unbeliever among its *ashyā' nadjisa*; but on this point al-Nawawī, for example, was particularly lenient; he considers the believer and unbeliever equal as regards purity. The Ahl al-Kitāb [q. v.] are usually regarded more leniently than other *Kuffār*; for their benefit for example the questions of the *dhabā'iḥ* and of *munākaḥa* with Muslims are discussed. — 2) In the *Kitāb al-Djihād* (*wa 'l-Siyar*). The *djihād* [q. v.] against the unbeliever inhabitants of the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [q. v.] is a *farḍ 'ala 'l-kifāya*. The Ahl al-Kitāb again occupy a special position as by paying *djizya* and *kharādj* [q. v.] they become dhimmī's [see DHIMMA] and can receive *amān* [q. v.]. These categories of unbelievers in the *Dār al-Islām* called *dhimmī* and *musta'min* have a legal claim to protection. Another class also distinguished from the mass of the *kāfirūn* are the renegades [see MURTADD] for whom the law prescribes death, with the opportunity first of obeying a demand to return to Islām. The others, the unbelievers proper, who in this sense are also called *kāfirūn aṣliyūn* (or *mushrikūn*, in the narrower sense) have only to expect death or slavery [see ʿABD] if they fall as prisoners of war into the hands of Muslims; if they are fortunate, they may be exchanged or released. (In many cases, e.g. in the gradual advance of Islām into Africa, the distinction between renegades and pagans was difficult to ascertain and there are writings extant which deal specially with this question, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-I'lām bi Ḳawāṭi' al-Islām*, lith. 1293). — 3) In several further points the law discriminates between *kuffār* and believers; the very strict interpretation of the law is however in practice only held by a small minority.

To understand the historical development in the attitude of Islām to the unbeliever, it should be observed that it was settled in the early centuries not so much by religious as by political and social conditions. Even down to the time of the Crusades there prevailed in Islām a tolerance towards the unbeliever, especially the Ahl al-Kitāb, such as is impossible to imagine in contemporary Christendom. We find for example Christians in the highest official positions. In this early period there is no question of any religious fanaticism towards unbelievers. It was only aroused and nourished by the repeated wars with unbelievers (Crusades, wars with the Turks). War-psychology, on the other hand, at the time of the wars between Persia and Turkey could even bring it about that the Persians were called *kuffār* in Turkish fetwās etc. (see Pelese, i. 311, 319), a name which the Turks themselves had applied to them in the proclamations of the Mahdī of the Sūdān.

Since at the present day the trend of affairs has apparently been quite in the opposite direction, and Muslims have been more and more impeded in carrying out measures against the *kuffār* by the political decline of Islām and the rise of unbelieving nations (pressure of the Powers, capitulations, etc.), the very feeling of impotence in face

of these facts may have contributed not a little to the strengthening of hatred and to periodical manifestations of it (in massacres etc.). This also explains the grotesque caricature of the *kāfir*, which one sometimes finds in the popular imagination at the present day (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 48 *sq.*) and which is connected with the ideas of the Arch-Kāfir, Dadjdjāl [q. v.] who bears *k-f-r* on his forehead (cf. Goldziher, in *Der Islām*, xi. 178).

It may also be due to the hatred of the Franks (and to dogmatic squabbles) that *kāfir* had developed into a term of abuse, so frequent in the Turkish form *giaur* (the Persian *gebr* [q. v.] is said to be the same), although in theory it is (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lviii. 562) affirmed that the Muslim commits a punishable offence if he says to the Christian or Jew: "Thou unbeliever". From the Turkish the word *kāfir* has entered into most Slavonic languages. The Spanish *cafre* and the French *cafard* also go back to *kāfir* or *kuffār*. In two cases *kāfir* has actually become a proper name, the name of a people, the Kaffirs, and of a country, Kāfiristān [q. v.].

Kāfir and *kufr* underwent a special development of meaning in the terminology of mysticism. Compare, for example, the well-known verse of Abū Sa'īd [q. v.]: "So long as belief and unbelief are not perfectly equal, no man can be a true Muslim", with the various explanations given in Muḥammad A'lā, *Dict. of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger, etc.), s. v., according to one of which *kufr* is just the equivalent of *ẓulmat-i ḥaḳīḳī*.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already quoted above, see for the old Arab poetry *Ztschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xliv. 544. — On the development of *kfr* in Syriac s. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, i., 1798 *sq.*, in Aramaic: Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, p. 381 and his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ii., 383 *sqq.* — For the literature of Tradition the whole material will be available in the still unfinished indexes of Prof. A. J. Wensinck, who has kindly called my attention to the ḥadīth's quoted above. — Dogmatic: al-Māturīdī, *Sharḥ al-Fiḳh al-Akbar* (Ḥaidarābād 1321), p. 2 *sq.*, 9 *et passim*; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* (Kairo 1320), iii. 142 *sqq.*; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islām tot op al-Ash'arī*, p. 18 *sqq.*; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 101, 182 *sq.*, 202, 205; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, p. 60, note. — For other classifications of *Kuffār* s. Muḥ. A'lā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s. v. (and following him, Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, s. v. *Kāfir*), cf. also al-Djurdjānī, *al-Ta'rīfāt* ed. Flügel, s. v. *Ḳufr*. — For *Kuffār* in Fiḳh: Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten*, p. 59 *sqq.*; do., *Vorlesungen*, p. 182; Juynboll, *Handb. d. islām. Gesetzes*, p. 173. — Historical: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 183 *sq.*; Becker, *Christentum und Islām*, p. 15 *sqq.*; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms* (Heidelberg 1922), p. 28 *sqq.*; especially p. 45 *sqq.* On the so called *Kuffār al-Turk*, of whom Barhebraeus also speaks (*Chronicon*, ed. Bruns u. Kirsch, Leipzig 1789, p. 324), cf. Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apologet. Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, p. 296. — *Kāfir* in European languages: Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen*, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, xxxvii. (1888), 68, 154; Dozy a. Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe* (Leiden 1869), p. 245; Diez, *Etymolog. Wörterb. der roman. Sprachen*, 5. Aufl. (Bonn 1887), p. 435; Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe* (Beyrouth 1890), p. 64 *sq.*; Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*[2] (1903), s. v. *Caffer*. — On the Mystics cf. now also Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris 1922), p. 23, and do., *La passion d'al-Hosayn-ibn-Mansour al-Hallaj* (Paris 1922), p. 99* of the Index. (W. Björkman.)

KĀFIRISTĀN. The name of a mountainous tract in the Hindū-Kush situated between 35° and 36° N. and 70° and 71° 50′ E., with an area of about 5000 sq. m. Till recently independent, but since 1896 a territory of Afghānistān. The northern boundary is roughly the watershed between the drainage of the Oxus and that of the Indus, the valleys to the north being occupied by Ghalča [q. v.] tribes. To the west the spur of the Hindu-Kush which runs southward from the neighbourhood of the Khāwak Pass may be considered the boundary separating it from the Pandjshīr and Nidjrāo valleys. To the east and south the range between the Kunar and Bashgul valleys and those to the north of the Kunar and Kābul valleys define its limits. The country consists of numerous valleys much isolated from each other by lofty ranges, the principal rivers draining which fall either into the Kābul or Kunar rivers, and so belong to the Indus basin. The principal are the Alingār or Kāo with its tributary the Alishang, the Pēč (Kāmah or Presun) and the Bashgul. The inhabitants, from their persistent paganism, have long been known as Kāfirs, and from them the name of the country Kāfiristān is derived. The name Siyāh-pōsh or "Black-clad" which properly belongs to one section only, (the others being classed together as Safīd-pōsh or "White-clad") has also been in use from an early period.

This tract was undoubtedly part of the Kushān kingdom in the early part of the Christian era, and has been identified with the mountain country of Kapiśa. The name Katōr applied to the country and its ruling tribe by Taimūr (Tīmūr) is identical with the title of the rulers of the neighbouring country of Čitrāl, and is no doubt the same as Katir, the name of the principal tribe at the present day. It is most probably derived from the title Kidāra used by the later Kushāns. It has been thought by Wood and Yule that the wine-drinking tribes whom Marco Polo met near Casem (i. e. Kishm in the Kōkča valley) are identical with the Kāfirs, who may have at that time extended into the northern valleys of the Hindu-kush, but the first definite mention of them is in the Emperor Tīmūr's memoirs. On his way to invade India in 800 (1398) he turned aside into their country from the Khāwak Pass to punish them for their raids on Andarāb. He calls them Katōr and Siyāh-pōsh. In spite of his claims to victory it is clear that a great part of his forces was destroyed in an ambuscade, and he returned to Khāwak without any permanent success. Bābur in his autobiography gives a very accurate account of the country and people, many of the rivers and districts being described by names they still bear.

In more recent times Elphinstone from his observations in 1809, Masson (in 1826) and Biddulph (in 1880) collected all the information available without entering the country, and the account given by the first-named is especially valuable. The first European to penetrate Kāfiristān was Lockhart in 1885, followed by Robertson in 1889 and 1890. The last named in his work on the Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush has given the best account available of the country and people, their customs, beliefs and organization.

In the treaty of 1893 between the Indian Government and Afg̲h̲ānistān, Kāfiristān was definitely left outside the British border, and the Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān proceeded in 1896 to conquer the whole and to convert its population forcibly to Islām. The Rāmgalī tribe, a branch of the Katir, was the last to submit. Robertson classifies the population under two heads, viz. the Siyāh-pōs̲h̲ tribes all closely related to each other (the principal tribe being the Katir), and the miscellaneous tribes, without any special bond of union, included under the name of Safēd-pōs̲h̲. The chief of these are the Waigalis (with the As̲h̲kun who are related to them), and the Prēsungalis or Vērōn. All seem to belong to an ancient branch of the Aryan stock, and their languages are of the Pisāča family, which, according to Kuhn and Grierson, have the characteristics of a tongue spoken after the Indian family had branched off, but before the Īrānian had been differentiated. The purest dialects are the Bas̲h̲galī, Waigalī and Vērōn, spoken in the central parts of the country. The Gawar-bati, Kalās̲h̲ā and Pas̲h̲ai form an outer group; the Pas̲h̲ai in fact being spoken in the D̲j̲alālābād valley outside the limits of Kāfiristān proper. There is also another member of the group As̲h̲kund, as to which nothing is as yet known.

The form of paganism followed till lately was much mixed with animism, but there were certain principal gods generally recognized, the chief of which were Imrā, the creator, whose principal shrine was at Prēsungal, Moni, the prophet, Gīs̲h̲ the war-god and the goddess Dizanē. In the borderlands however many districts had already accepted Islām before the Afg̲h̲ān conquest. These converts were known as S̲h̲aik̲h̲s. Sacrifices of goats and ceremonial dances were very prevalent.

The social system is entirely tribal, each tribe consisting of several clans. The tribal government is carried on by a council composed mainly of the headmen or *jast* who represent the various clans. A number of *urir* or magistrates are elected annually to carry on the actual tribal government. The houses are well built and grouped into strong villages. The Kāfirs generally are astute and clever, but untruthful, intriguing and vain, yet they are hospitable and not generally cruel. They are brave and fond of freedom, and in their own country show a great sense of dignity; very quarrelsome, but always ready to put a stop to fights among others. Theft and assassination are not in any way condemned. Slavery is prevalent, the slaves being partly hereditary and partly obtained by capture in intertribal war or by purchase.

Bibliography: Tīmūr, *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī* (in Elliot and Dowson's *Hist. of India*, London 1871, Vol. iii.); *The Bābur-Nāma* (*Memoirs of Bābur*), transl. by A. S. Beveridge, London 1922; *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, transl. by Yule and Cordier (London 1903), i. 155, 165; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 2nd ed. London, 1839—1842; Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta 1880; Masson, *Travels in Afghanistan*, London 1844; G. S. Robertson, *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, 2nd ed., London 1900.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḲĀFIYA (A.), a term in prosody meaning rhyme generally. The word seems (according to Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur Arab. Philologie*, i. 85 sqq.) to have originally meant a poetic utterance or a lampoon, then a poem and finally a rhyme. The theory of the *ḳāfiya* is considered a special science, distinct from *ʿarūḍ* (prosody proper). It teaches how verses should end as regards consonants, vowels, etc.

In the narrower sense, *ḳāfiya*, according to al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad [q. v.], is the group of consonants, which begins with the vowelled consonant immediately preceding the last two quiescent consonants of a verse. In the Arab view, of course, a verse ends always with a quiescent letter, whether written or not (the latter is the case with *wāw* and *yāʾ* of prolongation when they are written defectively): *yafʿal*, *yafʿalā*, *yafʿalī*, *yafʿalū*.

The ḳāfiya may include up to six consonants: 1. the principal one (in the Arab view), the *rawī* or rhyme-letter, the letter which the poet always retains at the end of the line, till he has ended his poem and after which the latter is called: *lām* in the *muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳais, *dāl* in that of Ṭarafa, etc. It is to be noted that Arabic poems are all mono-rhymed with the exception of the *radjaz muzdawidj*, in which the two hemistichs in a line rhyme. According to some prosodists, it is the rule to allow the two first hemistichs of a poem to rhyme; 2. as an annex to the *rawī*, the *waṣl* or *ṣila*, i. e. a letter of prolongation or a *hāʾ* (vowelled or not) coming after the vowelled *rawī*; of the letters of prolongation, *alif* is the only one usually written in this capacity; 3. as a possible further complement, the *k̲h̲urūdj*, the letter of prolongation behind a vowelled *hāʾ* serving as a *waṣl*; as a preliminary either 4. the *ridf*, the weak letter or letter of prolongation immediately before the *rawī*; *wāw* and *yāʾ* may interchange with each other in one and the same poem; or 5. *taʾsīs*, an *alif*, placed before the *rawī* and separated from it by a consonant (*dak̲h̲īl*) which may be changed at will but must always have the same vowel; 6. the *dak̲h̲īl* just mentioned.

The *ḳāfiya* may likewise include up to six vowels: 1. *mad̲j̲rā* or *mud̲j̲rā*, the vowel of the *rawī*; 2. *nafād̲h̲*, the vowel of the *hāʾ* if it serves as *waṣl*; 3. *tawd̲j̲īh*, the vowel before the quiescent *rawī*; 4. *had̲h̲w*, the vowel immediately before the *ridf*; 5. *is̲h̲bāʿ*, the vowel of the *dak̲h̲īl*; 6. *rass*, the vowel immediately before the *alif* of the *taʾsīs* (always *a* of course).

In respect of lengths, five kinds of rhyme are distinguished, viz.: — 1. *mutakāwis*, in which the two last quiescent consonants (which, as explained above, mark the beginning and end of the *ḳāfiya*) are separated by four vowelled consonants: *fa-[ka ḳadamih]*; 2. *mutarākib*, in which three vowelled consonants stand between the two quiescent: *ʿalā [d̲j̲abali]y*; 3. *mutadārik*, in which two vowelled consonants separate the two unvowelled: *ḳad [faʿal]*; 4. *mutawātir*, in which there is one vowelled consonant between the two quiescent: *bā[ʾi]r*; 5. *mutarādif*, in which the two quiescent consonants come in immediate succession: *ḳ[āl]*.

Finally we have still to note the faults in the

ḳāfiya: 1. *iḳwāʾ*, the substitution of a *ḍamma* for a *kasra* as *mad̲j̲rā*; 2. *iṣrāf* or *iṣrāf*, the substitution of a *fatḥa* serving as *mad̲j̲rā* for a *kasra* or *ḍamma*; 3. *ikfāʾ*, the use of similar sounding consonants as *rawī* (*mīm* and *nūn*, *ṭāʾ* and *k̲h̲āʾ*, etc.); 4. *id̲j̲āza* which consists in using consonants of essentially different sound as *rawī* (*bāʾ* and *rāʾ*, *ḳāf* and *lām*, etc.); 5. *taḥrīd*, the changing of the *ḍarb* (the last foot in the second hemistich) in one and the same poem; 6. *īṭāʾ*, the repetition of one and the same word in the same meaning as a rhyme-word in the same poem; 7. *sinād*, a mistake which occurs before the *rawī*, namely *a*) *sinād al-ḥad̲h̲w*, changing of the vowel, which precedes the *ridf*; *b*) *sinād al-is̲h̲bāʿ*, changing of the vowel between *rawī* and *dak̲h̲īl*; *c*) *sinād al-tawd̲j̲īh*, changing of the vowel immediately before the quiescent *rawī*; *d*) *sinād al-ridf*, the use of *ridf* in one line but not in the other lines; *e*) *sinād al-taʾsīs*, the use of *taʾsīs* in one line but not in the others; 8. *taḍmīn* or the running of one line into another, in such a way that the end of one line only gives complete sense when we know the beginning of the next verse.

In conclusion it should be noted that it was considered the rule in reciting a poem to lengthen the vowel of the vowelled *rawī*; but this custom was not generally observed. The Banū Tamīm added a quiescent *nūn* to the *mad̲j̲rā* in place of the *waṣl*. Among the Banū Asad the *mad̲j̲rā* was suppressed. Otherwise it was permitted, when a strong quiescent consonant preceded the *rawī*, to transfer to it the vowel of the *rawī* which itself then became quiescent: *faʿlu* > *faʿul*. Finally, it often happened that, if the *rawī* was quiescent, it was given a *kasra* which was followed by a quiescent *nūn*: *faʿal* > *faʿalin*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article ʿARŪḌ: Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ, *al-ʿUmda* (Cairo 1325), ii. 238 *sq.*

(MOH. BEN CHENEB.)

ĶAFĪZ, an Arab measure of capacity (dry measure) containing from 25—50 litres (5—10 gallons). In the pre-Islāmic period the use of measures of capacity with dry and liquid wares was in general use, as is shown by the usually Arabic names for these measures in contrast to the measures of weight and their names borrowed from the Greeks and Romans. It has still long been the custom to measure these wares by their weight and not by their volume. East and west in this respect have undergone opposite developments. This transition from measures to weights was furthered, on the one hand, by the easier supervision of market business done by weight and, on the other, by the experience early obtained that it is not a matter of indifference whether very large or very small measures are used to measure dry wares. As the weight of the upper layers appreciably compresses the lower, the result is that, other things being equal, larger quantities weigh more per unit of capacity than small quantities. The table of measures of capacity commonly used in the early period is given below. The ratios show that it is not homogeneous. The greatest variations prevail in the theoretical lists of measures; the figures quoted below which — presupposing distilled water at normal temperature etc. — mean so many kilogrammes in weight, are based on an original measure of one *mudd* of the year 571 (1175/6) in the Cairo Museum, which, according to its inscription, held 337 *dirhams* full of pure water. The measures usual in the early centuries of the Hid̲j̲ra seem however to have been smaller ranging down to the half of the figures here given.

Measures of capacity or dry measure:

mudd (modius)	1				1.15 litres
ṣāʿ	4	1			1.6 „
makkūk	6	1½	1		6.87 „
ḳafīz	48	12	8	1	55.0 „

Two avoirdupois weights were tacked on to this system:

wasḳ	240	60	40	5	1		275.0 kg.
kurr	1440	360	240	30	6	1	1650.0 „

That these measures of capacity are not entirely forgotten is probably due to the fact that they have been retained in the legal literature. They have disappeared from the market-place, at least in the East. In the lands round the Western Mediterranean the *ḳafīz* has however survived down to the present day, e. g. in Tunis, in Sicily (*cafiso* and *cafisone*, a measure of weight for oil, 11—20 kg.) and in Spain (*cahiz*, plur. *cahices*, a measure for grain of about 6.6 hectolitre) etc.

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(E. v. ZAMBAUR.)

ĶAFṬĀN (Turkish form of the Persian *k̲h̲aftān*, which is found in the *S̲h̲āhnāma* — cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Bag̲h̲dādī, *Lug̲h̲at-i S̲h̲āhnāma*, ed. by Salemann under the title *ʿAbdulqâdiri Bagdâdensis Lexicon Šahnâmianum*, p. 79 — and Asadī's *Lug̲h̲at-i Furs*, ed. P. Horn, p. 99; also Arabic *k̲h̲aftān*), was an upper garment worn in peace time, a kind of long tunic with sleeves, which in time of war was worn over the mail-shirt (tabard). This word as well as the article of dress came quite early among the Arabs under the influence of Persian fashions. Cf. al-Ṭabarī ed. de Goeje, iii. 136, 14 *sq.*; ʿArīb, p. 177; al-Masʿūdī (Paris ed.), viii. 52. — Travellers describe the *k̲h̲aftān* as a long robe, reaching below the knee, sometimes to the calves and sometimes down to the ankles, open in front and having sleeves, which were slit at the wrists or up to the middle of the arms. This garment was introduced into the Barbary States by the Turkish conquest and spread by fashion as far as Morocco (Höst, *Nachrichten von Marókos und Fes*, Copenhague 1781, p. 115) where it is sometimes found, especially among women, without sleeves (Lemprière, *A Tour to Morocco*, London 1791, p. 385). The amīrs and s̲h̲aik̲h̲s of the Syrian Beduins in d'Arvieux's time wore the ḳafṭān as a winter garment (d'Arvieux, *Voyage dans la Palestine*, Paris 1717, p. 206). — Among the Ottoman Turks in earlier days ḳafṭān was also the name for a robe of honour, which, — less important than the sable-skin —, was granted on the occasion of appointment to an office. The distribution of such robes of honour took place after the two Bairam [q. v.] festivals in the presence of the Grand Vizier under

the direction of the *ḳaftāndjī bashi*, an official whose duty it was to take charge of and keep in condition the fur-robes of honour. At the present day this garment seems to be very little worn. Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (Constantinople 1873) only mention it (p. 238) when describing a Kurdish woman from Kharpūt: A ḳaftān of fine dark green cloth, open in front and widely cut out in the form of an escutcheon on the breast, leaves the upper part of the shirt quite exposed and does not entirely cover the lower half. . . . The very long sleeves of the ḳaftān ending in a quadrangular piece are taken in above the wrists so as not to conceal the silver armlets. The sleeves are edged with galloon and notched gold lace.

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KĀFŪR (also Ḳāfūr and Ḳaffūr, cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s. v. *Ḳfr* and *Kfr*; in Sanskrit *Karpūra*, in Prakrit **Kappūra*, **kāpūra*, Malay *kapur*), camphor, the resin of *Laurus camphora* and *Dryobalanops aromatica*, was an object of commerce with India from the days of the ancient Persians; on the capture of al-Madāʾin, the Arabs found rich stores of this drug, the use of which they did not know; they took it for salt (al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 264; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 401) Ibn al-Baiṭār mentions different sorts of camphor, of which *fanṣūrī* and *riyāḥī* were considered the best; all these kinds were purified before being used. Marco Polo (ed. Soc. de Géogr., Paris 1865, i. 447; transl. Yule, revised by H. Cordier, London, 1903, ii. 299 and note 3, p. 302—4) says the camphor of Fansur was the best and most expensive; it was said to be weighed against gold. Fanṣūr — most probably an old name for Barus (cf. *Tijdschr. van het Kon. Nederl. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Series 2, xvii., 1900, p. 18—22, 27—29; *Encycl. van Nederl.-Indië*[2], i. 172 sq.) on the west coast of Sumatra (Residency of Tapanuli) from which the *kapur Barus* came — is frequently mentioned by Arab writers; from the first half of the third (ninth) century we find the name in different historico-geographical reports as the place of origin of an exceptional quality of camphor.

The name of this resin is also found in the Ḳurʾān (lxxvi. 5): "The righteous shall drink there (in Paradise) out of a goblet, the contents of which are mixed with *kāfūr*"; according to the Muslim commentators, either to indicate the pleasant flavour of the beverage or perhaps as the name of a spring in Paradise (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxix. 111 sq.) The latter explanation is based on the fact that at the beginning of verse 6 the word *ʿain* (spring) is found.

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KĀFŪR, Abu 'l-Misk al-Ikhshīdī, also al-Lābī or al-Sūrī, called al-Lābī in a poem by al-Mutanabbī after a place in Nubia, ruler of Egypt and Syria in the fourth century of the Hidjra. Kāfūr was born in Nubia or Abyssinia between the years 291 (904) and 308 (920) (so greatly do the statements of the chronicles vary). The fact that he began life as a horribly ugly slave and rose to be ruler of Egypt and Syria and the celebrated patron of scholars and friend of al-Mutanabbī [q. v.], the greatest poet of his time, has aroused a great interest in him among the Arab historians and given him a greater fame than his importance really deserves. As the Maecenas of poets and scholars, he found kindly biographers who have praised him as a model of fidelity for his devotion — not always maintained — to the Ikhshīdids [q. v.]. His biography is adorned with numerous anecdotes about his humble origin and his rise and about his friendship with al-Mutanabbī. He is only of importance in history because he resisted the advance of the Fāṭimids [q. v.] in the west and of the Arab dynasties in North Syria and maintained by his ability for two decades the kingdom founded by the Ikhshīdids in 323 (935). After his death it soon broke up. As a young slave he is said to have expressed the ambitious wish to become one day ruler of Egypt, to a companion who had said his ideal was to become cook in a cookshop so that he might always eat his fill. As a slave he had the good fortune to be sold to the governor Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd (323—334 = 935—946); that he was almost immediately given away by him on account of a skin disease and again taken back, may well be an embellishment, to contrast his degradation with his all the more marvellous rise. Another narrator says that he was sent with money by his former master to the governor al-Ikhshīd but the latter sent the money back and retained Kāfūr in his service instead. It is also related that he was the only one to remain by his master when his comrades had negligently left the governor's room to see a passing elephant. Both these stories only show that the governor had on some occasion had his attention specially attracted to him. He must certainly have early recognised his merit and put trust in him, for he made this ugly, despised slave the tutor of his children and a general. In the latter capacity he distinguished himself in 329 (940) in a battle near Aleppo which he captured for his master. When al-Ikhshīd felt his end was near at the close of 334 (July 946), he appointed him guardian of his younger son Awnūdjūr (the name is very diversely written) whom the Caliph had previously appointed joint-ruler with his father. The real power remained in Kāfūr's hands even after Awnūdjūr became of age, although he provided for the preservation of the Ikhshīdid dynasty by getting Awnūdjūr's brother ʿAlī recognised as joint-ruler and successor in 338 (949). Later in 343 (954) Awnūdjūr, at the instigation of his friends, tried to shake of the tutelage of Kāfūr, as he felt himself restricted in his freedom of action and expenditure — he only received 400,000 dīnārs out of Kāfūr's rich revenues. He therefore

went to Ramla in Palestine in order to be able from there to exert real authority over Syria and then on Egypt. But the plan did not come to fulfilment, as his mother and Kāfūr, warned in time, were able to appease him. The relationship remained unchanged till Awnūdjūr died in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 349 (Dec. 960). After the death of Awnūdjūr, Kāfūr had his brother 'Alī confirmed in office as governor by the Caliph towards the end of the year. Kāfūr remained his guardian, although 'Alī was 24, and only allowed him an income of 400,000 dīnārs. The power of Egypt was again extended over Syria, so that 'Alī was mentioned next to the Caliph in the Friday service in Aleppo and northwards as far as Ṭarsūs. When 'Alī died six years later in 355 (966), Kāfūr himself assumed the government and was confirmed in office by the Caliph, as 'Alī's son Aḥmad was only 9 years old. He did not enjoy his independence long, for he died in 357 (968). His successor was the Aḥmad whom he had superseded.

Kāfūr was able to maintain order in Syria and Egypt. Shortly after the death of al-Ikhshīd, he recaptured from Saif al-Dawla, ruler of Aleppo, Damascus which the latter had taken. Kāfūr was able skilfully to maintain his position between the Baghdād Caliph and the Fāṭimid ruler of North Africa. His riches were celebrated; his estate consisted of art-treasures of all kinds rather than of gold. He was a man who loved pomp; like Saif al-Dawla, exceedingly liberal to scholars and poets, so that his court was a popular one and his favour sought. When al-Mutanabbī became estranged from Saif al-Dawla, he came on Kāfūr's invitation to Cairo, where he lived for some years. In the first period of his stay there he composed famous panegyric on Kāfūr; but the intimacy did not last long, as Kāfūr did not give him a position in the administration which he is alleged to have promised him. He excused himself by saying that he could not trust an office to a man who had posed as a prophet. Kāfūr also devoted much time to scholarly studies and is said to have written poetry. Many scholars were in his service, of whom the best known is al-Kindī who composed a history of Egypt for him.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī Ḥula 'l-Maghrib*, Bk. iv., ed. with an excerpt from al-Kindī's *Ta'rīkh Miṣr* by Kn. L. Tallquist, where the bibliography is fully given at the beginning of Kāfūr's exhaustive biography (p. 78—86, Arab. text 46—48); also al-Ḥalabī in Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, 4. Abt., p. 37—50 and 59—61 (*Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxi. [1876]); Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 556 and Ind.; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270), ii. 26 *sqq.*; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībardī, ii., Jahr 323—395 passim; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān* (ed. Dieterici), *al-Kāfūriyyāt*, p. 623 *sqq.*, and further sources quoted in Tallquist.

(M. Sobernheim.)

KĀGHAD, Kāghidh (from the Persian *kāghadh*, perhaps of Chinese origin), paper. In the early period of development of Muslim culture the east was only acquainted with papyrus (*ḳirṭās*) as writing-material. It was Chinese prisoners of war brought to Samarḳand after the battle of Aṭlakh near Ṭirāz, that first introduced in 134 (751) the industry of paper-making from linen, flax or hemp rags after the method used in China. The various kinds of paper then made are the following: *fir'awnī* (Pharaoh's paper), a kind which was destined to compete with papyrus even in the land of its origin (the oldest paper with Arabic writing on it found in Egypt dates from 180—200 = 796—815); *sulaimānī*, from Sulaimān b. Rāshid, the treasurer of Khorāsān under Hārūn al-Rashīd; *dja'farī*, called after Dja'far al-Barmakī; *ṭalḥī*, from Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir, the second ruler of the Ṭāhirid dynasty; *ṭāhirī*, from Ṭāhir ii., of the same dynasty; *nūḥī*, in allusion to the Sāmānid Nūḥ I.

Paper mills were erected elsewhere on the plan of those in Samarḳand: al-Faḍl, brother of Dja'far al-Barmakī, who had been governor of Khorāsān in 178 (794) probably founded the paper-mill in the Dār al-Ḳazz quarter in Baghdād. Soon afterwards others arose in Tihāma, Yemen and Egypt, where paper ultimately drove out papyrus, also in Damascus, Tripoli, Ḥamā, Manbidj, Tiberias, the Maghrib, Spain (at Xativa), Persia and India. *Kāghadh-kunān*, the "paper-makers", was the name taken by the people of the village of Khūnadj or Khūna in Ādharbaidjān, two days' journey from Zandjān, on account of the excellent paper made there. The place was destroyed by the Mongols, who however founded a colony, Mughuliya, there. (Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 219; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 298; transl. by Norberg, i. 365).

On the preparation of paper and the different methods of colouring it, interesting details are given by J. v. Karabaček, *Neue Quellen z. Papiergeschichte* in *Mitt. aus der Samml. der Papyrus Erzh. Rainer*, iv. 75 *sqq.*

According to a statement of al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii. 34), Dja'far al-Barmakī had parchment replaced by paper in the government offices.

The paper used in the east is now almost entirely of European manufacture. In Persia we still find a Chinese paper, called *Khān Bāliḳ* (Turkish name of Pekin), a scarce paper, sought after for its durability. The Cairo printers prefer a strong yellow-coloured paper called *nabātī* (Pers. *nabāt*, sugar-candy).

A paper-mill long ago destroyed (*Kāghad-Khāne*, popularly *K'at-Hāne*) has given its name to the Imperial Kiosk and the public promenade of the "Sweet Waters of Europe" in Constantinople.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 21; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, i. 412; do., *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, i. 474, 476; Karabacek, *Mitt. aus d. Samml. der Papyrus Erzh. Rainer*, ii./iii. 87—178; Chavannes, *Doc. sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux* (St. Petersburg 1903), p. 297; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, p. 8—11; J. E. Polak, *Persien* (Leipzig 1865), i. 268; Jouannin and Van Gaver, *Turquie*, p. 457; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, iii. 155.

(Cl. Huart.)

KAHF, Title of Sūra xviii. of the Ḳur'ān. — See also AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF.

AL-**ḲAHHĀR**, one of the names Allāh, cf. ALLĀH, i. 303*a*.

KĀHIN (A., plur. *kuhhān* or *kahana*; fem. *kāhina*, plur. *kawāhin*, abstract of profession *kihāna*) is the name of the seer or soothsayer (*vaticinator*) among the pagan Arabs. It corresponds to the Hebrew *kōhēn*, Aramaic, *kāhēn*, *kāhnā* (priest); it is not an arabicised form of this however, but belongs to the original stock of the old Arabic

language (otherwise Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 36, note 6), for the Jewish kōhēn, kāhen is entirely different in character from the Arab kāhin: the former, although in all probability at one time also a soothsayer, later appears only as a dealer in oracles and particularly as sacrificer and teacher of the Tora, while it cannot be shown that the latter, who is never a priest (which is contradictory to von Kremer — see below in the *Bibliography* — p. 74 *sqq.*, and also to Wellhausen, p. 134 and elsewhere), ever held these functions, neither was he permanently connected at all with worship and places of worship, but seems to have been quite unrestricted in the exercise of his activities.

The kāhins of course have their origin in the shamans, medicine-men, and fetish-priests, but in the form in which we first meet them in the old Arabic tales, in the Ḥadīth and, much more rarely, in the pre-Islāmic poetry, they have already passed beyond the ruder forms of shamanism. Their mantic knowledge is based on ecstatic inspiration. They have also, it is true, visions by night which reveal to them future and other events and things hidden from the ordinary mortal (al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 379, 394 *sq.*; Sprenger, i. 176 *sq.* etc.), but they are not really visionaries. Their inspiration is of demoniacal origin: a *djinnī* or *shaiṭān* "demon" (*δαιμόνιον*) who is called their *tābi'* "companion", *ṣāḥib* "comrade", *mawlā* or *walī*, "friend" ("familiar spirit"), not infrequently also their *ra'ī* or *ri'ī* (probably "seer"), speaks out of them. This personification of their ecstacy, which at once stamps them as connected with the old fashioned *shā'ir* "bard" (literally "knower"), also endowed by djinns with supernatural, magic knowledge (cf. *vates* = *poeta*), is conceived as being so substantial that the *daimonion* regularly appears as the I — his *alter ego*, the kāhin, on the other hand, appears as the "thou" of the prophetic utterance, that the latter clearly notices the approach of the spirit, feels himself struck by his foot, hears his voice from a distance etc. (Sprenger, *loc. cit.*; Hölscher, p. 85), indeed, these familiars even have their own names (like the familiar spirits of the poets, see Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 914, 14 *sq.* and al-Djāḥiẓ, vi. 69 = van Vloten, viii. 65). The kāhins give their utterances in the form of the *sadj'*, short sentences in rhythmic prose, with single or more rarely alternating rhyme, such as had been usual in Arabia from early times for all utterance in the higher and lower branches of divination and magic, etc. (Only very rarely is regular verse also used, e. g. *Aghānī*[1], xi. 161, 13). Besides the *sadj'*, the *zamzama* is characteristic of the kāhin's utterances, the mysterious "humming" with which it was delivered (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, i. 171, 7 and thereon ii. 58). The word *sadj'* may in this sense have originally meant nothing more than the "purring" or "chirping" or such like of an alleged demon's voice; the verb *sadja'a* is also used in other connections of "purring" or "chirping" of the djinns, regularly of course, of the "cooing" of pigeons and also of the "groaning" of camels; cf. in the O. T. e. g. *Isaiah*, xxix. 4). The kāhins, the majority of whom are to be considered frauds, of course often express themselves in very obscure and ambiguous language. They give greater emphasis to their utterance by striking oaths, swearing by the earth and sky, sun, moon and stars, light and darkness, evening and morning, plants and animals of all kinds etc. (For kāhins' utterances, see e. g. Hölscher, p. 87 *sq.*, 95 *sqq.*; al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 387 *sqq.*; al-Ibshīhī, Ch. 60; *Aghānī*, xi. 161, 20 *sqq.*).

Kāhins play an extremely important part in public as well as private life. They are interrogated in all important tribal and state occasions — especially before warlike enterprises, razzias, etc. in which they take part themselves as a rule, indeed, they sometimes lead them in person (cf. Deborah in the O. T.). Kings and queens therefore keep their prophet or prophetess (D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklīl des Hamdānī*, i. 74, and al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 762, 5), and the tribes have a kāhin or kāhina as well as a *shā'ir* "poet" and *khaṭīb* "orator". In private the kāhins especially act as judges in disputes and points of law of all kinds, so that the conception of *kāhin* is closely connected with that of *ḥakam* "judge" (al-Hudhail's, N⁰. xvii. 7; al-Ibshīhī, Cairo 1321, ii. 73, 4). Their decision is considered as a kind of divine judgment against which there is no appeal. At the same time they interpret dreams, find lost camels, establish adulteries, clear up other crimes and misdemeanours, particularly thefts and murders, etc. In these proceedings they descend to a somewhat lower scale of divination, viz. to that of the *'arrāf* or *mu'arrif* (see above i. 460ᵇ and cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, iv. 40; al-Djāḥiẓ, vi. 62, 5 *infra*, and al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 352). For such work they received an honorarium — forbidden in the Ḥadīth — (*ḥulwān*; al-Bukhārī, ed. Krehl-Juynboll, ii. 43, 55 *et passim*). Of course, people liked to test their mantic abilities before paying them.

The influence of these men and women was naturally great and often stretched far beyond the bounds of their tribes. They were not by any means recruited solely from the lower strata of society, but sometimes belonged to most distinguished families, occasionally even the *saiyid* or chief of a tribe was also its *kāhin* (Lammens, p. 204, 257; al-Djāḥiẓ, vi. 62 = van Vloten, vii. 184; also Wellhausen, p. 134 who, however, says wrongly that such aristocratic kāhins had inherited their office). They were in any case among the leaders or the intellectual aristocracy of their tribe (cf. the chapter *Asmā' al-kuhhān wa 'l-ḥukkām wa 'l-khuṭabā' wa 'l-'ulamā' min Ḳaḥṭān* "The names of the seers, judges, orators and learned men of Ḳaḥṭān" in al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, i. 136 *infra*, cf. also 113, 15 *sqq.*, ed. Cairo 1333, i. 192, cf. 159).

Among famous soothsayers of both sexes were Saṭīḥ al-Dhi'bī in Syria and Shiḳḳ b. Ṣa'b of the Badjīla, (who often appear together but are both quite mythical), the probably equally unhistorical Yemen princess Ṭuraifa, a kind of Cassandra, al-Ma'mūr al-Ḥārithī of the Madhḥidj, 'Amr b. Dju'aid al-Af'kal, the chief of the Rabī'a, Sawdā' bint Zuhra among the Ḳuraish, Zarḳā' bint Zuhair among the Ḳuḍā'a, etc. (Wellhausen, p. 136; al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 352, 364 *et passim*; van Vloten, vii. 172, 174, 180 etc., etc.). The South Arabian soothsayers enjoyed a particularly high reputation (*Aghānī*, viii. 51, 4).

Practically synonymous with *kāhin* is the word *ḥāzī* (plur. *ḥuzāt*, also *ḥāz* and *ḥāzūn*, fem. *ḥāziya*, plur. *ḥawāzī*), which is not uncommonly found. It corresponds of course to the Hebrew *ḥōzē*, but is undoubtedly also a genuine Arabic word. On the other hand, we must sharply distinguish from the

kāhin, who, as above explained, owes his supernatural knowledge to internal inspiration, these practitioners of the lower forms of divination and magic, who employ external, technical means that is, who follow a mere routine that may be acquired by any one, namely the *'āif* or *zādjir* who watches the flight of birds, the *ḳā'if*, *ḳāfir* and *ḳaṣṣāṣ*, who reads footprints, the *'arrāf* or *mu'arrif* (see also above on these terms), the water-diviner, the *munadjdjim*, the astrologer, *al-nāẓir fī asrār al-kaff* or hand-reader, the *khāṭṭ* who tells fortunes from lines on the ground, *al-ṭāriḳ* or *al-ḍārib bi 'l-ḥaṣā*, who works by casting stones, the enchanter, *sāḥir* or *rāḳī*. These too are sometimes called *kāhin*, but only by an erroneous use of the word, which probably only came into vogue when Islām had put an end to the higher art of the soothsayer, *kihāna*, while external divination and magic survived. I should like here, again to insist (against Wellhausen, p. 134 and elsewhere) that the kāhin was not, like the Jewish kōhen, also supplier of oracles. It is especially noteworthy that we never find him in connection with divination by arrow (*istiḳsām*).

The prophet Muḥammad disclaimed being a *kāhin* (Sūra lii. 29, lxix. 42; also passages like lxxxi. 22 *sqq*.). But his earliest appearance as a prophet reminds us strongly of the manner of these soothsayers. He was an ecstatic and had "true dreams" like them; his *daimonion* (*ṣāḥib*) was the (holy) spirit, whose place was later taken by the angel Gabriel. His revelations are, like the utterance of the *kāhin*, comprised in *sadj'* and sometimes begin with the usual abstruse oaths; even the forms which he was still using for administering justice and settling disputes in Medina during the early years of his stay there correspond in their main features to those of the pagan kāhin and ḥakam.

It is therefore not surprising that his Meccan countrymen regarded him as a kāhin and that his protestations that he was nothing of the kind, but a "prophet", a "messenger of God" made little impression on them. The anti-prophets also, Musailima, Ṭulaiḥa, and particularly al-Aswad al-Ansī, no less than Sadjāḥ, a lady member of the family, played their parts in the guise of kāhina.

Islām with its monotheism, its doctrine of the cessation of all revelation with Muḥammad and its regulation of all social customs through the fiḳh wiped out the old soothsayers, only gradually, it is true, for we still hear in 132 A. H. of a kāhin (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 22, 3; on *kahāna* in modern Arabia, see Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, p. 70; on woman seers in Muslim N. W. Africa, see Doutté, p. 32 *sqq*.). Muḥammad himself probably never doubted the supernatural nature of the kāhin's utterance. But when he declared the knowledge possessed by the demons, whom he at the same time degraded to devils, to have been stolen from heaven and to be falsified and confused (Sūra lxxii. 8 *sqq*., xxxiv. 13, vi. 112; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, i. 131 *sq*.), he brought their prophecies into great disrepute, and thus those traditions arose, which warned believers against utilising the services of a kāhin (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Djāmi' aṣ-ṣaghīr*, sub *man atā kāhinan*; al-Bukhārī, ii. 43, 55, *et passim*; cf. also the remark of Ibn 'Abbās *ṭ-ṭā'ūn wa 'l-kihāna* etc. in al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*, on Sūra xxxi. 34).

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], p. 134 *sqq*., 143, 206 *sq*.; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*[2], i., especially p. 255 *sqq*.; von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte, vorzüglich nach arabischen Quellen*, iii. and iv. (*Sitzungsb. der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wiener Akad.*, cxx. N°. 8), p. 73 *sqq*.; van Vloten, *Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern. Mitteilungen aus Djâhiz' Kitâb al-haiwân* (in the *Wiener Zeitschr. f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii. 169 *sqq*., 233 *sqq*., viii. 59 *sqq*.; Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, i. 18 *sqq*., 69, 107 *sqq*.; Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2], p. 218 *sq*.; Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 28 *sqq*.; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Life and Attitude in Islam*, p. 25—33 *et passim*; Hölscher, *Die Profeten. Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte Israels*, p. 79 *sqq*.; Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, i. 204 *sq*., 257; Schrieke, *Die Himmelsreise Muhammeds* in *Der Islam*, vi. 22 *sqq*.; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kit. al-Ḥayawān*, *passim* (cf. v. Vloten); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, iii. 347 *sqq*.; al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 318 *sqq*.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, *Not. et Extr.*, xvi. 181 *sqq*.; transl. de Slane, xix. 206 *sqq*. (ed. Cairo 1327, p. 112 *sqq*.); al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Ch. lx. (A. Fischer.)

AL-KĀHINA, the prophetess, the seer. Even her name (Damya, Dihya) — for Kāhina is simply an epithet — is doubtful. According to Ibn Khaldūn, she belonged to the Djarwa, a Jewish(?) tribe in the Awrās [q. v.], which gave chiefs to the Berbers descended from al-Abtar. When Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān [q. v.], had conquered the Byzantines, he advanced against the Awrās where the Kāhina reigned. The latter inflicted a heavy defeat on him at Miskiyāna (between 'Ain Baiḍā' and Tebessa in the modern department of Constantine) or according to other authorities, in the Gabes territory or at the Oasis of Nīnī, and drove him back beyond the frontier of Ifrīḳiya. The difficulties in which his wars in the east had involved the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, delayed the despatch of reinforcements. During this period the Kāhina is said to have extended her sway over the whole country, and to prevent the Arabs from making new inroads, she destroyed the towns, cut down the forests and laid the country waste. At the same time she is said to have adopted as a son a prisoner named Khālid b. Yazīd al-Ḳaisī with whom she claimed foster-kinship, which, however, did not prevent her adopted son from afterwards betraying her. Her devastations estranged the people from her and when five years later Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān returned with reinforcements, the Kāhina was defeated in a fierce battle at Ṭabarka (82 or 84 = 701 or 703) and killed in the Awrās at the place called Bīr al-Kāhina. By her advice two of her sons had gone over to the Arabs before the battle and even received commands in the Muslim army, which continued the war against the Berbers. In reality we do not even know for certain whether the Kāhina was a queen or simply an inspired woman like Lalla Fāṭima, who was the soul of the resistance of the Kabyls against the French in 1857. Almost all that is told of her is legendary, the voluntary devastation of North Africa, her defence in the castle of el-Djem (the amphitheatre of Thysdrus) and the circumstances of her death. A

Berber genealogist, Hāniʾ b. Bakūr, even says that she ruled for 65 years and was 137 years old.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, vii. 8 *sq.*; partial Fr. transl. by de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, i. 213—215, iii. 193 *sq.*; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 229; Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 20—24; al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, partially ed. by de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, p. 7 *sq.*, 31; al-Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, transl. by Rousseau, p. 64—69; al-Nuwairī, in app. ii. to Vol. i. of *Histoire des Berbères*, p. 340—342; Ibn al-Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-Imān* (Tunis 1320, 4 Vols.), i. 56—61; Maḥmūd b. Saʿīd Maķdīsh al-Safāķusī, *Nuzhat al-Anẓār* (Tunis 1321, 2 Vols.), i. 76—80; Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Ķairawānī, *Kitāb al-Muʾnis* (Tunis 1286), p. 31 *sq.*; Mawlā Aḥmad, *Riḥla* (Fās n. d.), p. 48—51; transl. Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le Sud de l'Algérie* (*Explor. scient. de l'Algérie*, ix., Paris 1846), p. 234—241; al-Urthilānī, *Nuzhat al-Anẓār* (Algiers 1326), p. 101—104; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, i. 212—218; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i. 224—228; Faure-Biguet, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Paris n. d.), p. 25—27; Masqueray, *Traditions de l'Aurès Oriental* (*Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, 1885, Part 1—2), p. 80—83 (where she is called Djemaʿa); De Lartigues, *Monographie de l'Aurès* (Constantine 1904), p. 182.

(RENÉ BASSET.)

AL-ĶĀHIR BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ MANṢŪR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUʿTAḌID, ʿAbbāsid Caliph. While his brother al-Muķtadir was still reigning he was proclaimed Caliph under the name al-Ķāhir, but was deposed again in a few days. After the death of al-Muķtadir the Amīr al-Umarāʾ Muʾnis proposed al-Muķtadir's son Aḥmad, afterwards the Caliph al-Rāḍī as successor; instead of him, however, al-Ķāhir at the age of 35 was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful (end of Shawwāl 320 = Nov. 1, 932). Although he wished to be regarded as devout and just, his treacherous and despotic nature was soon revealed. Through torture the mother of al-Muķtadir was forced to give up her whole fortune, and al-Ķāhir also extorted considerable sums from the sons and officials of the late Caliph. On the advice of the vizier Ibn Muķla [q. v.] Muʾnis had the Caliph carefully watched, which naturally did not please the latter, and when he was intending to dismiss Ibn Muķla, the latter conspired with several others to overthrow al-Ķāhir and put Abū Aḥmad, son of al-Muktafī, in his place. But the plot was betrayed. While Ibn Muķla escaped by flight, Muʾnis was dismissed and when he went to the Caliph, the latter had him arrested and some time afterwards executed. Abū Aḥmad was built into a wall, alive. Ibn Muķla, however, did not cease in his efforts to incite the populace against al-Ķāhir and in Djumādā i. 322 (April 934) an armed crowd broke into the palace. The half-intoxicated Caliph had to surrender; but when he refused to abdicate, he was blinded and thrown into prison. Eleven years later al-Mustakfī restored him to liberty and he lived as a beggar till his death in Djumādā i. 339 (Oct. 950).

Bibliography: al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, viii. 286 *sqq.*, ix. 48, 52; ʿArīb (ed. de Goeje), p. 142—144, 180—186; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. passim; Ibn al-Ṭiķṭaķā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 374—376; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii. 391 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 562—564, 642 *sqq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*[3], p. 569 *sqq.*

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

AL-ĶĀHIRA. [See CAIRO.]

ĶAHRAMĀN-NĀMA (or DĀSTĀN-I ĶAHRAMĀN), a Persian epic in prose, which, like the *Dārāb-Nāma*, *Ķirān-i Ḥabashī*, *Hūshang-Nāma*, *Faghfūr-Nāma*, *Ṭahmūrāth-Nāma* etc. belongs as regards subject matter to the prose epics which form a cycle round Firdawsī's *Shāh-Nāma*; like the two first named it is ascribed to Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarṭūsī [Tarsūsī, q. v.].

The epic which takes us back to the days of the Old Iranian ruler Hūshang and describes the exploits of the hero Kahramān called Kātil, the "slayer", has attained some importance in the popular literature of the Turks. Among them the very diffuse Persian version occupying eight books is compressed into one volume. The historical background is an effectively developed picture of the struggle between Islām and the Indian fire-worshippers. The legendary and fictitious however occupies a considerable space. In parts the Turkish version with its mixture of prose and poetry shows the favourite technique of the popular chivalrous romances and ballads. In it we also find many burlesque features which remind us very much of the *meddāḥ* tales and their humorous situations. In many passages the secondary figure of the cunning, sly and covetous paladin, Gerden-Keshān entirely overshadows the main hero Ķahramān. His foolish pugnacity is proverbial; cf. Bāķī's *Dīwān* (lith. Constantinople 1256), p. 37 (*ķaṣīda* 1).

The substance of the epic is briefly as follows. Ķahramān, son of the Persian king Ṭahmāsp, is carried off when three years old by a *dīw* and educated as one of their own children by other *dīws* on the mountain Ķāf [q. v.]. His cousin and next successor to the throne, Ķahṭarasp, voluntarily renounces his claim to the throne of Īrān after Ṭahmāsp had died prematurely from grief at the loss of his only son, and becomes a paladin in the service of Hūshang, who is chosen Shāh. Through the whole epic runs the idea, freely proclaimed, that heroism is better than a kingdom, for the king's throne is supported by the sword of the hero.

When Hūshang sets out to conquer India, he meets Ķahramān, who has now grown up into a hero of terrible valour, has escaped from the *dīw*, and well armed, is going around as a free lance on the search for home and adventure. In his arrogance and boldness he becomes involved in a series of severe duels with Hūshang's heroes, in all of which he is victorious, until finally his identity is established by Ķahṭarasp. He thereupon readily pays homage to Hūshang and goes to India with him as one of his paladins. There they succeed, after much fighting and many vicissitudes, in taking the capital by a cunning coup, in which the king of the Indians is killed.

Ķahramān to whom the principal exploits fall, mounted on a six-footed, four-eyed, unicorn sea-monster that he has tamed, wins by his heroism as a bride the daughter of the Indian ruler, who has taken part in the fighting, unconquered and

invincible (Amazon episodes are found also elsewhere in the epic). But Ḳahramān has to set out soon again to save the mother of Bahrām, another of Hūshang's heroes, from the power of a *dīw* in the inaccessible crystal mountain. He succeeds in gaining the talisman of king Ḳārūn, in liberating his bride, who in the meanwhile had been carried off, and in freeing Bahrām's mother. Returning to Persia, he marries the Indian princess and remains in the service of Hūshang's successor, Shāh Ṭahmūrath.

Bibliography: Firdawsī, *Shāh-Nāme*, Fr. transl. by J. Mohl (*Le Livre des Rois*, Paris 1876), p. lxxxvii. *sq.*; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur* in the *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 318; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 149, footnote 4; Fleischer in *Cat. Libr. Manuscr. qui in Bibl. Senatoria Civitatis Lips. asservantur*, p. 542 *sq.*, N⁰. 280; *Cat. Cod. Manuscr. Bibl. Regiae* (Paris 1739), *Codices Turcici*, N⁰. 320, 321, 343, 344; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Handschr. . . . . zu Wien*, ii. N⁰. 799; Pertsch, *Die Türk. Handschr. . . . . zu Gotha*, N⁰. 254—257; do. *Verz. der türk. Handschr. . . . . zu Berlin*, N⁰. 476; do., *Verz. der pers. Handschr. . . . . zu Berlin*, N⁰. 1039; Rieu, *Cat. of the Turkish Manuscr. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 220ᵃ; *Kahramān-Nāme*, Turk. transl. by Meḥmed Emīn Yemenī al-Selmāniyewī (lithogr. Konstantinople 1283). (TH. MENZEL.)

KĀHRUBĀ or **KAHRABĀ** is our amber; the Persian word means attracter or robber of straw. Usually, as in al-Ḳazwīnī, its peculiar quality is attributed to it without further note; Ibn al-Kabīr, however, observes that it attracts straw quickly and strongly, when it is slightly rubbed. This attraction is used poetically as a metaphor for the attraction of lovers to each other.

Amber was brought partly from the Baltic lands of Bulghār in the region of Kasan and was considered to be the resin of the Greek nut, and partly from Spain. Al-Ghāfiḳī, who mentions both kinds, notes that it encloses flies, straw, etc.

Ornaments of amber from the earlier period have not survived in the east; al-Washshā', however, mentions specimens of yellow amber worn as ornaments by women, and the alchemist al-Djildakī signs engraved in amber as talismans. In modern times beads of rosaries and cigar-holders are made of it. It has always been in frequent use as a medicine. Just as we derive the word electricity from *elektron* so the Orientals do *kahrabā'iyya* from *kahrabā*. Amber is frequently confused with *sandarūs*, which, according to al-Anṭākī, attracts rubbed straw. On the other hand, we find the difference between them emphasised.

Bibliography: cf. G. Jacob in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xliii. (1889) 353 *sqq.*, xlv. (1891), 691 *sqq.*; Schneider, *ibid.*, xlv. (1891), 239 *sqq.*; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der Naturwiss.*, ii. in *Sitzungsber. der physik.-mediz. Soz. in Erlangen*, xxxvi. (1904), 314 *sqq.* and *Archiv f. d. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. Technik*, i. (1909), 211.

(E. WIEDEMANN.)

ḲAḤṬABA B. SHABĪB AL-ṬĀ'Ī, an Arab general. We find Ḳaḥṭaba, whose real name was Ziyād, mentioned as early as the year 100 (718/719) among the twelve chiefs of the 'Abbāsid faction in Khorāsān, who are said to have been chosen by the Kūfan emissary Abū 'Ikrima al-Sarrādj to further the 'Abbāsid cause. When the long prepared revolution broke out in the summer of 129 (747), Ḳaḥṭaba was in Mecca to which he had gone in order during the pilgrimage to meet in person the leader of the 'Abbāsids, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad [q. v.]. He did not return to Khorāsān till 130 (747/748) after Ibrāhīm had appointed him his general. Abū Muslim [q. v.] gave him the supreme command in the war against the Umaiyads and he defeated Tamīm b. Naṣr, son of the Umaiyad governor of Khorāsān, Naṣr b. Saiyār, at Ṭūs. Tamīm fell in the battle and Naṣr had to evacuate Nīsābūr and flee to Djurdjān. When the governor of the 'Irāḳ, Yazīd b. 'Omar b. Hubaira, sent an army under Nubāta b. Ḥanẓala al-Kilābī to Djurdjān, Ḳaḥṭaba took the field against him; on Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1, 130 (Aug. 1, 748) Nubāta was defeated and slain, and Naṣr again took to flight with the object of making his way to Hamadhān, but died on the way in Rabī' I, 131 (Nov. 748). Ḳaḥṭaba then turned his attention to the west. While his son Ḥasan was besieging Nihāwand, where the remnants of Naṣr's army from Khorāsān had united with the governor of Hamadhān's Syrian troops who had fled from there, Ḳaḥṭaba gave battle on Radjab 23, 131 (March 18, 749) at Djābalḳ near Iṣfahān to 'Āmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murrī who was coming with a large Syrian army. The latter fell in the conflict. After Ḳaḥṭaba had joined his son, the siege of Nihāwand was continued with vigour, and after several months the Syrian garrison capitulated, while their comrades from Khorāsān, who did not know of the capitulation, were all cut to pieces. Thereupon Ḳaḥṭaba marched against Kūfa via Ḥulwān and Khāniḳīn, sending his son in advance by the direct route. Ibn Hubaira advanced to meet him with a strong army, but Ḳaḥṭaba succeeded in evading him and in passing the Tigris unscathed, and then camped near Anbār. When Ibn Hubaira followed him and pitched his camp at Fām Furāt Bādaḳlā on the east bank of the Euphrates, Ḳaḥṭaba crossed the river and marched along the west bank to a place opposite the enemy camp. In the night of Muḥarram 8, 132 (Aug. 27, 749) he crossed the river again with a small body of men and surprised Ibn Hubaira who had to seek safety in flight. In the confusion of the fighting, Ḳaḥṭaba disappeared completely; whether he was drowned or killed in the fight must be left undecided.

Bibliography: al-Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 392, 398 *sq.*, 410—412; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1358, 1727, 1769, 1916, 1951, 1955, 1962, 1964, 1988, 2000—2006, 2016, iii. 1—9, 12—19; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v. s. Index; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 117, 124 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 698 *sq.*; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 315, 319, 325, 335 *sqq.*

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN.)

ḲAḤṬĀN is regarded by the Arabs of the Muhammadan epoch as the "father of (all) Yemen" (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, i. 4; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, i. 79; *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-'Ulūm*, ed. by 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, p. 83 *et passim*) i. e. as the ancestor of all South Arabians, who therefore are usually described comprehensively as "Banū Ḳaḥṭān", "Ḳabā'il Ḳaḥṭān" or briefly "Ḳaḥṭān", when not called simply "Yemenis". Ḳaḥṭān is thus contrasted with 'Adnān, the symbol of ethnological unity of all the

North Arabians. In this we find agreement not only among the Arab scholars, genealogists, historians, geographers, etc. (cf. e. g. Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen der arab. Stämme u. Familien*, and the *Register* and Reiske, *Primae lineae historiae regnorum arabicorum*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 132 *sqq.*) but also in the ideas of the people, as they are still to be found in Arabia (see Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. 282) and as found at an earlier period notably in the poetry (see Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, p. 348; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1087, also ii. 1672, 1985; al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, ii. 142; do., *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf* = *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, viii. 109, etc. etc.; in the statements, that reflect popular opinions, we indeed find as the counterpart of Ḳaḥṭān usually not ʿAdnān but his fictitious son Maʿadd, e. g. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 281; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1056, 1084; and al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 88, or his imaginary grandson Nizār, e. g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v. 223, vi. 42 *sq.*, 46, 143, 150, and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, iv. 273, or even his imaginary great-grandsons Muḍar and Rabīʿa, e. g. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1969 *infra*, 1985 *sq.* Arabic sources usually give Ḳaḥṭān the following ancestry ʿĀbar (not ʿĀbir, see e. g. *Ḳāmūs*, s. v.) — Shālakh (or Shālaḥ) — Arfakhshadh (or Arfakhshad) — Sām — Nūḥ; they also give him a brother, Fālagh. (The line Ḳaḥṭān b. Fālagh b. ʿĀbar b. Shālakh etc. in al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 2400, and al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 249, 252 is obviously due merely to a slip). These names are of course simply arabicised forms of the Old Testament names ʿĒber (Eber) — Shelaḥ (Shelah) — Arpakhshad (Arphaxad) — Shēm (Shem) — Nōaḥ (Noah) and Peleg (Peleg) *Genesis* x. and i. *Chron.* i. Ḳaḥṭān is therefore identical with the O. T. Yoḳṭān (Ἰεκτάν), son of Eber and brother of Peleg and ancestor of various South Arabian peoples (*Genesis* x. 25 *sqq.*, and i. *Chron.* i. 19 *sqq.*); Yoḳṭān, probably to be taken as meaning the "smaller", the "younger", i. e. as compared with his brother Peleg, might be a mere ethnological invention with the object of connecting the Arabs with the Hebrews). The Arab genealogists, etc. are quite positive on their identity; they constantly assert: "Yaḳṭan (more rarely Yaḳṭān) is Ḳaḥṭān" (e. g. al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 31; do. *Murūdj*, iii. 143; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, i. 57, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, sub *ḳḥṭ*; see also Doughty, *op. cit.*, i. 229; Yaḳṭan, it is true, appears occasionally through confusion as the brother or son of Ḳaḥṭān, so Ibn Ḳutaiba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 14; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 79 *sq.*, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, *loc. cit.*, and al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 213). Indeed, several Arab scholars even assert — and on this they agree with von Kremer, *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volkssage von Jemen*, p. 7 *sq.* — that *Ḳaḥṭān* is only an arabicised form of *Yoḳṭān* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 143 and *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, *loc. cit.*). But *Yoḳṭān* could not possibly become *Ḳaḥṭān* by any phonological laws. The equation Yoḳṭān = Ḳaḥṭān has in all probability rather come to be made because some old Arab — probably a Yemenī — genealogist quite arbitrarily, simply from a certain similarity of the names, identified the Biblical Yoḳṭān with an actually existing South Arabian tribe Ḳaḥṭān, so that by this artifice, the Yemenis might be linked up to the Biblical genealogical system, which reaches back to Adam, in the same way as had been done with the North Arabians under the influence of the Ḳurʾān and the Bible by tracing ʿAdnān back to Ishmael, the son of Abraham (see e. g. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 3 *sq.*; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1113 *sq.*; etc., etc.). Such a tribe of Ḳaḥṭān, which would surely have been of a certain degree of importance, cannot actually be proved with certainty to have existed in pre-Muhammadan Arabia. But it seems to me to be at least not impossible that the Καταγῖται of Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, vi. 7, 20, 23) are to be explained as "Kaḥṭānites" (as Knobel has already done, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, p. 185, and more recently Moritz in Pauly's *Real-encycl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, new edition, s. v. *Katanitai*) and not as Ḳaṭanites" (as von Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 8, Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 207 and Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geographie Arabiens*, ii. 285, 423). The fact, that of the two or more tribes of Ḳaṭan in question none could have been important enough to be known outside of Arabia, seems to me to be against the latter interpretation. The town of Ḳaḥṭān (between Zabīd and Ṣanʿāʾ) mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, 2nd ed = *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 87, 94 seems also to point to an old South Arabian tribe of Ḳaḥṭān (cf. also the Āl Ḳaḥṭān mentioned there p. 104 and described as the "oldest princes of Yemen"). Finally, it is not at all improbable that the beginnings of the modern clan Ḳaḥṭān (see below) reach back to the pre-Muhammadan period.

The great tribal confederation of the Ḳaḥṭān fell — in the Muhammadan period at least — into two groups, the smaller of the Ḥimyar and the larger of the Kahlān, whom the official genealogy put together as brothers and traced their descent from Ḳaḥṭān by the following line: Yaʿrub — Yashdjub — Sabaʾ — Ḥimyar + Kahlān (Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, 1; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 80, 1 etc.; other lists, the first of them in connection with *Genesis*, x. 26 *sqq.*, are given in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1303, ii. 57). In the genealogical table in *Genesis*, Sabaʾ (Sh^ebā) appears as a son of Yoḳṭān. Why the Arab genealogists have inserted Yaʿrub and Yashdjub between Ḳaḥṭān and Sabaʾ (and the two are also found, but in the reverse order, in the genealogy of ʿAdnān, as grandson and great-grandson or as great-grandson and great-great-grandson of Ismāʿīl; see Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 80), is a question that can hardly be answered with certainty. The Ḥimyar [q. v.], the epigones of the Minaean, Sabaean and Ḥimyarite kingdom, were presumably for the most part settled, while the Kahlān may have for the most part been nomads or half-nomads; cf. the expressions: "the Ḥimyar and the Arabs among the Yemenis", "the Ḥimyar and the clans (*ḳabāʾil*) of Yemen" and similar expressions in Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 116 *sqq.* The numerous South Arabian tribes which we find in Muḥammad's time in most different parts of Northern Arabia and even in Syria and the ʿIrāḳ belong principally to the Kahlān.

The Ḳaḥṭān and the Maʿadd were apparently separated even in the pre-Muhammadan period by a racial hatred, perhaps originally mainly based on the opposition between the desert and the sown. This enmity was intensified by the repeated raids of the Yemenis into the lands of the Ishmaelites [see above, i. 373] as well as later by the anta-

gonism between the Anṣār (Medinites) and the Ḳuraish, which came to a head after the death of the Prophet and influenced the history of the first two centuries of Islām in the most baneful fashion. It was perhaps this feud that first linked the Yemenī tribes on the one side and the Ishmaelite on the other into closer ethnological unities. One of its more innocuous results was the *mufākhara*, the struggle for rank and glory, which continually prevailed between the two antipodes (cf. e. g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi. 136, ii. 142 etc.). The Ḳaḥṭān, in view of the splendour of the ancient South Arabian kingdoms, had the more right at first to feel the more distinguished. But Islām with the mission of Muḥammad and the primacy of the Ḳuraish brought the Ma'add a tremendous superiority. The Yemenis endeavoured to counterbalance this in the most different ways. First of all they created an entirely romantic South Arabian saga, which pictured their past greatness in the most splendid colours (see below in the *Bibliography*). They then made Kaḥṭān son of the Prophet Hūd [q. v.], known from the Ḳur'ān, whom they next partly identified with 'Ābar (Nashwān, *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Ḥimyarīya*, ed. von Kremer, p. 4.; *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwân's*, p. 83; al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Houtsma, i. 220; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 57; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 81; Doughty, *op. cit.*, ii. 37, etc.). They then tried to connect themselves with the 'Adnān genealogy: perhaps by partly making the ancient Djurhum [q. v.], the brothers-in-law of Ismā'īl, to be direct descendants of Kaḥṭān (Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 57; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 185; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkh al-Bashar*, partly edited by Fleischer as *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 130, etc.), but especially by the fact that some of their genealogists gave Kaḥṭān a genealogy direct from Ismā'īl, who thus became "father of all the Arabs" (Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 5; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 2400; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 142; do., *al-Tanbīh*, p. 81; al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 246, 252; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, f. 443b, etc.). They may be also responsible for the theory that the Kaḥṭān, together with the 'Ād [q. v.], Thamūd, Ṭasm, 'Imlīḳ (Amalek, see 'AMĀLIḲ), Djadīs [q. v.], etc., the so-called "lost Arabs" (*al-'Arab al-bā'ida*) represent the genuine (primary) Arabs (*al-'Arab al-'ariba* or *al-'arbā'* etc.), while the Ma'add on the other hand are "arabicised (secondary) Arabs" (*al-'Arab al-muta'arriba*; cf. on this theory, as well as on the other, according to which only the 'Ād, Thamūd, etc., are *'Arab 'ariba*, the Kaḥṭān on the contrary *'Arab muta'arriba* and the Ma'add *'Arab musta'riba*, Lane, *Lexicon*, sub *al-'Arab*; Kambel, *op. cit.*, p. 179 *sq.*; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 215; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 188; also above i. 372b *sq.*). Finally, we may here mention the eschatological ḥadīth of South Arabian origin, which prophesies the rule in time to come of a mild, pious Kaḥṭānid; see Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-Ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, ii. 183 *sq.*, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi*, p. 12 (= *Verspreide Geschriften*, i. 156).

The native lexicons (*Lisān al-'Arab*, *Ḳāmūs*, and *Tādj al-'Arūs*, sub *ḳḥṭ*) give two nisba's from Kaḥṭān, both "good Arabic": *Kaḥṭānī* and the remarkable form *Aḥḥāṭī*. A tribe Kaḥṭān (more accurately Gaḥṭān, sing. Ghaḥṭānī, plur. Gaḥāṭīn) still exists, as was briefly mentioned above. It is exclusively Bedain and pitches its tents in the desert on the eastern borders of the northern Yemen and of the southern Ḥidjāz (roughly between 18° and 23° N. Lat.); but little bodies of them penetrate in the summer far into the Nedjd, as far as Washm, and even to the province of Ḳaṣīm. It is very numerous, rich in cattle and powerful, and also very proud as the "noblest blood of the South Arabians". Its nobility seems, however, to find expression primarily in a fanatical savagery and villainous cruelty, unparalleled elsewhere even among the sons of Arabia's deserts.

A clan, Kaḥlān, has also survived down to the present day (see i. 373b).

Bibliography (besides works mentioned in the text): Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar* (Būlāḳ 1284), ii. 46 *sq.*; al-Suwaidī, *Sabā'ik al-Dhahab fī Ma'rifat Ḳabā'il al-'Arab* (Bombay 1296), p. 16; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-Ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, iv. 105 *sq.*, 116 *infra sq.*; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, ed. Dozy, p. 76 *sq.*; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i. 4 *sqq.*; Aug. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 22 *sqq.*; Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, iii. 361; D. S. Margoliouth, Art. *Joktan* in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; — on the South Arabian saga: von Kremer, *Die himjarische Kasîdeh*, ed. and transl. (Leipzig 1865); do., *Über die südarabische Sage* (Leipzig 1866); *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volkssage von Jemen* (Leipzig 1867); D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Studien* (reprint from *Sitzungsber. d. phil.-hist. Klasse der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.*, lxxxvi.: Wien 1877); do., *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklîl des Hamdânî*, Parts i., ii. (Reprints from the above mentioned *Sitzungsber.*, xciv. and xcvii.: Wien 1879, 1881); E. Griffini, *Il Poemetto di Qudam ben Qâdim. Nuova versione della Saga Jemenica del reggente 'Abd Kulâl (400—480 di Cristo)*, Arab. Text with introd. and notes in *Riv. degli Studi Orient.*, vii. (Rome 1916); — on the present day Kaḥṭān: Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 275; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 672, 680 *sq.*; do., *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, ii. 46; Sprenger, in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xvii. 216; do., *Post- u. Reiserouten des Orients*, p. 130 *sq.*; Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i. 142, 208, ii. 2; Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, ii. *Daṯînah*, p. 314, 550 *sq.*; J. J. Hess, *Kaḥṭânische Beduinenlieder*, in the *Verhandl. des XIII. Internat. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, p. 302 *sqq.*; do., *Beduinennamen aus Zentralarabien* (*Sitzungsber. der Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1912, No. 19), p. 10 *sqq.*; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Ind. s. v. Kaḥṭān; H. St.-J. B. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia* (London 1922, 2 Vols.), Ind. s. v. Qaḥṭān; *A Handbook of Arabia*, compiled by Geogr. Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, i. Ind. s. v. Qahtan tribes; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāzīya*, 2. ed. (Cairo 1329), p. 53, 54.

(A. FISCHER)

ḲAHWA, an Arabic word of uncertain etymology, which is the basis of the usual words for coffee in various languages. Originally a name for wine, found already in the old poetry (see

Landberg, *Études*, ii. 1057 and *al-Aghānī*, 1st ed., vi. 110, 7, viii. 79, 12, xx. 180, 3), this word was transferred towards the end of the viiith (xivth) century in the Yemen to the beverage made from the berry of the coffee tree. The assumption of such a transference of meaning is, it is true, not accepted by some who consider *ḳahwa* — at least in the sense of coffee — as a word of African origin and seek to connect it with the alleged home of the coffee tree, Kaffa, although they also assume contamination with *ḳahwa* "wine" (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii. 566; Vollers in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* l. 657; *Hobson-Jobson*; Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii 1057—66). On the other hand, it should be noted that the holders of this view do not prove that coffee was exported from Kaffa as early as 1400, and do not quote a similar word in the languages of Abyssinia and adjoining lands, while the usual word for coffee there (*būn* for tree, berry and beverage; see Armbruster, *Initia Amharica*, ii. Cambridge 1910, p. 58; Coulbeaux and Schreiber, *Dict. de la langue tigraï*, Vienna 1915, p. 408; L. Reinisch, *Die Kafa-Sprache etc.*, ii. in *Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., 1888, cxvi. 273; see also Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii. 1055 *sq.*) has passed in the form *bunn* (in rhyme also *bun*) as a name of the tree and berry into Arabic. But as it is probable that the drinking of coffee spread in the Yemen out of Ṣūfī circles and a special significance was given to wine in the poetical language of the mystics, a transference of the poetic name for wine to the new beverage would not be at all impossible.

The coffee tree was not indigenous to South Arabia and was probably introduced from the highlands of Abyssinia, where it is found in profusion growing wild, notably in Kaffa. But there is no trace of authority for the assertion (Deflers and *Handbook of Arabia*) that the coffee tree was already introduced into Yemen in the period of the Abyssinian conquest and of the fall of the Himyar kingdom, about a century before the Hidjra. In this case the older literature would hardly have left it unnoticed.

The earliest mention of coffee so far found is in writings of the xth (xvith) century. According to (Aḥmad) Ibn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, quoted by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazīrī in his essay (see below, *Bibliography*), the popularity of *ḳahwa* as a beverage in the Yemen was first known in Cairo in the beginning of the xth (xvith) century. It was there taken especially in Ṣūfī circles, as it produced the necessary wakefulness for the nightly devotional exercises. According to this authority, it had been brought to ʿAden by the jurist Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Dhabḥānī (died 875 = 1470/1) who had become acquainted with it during an involuntary stay on the African coast and on his return devoted himself to mysticism; and it soon became popular.

Another reference in al-Djazīrī, however, ascribes the introduction of the beverage to ʿAlī b. ʿOmar al-Shādhilī. Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿOmar of the family of Duʾsain died in 821 (1418) according to al-Shardjī. He also might have become acquainted with coffee in Abyssinia, for after entering the Shādhiliya order, he lived for a period in the entourage of the king Saʿd al-Dīn (i. e. between 788 = 1386 and 805 or 807 = 1402/3 or 1404/5, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Ilmām bi-Akhbār man bi-Arḍ al-Ḥabash min Mulūk al-Islām*, ed. Rinck, Leiden 1790, p. 24; Paulitschke, *Harar*, Leipzig 1888, p. 504 *infra*), who gave him his sister to wife. Even after he had founded his *zāwiya* in al-Makhā (to follow al-Shardjī) gifts continued to reach him from admirers in Abyssinia.

In the treatise by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Ibn) al-ʿAidarūs (see below, *Bibliography*) ʿAlī b. ʿOmar, the saint of al-Makhā, is alone mentioned as the introducer of the beverage *ḳahwa* (*munshiʾ al-ḳahwa*, f. 341b; *mubdiʿuhā*, f. 347b, in a verse by Shaikh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAidarūs, died 990 = 1582). His claim to fame is, it is true, qualified by the note "that, before he prepared the beverage, only the kernel of the husk i. e. the *bunn* was used and the husks were thrown on the dung-heaps (f. 342a). In a verse attributed to him, however, he praises the *ḳahwat al-bunn* as a dispeller of sleep and aid to devotional exercises (f. 342b). While al-Shardjī says not a word of his connection with coffee, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-ʿAidarūs numbers the introduction of the beverage among his miracles (*karāmāt*, f. 342a).

The legend as given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa seems to have made two individuals out of ʿAlī b. ʿOmar, of whom ʿAlī represents the founder of the Shādhiliya order, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 656 = 1258; see al-Shaʿrānī, *Lawāḳiḥ al-Anwār*, Cairo 1299, ii. 5) and his disciple ʿOmar the saint of al-Makhā (Mukhā). The latter was ordered to settle, by command of his teacher who had appeared to him at his own funeral, at the place where a wooden ball which he gave him should come to rest. This is how he came to Mukhā. On the charge of having misconducted himself with the daughter of the king who was staying with him for a cure, he was banished into the mountains of Uṣāb (Wuṣāb, N. E. of Zabīd). He and his disciples, who followed him into exile, are said to have sustained themselves with *ḳahwa* (here the berry) and finally to have made a decoction from it. His visitors were cured of an itch, epidemic in Mukhā, by taking coffee and this procured the saint an honourable return.

The third person who is given credit for the introduction of coffee is Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAidarūs. The recent essay by ʿAlawī al-Saḳḳāf (see below, *Bibliography*) contains a statement from the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Nadjm al-Ghazzī (i. e. apparently *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-Manāḳib ʿUlamāʾ al-Miʾa al-ʿāshira* by Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Litt.*, ii. 291 *sq.*), according to which this Ṣūfī, who is called here a Shādhilī, once came upon a coffee tree in his wanderings and ate the berries. As he noticed their stimulating effect he took them as a food and recommended them to his disciples so that they became known in different countries. The reference here is probably to the Ṣūfī of this name who died in ʿAden in 914 (1508—9) (Alīf Makhrama, Leiden MS. 1956, f. 188; al-Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1329, i. 263), whose grave is still honoured there. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Ibn) al-ʿAidarūs only mentions his fondness of coffee and quotes his *ḳaṣīda* in praise of it. On the other hand, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī in his tractate *Ithāf al-Ṣafwa bi-Ṭuḥfat al-Ḳahwa*, f. 2b mentions Abū Bakr al-ʿAidarūs as the introducer (*munshiʾ*) of the *ḳahwa*.

According to Glaser (*Mitt. der Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxx. 25), it is stated in a Turkish source (which he does not give) that in the

xvith century the wālī Üzdemir (cf. Aḥmed Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, i. 83 *sqq.*) transplanted coffee from Africa to Yemen.

This fact, that the merit of introducing coffee as a beverage is given to different individuals suggests that we have to deal with various local traditions. The tradition of Mukhā is the most firmly established and most widely known; therefore ʿAlī b. ʿOmar al-Shādhilī — who is frequently confused with the founder of the Shādhilīya order (d'Ohsson, von Hammer, Rinn) — has become the patron saint of coffee-growers, coffee-house keepers and coffee-drinkers (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii. p. lxxxviii). In Algeria coffee is also known as *shādiliye* after him (Beaussier, *Dict. pratique arabe-français*, Algiers 1871). He is popularly regarded as the founder of Mukhā, which is, however, already mentioned by al-Hamdānī (*Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 74, 12, 87, 5, 119, 21), although it owed its rise to coffee. A well, a gate and the mosque over his grave preserve the memory of al-Shādhilī in Mukhā (Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, i, Kopenhagen 1774, 438—440; cf. also the legend in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, and ʿAbd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, *Bayān-i Wāḳiʿ*, French transl. by Langlès entitled *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke par Abdoul Kerym*, Paris 1797, p. 202 *sq.*).

Al-Shādhilī and al-ʿAidarūs (probably not Haidar, as de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*², i. 461 thinks) have become Christian monks named Sciadli and Aidrus in the legend given by Naironi. The motif of the camels or goats in which the enlivening effects of coffee were first noticed has so far not been found in Oriental sources. — According to a popular legend, the coffee tree shot up from goat's dung sown by the saint (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Leiden 1906, i. 260).

The legends are probably correct in saying that the taking of coffee in Arabia first began among Yemenī Ṣūfīs. They were particularly fond of the beverage because its effects facilitated the performance of their religious ceremonies. They therefore considered this as its original destination (*mawḍūʿ aṣlī*) and found that it incited to good and hastened on the mystical raptures (*fatḥ*) (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa* f. 342ᵇ). The pious intention, with which it was taken, made the drinking of coffee a good work (*ṭāʿa*). It received a ceremonial character, being accompanied by the recitation of a so-called *rātib*. This *rātib* consisted in the repetition 116 times of the invocation *yā ḳawī*. This usage is based — apart from the similarity in sound between *ḳahwa* and *ḳawī* — on the fact that the numerical value of *ḳhwh*, i. e. 116, is the same as that of *ḳwy*, i. e. *ḳawī*, "strong", one of the most beautiful names of Allāh [cf. above i. 303ᵃ]. According to Shaikh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAidarūs, the recitation of the *fātiḥa* [q. v.] should precede it. Shaikh b. Ismāʿīl Bā ʿAlawī of al-Shiḥr, however, prescribed the fourfold repetition of the Sūra *Yā-Sīn* (Sūra XXXVI) with a hundred-fold *taṣliya* on the Prophet as *rātib* (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 344ᵇ *infra sq.*, 345ᵇ, 347ᵃ). Thus when taken with a righteous intention and devotion and genuine religious conviction, coffee-drinking leads to the enjoyment of the *ḳahwa maʿnawīya*, the "ideal *ḳahwa*", also called *ḳahwat al-ṣūfīya*, which is explained as "the enjoyment which the people of God (*Ahl Allāh*) feel in beholding the hidden mysteries and attaining the wonderful disclosures (*mukāshafāt*) and the great revelations (*futūḥāt*)" (*op. cit.*, f. 341ᵇ, 345ᵃ *infra*, 345ᵇ *infra sq.*). — ʿAlī b. ʿOmar al-Shādhilī is reported to have said that coffee, like the water of Zamzam, serves the purpose for which it is drunk (*op. cit.*, f. 348ᵃ, cf. above ii. 588ᵃ *infra*), and the saying has been handed down of Aḥmad b. ʿAlawī Bā Djahdab (d. 973 = 1565/66; cf. al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, i. 330) who in his last years is said to have lived on nothing but coffee: — "He who dies with some *ḳahwa* in his body enters not into hell-fire" (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 344ᵇ).

Coffee was probably not known as a beverage in South Arabia much earlier than the turn of the viiith (xivth) century. Whether the tree was introduced long before this is doubtful. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī [q. v.] speaks in his *Fatḥ* (commentary on *al-ʿUbāb*, probably by ʿAlī b. ʿOmar al-Safī; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 403 *sq.*) of a beverage which appeared (viz. in Mecca) shortly before the 9th century A. H. (i. e. about the end of the xvth century) and was prepared from the husk of the *bunn*, a tree introduced from the region of Zailaʿ, and called *ḳahwa* (quotation in ʿAlawī al-Saḳḳāf, p. 9). Among the jurists who gave an opinion in favour of coffee, the oldest is Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Kabbin al-ʿAdanī (died in ʿAden 842 = 1438, cf. Abū Makhrama, f. 159ᵇ *sq.*; according to al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, i. 155 *sq.*: 829 = 1425/26).

An *urdjūza* of Sharaf al-Dīn al-ʿAmrīṭī gives the year 817 (1414/5) as the date at which coffee became domesticated in Mecca (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschr. zu Gotha*, iv. Nº. 2107). According to the *ʿUmdat al-Ṣafwa*, however, the drinking of a decoction of coffee husks first appeared towards the end of the ixth (xvth) century, while previously only the eating of the fruit as a delicacy (*naḳl*) was known. The drinking of coffee dropped out of use again for a time, indeed, but it finally established itself and soon people drank coffee even in the sacred mosque and regarded it as a welcome tonic at *dhikr* and *mawlid*. Coffee-houses (*buyūt al-ḳahwa*) were soon opened, where men and women met to music or where they played chess or a similar game for a stake. This and the custom of handing round the coffee on the manner of wine naturally aroused the indignation of the "unco guid" of whom many had from the first set their faces against the beverage as an objectionable innovation. They found a champion in Khāʾir Bey, who was appointed chief of the police in Mecca in 917 (1511) by Ḳānṣūh [q. v.]. He carried through the proclamation of coffee as forbidden (*ḥarām*) in the same year, in an assembly of jurists of the different schools in which the unfavourable judgment of two well-known physicians and the evidence of a number of coffee-drinkers regarding its intoxicating and dangerous effects ultimately decided the issue. The *ḳāḍī* signed the protocol of the assembly. Only the then mufti of Mecca dared to decline his co-operation and became therefore the object of coarse suspicions. By putting the questions in a clever way they were at the same time able to get an opinion condemning coffee from the faḳīhs of Cairo. The rescript which Ḳānṣūh issued in reply to the protocol sent to Cairo did not completely fulfil the hopes of the opponents of coffee as it contained no absolute interdiction but only allowed measures to be taken

against any concomitant features contrary to religion. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, as late as about 950 (1543), had a vigorous discussion, at a wedding feast (*walīmat ʿurs*) where coffee was offered to the guests, on the new beverage with a prominent muftī, who declared it intoxicating and forbidden. Ibn Ḥadjar refers to the assembly above mentioned and cannot find words strong enough to condemn its decision and the manner in which it was reached (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 352ᵇ — 356ᵃ, quotation from the *Muʿdjam Mashāʾikhihi*).

In accordance with this verdict, Khāʾir Bey forbade the taking and sale of coffee and had a number of vendors punished and their stocks burned, so that coffee husks (*ḳishr*) disappeared from the market. But Ḳānṣūh's rescript again gave the coffee-drinkers courage and when in the next year one of the leading opponents of coffee was subjected to disciplinary punishment by a high official from Egypt and Khāʾir Bey was replaced by a successor who was not averse to coffee, they were again able to enjoy with impunity the beverage, to which these measures had only attracted the attention of wider circles. Only occasionally do we still read of action being taken against disgraceful proceedings in coffee-houses. An edict forbidding coffee issued by the Sultan of Turkey during the Ḥadjdj in 950 (1544) was hardly respected at all.

In Cairo coffee was first made known in the first decade of the xth (xvith) century in the Azhar quarter by Ṣūfīs from Yemen, who held their *dhikr*'s in the mosque with their companions in opinion from Mekka and Madīna while partaking of coffee. After it had been publicly sold and drunk there for a time, the faḳīh Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Sunbāṭī, famous as a preacher, declared it forbidden in 939 (1532/3). Two years later in a meeting for exhortation in the Azhar mosque he so incited his hearers against the beverage that they fell upon the coffee-houses, made short work of their contents and maltreated the occupiers. The difference of opinion thus emphasised caused the ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. Ilyās al-Ḥanafī to take the opinions of prominent scholars; as a result of personal observation of the effects of coffee he confirmed the opinion of those who considered the beverage a permitted one. Although in the years following coffee was from time to time for brief periods forbidden in Cairo, the number of its devotees, even among the religious authorities, steadily increased.

Several notable theologians had given *fatwā*'s in favour of coffee, for example, Zakariyā al-Anṣārī (died 926 = 1520), Aḥmad b. ʿOmar al-Saifī (d. 930 = 1523/24), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīḳī (died between 950 and 960 = 1543—1553), who in verses in praise of the coffee also gives the advice that the opinion of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ should be set aside and the *fatwā* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan followed (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 349ᵃ·ᵇ; cf. also al-Ṣiddīḳī's verses in Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's *al-Kashkūl*, Būlāḳ 1288, i. 19), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī (d. 975 = 1567/68) and others (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, f. 346ᵇ *sq.*) — Gradually the view came to prevail that coffee was in general permitted (*mubāḥ*), but that under certain circumstances the other legal categories could be applied to it also.

Intercourse with the holy cities and with Egypt brought coffee to Syria, Persia and Turkey. Rauwolf in 1573 found the beverage widely known in Syria (Ḥalab). In Constantinople and Rūmili coffee first appeared in the reign of Sulaimān I (926—974 = 1520—1566). In 962 (1554) a man from Ḥalab and another from Damascus opened the first coffee-houses (*ḳahwa-khāne*) in Constantinople. These soon attracted gentlemen of leisure, wits and literary men seeking distraction and amusement, who spent the time over their coffee reading or playing chess or backgammon, while poets submitted their latest poems for the verdict of their acquaintances. This new institution was by way of joke called also *mekteb-i ʿirfān* (school of knowledge). The coffee-house met with such approval that it soon attracted civil servants, ḳāḍīs and professors also. Poets like Māmiya al-Rūmī (cf. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, p. 147) and later Belīghī sang the praises of coffee, and the opinion expressed in 928 by Sulaimān's court physician, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḳūṣūnī (Leiden MS. 945, f. 58) was not unfavourable. The coffee-houses increased rapidly in number. Among the servants of the upper classes were *ḳahwedji*, whose special task was the preparation of coffee, and at the court they were subordinate to a *ḳahwedjibashi*. In religious circles, however, it was found that the coffee-house was prejudicial to the mosque, and the ʿulamāʾ thought the coffee-house even worse than the wine-room. The preachers were specially eager for the prohibition of coffee and the way was paved for them by the muftīs (according to d'Ohsson: Abu 'l-Suʿūd) with an opinion that (roasted) coffee was to be considered coal and therefore forbidden (the same argument is found in the treatise by Muḥammad (ʿAlī?) Dedeh, Leiden MS. 682, l. f. 4ᵇ). The fact that current politics were discussed in the coffee-houses, the government's acts criticised and intrigues woven, was the principal cause for the intervention of the authorities. Edicts issued in the reigns of Murād III (982—1003 = 1574—95) and Aḥmad I (1012—16 = 1613—17) were not strictly enforced and still less obeyed. The religious authorities met public opinion by declaring coffee legal, if it had not reached the degree of being like coal. The grand viziers also benefited as they levied one or two gold pieces a day on the coffee-houses, and were therefore anxious to increase their number.

Murād IV (1032—49 = 1623—40) issued a strict prohibition of coffee (and tobacco). He had all the coffee-houses torn down and many forfeited their lives for the sake of coffee. Under Meḥmed IV (1058—99 = 1648—87), while the sale of coffee in the streets was allowed, the prohibition of coffee-houses was at first renewed by the grand vizier Köprülü for political reasons. This prohibition could not possibly be kept in force permanently, and later we even read of measures taken by the government to lower the high price of coffee. From Sulaimān's time a tax was levied on coffee which was at a rate of 8 aspers per *oḳḳa* for Muslim buyers and 10 for Christians; in 1109 (1697) there was added a super-tax of 5 paras the *oḳḳa*, which was called *bidʿat-i ḳahwe*, for both.

According to von Hammer, *Geschichte* etc., v. 713, the question of the correct spelling of *ḳahwe* with *k* or *ḳ* has been disputed in Turkey. *Kahwe* is actually found in several manuscripts e. g. in the opinion of al-Ḳūṣūnī above mentioned.

The coffee tree flourishes in south-western Ara-

bia and does best on the western side of the Serat at a height of 3400—6800 feet, where it finds in the depths of the valleys and on the slopes a fertile, moist soil and the uniform warm temperature necessary for it. The plantations on the slopes arranged in terraces (see the picture in *Handbook of Arabia*, Pl. xiv.), however, need regular watering; in addition, the mist (*'uml'*, *ne-khaimdni*) that rises in thick clouds out of Tihāma brings them moisture. To protect the trees from the heat of the sun and from locusts they are surrounded by shady trees like carob trees, tamarinds, etc. The tree which is raised from seed (or propagated from layers) reaches a height of 6 to 16 feet with a diameter of 2—2$^1/_2$ inches and yields berries in the fourth year. It is an evergreen and throughout the year bears both blossom and berries in various stages of ripeness so that there is really no fixed harvest-time. The main harvest, however, varying with kind and locality, usually falls in the months from March to June. After the berries have been carefully gathered and allowed to dry they are shelled in a mill. The beans and the husks are then dried in the sun a second time.

The coffee tree is found as far north as 'Asīr [q. v.] where it is said to flourish exceedingly on mount Sh-dh-y (Shadhā?) in the land of the Zahrān (north of the Wādī Lawḳa, Doka on Stieler's map). (Sharaf 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Barakātī, *al-Riḥla al-Yamāniya*, Cairo 1330, p. 16; cf. J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, ii. 377; for other places in 'Asīr see *Handbook of Arabia*, p. 136, 137). The most southern areas of coffee cultivation are Bilād al-Ḥudjriya, Wādī Warazān and Wādī Banā. To the east we find coffee grown in the land of the Yāfi' and in the Djawf. But it is the Ḥarāz mountains, the valley of al-Farīd belonging to the land of the Banū Maṭar, the Djabal Raima and the district round 'Udain that are particularly celebrated for their excellent coffee. (For further information see Grohmann's book [s. *Bibliography*] where, too, the varieties are detailed).

The cultivation of coffee was and still is of great economic importance for Yemen. In the time of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i. e. about the middle of the xviith century, the annual export was 80,000 bales. Ṣan'ā' and Bait al-Faḳīh [q. v.] were centres of coffee trade. Mukhā, which the coffee trade brought to great prosperity, declined completely in the xixth century and has now lost all importance. Coffee is now exported through al-Ḥudaida, where already in Niebuhr's time an important traffic was found, and especially 'Aden (for details see von Neimans, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xli. 397—403, W. Schmidt, and in the *Handbook of Arabia*).

It has always been the custom in Yemen to drink preferably a decoction of the husks, which like the latter is called *ḳishr*, and is to be obtained in numerous coffee-houses (*maḳhāya*). To *ḳishr* as well as to the coffee made from beans, flavourings such as cardamom, ginger, cloves, etc., are often added. In the social life of the Arab no ceremony or festival is complete without coffee, and coffee is the first thing offered to a visitor. An invitation to coffee in Mecca means an invitation to a meal. The Arabs drink coffee without sugar; only in South Arabia milk is occasionally taken; sugar has become the vogue among the Turks.

The fresh ripe fruit is pleasing to the taste and nourishing. The eating of the *bunn* — it is not stated whether fresh or dried — is particularly recommended in a *ḳaṣīda* by Ḥamza b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nāshirī (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, i. 358^b *sq.*) on account of its various health-giving virtues. We have no information available as to whether the custom usual among the Galla and in Kaffa of eating ground coffee mixed with butter is also usual in South Arabia. In Persia the eating of dry ground coffee is not unusual.

For Arabic and Persian works on coffee in addition to those quoted above and in the *Bibliography*, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn. der arab. Handschr. ... zu Berlin*, N°. 5476—5480; Pertsch, *Die arab. Handschr. ... zu Gotha*, N°. 94(9), 2105—2109, 2777; *Cat. Cod. Orient. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*, iii. N°. 1401; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litter.*, ii. 317 and 333, N°. 16.

Ḳahwa is also the name of the room in which coffee is served and thus comes to mean receptionroom and "coffee-house". The word is also used in the sense of "tip" and "present". — On coffeehouses in the East, see the works mentioned below by Olearius, Chardin, Russell, von Hammer, Snouck Hurgronje. — On coffee-vessels see Lane, Snouck Hurgronje, von Oppenheim, Socin, Euting, Landberg.

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(C. VAN ARENDONK.)

AL-ĶĀʾID (A.), "the leader". From the root-meaning of the word the term may be applied to any one who leads, a horse, for example; indeed, a leading-camel may be called *ḳāʾid*. More prominent is its application to a military leader. In the general significance of "officer", "army commander" the word has been in use from ancient times to the present day wherever the Arabic language is spoken, and in the Maghrib it has further been applied to certain offices. That the east has not kept pace with this development in meaning is probably, in part at least, due to the way in which, as a result of its political history, the military language had been filled with Turkish and Persian titles. In the west *ḳāʾid* means firstly the commander of a tribe liable to service or of a province, wielding both military and civil powers, who usually — in Morocco down to the present day — has a residence in the district jail (*ḳalʿa*, *ḳaṣba*). Corresponding conditions among the Arabs in Spain are revealed in the Spanish *alcaide*, commander of a fortress or bailiff (Dozy-Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*[2], Leiden 1869, p. 79). A purely civil governor (in cities for example) is not *ḳāʾid* but *ʿāmil*; on the other hand, in Morocco the headman of a village, who has another title in his civil capacity, becomes *ipso facto* a *ḳāʾid* when he takes his place at the head of a body of militia. Further titles in the Moroccan army are *ḳāʾid raḥā* (*raḥā* "mill" = the circle of an encampment) = colonel, *ḳāʾid al-miʾa* = captain, etc. If, then, the word *ḳāʾid* is also used from Morocco to Tunisia with a genitive to describe a number of court, government or public offices, as a rule plainly endowed with authority (harbour-captain, chief of the roadways, etc., cf. Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dictionnaires arabes* and Beaussier, *Dict. arabe-français*), it is either a case of an originally military function or of a coined word like our "commander", "major", etc.

It is probably a case of borrowing from the military language when certain prominent stars, e. g. the last star in the Great Bear, or mountains (landmarks) are called *ḳāʾid* (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.). (G. KAMPFFMEYER)

ḲĀʿIDA, (A.) (lit. "sitting"), basis, foundation, later also rule, principle, etc. Cf. the dictionaries.

ḲĀʾIF. [See ḲIYĀFA.]

KAI-KĀʾŪS, a mythical king of Persia of the Kayānid dynasty. Called Kava Uç in the *Avesta*, he is regarded by Firdawsī as the son of Kai-Ḳobād and by other sources as his grandson. He was, it is related, a warrior king who undertook a campaign into Māzandarān, which was inhabited by demons and protected by the white *dīw* (*dīw-i safīd*) who caused it to rain stones upon the invading army during the night; Rustam, son of Zāl, set out to deliver the king from his imprisonment and on his way met with seven adventures which have become celebrated in poetry [see RUSTAM]. The white *dīw* was overcome in his sleep and the blood from his heart restored their sight to the king and his army. Another war led the king into Hāmāvarān, a land lying to the south of Persia, which might be the Yemen (Ḥimyar), for he set sail for it by sea from Makrān. His adventurous spirit took him as far as the mountain of Ḳāf [q. v.] which was believed to surround the earth. He married Sūdāba, daughter of the king of Hāmāwarān (al-Thaʿālibī: Sūdāma, ar. Suʿdā, daughter of Dhu 'l-Adhʿār) and in the course of a visit to his father-in-law was treacherously thrown into prison in a castle on the shore of the sea. It was Rustam who came to deliver him.

Being master of the demons, Kai-Kāʾūs used their forces to make them build castles in Alburdj (al-Thaʿālibī, p. 165: the Tower of Babel; do., Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 35; *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh*, *Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. iii., xi. (1841), p. 325). To revenge themselves for this forced labour one of them suggested to the king the possibility of rising up to heaven. For this purpose the king trained young eagles and attaching four to his throne had himself carried off towards the stars. When the eagles felt tired, they came down again and threw the king on the ground in the neighbourhood of Āmul [q. v.], in the middle of the forest, where he was found by the nobles who had set out to look for him. A son of the king, Siyāwakhsh (Siyāwash, Çyāvarshāna), was accused by his step-mother Sūdāba, whose overtures he had resisted, of having attempted her virtue; he cleared himself by the ordeal by fire, by walking unharmed through a narrow space between two blazing piles of wood. The young prince then asked leave to fight the Tūrānians, whom he encountered near Balkh [q. v.]. The death of Siyāwakhsh, now the son-in-law of Afrāsiyāb [q. v.] and victim of the intrigues of Sūdāba, decided Rustam to invade Persia; the hero put the queen to death before the king's eyes and then hurled himself on Tūrān to avenge his country.

Kai-Kāʾūs reigned one hundred and fifty years the latter of which he passed in retirement; he left the throne to his grandson Kai-Khusraw [q. v.], son of Siyāwakhsh.

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KAIKĀʾŪS, the name of two Seldjūḳ rulers in Asia Minor.

KAIKĀʾŪS I., AL-SULṬĀN AL-GHĀLIB ʿIZZ AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN K. B. KAIKHUSRAW, BURHĀN AMĪR 'L-MUʾMINĪN, reigned from 606–616 (1210–1219). He at once made peace with Theodore Lascaris (see below Kaikhusraw I) because he had to defend his rights against his uncle Ṭoghrilshāh of Erzerūm and his brother Kaiḳobād, who were contesting his succession. The Armenians under Lifūn (Leon), who seized the opportunity to capture Heraclea and Laranda and to plunder Kaiṣariya, were temporarily induced to retire on payment of a considerable sum. Ṭoghrilshāh also soon retired to Erzerūm, but Kaiḳobād, who had seized the fortress of Anguria, held out for a considerable time and was only forced to surrender after several years' siege. He was thereupon provisionally imprisoned in the fortress of Minshār (Mardia, now Mizere, S. E. of Malaṭya; cf. Defrémery, *Hist. des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, i. 143, note 3). By a lucky coup Kaikāʾūs succeeded in capturing the king of Trebizond, Kīr Aleks, who had to purchase his freedom by ceding the important harbour of Sinope and paying a yearly tribute (611 = 1214). The town of Anṭālia, which had been taken by Kaikhusraw shortly before, but had expelled the Turkish garrison with the help of Christian knights, was again reconquered. In 613 (1216) Kaikāʾūs made an inroad into the land of the Armenians and besieged the fortress of Gaban (Ibn Bībī in place of this mentions two citadels, Cinām and Gānūn). The army sent to raise the siege included the Constable Constantine and several Barons of the Empire; it was completely routed by the Turks and the Constable with many Barons and knights were taken prisoner. Kaikāʾūs then returned to Ḳaiṣariya, without having taken the fortress, after plundering the land and laying it completely waste. There was nothing left for the Armenians but to beg for peace and the release of prisoners. Both appeals were granted but their king had to pledge himself to pay tribute and to cede the important frontier fortresses of Luʾluʾa and Lawzad, which commanded the Cilician passes. When in 613 (1216) Kaikāʾūs's ally, the Aiyūbid of Ḥalab, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, died, Kaikāʾūs arranged with the Aiyūbid lord of Sumaisāṭ, al-Malik al-Afḍal, that the latter should receive Ḥalab with the Sulṭān as his overlord. This plan seemed at first to be successful; the Turkish troops occupied Marzbān without difficulty (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, p. 158, mentions Burdj al-Raṣāṣ, as does Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 604, and adds Tell Khālid also), Raʿbān, Tell Bāshir and Manbidj, but in place of handing the places over to al-Afḍal, as had been agreed, Kaikāʾūs put Turkish commanders over them. Friction thus arose and the Ḥalabīs gained time to appeal for help to al-Malik al-Ashraf (cf. i. 222b) whose troops defeated the

advance-guard of the Turks at Tell Kaiḥāsin (Yāḳūt, i. 869). Kaikā'ūs then retired on Ablastin, while al-As̲h̲raf drove the Turkish garrisons out of the fortresses they had taken. Furious at this failure, which he attributed to the treachery of his own emirs, Kaikā'ūs had several of them hanged and others imprisoned in a building called Rabaḍ Turrash by Yāḳūt, which was then set on fire so that they were all burned to death. Soon afterwards he himself fell ill of consumption and died in 616 (1219). His body was buried in a hospital built by him in Siwās, where the inscription on his tomb, incised in 617, can still be read. Cf. v. Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Part 3, p. 5 *sqq*.

Bibliography: The chief source is Ibn Bībī, extract from his historical work in *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, iv. (Turk. trans., *ibid.*, iii.); also of importance are the *Chronicon Syriacum* of Barhebraeus; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab* etc., French transl. by E. Blochet, entitled *Histoire d'Alep* (Paris 1900); *Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, i. (Paris 1869); the universal histories by Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, al-Nuwairī, K̲h̲wāndamīr, Munad̲j̲d̲j̲im Bas̲h̲ī, and other works still in manuscript; the coin catalogues: *British Museum Cat. of Oriental Coins*, Vol. iii. (1877); G̲h̲ālib Edhem, *Numismatique Seldjoucide* (Constantinople 1892); Aḥmed Tewḥīd, *Cat. des Monnaies du Musée Impérial Ottoman*, Part iv. (Constantinople 1903); Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure* in *Revue Sémit.*, ii. and iii.; *Konia, Inschriften der Seldschukischen Bauten*, by J. H. Löytved, Berlin 1907; K̲h̲alīl Edhem, *Ḳaiṣarīye s̲h̲ehri Mabānī-i islāmīye we-Kitābeleri* (Stambol 1334). Cf. also Fallmerayer, *Gesch. des Kaisertums von Trapezunt* (München 1827); F. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien* (Berlin 1896); do., *Konia, Seldschukische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin 1921). See also the bibliography to the article SELD̲J̲ŪḲS.

KAIKĀ'ŪS II, 'IZZ AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN B. KAIK̲H̲USRAW II. When Kaik̲h̲usraw II [q. v.] died in 643 (1245), according to the arrangements he had made, his son 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḳobād, whose mother was the Georgian princess Tamar, was to become Sulṭān, but he was barely 7 years old and had two older brothers — also still quite young — 'Izz al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳılıd̲j̲ Arslān. 'Izz al-Dīn was the eldest. His mother was the daughter of a Greek priest (Frater Simon in Vincent de Beauvais, Book xxxi., Ch. 26, who has, however, confused 'Izz al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn). The all-powerful vizier of the late Sulṭān, S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, declared for him but did not yet dare to set aside the two other brothers, for the decision ultimately lay with the Mongol K̲h̲āns. The vizier therefore could not prevent Rukn al-Dīn, accompanied by several Turkish emirs, from travelling to the *urdu* of the Great K̲h̲ān and being present at the great *ḳuriltai* at which Kuyuk was proclaimed Great K̲h̲ān (1246). But in the meanwhile the Vizier (whom Frater Simon refers to as Losyr) was busy getting all power into his own hands and married 'Izz al-Dīn's mother to the great chagrin of the Turkish emirs. To attain his desires, he had several of them put to death, including, according to Vincent, a certain Sallehadinus, i. e. S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the governor of Arzand̲j̲ān, a man well-disposed to the Christians, who understood French and German (*ibid.*, chap. 27). The result, however, was that the malcontent emirs laid a complaint against him before Kuyuk, who gave them a *yarlīḳ* appointing Rukn al-Dīn Sulṭān. In addition, the K̲h̲ān ordered that the vizier should be handed over to the relatives of the slaughtered emirs. He also laid down definitely the conditions of peace; the Seldjuḳs were to pay a yearly tribute of 1,200,000 hyperpres (bezants), 500 silk robes with gold brocade, 500 horses, 500 camels and 5,000 head of smaller animals and also presents which doubled the value of the whole. This is Vincent's story (Ch. 28). Cf. thereon Barthold in *Zapiski Wost. Otd. Imp. Arkh. Obshl.*, xviii. 0128; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii. 83.

When Rukn al-Dīn then returned to Asia Minor, he was recognized as Sulṭān, and the vizier, in accordance with the orders of the Great K̲h̲ān, handed over to his enemies and put to death in 646 (1249); we have therefore coins with the name of Rukn al-Dīn as early as the year 646 (1249). In the meanwhile, however, news arrived of the death of the Great K̲h̲ān and it was not till 1251 that his successor Möngke assumed full authority. The Turkish emirs therefore worried little about the *yarlīḳ* and agreed with one another that Kaik̲h̲usraw's three sons should reign jointly. From 647 to 655 all three names appear on the coins, with the single exception that in 652 (1254) Rukn al-Dīn struck coins with his name in Ḳaiṣarīya, because he had been proclaimed sole Sulṭān there by the *ṣubas̲h̲ī* of the town, Ṣamṣām al-Dīn. Long negotiations followed between Rukn al-Dīn and 'Izz al-Dīn, which led to nothing, however, till finally the sword brought a decision and Rukn al-Dīn was taken prisoner and sent to Amasia and later to Burghlu. In the meanwhile Möngke had demanded that 'Izz al-Dīn should come to him, but the latter had little desire to undertake the dangerous journey and therefore sent his brother 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḳobād with rich presents. On the way, however, the prince was murdered and an enquiry instituted by the Great K̲h̲ān to find who had a hand in it led to no result. An encounter between 'Izz al-Dīn's troops and those of the Mongol *Noyon* Baid̲j̲u at Aḳsarā in 654 (1256), in which the former were routed, forced 'Izz al-Dīn at once to seek refuge with Theodore Lascaris. The imprisoned Rukn al-Dīn was thereon liberated and recognized as Sulṭān (coins of 655). But scarcely had Baid̲j̲u retired with his Mongols than 'Izz al-Dīn returned to Konya, while Rukn al-Dīn was in Ḳaiṣarīya. After long negotiations and occasional skirmishes between the troops of the two brothers, a division of the kingdom was decided upon. Rukn al-Dīn was to reign eastwards from the Ḳızıl Irmaḳ and 'Izz al-Dīn westwards. Both brothers were then to go to Hūlāgū, who was then in the neighbourhood of Tibrīz, to have the agreement confirmed. This was done, but soon afterwards the Mongols learned that 'Izz al-Dīn had entered into negotiations with their arch-enemies, the Mamlūks of Egypt, and put an end to his rule. 'Izz al-Dīn was still able to escape to Anṭālia and sailed from there with his relatives and a few faithful emirs to Constantinople, which after the fall of the Latin Empire, was again in the hands of the Greeks. There he was sure of a good reception on account of his having a Christian mother. But the presence of these Turks soon became embarrassing to the Emperor. They are

said to have begun a conspiracy to murder him and make ʿIzz al-Dīn Emperor. When the Sulṭān's Christian uncles betrayed this plan, the Greeks lost no time in banishing the Sulṭān to Ainos, while his servants were incorporated as Turcopols in the Imperial armies, or imprisoned and put to death (662 = 1264). Six years later (668 = winter 1268/1269) ʿIzz al-Dīn was liberated by troops sent to Constantinople by Mengü Timur and brought to the Crimea. There he married a daughter of Bereke Khān and died in 678 (1279/1280). On his son Masʿūd see the separate article.

Bibliography: See that of the preceding article. Specially important here is Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale*, Books xxx. and xxxi., chap. 26, 27. Cf. also the Mongol and Byzantine historians (Nicephorus Gregoras and Georgius Acropolita); W. v. Tiesenhausen, *Recueil de matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'or*, i. 482.

KAI-KHUSRAW, a mythical king of Persia, of the Kayānid dynasty. Son of Siyāwakhsh, who had left his father Kai-Kāʾūs and taken refuge in Tūrān where he had married the daughter of king Afrāsiyāb [q. v.], he was born after his father's death and brought up in this country among the shepherds of the mountains of Ḳalū (a valley near Bāmiyān), in ignorance of his illustrious origin; but this was soon revealed. At seven years old he was making bows and at ten he feared neither lions nor tigers. Then Pīrān, the vizier of Afrāsiyāb, took him into his house. In a dream Gūdarz, an Iranian noble, descendant of the smith Kāwa, learned that the heir to the throne existed in enemy territory and sent his son Gēw to look for him; the latter found him quite by chance and recognised that Kai-Khusraw had on his arm the black mark that distinguished Kayānids; he therefore took him, along with his mother Farangīs back to Persia.

There he found a rival in his uncle Fārībors. To settle the question, Kai-Kāʾūs decided that the throne should belong to the one who captured the fortress of Bahmandiz, near Ardabīl [q. v.], where Ahriman reigned. It was of course Kai-Khusraw who won, with the aid of celestial forces, and there he built a temple in honour of the sacred fire Ādhargushnasp. A journey through his empire showed him the devastations caused by the Tūrānians and he swore to undertake a war of vengeance against them. Aided by all the nobles, he sent out expeditions of which the first were unfortunate; but fortune soon changed and Kai-Khusraw took over the direction of the campaign. Afrāsiyāb, in spite of the help of the Emperor of China, was finally forced to fly and Kai-Khusraw sought him in vain beyond the seas. He was hidden in a cave in the mountains of Ādharbaidjān [q. v.] and his place of concealment could only be discovered by supernatural means. He was finally taken prisoner and beheaded. Thus was accomplished the vengeance due for the murder of Siyāwakhsh.

Having succeeded his grandfather Kai-Kāʾūs, for whom he wept for 40 days, Kai-Khusraw reigned peacefully without any incident more remarkable than the killing of a dragon which had taken up its abode on the mountain of Kūhbīd, between Fārs and Iṣfahān (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 36). At the end of his life, he asked God to receive him into heaven and, after naming Luhrāsp as his successor, he undertook a mountain journey in the course of which he disappeared, after having washed in the water of a spring (the spring of eternal life). Those who had accompanied him perished in a snowstorm. It is clear that the figure of Kai-Khusraw corresponds to that of the Avestan hero Haosravah, who belongs to Indo-Iranian mythology.

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KAIKHUSRAW, the name of three Saldjūḳ rulers in Asia Minor.

KAIKHUSRAW I, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN, b. ḲILIDJ ARSLĀN. When the aged and enfeebled Ḳilidj Arslān II died in 588 (1192), he was staying with his youngest son Kaikhusraw, who governed Burghlū (i. e. Uluburlu) in his father's lifetime. Kaikhusraw concealed his father's death and only made it known, when he had arrived with the body in Ḳonya, in order to have homage paid to himself as Sulṭān there. His brothers, each of whom ruled over a part of the Seldjūḳ kingdom, troubled about him just as little as they had done about their father in his later years. It was some time, however, — according to some not till 592 (1196), according to others 595 — before one of them was strong enough to take Ḳonya from him. Finally Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān [q. v.] succeeded in doing this, so that Kaikhusraw had to take to flight and after several unsuccessful attempts to gain his throne with the help of Leon of Armenia and of the neighbouring princes of Malaṭya, Ḥalab and Āmid, wandered hither and thither (cf. the poem composed by him in Ibn Bībī, p. 29 *sqq.*), till he at length found a welcome with Alexius III in Constantinople. At this time he married a daughter of a distinguished Greek named Maurozomes, and the death soon afterwards of his brother in 600 (1204) opened up a good prospect of returning to Ḳonya, because several emirs were dissatisfied with the rule of the latter's son Ḳilidj Arslān III, who was a minor. The main part in the plot was played by several members of the dynasty of the Dānishmandiya [q. v.], which had been deposed by Ḳilidj Arslān II. He actually succeeded in being proclaimed Sulṭān in Ḳonya in spite of a *fetwā* of the ḳāḍī al-Tirmidhī, who declared him unworthy of the throne because of his Christian mother and his intercourse with the unbelievers, a *fetwā* which cost the issuer's life. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 160, Kaikhusraw besieged Trebizond in 602 (1206), apparently without much success. In 603 (1207) he took the important seaport of Anṭāliya from Aldobrandini. From this capture date the first relations of the Seldjūḳs with the Venetians, to whom he granted a licence to trade (cf. Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels*, i. 334). In 605

(1208), in alliance with al-Malik al-Ẓāhir of Halab, he undertook a campaign against the Armenians and took the fortress of Pertus. In the beginning of 607 (1210) he fell in the battle at Khonās, perhaps in single combat with Theodore Lascaris. Cf. Nicephoros Gregoras, ed. Bonn, i. 17—21, and Georg. Acropolita, ed. Bonn, p. 16 and thereon Houtsma, in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., Ser. 3, ix. (1893), p. 138 *sqq.*

Kaikhusraw II, Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn b. Kaiḳobād, ascended the throne after the assassination of his father in 634 (1237), although Kaiḳobād had not designated him as his successor but the son 'Izz al-Dīn by the Aiyūbid princess [cf. Kaiḳobād I], apparently because Kaikhusraw, as Vincent says, was the son of a concubine (she was called Māh-peri Khātūn, as the inscription on her tomb at Ḳaiṣariya tells us) and, besides, was quite an insignificant man. But he had been appointed governor of Arzandjān by his father after the dismissal of Da'ūd Shāh [see Kaiḳobād I] and was the candidate for the throne favoured by the Christian mercenaries.

The latter, with the Emir Sa'd al-Dīn Gōbāk, carried through his proclamation as sulṭān, while the unfortunate 'Izz al-Dīn with his mother and a younger brother was put out of the way. Only the Khwārizmis [see Kaiḳobād I] were discontented with this, refused to obey orders and marched out of the Seldjūḳ kingdom in order to ravage the adjoining Aiyūbid lands. Kaikhusraw on his side made peace with the Aiyūbids and endeavoured to cement it by a double marriage, at which the famous historian Kamāl al-Dīn officiated as plenipotentiary for the lord of Ḥalab. But as he did not trouble about the business of government, the Emir Sa'd al-Dīn took all the power into his own hands and began a regular reign of terror. He even declared himself an illegitimate son of Kaikhusraw I, and finally went so far that the Sulṭān had him treacherously put to death. The Sulṭān then celebrated his marriage with the beautiful Georgian princess Tamar [see Kaiḳobād I], whose portrait he even wished to put on the coins; when he had to give up this idea he chose the emblem of the lion and rising sun, as is still usual in Persia to-day. The internal weakness of the kingdom soon showed itself (638 = 1241) when a Turkoman rising broke out, caused by the appearance of a certain saint Bābā Isḥāḳ, whose messengers traversed the whole country and in their sermons denounced the luxurious life of the Sulṭān and nobles. Soon armed bands from the district of Sumaisāṭ and Malaṭya advanced in the direction of Siwās, Toḳāt and Amasia and put to flight the Turkish generals sent against them. The execution of the pious Bābā only increased the number of his followers because he was revered as a messenger of God. Only the summoning of troops stationed on the frontiers in Erzerūm, among whom were the Christian mercenaries, finally put a bloody finish to the rebels' activities. Cf. the report in Vincent de Beauvais, Book xxx. chap. 139, 140. Here the prophet is called Baba Rosoule (= Rasūl Allāh), in al-Maḳrīzī, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi*, transl. Blochet, Paris 1908, p. 474, Il-Bābā (*Il* is probably a wrong reading for the Arabic article or is for Ilyās, as the name Ilyās Bābā is also found). Cf. Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Ilk Mutaṣawwiflar*, p. 232. Scarcely was this danger passed when in 639 (1241) Baidju Noyon appeared with his Mongols before Erzerūm and took and plundered the city after heavy fighting with the frontier troops. The vizier Muhadhdhib al-Dīn and his Nā'ib Shams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī hastened to gather a large army, to hire Armenian and Aiyūbid mercenaries and to advance against the Mongols with them; but the incapacity and cowardice of the Turkish troops lost the battle at Kōsädagh (Muḥarram 6, 641 = June 26, 1243). Baidju thereupon marched on Siwās, which surrendered and was therefore spared, but Ḳaiṣariya was taken by force of arms, plundered and its inhabitants massacred. He then went into winter-quarters and the vizier succeeded in concluding a temporary peace, which, however, had still to be confirmed by the Great Khān. But as Ögedei died just then and the next *ḳuriltai* was not held till 1246 (see above, i. 682a), the Turks had a few years' peace and the able Shams al-Dīn used the opportunity to seek the intervention of Bātū Khān, on a ceremonious embassy with several other prominent Turks. He was entirely successful so that on his return he received the office of vizier rendered vacant by the death of Muhadhdhib al-Dīn. The good for nothing Sulṭān, who after the battle of Kösädagh, had been about to fly to the Greeks, again gathered some courage and in 1245 began a campaign against the Armenians, against whom he had a grievance because they had handed over to the Mongols his mother, who had taken refuge with their king, with her treasures. The objective of the campaign was Ṭarsūs on this occasion, but soon it had to be abandoned, because the rainy season began, after the land had been ravaged in fearful fashion. The Armenians by the treaty of peace bound themselves to pay tribute and to cede Bragana. When the leaders again appeared at the Sulṭān's court, the latter had died suddenly a week before.

Bibliography: See above under Kaikā'ūs; of particular importance are here Vincent de Beauvais and the historians of the Mongols.

Kaikhusraw III, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, b. Rukn al-Dīn Ḳilidj Arslān was proclaimed Sulṭān, immediately on the murder of his father, by the all powerful Parwāna Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaimān [q. v.], although he was still a minor. The events in Asia Minor during his reign will be better discussed in the article Seldjūḳs. After the execution of the Parwāna (676 = 1277) Kaikhusraw's reign was soon at an end, as his youth rendered him a mere tool in the hands of the Mongol rulers. His nephew Mas'ūd [q. v.], when he returned to Asia Minor after his father's death, was so successful in gaining the favour of the Great Khān Abāḳā [q. v.] that we have coins of his name as early as 681. The unfortunate Kaikhusraw, who was entirely in the power of the Mongol prince and claimant Ḳunḳuratai, became involved in the latter's fall and was put to death in 682 (1283) in Arzandjān by order of the Ilkhān Aḥmad.

KAI-ḲOBĀD, a mythical king of Persia, of the Kayānid dynasty. The *Avesta* knows his name in the form Kavi Kavāta, but nothing more of him; tradition only preserves of him the fact that he was grateful to the Yazatas for having made his empire glorious and for having re-established the legitimate line of kings of Irān. The only source to consult is the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. To defend Irānian soil against the inva-

sions of the Tūrānian Afrāsiyāb, the Sage Zāl, father of Rustam, after ripe reflection and consultation with the *mōbedh*'s decided on Kai-Ḳobād, who was living in the mountains of Alburdj (Hara-berezaiti) and sent his son to look for him. The latter found him in the midst of a banquet surrounded by boon companions; he greeted him, but already the new king had seen in a dream two white falcons place a golden tiara on his head and was thus informed of the coming of the embassy; the care which he had taken to make himself remote had not prevented destiny from putting the messenger on his track. Becoming commander of the Īrānian army, Rustam completely defeated Afrāsiyāb, who would have been made prisoner if the girdle by which he was being carried off had not broken. As a result of this victory, a peace was concluded which gave Persia its former frontier of the Oxus. Kai-Ḳobād spent his time in organizing the empire and traversing it, in founding cities and in lavishing riches on the heroes who had rebuilt the empire: Rustam, Kārin and others. He died at the end of a reign of a hundred years.

The *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh* (*Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. iii., xi. (1841), p. 320) which says that Kai-Ḳobād came from the mountains of Hamadhān, Alwand, and not from Alburdj, and Hamza al-Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 35) only mention his building cities, notably Ḳobādiyān on the Oxus, and the expansion of Iṣfahān. The *Bundihish* only gives fifteen years to the reign of this king instead of a hundred.

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(Cl. Huart.)

KAIḲOBĀD, the name of three Seldjūḳ Sulṭāns in Asia Minor.

Kaiḳobād I, 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ K. b. Kaikhusraw. How he had been taken prisoner in the reign of his brother has already been told under kaikā'ūs i. The death of this brother in 616 (1219) opened to him not only the gates of the fortress of Gudhurpert, where he was then interned, but also placed him on the Seldjūḳ throne. All the Turkish emīrs do not seem to have been quite agreed about this, as they declared for another brother, Kaiferīdūn, but Kaiḳobād succeeded in gaining possession of Ḳonya, the capital, and in soon afterwards rendering the malcontent emīrs harmless. He probably received valuable help from the Christian auxiliary troops, as Ibn Bībī relates that the Emīr Comnenus played an important part in these events. We know from the account in Vincent de Beauvais (Book xxx. ch. 144), which, however, refers to the reign of his successor, that the Greek emperors of Trebizond and Nicaea as well as the prince of Lampron had pledged themselves to place a number of troops — settled in a treaty — at the disposal of the Seldjūḳ. It is certain that this agreement was already in force in the reigns of Kaikhusraw I and Kaikā'ūs I, perhaps with the single limitation that it was not till the reign of the last named that this pledge held good for the Armenians also, and was renewed under Kaiḳobād. At the beginning of his reign the Armenian king Leon II died (1219) and his daughter Isabella married the son of the Catholic prince of Antioch, which aroused a great dispute among the Armenians, the result of which was that the discontented barons under the leadership of Constantine, prince of Lampron, captured the prince, poisoned him and married his widow to Haithum, the son of Constantine. A war with the prince of Antioch was thereby rendered inevitable; the Templars and Knights of St. John received orders from Rome not to take part in it so that Bohemund could not do much against the Armenians and, according to Ibn al-Athīr, had even to appeal for help to Kaiḳobād. In any case, the latter took advantage of the dissensions among the Christians by seizing several Armenian forts on the Mediterranean coast and elsewhere, including the castle of Galonoros (καλὸν ὄρος), Candelor or Scandalor, which he chose for his winter residence and made a considerable seaport by his buildings there, so that the place became called Alaya ('Alā'iya) after him. In these circumstances there was nothing left for the prince of Lampron on his side, but to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kaiḳobād and to support him with auxiliaries in his wars.

An attempt by Mas'ūd, the Ortuḳid of Āmid and Ḥiṣn Kaifā, who succeeded his father as lord of these towns in 619 (1222), to leave Kaiḳobād's name out of the *khuṭba* and to make an alliance with the neighbouring Aiyūbid princes, cost him the fortresses of Kiakhta and Čemishkezek. The troops sent to his assistance by al-Ashraf (see i., 222b) were scattered by the besieging army, but Kaiḳobād hastened to heap tokens of honour on the captured commander and to release him, because much depended for him on the friendship of the Aiyūbids. Indeed he even sought the hand of an Aiyūbid princess. His request was granted and the marriage took place a little later. In 622 (1225), the prince of Arzandjān, Bahrāmshāh, died after a sixty years' reign, as also did the Seldjūḳ of Erzerūm, Ṭughrilshāh. Kaiḳobād thought this a good opportunity to seize where possible the lands of these rulers. Dā'ūdshāh, Bahrāmshāh's successor, did his best to avert the danger by entering into alliances with Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh, with 'Alā' al-Dīn, Grand Master of the Assassins and with al-Ashraf, but in vain. Kaiḳobād forced him to cede his territory and he was equally successful with another member of the Mengüček family, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Muḥammad, who ruled over Coghonia (Shabīn Ḳaraḥiṣār). But before he could take Erzerūm too, he had to wage a difficult war with Djalāl al-Dīn, who was an ally of the prince of Erzerūm. After embassies had gone several times to and fro between the two rulers, Kaiḳobād made an alliance with al-Ashraf, who then fought with Djalāl al-Dīn for the possession of the town of Khilāṭ. As soon as the Khwārizmshāh heard of this, he endeavoured by a hurried march to anticipate the union of the two enemy forces, but in the battle of Arzandjān on Ramaḍān 28, 627 (Aug. 10, 1230, cf. *Actes du 10e Congrès internat. des Orientalistes*, iii. 19) he suffered a terrible defeat. The fate of the prince of Erze-

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zîm was thus decided at the same time; his territory was annexed by Kaiḳobād. A war with the Georgians in 629 (1232) was speedily concluded by a treaty of peace, in which the queen Rusudān agreed to the marriage of her daughter with Kaiḳobād's son Kaikhosrew. In the meanwhile the Mongols had again appeared in these regions; Djalāl al-Dīn had met his death and large bands of Khwārizmis were raiding up and down for their own hand. Kaiḳobād then decided to occupy the district of Khilāṭ, which al-Ashraf had received after the defeat of Djalāl al-Dīn but did not defend, and to take the roving bands of Khwārizmis into his service as mercenaries. This brought about a coalition of all the Aiyūbid princes under the leadership of al-Kāmil of Egypt against Kaiḳobād. Soon their troops were on the Asia Minor frontier but they did not succeed in forcing the passes to enter the land; in addition the Aiyūbid leaders soon began to quarrel among themselves. In the end they had to be content with defending the town of Kharthabirt against the advancing Turks. But the latter could not be kept back. Al-Muẓaffar, the Aiyūbid of Ḥamā, on whom the conduct of the defence fell, was captured along with the Ortuḳid ruling in Kharthabirt. The town henceforth (from 631 = 1234) belonged to the Seldjūḳs. Kaiḳobād next besieged and captured Ḥarrān, Edessa and Raḳḳa (632 = 1235) which, however, were soon lost again to the Aiyūbids. Āmid also was unsuccessfully besieged by him and when in 634 (1237) he was about to undertake a new campaign, he was poisoned in Ḳaiṣarīya, by order of his son Kaikhosraw, it is said, because Kaiḳobād had appointed as his successor not him, but a younger son, borne to him by the Aiyūbid princess.

During Kaiḳobād's vigorous reign the Seldjūḳ kingdom attained its greatest extent and highest prosperity, for Kaiḳobād was not only an indefatigable soldier but also undertook great building operations, the remains of which in Ḳonya, Sīwās, 'Alāya and elsewhere keep alive the memory of the great Sulṭān to this day. He busied himself in opening up his lands to commerce and in developing the natural wealth of the country; with this object he even undertook an expedition to the Crimea, no doubt at the wish of the Italians. As a result his kingdom was at that time considered the richest in the world.

Bibliography: See above under KAIKĀ'ŪS. Cf. also for the war with Djalāl al-Dīn: al-Nasawī, *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Mankobirtī* (Publ. *de l'École des Langues Or. Viv.*, Ser. iii., Vol. ix. x.), Arabic text and French transl. by Houdas; for the Banū Mengüček: v. Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscript. Arab.*, iii. 55 *sqq.*; Houtsma in *Keleti Szemle*, 1904, p. 277 *sqq*.

KAIḲOBĀD II, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN B. KAIKHOSRAW, reigned together with his two brothers, Kaikā'ūs and Ḳilidj Arslān, as was briefly described in the article KAIKĀ'ŪS II. Here we shall only refer to a coin described by Ghālib Edhem, *Taḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i Seldjūḳīya*, No. 113, which bears the date 663 and the name Kaiḳobād alone, although Kaiḳobād had died 8 years before.

KAIḲOBĀD III, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN K. B. FARĀMARZ B. KAIKĀ'ŪS was installed as Sulṭān by Ghāzān Khān in 697 (1298). Of his history practically nothing is known with certainty. His name still appears on a coin of 701, so that the statement in Munadjdjim Bashi that he was again deposed in 700, seems to be wrong. Cf. v. Berchem, *Matériaux*, iii. 42 note. But as there is also a coin of Mas'ūd with the date 700, both princes seem to have borne the title Sulṭān in this year. That on the other hand Kaiḳobād was Sulṭān as early as 685, as has been deduced from the diploma alleged to have been given by him to 'Othmān Ghāzī (Feridūn, *Munsha'āt*, i. 48—53) is certainly wrong, as is the calculation in Djannābī, which gives him a reign of 20 years, 3 months and 13 days.

KAIḲOBĀD, MU'IZZ AL-DĪN, king of Dihlī, was the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā, king of Bengal and second son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [v. BALBAN] of Dihlī. On the death of his eldest son, Muḥammad Khān, who was slain by the Mughals, Balban made his second son, Bughrā Khān, who was governor of Bengal, his heir, but the prince could not endure the restraint of his father's court, and was absent in Bengal when, in 1287, the throne became vacant, and the *amīrs* made his son, Kaiḳobād, king. Kaiḳobād, who was barely eighteen years of age at the time of his accession, had been most strictly educated by his grandfather, and signalised his sudden emancipation by unbridled licentiousness. He put to death his cousin, Kaikhosraw, son of Muḥammad Khān, and disgraced the minister, Khaṭīr al-Dīn, after whose degradation Niẓām al-Dīn, nephew and son-in-law of the *kotwāl* of Dihlī, became supreme in the state. Early in the reign a horde of Mughals, which had invaded India, was defeated; the prisoners taken were treated with great cruelty, and a large number of Mughals who had accepted Islām and settled in India were massacred.

In 1288 the king's father, Bughrā Khān, marched from Bengal with the object of asserting his superior claim to the throne of Dihlī, but was met by Kaiḳobād on the banks of the Ghāgra and changed his attitude. The meeting was affectionate on both sides and the father privately warned his son against his evil courses and against the ambition of Niẓām al-Dīn, and although these counsels effected no improvement in the young king's morals, they induced him to remove his minister by poison. Late in 1288 Kaiḳobād was struck down with paralysis, the result of his debauchery, and the kingdom was thrown into confusion. Malik Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Khaldjī, recently appointed governor of Baran, attempted to maintain order in the capital, but was suspected, with good reason, by the Turkish *amīrs*, who proclaimed Shams al-Dīn Kayūmarth, the infant son of Kaiḳobād. The strife of the two factions continued while the king lay helpless, but Fīrūz Khaldjī at length overcame his opponents and ascended the throne. The wretched Kaiḳobād was murdered in June, 1290, and his body was thrown into the Djamna.

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KAIL (A.), the most general term for measure. The word next has the special meaning of measure for dry goods such as grain and cereals of all kinds and finally (like *kafīz*) means

contents (or weight of the contents) of a definite measure of capacity. Another series of meanings is: measure, correct measure, tested, adjusted or official measure (or weight). In this meaning it is found on the Egyptian glass weights (e. g. *dirham kail*) and in the papyri as *kail al-dīmūs* (*μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ*) — a well known official measure for corn in general use for the levying of taxes, to be distinguished from *ḳanḳal*, which apparently means the varying, local measure.

Kaila is usual as meaning a definite measure, but we also find *kail* used, without any obvious differentiation, as a definite measure of capacity. The *kaila* is not part of the traditional system of capacity-measures of the Arabs (cf. *ḳafīz*) but like many other metrological terms in other languages has entered official language from the market-place. We therefore nowhere find the *kaila* definitely coordinated with the system of measures. In the reign of the Mongol Īl-Khān of Persia, Ghāzān Khān (694—703 = 1295—1304) we already find the attempt being made to make the *kaila* the standard measure of the corn trade. Rashīd al-Dīn tells us that this ruler proclaimed the *kaila* of Tabrīz as the official unit of capacity and fixed its weight at 2600 dirhams (8.87 kg. = 19 lbs.). The further regulation that special measures, whose contents were to correspond to the above mentioned weight for the kind of grain in question, were to be prepared for every kind of cereal (oats, wheat, rice, peas, beans, sesame, millet etc.) shows that then as now business was done by weight and not by measure. In the Turkish empire also the *kaila* was the official unit in the corn trade and the *kaila* of Stamboul (*lingua franca* = kilo of Constantinople) of about 35 l. ($7\frac{3}{4}$ gallons) was ordered to be the standard measure. But every centre of trade had (and frequently still has) a local *kaila* which often differs considerably from the normal. The same is true of the *kailadja*, dealt with below. (E. VON ZAMBAUR)

KAILADJA, a measure of capacity in local use and varying very much, whose size varies between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 l. (or kg. = $\frac{7}{8}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ pints). The term existed as early as the 3rd century A. H.

Bibliography (for the preceding article also): Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, in *Journ. As.*, Series 8, viii. (1886), 126 *sq.*; S. Lane Poole, *Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum*, N°. 47, 51; Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 31 and 72; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), *Glossarium*, p. CCXXXIV and CDLXII; Behrnauer, *Institutions de Police chez les Arabes* in the *Journ. As.*, Series 5, xvi. (1860), 131; al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 15. (E. v. ZAMBAUR)

ĶĀ'IM (A.), "standing upright", "perpendicular". Hence *ḳā'im-maḳām* "standing in place (of another)", "deputy"; *Ḳā'im al-Zamān* [q. v.]; *zāwiya ḳā'ima* "right angle". Also: "existing" for example in *ḳā'im bi-nafsihī* (or *bi-dhātihī*) "self-existent" (said of God). *Ḳā'im bi-* also means "executing anything"; hence *al-ḳā'im bi-amri'llāh* "He who executes God's command".

ĶĀ'IM-MAĶĀM (A.), "deputy"; pronounced and written *ḳaimaḳam* in Turkish, the name of a rank and office in Turkey. In the period before the *tanẓīmāt* reforms the word meant the officer (*rikāb ḳaimaḳāmi* or *āsitāne ḳaimaḳāmi*), temporarily commissioned to act as deputy at the court or in the capital in the absence of the Grand Vizier, the so-called *ḳaimaḳam pasha*. The case is an isolated one in which the Grand Vizier appointed an *ordu ḳaimaḳāmi* to represent him in the camp (Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, iv. 19); we also find *ḳaimaḳams* for the Ser'askers and the Ḳapudan Pasha (*Djezā'ir Ḳaimaḳāmi* for the *eyālet* of the Archipelago, which was under the Grand Admiral); for the regular representatives of the lower categories of officials the now obsolete term *yer* (e. g. *ḳāḍī yeri*) was used, for the judicial officials *nā'ib*.

In the reorganisation of the army and the provincial administration on the European model under Maḥmūd II and 'Abd al-Madjīd *ḳaimaḳam* became in the army the equivalent of Lieutenant-Colonel and in the civil service the name of the official entrusted with the administration of a district (*ḳaḍā*).

Bibliography: v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, ii. 96 *sq.*, 102 *sq.*, 286 *sq.*; Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *Lehdje-i ʿothmānī*, s. v. (wrong in Zenker, *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan*, s. v.). (J. H. MORDTMANN)

ĶĀ'IM AL-ZAMĀN (A.) i. e. "Lord of the Age", a Shīʿa term. The phrase includes the two theological meanings of "representative of God on earth" and "Deputy" of the Prophet. Among the earlier Shīʿīs for example the Imām is called "the *ḳā'im*", "our *ḳā'im*" or "the *ḳā'im* of his age", synonymous with *ḥudjdja* or *khalīfa*. The political application of the word brought in the meaning of "rebellious", current among all the seceding sects, e. g. also among the Khāridjīs. Through chiliasm the name is given to the Mahdī as "resurrected" from (apparent) death who is active in the "age" through the *naḳīb* and *dāʿī* until as *ḳā'im al-ḳiyāma* he brings about his kingdom and the judgment. Among the Imāmīs the twelfth Imām, and among the Ismāʿīlīs the seventh is therefore *ḳā'im al-zamān*. But the more the Imām becomes like to God in the subdivisions of the latter, the more he falls into the background and is only occasionally referred to as "the *ḳā'im*" simply, with reference to Sūra iii. 16, xiii. 33, while the name and powers are transferred to heads of sects, who are mostly not 'Alids. Gnostic speculation equates the *ḳā'im al-zamān* to the first emanation, e. g. among the Druses to the *intelligentia prima*, *ʿaḳl*, i. e. Ḥamza. The term is mystically amplified by the interpretations of the mysteries of the initial letter *ḳāf*, the symbol of the girdle of the world.

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AL-ḲĀʾIM BI-ʾAMRI ʾLLĀH, ABŪ DJAʿFAR ʿABD-ALLĀH, ʿAbbāsid Caliph. He is said to have been born in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 391 (Nov. 1001); his father was the Caliph al-Ḳādir [q. v.], who had homage paid to him as his successor shortly before his death; his mother was an Armenian or Greek slave. When he ascended the throne (Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 422 = Nov.–Dec. 1031), the Caliphate had almost entirely lost its secular power and anarchy reigned practically supreme in the capital. To make himself obeyed, he ordered in 426 (1034/35) that all judicial offices should temporarily suspend their activities, which was, however, entirely without success. In his reign ended the Būyid dynasty and their place was taken by the Seldjūḳs. On Ramaḍān 22, 447 (Dec. 15, 1055) the Seldjūḳ chief Ṭoghrul Beg was officially prayed for and on the 25th the latter entered Baghdād in state, nominally as vassal but in reality as master of the Caliph (see KHUSRAW FĪRŪZ), who soon afterwards in 449 (1058) granted him the Sultanate and the title of honour of "King of the East and of the West". In Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda of the following year (Dec. 1058) the Turkish general al-Basāsīrī [q. v.] took possession of the capital, while the Caliph took refuge with the ʿUḳailid Ḳuraish b. Badrān [q. v.], and on the 13th (Jan. 1, 1059) prayer was offered in Baghdād for the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir. Al-Ḳāʾim, however, was soon again recognized as Caliph (end of 451 = 1059/1060) and although he was only a tool in the hands of the Seldjūḳs, he was treated with respect both by Ṭoghrul Beg and his successors. He died in Shaʿbān 467 (April 1075).

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AL-ḲĀʾIM BI-AMR ALLĀH, ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, the second ruler of the Fāṭimid [q. v.] dynasty, born in 280 (893), succeeded his father ʿUbaid Allāh al-Mahdī in 322 (934) on the throne, assumed the praenomen Muḥammad and at his proclamation took the name of al-Ḳāʾim bi-Amr Allāh. His father had designated him his successor as early as 298 (911), when after the death of al-Shīʿī [q. v.] he thought his own rule sufficiently secure, and had had his (viz. the prince's) name mentioned in the Friday prayer; the prince commanded the army and conducted most of the campaigns while ʿUbaid Allāh was still on the throne; for his father had never placed himself at the head of his troops nor ever even taken a personal part in any of the numerous wars, but used to entrust his armies with their conduct and after failures, or on particularly difficult expeditions, he used to appoint his eldest son to the supreme command.

Of al-Ḳāʾim's campaigns, while heir-apparent, may be mentioned the conquest of Constantine and Tripolis as well as his efforts to conquer Egypt. He gained great successes especially in the second expedition against Egypt in 307—309 = 919—921. He had conquered Alexandria and Djīza (Gīza) and occupied the Faiyūm and Ushmunain. But disease, deficiencies in the supply of reinforcements and a strengthening of the ʿAbbāsid governors' troops on the other side and the defeat of his fleet at Rosetta forced him finally to withdraw. He had, however, consolidated Fāṭimid sway as far as Barḳa. In 316 (928) he developed the town of Masīla as his capital and called it al-Muḥammadiya.

When in 322 (934) he succeeded his father, he had at once to turn his attention to an impostor, who gave himself out to be the son of al-Mahdī. After defeating him without difficulty, he turned his attention westwards to secure his authority there. He then devoted himself to various expeditions, sent his fleet to the coast of France, where the crews plundered and took prisoners, to Genoa, which was captured for a short time, and to Calabria. In 323 (935) he sent an army of 10,000 to Egypt, which conquered Alexandria, but was soon afterwards defeated by Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīd, brother of the ʿAbbāsid governor. At home al-Ḳāʾim had to wage a continual struggle with rebellious tribes, his most redoubtable opponent being the rebel Abū Yazīd [q. v.]. After heavy fighting and many misfortunes, he succeeded in driving his opponent out of al-Mahdiya but soon afterwards in 334 (946) he was hard pressed at Sūsa with his army and finally surrounded. During the siege, he fell ill and died in a few weeks.

Al-Ḳāʾim was a fanatical champion of Fāṭimid doctrines. His reign was a period of ceaseless wars, which were waged in the fiercest and most barbarous fashion. Courage, ability and tenacity cannot be denied him. He laid sound foundations for the greatness of his successors. In this period of war-mania, it was impossible for him to attend to the works of peace. The *Bibliography* is found in Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Fatimid. Chalifen* (*Abh. der Kön. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxvi., xxvii., 1881) and above ii. p. 92a, at the end of the article FĀṬIMIDS and i. p. 114a, article ABŪ YAZĪD. (SOBERNHEIM)

KAIMAK. [See KIMĀḲ]

ḲĀʾIME (T. originally A.; cf. ḲĀʾIM), the name for paper-money in Turkey, an abbreviation for *Sehīm ḳāʾimesi* ("revenue bonds"); the word was originally used of drawings and documents which were written on large, long leaves in such a way that the lines ran parallel to the narrower side, as was the case with the first issues of Turkish paper-money; later the term *ewrāḳ naḳdiya* took its place.

The first *ḳāʾime* appeared in 1840 and were manuscript. They bore interest at the rate of 12½%, were to be accepted as money at the public banks and to be current throughout the kingdom. They were replaced in 1842 by printed notes of a primitive style; the smaller notes bore no interest; the rate of interest for the others was reduced to 6% and at the same time the

circulation of paper-money was limited to the capital and its vicinity. The total of this first issue was not to exceed 60,000,000 piastres; but in a very few years, as a result of the wretched condition of Turkish finances, it was swollen enormously and in 1862 calculated at approximately a milliard piastres. In this year, with the help of a foreign loan, the paper money was redeemed for 40% cash and 60% Turkish Consols (so-called *consolidés*) and made no longer legal tender.

In 1876 and 1877 the Porte found itself forced by the bankruptcy of the state and the outbreak of war with Russia to take refuge in paper-money for a second time. *Ḳā'ime* were issued for 1600 million piastres, which, however, depreciated in a very short time and at the beginning of the 80's of last century were called in along with the depreciated copper-money.

A third issue of a paper currency of a total value of 16,702,106,560 piastres dates from the world-war; it is still (1923) in circulation.

Bibliography: Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, i. (Paris 1851); Eichmann, *Die Reformen des Osmanischen Reiches* (Berlin 1858), p. 335 *sqq.*; [A. D. Mordtmann], *Stambul und das moderne Türkenthum* (Leipzig 1878), p. 182 *sqq.*; Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat* (Paris 1882), i. 72, ii. 258; Ch. Morawitz, *Die Türkei im Spiegel ihrer Finanzen* (Berlin 1903), *passim*; *Taḳwīm-i Waḳāyi'* [Turk. Gazette], Series i. year 1256 (1840/41), Nº. 206, 210, 213, 216; *The Near East*, Nº. 620 (of March 29, 1923), p. 328. — These books are in many points contradictory. The history of the *ḳā'ime* has still to be written. (J. H. MORDTMANN)

ḲAIN. [See ḲĀ'IN.]

AL-**ḲAIN** (s. DJASR), usually BANU 'L-ḲAIN or, with ellipsis of the syllable *nu*, BALḲAIN, nisba *Ḳainī*, an Arab tribe. The official Arabic genealogy gives as its true name al-Nu'mān b. Djasr (see Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, Tab. 2, 22; Ibn Duraid, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 317; *Tādj al-'Arūs*, s. v. *ḳyn*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. de Slane, Article *Waṯīma b. Mūsā*, about the middle; etc.); it therefore interpreted as originally a nickname — and probably rightly — al-Ḳain, which means, as a name, "smith", "metal worker", "swordmaker" etc. (cf. Aram. *ḳīnā*, *ḳainājā*, "smith") and is in a wider application applied to artisans generally (for the meaning "slave", which the native lexicons also give and which Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgesch.*, p. 152 uses for his deductions, I have no really certain reference). This might be derived from the Banu 'l-Ḳain having been at one time actually metalworkers, perhaps miners. Thus the Fārān b. Balī, who worked the celebrated Sulaim or Fārān mine were also called *Banu 'l-Ḳain*, "sons of the smiths" or *al-Ḳuyūn* "the smiths"; see Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 865 *sq.*; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 20 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen der Arab. Stämme*, in *Abh. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xiv. 28 (Nöldeke wrongly refers this passage, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xl. 181, note 6 to our Banu 'l-Ḳain); Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, § 410 and 28, and Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den Geneal. Tabellen*, p. 162. Our tribe, however, appears in the old poems and historical references to it to be in every respect a genuine Beduin tribe. The period of industrial activity of the Banu 'l-Ḳain would therefore have to be looked for in the very remote past (cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, § 420). Another explanation of the name Banu 'l-Ḳain seems to me to be not quite impossible. The names *al-Ḳain* and *Banu 'l-Ḳain* are used by the Beduin Arabs, who scorn every kind of manual labourer, as terms of contempt; cf. the glossary to the *Naḳā'iḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, under *Ḳain*, where Bevan gives about 60 references, all from the *Naḳā'iḍ*; al-Farazdaḳ himself appears here 18 times as "Ibn al-Ḳain" or "Ibn al-Ḳuyūn", and his family three times as "Banu 'l-Ḳain", cf. also Ḳais b. al-Khaṭīm, *Dīwān* (ed. Kowalski), Nr. 10, 22; Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān* (ed. Hirschfeld), Nr. cxxix, 4; *Ḥamāsa of al-Buḥturī* (ed. Cheikho), Nr. 1333, 3 and Ṭirimmāḥ, *Dīwān* (ed. Krenkow, still going through the press), Nº. 19, 3. It is therefore imaginable at least that in our case also, we have an original term of abuse, which has remained attached to the tribe.

The Banu 'l-Ḳain formed a branch of the great system of tribes of the Ḳuḍā'a, who, in origin probably South Arabian, were settled in the historical period in the upper north, in Syria, in Mesopotamia and in the 'Irāḳ and to all appearance had gone over entirely or at least for the most part to Christianity there (see Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1305, ii. 58, etc.). That the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and following it the *Lisān al-'Arab* and the *Tādj al-'Arūs* under *ḳyn* and the scholion to al-Ḥarīrī, Maḳāmāt², p. 90 include them in the Banū Asad, is probably due simply to carelessness, to a confusion of Asad, who in the Arab genealogical scheme appears as the great-grandfather of our al-Ḳain (cf. again Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, Tab. 2) with the eponymous hero of the great Muḍarī tribe of the Banū Asad. As foolish as it is isolated is the statement that they had belonged to the Tamīm (*Tādj al-'Arūs*, *loc. cit.*). Their tribal area — corresponding roughly to Arabia Petraea — extended from the Sinai Peninsula along the Syrian frontiers far into the land east of Jordan (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, p. 371, where all is not quite correct; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, § 420 *sq.*; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, ii. 232, iii. 345, 352; Nöldeke, *Über die Amalekiter u. einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israeliten*, in Benfey's *Orient u. Occident*, ii. 635; al-Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, i. 131 *sq.* = Sprenger, *op. cit.*, § 32; 'Urwa b. al-Ward, ed. Nöldeke, p. 32 = *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, i. 228, Schol.; *Aghānī*¹, xiv. 124; al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Kit. al-Buldān*, in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, vii. 326; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 459, iv. 413; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen, p. 373; Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre des Propheten Moḥammad*, iii. 295; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi 'l-Ta'rīkh* (ed. Tornberg), vi. 87 *sq.*, and the maps in Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert*, in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxiii. 559, and in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 2, at the end of the volume. They can hardly be considered a pure stock (in Ibn Isḥāḳ they are often called "Mustaʿriba" along with all sorts of neighbouring tribes, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1611 and 2347).

History. In the poetry and tales of the

"battles of the Arabs" and of other events in olden times the Banu 'l-Ḳain appear in typical Beduin feuds with the tribes of Kalb (*Hamdānī, loc. cit.*, p. 77; Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, iii. 241; Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*, i. 370; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, III/ii. 27 *sq.* = Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii. 224 = Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii. 45 = Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre des Propheten Moḥammad*, i. 401, also Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iv. 49), Bahrāʾ (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 283 = Ibn al-Faḳīh, *al-Buldān*, in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, v. 182 *sq.*), Ghassān (Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 121, where *bbny 'l-ḳyn bn* should be read for *ybny 'lḳbryn*), Ghaṭafān (*Aghānī*[1], ii. 194), etc. At Muʾta, on the Yarmūk (Hieromax) and perhaps also at Fiḥl, they fought in alliance with other Ḳuḍāʿa tribes and the Lakhm and Djudhām under the banner of the Byzantines, whose authority was recognised more or less by all the Arab tribes camped along the frontiers of Syria (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 792; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1611, 2347; (Pseudo-) Abū Ismāʿīl al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ al-Shaʾm*, ed. Lees, i. 97, 114; Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, iii. 212; Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre*, iii. 292, note 2; Caetani, *op. cit.*, II/i. 83, III/i. 206 etc.). In al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1872 Saif b. ʿOmar says that the wave of apostacy which swept over almost all Arabia on the death of the Prophet, also affected the Banu 'l-Ḳain (cf. Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, iii. 345, 352 and Caetani, *op. cit.*, II/i. 583, 585). From this statement it might be deduced that our tribe had become subject to the state of Medīna while the Prophet was still alive; but it does not appear to me to be quite credible. In the civil war between Marwān I and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair we naturally find the Banu 'l-Ḳain as South Arabians on the side of the former (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 478; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*, in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, viii. 308, etc.) and on the occasion of the rising of Bahlūl b. Bishr Kathāra in 119 = 737 we again find them in the pay of the Umaiyads (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1623 *sq.*, and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi 'l-Taʾrīkh*, v. 156). They again played a very important part in the Damascus troubles of 176 (792) in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in which they and Ḳaisīs (Nizārīs) fought against the other Yemenīs (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 87 *sq.*). They then disappear from our knowledge.

According to Nashwān's *Shams al-ʿUlūm* Luḳmān was a slave of al-Ḳain b. Djasr al-Ḳuḍāʿī (see *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-ʿUlūm*, ed. by ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, p. 95).

The best known member of the tribe is the poet Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳainī, who flourished about 600 A. D. (see Guidi, *Tables alphab. du Kitāb al-Aghānī*, p. 417; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa 'l-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 229 *sq.*; Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 317; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, Būlāḳ 1299, i. 18 and *Hamāsa*, *loc. cit.*, p. 558; — wrongly in Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, Tab. 2, 24 and *Register*, p. 441, who has misunderstood the passage in the *Ḥamāsa*).

H. Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. 337) has with all reserve connected the Old Testament Ḳayin (= Ḳain) or Ḳēnites (Ḳenī, Ḳ(ê)nîm) with our Ḳain. Nöldeke has followed him, at first only as a possible hypothesis but later with more confidence (*Über die Amalekiter*, *op. cit.*, p. 634 *sq.*, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* xl. 181 and in Cheyne and Black's *Encycl. Biblica*, i. 130. The Ḳēnites were settled in the south of Palestine in the ancient Negeb, the later Idumaea; this would actually be the region where we find the Balḳain. Besides, the Ḳēnites were obviously nomads like the Balḳain (Stade, *Zeitschr. für d. Alttest. Wiss.*, xiv. 287 and Sayce, *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, p. 91 *sq.*, and do. in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Kenites* recognise in them from the name — see above — a tribe of smiths; but they fail to give their readers any proof that they were such in historical times. Stade's identification, following Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 305, of the Ḳēnites with Cain, the brother of Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 285 *sqq.*, which Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 395 *sqq.*, Procksch, *Die Völker Altpalästinas*, Vol. i, part 2 of *Das Land der Bibel*, p. 37 etc. have adopted, I consider, with Nöldeke, *Encycl. Bibl.*, *loc. cit.*, very problematic). But the two coincidences mentioned do not seem sufficient yet to justify us in identifying the Ḳēnites with the Balḳain. The Ḳēnites disappear from literature with the Exile (with the exception of the Rēkhābites, whose inclusion in the Ḳayin is, however, not absolutely certain). They may nevertheless have continued to exist. But that so small a clan, which never appears as completely autonomous in the Old Testament should have continued to exist for a millenium after the Exile and at the end of this period still possess considerable strength and prosperity, — even as the result of incorporating other tribes — I consider a very daring assumption. The name Ḳain besides was obviously not at all a rare one (see Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den Geneal. Tabellen*, p. 371, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 362, also Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung d. thamud. Inschriften*, p. 45). Cf. thereon Ed. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

Bibliography (besides the works already mentioned): al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh* (ed. de Goeje), *Aghānī* and Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), see the indices thereon, Ed. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums*, p. 115 *sq.*, and Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, s. v. *Kain*.

(A. FISCHER)

ḲAINUḲĀʿ (BANŪ), one of the three Jewish tribes of Yathrib. The name differs from the usual forms of Arabic proper names but at the same time has nothing Hebrew about its type. Nothing certain is known regarding their immigration into Yathrib. They possessed no land there but lived by trading. That their personal names known to us are for the most part Arabic says as little regarding their origin as the occurrence of Biblical names among them. But there seem to be no valid reasons for doubting their Jewish origin.

In Yathrib they lived in the south-west part of the town, near the *Muṣallā* and close to the bridge over the Wādī Buṭhān, where they occupied two of the castles (*āṭām*), characteristic of Yathrib. They practised the goldsmith's art among other trades; al-Bukhārī (*Farḍ al-Khums*, Bāb i.) incidentally mentions a goldsmith of the Ḳainuḳāʿ. On their expulsion they left behind them arms and tools, which were divided among the Muslims after Muḥammad had received his fifth share. The number of their fully equipped fighting men varies in the references to it between 400 and 750.

After the dominating power in the old Yathrib had passed from the Jews to the Banū Kaila the Kainuḳāʿ were in alliance with the Khazradj [q. v.]. In Muḥammad's settlement of the relations of believers and other sections of the community they are not mentioned by the name of their tribe any more than the Naḍīr [q. v.] and Ḳuraiẓa [q. v.] but are described as "Jews of the Nadjdjār, Ḥārith, Sāʿida and Djusham" (articles 26—29) i. e. as allies of different subdivisions of the Khazradj.

After the battle of Badr (Ramaḍān 2 H. = March 624) Muḥammad's relations with the Jews of Medina became troubled. The Jews as a body had adopted an unfriendly attitude to the Prophet. From the religious point of view therefore they became inconvenient; and from the political side, as a powerful foreign body within the just converted town, they were a great danger. When Muḥammad felt his position strengthened by the battle of Badr, the idea of expelling his enemies must soon have entered his head. The Ḳainuḳāʿ, as they lived in the city itself, were those he wished to be rid of first. With this description of the situation, his attack on the Ḳainuḳāʿ (in all probability as early as Shawwāl 2 H. = April 624) is sufficiently explained. What the Muslim writers give as special reasons for the attack has hardly more than anecdotal value. Sometimes it is said to have been a jest that a Muslim made to a Jewish woman, sometimes the Ḳainuḳāʿ are said to have behaved with particular arrogance. Sūra iii. 10 *sqq.* and viii. 60 *sqq.* are said to refer to these incidents. Sūra iii. 11 refers to the victory at Badr as an example and warning, and viii. 60 speaks of vengeance against people, from whom treachery is *feared*.

After a fourteen days' siege, the Kainuḳāʿ surrendered without striking a blow; the men were bound and seemed to have to fear the worst. The energetic intervention of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, chief of the Khazradj and leader of the Munāfiḳūn, however, effected an amelioration of their lot. They departed first to the Jewish colonies in the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā, north of Medina, and from there they went to Adhriʿāt in Syria.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 383 *sqq.*, 545 *sqq.*; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. v. Kremer, p. 177 *sqq.* (= abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen entitled *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 92 *sqq.*); al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1359 *sqq.*; al-Diyārbekrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs* (Cairo 1283), p. 408 *sqq.*; al-Ḥalabī, *Sīra* (Cairo 1292), ii. 273 *sqq.*; the European biographies of Muḥammad; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 520 *sqq.*; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina* (Leiden 1908), p. 39, 146—151; B. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds* (Berlin 1910), p. 60 *sqq.*; Müller, *Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. p. 96—119.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-ḲAIRAWĀN (French Kairouan) a town in Tunisia, 112 miles south of Tunis and 40 west of Susa to which it is joined by a railway; it lies in 35° 40′ N. Lat. and 10° 2′ E. Long. (Greenwich). The population in 1910 was 22,000 including 800 foreigners of whom 300 were French.

Kairwan lies 250 feet above sea-level in the middle of a great plain traversed by the Wādī Zerūd and the Wādī Merguellil, which ultimately disappear in sebkhas or salt lakes. These rivers are subject to sudden floods, which sometimes transform the environs of the town into a lake extending up to the foot of the walls. When the rains have been sufficiently abundant, the soil yields a rich harvest; al-Bakrī mentions that in the western part called "Faḥṣ al-Darrāra", the grain sown is sometimes returned a hundredfold. But usually the ground, lacking trees or herbaceous vegetation, and covered with salt efflorescence, gives the country a desert appearance. The temperature shows considerable variations (24.8° in winter and 120.2° in summer). The rainfall is not heavy (14.5 inches per annum) and therefore running waters and springs are scarce, so that the inhabitants have to use cisterns to collect their drinking-water.

Kairwan really consists of two towns, the city proper surrounded by a battlemented wall of brick, flanked with buttresses and round towers as well as a ḳaṣba, 3350 yards round, and secondly a vast faubourg stretching to N. and N. W., the faubourg of the Zlas (Djlāṣ) so called from the popular name of the tribe occupying the neighbouring country. To the south finally there has grown up a little European quarter. The interior of the town is a network of narrow and tortuous streets. Commerce and industry are fairly busy, although Kairwan has lost much of its economic importance. The principal industries, which, it may be added, are of the nature of home-industries, are the manufacture of carpets, which occupies a thousand looms and that of woollen blankets. The working of leather (saddle-making, shoe-making) for which the artisans of Kairwan were at one time very famous, and that of copper, are still followed by several hundred workers. The importance of Kairwan in the past is particularly shown by the number of religious edifices to be seen in it. The principal is the great mosque of Sidi ʿOḳba, one of the largest buildings in North Africa, the foundation of which dates back to that of the city itself. Among the others may be mentioned the Mosque of Sidi Ṣāḥib (vulgo Ṣaḥab, Mosque of the Barber) dating from the first century A. H., but rebuilt and extended in the xviith century A. D., the mosque of the Three Gates (Djāmiʿ Tlāta Bībān), contemporary with the preceding, the Madrasa Sīdī ʿAbd al-Gharyānī (xvith cent. A. D.) and the Mosque of the Sabres (Djāmiʿ ʿAmar ʿAbbāda), finished in 1871. The oldest mosques, for the building of which were used materials from Hadrumetum (Sūsa) and even from Carthage, show an interesting mixture of Byzantine and Oriental influences. The latter are clearly seen in the decorative motifs (faïences, woodwork) analogous to those of ʿIrāḳ and Baghdād. The more recent buildings show examples, sometimes remarkable, of wooden ceilings in compartments, arabesques cut in plaster showing Hispano-Moorish inspiration. We may add that the buildings of the xviith and xviiith centuries often reveal the intervention of European architects and workmen, especially Italians.

History. The foundation of Kairwan dates from the Arab conquest. The town was in fact built by ʿOḳba b. Nāfiʿ in 50 (670) to give his troops a base of operations and depot for supplies and also to keep in awe the Berber tribes. "I intend", the historian al-Nuwairī makes him say, "to build a town which can serve as a depot of arms (*Ḳairawān*) for Islām to the end of time" (al-Nuwairī in Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl.

de Slane, i. 327). Kairwan was built on — or very near — the site of a small Roman town called Ḳamūdah or Ḳamūnia, the materials of which were used by the Arabs. The site of the new town, two days' journey from the shore, had been chosen to put the Muslim out of danger from an attack by the Byzantines, who still held the towns on the coast. 'Oḳba first of all built a mosque, the palace of the government, then houses for his soldiers as well as a wall 2750 yards long. Legend was not long in embellishing this foundation with marvellous tales. The site of Kairwan was, it was related, covered with impenetrable thickets inhabited by deer and reptiles which disappeared at 'Oḳba's command. A vision revealed to the conqueror the exact position of the *ḳibla* and of the *miḥrāb* of the mosque, and the existence of a spring indispensable for the inhabitants, etc. The buildings were hardly completed when 'Oḳba was disgraced and called back to the East (55 = 675). His successor Dīnār Abu 'l-Muhādjir hastened to destroy Kairwan and built a new town called Takrouna or Takrūn two miles to the North. Restored to the favour of the Caliph and sent back to Africa, 'Oḳba rebuilt Kairwan on the original site.

Kairwan was henceforth the capital of Muslim Africa and the residence of the Arab governors, but during the century which followed the death of 'Oḳba it had to submit to numerous vicissitudes. After the rising of Kusaila it was occupied by the Berbers and remained for four years in their power (64—68 = 684—688). During the Khāridjī rising it was taken and pillaged by the Wafardjūma (139 = 756—757), who committed such excesses there that the population scattered over the surrounding country. At the end of fourteen months, the Ibāḍī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [q. v.], chief of the Huwāra [q. v.], drove out the Wafardjūma and entrusted the government of the town to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam [q. v.] (141 = 758/9). In 145 = 762/3) Ibn Ash'ath was victorious over the Khāridjīs and re-established the seat of the government at Kairwan. He endeavoured to repair the damage done by the Berbers, and to protect the town from a new attack he surrounded it with a wall of brick, 12 cubits thick. These precautions did not, however, prevent the Ibāḍī tribes under the command of Abū Ḥātim [q. v.] from laying siege to Kairwan (154 = 771) in which the governor 'Omar b. Ḥafṣ, who had escaped from Ṭobna, was shut up. After the death of 'Omar, who had been killed during the siege, his successor Djamīl (or Ḥamīd) b. Ṣakr capitulated and opened the gates to the enemy. There were, however, no massacres. The inhabitants were allowed to go freely and the victor was content to demolish the fortifications. The Khāridjī occupation was of short duration. By 155 = 772, Yazīd b. Ḥātim, victorious over the heretics, had taken Kairwan again. He rebuilt the great mosque, had bazaars built for each trade-guild and earned the title of second founder of the city (al-Nuwairī).

Under the Aghlabids (800—909 A. D.) Kairwan underwent considerable expansion and reached the zenith of its prosperity. The princes of the dynasty vied with each other in enriching the town with rich monuments and multiplied the works of public utility. Ziyādat Allāh I and Ibrāhīm built waterworks and cisterns to secure the town's supply of drinking water, for the reservoirs built for the purpose in the time of the Caliph Hishām had become insufficient. "The largest and most useful of these reservoirs", says al-Bakrī, "is circular in form and of enormous size. In the centre rises an octagonal tower covered by a pavilion with four doors. A long series of arcades of arches resting one upon the other ends on the south side of this reservoir". These waterworks have not completely disappeared and one of the reservoirs restored by French engineers is still called the "reservoir of the Aghlabids". The great mosque was rebuilt from top to bottom. The primitive edifice built by 'Oḳba had already been destroyed by Ḥasan b. al-Nu'mān [q. v.] who had rebuilt it and adorned it with pillars of marble which, without doubt, came from the ruins of Carthage. Soon becoming too small, the mosque was again enlarged in 105 = 723/724, then entirely rebuilt with the exception of the *miḥrāb* in the time of Yazīd b. Ḥātim (155 = 772). Ziyādat Allāh I in his time had the whole building taken down including the *miḥrāb*, which was enclosed between two walls so as to be preserved without being seen except through a narrow grill, and replaced it by the present mosque. According to al-Bakrī, 80,000 *mithḳāls* (about £ 320,000) were expended on this work. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad completed the work of Ziyādat Allāh; he lengthened the principal building and built above the nave abutting on the *miḥrāb* a cupola called Ḳubbat Bāb al-Bahw (the cupola of the gate of the pavilion). 220 cubits long, 150 broad, divided into 17 naves by 414 columns, the great mosque could rival the most famous monuments of the East. Other religious buildings restored in the same period also claimed the attention of visitors, like the Mosque of the Three Gates, the Mosque of Sīdī Ṣaḥāb (Mosque of the Barber), the Mosque of the Anṣār, which according to the legend was built even before the arrival of 'Oḳba by one of the companions of the Prophet, Ruwaifi' b. Thābit, and the Mosque of Ismā'īl b. 'Obaid al-Anṣārī.

Outside the town rose the royal residences, Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm and al-Raḳḳāda. Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm, also called al-'Abbāsiya, was built in 184 = 800, 3 miles S. E. of Kairwan by Ibrāhīm b. Aghlab, who settled there under the protection of his negro guard and made it the seat of government. It is the "Castle of the Moat", where were received the ambassadors of Charlemagne. Around the palace there grew up a town provided with baths, caravanserais and bazaars and surrounded by a wall with five gates. Al-Bakrī mentions in it a mosque flanked by a cylindrical minaret surmounted with seven tiers of columns. Some distance off was another castle called al-Ruṣāfa. Al-Raḳḳāda, four miles S. W. was a creation of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad (263 = 876/877). This prince built here in a place celebrated for the purity of its air, a castle around which grew up an important town with bazaars and baths. It measured 24,000 cubits in circumference but enclosed large areas filled with parks and gardens.

A venerated sanctuary and capital of a powerful state, Kairwan was also a great commercial city. The shops of the merchants stood on either side of a covered street about two miles in length. It was also a city of learning where the study of Mālikī law was particularly honoured. Celebrated professors like Asad b. al-Furāt [q. v.], Ibn Rashīd

and Saḥnūn had numerous pupils there. The teaching of medicine was equally flourishing. The Jew Isḥāḳ b. Imrān, physician to Ziyādat Allāh II and his pupil Isḥāḳ b. Sulaimān founded a regular school there.

This prosperity did not end with the Aghlabid dynasty; it continued under the Fāṭimids and the early Zīrids, although the Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh, after living some time at Raḳḳāda, had moved the seat of government to al-Mahdiya. The town suffered a great deal, however, from the revolt of Abū Yazīd [q. v.], "the man with the ass." The Nekkāris captured it in 333 = 944 and pillaged it in spite of the appeals of the notables and scholars who had come to implore the clemency of the conqueror. But in 334 = 946, the Caliph Ismā'īl retook Kairwan and after having defeated the Khāridjis built some distance away the town of Ṣabra to which he gave the name of al-Manṣūriya, in memory of his victory over Abū Yazīd, and in which he established his residence (337 = 948). His successor al-Mu'izz moved to al-Manṣūriya the bazaars and factories of Kairwan to the great dissatisfaction of the inhabitants. The new town was surrounded by a wall with five gates of which the principal, Bāb al-Futūḥ (gate of conquest) was used by the sovereign when he took the field at the head of his army. The town of Raḳḳāda on the other hand abandoned by its inhabitants and half destroyed by the Nekkāris was razed to the ground. The gardens alone were spared. During all this period Kairwan and al-Manṣūriya still had a very active economic life. The manufacture of carpets, of woollen and cotton goods flourished there. Cultivated land and orchards extended round the town. The wealth of the inhabitants is evidenced by the fact that the agents of the Fāṭimids were able to exact from them 400,000 dinars on a single occasion. According to al-Bakrī the taxes levied each day at one of the gates of al-Manṣūriya amounted to 26,000 dirhems (about £ 600). The people of Kairwan, however, complained of the tyranny of the Fāṭimids and the bulk of them remained attached to orthodoxy. Their hostility showed itself in serious bloodsheds under the earlier Zīrids. In 407 (1017—18) 3,000 Shī'is were massacred in a rising and the town of al-Manṣūriya was pillaged by the populace. Al-Mu'izz's break with the Fāṭimids was therefore received with enthusiasm by the people of Kairwan.

This act of rebellion let loose on Ifrīḳiya the Hilālī invasion of which Kairwan very soon felt the disastrous results. After the defeat of Haiderān, al-Mu'izz ordered his soldiers to evacuate the town; they sacked it first of all and he withdrew to al-Manṣūriya. He then rebuilt the walls of Kairwan on a length of 22,000 cubits and joined Kairwan to al-Manṣūriya by two walls half a mile apart (444 = 1052). In spite of these precautions the attacks of the Hilālis became more and more serious. Kairwan was abandoned by a part of the population and in 449 = 1057, al-Mu'izz decided to evacuate al-Manṣūriya and retire to al-Mahdiya. The Arabs then entered the town and wrought the most frightful havoc. "They destroyed all the beauty and all the splendour of the monuments of Kairwan. Nothing that the Ṣanhādjī princes had left in their palaces escaped the greed of the brigands. All that there was in the town was carried off or destroyed." (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 37). The inhabitants were scattered in all directions, "some went to Egypt, others to Sicily and Spain; a considerable body to Fās." ('Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'djib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Dozy², p. 259).

The capital of Ifrīḳiya never recovered from this disaster. Pillaged again in 1060 by the Hawāra, its possession disputed between the Zīrids and the governor, the Ḳā'id Ibn Maimūn, who tried to set up in it for his own benefit an independent principality with the support of the Hammādids, Kairwan remained under the domination of the Arabs and defenceless against the exactions of the nomads. "The latter levy contributions on every thing; the inhabitants are few in number, their trade and industries in a miserable condition" (al-Idrīsī, transl. de Goeje, p. 129). Stayed for a time in the reign of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who restored the town in part, its decline continued its rapid course under his successors and under the Ḥafṣids as a result of the continued troubles of which Ifrīḳiya was the theatre. At the end of the xivth century A. D. the town was almost deserted; its only inhabitants were the peasants who sought shelter there. It was gradually repopulated, but it was still very wretched at the beginning of the xvith century A. D. "The inhabitants", writes Leo Africanus who visited Kairwan in 922 (1516), "are at present all poor artisans, of whom some are curriers of the skins of sheep and goats, the others furriers whose handiwork is sold in the cities of Numidia, where no European cloth is to be had. But of all these trades there is not one, which is able to make a good livelihood and those who follow them live a miserable existence and are in very great poverty." Ill-treated by the rulers of Tunis, the people of Kairwan were in an almost continual state of revolt. They even definitely threw off the authority of the Ḥafṣids when the latter had accepted the Spanish protectorate after the capture of Tunis by Charles V in 1535 and recognised as chief the Marabout Sīdī 'Arfa of the tribe of Shabbiya. In spite of the help of the Spaniards Mulāy Ḥasan could not dispose of this pretender, who was supported by the Arab tribes and the Turks of the corsair Dragut. His successor Aḥmad Sulṭān was no more fortunate.

Under Turkish rule Kairwan felt the repercussion of all the troubles of the xviith century A. D. In 1701 the Bey Murād, to punish a rising of the inhabitants, destroyed the walls and the houses and only left the mosques and zāwiyas standing. On the other hand Ḥusain b. 'Alī, founder of the Ḥusainid dynasty made great efforts to raise Kairwan from its ruins. He reconstructed the fortified wall round it and restored over fifty mosques, according to the author of the chronicle *al-Mashra' al-Mulkī* (French transl. by V. Serres and Muḥammad Lasram, Tunis 1900). He had a "bardo" there, where he used to stay while his troops were going through the Djerīd to collect the taxes. The inhabitants showed their gratitude to the Bey by supporting him vigorously against his nephew 'Alī Pasha, who could only capture Kairwan, where Ḥusain had taken refuge after a five years' siege (1735—1740). The town was once more razed by the victor, but it was rebuilt and, according to Desfontaines, was in 1784 "the largest town of the kingdom next to Tunis and even better built and less filthy than it".

Trade and industry were quite busy there and the people were exempt from taxes in return for the fidelity of their ancestors to the Bey Ḥusain. Kairwan had also preserved its character as a place of sanctity and the inhabitants were very hostile to Christians. Very few Europeans, among whom were Peyssonnel, Shaw and Desfontaines had been able to visit the town. The fanaticism of the inhabitants persisted down to the end of the xixth century. After the signing of the treaty of Bardo (1881) which placed Tunisia under the protectorate of France, Kairwan was one of the centres of native resistance. To put an end to this, three columns under the supreme command of General Saussier set out from Tebessa, Tunis and Susa and united before the walls of the town. It was occupied without fighting on October 29, 1881.

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ḲAIS, a little island in the Persian Gulf, in that part of it which the mediaeval Arab geographers call the "sea of 'Omān", in 54° E. Long. (Greenw.) and 26° 30' N. Lat. Ḳais, which next to Ḳishm [q. v.] may now very well be considered the most important of the Persian islands of the Gulf, is about 10 miles long and five broad; it is separated from the mainland by a strait about 12 miles wide, which affords a very secure passage. Apart from a few rocky places, the island is quite flat; it is better cultivated than most of the islands of the Persian Gulf. The mediaeval Arab and Persian geographers make special mention of its prosperous condition, noting particularly its wealth in trees (mainly date-palms) and refer to the cultivated fields, gardens and cisterns. Besides agriculture, navigation and trade, the then fairly numerous population of the island was also engaged in the pearl-fishery; for the latter see the remarks in Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Yāḳūt, al-Dimashḳī, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*op. cit.*).

The name Ḳais is an arabicised form of the Persian Kīs or Kīsh (the form Kās is also found; see al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*). In the Portuguese and Dutch authors of the xvith and xviith centuries we find forms like QUIXI, QUEIS, CAEZ or QUECHE, QAS, GUESS etc.; cf. Vincent and Tomaschek, *op. cit.* Kenn (Khenn) is also sometimes given as the name of this island, e. g. by Vincent, Kinneir, Morier (*op. cit.*, p. 31), Ouseley, Kempthorne, Ritter and Tomaschek, and in *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, N°. xxiv. 20, 596. But it is, however, doubtful, whether the existence of some such second name for Ḳais, which we know mainly from English sources (see on the other hand Schlīāfī, *op. cit.*, p. 150), can be maintained. Could Kenn, the Khain of Ibn Khurdādhbeh (p. 62, 1), be the earlier name of another island near Ḳais, perhaps of the island of Farur (east of Ḳais)? See Schwarz, *Iran*, etc., p. 87. The circumstance that an Arab prince named Ḳais b. 'Umaira took possession of the island of Kīsh — it was henceforth occasionally called Djazīrat Ḳais b. 'Umaira or Banī 'Umaira, see Yāḳūt, i. 503, 2, ii. 711, 8 — may have effected the arabicisation of the old name. The latter itself does not, however, date only from the Arab chief just mentioned, as Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, thinks, but goes back into the pre-Muhammadan period, for we find Kīsh already mentioned in the Sasanian period, as one of the seven bishoprics of the Nestorian ecclesiastical province of Persis; for this reference to Kīsh about the middle of the sixth century in Syriac literature, see Guidi in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xliii. 413; Chabot, *Synodicon orientale* (Paris 1902), p. 680; Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in der Persis* (= *Abh. der Preuss. Akad.*, 1919, N°. 1), p. 58.

Historical. In classical literature the island is only twice mentioned: in Arrian's *Indica* (37, 8) under the form Kataia and in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi. 110) as Aphrodisias; cf. Vincent, *op. cit.*, Ritter, viii. 774; xii. 458 and Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, i. 2727 (s. v. Aphrodisias, N°. 7) and x. 2462 (Kataia). Perhaps we have in Kataia or Kat the prototype of Ḳāsh (Kīsh).

In the Muḥammadan period, Ḳais formed a part of the province of Ardashīr Khurra in Fārs. It was only in the later middle ages that the town attained greater importance, when, as already mentioned, a prince of South Arabian origin captured it, built a fort there and gradually began to extend his power. After the capture of Sīrāf, which then enjoyed great prosperity as the main staple of the Persian-Indian-Chinese trade, the Arab dynasty of Ḳais rose under the last Būyids in the first half of the vth (xith) century to unlimited control of the whole Persian Gulf. This Sīrāf, which was previously often regarded wrongly as a town on the coast near the island of Ḳais — actually confused with Ḳais by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 244, 2)) — lay much farther to the north; the ruins of this famous commercial

centre are near the village of Ṭāhirī (north of Rās Nāband, in 27° 40′ N. Lat. and 52° 20′ E. Long. Greenwich; cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 59 *sq.* and the article SĪRĀF). Sīrāf gradually became more and more deserted under the suzerainty of the princes of Ḳais, as they diverted the very considerable trade and shipping from the captured Persian seaport to their own island. They also extended their power to several other districts of the mainland opposite the island of Ḳais. Their predecessors in the occupation of this strip of land had been a South Arabian tribe, the Banū 'Umāra; cf. on their territory, the so-called Sīf 'Umāra (the 'Umāra-coast), Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 77 *sq.*, 76. In the little town of Huzū there, a little dynasty of a family of the Banū 'Umāra, of whom coins still survive, ruled before the coming of the ruling house of Ḳais; cf. v. Bergmann in the *Numism. Zeitschr.* (Vienna), viii. 38—39 and Tiesenhausen in the *Rev. Numism. Belge*, 1875, p. 337; Huzū (probably the modern Čīrū) and Sāwiya (reading uncertain, probably the modern Tāwūnah), both almost opposite Ḳais (in the N. W. or N. E. of it), were the most important ports of the island-rulers on the mainland. On Huzū and Sāwiya see Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, p. 141; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, text p. 120, transl. p. 118; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 257. A caravan route from Shīrāz ended in Huzū, the more important of these two towns; cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, p. 185, 10, 186, 9. The same author (p. 171, 19, 184, 5, 186, 11 *sq.*) also gives the routes and distances from Ḳais to Baṣra, to Sulṭāniya and to the islands of Serendīb (Ceylon) via Hormūz. Most of the smaller islands near Ḳais likewise became subject to the rulers of the latter, for example Djāsak (probably the modern Lārek in the strait of Hormūz), where, according to Yāḳūt ii. 9, 7, the "king" of Ḳais maintained a garrison celebrated for its seamanship; see also DJĀSAK, i. 1025. At its period of greatest power, the dynasty of Ḳais also ruled over the opposite coast on the Arabian side (district of 'Omān), wherefore they are called by Yāḳūt and al-Dimashḳī "the lords of 'Omān".

The journey of the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela falls within the period of Ḳais's prosperity (second half of the twelfth century). He notes with admiration the rich market of the island, whose chief business consisted in the exchange of Indian and Persian manufactures and produce; see the edition of the itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela by Grünhut (transl. Jerusalem 1903), p. 77 *sq.* The Jewish traveller wrongly gives the island, which he calls Kish, much too large an area; but there can be no doubt that he refers not to Ḳishm (so Grünhut, *op. cit.*, and Asher in his edition, ii. 175 *sq.*), but to our Ḳais. Benjamin of Tudela says that there were 500 Jewish families settled on the island. There must, of course, have also been a number of Persians living there. The bulk of the inhabitants, however, in the middle ages (as it is still the case to-day) were not Persians but Arabs, who were the chief settlers on most of the islands on the Persian side of the Gulf. The Venetian Marco Polo (*Travels*, Book i. Chap. 7, iii. Chap. 44) of the second half of the xiiith century knows Ḳais under the name Kisi (in Ital. orthography: Chisi) as a place of call for ships sailing from Babylon to India.

The decline of Ḳais was caused by the commercial rise of the little kingdom of Hormūz [q. v.], also under an Arab dynasty. Even under the Saldjūḳ prince Malik Dīnār of Kermān (582—591 = 1186—1194) the ruler of Ḳais of that time had vainly endeavoured to get Hormūz on the mainland from the latter in return for a yearly tribute; see Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Tawārīkh Āl Saldjūḳ*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1886, p. 160, 5 *sq.*; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxxix. 395). Further information on the relations of Ḳais with Hormūz is given in the *Relaciones* (1610) of the Portuguese Teixeira; the book contains from a Persian source a fairly full history of the kingdom of Hormūz; see W. F. Sinclair, *The Travels of P. Teixeira*, (= Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, vol. ix., London 1902), p. 161 *sq.*, 169 *sq.*, 183 *sq.*, 259 *sq.* and cf. Schwarz in the *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxviii. 531 *sq.* and HORMŪZ, ii. 325 *sq.* According to Teixeira (*op. cit.*, lxviii. 534; cf. Ritter, viii. 777) about 700 (1300) the then king of Hormūz obtained from Na'aim of Ḳais by purchase the island of Djarūn which lay opposite his capital. A few years later, he moved his residence to this island, which offered more protection; cf. above i. 694 *sq.*, ii. 325 *sq.*). This New-Hormūz, thanks to its favourable position near the narrowest part of the Gulf, soon began to compete vigorously with the rulers of Ḳais and attracted more and more of the trade with India to itself. This led to long wars and feuds between the two kingdoms, which fill a great part of their history. For a time Ḳais was actually under Hormūz. In the end Ḳais completely lost its previous dominating position as the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf. Hormūz now took its place and from the tenth century to its capture by Shāh 'Abbās I in 1622 formed a great centre of international commerce. Its place was in turn taken by Bender 'Abbās [q. v.], which had to give pride of place to Būshir [q. v.] after the middle of the xviiith century; the latter is now the most important trading port on the Persian Gulf. In the later middle ages the commercial centre of gravity within the Persian Gulf thus gradually shifted from north to south (Sīrāf-Ḳais-Hormūz) and returned in modern times to the north, although less adapted by nature. We know little of the later history of Ḳais. When the islanders became dissatisfied with their rulers, they finally called in the help of the governor of Shīrāz and as a result of his intervention Ḳais became permanently incorporated in Persia. According to Schläfli, who spent 14 days on the island in 1862, there are 8 little settlements on it; he estimated the number of the inhabitants (Arabs and 1/10 Suaheli negro-slaves) at 2500—3000.

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Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (ed. le Strange), p. 136, 11 sqq., 234, 4, 7 sq.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti), ii. 244, 4 (thereon ii. 456, note), iv. 168, 9; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-latinum*, ii. 935; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 257; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen* (Leipzig 1896 sqq.), p. 88 sq.; W. Vincent, *Voyage of Nearchus*, (London, 1797), p. 334—339; *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*[3], transl. by Yule-Cordier (London 1903), i. 63, 64 note, 84, ii. 340, 452; *Cornelis Cornelisz. Roobacker's Scheepsjournaal Gamron-Basra (1645)*, ed. by A. Hotz in the *Tijdschr. v. h. Kon. Nederl. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, second Ser., xxiv. (1907), 318 sqq., 357 sq., 382 sq.; I. N. Kinneir, *A Geogr. Memoir of the Persian Empire* (London 1813), p. 17; J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia* etc. (London 1818), p. 31, 33 sq.; W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, i. (London 1819), p. 167—173; Kempthorne in the *Journ. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, v. (1835), 281 and id. in the *Transact. of the Bombay Geograph. Soc.*, new series, vol. xii. (Bombay 1856), p. 115; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 773—777, x. 276, xii. 378, 391, 458 sq.; *Geographi Graeci Minores* (ed. Müller), i. (Paris 1854), p. 360; *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, N⁰. xxiv. new series (Bombay 1856), p. 20 sq., 45—48, 596 sq. (with maps); A. Schläfli, *Reisen in den Orient* (Winterthur 1864), p. 149 sq.; W. Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant* (Leipzig 1885/6), i. 164 sq., ii. 133 sq.; Tomaschek, *Küstenfahrt Nearchs* in the *Sitz.-Ber. der Wiener Akad.*, cxxxi. phil.-hist. Cl., Abh. 8 (1890), p. 52 sq. (M. STRECK)

AL-ḲAIS, apparently an ancient Arab idol. He must have early disappeared as a deity, for Hishām b. al-Kalbī does not mention him in his *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* and he is not given in the various passages in Arabic literature that give lists of the gods of the Djāhiliya. But that he was at one time worshipped as a god may be deduced with considerable certainty from the tribal name ʿAbd al-Ḳais [q. v.] and from the well-known personal and tribal name Imruʾ al-Ḳais [q. v.; cf. the Arabic names Imruʾ Manāt, Αμριμαναθος and Μαρααλλας in Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], p. 5 sq. and אמראלהי (= *Imraʾallāhi*) and אמראיגות (= *Imraʾ Yaghūth*) in Lidzbarski, *Handb. der nordsemit. Epigraphik*, i. 500, as well as the Hebrew Merī-Baʿal 1. Chron., ix. 40[b] and ʿAshbaʿal (Septuaginta, Luc., and also Cod. Sin. Ισβααλ, = ʾIsh-Bōsheth) 1. Chron., viii. 33, ix. 39]; further from statements like the following: "and it has been asserted that al-Ḳais was the name of an idol, which explains the name ʿAbd al-Ḳais", *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, i. 85, schol., and "others have thought that al-Ḳais was the name of an idol and for this reason al-Aṣmaʿī (in verse 14 of the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳais) has rejected the reading "*ya-mīra'a 'l-Ḳaisi fa-nzili*", and has preferred "*ya-mra'a 'l-ḳāli fa-nzili*", ʿĀṣim b. Aiyūb al-Baṭalyūsī, *Sharḥ Dīwān Imri'i 'l-Ḳais*, Cairo 1308, p. 5, and further from the name of the god קישה, קישא in the Nabataean inscription of al-Ḥidjr, which can hardly be other than an Aramaic adaptation of al-Ḳais (cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 363; Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, p. 104; Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xl. 167; Baethgen, *Beitr. zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 108, etc.). From the Nabataean inscription *Corp. Inscript. Semit.*, N⁰. 209, 9 (= Euting, *Nabat. Inschriften aus Arabien*, N⁰. 12, 9) it would seem that the deity possessed a sanctuary in al-Ḥidjr, in which copies of documents used to be deposited; nothing else is known about his character or the area of his cult. The appellative meaning of *Ḳais* is obscure; according to the native dictionaries, it means: "misfortune", "need", "famine", "membrum virile" and "proud gait". But none of these meanings is suitable as the name of a deity, quite apart from the fact that I cannot find a single one actually occurring in literature. De Goeje has deduced the meaning "Lord" from al-Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, i. 3, 9 and perhaps p. 221, 14 (see W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, London 1894, p. 170, note 4, German transl. by R. Stübe, p. 132, note 219). "Lord" would, of course, be a good name for a deity, almost too good! But in view of the poor condition of the manuscripts available for D. H. Müller's edition of the *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, and the problematic character in any case of the two passages in al-Hamdānī, this meaning can at best only be said to be a possible one.

As to the connection between al-Ḳais and the frequent personal and not uncommon tribal name Ḳais (see Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den Geneal. Tabellen der arab. Stämme u. Familien*; the indices to Ibn Duraid, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii./ii and vi., *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan; Guidi, *Tables alphabét. du Kitāb al-Aghānī*, s. v., etc., and note also the Nabataean personal name קישי, Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 363 and Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 104), as well as the personal name ʿAbd Ḳais (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, Indices, s. v.; Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 138, 275; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 30; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii. 137; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i. 987) no definite statement can be made. But at any rate we should not, as has always been done hitherto, overlook the fact that Ḳais always has the article (which the Nabat. קישא, קישה also shows) in the nevertheless in all probability theophoric form Imruʾ al-Ḳais as well as in the tribal name ʿAbd al-Ḳais, while in the personal and tribal name Ḳais and in the personal name ʿAbd Ḳais it is as regularly found without the article. (That the poet ʿAbd Ḳais b. Khufāf, *Aghānī*[1], ix. 165, *Ḥamāsa*, *loc. cit.*, p. 352 and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ii. 206 appears as ʿAbd al-Ḳais b. Khufāf may be due to an error; see *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, Nr. cxvi. sq., ed. Cairo, ii. 85 sq. and *Aghānī*, vii. 148, 152 sq.). I would consider Ḳais, as opposed to the god's name al-Ḳais, as a simple personal name. Wellhausen sees in it the god's name before which the concept ʿAbd has disappeared (*op. cit.*, p. 8). But he does not tell us why in this contraction the article of the name of the god should also have been dropped. W. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*[2], p. 259) had practically anticipated Wellhausen.

Halévy (*Essai sur les inscriptions du Safa*, in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 1882, p. 321), Wellhausen (*loc. cit.*, p. 67) and Gottheil (*On* קושיר *and* קישי, *Journ. of Bibl. Literature*, xvii. 200) have identified our deity with the Edomite god Ḳaus, Ḳōs, Ḳauah or Ḳōsh (on the latter see especially Schrader,

Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 3rd edition, revised by Zimmern and Winckler, p. 472 *sq.* and W. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 31). I consider the identity of the two to be exceedingly improbable. The comparisons of Ķais with another Edomite god, the Κοζε of Josephus, are, of course, utterly untenable (Κοζε = Arab. Ķuzah, see Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 67, 81 *sq.*; Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xli. 714; Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. 121, note 1; Gottheil, *op. cit.*, p. 201, etc. and cf. Thamud. and Nabat. קוס, Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der thamudenischen Inschriften*, in *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1904, i. 46; Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 362; Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 104), as well as the identification with the Nabataean קיס (on this cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 364; Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 105), with the Semitic deity (Ζεὺς) Κάσιος (on this see Dressler, in W. Roscher's *Ausführl. Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, Col. 970 *sqq.*) and with אלקשי Nahum, i. 1 (De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques*, p. 105; H. Derenbourg, *Le poète antéislamique Imruʾu ʾl-Ķais et le dieu arabe al-Ķais*, in *Biblioth. de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses*, Vol. vii.: *Études de critique et d'histoire*, 2nd Series, p. 122; Gottheil, *loc. cit.*, p. 201 *sq.*, etc.). On the other hand the name Ķais perhaps appears in קיש (Septuag. Κις) 1. Sam., ix. 1, 3 etc. and the appellative *Ķais* in קישי (Septuag., Cod. Vat. Κεισαι, Cod. Alex. Κεισαι) 1. Chron., vi. 29 = קושיהו (to be read קישיהו; Septuag., Cod. Vat. Κεισαιου, Cod. Alex. and Luc. Κεισαιου) 1. Chron., xv. 17.

Bibliography (in addition to the works already mentioned): E. Osiander, *Studien über die vorislâmische Religion der Araber*, in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vii. 500 *sq.*; Nöldeke, Notes of W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Ibid., xl. 166 *sq.* and Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina. Das ist Vakidi's Kitab al-Maghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, p. 212, note 1.

(A. FISCHER)

ĶAIS-ʿAILĀN (*Ķaisu ʿAilāna*), one of the largest and most powerful tribal groups of northern Arabia in ancient times.

Name. For Ķais ʿAilān we often find also Ķais b. ʿAilān, most frequently *Ķais* alone (in the poetry occasionally also simply ʿAilān, see *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, iii. Index iii. s. v.; the "Kaisites" are naturally called al-Ķaisiyūn, but as an ethnic-political group more usually al-Ķaisiya, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, ii. 66, 180, 777, 1614, 1663, etc.; the nisba to Ķais-ʿAilān or Ķais b. ʿAilān is, however, ʿAilānī, see al-Samʿānī *al-Ansāb*, p. 404b and Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299, ii. 128 *sq.*). All three forms occur in prose as well as poetry, the middle one, Ķais b. ʿAilān, remarkably rarely in poetry (Ķais-ʿAilān in poetry: *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, p. 160, 659; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, i. 117, 362 *sq.*, 370, 375, 390; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 486; *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *ʿyl*, etc.; Ķais b. ʿAilān: Zuhair, *Dīwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, iii. 36, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, i. 373, Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *al-Luzūmiyāt*, Cairo 1891, i. 47 and also *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *ʿyl*; Ķais: ʿAntara, *Dīwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, xxiv. 3, Append. xxi. 5; al-Nābigha, *Dīwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, Append. liii. 1; Zuhair, *op. cit.*, ix. 17; *Ḥamāsa*, *ed. cit.*, 200, 302, 318, 657—660; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, i. 374, 376 *sq.*, ii. 902, 1041; *Aghānī*[1], xvii. 106, etc.). We never find before any of the three forms the word *Banū* ("sons") (wrongly in the indices to Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi ʾl-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Tornberg, to Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, ii. 1422 and vi. 145, and even to al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, etc.). What we are to understand by ʿAilān, is difficult to conceive. Those who use the form Ķais b. ʿAilān — these are primarily the genealogists (see *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *ʿyl* and *ḳys*) — see in him naturally, at least the great majority of them (see below), the father of Ķais and they further explain that he was the son of Muḍar and therefore brother of al-Yās (Khindif) b. Muḍar. According to them his real name is al-Nās (which, according to Ibn Duraid, *Kit. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 162 comes from al-Nās; according to al-Wazīr al-Maghribī in the *Tādj al-ʿArūs* s. v. *ḳys*, al-Nās would be the only correct form), so that ʿAilān would be his epithet (Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 162; *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *ḳys*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1305, ii. 51; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh al-Bashar*, partly ed. by Fleischer as *Historia anteislamica*, p. 194; Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen der arab. Stämme u. Familien*, I; Caetani, *op. cit.*, I. Introd., § 49; also al-Samʿānī, *op. cit.*; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, i. 260; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa ʾl-Ishrāf*, in *Bibl. Geogr. arab.*, ed. de Goeje, viii. 208; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 908; Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, ii. 130; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii. 449; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i. 192, etc.). But this view is contradicted directly by Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, ii. 305 and indirectly by many others — practically by all who say Ķais ʿAilān and these are, as we have said, the majority —; according to them ʿAilān disappears as a separate member in the genealogical table; Ķais ʿAilān is identical with al-Nās or al-Nās (Ķais ʿAilān here also is said to be only an epithet, al-Nās(s) on the other hand the proper name) and is son of Muḍar and brother of al-Yās. At the same time they explain the genitive ʿAilān in the most different ways: as the name of a famous horse of Ķais (by calling him after this horse, an endeavour has been made to distinguish our Ķais from Ķais b. al-Ghawth of Badjīla, who also possessed a celebrated horse called Kuhba and who was similarly called Ķais-Kuhba, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *ḳys* and *ʿyl*, and Ibn Khallikān, *loc. cit.*), or as the name of a dog or of a bow, which were in his possession; or as the name of a slave or of some other man who had brought him up (in an isolated case in the form of the name Ķais b. ʿAilān, the word ʿAilān is regarded as the name of such a slave, see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *op. cit.*, i. 67, ii. 449; cf. the exactly analogous interpretation of the tribal name Saʿd (b.) Hudhaim in Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51, Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 319, *Ḳāmūs* and *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *hdhm*, etc.), or as the name of a mountain, where he is said to have been born or lastly, — and most stupidly as no notice is taken of genitive relationship in the form *Ķaisu ʿAilāna* — as an otherwise quite unknown adjective, interpreted as qualifying Ķais with the meaning "needy, dependent" (see also Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*; *Ṣiḥāḥ*, *Lisān al-ʿArab* and *Ḳāmūs*, s. v. *ḳys* and *ʿyl*; al-Samʿānī, *op. cit.*; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *op. cit.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *op. cit.*, and

Ḥamāsa, *op. cit.*, i. 124; Reiske, *Primae lineae historiae regnorum arabicorum*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Tables v. and viii. on p. 136; Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre des Propheten Moḥammad*, iii. p. cxxxix, etc.). Only very rarely do we find the statement that ʿAilān was an epithet of Muḍar (*Ṣiḥāḥ* and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s. v. ʿyl) and most strange is the assertion twice made by Ibn Ḳutaiba (*op. cit.*, p. 31 and 38) and hardly reconcilable with his other statements, that Ḳais ʿAilān is identical with Ḳamaʿa b. al-Yās b. Muḍar.

These confused statements seem to one to be nothing but guesses. I should like to think myself that Ḳais ʿAilān is the real name of our confederation of tribes and that it was the genealogists who first made Ḳais b. ʿAilān out of it. As Arab tradition obviously knows absolutely nothing of a tribe or group of tribes called ʿAilān, I should further like to assume — of course with all reserve — that the combination *Ḳaisu ʿAilāna* is not to be interpreted on the model of *Taghlibu Wāʾilin*, "the Taghlib of the tribal group of Wāʾil", *Taimu ʾl-Ribābi*, "the Taim of the al-Ribāb confederacy"; *ʿAdiyu ʾl-Ribābi*, "the ʿAdī of the al-Ribāb confederacy", *Djarmu Ḳuḍāʿata*, "the Djarm of the Ḳuḍāʿa confederation of tribes", "*Wāʾilu Bāhilata*, the Wāʾil of the Bāhila group of tribes", also *Aʿshā Banī Ḳaisin*, "the Aʿshā of the Banū Ḳais", *Aʿshā Bāhilata*, "Aʿshā of Bāhila", etc., (see e. g. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, iii. Ind. iii. s. vv.), but on the model of *Ḳaisu Kubbata*, "Ḳais, the owner of the horse Kubba" (see above; the name is everywhere so explained), *Rabīʿatu ʾl-Farasi*, "Rabīʿa with the horse", *Anmāru ʾl-Shāti*, "Anmār with the sheep", *Rabīʿatu ʾl-Djūʿ*, "Hunger-Rabīʿa", *Zaidu ʾl-Khaili*, "horses-Zaid", etc. (see e. g. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, iii. Ind. iii. and also *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. vv.). What we are to understand, however, in this case by ʿAilān, whether, with the native explanations quoted, a horse or a dog or something of the kind is quite uncertain. According to the native dictionaries (I cannot quote an actual reference in literature) ʿAilān as a noun means a "male hyena". As a name, it is not found elsewhere, according to the native lexicons and according to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *op. cit.*, i. 67 (see, however, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. ʿyl). — The Arab genealogists may have simply invented the name *al-Nās* (see above) as a counterpart to al-Yās.

Branches of the confederation: Ḳais (ʿAilān) and Khindif (according to the genealogical legend, the wife of al-Yās) comprise together the whole of Muḍar (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *op. cit.*, p. 31, al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1298, 1929, al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 324, al-Bakrī, *al-Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 56, Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, i. 463, Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305, Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, i. 192, etc.). Between the two groups there were very ancient points of dispute (see e. g. al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 56 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen der arab. Stämme*, from vol. xiv. of the *Abhdlg. d. Götting. Ges. d. Wiss.*, p. 81). To Ḳais-ʿAilān were reckoned the following large tribes or more accurate tribal groups: Ghaṭafān [q. v.], with ʿAbs [q. v.], Dhubyān (q. v.; the two main branches of the Dhubyān are Fazāra, q. v. and Murra, q. v.) and Ashdjaʿ-Hawāzin [q. v.], with Thaḳīf [q. v.], in whom many saw descendents of Thamūd [q. v.] (see e. g. *Aghānī*[1], iv. 76), ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [q. v.], Kilāb (q. v.; from them descended the dynasty of Mirdāsids of Aleppo, q. v.), Kulaib, Ḳushair, ʿUḳail (q. v.; this is the tribe of the ʿUḳailid dynasty of Mosul), Hilāl [q. v.] and Djusham — Sulaim [q. v.] — Bāhila [q. v.] — ʿAdwān — Ghanī [q. v.], etc. (On the branches of the Ḳais ʿAilān see especially Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 162 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *op. cit.*, p. 38 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305 *sqq.*; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *op. cit.*, p. 194 *sqq.*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 51; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, Tab. D *sqq.* and Reiske, *op. cit.*, Tab. viii. *sq.* on p. 136.)

Distribution. The Ḳais ʿAilān, according to legend, were originally settled in the low lying parts of the Tihāma (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 57 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. Arab. Stämme*, p. 81 = Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, i. 463 *sq.*). Somewhere about the time of Muḥammad they spread, in keeping with the large number of their subdivisions over vast areas of central and northern Arabia; we find them (still?) in the Tihāma (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305), then again S. E. and N. E. of Mecca (the Thaḳīf here owned the valuable town of Ṭāʾif and the Sulaim, Hilāl and ʿUḳail all sorts of famous mines; see e. g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *al-Buldān*, in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii. 316, 312), in the region of Medina (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305 *sqq.*, 312), in other parts of the Ḥidjāz (al-Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, i. 50; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 60 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Sitze und Wanderungen*, etc. p. 84), in the ʿĀliya (Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 688, 697; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, v. 53), throughout the highlands of Nadjd (al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 209; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *al-Buldān*, p. 312), in the Yamāma, where they occupied the important Faladj (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 60 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Sitze u. Wanderungen* etc., p. 84; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 238, iii. 908; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 312 *sq.*; Wüstenfeld, *Baḥrein u. Jemāma*, from the *Abhdlg. der Götting. Ges. d. Wiss.*, xix. 40; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, s. v. Kaʿb ben Rabīʿa), in Baḥrain (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1988) and as far as in the ʿIrāḳ and therewith the former kingdom of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, v. 63; Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muḥammeds an die Stämme Arabiens*, reprint from the *Mitteilg. d. Seminars f. Orient. Sprachen zu Berlin*, xix./ii. 38); see also Blau, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxiii. 583 and the map on p. 559, Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, i. 192 and Caetani, *op. cit.*, ii. the map on p. 576.

The great Arab campaigns of conquest which began with the rise of the Caliphate and the tremendous political revolutions produced by them in Western Asia and North Africa brought the Ḳais-ʿAilān like most Arab tribes out of their ancient dwelling-places. To all appearance, however, several branches of them had emigrated northwards even before Islām. At any rate we find them later, partly even under the earlier Caliphs, throughout Syria: at Ḥalab, in the region of Ḥimṣ, in Damascus and the Ghūṭa, in the Ḥawrān with its capital Boṣrā, in Bathaniya with its capital Adhriʿāt, in the Djawlān with its capital Bāniyās, in the Balḳāʾ and in Palestine (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 451; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 312; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass and Kratchkovsky, p. 183; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 325 *sq.*, 329; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, v. 331; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 744 etc.), in N. W. Mesopotamia, in the large

district called after them Diyār Muḍar [q. v.], with the important towns of Ḳarḳīsiyā' (Circesium), al-Raḥba, ʿArābān, al-Khānūḳa, al-Raḳḳa, Bālis (Barbalissus), Ḥarrān (Carrhae), Djisr Manbidj, Sarūdj, Tell Mawzan, Sumaisāṭ (Samosata), etc. (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, in the *Bibl. Geogr. arab.* ii. 155; al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 178 = Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iv. 391; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 72 = Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iii. 373; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1891; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 310; Caetani, *Studi di Storia orientale*, i. 271 and Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, i. 192), in the ʿIrāḳ, where they also formed an apparently large fraction of the population of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 451; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 310; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 2986, 3454, ii. 777; *Aghānī*[1], iii. 52; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*, in *Bibl. Geogr. arab.*, v. 170; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iv. 116, v. 59), in Baḥrain (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vii. 341; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 313) and even near Iṣbahān (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 275).

In the time of Ibn Khaldūn (xivth cent.) only remnants of the once so powerful group of tribes of the Ḳais ʿAilān were still settled in Central Arabia: considerable bodies of them had settled in different parts of North Africa, ʿAdwānī tribes for example in Ifrīḳiya, Sulaimīs there also and in the far west, near Fes (according to Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, x. 401, — whether rightly or not is another question — ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the founder of the Almohad dynasty traced his descent from the Sulaim), Fazārīs and Rawāḥīs in Barḳa, other Dhubyānīs in Barḳa, in Tripolis and in Fezzān, Ashdjaʿīs in the marches of Algeria and Morocco, Hilālīs in Ifrīḳiya and at Bône and Constantine, Djushamīs in Morocco etc. (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305 *sqq.*

History. The history proper of most Arabian Beduin tribes begins for us with their ("battle) -days" (see AIYĀM AL-ʿARAB). So it is with the Ḳais-ʿAilān. Their feuds were particularly numerous, which is not remarkable in so large a group with its multitudinous ramifications. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi discusses them in the first place in his account of the Aiyām al-ʿArab in the *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* (iii. 47—93). He describes in this place the following entirely or essentially civil Ḳaisī battles (cf. Reiske, *op. cit.*, 204—252, following al-Nuwairī, who on this matter is dependent entirely on Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi): the Yawm Manʿidj (Manʿadj), also called Yawm al-Radha, between Ghanawīs and ʿAbsīs), the Yawm al-Nafrāwāt (between ʿĀmirīs and ʿAbsīs), the Yawm Baṭn ʿAḳīl (between Dhubyānīs and ʿĀmirīs), the Yawm Shiʿb Djabala (between ʿĀmir, ʿAbs, Ghanī, Bāhila and Badjīla on one side and Tamīm, Dhubyān, Asad, Lakhm and Kinda on the other), the endless war of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrāʾ (between ʿAbs and Dhubyān), with the "days" of Dhu 'l-Muraiḳib, Dhū Ḥusā, al-Yaʿmariya, (Djafr) al-Habāʾa, al-Furūḳ, Ḳaṭan and Ghadīr Ḳalyād(?), the Yawm al-Raḳam (or al-Raḳm, between Ghaṭafān and ʿĀmir), the Yawm al-Nutāʾa (al-Baṭhāʾa?), between ʿAbs and ʿĀmir), the first and second Yawm Ḥawra (between Sulaim and Ghaṭafān), the Yawm ʿAdaniya (other Milḥān, between Sulaim and Ghaṭafān), the Yawm al-Liwā (between Ghaṭafān and Hawāzin) and the Yawm al-Salʿāʾ (between Hawāzin and Ghaṭafān). Also the following encounters between Ḳaisīs and Non-Ḳaisīs: the Yawm Raḥraḥān (between ʿĀmir and Tamīm), the Yawm Dhāt al-Athl (between Sulaim and Tamīm), the Yawm al-Kadīd (between Sulaim and Kināna), the Yawm Burza (or Buzza?, do.), the Yawm al-Ḳifāʾ (do.), the Yawm al-Suʾbān (between ʿĀmir and Tamīm), the Yawm Aḳrun (between ʿAbs and Banū Dārim), the Yawm al-Marrūt (between Banu 'l-ʿAnbar and Banū Ḳushair and the Yawm Dārat Maʾsal (between Tamīm and Ḳais). Al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i. 261 also mentions as Ḳaisī the "days" of al-Baidāʾ, Faif al-Rīḥ (between Khathʿam and ʿĀmir), al-Milbaṭ and al-ʿUrrā. Cf. also the section in Ibn al-Athīr on "the 'days' of the Arabs in the pagan period" (*op. cit.*, i. 367—517), pp. 411 *sqq.*, 435 *sqq.*, 420 *sqq.*, 482 *sqq.*, 478 *sq.*, 473 *sqq.*, in the chapter which al-Maidānī in his *Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl* has devoted to the "names of the days of the Arabs" (Chap. 29), nos. 76, 12, 11, 66, 96, 122, 30, 53, 22, 55 and *Naḳāʾiḍ*, iii. Ind. iv. under the separate place-names. Within the scope of this article at least, no attempt can be made to give these wars and feuds in more accurate historical and chronological sequence. Indeed, speaking generally we may say that it is a difficult, indeed for the most part an insoluble task, to get at the historical basis of the essentially legendary traditions of the Aiyām al-ʿArab, — which we may call the epic of the Arabs. The most important and therefore also the most celebrated in poetry of the above-mentioned "days" is certainly that of Shiʿb Djabala (see DJABALA, also DHUBYĀN and also Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 583, *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, ii. transl., p. 251 and especially *Naḳāʾiḍ*, iii. Ind. iv., s. v. *Djabalatu*). Of the encounters in the Dāḥis wa 'l-Ghabrāʾ war [see GHAṬAFĀN, ʿABS and DHUBYĀN], the most celebrated is that of al-Habāʾa. It need not surprise us to find that the Ḳaisī tribes, as we see from the above, were also continually quarrelling with one another. The individual members of the great tribal confederacies never thought of maintaining peace as a principle within the limits of their group. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi and al-Nuwairī really ought also to have described the al-Fidjār battles as Ḳaisī, as in them the Hawāzin, who were Ḳaisī, with the Thaḳīf at their head formed one of the two contending parties (see FIDJĀR and HAWĀZIN, also Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, i. 439 *sqq.*, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iv. 120, 153. al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*, p. 208 *sq.*, al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, i. 288, 293, Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Mekka*, Vol. iv. of the *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, p. 51 *sqq.*, Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i. 148, Caetani, *Annali*, Introd., § 140. Huart, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 92, etc. The question at issue in this was really the endeavours of the Hawāzin to deprive the Kināna of Mecca and the Kaʿba (cf. *Aghānī*, xiii. 3 *sq.*).

Like the other great central Arabian Beduin tribes the Ḳais-ʿAilān belonged to the short-lived empire of the Kinda (q. v. and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 140; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, i. 376. 406; Reiske, *op. cit.*, 98; Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*, ii. 287; *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, *op. cit.*, transl., p. 250). Otherwise the only thing regarding the pre-Muhammadan history of the Ḳais-ʿAilān handed down to us is the statement that they had worshipped Sirius (?, Pococke, *Specimen hist. Arabum*, p. 4; Caussin de Perceval, *op. cit.*,

i. 349; Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislam. Araber*, p. 24), and that the ʿAdwān had owned the *ifāḍa*, i. e. the management of the course run between ʿArafāt and al-Muzdalifa in the Meccan Ḥadjdj ceremonies [see ḤADJDJ II, 198] (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 77 *sq.*, al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1134, Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305, etc.).

The Ḳais-ʿAilān were, of course, thoroughly antagonistic to Muḥammad at first. The Ghaṭafān and Sulaim [q. v.] especially proved very unpleasant neighbours to Medina in the first seven years after the Hidjra. But a clan of the Ghaṭafān, the Ashdjaʿ, who dwelled N. E. of Medina, considered it advisable as early as 627, after the "Battle of the Ditch" to conclude with Muḥammad a — purely political — treaty of alliance (Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muḥammads an die Stämme Arabiens*, p. 8 *sq.*) and the vastly more powerful Sulaim along with a number of Ashdjaʿīs took part in 630 in the "conquest" of Mecca on the side of the Prophet, and indeed, shortly after, we find them fighting at Ḥunain under the Muslim flag against their brother-tribe, the Hawāzin, although they must have seen that the latter's resistance to the state of Medina was the last possible attempt to break Muḥammad's hegemony over Arabia (Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, p. 810, 828—864; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1647; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen, p. 326, 358; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, ii./i. 97, 109; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 308; Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 147, 153, 444 etc. When Muḥammad died all the Ḳaisī tribes had probably submitted to the law of Islām (Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, i./ii. 41 *sqq.*; Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, iv. 139 *sqq.*; Sperber, *op. cit.*, 38 *sqq.* etc.). After the Prophet's death, it is true, the majority of them joined more or less openly in the apostasy which set in over all Arabia. The Ghaṭafān once more were the most active in this. They several times endeavoured to overrun Medina and finally joined Ṭulaiḥa, the prophet of the Asad. But the old days of Arabia were past. Ṭulaiḥa and his followers were defeated at the well of Buzākha by Khālid b. al-Walīd, "the sword of God" (end of 632) and the rebellious central Arabian tribes had again to submit to the yoke of Medina and Islām (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 1870, 1885, 1889, 1898 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, ii. 264; Caetani, *op. cit.*, ii. 604 *sqq.*; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- u. Abendland*, i. 174 *sqq.* etc.).

Henceforward the Ḳais ʿAilān show themselves good Muslims. Bodies of them took part in the battles against the Persians under Khālid b. al-Walīd, under al-Muthannā al-Shaibānī and under Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 2219 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, ii. 347; Caetani, *op. cit.*, ii. 954 *sq.*, iii. 155, 281 *sqq.*). In the "battle of the Camel" (656) and at Ṣiffīn (657) they fought on the side of ʿAlī (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, p. 155 *sq.*, 183 *sq.*; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, i. 3174, 3224, 3309; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iii. 189).

In the period of the great Muslim conquests in which they — in so far as they had not done so earlier (see above) — had moved their settlements northwards, especially to Syria, their power had become such that from the beginning to the end of the Umaiyad period they formed one of the deciding political and military factors in the Caliphate. In this capacity they were in constant antagonism to the Kalb, the chief tribe of the Ḳuḍāʿa, who inhabited the strip of territory between the ancient Moab and Palmyra, an antagonism, at the root of which probably lay ethnic differences (but see Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 112) — the Ḳais were Maʿaddīs (Nizārīs and Muḍarīs), that is North Arabians, while the Kalb were — or at least were considered — Yemenīs, South Arabians [see KALB B. WABARA and ḲAḤṬĀN]. — This antagonism being augmented through the Baṣra-Khurāsān trouble between the Tamīm and the Azd [q. v.], very early developed into a general vendetta between Muḍar and Yemen. The Umaiyad Caliphs relied sometimes on the Ḳais and sometimes on the Kalb according to their family connections, the result of marriages into these two extremes, which had as a result that, for example between 719 and 745, i. e. within 26 years, the actual control of the government passed five times from one group of tribes to the other. This state of things was, of course, intolerable and, in fact, the fall of the Umaiyad dynasty was really due in the end principally to this feud between Muḍarīs and Yemenīs.

Muʿāwiya I had relied on the Kalb and Yazīd I, who was born of a Kalbī mother had also depended mainly on them. As a result, the Ḳais refused their homage to their successors Muʿāwiya II, whose mother was likewise a Kalbī, and Marwān I, and declared themselves for the anti-Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.]. In 684 the Sulaim, the ʿĀmir and the Ghaṭafān — that is all Ḳaisīs — fought under al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Fihrī on the Mardj Rāhiṭ in the Ghūṭa of Damascus for Ibn al-Zubair against Marwān, whose army consisted of Kalbīs and other men of Yemen. They suffered an unusually severe reverse, which plays a great part in the songs of the Kalbī and Ḳaisī poets and by the laws of the Arab vendetta necessarily perpetuated the hatred of the Ḳais for the Kalb (see AL-ḌAḤḤĀK B. ḲAIS AL-FIHRĪ and in addition to the literature quoted there al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, v. 201; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa ʾl-Ishrāf*, p. 308 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, v. 204; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 743 *sq.*; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, p. 184 *sq.*; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 260 *sqq.*, 317 *sqq.*; al-Maidānī, *op. cit.*, ii. 338, and Huart, *op. cit.*, i. 264 *sq.*). But they remained partisans of Ibn al-Zubair and maintained themselves with great tenacity in Mesopotamia under their important chief and leader Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-ʿĀmirī al-Kilābī and his lieutenant ʿUmair b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who did not capitulate till 691 in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik after a siege of considerable length in their strongholds, Ḳarḳīsiyāʾ and Raʾs al-ʿAin (Resaina) (Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich u. sein Sturz*, 115 *sqq.*, with references to the most important sources, al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 643, 777; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iv. 188, 192, 242, 259; Dozy, *Gesch. der Mauren in Spanien*, German ed., i. 86, 101 *sqq.*, A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 373, 385). ʿUmair b. al-Ḥubāb was the commander of the Ḳaisī force which fought against the Shīʿa under Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar in August 686 on the banks of the Khāzir, a tributary of the Great Zāb, in the Umaiyad army led by ʿUbaid Allāh b. Ziyād, but to revenge the day of Mardj Rāhiṭ, they deserted in the battle (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 301 *sq.*; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 708 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iv. 215 *sqq.*; al-

Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 312; al-Maidānī, *op. cit.*, ii. 339; Weil, *op. cit.*, i. 380 *sqq.*; Dozy, *op. cit.*, i. 100; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 381; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, in the *Abhdlg. d. Götting. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., n. F., v. N°. 2, p. 84; Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich u. sein Sturz*, p. 126). In spite of this collapse of the Ḳaisīs in their great war against the Umaiyads, their smaller struggle against the Kalb continued without interruption, at first mainly under the leadership of 'Umair b. al-Ḥubāb. It took the form of a series of "days" fought mainly in the Samāwa, the desert between the 'Irāḳ and Syria and forced the north-eastern part of the Kalb to migrate for a time to the Ghawr of Palestine. The most celebrated of these "days" is the battle of Banāt Ḳain between the Fazāra and the Kalb in 692 or 693. When 'Umair with his Sulaimīs settled on the Great Khābūr (Chaboras) there resulted encounters with the Christian Taghlibīs, who dwelled in eastern Mesopotamia; these led to a bitter tribal and blood-feud, fought out chiefly on the Khābūr, the Balīkh (Bilechas), the Tharthār and in the Tigris region. The best known "days" of this conflict, which gradually reduced the weaker Taghlib to great extremity, are those of al-Ḥashshāk, where 'Umair fell (in 689; the *Naḳā'iḍ*, p. 373, 400, 508 give for this event the battle of Sindjār), and that of Mount al-Bishr (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 125—130, *Naḳā'iḍ*, p. 401, 508, 899, also 902, 1038 and 1041; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, i. 632; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 179; al-Maidānī, *op. cit.*, ii. 329, 339). We hear of bloodshed as a result of this enmity between the Ḳais and the Taghlib as late as 814 in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 213).

After the capitulation of the Ḳais, 'Abd al-Malik showed himself a clever statesman and above party, he summoned Zufar b. al-Ḥārith and later also his sons to his court at Damascus and married a Ḳaisī lady of the 'Abs, called Wallāda, who became the mother of his sons Walīd I and Sulaimān besides other children. Walīd I was most probably a Ḳaisī at heart, but he took care not to irritate the Kalb. Sulaimān seems in spite of his fondness for the Yemenī (Azdī) Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to have at least had the intention of placing the interest of the empire before that of parties. As might well be expected in his reign the Ḳaisīs were partisans of the great Thaḳafī al-Ḥadjdjādj [q. v.] and of the Bāhilī Ḳutaiba b. Muslim (q. v. and *Naḳā'iḍ*, iii. index III, s. v. *Ḳais 'Ailān*). In the reign of 'Omar II, who was a pronounced advocate of the policy of conciliation, the dissensions between the two great tribal groups did not make themselves felt. On the other hand in the reign of Yazīd II, who in his struggle with the Azdī Muhallabids had naturally to rely on the support of the Ḳais, the result was a purely Ḳaisī party government. His brother and successor Hishām endeavoured to do away with this by withdrawing the Fazārī 'Omar b. Hubaira, whom Yazīd II had appointed viceroy of the 'Irāḳ and the East, and replacing him by the Badjalī Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, a distinguished statesman, but the Caliph finally found himself forced to allow the latter to be overthrown and replaced by a Ḳaisī, the Thaḳafī Yūsuf b. 'Omar, a relative of Ḥadjdjādj. Under Walīd II, who appeared to have fallen entirely under the influence of Yūsuf b. 'Omar, the wrath of the Yemenīs ultimately found vent in a rising stirred up by personal enemies of the Caliph, which led to the murder of Walīd II and the enthronement of Yazīd III. The new Caliph sought his support exclusively among the Yemenīs, especially the Kalb, the last Umaiyad, Marwān II, relied no less exclusively on the Ḳais, into whose territory — to Ḥarrān — he even removed his capital. Marwān II fell before the 'Abbāsids. Even in the decisive battle on the Great Zāb which he fought against them in January 750, the feud between the Ḳais and the Ḳuḍā'a proved fatal (cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 131 *sq.*, 140 *sq.*, 162 *sq.*, 194 *sqq.*, 199 *sqq.*, 203 *sqq.*, 224 *sqq.*, 229 *sq.*, 235 *sq.*, 341, where the necessary sources are everywhere given; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 408, 435 *sqq.*, 445 *sq.*; also the pertinent sections in Weil, *op. cit.*, Dozy, *op. cit.*, Huart, *op. cit.*, Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise Decline and Fall*, etc.). The quarrel between Ḳais and Kalb had its effect in history not only in Syria, the 'Irāḳ and Khurāsān, but also in the other provinces of the vast Arab empire, notably in North Africa and Spain, where the two parties just as well were at deadly enmity (for North Africa and Spain see especially Dozy, *op. cit.*, i. 138 *sqq.*).

In the severe fightings of the later Umaiyad period, the Ḳais had suffered losses from which they never again recovered. What we learn of them during the 'Abbāsid period is not of any great historical interest. The following are the main outlines: In the years 790, 792, 796 and 803, i. e. in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, they had all sorts of new encounters in and around Damascus with their hereditary Yemenī enemies (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 609, 625, 639 *sqq.*, 688; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 87 *sqq.*, 129; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 490; see also above AL-ḲAIN B. DJASR). They rebelled under Hārūn in 794 and again under al-Ma'mūn in 828, in combination with the Yemenīs, in Egypt (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 629, 1099; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 97, 288; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 146 *sq.*; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 490). In 811 under al-Amīn, they fought the pretender 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī chiefly because he had Kalbī blood in his veins (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 172 *sq.*; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 187); after the death of al-Mu'taṣim in 842 they stirred up a revolt in Damascus but were quickly brought back to obedience by a severe defeat inflicted on them by al-Wāthiḳ's army on the for them ill-omened Mardj Rāhiṭ (see above) (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi. 376). The Ḳaisīs of Baḥrain played a certain part in the initial stages of the Ḳarmaṭian movement in 894 *sqq.* (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vii. 341; cf. Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 508, note 3).

The Ḳais appear, compared with the Kalb, to have been in general more savage, less civilised, more hardy, more treacherous and more cruel. The reason, no doubt, is that they were in much closer contact with the life of the desert than their rivals, who had been for centuries already settled in Syria, a home of ancient culture, and had naturally not remained uninfluenced by the refining influences of the Byzantine empire, whose eastern marches had been their home before the Muslim conquest. Their readiness to face battle or death is occasionally celebrated, not only in poetry (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 1930).

Famous Ḳaisīs (with the exception of those already mentioned). The best known poets of the

Ḳais were: al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, ʿAntara, Labīd, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufail, Ṭufail b. ʿAwf, ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, al-Shammākh, al-Khansāʾ, Abū Miḥdjan, al-Ḥuṭaiʾa, Taʾabbaṭa Sharran, Ibn ʾl-Iṭnābaʾ al-ʿAdwānī, Duraid b. al-Ṣimma, al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, Muzarrid, Khidāsh b. Zuhair, al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī, etc. [see the pertinent articles]. The great philologist al-Aṣmaʿī [q. v.] was a Bāhilī. — Other Ḳaisīs of historical importance are given by Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii. 305 *sqq.*, Ibn Ḳutaiba, *op. cit.*, p. 38 *sqq.*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 51 and Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *op. cit.*, p. 194 *sqq.*

The Dialect of the Ḳais-ʿAilān. The Arabic philologists give us the following — as a matter of fact they are in the main common to most tribes of the Nadjd — phonetic and grammatical linguistic peculiarities of our group of tribes: They still pronounced the *hamza* as a guttural stop and they had even changed it to *ʿain* when initial (in part only) so that they said *ʿan*, *ʿanna*, *ʿaslama*, *ʿidhan* for *ʾan*, *ʾanna*, *ʾaslama*, *ʾidhan*). They had a tendency to *imāla* and to *ishmām*: and they said *tiʿlamu*, *tinṭaliḳu*, *tistakhridju* etc. for *taʿlamu*, *tanṭaliḳu*, *tastakhridju* etc., *ḥublay* for *ḥublā* or *ḥublā*, *hū* and *hī* for *huwa* and *hiya* (? always) and *min ladunhi* for *min ladunhu*. Cf. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, iv. 930, ii./iii. 425, iv. 739, 824, 1313, 1476, note 4, ii./iii. 11 *sq.*, iv. 135, note to 1435, i. 8, i. 523, iv. 835, i. 780; Sībawaihi, ed. Derenbourg, ii. 168 *sqq.*, 275 *sqq.*, 279 *sqq.*; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, § 527, 580, 643, and thereon Ibn Yaʿīsh; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, p. 104, 109; Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, p. 411; al-Ḥarīrī, *Durra*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 183 *sq.*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿOmar, *op. cit.*, iv. 495; Ibn Hishām, *Sharḥ Bānat Suʿād*, p. 97; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xx. 283; Lane, *Lexicon*, sub *ʿanʿanatun* and *taltalatun*; *Lisān al-ʿArab* and *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, sub *lān*; de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*², ii. 154, note 1; Sarauw, *Die altarab. Dialektspaltung*, in the *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, xxi. 31 *sqq.*; Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre*, p. 78 *sq.*, etc. On words and expressions peculiar to the Ḳaisīs see Freytag, *Einl. in das Studium der arab. Sprache*, p. 87 *sq.*, al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i. 109 (*ʿanṣā* for *ʾaʿṣā*, see thereon Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 147, note 1 etc.), Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 385, 3 etc.

Bibliography given in the article itself.

(A. FISCHER)

ḲAIS B. AL-KHAṬĪM B. ʿAdī, with Ḥassān b. Thābit [q. v.] the most important poet of pre-Muḥammadan Yathrib, the latter Medina. He belonged to the Banū Ẓafar, a family of the Nabīt of al-Aws [q. v.]. In the desperate fighting between the two tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazradj, he championed the former with tongue and sword. Very little is known of the facts of his life, if we except the later, very doubtful stories. The account of the revenge he took on the murderers of his father and grandfather is however quite authentic, and by this he won particular fame with posterity. This event was later embellished with all sorts of fictitious details, some of which are echoes of the Cyrus saga and form a parallel to the legend of the young Parzival (see Singer, *Arab. und europ. Poesie im Mittelalter* in the *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1918, phil.-hist. Kl., No. 13, p. 7 of the reprint). All else that we know of the life of the poet is that he took an active part in the political and military activities of his tribe. His *Dīwān* contains references to a whole series of *Aiyām* of the Aws. In the decisive battle of Buʿāth [q. v.], later often celebrated in song, he did not take part, apparently on account of a wound received previously. Not long after this battle and before the Hidjra he was treacherously murdered. Ḳais was involved in polemics with almost all the Khazradjī poets of his day, notably with Ḥassān b. Thābit and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [q. v.], both of them survived him by a considerable period. Although he was still alive at the beginning of Muḥammad's prophetic activity, his *Dīwān* shows no trace of a knowledge of it. All that the later sources tell of his meeting with the Prophet is pure invention.

Ḳais's *Dīwān* is preserved in an old manuscript (dated 419 A. H.) in the Top Ḳapu Serāy Library in Constantinople, as an appendix to the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit. The second manuscript so far known which is in the Egyptian National (formerly Khedival) Library in Cairo, seems to be a late copy of the above. The poems were collected by Ibn al-Sikkīt, but the final editor seems to have been al-Sukkarī. What has survived for us in the *Dīwān* is certainly only a fragment of the original total.

Ḳais reveals in his poems the two sides of his life, the settled and the nomadic, which was so characteristic of the Arabian oases of the time. His descriptions of war and women are celebrated. The real Beduin, the description of the riding she-camel, the ride through the desert and hunting are almost entirely lacking in his poems. Ḳais is highly esteemed by later generations, perhaps more for his chivalrous character than for his poetic gifts. His poems are a very important source for our knowledge of conditions in Medina immediately before Islām.

Bibliography: *Der Dīwān des Ḳais b. al-Ḫaṭīm*, ed. T. Kowalski (Leipzic 1914). Besides the literature given there, in the historical introduction, al-Samhūdī's *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā* (Cairo 1326/27, 2 vols.) is very important for the topography of Medina and therefore also for the understanding of the Dīwān.

(T. KOWALSKI)

KAISĀN, ABŪ ʿAMRA, a client of the ʿUraina, who belonged to the Badjīla [q. v.], was one of the leaders of the Mawālī [see MAWLĀ] in Kūfa in the time of al-Mukhtār [q. v.] and was one of the latter's intimates. Al-Mukhtār made him commander of his police force (*ḥaras*, *shurṭa*). In this capacity this ardent Shīʿī took part in avenging al-Ḥusain by killing, wherever possible, those who had taken the field against him and destroying their houses. For example, he beheaded, by al-Mukhtār's command, ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ who had commanded the troops sent against al-Ḥusain. In the battle of Madhār (67 = 686) Kaisān commanded the Mawālī; he was perhaps killed in this fierce battle. According to al-Kashshī, Kaisān's method of procedure is said to have originated among the people of Kūfa the proverb applied to one who is deprived of his wealth: "Abū ʿAmra has entered his house"; cf. al-Dīnawarī, p. 297, 1. — "Abū ʿAmra has visited him". A verse in al-Kashshī describes him as wickeder than Iblīs. — As Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya was the Imām of the Kaisānīya, Kaisān is occasionally represented as his client or pupil.

KAISĀNIYA was first applied to the Kūfa group of Shī'a, the Mawālī, represented by Kaisān Abū 'Amra (see above), whose interests were championed by al-Mukhtār. The name was then extended to those who held the views, which had considerable currency among the Shī'īs led by al-Mukhtār, and continued to be influential even later. When the little known Kaisān came in time to be practically forgotten, his name was often explained as a laķab of al-Mukhtār. Mukhtāriya thus became another name for the older stratum of the Kaisāniya. The latter name, however, is also derived from a certain Kaisān, a mawlā of 'Alī, who fell at Ṣiffīn (al-Ṭabarī, i. 3293, 10), from whom al-Mukhtār is said to have derived his views. The Kaisāniya were also called Khashabiya [q. v.] from the wooden club which the Mawālī carried as a weapon.

The contemporary Kaisānīs ascribed special knowledge to al-Mukhtār and to some extent regarded him as a prophet. There must also have been among them an echo of a cult, followed especially by some Yemen clans and described as Saba'ī, the worship of an alleged chair of 'Alī's, which was compared with the Ark of the Covenant and also used as an oracle. Their Imām in succession to al-Ḥusain was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya [q. v.], whom al-Mukhtār put forward as a mere figure-head. As al-Shahrastānī tells us, the Kaisānīs held the view that he was master of all knowledge and had obtained from the two Saiyids (i. e. al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain) all mystical, allegorical and esoteric knowledge as well as knowledge of the celestial spheres and of the souls. In time there came to be Kaisānīs who regarded Ibn al-Ḥanafiya as the Imām in immediate succession to his father and thus excluded al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. In proof of this they pointed to the tradition that 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel had entrusted the standard to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya. This view probably arose in opposition to those held by the Imāmīs and Zaidīs.

Ibn al-Ḥanafiya's death, probably in 81 = 700, resulted in a split in the Kaisāniya. Apart from those who raised his son 'Alī to be Imām, a section of them transferred the Imāmate to his son Abū Hāshim [q. v.], who was regarded as heir to the secret knowledge of his father. They were called Hāshimiya; but after the death of Abū Hāshim (98 = 716/7 or 99 = 717/8) they broke up into various branches on the question of succession. The 'Abbāsids now spread the idea that Abū Hāshim before his death had transferred his rights to the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās [q. v.].

A group of the Kaisāniya, however, did not believe in the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya. According to them, he lived in concealment in a ravine in the mountains of Raḍwā [q. v.] out of which he would one day emerge at the head of his followers as Mahdī [q. v.] in order to fill the earth with righteousness. His stay there is described with Messianic features by the Kaisānī poets al-Kuthaiyir [q. v.] and al-Saiyid al-Ḥimyarī [q. v.]. These views of the concealment (ghaiba, q. v.) and return (raḍj'a, q. v.) are attributed to a certain Abū Karib (Kuraib), whose followers were therefore distinguished as Karibiya (Kuraibiya) [q. v.].

According to al-Shahrastānī, all Kaisānīs held the view that religion consisted in obedience to a man; by means of allegorical interpretation (ta'wīl, q. v.) the prescriptions of law were transferred to such men. — Among the Kaisānīs also arose the view that "the intervention of new circumstances can produce the alteration of a divine decision already made" (badā', q. v.). Besides the doctrine of the return of the hidden Imām, metempsychosis (tanāsukh, q. v.) had also followers among them.

The Kaisānīs could not survive alongside of the Imāmiya [q. v.] and the Zaidiya [q. v.]. For Ibn Ḥazm the Kaisāniya was an extinct sect. — To Kaisānī influences should probably be ascribed the fact that concealment and return were attributed to 'Alids, whom the Zaidīs had championed. — A remarkable document, which is said to contain Ḳarmaṭian doctrines (see ḲARMAṬIANS) may also emanate from Kaisānī circles. In it a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya appears as Mahdī and Prophet (al-Ṭab., iii. 2128 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vii. 311, 16 sqq.; de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i. Introd. p. clxxvii. sqq. An Aḥmad is, however, not known among the sons of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaķāt*, v. 67; Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Dā'ūdī al-Ḥasanī, *'Umdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318, p. 319 sqq.).

Bibliography (also to the preceding article): al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 598 sqq., esp. 634, 1 sq., 636, 11 sq., 662, 8 sqq., 671, 13, 673, 10 sqq., 702 sqq., 721, 3 sqq.; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Leiden 1888), p. 298, 300, 305 top, 308; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Paris 1861—77), v. 180 sqq., 226, 227, 268, 475, vi. 58, vii. 117; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 300; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-farīd* (Cairo 1293), i. 267 sqq., 269, 6 sqq.; al-Kashshī, *Kitāb al-Ridjāl* (Bombay 1317), p. 85; *al-Aghānī*[1], viii. 3, 19; 4, 15 sqq., 5, 17, 22, 9, 26 sqq., viii. 32, 1 sqq., 33; al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (Leiden 1895), p. 29 sq.; 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ* (Cairo 1328), p. 16 sqq., 27—38, 53, 14 sq.; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Ahwā' wa 'l-Niḥal* (Cairo 1317—21), iv. 94, 2 sqq., 179, 20 sqq., 180, 7 sqq., 182, 7, 13 sq., 184, 11—15; Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-Adyān*, in Schefer, *Chrest. persane*, i. (*Publ. de l'École des Langues or. viv.*, Series 2, vii.) 157 sq.; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton, p. 109 sqq.; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270), ii. 351 sqq.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, nº. 570 (p. 91); Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima* (Cairo 1327), p. 219 sq.; al-Djawharī, *al-Ṣaḥāḥ* (Būlāḳ 1282), i. 474, 21 sq.; *Lisān al-'Arab*, viii. 86, 16 sq.; *Tādj al-'Arūs*, iv. 238, 24; Barbier de Meynard, *Le Seïd Himyarite*, in the *Journ. As.*, 7th Series, iv. (1874), 162 sqq., 240 sqq.; H. D. van Gelder, *Mohtar de valsche Profeet* (Leiden 1888), p. 82 sqq.; G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la Domination arabe, le Chiitisme* etc. (*Verhand. der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterkunde, i. Nº. 3, Amsterdam 1894), p. 41 sqq.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abhandl. d. Kön. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., n. F., v. Nº. 2), p. 74 sqq.; E. Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane* (Paris 1903), p. 32 sqq.; Isr. Friedlaender, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm* (*Journ. of the American Orient. Soc.*, xxviii., xxix.), see

ibid. under *Kaisān*; H. Banning, *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya*, Diss. Erlangen 1909, p. 46—53; F. Buhl, *Alidernes Stilling til de shī'itiske Bevægelser under Umaijjaderne* (Oversigt over det *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger*, 1910, Nº. 5), p. 364 *sqq.*; C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (Leiden 1919), p. 11—13.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

ḲAIṢAR (A.), the usual name in Arabic for the Byzantine Emperor. The word, of course, represents the Greek Καῖσαρ and came to the Arabs through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. Fraenkel, *Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 278 *sq.*). The borrowing must have taken place at quite an early period as the word in Syriac later appears almost always in the form *Ḳesar* (cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s. v.). The Arabs, centuries before Muḥammad, had relations with the Byzantines (cf. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- u. Abendland*, i. 10 and the article GHASSĀNIDS). Among the old Arabic poets, Imru' al-Kais in particular frequently mentions the Ḳaiṣar, who, indeed, played a great part in his life (cf. IMRU' AL-ḲAIS). The word does not occur in the Ḳor'ān but is quite frequent in the biography of Muḥammad and especially in Tradition, where Ḳaiṣar — always, we may note, without the article like a proper name — is usually mentioned in the first place among contemporary secular rulers; next to him come the king of the Persians and the Negus of Abyssinia (that the Persian Hurmuzān in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Djizya*, Bāb 1 = ed. Krehl-Juynboll, ii. 292, 5 from below gives a different opinion is, of course, not to be wondered at). In the narratives mentioned a great part is played by the epistle said to have been sent by Muḥammad through Diḥya [q. v.] to the governor of Boṣrā and through him to the Emperor Heraclius, who thereupon interrogated Abū Sufyān, who happened to be within reach, regarding the new prophet. Here as well as in the story of the embassy of the Prophet to the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir (of doubtful authenticity; cf. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten* etc., in the *Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1887, phil.-hist. Klasse, p. 42 of the reprint), Heraclius (in contrast to Kisrā) appears as a man, at heart inclined to Islām, whom only fear of his subjects prevents from openly professing the new religion. — The Traditions further record all sorts of sayings and prophesies of Muḥammad regarding Ḳaiṣar, which can at once be recognised as later views thrown back into the past. In al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr* to sura lxvi. Bāb 2 (Kr.-J. iii. 360 middle of page) Muḥammad comforts 'Umar, who is lamenting the neediness of his existence, contrasted with the splendid court of Kisrā and Ḳaiṣar, with the words: "Art thou not content that this world belongs to them and the next to us?" In *Djihād*, Bāb 93 (Kr.-J., ii. 229 below) we read: "To the first army of my community that plunders the city of Ḳaiṣar (Constantinople) its sins are forgiven". In *Aimān*, Bāb 3 (Kr.-J., iv. 259, 6) the prophet foretells the final decline of the power of the East Roman Empire as well as that of the Persian kingdom.

In later poets also, Ḳaiṣar is still a current conception as a symbol of power and wealth — again alongside of Kisrā. Thus Ibn Djinnī (best known as a grammarian) in a verse quoted in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, fasc. iv. 129, 4 from below, prides himself on being descended from the 'Caesars'.

Bibliography (here and in the text mainly from references given by Prof. A. Fischer, Leipzig and Prof. A. J. Wensinck, Leiden): Abu 'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkh al-Bashar*, part ed. and transl. by Fleischer as *Abulfedae Historia anteislamica*, p. 132 at end; Imru' al-Ḳais, *Dīwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, Nº. 13, 4, Nº. 20, 11; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Shurūṭ*, Bāb 15 (ed. by Krehl and Juynboll, ii. 179); ibid., *Maghāzī*, B. 82 (Kr.-J., iii. 183, 16; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 971. 13; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau etc., i/ii. 16, 4—15; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Djihād*, B. 99 (Kr.-J., ii. 232, 5), B. 102 (Kr.-J., ii. 233, 8 *sqq.*); ibid., *Tafsīr* on Sūra iii., B. 4 (Kr.-J., iii. 214 at top, 216 in the middle) et passim; Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo 1327), ii. 79 below — 81; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo 1292), ii. 119 below — 120; Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarb.*, iv. 98; Caetani, *Annali*, year 6 A. H., § 50.

(A. SCHAADE)

ḲAISĀRĪYA (also ḲAIṢARIYA), plur. *Ḳayāsir*, the name of a large system of public buildings laid out in the form of cloisters with shops, workshops, warehouses and frequently also living-rooms. According to de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd Allatif* (Paris 1810), p. 303 *sq.*, the *ḳaisārīya* was originally distinguished from the *sūḳ* or *bāzār*-street probably only by its greater extent, and by having several covered galleries around an open court, while the sūḳ consists only of a single gallery. At the present day in any case the term *ḳaisārīya* is not infrequently quite or almost identical in meaning with the Persian word *kārwānserāi*, which first came into use in the nearer East in the xvith century, or the likewise modern analogous names, *khān*, *wakāla* (okella), *funduḳ* [q. v.] and *bezistān* [q. v.].

Origin. The word *ḳaisārīya* is certainly of Greek origin: καισάρεια "imperial", as abbreviation for ἡ καισάρεια ἀγορά "the imperial market". As H. Thiersch has shown, not only is the plan of the mosque — according to R. Kautzsch, however, in his *Haus und Hausrecht im alten Arabien*, Halle 1914, p. 69, the early Muslim mosque was of ancient Arab origin — to be traced to the old quadrangular court (with or without cells around it) of the *agora*, but also the *ḳaisārīya*, which was used on the one hand as a warehouse for goods (whence developed the market-place) and on the other hand, without any doubt, usually also as lodgings. The expression ἡ καισάρεια recalls the fact that the oldest of these public buildings were imperial i. e. state institutions, while in the Muslim period they were mainly due to private initiative (foundations of rich merchants, members of royal families or high officials). Thiersch thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 233) that the place where the idea of these buildings originated — like many other things in the new Muslim period — seems to have been Alexandria, which was especially rich in covered market-places and halls. Whether we should actually consider the Caesareum, the Caesar temple in Alexandria, to which the market-place and warehouses were attached (Strabo, xvii. 794), as the original in name and fact of the *ḳaisārīya* (as does Vollers in the *Ztschr. d. Dtsch. Morg. Ges.*, li. 302) is uncertain. A derivation of the word *ḳaisārīya* from the name of the Palestine town of Ḳaisārīya (see be-

low), which de Sacy (*op. cit.*) recommends, can hardly be supported with sound arguments. The word in any case was originally used only in those districts which, like Syria, Palestine and parts of North Africa had been under (imperial) Byzantine rule. The idea was only transferred later to other lands, especially to Spain and the east. In Spanish and Portuguese we find *ḳaiṣāriya* as a loan-word: Span. *alcaiceria* (*alcaceria*, *cazeria*), Portug. *alcaçarias*; cf. Fr. Cañes, *Dic. Español Latino-Arábigo* (Madrid 1787), i. 692; Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*[2] (Leiden 1869), p. 73, 79; D. Leopoldo de Eguílaz, *Glos. etim. de las palabras españolas .... de origen oriental* (Granada 1886), p. 126.

The following notes may help to elucidate the occurrence of the word in the Islamic world. In **Egypt** we have especially good evidence of its use in Cairo. Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845 = 1441) in his description of the city gives a large number of *ḳaiṣāriya*'s; cf. *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270), ii. 86—91; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islām* (1912), p. 117. Later its place was gradually taken by the word *wakāla* (*okāle*, *okelle*) and in Niebuhr's time (1761) only the market-place in the suburb of Būlāḳ was still called *Kaisarie*. — In **Fez** (see Fās, ii. 72 *sqq.*) in **Morocco** by *ḳaiṣāriya* one understands the central market shut off by gates and walls from the other parts of the town; see Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii. 432; T. Williams in the *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, iii. 583; E. Reitemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 148, and cf. also above, ii. 73[a] — In Granada in **Spain** the *Alcaiceria* is that quarter of the town where the raw silk is sold; see Tollhausen, *Spanisch-deutsch. Wörterb.*, i. Leipzig 1888, p. 288; F. v. Schack, *op. cit.*, ii. 327. — In **Syria** we have evidence of the use of the word *ḳaiṣāriya* as the "name of the shops of the wholesale dealers" in Beirūt (see Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii. 469 and K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 7), in Damascus (see Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*[2], ed. Wright and de Goeje, p. 288, 21 (year 1184) and Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien etc.* (Leipzig 1854—9), i. 269) and also in Aleppo (see Ibn Djubair, p. 252, 15; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 307, 23; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris), i. 151; A. Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*[2], London 1794, i. 36; German transl., i. (Göttingen 1797), p. 45). — In al-Ḥasā (Hofhūf, q. v., p. ii. 324 *sq.*) in **Eastern Arabia** the quarter of the town that contains the shops is called el-Gaiṣarīye; see *Der Islām*, viii. 32. — Going still **farther east** we find a square called *Ḳaisāriya* in Mōṣul: see Ibn Djubair, *op. cit.*, p. 235, 16; in al-Salāmiya near Mōṣul: Yāḳūt, iii, 123, 21; in Irbil: Yāḳūt, i. 186, 22; in Baghdād: see Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 92 (the present bazaar centre); in Karbalāʾ: see Massignon, *op. cit.*; in Iṣfahān: see Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 49; Vullers, *Lexic. Persico-Lat.*, ii. 753*a*, and cf. also (Ispahan) Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi* (Brighton 1843), ii. 8, German transl., (Gent 1674), iii. 5; [Dupré], *Voyage en Perse* (Paris 1819), ii. 125 and W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, iii. (1819), 16; in Tibrīz: see Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 856; in Khwārizm (Urgandj): Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 4.

We may further note that, according to a reference in Niebuhr (*op. cit.*), about the middle of the xviii[th] century large public buildings in the **Barbary States** (N. W. Africa) were called *casseries*. In **Algiers** at the present day *ḳaiṣāriya* means barracks; see Dozy, *op. cit.* In the ruined cities of **Ḥawrān** the palaces of the erstwhile Roman or Byzantine governors are now also called *ḳaiṣāriya*; see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran etc.* (Berlin 1860), p. 55. In general it appears that in modern times the use of the word *ḳaiṣāriya* as market-place and suchlike has to a great extent given way to newer words like *khān*, *wakāla*, *funduḳ* and *bezestān*.

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ḲAISĀRĪYA or ḲAIṢĀRĪYA = Καισάρεια (Caesarea), a name bestowed in the reign of Augustus and Tiberius on a whole series of towns of the Roman East, and also in North Africa and Spain. 17 places of the name are known; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswissensch.*, iii. 1288 *sq.* The Arab writers only know of two towns named Ḳaisārīya, viz.: 1. a **town in Palestine**, on the coast in 35° N. Lat. about 24 miles south of Ḥaifā. Its earlier name Στράτωνος πύργος (cf. Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, 1852, p. 450 *sq.*; Neubauer, *op. cit.*, p. 11—15) is of uncertain etymology. To distinguish it from places of the same name, especially the north Galilaean Caesarea (Caesarea Philippi, Paneas, Bāniyās [q. v.]), this town was called more definitely Caesarea Stratonis, C. Palaestinae or C. maritima). The Arabs distinguish it by the addition of Filisṭīn (Ḳaisārīya in Palestine) from the town of the same name in Asia Minor.

The origin and antiquity of Caesarea is veiled in obscurity; but it was certainly in existence in the second century B. C. In 22 B. C. Herod I laid out a fine city, which received the name of Caesarea in honour of Augustus, on the site of the ancient settlement which had fallen into ruins (on the date cf. Otto in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, Suppl. Heft 2, col. 68, note). Part of the plan of the new foundation was the making of a splendid harbour which gave the town a great economic importance by giving the Jews access to the Mediterranean. Caesarea rapidly developed to be the first town in the country and maintained this position for some four centuries. It was also of great importance for Christianity, which early found a footing there, as it was its spiritual metropolis in Palestine down to the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451). As late as the Arab invasion Caesarea was still a flourishing town. It vigorously resisted the advance of the Muslims and withstood them in a long siege until finally Muʿāwiya took the city by storm. The statements in the Oriental sources regarding the date of its fall and the length of the siege vary; the siege probably began in 18 (639) and ended in 19 (640)

The accounts also differ very considerably as to the number of the defenders. On the Muslim conquest see de Goeje, *Mém. sur la Conquête de la Syrie*[2], p. 166 *sqq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 31 *sq.*, 156—162.

Kaisāriya remained in undisputed possession of the Muslims until the First Crusade. During this it was stormed and taken by Baldwin I on May 31, 1101; see Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge* (Leipzig 1807—1832), ii. 102—104; R. Röhricht, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge im Umriss* (Innsbruck 1898), p. 57. Among the rich booty taken by the Christians on this occasion, the most valuable was a six-sided emerald, a vessel of green glass which was believed to have been used as a bowl of the Last Supper (this belief apparently first arose under the influence of the story of the Graal). The Genoese received those sacred relics along with a third part of the city as a reward for the services which they had rendered at its capture. The vessel is still preserved in the Cathedral at Genoa and is known as the *sacro catino*. On it see Wilken, *op. cit.*, ii. 103, 108—111; Mislin, *op. cit.*, ii. 112 *sqq.*; Fr. Kampers, *Das Lichtland der Seelen und der hl. Gral* (Cologne 1916), p. 85 *sq.*

After the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (July 5, 1187) so disastrous for the Christians, Saladin reoccupied Kaisāriya without striking a blow; see Schultens, *Vita .... Saladini auct. Bohadino f. Sjeddadi* (Leiden 1755), p. 71 and glossary *s. v.* (p. 23). When a few years later, on Aug. 30, 1191, Richard Coeur-de-Lion occupied the city he found it in ruins. The Crusaders rebuilt the citadel in 1218. But as a result of their carelessness, the Egyptian Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam was able to recapture it within two years (in 1220). It was not till Louis IX of France took it, that Kaisāriya was again regained for the Christians. He spent a whole year (1251—1252) in it, engaged on the building of an extraordinary system of defences, notably a strong wall encircling the town. In spite of all this, Kaisāriya had to surrender after only seven days' attack to Sulṭān Baibars in 1265. The town, in which the Christians defended very stubbornly their last resort, the strong citadel, was completely destroyed after its capture; cf. Wilken, *op. cit.*, iii. 296, iv. 408, vi. 158, 303, vii. 474 *sq.*; Kugler, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge* (Berlin 1880), p. 387; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 253. Sulṭān al-Ashraf completed the work of destruction in 1291.

The earlier Arab geographers describe Kaisāriya as a beautiful and important city strongly fortified; they particularly praise the fine fruits grown here, the woods and the running water. In Yāḳūt's time Kaisāriya was still only a village. When Abu 'l-Fidā' [q. v.] wrote (721 = 1321) it was in ruins, after the devastations wrought in 1265 and 1291. In the xviith century only a few fisher families lived here; a little later the place was quite deserted. Since 1884 the Turks have settled Bosnians there. Kaisāriya now is one of the most important ruined sites in the country west of the Jordan; numerous remains of the ancient and mediaeval city have survived. The Roman town covered an area of 400 acres, while the mediaeval — a quadrangle with walls, ditches, bastions and towers — only occupied about 1/10 of the area of the Roman site.

The harbour is now unusable; but the once great harbour buildings with the Drusus tower built by Herod are still to be traced, as well as in the southern part on the sea shore the great amphitheatre built by Herod I to hold 20,000 spectators. A little to the northeast are the remains of the hippodrome. The aqueducts are also partly preserved. The mediaeval castle, a quadrangle with a high tower, has been recently adapted by the Turks for a government office. The ruins of the city walls that still exist date from the fortifications of Louis IX. Only a few remnants are left of the great church of the Crusaders with its three naves. Much ancient and mediaeval material has been carried off in course of centuries to build other neighbouring towns. Djazzār Pasha of 'Akkā for example (d. 1219 = 1804; see above i. 1033) for his famous buildings in 'Akkā (notably the great new mosque) brought stones and pieces of buildings (especially ancient columns) from the ruins of Kaisāriya and 'Askalān [q. v.]. Kaisāriya was also used as a quarry for the rebuilding of the Franciscan monastery in Jaffa. On the ruins see especially R. Pococke (1737), *Descr. of the East* (London 1743—5), ii. 58 *sq.*, German transl. (Erlangen 1791), ii. 85—87 (with plan: copperplate V*b*); A. v. Prokesch (1829), *Reise ins heil. Land* (Vienna 1831), p. 28—34; Wilson (1842), H. Barth (1846) in Ritter, *op. cit.*, xvi. 599, 604—7; G. Hänel (1847) in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, iv. 339 *sq.*; v. d. Velde, *Reise durch Syrien und Palästina*, i. (Leipzig 1855), p. 253—6; V. Guérin, *Descr. géogr. .... de la Palestine*, 2e partie, ii. (Paris 1875), 321—339; Dalman's *Palästinajahrbuch*, v. 15, viii. 128 *sq.*; H. Thiersch in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palästinavereins*, xxxvii. (1914), 62 *sq.*

2. Town in Asia Minor, see KAIṢARIYA.

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and Syria[2] (Leipzig 1912), p. 237—239 (with plan); E. Dowling, *Sketches of Caesarea* (Palestine), London 1912. (M. STRECK)

ḲAIṢARĪYA (in Arabic authors also ḲAISĀRĪYA and ḲAIṢĀRĪYA), a town in Asia Minor (Rūm), in 35° E. Long. (Greenwich) and 38° 15′ N. Lat. at the northern base of the Ardjish-Dagh [q. v.], 3,300 feet above sea-level on a treeless plateau, watered by the Ḳara-Ṣū, a tributary of the Ḳizil Yrmaḳ (Halys) — the latter flows about 14 miles North of Ḳaiṣariya. At the present day it is the chief town of a sandjaḳ of the wilāyet of Angora [q. v.]. The mediaeval and modern town is the successor of the ancient Mazaca, the capital of Cappadocia, to which Tiberius after its conquest gave the name Caesarea. Mazaca was a mile or two S. W. of the modern town, on the spurs of the Ardjish-Dagh, while the latter gradually grew up around the buildings which the great church-father Basilius, a native of Caesarea (329—379), erected here. Justinian I fortified this new settlement.

During the middle ages Caesarea in general shared the political history of central and eastern Asia Minor. In the viith century it passed into the hands of the Arabs, was retaken for a time by the Byzantines, but in 108 (726) again passed under Arab rule; cf. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. 637 and the Syriac chronicle of Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē (ed. Chabot), p. 26 *sq.* In the xith century Ḳaiṣariya was taken by the Saldjūḳs and played an important part as the second town in their empire. This was its period of greatest prosperity. In the xiith century it was the residence of the Turkish dynasty of the Dānishmendids (cf. DĀNISHMENDIYA).

In the xiiith century Ḳaiṣariya had for a considerable time to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mongol Khāns of Persia (the so-called Il-Khāns), as is shown by the coins they struck here. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes special mention of the strong Mongol garrison in the town. About 800 (1398) Bāyazīd I [q. v.] took it (cf. Weil, *op. cit.*, v. 70) and it remained henceforth in Turkish hands. Ḳaiṣariya fell only for a very brief period into the power of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, in 675 (1277) when Baibars and again in 822 (1419) when Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān al-Mu'aiyad advanced into this region of Asia Minor; see Weil, *op. cit.*, iv. 82, v. 140.

Ḳaiṣariya is now one of the most important towns in the interior of Asia Minor. The population of the Sandjak of Ḳaiṣariya was estimated by Cuinet in 1892 at 210,732, of whom 136,000 were Muslims, 45,318 Armenian Orthodox, 25,449 Greek Orthodox, 1,800 Protestant and 1,575 Roman Catholic Armenians. In 1813 Kinneir estimated the population at about 25,000 (including 15,000 Armenians, 300 Greeks and 130 Jews), Ainsworth in 1839 at 18,522, Cuinet in 1892 at 72,000 (43,000 Muslims, 14,400 Greek Orthodox, 9,000 Armenian Orthodox, 800 Catholic Armenians, 1,200 Protestants). In 1896 R. Oberhummer-Zimmerer put it at about 60,000, of whom 25% were Christians (including 10,000 Armenians), Baedeker in 1914 at 54,000 of whom 33% were Christians. H. Barth in 1858 estimated the number of inhabited houses at 8,000—10,000.

In the last centuries of the ancient period there must have been a strong Jewish community in Ḳaiṣariya, for the Sāsānid Sapor (Sābūr) I (241—272) is said, according to Jewish sources, to have slain no less than 12,000 Jews here about 260, in his incursion into Roman Asia Minor; cf. Ersch and Gruber, *Allgem. Encykl.*, 2nd Sect., xxvii. 184 (note 87) and Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 2nd Series, i. 2530. In the middle ages the town seems to have been a great centre of Halakha study in Asia Minor; cf. A. Neubauer, *op. cit.*; H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*[4], iv. 61, 263. The character of the present inhabitants is unfavourably criticised by several authorities (e. g. Chantre and Ramsay). During the hot months many of them live in the hills which form the last spurs of the Ardjish-Dagh.

The impression made by Ḳaiṣariya is imposing and picturesque especially on account of its beautiful situation and considerable extent. Various travellers, like Moltke (*Briefe über Zustände u. Begebenheiten in der Türkei*[6], Berlin 1893, p. 330) and Naumann have therefore considered it the prettiest and finest town in the interior of Asia Minor. Its interior is therefore the more disappointing with its filth and dirt, its numerous ruined streets and miserable cottages in the suburbs. The tuff of the neighbourhood yields excellent building material. For fear of earthquakes, the houses of the town are usually left (as Barth observes) unfinished in the upper stories.

The Arab geographers of the middle ages mention particularly among the buildings a mosque, erected in memory of Saiyid Baṭṭāl, the Turkish warrior of the faith and national hero [cf. above i. 680]. They also report that the town contained the highly venerated sarcophagus of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya [q. v.]. No remains are preserved of the important churches which existed here in the early Christian period. We find, however, important monuments of the Saldjūḳ epoch, notably the Ulu-Djāmi' of 1206, the Huen mosque of 1236 with Madrasa, also somewhat outside of the town, the round tomb or Syrtšaly Gümbet and the Kösük Oüi, a khān-like building around an octagonal tomb of 1340. The walls of the town also date from the Saldjūḳ period but have been restored at a later date. This is also true of the citadel which, now filled with Turkish houses, affords a splendid panorama.

Ḳaiṣariya is an important junction of roads and carries on a considerable trade. Local industry is limited to the manufacture of carpets and leather, the manufacture of various dyes, and (according to Barth) to the peculiar preparation of dried meat, which is sold throughout Asia Minor.

About half an hour South-West of Ḳaiṣariya rise in vineyards the ruins of the ancient Mazaca Caesarea, called by the natives Eski-Ḳaiṣariya, more usually Eski-Shehir (i. e. Old Town) and Zoezat by the Armenians. A series of not inconsiderable villages surrounds the modern town in the form of an arc from West to South-East, like suburbs. For example the little town of Talas lies 1½ hours to the South-East, the birthplace of St. Sabas († 532) with an ancient castle, powerful walls in the form of a quadrilateral, and the buildings of the American Mission (schools, hospital, etc.). ¾ hour farther to the South lies Sindjidere, where in the monastery of St. John, surrounded by well conducted schools, the Greek Archbishop lives. Talas and Sindjidere are already on the North-eastern spurs of the Ardjish-Dagh.

In the West and South of Ḳaiṣariya there was

a settlement of Christian monks at a very early period. There still exist here old monasteries and towns of caves, with churches, halls, cells and tombs. Special mention may be made of the cave-churches at Ürgüb and at the rocky cone of Matan. For further information regarding these Christian foundations see Ch. Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, ii. (Paris 1849), p. 53 *sq.* (and plates lxxxv.—viii.); Ch. Texier and P. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, London 1864, p. 40 *sq.*; Oberhummer-Zimmerer, *op. cit.*, p. 120 *sq.*, 244—250, 298; H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig 1908), p. 121 *sq.*, 155—170, 210 *sq.*

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(M. STRECK)

ḲĀʾITBEY, AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF ABU 'L-NAṢR SAIF AL-DĪN AL-MAḤMŪDĪ AL-ẒĀHIRĪ, Sulṭān of Egypt and Syria (873—902 = 1468—95) was purchased by Barsbey [q. v.], manumitted by Sulṭān Djaḳmaḳ, became a life-guard, then *Dawādār Ṣaghīr* i. e. writer in the office of the Grand Dawādār (see DAWĀTDĀR, i. 931), then Emir of 10 Mamlūks under Īnāl [q. v.], *Ṭablakhāna* (i. e. Emir with the right to have a band accompanying him), under Sulṭān Khoshḳadam [q. v.], inspector of houses of refreshment and shortly afterwards commander of a thousand (*Muḳaddam Alf*). In 872 (1467/8) he became *Raʾs nawbat al-Nuwwāb* (chief leader of the companies, i. e. Commander of the Mamlūks).

When Temirboghā ascended the throne in Djumādā I, 872 (Dec. 1467), he appointed his friend Ḳāʾitbey Atābek but the Sulṭān had no real power, as he had very few supporters among the Mamlūks at his command. He had not the money to win over new followers; the treasury was empty. After an unsuccessful rising by the Ustādār Khāʾirbey the crown was offered in the month of Radjab of the same year (Feb. 1468) to Ḳāʾitbey, who accepted it after some hesitation. Temirboghā retired into private life to Damietta, to which he was not taken as a prisoner but travelled in perfect liberty accompanied by some friends. Unlike other Mamlūk Sulṭāns, Ḳāʾitbey treated deposed Sulṭāns or descendants of former Sulṭāns throughout his reign with magnanimity and honour, frequently invited them to polo tournaments in Cairo, allowed them to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and even allowed them to visit the capital in his absence without any suspicion or fear of conspiracies.

Ḳāʾitbey's chief political problem was his relations with the Ottomans. The rivalry between them and the Egyptians found expression in the fighting among their vassals in Asia Minor. The ruler of Albistān [q. v.], Shāh Suwār (cf. DHU 'L-ḲADR, i. 960a) was at war with Egypt (cf. KHOSHḲADAM) and was secretly supported by the Ottomans, while Ḳāʾitbey assisted prince Aḥmad of Ḳaramān in his war with Muḥammad II. The first two expeditions sent against Shāh Suwār (872 and 873) ended disastrously through the carelessness of the Egyptian commanders and more especially the lack of discipline among their troops and the rivalry between the Egyptian and Syrian corps. Ḳāʾitbey later succeeded in depriving Shāh Suwār of the help of the Ottoman Sulṭān by agreeing to drop the assistance he had himself been giving Aḥmad of Ḳaramān. Thus weakened, Shāh Suwār was decisively defeated in 876 (1471) by the Atābek Ezbek. Shāh Suwār fell back to Zamanṭū. Besieged there he capitulated on condition that he was allowed to remain in possession of his kingdom as vassal of the Sulṭān; but he was taken prisoner, brought to Cairo and executed contrary to the laws of war. The prince of the White Sheep, Uzun Ḥasan, the ruler of Diyār Bakr and a part of Persia, was a dangerous rival to Ḳāʾitbey, and advanced from triumph to triumph; in 872 he defeated the Sulṭān of the Black Sheep and in 873 the Sulṭān of Samarḳand, but when in 876 (1471) he declared war on Muḥammad II he was defeated and thus became less dangerous for Ḳāʾitbey. He died in 880 (1475) and was succeeded by Yaʿḳūb Bey. A quarrel arose between Bayinder, the latter's governor in al-Ruhā (Edessa), and the Sulṭān's general Yeshbek, because Bayinder had given shelter to Saif, the rebel chief of the Beduins of Ḥamā. Yeshbek advanced on al-Ruhā and, although satisfaction was offered in every respect, he insisted on besieging the town, but was defeated during a sortie and killed with several of his staff; other Egyptian notables were taken prisoner. Ḳāʾitbey could not

wipe out this defeat and had to make peace, as he was threatened with a struggle with the new Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd [q. v., i. 684]. Apart from continual friction regarding the ownership of Albistān, Bāyazīd felt himself threatened, because Ḳā'itbey had given a friendly welcome to his brother Djem [q. v., i. 1034 sq.], the pretender to the throne and had even encouraged him to fight against Bāyazīd. An embassy sent to Bāyazīd to endeavour to maintain peace was unsuccessful. The Ottomans invaded the southern part of Asia Minor in 891 (1486) and occupied Ṭarsūs and Adana; other Ottoman troops besieged Malaṭya. The Egyptian forces operated with success against both armies especially as Ḳā'itbey had won over 'Alā' al-Dawla, prince of Albistān. In 893 (1488) the Ottomans were no more successful. An endeavour to land a considerable body of troops in the bay of Iskanderūn [q. v.] failed. In 895 (1489/90) the Atābek Ezbek inflicted a decisive defeat on the Turks at Caesarea in Asia Minor, where several generals were captured. Ḳā'itbey showed a wise moderation in retaining his inclination for peace, recognizing the enormous resources of the Ottomans and peace was concluded in 896 (1491). The rest of the reign of Ḳā'itbey was peaceful but the domestic situation did not improve. It is true that he succeeded by his authority alone in preventing a fight between the hostile Mamlūk factions, but he could not permanently restrain their outbursts and he did not succeed in introducing a sound financial system.

Ḳā'itbey was by far the most important ruler of the Burdjī dynasty (see i. 796). He once more raised the prestige of the Mamlūk empire to a great height abroad, so that he could with good reason consider himself the first prince of Islām. For his campaigns and his buildings he required considerable means, which he could only raise by extortion, in the total absence of a regulated system of taxation. This is made a severe reproach against him by the chroniclers. In the modern view it is an obvious duty of a country to provide the necessary means for its army. It was just this lack of organised taxation that brought about the ruin of the Mamlūk empire. The Sulṭān was left to provide funds for himself by force. He either extorted them (if necessary by torture) from the high officials of the treasury, who had enriched themselves by dishonest means or "visited" the great shaikhs of the provinces and received gifts — presumably not always voluntary — from them (on one tour alone he raked in 200,000 dīnārs). He also levied contributions (e. g. to the amount of the five-monthly rental) from the real estate belonging to the pious foundations or from private individuals and forced the reservists, the Awlād al-Nās [on them cf. the article IBN IYĀS], to pay large sums in order not to be sent to the front. When the expedition planned did not take place, he gave back the money to the general amusement. He taxed Jews and Christians correspondingly. He also levied a very burdensome tax on the sale of corn. His expenses were on a corresponding scale. In the years 872—894 A. H. he expended over 7,000,000 dīnārs (70 million francs) in paying the army, a large sum for these days. His buildings as well as the renovation of older buildings required large sums. The mosque at his tomb before the gates of Cairo, the Khānḳāh (monastery) in the village of this name near the capital, the building of the castle at Aleppo, work on the mosque in Medina which was destroyed in 881 (1475/6) by a fire caused by lightning are celebrated. Although he was nearly 60 years old when he ascended the throne, he spent the earlier years of his reign in an almost feverish state of activity. Not only did he, contrary to the previous custom, daily leave the citadel for riding and excursions but he travelled round unceasingly and made the pilgrimage to Mecca and great tours of inspection to Aleppo and beyond to the Euphrates. He was able to keep his Mamlūks in control and the always rebellious Beduins in the Delta as well as the Arab tribes in Nābulus and Ḥamā. The period of his reign seemed an ideal one to the historians in contrast to those of his successors. He was of unusual, almost sadistic cruelty. He loved to be present at whippings and tortures, sometimes taking part in person; he was exceedingly strict to his son and once, as a punishment, made him live in the Mamlūk barracks and perform the most menial duties. He had only one legal wife; of his slaves the best known is Aṣil Bāī, the mother of his son Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (cf. her biography in my article in *Zeitschr. des Deutsch. Pal. Vereins* 1905, p. 191.

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(SOBERNHEIM)

AL-ḲAIYĀL, AḤMAD AL-ḲAIYĀL AL-KHAṢĪBĪ, a philosopher of the third century A. H., with Isma'īlī and gnostic tendencies; al-Shahrastānī knew of works by him in Arabic and Persian; the fragments which he gives are to be compared with *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*. — cf. Shahrastānī, *Milal*, Cairo 1317, ii. 17—18.

(L. MASSIGNON)

ḲAIYIM (A.), originally: "he who stands upright", then (with *bi*, *'alā*, *li* or the genitive alone): he who takes something upon himself, takes care of something or someone and hence also has authority over them. Thus we find the pre-Islāmic poet al-Ḳuṭāmī (*Dīwān*, ed. Barth, Leiden 1902, N°. 26) already speaking of a "ḳaiyim of water", i. e. apparently the man in charge of it, the supervisor, and the poet Ḥāritb b. Ṣarim (*Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, p. 269, verse 2) speaks of the ḳaiyim of a woman i. e. he who provides for her, her husband. The first mentioned meaning (supervisor etc.), is then found in all possible applications, administrator of a pious foundation, of baths, superintendent of a temple, caretaker of a saint's grave, etc.; indeed, in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Da'awāt*, Bāb 10 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv. 189, 4), in Muḥammad's night-prayer, the expression is even applied to God as the director of heaven and earth, and this application seems also to be present in 'Omar b. Abī Rabī'a, ed. P. Schwarz, N°. 91, 11, where the poet swears by the "religion of the Ḳaiyim". Here, of course, it is most probably a question of an inversion (perhaps caused by the metre) of the Ḳur'ānic expression *al-Dīn^u 'l-ḳaiyim^u* (see below) on the model of *Bait^u 'l-Muḳaddas*. (Cf. Wright, *Grammar*^{3} ii.

§ 95 sq. and al-Ḳasṭallānī on Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 67 end).

The meaning "provider, husband" of a woman is frequently found in the eschatological traditions, in which it is said that with the approach of the last day the number of women will increase in proportion to men, so much that there will only be one ḳaiyim for every 50 women.

The adjectival meaning "commanding" (a branch of knowledge) perhaps arises out of the same sphere of conceptions as "provider", "master"; it is found in a biographical notice of a scholar in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 225, 16. On the other hand, ḳaiyim, also an adjective meaning "correct, right", repeatedly found in the Ḳorʾān in the expression *al-Dīn* *'l-ḳaiyim* and similar combinations may have to be semasiologically separated from the former meaning.

Bibliography (here as in the text mainly from references given by Prof. A. Fischer, Leipzig and Prof. A. J. Wensinck, Leiden): Ḳaiyim = administrator: al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ Waṣāyā*, Bāb 32 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll ii. 196, 4) and al-Ḳasṭallānī s. v.; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 856, 13; al-Maḳḳarī, ii. 547, 20; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I/ii. 814, 17; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 125, 2 from below; = husband: al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Nikāḥ*, Bāb 110 (ed. Kr.-J. iii. 453, 2 from below) and *passim*; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *op. cit.*, poem N°. 260, 5; = correct, orthodox: Sūra ix. 36 and *passim*; xcviii. 4 and thereon al-Ḳasṭallānī's note on the quotation of this passage from the Ḳorʾān in al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Īmān*, Bāb 34 (Kr.-J., i. 19, 18). (A. SCHAADE)

AL-ḲAIYŪM (A.), one of the "beautiful names" of Allāh (see i. 303), according to some theologians the greatest name of Allāh (see *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, ix. 36, 7 from below — ult. The word is of Jewish origin and means like its prototype, the Hebrew קַיָּם, or the Aramaic קַיָּמָא (cf. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran*, London 1902, p. 69, 12 and note 89; Brünnow-Fischer, *Arabische Chrestomathie*, Berlin 1913, glossary under *ḳwm*) "the eternal". Muḥammad, who uses it three times in the Ḳorʾān (ii. 256; iii. 1 and xx. 110) may have picked it up from the Jews of Medina (the attribution of the whole of Sūra xx. as "Meccan" would then have to be revised). When late (post-Ḳorʾānic) texts e. g. al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Tawḥīd*, Bāb 24 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv. 466, 12; Muḥammad's night-prayer) have the variant *ḳaiyām*, the ā in the last syllable is probably only to be regarded as another reproduction of the Hebrew *ḳāmeṣ*. The other meanings which Arab exegesists have given the word may be due to ignorance of its foreign origin (cf. *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, *l. c.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-Bayān*, Būlāḳ 1324, iii. 5 on Sūra ii. 256).

Bibliography (here and in the text mainly from references given by Prof. A. Fischer, Leipzig): Levy, *Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterb.*, under קַיָּם and קַיָּמָא; *Z. D. M. G.*, xliv. (1890), p. 168—171; al-Abshīhī, *Kitāb al-Mustaṭraf* (Cairo 1308), i. 5, 14 (beginning of Chap. I). (A. SCHAADE)

AL-ḲAʿḲĀʿ B. ʿAMR B. MĀLIK AL-TAMĪMĪ, an Arab general. When Sadjāḥ bint al-Ḥārith gave herself out to be a prophetess after the death of Muḥammad, al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ joined her and is said to have fought on her side. But in the period following he always retained his Muslim views, and as a subordinate of the famous Khālid b. al-Walīd [q. v.] he played a very prominent part in the earliest wars of Islām. As early as the year 11 (632) he is reported to have fought faithfully on the side of Khālid in the battle of Buzākha [q. v.] and after the capture of al-Ḥīra [q. v.] in Rabīʿ I, 12 (May/June 633) there was an encounter between the Muslims under al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ and the Persians at al-Ḥaṣīd in the vicinity of al-Anbār [q. v.] in which the latter were defeated. The exact date cannot be ascertained; according to one statement the fight was in the year 12; by others it is put in Khālid's campaign in Syria. In Radjab 14 (Aug.—Sept. 635) al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ took part in the conquest of Damascus and in the following year he commanded a squadron in the battle of the Yarmūk, which also ended in the victory of the Muslims. Special mention is made of the way in which he distinguished himself in the desperate battle of al-Ḳādisīya [q. v.] in 16 (637); Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ was in command here, but the success is ascribed to the timely intervention of al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ. He is again mentioned among the valiant heroes who took part in the capture of al-Madāʾin in the same year, when countless booty fell into the hands of the Muslims. According to some accounts he commanded the vanguard in the battle of Djalūlā [q. v.] at the end of the same year and organised a garrison in Ḥulwān [q. v.]. He also shared in the capture of Nihāwand in 21 (641/642) and before the battle of the Camel (36 = 656) he was sent by ʿAlī to al-Baṣra to negotiate with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair. He afterwards settled in al-Kūfa. Al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ, who is one of the favourite heroic figures in Arab legend, was also famed as a poet and celebrated his warlike deeds in several poems.

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī (ed. Leiden), i. passim; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), iv. 211 sq., 217, 222; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), ii. 294 sq., 297, 300, 303 sqq., 316, 329, 367 sq., 370 sqq., 400 sqq.; iii. 7 sqq., 186 sqq., 195, 198, 200, 208 sqq.; do., *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv. 207; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, iii. N°. 1245; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 321, 602, 937, ii. 107, 280; *al-Aghānī*, xv. 57, 58; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 36 sq., 82, 88, 203, 207 sq.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 14, 39, 45, 49, 65, 72, 77, 86, 105; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, see the general Index. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KʿAKHTA, in older spelling KAKHTĀ, sometimes AL-KAKHTĀ, the name of a place on the Kʿakhta-Ṣu, a tributary of the Euphrates, about 40 miles S. E. of Malaṭya, the residence of a ḳaimmaḳam and chief town in a ḳaḍā (circle) of the same name, which comprises the three *nāḥiyas* (communities) of Gerger, Shiro and Merdis, with a population of about 46,000 (according to Cuinet mainly Kurds; with them over 4000 Armenians) and belongs to the *liwā* (administrative district) of Malaṭya in the province of Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz (Kharpūt). The modern Kʿakhta which numbers only a few hundred huts with about 1000 inhabitants, almost exclusively Kurds, was famed in the middle ages for its exceedingly strong castle which, built on a steep eminence, guarded the eastern road from Sumeisāṭ to Malaṭya and was one of the frontier strongholds (*Thughūr*) of the

Muslim lands, and has again achieved fame in modern times through the discovery on the neighbouring Nemrūd-Dāghī of monuments of Antiochus I of Commagene of the first century B. C. We first meet with the name in the Oriental historians of the Crusades; in Bar-Hebraeus and Michael Syrus it is written *Gakhta*; the ancient and the Byzantine name are not known; but the bridge built in the reign of Septimius Severus about 200 A. D. over the Bōlām-Ṣu at K'akhta and the remains of Byzantine buildings on the fortress show that the place was an important frontier station, even in antiquity and at the beginning of the middle ages. The hypothesis of Ainsworth that K'akhta represents the ancient Claudias, the Ḳalawdhiya of the Arabs, is untenable (see the article ḲALAWDHIYA).

As a result of the battle of Manzikert (Melāzgird) on Aug. 19, 1071, these frontier districts were definitely lost to the Byzantine empire and became a shuttlecock between the Dānishmandoghlu of Malaṭya, the Saldjūḳs of Rūm and the Ortoḳids of Kharpūt, who disputed the ownership of K'akhta with one another and the Crusaders, who ruled in Urfa (Edessa) and Mar'ash. At the same time Armenians, who by the second half of the eleventh century had migrated into these regions in considerable bodies, had made themselves independent in various strong places like Malaṭya, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, Gerger and K'akhta (Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, iii. 158 *sqq.*, 198 and 205 *sq.*) and kept ground against the neighbouring Muslim rulers. To this period belongs an inscription at the citadel of K'akhta of the year 525 (1130/31) in which a certain Malik al-Manṣūr is mentioned as restorer of the defences (O. Hamdy Bey, *Le Tumulus de Nemroud Dagh*, p. 2 *sqq.*).

After Baldwin, Count of Mar'ash, and his successor Reinald had fallen in quick succession in battle with Nūr al-Dīn, the warlike Joscelin of Edessa seized their lands, which included Gerger and K'akhta; when he was captured in May 1150 by Nūr al-Dīn, K'akhta and the neighbouring strongholds like Gerger, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, etc., fell into the hands of Ḳara Arslān of Kharpūt; Krikor, the last Armenian ruler of K'akhta, was granted another district by the victor (Michael Syrus, iii. 294 *sq.*; Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, ii. 421, 423). Thus ended Christian rule in these regions.

On October 25, 1177, Sulṭān Ḳilidj Arslān conquered Malaṭya and drove out the last Dānishmandoghlu, who fled to Kharpūt (Michael Syrus, iii. 373) but the border strongholds like Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, K'akhta and others seem not to have been as yet occupied by the Saldjūḳs.

In the year 623 (1226) war broke out between 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḳobād (see KAIḲOBĀD I) and Mas'ūd, the Urtuḳid of Āmid and Mārdīn; after Mas'ūd and his allies had suffered a severe defeat at K'akhta in Shawwāl of this year, this stronghold, which had hitherto been under Mas'ūd's control, passed into the hands of the victor (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 300; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople, iii. 144; Houtsma, *Recueil*, etc. iii. 280, iv. 118 *sqq.*) and remained in possession of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, also when they had already become vassals of the Ilkhāns. During the rising of Baba Rasūl Allāh (638 = 1240—1241), K'akhta and the surrounding country were plundered by the followers of this madman (Bar Hebraeus, *Ktābā d-Maktbānūt Zabnē*, ed. Bedjan, p. 473; *Chronik*, ed. Bruns and Kirsch, i. 517 = *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, Bairūt 1890, p. 439) after having been devastated a few years earlier by the Khwārizmīs driven out of Rūm (Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'rīkh*, etc., p. 437 *sq.*); afterwards, under Kaikā'ūs II, it was used from time to time as a place of banishment (Houtsma, *Recueil*, etc. iv. 259, 262) and it is also mentioned in other connections (Bar-Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 499, 14 = *Ta'rīkh* etc., p. 467 *sq.*, anno 1257). Munadjdjimbashi, *Ta'rīkh* iii. 271, reports that the last 'Alā' al-Dīn of Ḳonya granted a *fief* in Yighi-Eli near K'akhta to a son of 'Othmān and grandson of Ertoghrul; and Eretna, who had made himself independent as governor for the Ilkhāns in Asia Minor (728—753 = 1328—1352) ruled also in the domain of Malaṭya; on Eretna see M. van Berchem and Halil Edhem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscr. Arabicarum*, Cairo 1910, p. 41 *sqq.*). In the campaigns of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sulṭāns against the Mongols, K'akhta is repeatedly mentioned (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk li Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, French transl. by Quatremère entitled *Hist. des Sultans Mamelouks*, ii./i., p. 61) and in 682 (1283/1284) Ḳara Sunḳor, the Egyptian governor of Ḥalab, occupied the town, which he again fortified strongly (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, iv. 18) and it is therefore expressly mentioned in the treaty of 1 Rabī' II, 684 with Leon, king of Little Armenia, as the territory of Sulṭān Ḳalā'ūn (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*; ii./i. p. 168). K'akhta seems, however, to have been temporarily lost again with other places; in connection with the Egyptian campaign against the Mongols in 715 (1315—16), in the course of which the Mamlūks conquered and destroyed Malaṭya, it is reported that the people of Ḳal'at al-Rūm, Behesnā, K'akhta and Gerger used to make raids into Muslim territory (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, iv. 77). Later this area must have been under the rule of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadiroghlu of Mar'ash, the vassals of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, down to the first Ottoman conquest. When Bāyazīd I, in 801 (1398/99, according to Egyptian sources (see Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v. 70 and 74; Neshri in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xv. 352: 800 A. H.; the old Ottoman Chroniclers in Leunclavius, *Histor. Musulm.*, col. 337, 44 *sqq.*, 338, 11 *sqq.*; do. ed. Giese, p. 34 *sq.*, and 'Āshiḳ Pasha Zāde, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 74: 798 A. H.) opened hostilities against Egypt, he first of all occupied the region of Malaṭya and drove out the Turkomans, i. e. the Dhu 'l-Ḳadiroghlu, who had hitherto ruled there; on his campaign against Syria in the early months of the year 803 (1400/1401), Tīmūr conquered Malaṭya and the whole district as far as K'akhta, drove out Bāyazīd's garrisons and installed the "Turkoman" Ḳara 'Othmān (Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta, ii. 271 *sqq.*, 278; Weil, *op. cit.*, v. 82). After Tīmūr's withdrawal, the Mamlūk Sulṭāns again entered this territory which they held till the destruction of their power by Selīm I. It is specially mentioned that K'akhta was captured by them in 820 (1417/1418; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii./i. 61 note; Weil, p. 139); lastly we read in Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, Cairo 1311, ii. 141, that Uzun Ḥasan seized this stronghold in 877 (1472/1473). In the report of his victory (*fatḥnāme*) from Ḥalab (end of Radjab 922) Selīm I expressly mentions the capture of Gerger and K'akhta. Under Ottoman rule it

had no longer the importance as a frontier fortress that it had in the middle ages, when it is specially mentioned as such by Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Taḳwīm*, ed. Reinaud, p. 262 sq.) and al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren, p. 206). Djalālzāde (middle of the xvith century) had given it a section to itself in his description of the Ottoman empire for the district of Gerger and Kiākhta (von Hammer, *Des Osm. Reiches Staatsverf.*, ii. 449); in Ewliya also (*Siyāḥet-nāme*, iv. 22) it is occasionally mentioned, but the great geographical works of the xviith century, the *Manāẓir al-ʿAwālim* of Muḥammad ʿĀshiḳ (f. 176a of the Vienna MS.) and the *Djihānnumā* of Kātib Čelebi (Constantinople 1145, p. 600 sq.) only know Kiākhta from Abu 'l-Fidā', whose statements they translate word for word; among the Anatolian Ḳaḍā's Kiākhta was placed in the outposts of the seventh stage (v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, ix. 8, No. 470). In the course of the last three centuries, these remote and inaccessible districts have been settled by Kurds; Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, describes them as a useless, rebellious horde of highway robbers; they obeyed only their own chiefs (*bey beyleri*) and during the last century it required repeated military expeditions to restore the authority of the Porte in the region inhabited by them. In these fightings the fortress of Kiākhta also played a part, as a Kurdish Bey with his followers had entrenched himself in it; it was stormed in 1838 by Turkish troops and from this incident became known in Europe through reports of Ainsworth and v. Moltke (cf. C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 870, 874, 885 sq.). An archaeological excavation of the fortress has yet to be made; there is a brief description in Ḥamdī Bey's work on the Turkish expedition of 1883; he paid special attention to the Muslim inscriptions (still unpublished); his statements are supplemented in details by the *Sālnāme* of Kharpūt. The great iron gate, which is mentioned as early as the Saldjūḳ conquest in 1226, was brought along with the gate of the fortress of Gerger in 1882 to Diyār Bakr.

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2. A town in Transbaikalia, 50° 19' N. Lat., 106° 40' E. Long., 2550 feet above sea level. Kiākhta is separated from Maimačin (Dai Ötögö) by a neutral zone of about 50 yards broad and connected with Troitskosawsk by the only high road in the district, about 3½ versts long. Lying on the Kiākhta brook (Mong. Kiakhtugorekhon) and surrounded by mountains (Burgultai = Eagle mountain) Kiākhta arose out of a Russian frontier post south of the Kiākhta brook on the Bura, a stream that forms the frontier, through the fact that here on Aug. 10, 1727 the treaty of Kiākhta was signed. The Chinese opened this point for trade between Russia and China and founded here Maimačin (trade-frontier) and the Russians the frontier post of Kiākhta. Henceforth Kiākhta has been the corridor for the exploration and penetration of Mongolia and China, for science, politics, trade (tea-trade) and commerce. Fortified with palisades, it has formed down to the present day a little republic of merchants with its own taxes (tax on tea), customs, its own administration, council of elders, fire-brigade and church. In addition to houses of stone there are still also wooden buildings in Kiākhta and great business-houses with large yards for caravans, but no shops; besides the Russian wholesale business there is the detail trade among the Mongols and Chinese. Since 1727 the famous December fair has been held annually in Kiākhta. Kiākhta is the main depot and clearing house for the so-called caravan tea. At one time rhubarb was smuggled into Russia. Now gold is smuggled into China. As a result of the treaty of Pekin 1898 and the opening of the great Siberian railway the import of tea, silk and cotton goods has considerably decreased; the export of cloths, furs and leather is rather busier. There is a steppe post and telegraph to Pekin via Urga.

Bibliography: *Meng-Ku-Yu-Mu-Ki* (transl. by P. S. Popow, St. Petersburg 1895), p. 68, 336, 353—355, 359; Pallas, *Reise d. verschiedene Provinzen d. Russ. Reiches* (St. Petersburg 1772 and 1773), iii. 109—112; Ritter, *Asien* (Berlin 1832), Part ii., Book ii. p. 102—111 (here the older travel literature is given in detail, e. g. Ysbrand Ides, Ad. Brand, Lor. Lange, Klaproth, Timkowski, Pallas, Gmelin, Messerschmidt, Renovants, Sievers, Hess, Erman), p. 120; Iakyuth, *Zapiski o Mongolii* (St. Petersburg 1828), p. 123—125; Timkowski, *Reise n. China* (Leipzig 1825), i. 19—20, iii. 143; *Expédition Finnoise 1890: Inscription de l'Orkhon* (Helsingfors 1892), p. iii.; W. Obrutschew, *Aus China* (Leipzig 1896), p. 12—17; Wenyukow, *Die russ.-asiat. Grenzlande* (Leipzig 1874), p. 180 sq., 200 sq., 210; Wilda, *Von Hongkong nach Moskau* (Altenburg 1902), p. 286—296; Consten, *Weideplätze d. Mongolen* (Berlin 1919—1920); Perry, *With the Russians in Mongolia* (London 1913), see Index, p. 335; Przhewalski, *Mongolia i strana Tangutow* (St. Petersburg 1875), i. 1—3; do., *Reisen in der Mongolei* (Jena 1877), p. 1—6, and xxx.; do., *Ot Kiakhty na istoki Zhëltoi* (St. Petersburg 1888), p. 70—73; Bogolepow, *Očerki Russko-Mongolskoi Torgowli* (Tomsk 1910), p. 115; *Moskowskaya Torgowaya ekspeditsiya w Mongoliyu* (Moscow 1912); H. P. Lawrushkow, *Russkiye w Mongolii* (St. Petersburg 1912), p. 18, 42, 43, 45—50; J. Maiskii, *Sowremennaya Mongoliya* (Irkutsk 1921), p. 199—206; A. Palladiya, *Dorozhnaya Zamyetki na puti po Mongolii 1847 i 1859* (St. Petersburg 1892), p. 8. (H. Consten)

KĀKŌYIDS, a dynasty, which reigned from 398 (1007) to 443 (1051) over the provinces of Iṣfahān and Hamadhān. It descends from Dushmanziyār Rustam b. al-Marzubān, a native of Dailam, who held the fief of Shahriyār and received the title of *iṣfahbadh* from the Būyid Madjd al-Dawla (cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Hist. of Ṭabaristān*, transl. Browne, p. 228, 230, 231, 239; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, p. 195, 209; Mīrkhond, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ*, iv. 26).

Kākōye in the dialect of Dailam is the hypo-

coristic diminutive of *Kākū* "maternal uncle" (cf. J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, v. 216, N°. 363; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Farhang-i Nāṣirī*, s. v.). The surname Ibn Kākōye had been given to the founder of the dynasty, because he was the son of the maternal uncle of Madjd al-Dawla by the mother of the latter, sister of Dushmanziyār (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 338, better explanation than p. 146), his patron.

In place of Dushmanziyār, the coins have the name Dushmanzār (cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 88; genealogical table, p. 445). The dynasty consisted of five members:

1. 'ALĀ' AL-DAWLA ABŪ DJA'FAR MUḤAMMAD b. DUSHMANZIYĀR, surnamed *Ibn Kākōye*, who was the first to declare himself independent, soon after 398 (1007); he was cousin of the wife of the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.], mother of Madjd al-Dawla, who had him appointed governor of Iṣfahān; he seized Hamadhān (414 = 1023), Raī (419 = 1028) and Iṣfahān (421 = 1030); continual wars with the Kurds, with the *ispahbadh* of Ṭabaristān and with the Ghuzz prevented him from peacefully enjoying the possession of these places. In 420 (1029) he declared himself a vassal of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna; in 424 (1033) he was confirmed in the government of Iṣfahān by Sulṭān Mas'ūd, who had succeeded his father; in 425 (1034) he rebelled, was twice defeated, lost Iṣfahān, tried to retake it two years later and ultimately succeeded after some time. The philosopher and physician Ibn Sīnā [q. v.] filled the ministerial office at his court, after having been dismissed from the service of the Būyid Tādj al-Dawla (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 189; transl. de Slane, i. 442); he was still minister at his death in 428 (1037). 'Alā' al-Dawla died in 433 (1041), after having built a wall round his capital in 429 (1037).

2. ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN ABŪ MANṢŪR FARĀMARZ, his eldest son, succeeded him at Iṣfahān; he fought against his brother Abū Ḥarb, who had appealed for assistance to the Ghuzz Saldjūḳs, settled in Raī; the latter was defeated. Having sought refuge with the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār b. Sulṭān al-Dawla [q. v.] he induced the latter to undertake the siege of Iṣfahān; the quarrel was terminated by a peace between the two brothers, which lasted till 435 (1044). Ẓahīr then seized the two fortresses of Kirmān belonging to Abū Kālīdjār, who in order to get them back, took Abarḳūh and defeated the Iṣfahān army. Besieged in his capital by Ṭoghrul Beg in 438 (1047) he was left in possession of his fief in consideration of paying homage till 443 (1051) when the Saldjūḳ finally obtained Iṣfahān after a long siege; he made it his capital and had the walls destroyed, saying that only a weak prince has need of walls to protect him. Abū Manṣūr received as fiefs the two cantons of Yazd and Abarḳūh. He accompanied Ṭoghrul-Beg when the latter went to Baghdād to marry the daughter of the Caliph al-Ḳā'im in 455 (1063).

3. ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR GERSHĀSP, brother of the preceding, was reigning at Hamadhān when this town was besieged by the Ghuzz in 420 (1029). He made peace with their chief Gök-Tāsh and married his daughter; but the Ghuzz began their attacks again after the capture of Raī and forced him to take refuge in the fortress of Kinkawar. These Turks entered Hamadhān in 430 (1038); having succeeded in drawing Abū Kālīdjār after them, they attacked him but he escaped. It was immediately after this that his father 'Alā' al-Dawla surprised and defeated them. On the latter's death Gershāsp made Nihāwand his residence. Farāmarz having recaptured Hamadhān gave it as fief to his brother on condition that he had the *khuṭba* pronounced in his name. In 434 (1042) Ṭoghrul-Beg seized this town and demanded that Gershāsp should hand over Kinkawar, which its defenders refused to do. In 436 (1044) Gershāsp regained Hamadhān and declared himself a vassal of the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār; next year Ṭoghrul sent his brother Yannāl to reoccupy this town, from which the prince had fled and taken refuge among the Djawaḳān Kurds. Yannāl in 439 (1047) took Kinkawar, which was commanded by a lieutenant of Gershāsp's, 'Oḳbar b. Fāris, who, to obtain the best conditions of surrender, pretended that he still had considerable supplies. After the loss of his possessions, Gershāsp took refuge with the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār. In 441 (1049) he was in Iṣfahān and received favourably the overtures of Mawdūd the Ghaznawid who was seeking help against the Saldjūḳs, but he lost many soldiers in the desert and fell ill, which forced him to return. He died at al-Ahwāz in 443 (1051).

4. 'ALĪ, SON OF FARĀMARZ, married Arslān Khātūn, daughter of the Saldjūḳ Dā'ūd, aunt of Sulṭān Malik-Shāh, in 469 (1076). Having sought refuge in Kirmān he was given the fief of Yazd (*Rec. de Textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, i. 26). He was killed in 488 (1095) fighting by the side of Tutush (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 312).

5. 'ALĀ' AL-DAWLA ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR GERSHĀSP, son of 'Alī; as prince of Yazd, he was in the service of the Saldjūḳs; he had married the sister of Sulṭān Muḥammad and of Sandjar; dispossessed of his fief, which was given to the cupbearer Ḳaradja by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he put himself under Sandjar's protection and was present at the battle in which the latter defeated his nephew (513 = 1119). He had escaped from the fortress of Farmain, in which Maḥmūd had had him interned (*Rec. de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, ii. 133).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix., s. v. *Dushmanziyār*, *Farāmarz*, *Gershāsp*, 'Alī b. Abū Manṣūr; *Rec. de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 19, 25, 52, 133, 151; Munedjdjim-bashy, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. 1285, ii. 503—4; Edw. G. Browne, *Rare Ms. history of Iṣfahān* in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1901, p. 433; D. Tornberg, *Revue de la numismatique belge*, 3rd ser., ii. (Brussels 1858); H. Sauvaire, *ibid.*, 3rd ser., vi. (1862); J. G. Stickel, in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xviii. 297 *sqq.*, xlix. 71; P. Horn, in the *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii. 565.

(CL. HUART)

ḲAL'A (Pl. ḲILĀ', ḲILĀ') in Arabic the name for a fortress or stronghold built on a hill or small elevation. In Turkish it also means the interior of a city in contrast to the outer suburbs (cf. Zenker, *Türk.-arab.-pers. Handwörterbuch*, p. 707ᵃ). The word which looks good Arabic and is fairly generally regarded as a genuine Arabic word may be a loanword from Irānian. Fränkel first raised doubts as to its genuineness in *Die Aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden 1886), p. 237, because it cannot be derived from any Arabic root. Quite recently A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die pers. Fremdwörter im klass. Arabisch*

(Göttingen 1919), p. 70 *sq.* has championed the Persian origin of the word. The original is considered to be the Persian *kalāt* (a fort or village on a hill), (see Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 859). This *kalāt*, strictly an appellative, appears at various places on Īrānian soil, especially in Afghānistān and Fārs, as a local place-name also (Kelāt, Kilāt); cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 269 *sq.*, 332, 395. The form *kalāt* is of recent origin and has arisen through the addition of an inorganic *t* to the older *kalā*; cf. Andreas in the *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.* (Berlin), ii (1897), 85 *sq.* and Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclop. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, i. 1176. *Kalā* (also *kula*) has survived for example in place names in Māzandarān; for references see Melgunof, *Das südl. Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres* (Leipzig 1868), p. 303 *sq.* The old Īrānian form of the word must, however, have been **kalak*; this is shown by the Armenian *kʿałakʿ* (town), which is certainly of Īrānian origin, not perhaps an Aramaic loan word (from Aram. *karkhā*), which P. de Lagarde, *Armen. Studien* (Göttingen 1877), Nº. 2357 and Hübschmann in the *Zeitschr. d. Dtsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlvii. 252 wished to make it. **Kalak* would regularly become *Kalā* (Andreas, *op. cit.*). It is still uncertain why the Arabs added an *ʿain* at the end of the word. The word certainly was borrowed very early; the prototype yielded was perhaps not *kalā*, but still the oldest form **kalak*, the final *k* of which first of all becoming *ḳ* might be weakened in pronunciation to *ʿain*. [It is also possible that the Arabs took Persian *l* as a so-called emphatic *lām*, cf. *al-ʿaskar* from *lash-kar*. Ed.]. In the Arabic linguistic area there are a fairly large number of place names, which have *kalʿa* as their first member; cf. AL-ḲALʿA, ḲALʿAT; Yāḳūt, *Mushtarik* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 357; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 533 (Index); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xiii. 786—9 (Register); Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii. 735.

(M. STRECK)

AL-ḲALʿA. See ALCALA, ḲALʿAT BANĪ ʿABBĀS etc.

KALAH (also KALĀH, KALA, KILA and KILLAH), according to the mediaeval Arab geographers the name of an island or peninsula, which played an important part as an intermediary in the trade and navigation between Arabia, India and China. It was particularly noted for its tin-mines; it is at the same time described as a centre of trade in camphor, bamboo, aloes, ivory, etc. Its capital was likewise called Kalah; cf. e.g. al-Dimashḳī, p. 152, 11, 170, 1; al-Nuwairī (in A. v. d. Lith, *op. cit.*, (see below, *Bibl.*), p. 281; the sea washing this region, described as difficult to navigate, was called the "sea of Kalah" after it; see al-Masʿūdī, i. 370, 10, 340, 1; al-Dimashḳī; p. 152, 11, 169, 20. The identification of the situation of this territory is of importance for the history of Indo-Arabian trade. According to the statements given by the merchant Sulaimān (his journal was edited in 237=851) and Yāḳūt, a location in Further India is alone possible. The islands and peninsulas of Further India have been especially famous for centuries as producers of tin; cf. thereon Ritter, *Erdkunde*, v. 23, 24, 28, 30, 77—80, 438—439. As it is expressly stated of Kalah (e.g. by Abū Zaid al-Sīrāfī; see below, *Bibl.*) that it — at least for a time — was under the rule of the king of Zābedj (= Java; see A. van der Lith, *op. cit.*, p. 231 *sq.* and JAVA, ii. 574 *sqq.*), in identifying it, we must look in the first place to the south-western part of Further India, in the region of the Strait of Malacca. We may leave Sumatra out of this limited choice, especially as it only produces tin in small quantities and of inferior quality. The island of Bangka on the S. E. coast of Sumatra, now famous as a rich tin-producer, is to be left out of the reckoning, as the mines there have only been known since 1710 and were not worked before (cf. A. v. d. Lith, p. 263). This only leaves us the peninsula of Malacca and we would have to follow Walckenaer (in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Paris 1852, p. 19) and identify the modern town of Quedah (Queda, Kedah, Keddah) on the west coast of the peninsula in 6° N. Lat. with the Kalah of the Arab authors. The province of Quedah (on it cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, v. 20 *sq.*), watered by the river Kalang, which would appear to coincide more or less with the area of the "peninsula" of Kalah, is still distinguished in Malacca for its busy tin trade. The actual name of the chief town is Kadah (to-day pronounced Kedāh). Quedah is to be explained as simply a corruption through the Portuguese. In the Turkish *Muḥīṭ* of Sīdī ʿAlī (see i. 287), written about 1554 the form Kedā is found; see Bittner and Tomaschek, *Die topogr. Kapitel des indischen Seespiegels Moḥîṭ* (Vienna 1897), p. 86 and see also there the maps reconstructed by Tomaschek from the statements of the *Muḥīṭ* and from Portuguese sources (plates xxiii. and xxiv.) Queddah is at the present day an unimportant place but in earlier centuries it was a flourishing, much visited and populous harbour; see thereon Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and A. v. d. Lith, p. 261.

The identification put forward by Walckenaer is also accepted by A. v. d. Lith, p. 259, 308, de Goeje (in *De Gids*, Amsterdam 1889, iii. 297), Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, and G. Le Strange in his translation of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 104. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 734 and Yule-Burnell, *op. cit.*, p. 145 consider it probable. The latter both think that Kalah might be identical with the Κῶλι of Ptolemy. But the situation required for the latter town (cf. the article *Koli* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, xi. 1075) seems to refute this.

The equation Kadah (Quedah) = Kalah seemed to be made quite certain by the fact emphasised by Kern in A. v. d. Lith, p. 308, that Malay *d* is pronounced very like *l*; Malay *Kadah* would therefore have sounded to an Arab ear as *Kalah*. But on the other hand it should be remembered that recently G. Ferrand (see *Bibl.*) contests the plausibility of a phonetic change from *Kadah* to *Kalah*. According to his investigations, Kalah would not be Kadah at all, but is rather to be equated to Kōrah, Kra (on maps) in the northeast part of Malacca (near 10° N. Lat.).

After what has been said above we are only left with the choice between Kādah or Kōrah (Kra) on Malacca for the identification of the Kalah of the Arabs. The other attempts to locate the position of Kalah — on Ceylon (harbour of Ghāli, Galle, Pointe de Galle; so Reinaud and Dulaurier), Malabar (so Renaudot; see Ouseley, *op. cit.*), Coromandel (so Gildemeister) — should now be definitely rejected as wrong.

Besides Kalah we find occasionally in the Arab geographers also Kalah-bār, e. g. in the voyage

of the merchant Sulaimān (Reinaud, *Relation*, etc. ii. 18, 17) and in al-Masʿūdī, i. 5, 3). Reinaud wished to separate this from Kalah entirely and connect the name with Coromandel, or rather its older Sanskrit form (which Gildemeister had already compared with Kalah). But that so far west a location for Kalāh-bār is excluded is shown by Sulaimān's reference, according to which Kalāh-bār (like Kalah, see above) was a dependency of the king of Zābedj (Java); Kalah and Kalāh-bār are probably identical as Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 733 *sq.* and A. v. d. Lith, p. 258, 253 have said. What -bār means in Kalāh-bār is quite uncertain; the explanations of Sulaimān (*as* = *mamlaka* = kingdom) and of al-Masʿūdī (= sea) arouse little confidence.

Most probably it is from the district of Kalah in Malacca discussed above — whether it is Kēdah or Kērah (Kra) — that tin gets the name *ḳalʿī* = "the Kalaʿite" in Arabic. Like the Persian *kilʿa* (*ḳalʿa*; see the art. ḲALʿA) the Arabs usually reproduced Kalah by Ḳalʿa; hence the nomen relativum *ḳalʿī* (*ḳalaʿī*). The somewhat fanciful observation of the traveller Misʿar b. Muhalhil (in Yāḳūt, ii. 862, 5; al-Ḳazwīnī, ii. 60, 23; Schlözer, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *sq.* that tin is called *ḳalʿī* from the fort (*ḳalʿa*) of Kalah, on which alone mines of this metal existed may be described simply as an attempt to explain the form *ḳalʿī* (with *ḳ*). Besides Kēdah and Kērah, Kēlang, Klang, a district in Selangor in Malacca might possibly come into consideration; cf. thereon the article ḲALʿĪ as well as for the relationship of *ḳalʿī* to the Malay *kaling* = tin.

This same al-Ḳalʿa, which was said to be the site of a very fine tin-mine, is usually regarded by the Arab geographers and lexicographers as the place of manufacture of a celebrated kind of Indian sword, called *ḳalʿī* (*ḳalaʿī*) to distinguish it. (Further information in article ḲALʿĪ).

Bibliography: Voyage of the merchant Sulaimān in Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde ... dans le IXe siècle* (Paris 1845), ii. Text, p. 18, 10 *sq.*, 22, 1; cf. *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân en Inde et Chine*, transl. G. Ferrand (Paris 1922), p. 12, 18, 19, 41, 42, 43, 95 *sq.*; Abū Zaid al-Sīrāfī in Reinaud, *op. cit.*, ii. Text, p. 90, 1 *sq.*; the voyages of Sindibād the sailor, ed. Langlès in Savary's *Gramm. de la langue Arabe*, Paris 1813, p. 499 (separate edition, Paris 1814, p. 63); Misʿar b. Muhalhil (see K. v. Schlözer, *Abu Dolef Misaris b. Mohalhal de itinere Asiatico comment.*, Berlin 1845, p. 18 *sq.*); Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* (*Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, ed. A. v. d. Lith and L. M. Devic, Leiden 1883—86), p. 222 (Register); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), i. 308, 4, 330, 10, 340, 1; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ* (*Géographie*, transl. by Jaubert) i. Paris 1836, p. 77, 79 *sq.*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 454, 10, iii. 452, 19, iv. 103, 10, 162, 4, 297, 17; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren), p. 152, 11, 155, 16 *sq.*, 170, 1; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 38, 23 = Gildemeister, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis loci* etc. (Bonn 1838), p. 57 *sq.* (arabic text); Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane), p. 375; al-Bākuwī, *Talkhīṣ al-Āthār*, transl. by de Guignes, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscr.*, ii. 405; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-ʿAdjāʾib* (Cairo 1324), p. 86, 19; Ibn Iyās, *Nashḳ al-Azhār* in Arnold, *Chrestom. Arab.* (Halle 1853), p. 72, 12; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 873 a (Kalah), 874 a (Kilah); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (ed. G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii/ii.) p. 203, 6, 231, 21; *Relations de Voyages et Textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, transl. G. Ferrand (Paris 1913/4), Index under *Kalah*. In the *Garshāsp-Nāma*, finished in 1066 and ascribed to Asadī, Kalah is mentioned in the description of an expedition by sea: see the passage in Ouseley, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, i. (London 1819), p. 52, note; al-Djawālīḳī, *al-Muʿarrab* (ed. Sachau), p. 125, 6 and thereon Sachau's note, p. 56 *sq.*; Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages*, etc. (see above), i. p. lxi. *sq.* and in *Géogr. d'Aboulféda* (transl. of Abu 'l-Fidāʾs *Taḳwīm*), i. p. CDXIV, CDXVIII *sq.*; Quatremère in *Journal des Savants* (Paris 1846), p. 729—731; Dulaurier in *Journ. Asiat.*, 4th series, viii. 209; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words*[2] (London 1903), p. 145 *sq.* A thorough examination of the Kalah problem is given by A. v. d. Lith in the notes to his edition of the *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*, p. 256—64 (258: extracts from Ibn Saʿīd and al-Nuwairī), 279 (passage from the *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿAdjāʾib*, 308; G. Ferrand in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 11th series, xii (1918), p. 80, 109; xiii. (1919), p. 312, 458 note 2, 439 *sq.* and xiv. (1919), p. 214—233, also vol. 1923, p. 31. (M. STRECK)

ḲALʿA-I SEFĪD. See ḲALʿE-I-SEFĪD.

ḲALʿA-I SULṬĀNIYE. See ḲALʿE-I-SULṬĀNIYE.

KALĀM ("speech") is defined by the grammarians as such utterance (*lafẓ*) with the voice as is compound (*murakkab*), not single words, and which conveys a meaning by convention, not nature (*waḍʿ*, not *ṭabʿ*, as in exclamations; *ḳām* not *ḳām*). So the *Adjurrūmīya*; the *Mufaṣṣal* (§ 1) says it must be a complete sentence, however simple, and Ibn ʿAḳīl (*Sharḥ al-Alfiya*) distinguishes in detail between it and *kalim* (a compound of three or more words, not necessarily giving a complete sense) and *kalima* (a single word with a meaning by convention) and *ḳawl* which covers them all. The *Dict. of the Techn. Terms* (pp. 1268—1270) gives a thoroughly scholastic discussion of *kalām* and its parts, phonetically, grammatically, lexicographically, rhetorically. See, also, De Sacy in *Anthol. Gramm.*, Arabic text, pp. 73 and 93 and notes. In lexicography *kalām* is a generic noun for speech, little or much (al-Djawharī in *Ṣaḥāḥ* and *Lisān*, xv. 428), applying to every kind of talk, *li-kulli mā yutakallamu bihi* (Ibn ʿAḳīl), or an expression for successive sounds (*aṣwāt*) giving an intelligible meaning (al-Faiyūmī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*). This is the actual usage of the root in the language. Thus *bi-kalāmī*, said by Allāh to Mūsā (Ḳur. vii. 141) is paraphrased by al-Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i. 345 *infra*) *bi-taklīmī* iyyāka, "by my speaking to thee", and on Ḳur. xlviii. 15, al-Baiḍāwī says that *kalām* is an *ism* for *taklīm* (ii. 268, 14). In the remaining two occurrences, *kalām Allāh*, Ḳur. ii. 70, is ambiguous and may mean either Allāh's actual speaking to Mūsā or the Law, while in Ḳur. ix. 6, it seems to mean clearly the content of *kalām*. The 2nd stem of the verb is used fre-

quently in the Ḳur'ān in the sense "to speak to" some one with the accus. of the person addressed (al-Ash'arī *al-Ibāna*, ed. Haidarābād, p. 27, says that *taklīm* means *al-mushāfaha bil-kalām*) and the 5th stem occurs four times (xi. 107, xxiv. 15, xxx. 34, lxxviii. 38) in the neuter sense "to speak, talk, discuss" with a *bi* of the subject discussed; in xxiv. 15 appears a shade of contemptuous reference, mere "talking with the mouth" (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 486a). In the later development *kalām* came to mean the statement of an intellectual position or an argument upholding such a statement, and a *mutakallim* was a person making use of such *kalām*'s; so *passim* in the *Fihrist*. By al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, Paris ed., viii. 161) *takallum* is used of the "patter" of a public story-teller and mimic by the roadside.

II. The first technical use of *kalām* seems to have been in the phrase *kalām Allāh*, meaning either the Ḳur'ān or Allāh's quality (*ṣifa*) called Speech. For these applications the way was prepared in the Ḳur'ān passages already quoted. But the order in which they came and the influences which produced them are still, like all the beginnings of Muslim theology, exceedingly obscure, and we are not yet in a position, in spite of Horten's collection of materials in *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam* (Bonn 1912) even to sketch their development. It seems clear that the Muslim thinkers were affected (i) broadly by the conceptions, classifications and dialectic of Greek philosophy; (ii) much more minutely by personal intercourse and discussion with the theologians of the Oriental Christian Church and (iii), perhaps, by some ideas of the Indian philosophical schools. The last influence has been suggested tentatively by Horten, especially at several points in his *Systeme*; but he has not supported it by any detailed references or translations from Indian literature; it remains, therefore, a bare, although very possible suggestion; cf. further on it Massignon's review in *Der Islam*, iii. 408. The idea of representing the problem of the personality of Allāh as a combination of a *dhāt* or essence with *ṣifāt*, or "qualities", seems partly due to the methods of Greek theories of personality, partly to the Ḳur'ānic rhetoric which, following the fashion of the old poetry, describes Allāh by means of epithets, and partly to Christian explanations of the relation of the persons in the Trinity. The problem, however, remained of the relation between these qualities and the essence, and was eventually given up by orthodox Islām which took refuge in the statement, "they are not He (i. e. Allāh himself), nor are they other than He"; this was an admission that the relationship was a theological mystery, ungraspable by human thought. These qualities, further, were uncreated and eternal; the personality of Allāh was unthinkable without them. But rationalistic Islām, later the Mu'tazilites could not admit such a mystery and tended to reject the qualities as having necessary relationship to the essence. In these discussions the quality "Speech" was evidently prominent, and on it the influence of the Christian theologians was peculiarly felt. It is never represented by an epithet in the Ḳur'ān, i. e. Allāh is never a Speaker, *mutakallim* or *kalīm*, although the later theologians used *mutakallim* frequently of him, and there is only one certain use of *kalām* for the actual Speech of Allāh (Ḳur. vii. 141); but Allāh is represented again and again by means of verbs as "speaking", and al-Ash'arī (*al-Ibāna*, p. 23 *sqq.*) quotes over ten passages, using different expressions, as bases for the doctrine that both the Speech of Allāh, as a quality inherent in Him, and the Ḳur'ān as a manifestation of that quality are uncreated. These passages, it may be said, give distinctly the impression that the doctrine was historically reached through other means, or arose by other causes, and that these proof-texts were then sought as a Ḳur'ānic basis. The rationalistic theologians, on the other hand, denied the possibility of a material, yet uncreated, manifestation of the eternal quality of Speech. Thus when Allāh spoke to Mūsā (Ḳur. iv. 162; vii. 139 *sqq.*; xx. 8 *sqq.*; xxviii. 30) from the tree (*shadjara*) they held that the sound of the words was created in the tree as a *maḥall*, and was therefore a state (*ḥāl*) in it (cf. Goldziher on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in *Der Islam*, iii. 245 *sqq.*). This the later Ash'arites met by explaining that Mūsā did not hear this Speech as an ordinary act of hearing, but spiritually and as coming from every direction and perceived by every one of his organs. It was thus received in his sensorium by the *ḥiss al-mushtarak*, the Aristotelian "common sense" (al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳur. vii. 139, xx. 12; ed. Fleischer, i. 341, 9, 593, 1). Further, it was recognized at least as early as al-Ash'arī (*al-Ibāna*, p. 25) that this Speech must go on without ceasing, for the quality is perfect and silence would be an imperfection in it. The Ḳur'ān (xviii. 109; xxxi. 26) and traditions (*al-Ibāna*, p. 25) speak also in violent metaphors of the *kalimāt*, separate words of Allāh, as being numberless; from all eternity Allāh has been speaking. But al-Ash'arī protests (*op. cit.*, p. 41) against the application of the term *lafẓ*, verbal utterance, to the Ḳur'ān; that is not seemly even in the case of our recital of it. Similarly the *Lisān* (xv. 427, 11) says that you must not call the Ḳur'ān *ḳawl Allāh*. Al-Ash'arī does not seem himself to have reached the position of the later Ash'arites that the Speech of Allāh is thinking, at least "ideas in the mind", *kalām* or *ḥadīth nafsī*, and therefore can go on without letters or words. Al-Ash'arī's desire was only to protect the Ḳur'ān arbitrarily from any approximation to the transitory and created, and he had not thought out what his position meant. The numberless *kalimāt* of Allāh are still speech but not like our utterance with the mouth. In part they are His creative acts, as He creates by the single word, *kun*, "come into being!" See further under KALIMA.

For the later orthodox theologians the proof of the *kalām* of Allāh was simplified down to an *idjmā'* [*q. v.*] of all peoples that Allāh has spoken to the prophets and must therefore be a speaker, possess a quality of Speech; see, e. g. al-Taftāzānī's comm. on the *'Aḳā'id* of al-Nasafī, Cairo 1321, p. 75 *sq.* Its nature has been indicated above. But the relation of this quality to the *kalām Allāh* of the Ḳur'ān was still to be defined. The Ḥanbalites continued to avoid any closer definition as al-Ash'arī had done; it was the uncreated, eternal Speech of Allāh, and that was an end of it. Some even tried to transfer its uncreated character to the very material on which it was written. For the Mu'tazilites it was simply created, like the words which reached the ears of Mūsā. The Ma-

taridites followed their normal method in dealing with theological mysteries, of putting the two elements flatly side by side and attempting no solution. Al-Nasafī (*ʿAḳāʾid*, p. 79) says: „The Ḳurʾān, the Speech of Allāh, is created and it is written in our copies, preserved in our hearts, recited by our tongues and heard by our ears. Yet it does not reside (*ḥāll*) in them". Al-Taftāzānī, as an Ashʿarite, suggests as an explanation that the word "fire" written on a piece of paper does not have in it the burning quality of fire and consume the paper.

The later Ashʿarite view of this relation may be given in the words of al-Faḍālī (d. 1236 = 1821; see AL-FAḌĀLĪ) in his *Kifāya* (ed. 1315 with al-Bādjūrī's comm., p. 50). "These Glorious Expressions [the words of the Ḳurʾān] are not a guide to the eternal quality in the sense that the eternal quality can be understood from them. But what is understood from the expressions equals (*musāwī*) what would be understood from the eternal quality if the veil were removed from us and we were to hear it"; apparently the distinction between ἐκφώνησις and ἐκφώνησις. Thus the wording of the Ḳurʾān is created, and al-Faḍālī has even a shade of doubt whether that wording goes back to the Preserved Tablet, that is to Allāh, or is due to Djibrīl or even to Muḥammad. Similarly Ibn Ḥazm [q. v.] reports (*Milal*, ed. Cairo, 1317, p. 221 *infra*) that this was the Ashʿarite doctrine even in his time and especially of al-Bāḳillānī [q. v.] and that their formula was that the Ḳurʾān was the *kalām* of Allāh only in the sense that it was an *ʿibāra*, an "expression" for the *kalām* of Allāh. Similarly in *al-Fiḳh al-Akbar*, ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150) with a comm. by al-Māturīdī (d. 333), the word for this relation is already *ʿibāra* and also *ḥikāya*, "reproduction" (Ḥaidarābād 1321, p. 23). There is a very complete analytical and objective, but not historical, statement of the different positions in the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī with comm. of al-Djurdjānī, Būlāḳ 1266, p. 495.

In this the influence of Christian theologians seems plain. The parallel between the uncreated but creating Logos, the reason and word of God, with its earthly manifestation in Jesus and this *kalām*, as eternal quality, as creative agency and as revelation in time is very close. The position of the Ashʿarite school that the quality is practically the thinking of Allāh, although they carefully guard against confusion with *our* "thoughts" which originate in time (al-Faḍālī, p. 32) suggests the rational side of the Logos, the Hebrew חָכְמָה, the divine σοφία. But it is not allowable to ascribe *ʿaḳl*, νοῦς, to Allāh because of philosophical and etymological implications; cf. *Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo, p. 541, ed. Sörensen, p. 161, ʿAḍā, and al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳur. ii. 41, ed. Fleischer, i. 57, 13. The Christian theologians naturally translated their Syriac *meltḥā*, ὁ λόγος with *al-kalām*. On Christian influence in Muslim theology see further in Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Ḳurra* and the various articles cited by Horten in his *Philos. Systeme*, p. 626; especially C. H. Becker, *Christliche Polemik u. islamische Dogmenbildung* in *Zeitschr. für Assyr.*, xxvi. 175 *sqq.*

III. It is not an overhazardous conjecture that similar influence worked in developing the use of *kalām* = theology and of *mutakallim* = theologian. The Syriac *mallel* (= *takallama*) and its derivatives were parallel to λέγω and λόγος on both sides of their meanings of reason and speech. Thus *mʿmallel alāhāyūthā* meant θεολόγος and *mellia*, λογικός. Starting, therefore, with *kalām* = speech, the development was easy to intellectual argument, especially as applied to theology. How much in the dark Muslims were on the origin of this use is evident from the eight explanations which al-Taftāzānī gives (comm. on al-Nasafī, p. 10 *sqq.*): (i) Theologians begin, "The *kalām* (statement, argument) on such and such a doctrine is ..." (ii) Deals most with doctrine of Speech of Allāh. (iii) Gives same weight to Speech in theology as philosophers give to *manṭiḳ*, logic. (iv) Most essential of sciences taught by speech. (v) Speech between opponents necessary to it rather than consideration or reading. (vi) The most disputatious of the sciences taught by speech. (vii) For its weightiness it is *the* "statement" as opposed to other sciences. (viii) The cutting, impressive science from *kalm* = *djarḥ*. Ibn Khaldūn, (see below) gives only two explanations: (i) That the science deals with speech only and not action (*ʿamal*). (ii) The same as (ii) above; cf. further Haarbrücker's translation of al-Shahrastānī's *Milal*, i. 26, and remarks, ii. 388—393.

But *kalām* came only slowly to be the name for theology. At first, *fiḳh*, "intelligence", was used for the whole speculative side of theology and canon law, as opposed to *ʿilm* for the traditional side [see FIḲH]. Then theology came to be called "the greater *fiḳh*", *al-Fiḳh al-akbar*, as in the book ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Māturīdī, referred to above. There, p. 6, it is said, "*al-fiḳh fi'l-dīn afḍal min al-fiḳh fi'l-ʿilm*", which would have been expressed later, "*kalām* is more excellent than *fiḳh*". *Kalām*, in that book, is not used technically except for the Speech of Allāh, *ḳawl* generally taking its place; in the *Ibāna* of al-Ashʿarī [q. v.] *kalām* occurs, similarly, only in titles to sections. But in the *Fihrist* (c. 377—400) *kalām* is used normally in the sense of "statement" and also technically, with *takallam* and *mutakallim*, of theology; while *fiḳh* is used, as regularly thereafter, of canon law. But there followed speedily a further development: *ʿIlm al-Kalām* came to mean not simply theology, but scholastic theology of an atomistic type, going back most strangely to Democritus and Epicurus, and a *mutakallim* came to mean a theologian, first Muʿtazilite and later orthodox, behind whose theology lay the atomistic system which was Islām's most original contribution to philosophy. The importance of this conception of the matter of the universe, as being of a grained structure and not infinitely divisible and continuous can hardly be over-emphasized. In Europe, until the xviith century, it was eclipsed by the authority of Aristotle; but it re-appeared then, first in a qualitative form (Boyle and Newton) and later quantitative (John Dalton). It would be curious to contrast the experimental researches of these with the a priori speculations of Islām. A *mutakallim*, then, was thus distinguished, although calling himself an Ashʿarite, from the Hanbalite conservative traditionalists among whom al-Ashʿarī had reckoned himself, from the mystics who found their basis in religious experience (*maʿrifa*; *khawāṭir* and *wāridāt* in *Fihrist*, p. 183, 12) rather than in *ʿilm* and dialectic, and from the philosophers (*ḥukamāʾ*) who based upon a blend of

Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy; although all these might profess to hold the same doctrines of the Sunnite faith. This leaves out of account, of course, the Shī'ite system, a structure of Mu'tazilite rationalism erected on the doctrine of *ta'līm*, i. e. that the ultimate basis of our knowledge is not reason but authoritative instruction by an inerrant guide, always in the world, whom man must seek and obey (cf. e. g. al-Ghazālī's *Munḳidh*, ed. 1303, pp. 21 *sqq.* and Goldziher's *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte, passim)* and the pantheistic side of Ṣūfīism which is not really Muslim at all, except in vocabulary and imagery.

It is a great misfortune that the beginning of the vth *Maḳāla* of the *Fihrist*, which deals with *Kalām* in this sense, is lost, and with it the account of the origin of this science, and that the first *fann*, especially, has reached us in so hopeless a condition (Houtsma, in *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iv. 217—235, essentially supplementing Flügel's ed.). Yet it is clear that the author divided the *mutakallim*'s of his day (end of ivth. cent. of H.) into five: (i) Mu'tazilites; (ii) Shī'ites, both Imāmites and Zaidites; (iii) Predestinarians and Anthropomorphists; (iv) Khāridjites; (v) ascetic Ṣūfīs. This arrangement may be due to the Shī'ism and, therefore, Mu'tazilism of the author; but the Mu'tazilites were certainly the first *mutakallim*'s. He places al-Ash'arī in the third class and has evidently no idea of the importance of his school — he seems to have been a joke (p. 181, 16): yet he died c. 330. Nor is there any mention of al-Māturīdī who had died 333. Al-Bāḳillānī died 403, four years after the last date in our MSS of the *Fihrist* (Flügel's preface, p. xii). Certainly the author of the *Fihrist* grievously misread the future, for in his third class lay orthodox Sunnite Islām. Of his fourth class only the Ibāḍites [q. v.] continued to have any importance. Nor does he show any idea of the speculative possibilities in his fifth class.

We cannot, as yet, write a connected history of the atomic theory of Islām, the essential *differentia* of the system of the *mutakallim*'s, and it may never be possible. We have only references to and short quotations from the earlier disputants upon that system. Even the extant writings of al-Ash'arī do not give us any help, and we have, so far, none of al-Bāḳillānī's writings, which probably would. Fortunately Horten has gathered up and untangled, with great diligence, in his *Philosophische Systeme* the later references and quotations, and from these it would appear that the Mu'tazilite Abu 'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf (d. 235 or 226; cf. ABU 'L-HUDHAIL and Horten, pp. 246 *sqq.)* was the founder of the atomic school and was opposed in it by two other Mu'tazilites, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 231 (?); cf. HISHĀM and Horten, pp. 170 *sqq.)* and al-Naẓẓām (d. 230; Horten, pp. 189 *sqq.*). It thus arose among the Mu'tazilites, however it may have reached them; but we cannot be sure to what extent their system was exactly that which lies behind all the reasonings of the later *mutakallim*'s. It is unnecessary to describe the system here, as it has already been given under ALLĀH, i. 307 *sqq.* It may, however, be worth while to give the following references to Horten where he deals especially with it, pp. 22 *sqq.*, 42 *sqq.*, 178, 191, 246 *sqq.*, 263 *sqq.*, 526, 551. Pp. 195, 235, 236 make it plain that the division of time into atoms, which could not be further divided, i. e., that time is not endlessly divisible, goes back to Zeno's paradox of Achilles and the tortoise; it was a solution of that paradox and made motion possible; cf. William James, *A Pluralistic Universe*, p. 228—231. Ibn Ḥazm in his *Milal*, because of his very hostility, has given us particularly full accounts, e. g. v. 92 *sqq.* But in the nature of the case it is not probable that the earlier disputants put their discussions into permanent written form, and still less permitted copies to be freely made and spread abroad. We have the classic case of al-Djunaid (d. 297 = 909), a very great theologian and ascetic Ṣūfī, on whom no shadow of real suspicion of heresy ever fell, but who openly said that the seeker of the divine Reality might expect to be called a heretic (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 175; see, further, al-Ḳushairī, *Risāla*, Būlāḳ 1290, pp. 139 *sqq.* and DJUNAID, above, i. 1063). When he discussed questions of *tawḥīd*, that is the doctrine of the person of Allāh, with his students, it was behind closed doors. We can hardly imagine that these discussions were concerned with such questions as are in al-Ghazālī's *al-Risāla al-Ḳudsiya* or *al-Iḳtiṣād*, or even al-Taftazānī on al-Nasafī; they must have cut much deeper and have been like those which Ibn Ḥazm has exposed to us with malicious indignation, dragging those Godless *mutakallim*'s from behind their closed doors. In reply the *mutakallim*'s would have protested that he was not playing the game and did not understand their object. The Mu'tazilites preceded the orthodox theologians in open publication. We still have the *Masā'il* of Abū Rashīd, a Mu'tazilite, who wrote about 400 (1009) (Horten, *Philosophie des Abu Raschīd*; Arthur Biram, *Atomistische Substanzenlehre)*. Al-Ghazālī, at a somewhat later day, actually did put such discussions into writing in his two *al-Maḍnūn*; but it was on the basis of Neoplatonic philosophy and not of atomism (see below).

In the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 = 1406) we get another view of this development, about four centuries later than the *Fihrist* (Quatremère's ed., iii. 27—43; Būlāḳ, 1274, pp. 223—228; trans. De Slane, iii. 40—64). In Quatremère's text (pp. 44—59; trans. De Slane, pp. 64—85) there follows a section on the *mutashābih* passages in the Ḳur'ān which is not found in some of the MSS., nor in the Būlāḳ editions. Ibn Khaldūn evidently added it later from a perception (i) that his view of these passages was essential to his general position and (ii) that he had not dealt fully enough with some of the theological matters of controversy. He traced, in fact, the origin, in great part, of the science of *Kalām*, viewed as defensive scholasticism, to these ambiguous and obscure passages; it sprang, thus, more from exegetical than from philosophical pressure. There is certainly truth in this; but it seems also certain that the early Muslim theologians, under the influence of outside ideas which were pressing in upon them, made use of the obscure verses to secure a possible footing in Islām for these outside ideas. In this they were greatly aided by Muḥammad's own confused thinking, and also by a certain largeness of conception and width and freedom of ideas which belonged to his greatness; he had not been a metaphysician; but a keen psychologist. But it is especially characteristic of Ibn Khaldūn's position, and in striking contrast to his otherwise

openmindedness and genuinely scientific spirit, that he rejected all *ta'wīl*, or elucidation, of these passages as absolutely as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal or al-Ash'arī themselves. He interpreted Ḳur. iii. 5 (cf. al-Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 146, 1) as meaning that only Allāh knew their meaning and that man should abstain from useless speculation. He thus secured a method of practically throwing out all the passages of the Ḳur'ān which did not suit his view of the universe, e. g. those speaking of the *djinn* [q. v.], and also, which was worse, set up a limit to man's investigation of the world.

Kalām having thus arisen from these difficulties, or impossibilities, of exegesis, the different sects developed according as the anthropomorphic Ḳur'ānic expressions bearing on the essence (*dhāt*) of Allāh or on his qualities (*ṣifāt*) were treated literally (*tashbīh*, *tadjsīm*) or as having a meaning different in his case from the literal and unknown to us (*tanzīh*) or according as *tanzīh* was applied also to the other descriptives of Allāh, the meanings of which were quite plain and possible in the literal sense because they all expressed ideas apart from the concrete. This last was the position of the Mu'tazilites, between whom and the first sect, the anthropomorphists, stood the sect which professed to follow the doctrine of "the Fathers" (*al-salaf*). So the orthodox party was driven to the use of rational proofs (*adilla 'aḳlīya*) and there arose al-Ash'arī who combined *'aḳl* and *naḳl*, denied *tashbīh*, establishing "the qualities consisting of ideas" (knowledge, power, will, life), and limited *tanzīh* as the *salaf* had done. He also established "hearing" and "sight" and "the speech which exists in the mind" (*al-ḳā'im bi'l-nafs*). He also discussed (*takallama*) with the Mu'tazilites their ethical position (*aṣlaḥ*, *taḥsīn*, *taḳbīḥ*) and eschatology and future rewards and punishments. He discussed with the Imāmīya the principle of government, and demonstrated that it was not a part of the Faith, but a convenience upon which the people had agreed. With all this compare and contrast Goldziher in *Vorlesungen*, pp. 119 *sqq.* The next great name given is that of al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403) [q. v.]. He reduced the whole to a system and established the intellectual basis and arranged the arguments. Thus he established the atom (*al-djawhar al-fard*) and the void (*al-khalā'*) — it is to be noticed that *djawhar* with the Aristotelian Neoplatonists means "substance" in the philosophical sense, and that *al-khalā'* is exactly the Lucretian *inane*, that an accident (*'araḍ*) cannot subsist in an accident and that it cannot continue through two atoms of time (see also, Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Quatremère, p. 114; De Slane, p. 157). So he made these principles only secondary in importance to the articles of the Faith, because he held that the nullity of an argument meant logically the nullity of the thing which it proved, and the converse. These principles were arguments for the Faith; the Faith was true, therefore these principles must be true. It is evident that formal logic was not the strong point of those who built up this system, however ingenious it might be; and that Ibn Khaldūn remarks. And it is further evident that with al-Bāḳillānī the historical value of Ibn Khaldūn's outline begins. He makes no mention of Ibn Ḥazm [q. v.], a theological free lance, who died in 456; but he gives the titles of two of the books of the Imām al-Ḥaramain (al-Djuwainī, q. v., d. 478), a teacher of al-Ghazālī, apparently because of his reputation although no distinctive development is attached to his name. Immediately after him the science of formal logic was taken up by the theologians who had discovered that it was only a tool for thinking and not a part of philosophy. But this led to an examination of their foundations and to the rejection of a great part of them; so that they no longer argued, as al-Bāḳillānī had done, from the nullity of the proof to the nullity of the thing proven. Their new proofs were derived, to a considerable extent, from the physics and metaphysics of the philosophers, and thus they entered upon a new method which was called *ṭarīḳat al-muta'akhkhirīn*; yet they also introduced into it a considerable amount of opposition to the philosophical positions because these seemed to be the same as their own earlier heresies. Leaders in this new school were al-Ghazālī (d. 505) and al-Rāzī (d. 606; see on him especially Goldziher in *Der Islam*, iii. 213—247) and to their books Ibn Khaldūn would still send the student of theology who wished guidance in his criticism of the philosophers, although there was in them some amount of opposition to the older method. It is to be remembered, too, that al-Rāzī was a systematic user of *ta'wīl* (Goldziher, p. 227) of which Ibn Khaldūn disapproved. But such students as wished simply to follow the path of the *salaf* in theology should take the old method of the *mutakallim's* — only there could true *'ilm al-kalām* be found — and especially should study the *Irshād* of the Imām al-Ḥaramain. This apparently means that with al-Ghazālī there came a sharp abandonment of the method of the atomists and a going to school instead with the Aristotelian Neoplatonists. Such, too, is certainly the evidence of al-Ghazālī's writings. After al-Ghazālī and al-Rāzī came still deeper confusion between theology and philosophy, until the subject matter of the two was regarded as one. Yet the *mutakallim's* had distinguished sharply the physics and metaphysics of the philosophers from their own theocentric position, using an intellectualist system in defence of dogmas laid down by divine authority. He gives as an example of this confusion the *Ṭawāli'* of al-Baiḍāwī (d. 685 = 1286) and every user of al-Baiḍāwī's Ḳur'ān commentary will recognize what he means. The learned of Persia (al-'Adjam) who followed al-Baiḍāwī had used the same method in all their works. Of the kind of *Kalām* that was left in his own day Ibn Khaldūn had no good opinion; its ambiguities (*iḳdāmāt*) and generalities (*iṭlāḳāt*) were a profanation of the Creator rather than a defense. And no *Kalām* was longer needed; it had been a defense against the Mulḥida and the Mubtadi's and they were extinct. But it was rather disgraceful for one who knew the Sunna by heart not to be able to give a reason for the faith that was in him.

Yet *Kalām* had still a long course to run, and the commentary of al-Baidjūrī on the short treatise of al-Faḍālī, already referred to, gives a good idea of the development of the system of the *mutakallim's*. Text and comment are quite modern — al-Faḍālī died in A. D. 1821 and al-Baidjūrī in A. D. 1844; they are finished scholasticism and the title, *Kifāyat al-'Awāmm fī 'Ilm al-Kalām*, "The Sufficiency of the Commonalty in the Science of *Kalām*", with reiterated statements in the text that only so much is given as is necessary for sal-

vation, shows a purely intellectual view of religion. The commentary is based throughout on atomistic reasonings; the physics and the metaphysics are atomic. The text suggests an intentional counterblast to the treatise of al-Ghazālī with a similar title, *Iljām al-ʿAwāmm ʿan ʿIlm al-Kalām*, "Reining back of the Commonalty from the Science of *Kalām*", yet the intention is nowhere expressed. In it al-Ghazālī had denounced the corrupting of the simple faith of the multitude with intellectualist arguments and had advocated very subtly what we would now call psychological methods — startingly, for modern ideas, backed by the secular arm of the state. But al-Ghazālī had opposed the *mutakallim* system and method from the beginning. On the one hand he knew, as a fact of psychology, that being convinced against one's will left one of the same opinion, and on the other, he did not approve of atomism as philosophy. He appears to make no specific reference to it in his works, and where he does give an abstract of theology, as a formal science (e. g. in *al-Risāla al-Ḳudsīya*, and in *al-Iḳtiṣād*) he stops short of absolutely philosophical bottoming. That, for him, was intellectually impossible; but such an outline of concatenated dogmatics, as in the two books mentioned, was justifiable (*Arbaʿīn*, pp. 25 *sqq.*, ed. 1328). The only real philosophy for him was, apparently, the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic amalgam, and with it he had dealt in his books which have reached us in a sceptical but respectful spirit. Probably following the economy of teaching, which he himself professed, and which he and all Islām practised, he dealt thoroughly and destructively in other books with the atomic system, and this may explain the mysterious allusions which have been called "the secret" of al-Ghazālī (e. g. W. H. T. Gairdner on the *Mishkāt* in *Der Islam*, v. 121—153). For his attitude towards the *mutakallim*'s see further AL-GHAZĀLĪ, above, ii. 147 *sq.*, *al-Munḳidh*, pp. 8 *sqq.*, and *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, Cairo 1322, 47 *sqq.*

It is significant that reform movements in Islām at the present time seem to have cut loose from the atomic philosophy, and to have gone back for leadership to Ibn Sīnā [q. v.], Ibn Rushd [q. v.] and the Aristotelians generally. Djamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī (see above, i. 1008 *sqq.*; E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905—1906*, Cambridge 1910, Chap. i.; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, pp. 322 *sqq.*) and his friend and pupil Muḥammad ʿAbduh were the protagonists of this renaissance and continued the long interrupted method of al-Ghazālī, even on the side of the economy of teaching. The atomic system had crystallized and had become identified with the stiffest orthodoxy. In its origin, also, it had been, even with the Muʿtazilites, a weapon for the defence of accepted views and not an instrument of free investigation. Modern Islām, therefore, could have nothing to do with it, although it is possible that modern western atomic speculation may galvanize it into a semblance of life just as microbes have been used to defend the Ḳurʾānic doctrine of the *djinn* (Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, p. 356). Yet it should never be forgotten that this theory is the most original contribution which Muslim thinkers have made to the history of philosophy.

Bibliography: It has mostly been given above, and almost all the bibliography under ALLĀH applies. There may be added: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg 1910) *passim*, but especially Chap. iii.; the same, *Islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters* in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. 5, pp. 302 *sqq.*; T. J. De Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam* (Stuttgart, 1901), pp. 56 *sqq.*; Maimonides, *Le Guide des Égarés*, ed. and trans. by S. Munk (Paris, 1856—66); S. Horovitz, *Über den Einfluss der griech. Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau 1909 (*Jahres-Ber. des jüd.-theol. Sem. Fraenckel'scher Stiftung*, 1909); K. Lasswitz, *Geschichte der Atomistik*, Hamburg—Leipzig 1890, i. 143—152 (not seen by me).

(D. B. MACDONALD.)

ḲALAM (κάλαμος, reed) the reed-pen used for writing in the Arabic character. It is a tube of reed cut between two knots, cut obliquely (or concave) at the thicker end, having the point slit, as with us for the quill and later for the steel pen. It has to be very firm so that it does not wear away too quickly; the best kind comes from Wāsiṭ and grows in the marshes (*baṭāʾiḥ*) of the ʿIrāḳ. It is allowed to steep like hemp and is kept in the water until its skin has taken on a beautiful dark brown colour. Its fibres should be quite straight so that the slit may also be even. To make the slit the slanted end of the *ḳalam* is laid on a long flat piece of ivory or bone, which is specially used for this purpose and is called *miḳaṭṭa* (Turk. *miḳtaʿ*); the point is then slit with a sharp backward cut with a special very sharp knife with a long handle (penknife, Turkish *ḳalamtirāsh*).

The part of the point to the left of the incision is called *insī* ("human"), because turned towards the writer and the right *waḥshī* "savage". If the former is slightly softer than the latter so much the better. It has been made a rule that in the kinds of writing called *naskh*, *thuluth* and *riḳāʿ* the *waḥshī* side ought to be twice as broad as the *insī* side; in the kinds called *dīwānī* and *shikasta*, it is the other way about. The *nastaʿlīḳ* is written with a pen slit exactly down the centre.

To protect the *ḳalam* from damage it is kept in a holder (*miḳlama*). These are of two kinds: 1) a metal box in the form of a long flat tube closed at one end by a lid with hinges and often adorned with arabesques. Attached to it is an inkwell (*dawāt*, popularly *dawāya*). This kind is peculiar to the Arabs. In Osmanli Turkish it is called *divit* (from Ar. *dawāt*); at an earlier period it was also called *ḳubūr* (strictly plur. of *ḳabr* "grave") by the Ottoman Turks, a word which is found as early as Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (Cairo 1302, p. 17) with the meaning of "holder", "case"; 2) a papier-mâché box adorned with lacquerwork. In it is a drawer which also holds an inkwell. This kind is used particularly in Persia and is called *ḳalamdān* "pen-box".

Sūra lxviii. of the Ḳurʾān (*Sūrat Nūn*) is sometimes called *Sūrat al-Ḳalam* from its opening: "N. — By the pen and what they write, ..." According to the traditions quoted by al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1323—30, xxix. 107) the ḳalam was the first thing created by God so that he could write down events to come; two explanations have been given of this ḳalam: 1) the implement used for writing, a divine gift like the

latter; 2) a ḳalam of light, as long as the distance from heaven to earth, which wrote down all things that are to happen until the last judgment (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, Cairo 1278, vi. 330; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Kitāb al-bad'* wa *'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, i. text, 161 *sq.*, transl. 149).

The ḳalam is the emblem or symbol of the administrative services as opposed to the *saif*, which marks the military officer. Ibn al-Wardī († 749 = 1349) wrote a *Mufākharat al-Saif wa 'l-Ḳalam* and Ibn Nubāta († 768 = 1366) a work with a similar title; Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asad al-Dawānī († 907 = 1501), 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Umm al-Walad-Zāde († 920 = 1514) and Ḳinalī-Zāde († 979 = 1572) each wrote a *Risāla Ḳalamiya* on the same subject (Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 140, 211, 430, 433).

Bibliography: Al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ii. (Cairo 1331), 434—435; A. P. Pihan, *Notice sur les divers genres d'écriture .... des Arabes*, etc. (Paris 1856), p. 47 *sq.*; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et miniaturistes de l'orient musulman* (Paris 1908), p. 13, 16, 17 (with pictures); L. Th. Bogdanow, *Perclo* (in Russian, St. Petersburg 1909), p. 81; F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910* (München 1912), ii. Plate 152.

(Cl. Huart)

ḲALANDAR, a Ṣūfī religious order, founded by Ḳalandar Yūsuf (cf. ḲALANDARĪ), an Arab of Spain, contemporary with Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh [q. v.], brought to Damietta by the Shaikh Djamāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī, a native of the town of Sāwa in Persia; he is buried in the Zāwiya which he had founded there. He shaved his beard and eyebrows, since by doing this he had escaped in an amorous adventure; all his pupils followed his example. This sect, however, must have its origin in an earlier period, for it appeared in Damascus towards the year 610 (1213); it attracted attention by a strange costume adopted from the Persians and Mazdeans, which orders from the authorities forced it to abandon. The Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, grandson of Ḳalā'ūn, in 761 (1360) forbade them to shave the beard. According to al-Maḳrīzī's account of them, they made it a rule to lay nothing aside and never to amass this world's goods; but in his time they did not wear coarse garments nor subject themselves to any mortification or any devotional exercises, saying it was sufficient for them that their hearts were at peace with God. They wanted nothing more; they made no effort to attain a degree of virtue more eminent than this state of peace at heart. To show their indifference as regards everything outside their ideal, they took the course of throwing off the restraint of all the laws of politeness usually observed in society. Their morals also were very loose. Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān of Hamadhān said: "I am the mystic gipsy called *ḳalandar*. I have neither fire, home nor monastery. By day I wander about the world, and at night I sleep with a brick under my head" (*Quatrains*, N^o^. vi., *Journ. Asiat.*, Series viii., Vol. vi. 1885, p. 516). The description of the odd costumes which accompanies the French translation of Chalcocondylas by B. de Vigenère (Paris 1662) and which is taken from the *Navigations* of Nicolas de Nicolay (Lyons 1568) gives on p. 23 an engraving showing one of these Ḳalandars wearing a kind of hair-shirt of wool and horse-hair coming barely down to the hips; he has his hair closely clipped, face clean shaven and on his head a felt hat surrounded by a fringe of horse-hair of the length of a hand. He wears rings in the ears, around the neck, on the wrists and under the pubis. He has no shoes; some of them used to walk quite naked in the streets. It is only fifty years ago that the Ottoman police finally succeeded in suppressing them. There was a convent of this order in Constantinople, founded in the reign of Muḥammad II with a mosque and a madrasa (Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire ottoman*, transl. by Hellert (Paris 1835—43), xviii. 120, 131. Sometimes they have been confused with the Malāmatiya [q. v.]; cf. especially A. Le Châtelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, p. 253 *sqq.*

Bibliography: al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ 1270, ii. 432, quoted by S. de Sacy, *Chrest. arabe*[2] (Paris 1826—27), i. 263 *sqq.*; *Not. et Extr.*, xii. 311; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages* (Paris 1853—59), i. 61 *sqq.*; Firishta, *Ta'rīkh-i Hind* (Bombay 1831), ii. 774; C. Defrémery, transl. of *Gulistān* (Paris 1858), p. 326, note; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire ottoman* (Paris 1788—1824), iv. 664; Ricaut, *Etat présent de l'empire ottoman*, p. 353 *sqq.* (French transl.[2] by Briot, p. 465); *Burhān-i Ḳāṭi'*, s. h. v.; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry* (London 1900—1905), i. 357, n°. 1; Garcin de Tassy, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1844, i. 479; R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer (Paris 1890), p. 216.

(Cl. Huart)

ḲALANDARĪ, the reputed but mythical founder of the Ḳalandariya. According to all the information available regarding the early history of these dervishes, it is more than probable that we have not here to do with a body similar to the other dervish orders introduced from Eastern Persia, but rather with a kind of wandering monks, who followed in their mental and physical mode of life the ideal which al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270), ii. 432 *sq.* attributes to them, à propos of his description of the Ḳalandarī monastery in Cairo (cf. thereon de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*[2], Paris 1826, i. 263—275). According to this and to descriptions which e. g. al-Suhrawardī (in Silvestre de Sacy in *Notices et Extraits des Mss. de la Bibl. du Roi*, xii. Paris 1831, p. 341) or Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. W. Nassau Lees (Calcutta 1859) as well as Sa'dī himself (cf. *Gulistān*, transl. by K. H. Graf, *Moslicheddin Sa'di's Rosengarten*, Leipzig 1846, p. 294 *sq.*) give of the Ḳalandar dervishes of the time, we have to deal with wandering dervishes, Malāmatī's (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 432; but on the other hand see the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭi'* under *Ḳalandar*, where a rigid distinction is made between *ḳalandar*, *malāmatī* and *ṣūfī*), without fixed abode and without fixed rules for their order and with an utter neglect of the laws of religion or of the forms of society. Abū Sa'īd b. Abu 'l-Khair composed a quatrain on them, which gives an excellent picture of the real ḳalandar of his time (cf. *Sitzungsber. der Kgl. Bayr. Akad. der Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1875, ii. 137; Ign. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 172; F. Babinger in *Der Islam*, xi. 1921, p. 66 *sq.*). What, then, is usually called the founder of a so-called order of ḳalandars, is apparently nothing more than some important

protagonist of these views. This is certainly true of Yūsuf, said to have been a Spanish Arab, who is often represented as the founder of the Ḳalandarīya, as well as of Shaikh Djamāl al-Dīn of Sāwa in Persia, who, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says (i. 61 *sq.*), settled in Damietta and ended his days there. The expression Ḳudwa in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa here obviously means nothing more than "pattern, model". The ḳalandars seem to have originated in Central Asia and to have been strongly influenced by Indian ideas. According to al-Maḳrīzī (d. 1442), they came about 400 years before his time into Arab lands. About 610 (1213) the first of them appeared in Damascus (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 433). Here there died in 622 (1225; this, not 722 = 1322 is to be read in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 433) the Persian Shaikh Ḥasan of the Djawāliḳī sect, who flourished under Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Ketboghā and founded a monastery of ḳalandars not far from Cairo (Seryāḳūs = Kyriakos?). The ḳalandars may have been most numerous in Persia and the great bulk of them, still in the xvii[th] century at least, seems to have been concentrated in Ardabīl [q. v.], the stronghold of the Ṣafawīya (SAFAWIDS, q. v.; cf. Adam Olearius, *Persianische Reisebeschreibung*, *op. cit.*, 1656, p. 685: the Kalenderan). In Anatolia also and even in Rumelia in the early Ottoman period down to the xvi[th] century, they several times played a dangerous part by attacks on the authority of the state and serious risings (cf. F. Babinger in *Der Islam*, xi. 14; Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Stambul 1283, i. 1283). Even in the Saldjūḳ period similar risings seem to have been led by ḳalandars. There are also various indications of connections between Ḳalandarīs and Bektāshīs.

ḲALANDARĪ has also become the name of a certain tune in Turkish.

Bibliography: cf., besides the works quoted above, also F. Babinger in *Der Islam*, xi. 94 and the references given here; also d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale* (Paris 1697), p. 244; do. (Maestricht 1776), p. 224 s. v. *Calender*; Adam Olearius, *Persianischer Rosenthal*, Book viii. § 67; *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, ed. Th. Roebuck (Calcutta 1818), s. v.; J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes* (London 1868), where the presumably not Persian origin of the word *ḳalandar*, *karandal* etc. is also discussed (cf. besides Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 340 also *Der Islam*, xi. 94, note).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲALANSUWA, KULANSIYA (A.), the name for a cap which was worn by men either under the turban proper or alone on the head. The word, from which verbal forms are derived as denominative verbs, is apparently of foreign origin; while it used to be commonly connected with the Latin *calautica*, for which, however, the form *calautica* is difficult to quote — and besides it means a head-cloth for women —, Fraenkel wishes to derive it through the Aramaic קלנס (cf. Arabic *ḳalīs*, *ḳalis*, Dozy, *Supplément* ii., 395) from κῶνος (*conus*). The Arab grammarians and lexicographers have found in the manifold formation of the broken plural and the diminutive a reason for using *ḳalansuwa* as a paradigm for substantives of more than three radicals with such peculiarities.

Caps of different shapes are called *ḳalansuwa*; varieties of the *ḳalansuwa* are *ṭurṭūr*, *burnus*, *arḳīya*, etc. While it is related of the companions of the Prophet that they wore tight-fitting *ḳalansuwa*'s, later a long peaked sugar-cone shape, supported within by pieces of wood became fashionable, for which the name *ṭawīla* is usual. It seems to have come from Persia (cf. the head-dresses in the Dura-Ṣāliḥīya first century paintings, in J. H. Breasted, *Oriental Precursors of Byzantine Painting*, Chicago 1924) for it was regarded by the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs as a noteworthy feature of Persian dress (Jacob, *Alt-arab. Beduinenleben*[2], p. 237) and is said to have been first adopted in the reign of the first Umaiyad by ʿAbbād b. Ziyād from the inhabitants of the city of Ḳandahar, conquered by him (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 184). High, black *ḳalansuwa*'s were worn by the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs from al-Manṣūr to al-Mustaʿīn and by their viziers and ḳāḍīs. The latter adhered longest to the *ḳalansuwa*, so that in the course of the third (ix[th]) century — also popularly known as *dannīya*, pot-hat, or *ṭawīla* — it became their regular official headgear together with the neck-veil *ṭailasān* and at times was strictly forbidden to other classes of the community (al-Kindī, ed. Guest, p. 460, 586). — On the other hand criminals had a *ḳalansuwa* put on their heads when they were led through the streets. The *ḳalansuwa* was also worn among the Umaiyads in Spain, where *muḳallas* meant a Mufti wearing the *ḳaliṣ*. A headdress introduced by Tīmūr into his army was also known as *ḳalansuwa*.

The name *ḳalansuwa* appears several times in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa according to whom (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 378) the Ḳipčaḳs, for example, called their *ḳalansuwa*'s by the Persian name *kulāh*. Of the Futūwa [q. v.] societies in Asia Minor (*akhīyat al-fityān*) he says (ii. 264) that their members wore several *ḳalansuwa*'s above one another, a silk one on the head, above it a white woollen one, to the top of which was tied a strip of cloth 2 fingers broad and 1 ell long; at meetings only the woollen *ḳalansuwa* was taken off, the silk one remaining on the head. A similar pendant strip of cloth is also part of the dress of the Coptic priests of modern Egypt and is there called *ḳallūsa* or *ḳalasuwa*; here the name appears to have been transferred from the cap itself to its most striking and therefore better known part.

At periods when, as in the second (viii[th]) century, both Muslims and Christians wore *ḳalansuwa*'s, the latter had to tie two knots of another colour to it (Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1389); but when the *ḳalansuwa* went out of fashion with the Muslims in the third century, it remained the mark of the Christians. The word is therefore frequently found in Arab authors meaning the headdress worn by Christian monks and hermits, Greek priests and even the Pope himself. Through the Crusades the high cap with the veil seems to have found its way to Western Europe as a woman's dress.

The name *ḳalansuwa* was also given to other objects of similar shape: *ḳ. nuḥās* is the metal cap of the obelisk near Heliopolis (ʿAin Shams q. v.). *Ḳ. Turāb* in modern Arabic for a chemical sublimating vessel. *Ḳ. ḳubrāṭ* is used by surgeons for a particular kind of head-bandage; *ḳāliṣ* (*ḳālīs*) is the name of a plant, which seemed to represent a human head with a high cap. *Ḳalansuwa* was also the name of a fortress near al-Ramla in Palestine.

Bibliography. In addition to the usual dictionaries: — Dozy, *Dict. détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, p. 365—371; do.

Supplement, ii. 395, 401; Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 53 *sq.*; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms* (Heidelberg 1922), p. 26, 45 *sq.*, 130, 217, 348 *sq.*, 367; Thorning, *Beitr. z. Kenntnis des islam. Vereinswesens* (*Türk. Bibl.* xvi.), p. 215 *sq.* — Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe* (Beyrouth 1890), p. 71 *sq.* (supposes an influence of *Ḳalansuwa* on the French word *calotte*).

(W. BJÖRKMAN)

KALĀNTAR (comparative from *kalān* "great") means at the present day in Persia the chief personage in a town, a kind of mayor, burgomaster, bailiff. This office is filled by election; the person elected has to be approved by the higher authority. The main duty of this official is to levy taxes.

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(CL. HUART)

KALĀT (KELĀT, KILĀT, KHELĀT). 1. The town of Kalāt is the capital of the Khānate and fort of the same name, the most important part of Balōčistān, and the residence of the Khān, its ruler. The word Kalāt or Kilāt represents the Arabic *ḳal'a* or rather the Persian *kalāt* [cf. the art. ḲAL'A], which in India is usually pronounced *kila*. In Balōčī *kalāt* is the common word for a fort. On coins we find both كلات and قلات (W. H. Valentine, *Copper Coins of India*, vol. ii. 1921, p. 223). It has been known in earlier times as Kalāt-i Sēva (from a legendary Hindu king) and Kalāt-i-Nīčārī, which connects it with the Brahōī tribe of Nīčārī, which is generally accepted as belonging to the oldest branch of the indigenous Brahōīs [s. BALŌČISTĀN, i. 627, 630]. The town was unknown to the early Arab historians under its present name. It is however possible that it may represent Kīzkānān, which Arab geographers mention as the residence of the ruler of Ḳuṣdār (al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. 176 *ult. sq.*; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *ib.*, ii. 232, 5 *sq.*). Its situation is in the modern district of Sarāwān, close to the boundary of Djahlāwān [q. v.]; thus it would have been included in the ancient province or kingdom of Tūrān, of which the capital was Ḳuṣdār (now generally written Khozdār, in Djahlāwān). [In the *Shāhnāma* Kelāt belongs to Tūrān; cf. ed. Vullers ii. 794. — Ed.]

After the Balōč tribes had passed through the Brahōī country on their way to the Indus valley, in the xvth and xvith centuries, Kalāt remained in the hands of the Brahōīs under a chief of the Kambarānī clan, from whom the line of Khāns is descended. Their power gradually extended during the Indian expeditions of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.], whose suzerainty was admitted by the Khāns. The greatest of these, Naṣīr Khān, endeavoured to shake off the Durrānī yoke. He was defeated by Aḥmad Shāh, but the latter, who besieged Kalāt in 1172 (1758), was unable to take it, and Naṣīr Khān made favourable terms for himself. He built a strong fort (known as the Mīrī) and strengthened his position among the surrounding tribes. In 1834 Shāh Shudjā' al-Mulk took refuge in Kalāt with Mihrāb Khān after his failure to recover Ḳandahār. In 1838 through the intrigues of his followers Mihrāb Khān was embroiled with the British force advancing on Ḳandahār by the Bōlān Pass; Kalāt was taken by storm, and the Khān himself killed in the attack. Two years later the fort was taken by disaffected Brahōī tribes. The British Agent, Loveday, and the traveller Masson fell into their hands and the former was murdered. This led to a second British occupation for a time, but the Khāns were re-instated and remained practically independent for the next thirty years. Under the British protectorate, Kalāt remains the capital of the Khān's dominions. It is a small town situated in the high plateau 6780 ft. above the sea with a population of under 5000. The best descriptions of Kalāt are those of Pottinger, who visited it in 1810, and Masson (1831 and 1840).

2. The Khānate or State which takes its name from the town of Kalāt. This includes the provinces of Sarāwān, Djahlāwān, Kačhī and Makrān, and the tributary states of Las Bēla and Khārān.

For details see under BALŌČISTĀN.

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See also under BALŌČISTĀN.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

ḲAL'AT BANĪ 'ABBĀS, a town in Algeria (department of Constantine) 24 miles N.E. of Bordj Bū 'Arrarīdj. Ḳal'a occupies at the height of 3,500 feet a natural fortress formed by a plateau surrounded on three sides by rugged and deep ravines, 1800 to 2000 feet high and joined to the adjoining country by a narrow tongue with precipices on either side. The town is divided into four quarters, which formerly were frequently fighting with one another and one of which is now almost in ruins. It is the most important centre of the tribe of Banū 'Abbās, whose territory lying between the Wādī Sāḥel and the Madjāna contains about 24,000 souls. The town itself with an exclusively native population numbers 3000 inhabitants. The few patches of tilled land at the bottom of the ravines not sufficing to maintain the inhabitants, the latter have for long had to devote themselves to industry. They used to make woollen burnuses in large numbers, which they sold in Algeria and Tunisia. At the present day many of them emigrate and follow the trade of embroidering burnuses in the towns of the Tell.

Ḳal'a was founded in the second half of the fifteenth century A.D. by the marabout Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a descendant, according to some, of the Idrīsids, according to others, of the Ḥammādids. He established a zāwiya on the rock of Ḳal'a and put himself at the head of the Banū 'Abbās, who had risen against the Zwāwa, to whom they had hitherto been subject. His son Aḥmad built a *ḳaṣba*, proclaimed himself Sulṭān and extended his authority over the country between the Hodna and

the sea (the "kingdom of Labès" of Marmol). ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, his successor, further increased his power with the support of the Turks, whom he assisted against the Kabyls of Kuku and supported in their expeditions against the Moroccans and the people of Tuggurt and Wārgla. The rupture of this alliance in 1552 brought about wars between the Turks and the Banū ʿAbbās, which lasted down to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. Besieged several times, during this period, Ḳalʿa could never be taken. After the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, killed in defending his capital, power was exercised by his brother; Amoḳrān. The latter extended his territory as far as the Ṣaḥara, repelled several Turkish attacks and fell fighting them in 1600. His son Sīdī Nāṣir, a man of the *Zāwiya* rather than the battlefield, dissatisfied the Banū ʿAbbās and was assassinated by them. With him the kingdom of Ḳalʿa disappeared. Henceforth the town was only the family citadel of the Moḳrānī, shaikhs of the Madjāna, descendants of Sīdī Nāṣir. Protected by its impregnable situation, it remained independent down to the French conquest. It served as an asylum for the adversaries of the Turks and the members of the great native families, who in time of war stored their grain and treasures for security with private individuals here. The honesty of the latter was proverbial. Thus Ḳalʿa benefited in the midst of the disorders, which were ruining the country, by a regular neutrality and in spite of the quarrels of the *ṣofs* [cf. i. 702[b]], inevitable in a Kabyl city, enjoyed a remarkable prosperity. It is at Ḳalʿa that Moḳrānī was buried the leader of the rising of 1871; his tomb is, however, now quite forgotten and neglected.

Bibliography: Carette, *Etudes sur la Kabylie*, Paris 1848, vol. ii.; Daumas and Fabar, *La Grande Kabylie*, Algiers and Paris 1847, chapt. xiii.; Berbrugger, *Les Epoques militaires de la Grande Kabylie*, Algiers 1857, p. 79—86, 91—104; Ch. Féraud, *Les Mograni seigneurs de la Medjana*, *Notices et mémoires de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine*, 1871, and *Histoire des Villes de la Province de Constantine* (*Sétif*, *Bordj bou Arreridj*, *Msila*, *Bou-Saada*), Constantine 1872; L. Rinn, *L'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, Algiers 1891, Introd. (G. YVER)

ḲALʿAT BANĪ ḤAMMĀD, a town in the Central Maghrib, which has now disappeared, but was in the v[th] (xi[th]) century the capital of the Ḥammādid empire (cf. the article ḤAMMĀDIDS ii. 252). Al-Ḳalʿa (Ḳalʿat Abī Ṭawīl in al-Bakrī and in the *Kit. al-Istibṣār*) was founded by Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn [q. v.] in 398 = 1007-8 on a flank of a mountain called Kiyāna or ʿAdjīsa by Ibn Khaldūn and Tākarbust (now Djabal Takerbust) by al-Idrīsī. A Roman fort had perhaps previously occupied this site; in the iv[th] (x[th]) century Abū Yazīd [q. v.] had tried to check in these regions the Fāṭimid troops, who were pursuing him on his retreat through the Maghrib. The place seemed therefore well suited to enable Ḥammād to resist the attacks of his enemies from the West, the Zenāta, who had just besieged his capital Ashīr [q. v.] and those from the east, the Zīrids of Ḳairawān. Ḥammād peopled the new town by transporting thither the inhabitants of al-Msīla and of Ḥamza, which he destroyed, and a large number of members of the tribe of Djerāwa. He built mosques, caravanserais, and various public buildings and surrounded the whole with a wall which ran round the mountain. These defences, built, according to Ibn Ḥammād, by a Christian slave, enabled Ḥammād to offer a successful resistance to the Zīrid Bādīs, when this prince came to besiege al-Ḳalʿa in 406 = 1016. Thus Ḥammād made it a habit to live sometimes at Ashīr and sometimes at al-Ḳalʿa and it was in this town that he died in 419 = 1028-29. Al-Ḳalʿa rapidly became very prosperous. "The population increased rapidly, students came there in large numbers from the most remote parts of the empire, attracted by the resources which the new capital offered to those who cultivated science, commerce and the arts" (Ibn Khaldūn). The importance of al-Ḳalʿa further increased after the sacking of Ḳairawān by the Hilālīs. Many inhabitants of Ifrīḳiya came to seek shelter there. The population was very mixed. It is worth noting that it included a small community of native Christians, well treated by the rulers, they had a church dedicated to the Virgin and administered by an official, perhaps a bishop, whom Paul the Deacon calls by the Oriental name of *califa*. The country around was quiet, thanks to an alliance made by the Ḥammādids with certain sections of the Athbedj; the harvests surpassed the needs of local consumption and were stored in granaries, where they could be kept for several years. Life was easy there, owing to the abundance of fruits and of cattle fattened on the adjoining pasturage; the markets were attended by caravans, which came from all parts of the Maghrib and even from Egypt and Syria and the ʿIrāḳ. Magnificent buildings were erected by al-Nāṣir: the Ḳaṣr al-Mulk (Government Palace), the private residence of the emirs, the Ḳaṣr al-Manār (Palace of the Signal), the Ḳaṣr al-Kawkab (Palace of the Star), the Ḳaṣr al-Salām (Palace of Bliss).

The situation altered in the second half of the v[th] century. Breaking their alliance with the Ḥammādid rulers, the Arabs began to plunder the region of Hodna and thrust their incursions up to the very gates of al-Ḳalʿa. The insecurity became such that al-Manṣūr, while continuing to make frequent stays at al-Ḳalʿa, moved the seat of government in 483 (1090/1) to Bougie, which had been founded by al-Nāṣir in 1062/3 [see Bougie, i. 766], but the attacks of the Arabs multiplied and made the lot of the inhabitants more and more precarious. In the reign of al-ʿAzīz the nomads invaded all the territory of al-Ḳalʿa and forced the garrison to take refuge in the town out of which they could not go. Thus Yaḥyā, who succeeded al-ʿAzīz, decided in 543 (1048) to remove from al-Ḳalʿa all objects of value, that were still there. Four years later, the Ḥammādid empire succumbed to the attacks of the Almohads. When master of Bougie, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin sent his son ʿAbd Allāh to lay siege to al-Ḳalʿa. The place, defended by Djawhar, Yaḥyā's brother, was taken by assault, the garrison put to the sword, 8000 inhabitants slain and many others taken prisoner. The conquerors carried off vast booty (547 = 1152—1153).

Still al-Ḳalʿa survived this disaster. Some of the inhabitants repopulated, if not the town itself, at least the Djerāwa quarter, E. of the wall. According to the author of the *Kit. al-Istibṣār*, they were still fairly numerous at the end of the vi[th] (xii[th]) century and were engaged in the making

of garments, which were celebrated. But in 580 = 1185, 'Alī b. Ghāniya captured al-Ḳal'a after a three days' siege. It was undoubtedly he who completed the destruction of the town, for it is never mentioned again after this date. Considerable ruins alone recall the existence of the ancient Ḥammādid capital. They lie about 20 miles S. of Bordj Bū 'Arīridj, on the southern slope of the Djabal Maadid, in the N. of Hodna, at a height of 3600 feet and occupy the summit of the cliffs which command the right bank of a tributary of the Wādī Selmān. The minaret of a mosque is still standing. Excavations made by P. Blanchet (1898) and again in 1908 by General de Beylié have made it possible to trace the wall and recognise the remains of various buildings: the Dār al-Baḥr, so called, perhaps, from a tank there, the palace of the Signal, the palace of Bliss and the mosque. Fragments of decoration, painted terra-cotta, stalactites of faïence, faïences of metallic lustre, and capitals have been brought to light. The study, which has been made of them, leads to the conclusion that Berber art before the Hilālī invasion was in great part Oriental in its inspiration and is revealed as a combination of Persian and Mesopotamian elements with local Byzantine art.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. and transl. by de Slane, text (2nd ed., Algiers 1911), p. 49, 82; transl., (rev. ed. Algiers 1913), p. 105, 167; al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 86, 91; transl. p. 99, 106; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 221 *sqq.*, 250—1; transl. de Slane, i. 285, ii. 43 *sqq.*, 89—90; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer (Vienna 1852), p. 19, 20, 55—56, 58; transl. Fagnan, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XIIe siècle*, Constantine 1900, p. 32, 33, 34, 35, 99—101, 105; L. de Beylié, *La Kalaa des Beni Hammad. Une capitale berbère de l'Afrique du Nord au XIe siècle*, Paris 1909; P. Blanchet and H. Saladin, *Description des monuments de la Kaala des Beni Hammad* (*Nouvelles Archives des Missions scient.*, vol. xvii.), Paris 1908; G. Marçais, *Les poteries et les faïences de la Qal'a des Beni Hammād*, Constantine 1913; Mequesse, *La Kalaa des Beni Hammad* (*Revue Africaine*, 1886); Robert, *La Kalaa et Tihamamine* (*Bull. de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine*, vol. xxxvii. 1903).

(G. Yver)

ḲAL'AT DJA'BAR. See DJA'BAR, i, 985.

ḲAL'AT HUWĀRA, a town in Algeria (department of Oran, a mixed commune of Mina) 20 miles N.E. of Mascara, on the Wādī Ḳal'a, one of the branches of the Hillīl. Population (1911): 2072 inhabitants, of whom 2047 natives. Carpet-making, at one time a flourishing industry here, still employs 500 workmen, although on the decline.

Ḳal'a was founded in the vith (xiith) century by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, chief of the Huwāra, living in the region of Mina. He built a citadel and gathered round it his tribesmen as well as the Masrāta, a Berber clan related to the Huwāra. Isḥāḳ's descendants were faithful servants of the 'Abd al-Wād of Tlemcen and as a reward received the government of the land of the Tudjīn. After the occupation of Tlemcen by the Marīnids (759 = 1358), the people of Ḳal'a recognised the authority of the conquerors, then passed again under the rule of the sovereigns of Tlemcen after the restoration of the Zayānid dynasty. In the xvith century Arūdj seized the town (1517) and placed a garrison of 400 men there under his brother Isḥāḳ. Retaken in 1518 by the Spaniards, Ḳal'a was restored by them to the Sulṭān of Tlemcen and passed finally to the Turks towards the middle of the xvith century. It is described by the writers of this period (Leo Africanus, Marmol) as one of the principal places in the land of the Banū Rāshid (the Beni Rasi of Leo, the Beni Arax of Marmol). According to these authors, Ḳal'a was a very strong place inhabited by merchants and well-to-do artisans. During the Turkish period, Ḳal'a frequently served as a place of refuge for Beys and Turkish officials, as well as for numerous families from Oran and Algiers, so that about 1830, the population was in great part composed of Kuloghlus, i. e. of half-castes born of the marriages of Turks with native women. On various occasions the town has suffered from earthquakes but it was, on the other hand, greatly extended by the Bey of the West, Bū Shelāghem in 1736. The population was employed in agriculture and industry (manufacture of soap and especially the weaving of carpets). After 1830, Ḳal'a recognised the authority of 'Abd al-Ḳādir, who drove out the Ḳuloghlus, and was in 1845 occupied by the French. Ḳal'a was the birth-place of the celebrated marabout Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf (ixth cent. A.H.), to whom are attributed satirical sayings very popular in Algeria (Cf. R. Basset, *Les dictons populaires attribués à Sidi Aḥmed ben Yūsuf*, Paris 1890).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 181-2, transl. i. 281-2; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, Bk. iv., ed. Schefer, vol. iii. p. 34; Marmol, *Afrique*, transl. by Perrot d'Ablancourt, ii. 356; E. Graulle, *Notice historique sur la Ḳal'a des Beni Rached* (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1913); René Leclerc, *Monographie géographique et historique de la commune mixte de la Mina* (*Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. d'Oran*, 1902); R. Basset, *Notes de voyage* (*Mélanges africains et Orientaux*, Paris 1915), p. 96—103.

(G. Yver)

ḲAL'AT NADJM, the name of a celebrated citadel in Northern Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates in 36° 53' N. Lat. and 38° 18' E. Long. (Greenwich). Its importance lay in the fact that it commanded the passage of the river here, where it was crossed by a bridge. It was here that a caravan route from Syria to Mesopotamia, much used in the middle ages, crossed the river. The route ran from Ḥalab via al-Bāb [q. v.] to Manbidj, thence in a fairly straight line to the Euphrates, then across the river in a slightly north-eastern direction to Ḥarrān. The distance from Manbidj to Ḳal'at Nadjm is given as 4 farsakh (a short day's journey), that from the Euphrates to Ḥarrān as 2 days' journey. As there are two small islands in the river at Ḳal'at Nadjm, a passage is very easily effected by a short bridge of boats.

In the middle ages Ḳal'at Nadjm was the bridgehead of Manbidj (the ancient Bambyke; cf. MANBIDJ), a very busy emporium, which the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd had raised to be the capital of the 'Awāṣim province [q. v., i, 515]. So long as Manbidj flourished, Ḳal'at Nadjm retained its importance; with the decline of Manbidj — by the xivth century A. D. Manbidj was already for the most part in ruins; see G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London

1890), p. 501 — the importance of Ḳal'at sank also, for traffic across the Euphrates turned more and more to the northern crossing at al-Bīra (Biredjik; q. v., i. 723). In ancient and mediaeval times there were on the central Euphrates, below where it breaks through the Taurus, a series of places where bridges maintained the connection between Syria and Mesopotamia; on these crossings, some of which succeeded others in course of centuries, see the references in the article BIREDJIK (i. 723). Whether there was already a bridge in ancient times at Ḳal'at Nadjm and whether the isolated hill commanding the ford was already inhabited or defended, we do not know. But it is very probable that a place so favoured by nature was used long before the coming of the Muslims. What ancient town is to be sought on the site of Ḳal'at Nadjm or the immediate vicinity can hardly be decided with certainty. Most probably we have to locate here the Caeciliana of the Roman itineraries (Καικιλία of Ptolemy); cf. the article Caeciliana in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, iii. 1172 and Streck's addition in Suppl. i. 266; Regling in *Klio*, i. 472; V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate* (Paris 1907), p. 281; H. and R. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, part v. (1910); L. Bell, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibl.* there), p. 23. Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 224 sought Caeciliana in the ruined site of Ṣarīsāt (Srisat on Kiepert's map in Sachau (*op. cit.*), north of the Sādjūr river, whereas the map of Syria and Mesopotamia published on a scale of 1:400,000 by the cartographical department of the Prussian Survey, sheet Iᵇ. (Ḥalab) seeks to identify the ancient place in question with the modern Khirfān (Djabal al-Ḥamām, a little N. W. of Ḳal'at Nadjm). Less commendable than the identification of Caeciliana with Ḳal'at Nadjm seem to me the other identifications that have been proposed: namely with Betammali (Bethammaria), as Benzinger suggests in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, iii. 362 (adopted on the above mentioned map of Mesopotamia and Syria, 1:400,000) (see thereon my additional note in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. i. 269), also with Callicome (so d'Anville, *L'Euphrate et Tigre*, Paris 1779), on which see my article on this name in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. i. 270. The Thilaticomum of the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was suggested by Mannert, *Geogr. d. Griech. und Römer*, vi. 1 (Leipzig 1831), p. 394. 397 and Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, i. 224. Nöldeke proposed (*op. cit.*, p. 13) the Gerre (Gerrha, Serre) of Ptolemy and the itineraries (see the article Gerre in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 1270); on what are perhaps its ruins see Chapot, *op. cit.*, p. 282. Finally it should be mentioned that Chesney in *Expedit. for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London 1850), i. 420 and in *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (London 1868), p. 234, wrongly would find Djisr Manbidj — which, as will be emphasised immediately, is only an older name for Ḳal'at Nadjm — in the Ḳara or Büyük Manbidj, 10 miles to the south of it (which Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 14 considers the Eragiza of the classics, Regling in *Klio*, i. 471 Betammali).

Al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje) p. 150, 12 sqq. (excerpted by Yāḳūt, i. 478, 8 sq.) especially mentions that the bridge of Ḳal'at Nadjm was built by the Caliph 'Othmān, but expressly adds that, according to some, traces were still to be seen of an older bridge, which would seem to prove the existence of a river-crossing here, dating back to pre-Muḥammadan times. Al-Balādhurī, however, does not call the place Ḳal'at Nadjm but Djisr Manbidj, "the bridge of Manbidj". The older Arab geographers and historians know it only by this name. Even if the name Ḳal'at Nadjm perhaps only begins to appear in Arabic literature from the xiith century A. D. (to judge from the references quoted), it is clear from an important passage in the Ḥalabī chronicle (not written, however, till the xvth century) of Ibn al-Shiḥna (*al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Ta'rīkh Mamlakat Ḥalab*, Bairut 1909; cf. on this work above II, 236) that its origin must be put back to the tenth century. Here it is stated (p. 230), that Ḳal'at Nadjm was long ago called Djisr Manbidj, and remained a little village in the Muslim period until it was refounded by a certain Nadjm, a slave (*ghulām*) of Ḥabbā al-Ṣafwānī, about 300 A. H. (912 A. D.). From this Nadjm comes the new name Ḳal'at Nadjm (N.'s citadel), which in time quite supplanted the earlier name Djisr Manbidj. Similar changes of place-names occurred elsewhere in Syria and Mesopotamia in the middle ages; for example the strong castle of Ḳal'at Dawsar, which rose farther down the Euphrates on the left bank between al-Bālis and al-Raḳḳa, received the name Ḳal'at Dja'bar (see the art. DJA'BAR) after the Arab chief Dja'bar b. Mālik (in the xith century A. D.) had taken possession of it.

The passage quoted from Ibn al-Shiḥna's history further shows that the form Ḳal'at al-Nadjm and the translation of the name founded on this as "the star-castle", which have become quite familiar in European literature (and therefore also on maps: Kal'at en-Nedjm), are wrong. The Arabic sources, moreover, show, so far as we can see, almost always the correct Ḳal'at Nadjm; the Syrians reproduce this by Ḳal'a Nagm, e. g. Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Bedjan), p. 579, 23. If the reading Ḳal'at al-Nadjm is occasionally also found in our editions of the texts — e. g. in Yāḳūt, iv. 165, 2 (against iii. 860, 22); *al-Mushtarik*, p. 357, 8; *al-Marāṣid*, ii. 443, 5) and al-Ḳazwīnī, ii. 166, 23 — it would still have to be investigated whether the manuscripts really support this reading. At the same time we do not deny that later Arabic writers, in ignorance of the origin of the name of the place, occasionally may have written Ḳal'at al-Nadjm and this may have given the etymology "star-castle". For example, Ibn al-Shiḥna (*op. cit.*, p. 229) gives a passage from a *risāla* of the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (q. v.), in which the latter explains the name of the fortress in poetical fashion as "a star in the clouds", "an eagle in the sky". Similarly Ritter (*op. cit.*, x. 1062, following J. v. Hammer) writes: "The castle is said to have taken its name from its height, reaching up to the stars". Lastly Ainsworth (*op. cit.*, i. 229) takes the name Ḳal'at al-Nadjm back to al-Ma'mūn, who is said to have built an observatory here. That the Caliph had observations of the heavens made in the region between Palmyra and al-Raḳḳa on the Euphrates is certainly true (cf. above i. 498ᵇ), but his responsibility for the doubtful place-name is to be denied, after what we have said above. In this connection it may also be pointed out that we have several places called

Kawkab (= star) in Nearer Asia, for example one in Northern Syria, but an identification of the latter with Ḳal'at al-Nadjm, "the star-castle", which R. Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreiches Jerusalem* (Innsbruck 1898), p. 237, note 3 proposes, is impossible. It is noteworthy that Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, vol. i., Leiden 1915, p. 103, 22) says that the citadel of Ḥarrān was called Ḳal'a-i Nadjm. As there is no confirmation of this in Arabic sources, this must be an error of the author's.

The citadel and the bridge of Ḳal'at Nadjm play a not unimportant part in the history of the wars of Islām. Soon after their invasion of Syria the Arabs occupied this region (in 18 = 639), the Euphrates villages, as al-Balādhurī (p. 173, 9) calls it. In the accounts of the fightings between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, which led in 657 A. D. to the battle of Ṣiffīn (on the right bank of the Euphrates opposite Ḳal'at Dja'bar already mentioned) the bridge of Ḳal'at Nadjm is frequently mentioned; cf. e. g. al-Ṭabarī, i. 3259, 11 *sq.* and Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjārib al-Umam* (Gibb Mem. Ser., i. Nº. 7), i. 571, 7. When 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād took the field against Mukhtār in 65 (685) in the 'Irāḳ, he crossed the Euphrates by this bridge; see Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin 1902), p. 115. In 330 (941) after the murder of Ibn Rā'iḳ (on whom see above ii. 407) there was fighting here between the latter's troops and those of the Hamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla; see *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, x. 470. The citadel of Ḳal'at Nadjm changed hands several times then as in later centuries; we find as its possessors, in turn, the Ḥamdānids, the Mirdāsids of Ḥalab (cf. above ii. 229 *sqq.*), the Banū Numair (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 159, 7; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *op. cit.*), Sulṭān Nūr al-Dīn al-Zankī (1146—73) and his successors in Syria, the Ayyūbids. Nūr al-Dīn (according to Abū 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Paris, p. 233) renovated the castle — on which account Ibn Djubair, who passed it two or three decades later, calls it "a new citadel" — and placed a strong garrison in it, which was very troublesome to the neighbouring Syrian towns occupied by the Franks. Ḳal'at Nadjm was also for a time in the hands of the Begteginid princes of Irbil (on them see above ii. 591). After the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1193) his sons and grandsons (al-Malik al-Afḍal, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, al-Malik al-'Azīz) and his brother (al-Malik al-'Ādil) several times succeeded one another in the possession of the town (cf. above vol. i., ii. and Yāḳūt, iii. 165, 16; Abu 'l-Faradj (Barhebraeus), *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Beirut, p. 393, 11; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reiske-Adler), iv. 109, 189; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 435.

When Hūlāgū in 658 (1260) began his campaign against Syria (cf. above ii. 332), he had to fight for the Euphrates crossings and the forts defending them; see Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Bedjan), p. 500, 17. Barhebraeus, who was then bishop of Ḥalab, and went to meet the Mongol ruler to beg that the Christians be spared, was shut up by him in Ḳal'at Nadjm (see *op. cit.*, p. 510, 17).

On the topography of Ḳal'at Nadjm and the present condition of the castle there, we have various accounts by European travellers, e. g. by Helfer and Ainsworth (on their visit together in 1830), Sachau (1879), M. v. Oppenheim (1896) and Miss Gertrude L. Bell (1909). According to their descriptions, the rocky cone about 160 feet high stands quite alone, crowned by the picturesque ruins of the citadel, falling steeply towards the river and fairly difficult of ascent on other sides also. All parts of the castle are still standing upright and are quite well preserved. Two stories are distinguished with an agglomeration of rooms of various sizes. The only parts damaged are those which were bombarded during the taking of the castle by Turkish troops about 1820. When at this time an Arab tribe refused tribute to the government and took refuge in this stronghold, the soldiers of the Pasha had to besiege and storm it, and a large gap was made in the wall in the process. A peculiar feature of Ḳal'at Nadjm are its not yet fully investigated caves and subterranean passages, which, according to the Arabs, run through below the Euphrates to the Mesopotamian side (compare the Oriental stories about a similar system of tunnels made by the Queen Zenobia in Fr. Müller, *Studien über Zenobia und Palmyra* (1902, p. 37). Ḳal'at Nadjm is now quite deserted and forms a refuge only for countless wild pigeons and bats. According to Sachau, there are still three Arabic inscriptions here. One of them is carved out over the main gateway which is flanked by two high towers and gives an account of the restoration work done by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ẓāhir in 605—612 (1208—1215); beside it, is a second one which gives the name of the architect. A third inscription of the same ruler (of 1215 A. D.) may be read over the door of what was once the little mosque of the castle.

According to the Arab geographers (Ibn Djubair, Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī, *al-Marāṣid*), a little town lay below the castle rock, probably at the river's edge, which served as a market for the numerous travellers as well as for the Beduins of the surrounding desert. The remains still in existence of buildings of an earlier period at the foot of the hill on the south cannot, as Sachau observes, be considered the remains of a town on account of the way in which the ground is cut up; but the Muslim cemetery in the vicinity with the ruins of two buildings (mosques or chapels) may mark the site of the small mediaeval village. At the present day there is no bridge there. Whether traces of any earlier ones can be found seems very doubtful. Chesney (*Expedition*, i. 420; *Narrative*, p. 230; see above) has, it is true, thought to discover remains of one and M. v. Oppenheim claimed to find traces of old bridges in no less than three places (see *Berliner Zeitschr. für Erdkunde*, xxxvi. 80 *sq.* and *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, xiv. 1905, p. 7), but according to Chapot (*op. cit.*, p. 281, note 7), who likewise examined the area in question, there is nowhere any trace of such remains to be seen.

A little to the south of Ḳal'at Nadjm, but on the left bank of the stream, there lies close to the Euphrates a mound of ruins, part of which has at one time been swept away by the river, called Tell Mas'ūdiya, out of which M. v. Oppenheim dug a large ancient mosaic of the river-god Euphrates; see *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, xiv. (1905), p. 7 and Moritz in the *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, vii./iii. 1913, p. 158. Also on the east bank opposite Ḳal'at Nadjm there lies a very winding system

of hills, called Djabal Ṣarrīn after the ancient ruined site of Ṣarrīn. S.E. of the latter (N.E. of Tell Masʿūdiya) rise two great grave-towers, one of which has in the second story a porphyry sarcophagus with the oldest known inscription in pure Syriac (73 A.D. = 385 Seleucid era). This monument of an Edessa man named Maʿnu bar Maʿnu, with inscriptions relating to the building and to the deceased, is of great value from the linguistic as well as the palaeographical side. M. v. Oppenheim and H. Pognon found and copied it independently; cf. Pognon's publication and edition of the text in his *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie* (Paris 1907—1908), p. 15—22 (and Pl. xiv.) and see thereon Nöldeke in the *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxi. 151—153. The edition of the text by B. Moritz in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vii./ii. 1913, p. 158—165 is based on v. Oppenheim's material. The ancient names of Tell Masʿūdiya and Ṣarrīn are unknown; perhaps it was one of the above mentioned stations in the itineraries (Gerre or Thilaticomum).

Bibliography: For the name Djisr Manbidj see Ibn Khordādhbeh in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, vi. 98, 1, 3; Ḳudāma, *ibid.*, vi. 233, 13; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *ibid.*, i. 62, 13, 65, 10; 71, 17; 76, 4; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *ibid.*, ii. 120, 8, 125, 8, 138, 2, 154, 10; al-Muḳaddasī, *ibid.*, viii. 44; al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 150, 15; Ibn Serapion in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, p. 10, 1; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Paris 1861—77), i. 215, 1; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 478, 2; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (ed. Mehren), p. 93, 18; Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ* (ed. Juynboll), i. 189, 2; — for Ḳalʿat Nadjm: al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, French transl. by Jaubert as *Géographie d'Édrisi*, ii. 139; Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, ed. Wright-de Goeje, p. 248, 10; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 860, 22, iv. 165, 12; Yāḳūt, *al-Mushtarik* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 357, 13; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 233; al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 200, 1; Ibn al-ʿAdīm in Freytag, *Chrestom. Arab.* (Bonn 1834), p. 105, 10; al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 160, 23; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *op. cit.*, p. 158, 13; Schultens, *Vita et res gestae .... Saladini* (Leiden 1755), Ind. Geogr. s. v. Nedjmum; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 1053, 1062—64; Nöldeke in the *Nachr. d. Göttinger Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, 1876, p. 13 *sq.*; G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London 1890), p. 501 *sq.*; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 107 *sq.* — J. W. Helfer, *Reisen in Vorderasien und Indien*, ed. by Countess P. Nostiz (Leipzig 1873), i. 201 *sq.*; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig 1883), p. 153 *sq.*; W. F. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (London 1888), i. 223, 226—234; v. Oppenheim, in the *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, xiv. (1905), p. 7; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* (London 1911), p. 23 *sq.*, 34 *sq.* (2nd ed. 1924, not consulted). (M. STRECK)

ḲALʿAT AL-RŪM. See RŪM ḲALʿA.

ḲALʿAT SHERḲĀT, an extensive group of ruins in the wilāyet of Mōṣul, on the right bank of the Tigris in 35° 30′ N. Lat. and 43° 15′ E. Long. (Greenwich). They rise on the edge of the desert on the sharp spur of the hilly lands, cut up by many valleys, which slope from the ridge of the Khanūḳa mountains, an eastern spur of the Djabal Hamrīn, down towards the Tigris. The name Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt is not found in the Oriental writers of the middle ages nor, so far as I can see, in those of later centuries either. Whether the spelling אשר שרקת = Ashshur šr ḳ (t) t (?), which is found in Aramaic inscriptions of the Parthian period, is really connected with Sherḳāt, as Jensen (*Mitt. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*, n°. 60, p. 46) supposes, is very doubtful. Perhaps the name Sherḳāt — not Sherḳāṭ; cf. Streck, *Die Inschriften Assurbanipals* (Leipzig 1916), p. 792 — only dates from the xviiith century A.D.; in the literature of European travellers it seems to appear first about the time of Rich (1821). The meaning (? a personal name) is quite unknown. The Turks also give the place the name (often found where Turkish is spoken) of Topraḳ-Kalʿe = "Earth-citadel", which is without significance; cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, ii. 137 *sq.*

Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt occupies the site of the oldest capital of the Assyrian empire, the city of Ashshur, from which the whole district ruled by it also took the name Ashshur (Assyria), while the city itself apparently derived its name from the national deity of this name (hardly the reverse). The site offers many advantages for an effective defence and was presumably planned by the inhabitants of southern Mesopotamia (Babylonia) as a military bulwark against the inroads of northern barbarians. That Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt was fortified in the archaic period has been shown by the excavations of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft. These further show that the Semitic settlement was preceded by a non-Semitic (Sumerian) occupation; Sumerian sculptures have been found which are closely connected with those from Telloh in South Babylonia (about 2600 B.C.). In the time of the third Babylonian dynasty of Ur (2298—2786 B.C.), Ashshur was a small state dependent on Babylonia. The beginnings of Ashshur may safely be put back to 3000 B.C. and perhaps even farther; thereon cf., most recently, Weidner in *Boghazköi-Studien*, Heft 6 (*Der Zug Sargons von Akkad*, Leipzig 1922), p. 96. Some not inconsiderable time before 2000 B.C. an end was made of the Sumerian colonisation of Ashshur by the invasion of the Semites.

The numerous historical inscriptions, which were brought to light by the excavations of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt have extended in a most unexpected fashion our knowledge of the history of the city and kingdom of Ashshur, especially with regard to the older periods. Its chronology now begins about 2300 B.C. or even earlier. From Puzur Ashir I (2086—2072) to the fall of Nineveh, with the help of the dynastic lists of Ashshur, we can restore the series of rulers without a gap; cf. E. Weidner, *Die Könige von Assyrien, Neue chronol. Dokumente aus Assur*, in the *Mitt. der Vorderasiat.-Aegypt. Gesellsch.*, xxvi. (1921), n°. 2; with the chronological list of the kings of Ashshur given there (p. 64 *sq.*) compare the (somewhat later) list given by Schroeder in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Heft 2 (1922), p. 101 *sq.*

Ashshur retained its place as capital down to the middle of the tenth century B.C. Older rulers built other towns as royal residences, but only temporarily, for example Salmanassar I (1280—1261) chose Kalkhu (Bibl. Hebr. Kalaḥ) farther to the north at the mouth of the upper

Zāb for his capital and his son and successor Tukulti Ninurta I (1260—1232) built a new capital for himself in the immediate vicinity of Ashshur to the northeast of it, which he called after himself Kār ("wall, citadel of") Tukulti Ninurta (now the ruins of Tulūl ʿAḳr). After their death both these towns again lost their predominance to Ashshur. It was only from the tenth century onwards that the latter became more and more overshadowed by Kalakh and Nineveh and the later kings chose these two places only as the centres of their kingdom. Ashshur survived the fall of Nineveh, however; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, CCXLIV and note 3 and p. CCXLIX, note 1. It is mentioned in the proclamation of Cyrus to the Babylonians, which is preserved in cuneiform. During the greater part of the Graeco-Roman period, especially in the 400 years of the Parthian epoch (which is represented by countless remains of buildings), it was an inhabited town, and as such — under other names (Kaini; perhaps also Labbana and Libla) — it is several times mentioned by classical authors; thereon cf. E. Herzfeld in *Memnon*, i. (1907), p. 98 *sq.*, 237 *sq.* In the Parthian strata of the ruins of Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt 43 Aramaic inscriptions, mainly in memoriam, were found, which, in so far as they were dated, cover the period of the Seleucid (Arsakid?) era (199/200—227/228 A.D.), i. e. they cease just with the rise of the Sasanians. An interesting fact is also to be deduced from these documents, that the cult of Assyrian deities and names of gods still survived in Ashshur in the third century A.D. On these inscriptions cf. Jensen in the *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1919, liii. 1042—1051, and in the *Mitt. d. deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*, 1920, n°. 60.

The name Ashshur appears in the Aramaic form Athūrā as early as the old Persian version of the Behistūn inscription; see Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden* (= *Vorderasiat. Bibl.*, iii.), p. 140. By Athūrā we have here probably not to understand the whole of Assyria but only the district of Ashshur. The classical authors give the Aramaic equivalent of Ashshur in the form Ἀτουρία, Ἀτυρία; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswissensch.*, ii. 2260; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, i. 127. Ashshur presumably became more and more deserted under the Sasanians. The Syriac authors know of Athor down to the late middle ages as the name of a parish; see G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrisch. Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig 1880), p. 175, 210.

The Arab geographers of the middle ages likewise are acquainted with Athūr. It is given by them firstly as an earlier name of Mōṣul, then as the name of the province which was later usually called al-Djazīra and finally as the name of a ruin near al-Salāmiya (probably the Biblical Resen, 2½ miles N.W. of Nimrūd, the ancient Kalakh; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. CCLXXVI). Sometimes Aḳūr is written instead of Athūr and sometimes the one, sometimes the other noted as a variant. Aḳūr is either to be regarded as a corruption or, perhaps better, as a parallel dialect form. Cf. for Athūr or Aḳūr: Ibn Rosteh in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii. 104, 6 (ard Athūr, "land of A." = Mōṣul); Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 119, 16; 340, 5; iii. 138, 18. For the Djazīrat Aḳūr see Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 72, 17; 231, 9; this coincides with the Iḳlīm Athūr (Aḳūr), the Κλίμα (region of) A., of which only al-Muḳaddasī (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 20, 5; cf. also 27, 10; 28, 7) speaks and which, according to him, is divided into three large divisions. On (Djazīrat) Aḳūr as an older name for Djazīra see above i. and G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 86.

From the statements of the Arab geographers this much is evident that in the middle ages a ruin was still known which covered the site of the ancient Ashshur; only the name had been erroneously connected with a deserted locality near al-Salāmiya. It may here be recalled that, according to Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853), p. 165, the Arabs at the present day call a high hill in the corner of the ruins of Nimrūd (Kalakh) "Tell Athūr". The Arab geographers further make the observation, which is quite correct, that the earlier name of the province of al-Djazīra, which, indeed, practically coincides in area with the ancient Assyria, is derived from the deserted town of Athūr. When Athūr ultimately came to be erroneously regarded as the ancient name of the later capital Mōṣul, we have a false identification here similar to the case of Baghdād, which western travellers throughout the middle ages down to Pietro della Valle (1616—17) equated with Babylon and always called so.

On the Arabic names Athūr or Aḳūr cf. also A. Schultens, *Vita et res gestae … Saladini* (Leiden 1755), Ind. Geogr. s. v. Mosula; Fr. Tuch, *De Nino urbe* (Leipzig 1845), p. 16 *sq.*; Tuch's *Kommentar über die Genesis*, 2nd ed. by Merx (Halle 1871), p. 61 *sq.*; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*[2] (London 1849), ii. 245.

The ruined area of Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt is of considerable extent (nearly 180 acres), very little smaller than that of the two other royal cities of Assyria, Kalaḫ (Nimrūd) and Nineveh (Ḳuyundjiḳ). It is sharply defined; there is no doubt on any side as to how far the ancient city reached. The Tigris flowed along the east front; the north front was formed by a natural ledge of rock, which was strengthened by defensive walls and made inaccessible. On the finest part of Ashshur, in the eastern part of the north plateau, the Shammar Shaikh Ferḥān Pasha in the second half of the xixth century founded a settlement which later became a Turkish outpost, which until the Great War served as barracks for troops of regular cavalry or mounted police. Apart from this temporary use as a military post by the government, Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt has been quite uninhabited since the memory of man.

The extensive ruins early excited the interest of European travellers. Their importance was first emphasised by Cl. Rich, who examined them carefully on a Tigris journey in March 1821; see his *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (London 1836), ii. 137 *sq.* In 1836 Ross visited them; see a communication by him in the *Journ. of the Royal Geogr. Society*, ix. (1839), p. 451—455. The first thorough description of the site we owe to W. Ainsworth. He visited it along with Layard and Mitford in 1840 when on an excursion to al-Ḥaḍr [q. v., ii. 204] (the caravan road to al-Ḥaḍr branches off at Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt; see his report in the *Journ. of the Royal Geogr. Society*, xi. (1842), p. 4—8). Layard again in 1847 spent two days at Ḳalʿat Sherḳāt, engaged in examining the ruins; see Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*[1],

ii. 45—63. Later (1852) H. Rassam conducted excavations on the spot; on these cf. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853), p. 581 and H. Rassam, *Ashur and the Land of Nimrod* (New York 1857), p. 1321.

A systematic examination of the whole system of ruins was first effected between Sept. 1903 and June 1914 by excavations of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft which extended over practically the whole site of the town. Accurate plans were made of all parts examined. As the excavations proved, the kings Tiglathpileser I (1115—1103) and Salmanassar III (859—825) in particular displayed very great activity in building at Ashshur; the latter renovated completely almost all the great works of his predecessors. The most prominent buildings within the town are the great temples — the sanctuary of Ishtar, the oldest of all, showing a Sumerian stratum below it, then the Ashshur temple, also of very great antiquity, called E-Kharsag-kurkurra with a great temple tower (*zikkuratu*) belonging to it, and lastly the sanctuary of Anu and Adad. Besides there was a series of smaller temples; of special interest is a "New Year Festival House", a work of Sanherib (705—682), discovered before the city gates. Palaces also were uncovered; but we have not yet detailed information regarding them. The powerful fortifications (double wall, Tigris-quay, wall and citadel) with which the Assyrian rulers protected their capital are most impressive. Among the monuments brought to light in great number special mention should be made of two rows of steles with reliefs and inscriptions (one north of kings and one south of officials), which belong to the xivth—viith centuries and are of fundamental importance for our knowledge of Assyrian history. The topographical and archaeological investigation of the site has, at last, also given us a clear picture of the extent and significance of the erstwhile "city of the Parthians" (we have to distinguish two periods of Parthian building).

An exhaustive work on the topography and history of Ashshur based on the German ten years' excavations on a large scale is not yet available. For the present we have only the official reports, almost all by W. Andrae, the leader of the German expedition in Assyria, published in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Nº. 20—22, 25—26, 28—29, 31—33, 36, 38, 40, 42—45, 47—49, 51 and 54. On two of the principal temples, on the fortificatory works and the rows of steles, Andrae has published monographs in the *Wissensch. Veröffentl. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*, namely: *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur* (Leipzig 1909; = *Wissensch. Veröffentl.*, Nº. 10); *Die Stelenreihe von Assur* (1913; = *op. cit.*, Nº. 24); *Die Festungswerke von Assur* (1913, 2 vols.; = *op. cit.*, Nº. 23); *Die archaischen Ištar-Tempel in Assur* (1922; = *op. cit.* Nº. 39).

The yield in inscriptions from the excavations in Ashshur has been very rich and exceedingly important. They have to a very great extent extended our knowledge of Assyrian chronology, history and religion. The publication of the texts is likewise being done in the *Wissensch. Veröffentl. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*; so far there have appeared: *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, 2 parts, Leipzig 1911 and 1922, ed. by Messerschmidt and Schroeder (= *Wissensch. Veröffentl.*, nº. 16 and 37); *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, ed. by Ebeling, vol. i. 1915—1919 (= *op. cit.*, nº. 28), vol. ii (part 1—2), 1920 (= *op. cit.*, nº. 34); *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, ed. by Schroeder, 1920 (= *op. cit.*, nº. 35); *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur* (dating from the latest period of the Assyrian empire), ed. by Lidzbarski 1921, *op. cit.*, nº. 38.

Bibliography: Apart from the references already given we may mention the following: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 666 *sq.*, 671—676; Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig 1881), p. 252—255. Delitzsch also in 1903, before the beginning of the German excavations, drew up a sketch of the history of the town (especially its buildings) based on the inscriptions then known; in the *Mitteilungen der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*, nº. 20, p. 30—36; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin 1900), ii. 203—210; E. Herzfeld in *Memnon*, i. (1907), p. 97—116, 231 *sq.*, 237; M. Streck, *Die Inschriften Assurbanipals* (Leipzig 1916), iii. 773; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i. (Heidelberg 1920), *passim* (see Index), esp. p. 12 *sq.*, 33 *sq.*, 300 *sq.* — The best map of the region of Ḳal'at Sherḳāt is the one of Mesopotamia and Syria published by the cartographical department of the Prussian Survey on the scale of 1 : 400,000, sheet 4 C (Sāmarrā). The latest plan of the ruins of Ashshur is given by Andrae in his *Die Festungswerke von Assur* (1913), Plates i. and iii. On the flora of Ḳal'at Sherḳāt and district E. Herzfeld writes in the *Orientalist. Literaturzeit.*, Suppl. ii., Berlin (1908) on the basis of the collection made by him as a member of the German expedition in Ashshur in 1903—1905 and (somewhat enlarged) in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, iv. (Suppl. Berlin 1920), p. 25—26. He gives the plant-names in the dialect of the half nomadic Djebbūr Arabs of the district. (M. STRECK)

ḲALATA. See CONSTANTINOPLE, I, 867.

ḲALĀ'ŪN, AL-MALIK AL-MANṢŪR SAIF AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ AL-ALFĪ (the "Thousander", a name, it is said, given him because he was bought for 1000 pieces of gold) AL-ṢĀLIḤĪ AL-NAJJMĪ, the sixth Sulṭān of the Baḥrī [q. v.] Mamlūks, born in Ḳipčāḳ [q. v.], was brought to Egypt, sold to Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb [q. v.] and manumitted by him in 647 (1247). The beginning of his career is unknown. Under Sulṭān Baibars [q. v.] he became commander of a thousand. He later distinguished himself in a campaign in 671 (1272) against the Mongols by a skilfully executed passage of the Euphrates and again in 672 (1273) in a war against the Armenians. Sulṭān Baraka Khān, son of Baibars, sent him again against the Armenians in 677 (1278). When this Sulṭān was deposed a year later, the Emirs chose his seven-year-old brother al-Malik al-'Ādil Salāmish as Sulṭān and appointed Ḳalā'ūn his guardian and Atabek. In reality Ḳalā'ūn ruled and was mentioned in the Friday prayer and on the coins along with Salāmish; after three months Salāmish was deposed and Ḳalā'ūn in due form raised to the throne and confirmed by the Caliph. While he was at once recognised in Egypt, he had to fight a rival in Syria, the Emir Sonḳor al-Ashḳar, who was chosen

Sulṭān in Damascus by the Syrian troops, Ṣonḳor found support among the Beduins of Syria, as well as with the sons of Baibars, the deposed Baraka Khān, to whom on his deposition Karak [q. v.] had been given as an independent principality, and his brother Khiḍr, who occupied several fortresses in the southern part of Syria. Both sides gathered together their armies; there was a battle in the beginning of 679 (1279) south of Damascus, which was decided in favour of Kalāʾūn, as a result of the desertion of Damascus troops. Baraka Khān had died shortly before; his brother Khiḍr was glad to conclude peace with Ḳalāʾūn in the spring of the year 680, by which he was granted Karak as a fief. Ṣonḳor had appealed for assistance to the Mongols and they, always ready for loot, had invaded Northern Syria, plundering as they went. When the Mongols were preparing for a second campaign on a larger scale, Ṣonḳor, who had become afraid of his too ardent friends, had made peace with Kalāʾūn on condition that he was left the North Syrian fortresses of Ṣahyūn, Shaizar, Apamea and several other places to rule independently. Freed from these opponents, Ḳalāʾūn was able to devote his attention to the invading Mongols, who were reinforced by Armenians, Franks and Georgians. The armies met at Ḥims. In spite of their superiority at first, the Mongols were defeated and had to withdraw from Syria. While the Sulṭān, as we have seen, was threatened from several sides, the Crusaders, who still occupied the greater part of the Syrian coast, had not decided to collect their full strength for a decisive effort. Only the Knights of St. John in the fortress of Marḳab had enticed the governor of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [q. v.], who was approaching it, into an ambush and inflicted a severe defeat on him in a surprise attack; after the destruction of the Mongol army, they, like the Count of Tripolis and the Templars a year later, were content to have peace on favourable terms. An agreement was also made with the city of ʿAkkā in 682 (1283). Kalāʾūn, however, punished the Armenians for the help they had given the Mongols, by invading their country and doing them great damage by plundering and ravaging it.

The Khān of the Mongols, Abāḳā [q. v.] died in 680 (1281); his successor adopted Islām, taking the name Aḥmad. Letters and embassies were exchanged between him and Ḳalāʾūn and although their relations did not result in an alliance, they were by no means unfriendly. In 683 (1284) Aḥmad was murdered. His successor Arghūn [q. v.] remained a pagan and favoured the Jews and Christians in his Empire. His plan was to induce the Pope and the king of France to cooperate with him in a crusade against Ḳalāʾūn. This scheme, however, did not materialise. The Sulṭān for his part entered into diplomatic negotiations with the republic of Genoa, with whom he concluded a commercial treaty; he had a kind of defensive alliance with king Alfonso of Castile and James of Sicily. Embassies were exchanged with the Byzantine Emperor, with the Emperor Rudolf of Hapsburg, the king of Yemen and the prince of Ceylon. The prince Tulan Mangū of Ḳipčaḳ, who became a convert to Islām, obtained from Ḳalāʾūn, as the first ruler in Islām, a title and a standard with a coat-of-arms.

It was Ḳalāʾūn's aim to extend his rule over the whole of Syria. To attain this end he did not hesitate to break his treaties with the Crusaders. For example at the beginning of 684 (1285) he fell suddenly upon the fortress of the Knights of St. John at Marḳab and undermined the walls so rapidly with his sappers, that the garrison had to surrender and depart. He adopted another plan to capture the stronghold of Maraḳiya, built in the sea near the coast and considered impregnable. It belonged to a vassal of Bohemund VII of Tripolis. Ḳalāʾūn pursued and threatened the latter so long that finally he bought it from his vassal, and let the Sulṭān dismantle it to appease him. Margaret of Tyre had to purchase peace with Ḳalāʾūn on humiliating terms. Having thus consolidated his position, he was able in 686 (1287) to think of depriving his old opponent Ṣonḳor al-Ashḳar of his possessions in Syria. In the course of several campaigns he compelled him to give up his kingdom and retire to Cairo. He threatened Khiḍr, prince of Karak, so long that the latter finally yielded up his principality to him. In 688 (1289) he decided to capture Tripolis, the largest town still in the possession of the Crusaders. Prince Bohemund had died and his mother and sister were making claims on the vacant throne. The Sulṭān intervened in the quarrel and finally began the siege of the town. Although Tripolis received help from the sea, its position soon became desperate, so that the mother of the late ruler left the town with the Genoese and Venetian colony. With the help of his sappers the Sulṭān succeeded in undermining the walls and took the town by assault. It was for the most part destroyed and not rebuilt till a few years later, several miles from the sea on the bank of the river Ḳadīsha. (From the Christian period date the great mosque, the Tailān mosque, both formerly churches, and the foundations of the citadel). The stronghold of Baṭrūn, south of Tripolis, was shortly afterwards taken. This was Ḳalāʾūn's last feat of arms. When about to depart next year to besiege ʿAkkā on the pretext that Muslims had been robbed and murdered by Christians there, he died quite near Cairo, just after starting for Syria. Besides his continuous campaigns in Syria he had also to wage war against Nubia. In two battles he was victorious against king Shamāmūn but he could only maintain his authority there as long as his armies remained. He gained no permanent success in Nubia, although he succeeded in making king Shamāmūn resume payment of the ancient tribute. He had frequently to take the field with full strength against the Beduins of South Palestine and Upper Egypt; it is a sign of his strength that he, unlike other Sulṭāns, was able to subdue the rebels completely. Ḳalāʾūn, on the whole, maintained his authority over the sacred city of Mecca, although the Sharīf from time to time endeavoured to make himself independent.

Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn succeeded in consolidating Mamlūk power in Syria and gradually made good the damage done by the incursions and ravages of the Mongols. We find his renovations on a grand scale in the citadels of Aleppo, Baalbek and Damascus. His most famous building is the hospital in Cairo in which there were large wards for the different illnesses, laboratories, kitchens, ample storerooms with provisions and medicaments. It was connected with a mosque and a school (see below). He was the only one of the Mamlūk

Sulṭāns to found a dynasty; his descendant in the fifth generation reigned till 783 (1382).

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(SOBERNHEIM)

ḲALAWDHIYA, according to Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 167 a fortress near Malaṭya, undoubtedly the ancient Claudias, which is mentioned as early as Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 85 as Claudiopolis, and under the later Roman Empire was one of the *castra praesidiaria*, the fortified permanent camps on the eastern frontier between Samosata and Melitene. It was taken from the Arabs and destroyed by Constantine V Copronymos, probably in 755 A. D., together with Malaṭya (al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 186 *sq.*, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, under the years 133 and 138 of the Hidjra; Barhebraeus, *Kethābhā de Makhtebhānūth Zabhnē*, ed. Bedjan, Paris 1890, p. 122 below), but retaken and rebuilt by the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr in 140 (757/758) (al-Balādhurī, p. 188 = Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v. 382; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Ṣālḥānī (Bairut 1890), p. 210, without giving a date; according to Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, in 141 A. H.) and the Christian population transplanted to Constantinople (Michael Syrus, *Kethābhā de Makhtebhānūth Zabhnē*, ed. Chabot, ii. 518, 522). In the first quarter of the tenth century the district of Melitene again passed under Byzantine rule and was not lost again until the Saldjūḳ invasion; in the tractate περὶ παραδρομῆς πολέμου (*de velitatione bellica*) of the second half of the tenth century the place is mentioned under the name τὰ Καλούδια along with Melitene (Leo Diaconus, ed. Bonn 1828, p. 250). Armenian bands entered the district of Ḳalawdhiya and established themselves there in 1066 (Michael Syrus, *op. cit.*, iii. 158). The Byzantines were followed in their rule in these regions by the Dānishmandoghlu and their rivals, the Saldjūḳs of Konya. In this period Ḳalawdhiya is repeatedly mentioned by the Syriac chroniclers, for the last time in the year 1273 (Michael Syrus, *op. cit.*, p. 304, year 1152, p. 400, year 1185; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, i. 522 = ii. 545, year 1257; *id.*, i. 549 = ii. 574, year 1273); among other things they report that in October 1152 the Euphrates overflowed its banks as the result of a great landslide and made a way out at the foot of the hills of Ḳ. (see Michael Syrus, *op. cit.*, p. 306 = Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, i. 341, ii. 348). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 98 *sq.*, knows Ḳ. under the name Erkalawdiya as a considerable fortified place in a fertile region, which produced corn, cotton, grapes and fruit plentifully; he thinks, like Yāḳūt, that Ptolemaeus, the author of the *Almagest* came from there, and was therefore called al-Ḳalawdī.

With this the place disappears from history; for, although Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (xviith cent. A. D.) still mentions Erḳlādiya in his *Djihānnumā*, p. 601, he only knows it from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* (Paris 1748), ii. 284 (beginning of the xviiith century) translates, as usual with him, only the statements of the Turkish geographer. The site has so far not been discovered; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor* (London 1842), i. 263 wishes to identify the ancient Claudias with the modern Kiakhta [q. v.], which is, however, impossible because the Syriac chroniclers mention Ḳalawdhiya and Kiakhta together contemporaneously as different places.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN)

KALB, the dog, is also in Islām one of the "unclean beasts," primarily because its flesh may not be eaten (al-Nawawī, *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn*, ed. v. d. Berg, iii. 312); and further because, according to the Ḥadīth, there are several special regulations regarding it. For example dogs render food which they lick impure and render unavailable water intended for ritual purifications (al-Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, bāb 33). Vessels, likewise, which have been licked by dogs, require to be cleaned several times, including once with sand. In a certain way they render impure the whole room in which they are; for angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog and Muḥammad had first to sprinkle the place on which a young dog had lain concealed with purificatory water before Djibrīl would appear to him (Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 31 *sqq.*). — Dogs "cut off the ṣalāt", i. e. they make the ṣalāt worthless when they come into the immediate vicinity of the man at prayer (Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 30) and one is all the more inclined to attribute this rule to the impurity of the dog, as it also holds for menstruating women. The Arab commentators, however, explain it by saying that the dog frightens the worshipper and distracts him from his devotions (al-Sindī, commentary on Ibn Mādja as cited above). This is especially true of the black dog, for "he is Satan". This saying is either to be interpreted literally as meaning that Satan occasionally appears in the form of a black dog (cf. Faust) or it only means that black dogs in general are considered particularly dangerous. Dogs in general are considered noxious and should therefore be exterminated (al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣaid wa 'l-Dhabāʾiḥ*, bāb 9—14), but as "Allāh does not create anything in which there is not a trace of his wisdom" (al-Sindī, commentary on this passage), this rule is applied only to black dogs.

It is only permitted to keep dogs for hunting, for herding and for watching (al-Nasāʾī, *op. cit.*); whoever keeps a forbidden dog has to forfeit a portion of his possessions daily (cf. *Babylon. Talmud*, *Shabbath*, fol. 63a: "whoever possesses a dangerous dog keeps good fortune away from his house"). Dealing in dogs on the other hand is strictly forbidden (al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, bāb 25).

But in spite of its impurity and dangerousness

the Arabs are able to appreciate the good qualities and services of the dog. Muḥammad himself promises a woman a divine reward for a kindness, which she had done a thirsty dog (al-Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 33), and al-Ḳazwīnī (p. 403) characterises the dog as "a particularly intelligent, very useful animal, patient in hunger and on the watch, whose cleverness and fidelity are shown in many ways". Al-Ḳazwīnī describes very fully the symptoms of hydrophobia; cf. thereon *Babylon. Talmud*, *Yōmā*, fol. 83b: "there are five symptoms in a mad dog: its mouth is open, its saliva runs, its ears have a foul smell, its tail lies limply on its hips and it wanders aimlessly along the sides of the streets".

The dog of the seven sleepers (Sūra xviii. 17) is a special matter. According to al-Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, p. 557) it was a dog with the gift of speech, in al-Ṭabarī's view (*Tafsīr*, xv. 141, 1st ed. p. 131), a man in the form of a dog, but perhaps simply an ordinary dog. — On the dog-star (Sirius) see AL-KALB and AL-SHI'RĀ.

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AL-KALB, the Dog-Star in astronomy: *Ṣūrat al-Kalb al-akbar* (the constellation of the Great Dog) and *Ṣūrat al-Kalb al-aṣghar* (constellation of the Little Dog) or also *Ṣūrat al-Kalb al-Mutaḳaddim* (constellation of the forerunner dog; προκύων), the former known as canis major and the latter as canis minor, two constellations of the southern heavens, the names and configuration of which the Arabs took out of *al-Madjisṭī* of Ptolemaios. Like the latter, the Arabs allotted 18 stars to the ṣūra proper of Canis Major, of which Sirius (*al-Shi'rā 'l-'abūr*) is of the first magnitude (actually 1.6), while outside of the constellation lie 11 stars, and to Canis Minor two stars of which Prokyon (α Canis Minoris, *al-Shi'rā 'l-ghumaiṣā'*) is also of the first magnitude (actually 0.5). As regards the stellar co-ordinates (latitude and longitude), the star-catalogues of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (d. 376 = 986) and al-Bīrūnī (d. 440 = 1048) are based entirely on the Ptolemaic *Almagest*, while the star-catalogue of Ulugh Beg prepared for the period 1437 contains numerous new definitions of star positions.

The name Dog-Star probably goes back to ancient Egypt where the modern Sirius (σείριος = burning, brilliant — with the addition of *Kûon* = Dog-Star) was called *Sopdet*, which undoubtedly became the Greek *Sothis*. The name of the star had originally nothing to do with dog, but in the Greek terracottas which are frequently found in Egypt, Isis, to whom the star was sacred, is often represented with a dog and (according to L. Borchardt) with a particular kind of dog, the so-called Armant (Erment)-dog. Sirius alone is also reproduced in terracottas in that way; sometimes he also has a star above his head. According to Borchardt, it is not improbable that the star which appears in the star-tables from the Ramesid graves, which precedes or follows Sopdet, is the modern Prokyon.

In Babylonia Sirius was called "Arrow-Star", never Dog-Star. The older Babylonian name (according to F. X. Kugler) was *Kakkab miṣhri*, the late Babylonian *Kak Kashti* ("weapon of the bow" = "arrow").

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KALB b. WABARA, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Kalb, a confederation of nomadic Syrian Arabs attached to the powerful Ḳuḍā'a [q. v.] group. The Banū 'Udhra [q. v.] have been the most famous among the clans of the Kalb since the Hidjra, especially in literary history. The pre-Muḥammadan annals of Kalb are very obscure and semi-fabulous. Zuhair b. Djanāb [q. v.], an almost legendary personage — reckoned among the *mu'ammarūn* or centenarians —, is said to have been one of their principal chiefs. They seem to have developed independently of other tribes in the Peninsula and to have had no relations with them. Their dialect showed curious peculiarities and we know of no pre-Islāmic poets using it. About the time of the Hidjra they were the most important Arab group in Syria.

The conquest of this country brought them to the front, not least through the close alliance made by Mu'āwiya I with their tribe, a union sealed by his marriage with Maisūn [q. v.], mother of Yazīd I. This political alliance brought them into high office, at court and in the army; to the latter they furnished disciplined contingents and captains of great bravery. Towards the middle of the first century A.H. their numbers must have been considerable: 2000 of them were receiving the pension of 2000 dirhems, the *sharaf al-'aṭā'*, a distinction reserved for the *ashrāf* or nobles. Half-settled, half-nomadic they covered with their huge flocks — for they were great herdsmen — the Samāwa the steppes separating Syria from the 'Irāḳ and hence called Samāwa of Kalb and desert of Kalb. They held the springs, the oases at the east and south of Ḥawrān, especially Dawmat al-Djandal, Tabūk and several others dotted about the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā with their palm-groves, the property of the Banū 'Udhra. In Syria they were grouped round Salamiya and Palmyra, towns which belonged to them. A part of the district of Emesa and of the lower valley of the Orontes were united in their territory and in

the Ghūṭa [q. v.] of Damascus a number of villages belonged to the Kalb. The possession of commercial centres like Palmyra and Dūmat al-Djandal leads us to suppose that this active Syrian tribe must have profited by the caravans passing by these routes, still very much used in the first century of Islām.

They seem to have inherited the ancient hegemony of the Ghassānids. Like the latter and other Syro-Arab tribes at the time of the Hidjra the great majority of them professed the Christian religion and probably were Monophysites. They gradually exchanged it for Islām; one group is even said to have sent a deputation to the Prophet. In the following of the latter several Kalbīs — we may mention Zaid b. Ḥāritha, his adopted son, and Diḥya b. Khalīfa, his diplomat — rose to fill important positions. Islām spread among the Kalb, especially from the time when frequent marriages — the first that of Nā'ila, wife of the Caliph 'Othmān [q. v.] — with the Omayyads assured them preponderance over the other tribes. Yazīd I, with his mother Maisūn, passed a part of his youth in the desert of Kalb and contracted a marriage with a Kalbīya. The supremacy of this tribe and of the powerful family of Baḥdal [q. v.] incited the Ḳais against them. Refusing to recognise Mu'āwiya II, the latter declared for Ibn al-Zubair [see 'ABD ALLĀH B. AL-ZUBAIR]. The victory of Mardj Rāhiṭ [q. v.], due mainly to the bravery of the Kalbīs, completed the rupture between them and the Ḳais. Burning for revenge, they attacked the Kalb everywhere and succeeded in driving them out of Mesopotamia and the adjoining districts of the Samāwa. Besides, with the advent of the Marwānids, their popularity had sunk for the time at the court of Damascus, where their striking triumph at the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ gave offence. They were not long in regaining their influence. They continued to figure among the most stalwart supporters of Omaiyad rule. On several occasions, their contingents rendered effective assistance in retaking the 'Irāḳ from the rebels in the East. They were therefore proclaimed the bravest among the Ḳuḍā'a. In a word, the name of Kalbī had become synonymous with partisan of the Omaiyads. The almost constant policy of this dynasty was to rely on the Kalbī alliance and through it on the support of the other Syrian tribes. A tradition said that the Kalb would be the last adherents of al-Sufyānī [q. v.]. This state of affairs inevitably led to a violent reaction under the 'Abbāsids and precipitated the fall of the Kalb, decimated by their long struggle with the Ḳais and their active participation in all the wars of conquest. Soon their solidity was broken up and the designation of Kalbī, an object of suspicion to the Baghdād government, gradually disappeared. Ibn Sa'īd, quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī (in his *Nihāyat al-Arab*), says that in his day there were great numbers of them settled on the shores "of the straits of Constantinople and divided equally between Christianity and Islām".

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, p. 314 *sqq.*; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealog. Tabellen*, p. 264—267. The other references in my *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Mo'āwia Ier*, p. 50—51, 65, 286—293, 309—312, 324—326, 418. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-**KALBĪ**, a family of scholars of Kūfa. The elder al-Kalbī, ABU 'L-NAḌR MUḤAMMAD (B. MALIK, according to Ibn al-Kūfī in the *Fihrist*) B. AL-SĀ'IB B. BISHR, whose grandfather with his sons al-Sā'ib, 'Ubaid and 'Abd al-Raḥmān had fought by the side of 'Alī in the battle of the Camel and whose father had fallen by the side of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair, had taken part in the battle of Dair al-Djamādjim [q. v.] in 82 (701) as a follower of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath [q. v.]. He then devoted himself to historical and philological studies; he read the *Naḳā'iḍ* of Farazdaḳ [q. v.] with the poet himself. He lectured in Kūfa on Ḳor'ānic exegesis and history; at the invitation of Sulaimān b. 'Alī he expounded the Ḳor'ān for a time in the latter's house at Baṣra. His commentary on the Ḳor'ān was still used by al-Tha'labī († 427 = 1036; q. v.) (see *Cat. Codd. MSS. Or. in Museo Britannico*) pars ii. Nº. 821). He died in 146 (763).

His son ABU 'L-MUNDHIR HISHĀM mainly continued his father's historical studies, in which the latter had been his teacher. Both scholars have often been attacked by critics of traditions and even accused of forgery (see *Kit. al-Aghānī*, ix. 19; xi. 48; xviii. 161; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 186); but on the other hand they did not lack warm defenders (e. g. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 158). Modern research has confirmed many of their statements, which they reached sometimes by regularly scientific methods such as the study of inscriptions, against the fanatical criticism of their co-religionists (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Araber u. Perser*, p. xxvii.). Muḥammad, who worked for a time also in Baghdād, died in his native town of Kūfa in 204 (819), according to others in 206.

Of the 140 works of Muḥammad, listed in the *Fihrist*, pp. 95—98), there have survived: 1. *Kit. al-Nasab al-Kabīr* or *al-Djamhara fi 'l-Nasab* (*Djamharat al-Ansāb* in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), on the genealogies of the Arabs in a MS. of the Escorial (see Casiri, *Bibl. arabico-hispana*, Nº. 1693), of whose second volume the Brit. Museum (see *Cat. Codd. MSS. ... Mus. Brit.*, Pars ii, Nº. 915) owns a modern, almost worthless copy, perhaps only of an extract; a fragment of the work is perhaps preserved in a Paris manuscript (Bibl. Nat., de Slane, *Cat.*, Nº. 2047). Of an apparently much condensed version of the work by Abū Sa'īd 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Sukkarī (d. 465 = 1075), which is chiefly based on Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb's recension, but also uses that of Ibn al-A'rābī and other fundamentally independent sources also, the first volume is preserved in the British Museum (see *Cat.*, Nº. 1202 and also p. 783*b*). The extract by Yāḳūt is in Cairo, Khed. Library, see *Fihrist*, v. 150; Vollers, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xliii. 116). 2. *Kit. Nasab Fuḥūl al-Khail fi 'l-Djāhilīya wal-Islām* (cf. Hammer, *Denks. der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., vi. 214, nº. 50) in Gotha (see Pertsch, *Die arab. Hdss.*, Nº. 2078) and in the Escorial (see Casiri, Nº. 1700, 2). 3. *Kit. al-Aṣnām*, or more accurately *Kit. Tankīs al-Aṣnām*, which Aḥmed Zeki Pasha [Ibn al-Kalbi, *Le Livre des Idoles* (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*), Cairo 1914] has published. An apparently very full synopsis which enables us to judge of the extent and arrangement of the book is to be found in 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī's *Khizānat al-Adab*, iii. 242—6. The numerous extracts in Yāḳūt have been collected by Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p. 10—64 [cf.

also 243) and translated and annotated. 4. An extract from the *Kit. al-Kalb* (*Fihrist*, p. 97, 18) is given by Ibn al-Anbārī in his commentary on the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*: see C. J. Lyall, *Ibn al-Kalbī's Account of the first Day of al-Kulāb* in the *Orient. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gewidmet* (Giessen 1906), i. 125—154.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi. 249—250; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Haidarābād 1325—7), ix. N°. 266; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Udabā'* (Cairo 1294), p. 116—8; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, N°. 26, 42; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, ii. 168, 170, 171; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Lit.*, i. 138—140.

(BROCKELMANN)

ḲAL'E-I SEFĪD, a fortress in Fārs, in 30° 10' N. Lat. and 51° 30' E. Long. (Greenwich). It is built on a mountain with a flat top, in the eastern part of the valley of Kohrа, which falls steeply down on all sides. On its summit, which can only be reached by cliff-paths, lies an extensive well-wooded plateau watered by numerous springs. A strong garrison is necessary for its defence as is noted in the *Fārsnāma*. Descriptions of the fortress and the country round it are given, among Oriental writers for example by Ibn al-Balkhī in the *Fārsnāma* (the pertinent passage is copied by Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 'Alī Yazdī and Mīrkhwānd (see *Bibl.*). Of descriptions by European travellers in the xixth century, that of Stolze deserves special mention; along with Andreas he explored the mountain and castle thoroughly. The statements of Kinneir who visited Ḳal'e-i Sefīd in 1810 are unreliable, according to Stolze.

The name of the fortress is given in the Persian geographers and historians as Ḳal'e-i Isfīd (Sefīd, Sepīd), the "white citadel"; Ḳal'e-i Ispīd-dīz (the "white fortress") is also found; Ḳal'e-i Sefīd is the only form in use at the present day. Translated into Arabic the name is given in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 46 as al-Ḳal'a al-Baiḍā'. The name "white citadel" which is found elsewhere as a name for a castle in areas where Arabic and Persian are spoken (e. g. in al-Ḥīra, al-Madā'in, in the oasis of Ruḥbe east of Ḥawrān, and in the region of Ḳairawān, in Afghanistān, etc.; for Biredjik cf. above i. 723) may very probably originate in the dazzling white colour of the building-stone used. The name Ḳal'e-i Gul u Gulāb (citadel of the rose and rose-water), borne by Ḳal'e-i Sefīd in al-Bundārī, *Tawārīkh Āl-Saldjūḳ* (ed. Houtsma, 2, p. 188, 13) is remarkable.

Ḳal'e-i Sefīd is the most noteworthy point on the mountain road which leads from Behbahān to Shīrāz and furnishes communication between Khūzistān and Fārs. It may be regarded as certain that a commanding place like this was very early fortified. The "Persian passes" through which Alexander the Great tried to enter the ancestral home of the Achaemenids and which were defended by the Satrap of Persis, Ariobarzanes, with his strong forces, have often been sought in the valley of Ḳal'e-i Sefīd; e. g. by Vincent, Mützel, Droysen, Forbiger. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, ix. 138) in differing from these, considers Ḳal'e-i Sefīd to be the stronghold of the Uxians and places the "Persian Gates" farther east. Ritter's view has been attacked particularly by Mützel in his edition of Curtius (Berlin 1841), p. 434 sq. and by Stolze (*op. cit.*, p. 262 sq.). That the region of Ḳal'e-i Sefīd does not correspond to the situation of the "Persian Gates" of the historians of Alexander and that the latter should be located elsewhere has been fairly convincingly proved by Stolze, *op. cit.*

Ḳal'e-i Sefīd is not mentioned by the Arab geographers of the middle ages. Like the adjoining town of Nawbandjān (Nawbandadjān) it must have been allotted to the Persian province of Sābūr in the Caliphate period. From the xiith century on we find cropping up in the Oriental sources a nomadic people named the Shūl, after whom the whole area, inhabited by them from the west of Shīrāz to the frontiers of Fārs and Khūzistān was called Shūlistān. There is definite evidence to show that Ḳal'e-i Sefīd belonged to Shūlistān. On the Shūl and the land of Shūlistān cf. the references in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 380 sq. and also Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* (ed. Browne, Gibb Mem. xiv.), p. 538, 658, 660, 696, 726.

Ḳal'e-i Sefīd is frequently mentioned by Persian poets and chroniclers. It is first found in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* (ed. Mohl, ii. 92, 245 sq.); here the conquest of the stronghold is related as one of the noteworthy deeds of the hero Rustam. As the *Fārsnāma* (written about 500 = 1106) reports, the fortress of Ḳal'e-i Sefīd had lain in ruins for many years until it was rebuilt by a certain Abū Naṣr from Tīr-Murdān (a district of the province of Sābūr) during the turmoils of the last decades of Būyid rule, that is in the first half of the vth (xith) century. The mountain, difficult of access, served not infrequently in wartime as a secure hiding-place. For example in 534 (1139) Buzāba, Governor of Fārs, retired here before Ḳarā Sonḳor, Atabeg of the Saldjūk Sulṭān Mas'ūd; cf. the article BUZABA, i. 809). The Salghurid Abū Bakr, Atabeg of Fārs from 623 to 658 (1226—1260) (on him see above i. 82) transported his treasures to Ḳal'e-i Sefīd and placed a garrison in the citadel in order to have a place of refuge here in case of a catastrophe. The last Atabeg of Fārs of the Salghurid dynasty, Saldjūkshāh, met his death at the foot of Mount Ḳal'e-i Sefīd in battle with one of Hülägü's generals in 663 (1264); see J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchāne* (Darmstadt 1842), i. 243 and cf. also Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, p. 509.

Although Hülägü issued an order to destroy all the fortresses in the lands conquered by him, an exception was made of Ḳal'e-i Sefīd, as is expressly mentioned; cf. the passage in the *Ta'rīkh-i Waṣṣāf* in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 382. The citadel could therefore continue to serve as a place of refuge, and was also on several occasions used as a state-prison for political opponents. Thus for example Mas'ūd Shāh of the Indjū dynasty, who ruled as governor of Fārs from 736 (1335) imprisoned his brother Muḥammad in Ḳal'e-i Sefīd (cf. above ii. 504); when later Abū Isḥāḳ, a younger brother of the Mas'ūd Shāh just mentioned, came into conflict with the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn and had to flee after the capture of his capital Shīrāz in 754 (1353) he went to Ḳal'e-i Sefīd (see Mīrkhwānd's account in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 382; Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, p. 658, 11 sq.; and cf. above ii. 804). A few years later the sons of Mubāriz al-Dīn, Shāh Sulṭān and Shāh Shudjā' rebelled against their father, blinded him and imprisoned him in Ḳal'e-i Sefīd

in 759 (1358); see Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, p. 681; Defrémery in the *Journ. Asiat.* 1844, ii. 112. In 785 (1383) Shāh Shudjā' had his son Sulṭān Shibli sent to Ḳal'e-i Sefīd as an alleged rebel (see Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, p. 724; Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 382; Defrémery, *op. cit.* (1845), i. 437).

Ḳal'e-i Sefīd has attained special fame through its capture by Tīmūr. The latter on his second campaign in *Fārs* in 795 (1393) passed by the road from Behbahān to Shīrāz, besieged this barrier fortress, considered impregnable, and stormed it on the third day. All the members of the Muẓaffarid dynasty were captured and put to death (cf. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, Bibl. Ind., New Series, Nº. 616, Calcutta 1887, i. 600 *sq.*; Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, p. 751.

We read of the capture of Ḳal'e-i Sefīd by Ḥamza-Bey several centuries later, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I; see Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 384. The Māmasenī have now settled in a large part of what was once called Shūlistān; they are a robber Lūr-tribe, who belong to the Bakhtiyārī [q. v., I, 603]. They centre round Ḳal'e-i Sefīd. On them see Layard in the *Journ. of the R. G. S.*, xv. 28; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 390, ix. 137; C. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan* (London 1845), i. 210, 219 *sq.*, 262 *sq.* When the Māmasenī in the latter part of the reign of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh (1797—1834) were in constant rebellion under a robber chief named Walī Khān Bakash, an army of Ādharbaidjānī troops was sent against them, who besieged Ḳal'e-i Sefīd and forced the stubborn defenders of the citadel to yield (cf. Curzon, *op. cit.*).

It should further be mentioned that below the fortress on the mountain there was at one time a second smaller castle, the name of which is variously given as Asṭak (*Fārs nāma*, p. 158, 17) or Nishnāk (Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 132, 3); further variants of the name are given here in note 1).

The little village of Tell Espīd should not be confused with this; it lies northwest of Ḳal'e-i Sefīd in the adjacent plain on a hill some 2400 feet high; cf. Wells in the *Proc. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1883, v. 161 and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Bibliography: — Ibn al-Balkhī (ed. le Strange and Nicholson, Gibb Mem. Series, New Series, vol. i. London 1921), p. 158 and in addition the transl. by le Strange in the J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 878; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (ed. le Strange, Leiden 1915, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii), p. 129, 16, 131, 19—132, 1; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, part. ed. by Quatremère as *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, i. (Paris 1836), p. 382 *sq.*; in the latter work Quatremère gives pertinent extracts from Persian histories by 'Abd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh (*Ta'rīkh-i Waṣṣāf*) and Mīrkhwānd; Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Ṭabīb Shīrāzī, *Fārsnāme-i Nāṣirī* (lithogr. Teheran 1313), p. 334; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 264 *sq.*; J. M. Kinneir, *A Geogr. Memoir of the Pers. Empire* (London 1813), p. 73; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia* (rev. ed., London 1829), i. 19 note, 295; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 137—144; Stolze in the *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x. (1883), p. 262—5; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, ii. (London 1892), p. 318 *sq.*; E. Herzfeld in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.* 1907, p. 84 *sq.* (with the map on Plate vii.)

(M. STRECK)

ḲAL'E-I SULṬĀNIYE, in popular speech usually ČANAḲ KAL'ESI ("Pot-castle"), the town and fortifications known to Europeans as the Dardanelles, the chief place in the sandjaḳ of Bigha [q. v., I, 716, cf. also DARDANELLES, I, 922], situated at the narrowest part of the straits. The modern settlement has taken the place of the very ancient seaport of Abydos; the latter name, indeed, survived down to the xvith century on Italian charts in the form Avido, Aveo, as the name for Ḳal'e-i Sulṭāniye (the bay: la bocca d'Aveo). While the form Andus [q. v.] found in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 374 also is to be read Abydus, the statement of Joh. Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae*, Frankfurt 1591, p. 182, 55, taken from the *Codex Hanivaldanus* (Neshrī), that Abydos is called Aydos by the Ottomans can be said to be wrong. There is a confusion with Aidos in Ḳoča Eli and the whole story of the conquest in Leunclavius refers to this place and not to Abydos. Here from the days of the Roman empire was the chief customhouse of Byzantium, where every vessel entering the straits had to pay a tithe (Agathias, v. 12; cf. the customs regulations of Abydus published by A. D. Mordtmann Jun. in the *Athen. Mitteil.*, vi. 182 *sqq.*) and it was strongly fortified, as the key to the capital. In spring of 717 the town was taken along with the coasts of the Hellespont by the Umaiyad general Maslama (Theophanes, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1839, p. 395). In those days there was attached to a tower here the great chain which barred the Muslim ships' entrance to the straits (Ibn Khordādhbeh, ed. de Goeje in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vi. 103 *sqq.*; cf. Yāḳūt, i. 374; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, Fr. transl. by Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ii. 135, 301, 303). While the siege and capture by Emīr Orkhān are as uncertain as the crossing of the Dardanelles attributed to him at this place (cf. Joh. Draeseke in the *Neue Jahrbücher für klass. Altert.*, xxxi. (1913), 476—504), the statement that in the reign of Murād about 1354 the straits were crossed in small boats at Abydus, is more worthy of belief (Dukas, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1834, p. 14, 4, 39, 13; Phrantzes, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1838, p. 45, 12). This would, it is true, be in contradiction to the Turkish account which places the crossing at Kemer opposite Hexamilia. The place did not become of any considerable importance in the Muslim period until the time of Muḥammad II, who took it in 1461, built great defensive works here for the protection of Constantinople, which he had recently captured, and founded a town here (Chalkokondylas, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1843, p. 529, 18 *sqq.*). The fortress was armed with about 30 large and a number of smaller guns. All incoming ships had henceforth to cast anchor there, to show their papers and pay toll (Chalkokondylas, *op. cit.*, p. 530; cf. thereon Kritobulos, ed. C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, v. 146). The town was now regarded as the main defence of the Dardanelles, although by the middle of the xvith century we find European travellers who sailed through the straits wondering at the insufficiency of the defences; for example Pierre Belon, to whom the walls and towers, said to be built out of the ruins of Scamandria, seemed not nearly strong enough

for the "key to Turkey" (*Les observations de plusieurs singularités*, Paris 1854, p. 77[b] *sqq.*; there, also, is a picture of the Dardanelles forts following p. 78). It is certain that European fleets could pass the straits unhindered in the middle of the xvii[th] century, and that the bastions on both European and Asiatic sides were in almost complete ruins. Although about 1550, 32 great guns still barred the entrance to hostile ships (cf. Charrière, *Négociations*, Paris 1848, i. 374 and 380, where "les deux chasteaulx du Hellespont nommez Dardanneaulx", the "XXXII gros canons dont nul navire ne peult entrer ou sortir malgré eulx" as well as the search of a ship are described), a very short time after, it was no longer possible to think of any serious resistance being made by them. It was the vigorous Sulṭāna Kösem, who reigned for a period for her minor grandson Meḥemmed IV, who, with the grand vizier Meḥmed Köprülü, devoted special attention to the decaying Dardanelles forts and decided to renovate and remodel them completely. The building of Seddi 'l-Baḥr and Ḳūm Ḳal'e, the two so-called "new castles", was also decided upon at this time (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osman. Reiches*, Pest 1827—35, v. 516). In 1658 the work was begun under the supervision of 'Ankabūt Aḥmed Pasha, commander of the Dardanelles, and under the direction of the architect Muṣṭafā Agha, and by Sept. 1659 Sulṭān Meḥemmed IV was able to inspect the new works (cf. Na'īmā, Stambul 1147, ii. 698 *sqq.*, 704; J. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, vi. 65 *sqq.*) and dedicate a mosque (Ewliyā, v. 307; according to him, the name Kal'e-i Sulṭāniye arose at this time in honour of Kösem Wālide, but it is probably older). The appearance of the new citadel is accurately known from European descriptions of the time. The fortress proper was surrounded by a strong wall at each of the four corners of which there rose a fortified tower. In the middle was the donjon, which had been increased in height. Nearly 30 guns were placed here in no regular order, so as not to injure the opposite works of Kilidu 'l-Baḥr when they were fired. Behind the defences lay the town proper, inhabited chiefly by Turks and Jews, numbering some 3000 inhabitants about 1680 (cf. Grelot, *Relation Nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople*, Paris 1681, p. 24, 28, 30 with a picture of the Dardanelles defences on p. 41); further pictures in Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, i. 453 *sqq.*, Amsterdam 1718, i. 175 *sqq.*). There were definite rules regulating the passage of ships. Every merchantman had to announce its arrival with 3, 5, 7 shots to which 1—5 were fired in reply. This had to be returned with 3, 5, 7 shots and not till then could the voyage be continued. All ships coming from Constantinople had to cast anchor here to be examined and pay tolls (cf. M. de Thevenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1665, p. 32 *sqq.*; Jacob Spon and George Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, the Hague 1724, i. 123 *sqq.*). Not more than five Christian ships could go through at the same time (cf. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 30). These regulations survived into the xviii[th] century, although there was considerable laxity in their enforcement (cf. R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, Oxford 1775, p. 11). A hundred years later the defences were again in the most wretched state, vividly described by Baron Franz von Tóth (Tott) (*Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, Amsterdam 1784, iii. 43 *sqq.*). In 1770 the Russian fleet was able to sail through the straits without opposition. Von Tott thereupon hurriedly repaired the fortifications (cf. Edgár Pálleni, *Báró Tóth Ferenc, a Dardanellák megerösitője*, Budapest 1916), without, however, being able to stop their decay. The town seems to have been in quite a flourishing condition at this time, according to R. Pococke, *A Description of the East* (London 1743—1745), ii. 102—104, it was 1½ miles around and had 1200 inhabitants (200 Greeks, 100 Armenians and 50 Jews), who carried on a busy trade in silk, sailcloth and earthenware. The annual export was put at 15,000 dollars. A French Consul, as well as a Dutch and English dragoman had their offices in Kal'e-i Sulṭāniye. The potteries, which seem to have begun about 1740, were for a long time famous and gave the place the name Čanaḳ Ḳal'esi. The inhabitants lived in different quarters separated into nations. Armenians who fled from Shāh Ṭahmāsp are said to have been settled here as early as 1529 (according to Cabanel in V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 689 *sqq.*) but a regular Armenian colony only dates from about 1650. At the same time there is evidence of a, sometimes large, Jewish settlement, which played a prominent part in the business world (cf. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Baron de Tott, *op. cit.*, iii. 59; J. B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide*, Paris an VIII (= 1800), i. 14, according to whom the people were almost all Jews, who did a brisk business in provisioning passing ships (cf. thereon Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 28). There is no documentary evidence of the presence of Greeks before 1690 in Kal'e-i Sulṭāniye. In the xix[th] century the fortress sank practically to insignificance. The bold passage of the English fleet through the Dardanelles on Feb. 19, 1807 resulted in the defences being again repaired (cf. Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, vii. 434) but without their afterwards keeping pace with the rapid development of modern artillery. A very full description of the fortifications in 1836 is given by Helmut v. Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei* (Berlin 1841), p. 51 *sqq.*, 8[th] ed. (1917), p. 55 *sqq.* and by Abercromby Grant, *Narrative of a Journey to Greece in 1830*, p. 431 (with sketches). Kal'e-i Sulṭāniye and its forts only became of considerable strategic importance again during the Great War, when as a result of an indirect bombardment from the Gulf of Saros by the Anglo-French fleets the town, which had been almost deserted by its inhabitants, suffered severe damage in March 1915 and was burned down. It had previously suffered from frequent fires and especially from the great earthquake of Aug. 9, 1912. About 1890 the town had about 11,000 inhabitants, 11 larger and several smaller mosques and 4 churches, but now the number must be much smaller.

Bibliography. In addition to the works quoted cf. also Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3685 *sqq.*; 'Alī Djewād, *Memālik* ..... *Lughati* (Constantinople 1895/99), s. v.; Aḥmed Rif'at, *Lughat-i tārīkhiye we-djughrāfiye* (Stambul 1881), s. v.; Aḥmed Mukhtār, *'Othmānly Memleketleri* (Stambul 1896), s. v.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 689 *sqq.*

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲALGHA, the title of the heir-apparent among the Tatars of the Crimea from the time of Mengli Girāy (last rule 883—921 = 1478—1515). The origin of the title is unknown; in manuscripts the same word is also written *ḳāghilghāy*, which has caused W. Smirnow (*Krimskoje Chanstvo pod verchowenstwom Ottomanskoi Porti do načala XVIII wjeka*, St. Petersburg 1887, p. 350 *sq.*) to suggest that we have here to deal with a non-Turkish (probably a Mongol) word. We have perhaps to connect with *ḳalgha* the Central Asian word *ḳalkhān*, a name frequently given to the prince of Balkh (Balkh appears as the residence of the heir-apparent beside Bukhārā, the royal residence of the Khān of the Özbegs); this word also is sometimes written *Ḳaʿlkhān* (no doubt for *Ḳaghilkhān*); cf. J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns* etc., St. Petersburg 1824, p. 74 *sq*. When, under Muḥammad Girāy II (985—992 = 1577—84), Alp Girāy, brother of the Khān, was designated *ḳalgha*, the rank of second heir-apparent (*walī ʿahd thānī*) was created for the Khān's son, prince Seʿādat Girāy and retained in later reigns. The name Nūr al-Dīn of this prince's tutor (*atālīḳ*) was transferred to the prince himself and to his rank (Muḥammad Riḍā, *al-Sabʿ al-Saiyār*, Kazan 1832, p. 103, more fully in the abbreviated recension by Hurramī Čelebi, which only exists in manuscript; on the manuscript see A. Samojlović in the *Izv. Tavrič. učenoi arch. kom.*, Nº. 49; cf. O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, p. 93 = *Trud. Mosk. Numizm. Obšč.*, iii. 32). Henceforth the Nūr al-Dīn along with the *ḳalgha* is found not only among the members of the ruling house but also among the members of the most important families like the Shīrin and Manḳit (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 253, where both family names are erroneously taken as adjectives). (W. Barthold)

ḲALHĀT (in Marco Polo Calatu, in Portuguese writers Calaiate), a once flourishing seaport in ʿOmān lying northwest of Rās al-Ḥadd. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the town during his travels in ʿOmān, specially mentions the fine streets and splendid lofty mosque, which afforded a wide view of the sea and the harbour and was built by the pious *bībī* (of noble family) Maryam. The inhabitants of the town, who lived by trading in Indian products, and spoke a bad Arabic, were members of the Ibāḍiya sect (see ibāḍiya), but concealed their creed from their rulers, the kings of Hormuz [q. v.] (cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 198 below), who were Sunnīs. According to Yāḳūt, who calls Ḳalhāt the most beautiful district in ʿOmān and places its foundation in the xiith century, the sectarians of this town openly professed their faith. The Portuguese broke the power of the kings of Hormuz in the beginning of the xvith century.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 168; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti) ii. 226, 224—226; Ibn Saʿīd in *Relations de Voyages et textes géogr. arabes . . . rel. à l'Extrême-Orient*, transl. by G. Ferrand (Paris 1913/4), p. 336; *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of ʿOmân by Salîl-Ibn-Razîk*, transl. by G. P. Badger (London 1871), p. 37 *sq*., 39; *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, transl. by Yule, 3rd ed., ed. by H. Cordier (London 1903), i. 120 note, ii. 449—451; S. B. Miles, *The Countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1919, p. 473—5, 528 *sq*. and Index s. v. *Kilhat*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 305, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378; *Géogr. d'Edrisi* (French transl. by A. Jaubert of al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*), i. 151; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, i. 44. (J. Schleifer)

al-**ḲĀLĪ**, Abū ʿAlī Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAidhūn b. Hārūn b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad, a great Arab philologist, born in Djumādā II, 288 = May-June, 901 (according to others in 280), at Manāzdjird, a little town in Armenia which was then a dependency of Diyār Bakr, and died at Cordova on Djumādā I 7, 356 = April 19-20, 967 (according to others Rabīʿ II, Djumādā II, 356, and also 360 according to Ibn ʿIdhārī).

In 303 having gone to Baghdād in company with some people of the town of Ḳālīḳalā, he was confused with them and in consequence was surnamed al-Ḳālī. However, he is usually called in the East Abū ʿAlī al-Baghdādī. After studying Islāmic Tradition and particularly Arabic language and literature, al-Ḳālī, at the end of his resources, left Baghdād in 328 (939/40) and went to Spain where he did not arrive until 330 = 941/2, in the reign of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. The son of this prince Abū ʾl-ʿĀṣ al-Ḥakam who was fond of learning and of scholars received him very kindly, and, indeed, it is said that even he had written to the East to get al-Ḳālī to come to the West. Abū ʿAlī arrived in Cordova on Shaʿbān 26, 330 (May 16, 942), where he began to teach Tradition and especially the Arabic language and literature. As teachers he had ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaimān b. al-Ashʿath al-Sidjistānī, Ibn Duraid, Ibn al-Sarrādj, al-Zadjdjādj, al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr, Niftawaih, Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn Ḳutaiba, Ibn Durustawaih, etc. Among his pupils we may specially mention the grammarian and lexicographer Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaidī.

Among his works we now only possess: 1º. *Kit. al-Amālī wa ʾl-Dhail wa ʾl-Nawādir*, a kind of anthology containing a large number of notes on proverbs, language and poetry, publ. at Būlāḳ in 1324; indexes of poets and rhymes have been published by F. Krenkow and A. Bevan at Leiden in 1913; 2º. *Kit. al-Nawādir*, part I, Cambridge, Univ. Libr., E. G. Browne, *A Hand-list of the Muhammadan Manuscripts*, Nº. 926; 3º. *Kit. al-Bāriʿ fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, remained unfinished, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nº. 4235.

Bibliography: Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, Nº. 547; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Kit. Taʾrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus*, Nº. 221; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i. 536—560, ii. 48—52, 66, 107, 117, 124; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Lughawiyīn wa ʾl-Nuḥāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 198; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 74; al-Dabbāgh, *al-Falāka wa ʾl-Maflūkūn*, Cairo 1322, p. 114; al-Murtaḍā, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *Ḳālī*; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 266; transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1904, ii. 413; al-Marrākushī, *Hist. des Almohades*, ed. Dozy, p. 16, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1893, p. 20; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, see Index; do. *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, Leiden 1909, ii. 351—4; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kit. al-ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, iv. 146; al-Samʿānī, *Kit. al-Ansāb*, Leiden 1912, fº. 439 rº; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, Nº. 33; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d.*

arab. Litt., i. 132, Suppl., ii. 692; Huart, *Litt. Arabe*, p. 160. (Moh. Ben Cheneb)

ḲALʿĪ, ḲALAʿĪ: 1. The name for tin, or for a specially good quality of tin among the Arabs, occasionally also called *al-raṣāṣ al-ḳalʿī* and *al-raṣāṣ al-abyaḍ*, i. e. "Kalʿī-lead" or "white lead"; see *Lisān al-ʿArab*, x. 167, 21; Dozy, *Supplément aux Dict. arab.*, ii. 397ᵃ; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 733ᵃ; Quatremère in the *Journ. des Savants* 1846, p. 731. For other names of tin in Arabic (Ḳaṣdīr = Kassiteros, etc.) see e. g. al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (*Cosmography*, ed. Mehren), p. 54, 1. The word apparently comes from the Far East, from which the Arabs may possibly have got it directly, without the (not impossible) intermediary of modern Persian, which al-Djawālīḳī, *al-Muʿarrab* (ed. Sachau), p. 125, 6 demands (the original would be Persian *Kalkhā*). The correction *kalahī* for *Kalkhā* there proposed is based on Ibn Saʿīd, quoted in G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et Textes géograph.* ... *relat. à l'extrême-Orient* (Paris 1913—1914), p. 343. The word *Ḳalī* (in Ghīlānī: *Ḳālīk*) found in the modern Persian dialect of Māzandarān — see Melgunof in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxii. 198 — must have come through the Arabic; from the latter the word entered Turkish: *Ḳalai* (Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*, p. 1032) and thence into modern Greek: τὸ καλάι. As a loanword *ḳalaʿī* travelled still further, into Portuguese (*calaim*, *calin* = Indian tin); see Dozy and Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*², (Leiden 1869), p. 245; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², (London 1903), p. 143. The cradle of the word might be the district of Kalah in the peninsula of Malacca, which was celebrated for its tin-mines (see KALAH above). The Arabic geographers and lexicographers usually derive the name Ḳalʿī from al-Ḳalʿa in India (= Kalah, q. v.); so, for example, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 162, 6; al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs* (Cairo 1301), iii. 71, 5; cf. also Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (ed. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii.), p. 203, 1. At the same time the word — certainly erroneously — is also connected with an (alleged) tin-mining area al-Ḳalʿa in Ceylon (Yāḳūt, i. 21, 23; iv. 162, 14), in Spain (Yāḳūt, iv. 162, 13 sq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, p. 203, 1) and in Yemen (Yāḳūt, iv. 162, 17; al-Fīrūzābādī, *op. cit.*).

The most usual word for tin in Malay at the present day seems to be *timah*. At the same time we find with this meaning also *kaling*, *kelang* — not *kilang*, as written by Langlès, Quatremère, Dozy-Engelmann, Yule-Burnell and others — which, according to the dictionaries, means primarily tin-plate, or tinned iron-plate (but nevertheless is the meaning tin an older one?); cf. Wilkinson, *A Malay-Engl. Diction.* (Singapore 1901), p. 497ᵇ; Wilkinson, *An abridged Malay-Engl. Diction.* (Singapore 1919) and Klinkert, *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederl. Woordenboek* (Leiden 1916). It is obvious that the Arabic *Ḳalʿī* is to be traced back not to *Ḳalʿa* (*Kalah*) but to this Malay word. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, definitely puts forward some such derivation of *Ḳalʿī*, whereas Dozy-Engelmann, *op. cit.*, and Yule-Burnell, *op. cit.*, leave the question undecided. Is the similarity of name simply an accident? It is hardly possible that the Malay *Kalang* itself is only a corruption of the Arabic *Ḳalʿī*. The further possibility has also been considered that the name of the district of Kalah — from the Malay *Kaling* — may mean simply "land of tin", a view expressed as long ago as Langlès in his edition of the voyages of Sindbād the Sailor in Savary's *Grammaire de la langue arabe* (Paris 1813), p. 499 = reprint (Paris 1814), p. 63. Yule and Burnell quote as an analogy the fact that the little state of Selangor (north of the town of Malacca) was formerly known as Nagri Kalang = "land of tin". To this we may add, quoting Wilkinson, *Malay-English Dictionary*, p. 526ᵇ, that *Kělang*, *Klang*, properly only the name of a district in Selangor and of a little township in this district, is also often extended to include the whole state of Selangor. Perhaps the origin of *Ḳalʿī* is to be sought in this Kalang.

2. The name of a particular kind of sword, which is often mentioned, especially in the old Arabic poetry. Cf., for example, Aws b. Ḥadjar (ed. Geyer, *Sitz.-Ber. d. K. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1892), xii. 33; Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj (ed. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arab. Dichter*, iii. 137), Nº. 49, 111; scholiast to Ṭarafa, *Muʿallaḳa* (in Arnold, *Septem Moallakat*, Leipzig 1850, p. 61). On Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, p. 102, 9, 130, 4 (quoted in Dozy, *Supplém. aux dictionn. arabes*, ii. 396ᵇ) see Fleischer in the *Sitz.-Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, 1886, p. 45. Cf. also Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, I/i. 50, 11. This kind of sword is usually said to be of Indian origin (cf. for example al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs* under *ḳlʿ*.) and, indeed, Indian swords were from early times famous among the Arabs and celebrated by the poets; on this cf. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber* (Leipzig 1886), p. 127 sq. and A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen 1919), p. 88 sq. As a more definite place of origin we usually find the Arab geographers and lexicographers giving that al-Ḳalʿa from which the tin of this name comes. Occasionally also the Syro-Arabian desert (the Bādiya) or the district of Ḥulwān in the ʿIrāḳ is given as the place of origin; cf. *Lisān* and al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs* under *ḳlʿ*. The Yemen, which produced the finest swords next to India, is sometimes also described as the place of origin of the *ḳalʿī* sword, for example in the above quoted gloss to Ṭarafa's *Muʿallaḳa*. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin 1897), p. 149, would like to decide in favour of Yemen, in particular the "fortress" (*ḳalʿa*) of ʿAden, in support of which could be quoted the fact that in a poem by ʿAlḳama (ed. Socin), Nº. 3, 4, there is mention of "pearls from Ḳalʿa" (*Ḳalaʿ*). Nevertheless, the derivation of the Arabic word from an East-Indian place al-Kalʿa (Kalah on Malacca: see KALAH) seems to me more probable. It is unnecessary to distinguish between two different kinds of sword, *ḳalʿī* and *ḳalaʿī* (see Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.*, s. v. *ḳalʿa* and *ḳalaʿa*), in spite of Schwarzlose, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

(M. Streck)

ḲĀLĪ ḲALĀ. [See Erzerum].

KALĪLA WA-DIMNA is the title of an Indian mirror for princes, formed by the corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two principal characters, two jackals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka (in the old Syriac translation the forms are still Kalīlag and Damnag); it was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavī and thence into Arabic,

and became widely known in Muslim as well as Christian literatures.

1. **The original work.** The Indian original was composed by an unknown Vishnuite Brahman, according to Hertel probably about the year 300 A. D. in Kashmir; the main argument for this, the reproduction of denarius by *dīnāra* is, however, not cogent, as the pronunciation of the *e* as *ī* is older than Hertel supposes (see also A. Berriedale Keith in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1915, p. 505). It consisted of an introduction and five books each of which bore the name *tantra* i. e. "case of good sense". The book was intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal-fables composed in perfect Sanskrit. The oldest descendant of the original work is the *Tantrākhyāyika*, rediscovered by J. Hertel (see *Tantrākhyāyika, die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra*, transl. from the Sanskrit with introd. and notes by J. Hertel, 2 parts, Leipzig and Berlin 1909). A second recension of the original work is called the *Pañcatantra* (see J. Hertel, *Pañcatantra, etc.* in Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 11—14): it has become a very popular book in India and is current there in countless versions. J. G. L. Kosegarten published an uncritical mixed text, Bonn 1848; on this Th. Benfey based his translation, *Pantschatantra, fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen*, transl. from the Sanskrit with introd. and notes, 2 parts, Leipzig 1859. In the introduction to this work the history of the migration of Indian literary subjects to Europe was first exhaustively investigated.

2. **The Pahlavi translation.** A rather early recension of the *Pañcatantra* was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi by order of the Sasanian king Khusraw Anūsharwān (531—579) by his physician Burzōe, whom he had sent to India for this purpose, and expanded by the addition of an appendix of fables from other Indian sources; of these the three first (chap. 11—13 in de Sacy) are taken from the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*, the other five (de Sacy's chap. 14, 15, 17, 18 and the story of the king of the mice, see below, not given in de Sacy) have so far not been found again in Indian literature, although there is no reason to doubt their Indian origin. Burzōe prefaced his translation with an autobiographical introduction which the vizier Buzurdjmihr, it appears, signed with his own name as an honour to the author (see *Burzōes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalīla wa-Dimna*, transl. and annot. by Th. Nöldeke, *Schriften der wissensch. Gesellsch. in Strassburg*, Heft 12, Strassburg 1912).

3. **The old Syriac translation.** Burzōe's Pahlavi translation itself is lost; but by about 570 A. D. it had already been translated by the Periodeut Bōd into Syriac. This translation only survives in one manuscript, which was formerly preserved in the monastery at Mārdīn, then in the library of the Patriarch of Mōṣul and afterwards came into the possession of Mgr. Graffin in Paris. From a defective copy of this, which Socin had brought with him, Bickell prepared the first edition (*Kalilag und Damnag, alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*, text and Germ. transl. by G. Bickell, with an introduction by Th. Benfey, Leipzig 1876). F. Schulthess was later able to prepare a much more reliable text based on three new copies which Sachau had had prepared in Mōṣul (*Kalila und Dimna*, Syriac and German, Berlin 1911).

4. **The Arabic translation.** About three centuries later ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ (see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ, II, 404) translated Burzōe's Pahlavi version into Arabic. He wrote an original preface to his book, inserted in Burzōe's introduction probably the section on the uncertainty of religions, added after the first book of the *Pañcatantra* a chapter written by himself on Dimna's trial (chap. 6 in de Sacy), which by punishing the traitor satisfies the feeling of justice, outraged by the immoral teachings of this book, and apparently also added the chapter "monk and guest" (Nº. 16 in de Sacy). Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's edition was originally a stylistic work of art intended for literary connoisseurs; but from the nature of its matter, it soon became very popular and therefore much corrupted in transmission. Even the numerous quotations in Ibn Ḳutaiba's *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* already no longer reproduce Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's text word for word. The fairly numerous manuscripts of the work are all of late date. Sylvestre de Sacy's edition (*Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai*, Paris 1816) is based on an inferior manuscript and arbitrarily emended from other manuscripts (see Nöldeke, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, p. 676). In de Sacy's text, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's preface is preceded by a new preface by an otherwise unknown Bahnūd b. Saḥwān or ʿAlī b. al-Shāh al-Fārisī, in which he gives an account of the history of the book in India, as well as a report said to have been written by Buzurdjmihr regarding Burzōe's mission to India with the commission to bring back the book; in several manuscripts this is followed by another story of Burzōe's being sent for a miraculous plant. Some manuscripts (see J. Derenbourg, *Directorium vitae humanae*, p. 323) add at the end two more fables of the heron and the duck and of the dove, the fox and the heron from other, as yet unknown sources. This latter story is also inserted in the oldest Oriental reprint of de Sacy's edition, Būlāḳ 1249 (according to Chauvin, *op. cit.*, p. 15, in the University Library of Cambridge; a copy in my possession also); from this it has passed into the more recent editions printed at Cairo, Mōṣul and Bairūt, the list of which in Chauvin, p. 13 *sqq.*, according to Cheikho (see below), p. 6, is not yet complete. Valuable contributions to the criticism of de Sacy's text from Italian manuscripts are given by I. Guidi, *Studii sul testo arabo del Libro di Calila e Dimna*, Rome 1873. The story of the king of the mice and his ministers, not given in de Sacy, which is shown by the Syriac text to belong to the Pahlavi work, was published by Nöldeke in text and translation in the *Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, 1879, XXV, Nº. 4. The complete material from 16 Paris manuscripts for the story of the ascetic and the broken jug was given by Zotenberg in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. 8, vii (1886), p. 117—123.

While the numerous printed editions of the East in the main reproduce de Sacy's text, A. N. Tabbara (*Kalila et Dimna, trad. arabe copiée d'après un ancien manuscrit trouvé à Damas, avec notes*, Beyrouth 1322 = 1904) claimed to have discovered a new source for textual criticism; but his manuscript (of 1080 = 1673) is too modern to afford new material and his edition is, besides, bowdlerised. On the other hand L. Cheikho found

in the Lebanon monastery of Dair al-Shīr a valuable manuscript of the year 749 = 1339, and made it accessible in an excellent edition: *La version arabe de Kalîlah et Dimnah d'après le plus ancien manuscrit arabe daté*, Beyrouth 1905. I have not seen the new edition by Khalīl al-Yāzidjī (ibid. 1908); that of Salīm Ibrāhīm Ṣādir and Shāhīn ʿAṭiya (ibid. 1910) is intended for school use. The modern European translations from de Sacy's text are given by Hertel, *op. cit.*, p. 393; to these may now be added M. Moreno, *La versione araba di Kalîlah e Dimnah*, transl. into Italian, San Remo 1910 (see *Riv. d. Studi Orient.*, vi. 201).

5. **Arabic versifications.** The translation by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ has been three times put into Arabic verse. The first version was made by his younger contemporary Abān al-Lāḥiḳī (q. v.; see also A. E. Krymski, *Abān al-Lāḥiqī, le Zindīq (environ 750—815), versificateur arabe des recueils des apologues indo-persans. Essai sur sa vie et ses écrits, tiré de l'unique manuscrit de Souli . . . , Bibl. Khéd. N°. 594, et d'autres sources primitives. Appendices: a. Barlaam et Josaph, essai littéraire-historique; b. Texte arabe intact d'al-Awrāq par Souli, éd. en collaboration avec* Mirza Abdoullah Ghaffarov (also in Russian with Russian title) Moskva 1913; on the manuscript cf. Horovitz in the *Mitt. des Seminars für Orient. Sprachen*, Berlin, x. 35. This version is lost; with the help of it, but on the basis of the text of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ about the year 1100, Ibn al-Habbārīya [q. v.] composed in ten days a poetic version in elegant and flowing language entitled: *Natāʾidj al-Fiṭna fī Naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*, lith. Bombay 1317 (see Houtsma in the *Orient. Stud. Th. Nöldeke . . . gewidmet*, i. 91—96). A third versification of the book entitled *Durr al-Ḥikam fī Amthāl al-Hunūd wa 'l-Adjam* was completed by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain al-Ṣaghānī after 80 days' work on Djumādā I 20, 640 (Nov. 15, 1242). It exists only in a manuscript in Vienna (see Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hdss. der . . . . Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i. 469, N°. 480).

6. **The later Syriac translation.** In the tenth or eleventh century a Syriac cleric translated the work from Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's text again into the then already dead language of his church; he endeavoured to give the book a Christian tinge and therefore amplified the verses of the Indian original, already much distorted in the Pahlavi translation, into long and weary moral discourses. He also made a series of mistakes in the translation. But as the text he used was much nearer the original than the most of our manuscripts, this translation is, in spite of its defects, of considerable value for textual criticism; it is edited by W. Wright, *The Book of Kalilah and Dimnah transl. from Arabic into Syriac*, London 1884. In contrast to the naturalism of the original, Keith-Falconer, the English translator of this version (Cambridge 1885) is even more prudish than the latter itself; on text and translation see Nöldeke in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, p. 673 *sqq.*, 1885, p. 753 *sqq.*

7. **Persian prose and verse translations.** According to Firdawsī in the *Shāhnāma* (see de Sacy in *Not. et Extr.* X (1818), i. 140 *sqq.*), Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's book was translated into Persian under the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (914—943) by order of the vizier Balʿamī [q. v.]; but it appears that this translation was never completed. By order of the same ruler the poet Rūdhakī (d. 304 = 916) put the book into Persian verse of which, however, only 16 verses have survived in quotations in Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. Horn, p. 18 *sqq.*

Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work was translated into Persian prose probably after the year 539 = 1144 (see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 745/6) by Niẓām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who dedicated his work to Bahrām Shāh of Ghazna [q. v., i. 586]. Naṣr Allāh in a new preface announces his intention of reproducing the work completely, including the aphorisms which seemed to him particularly valuable, with all the rhetorical adornment of artificial prose; he only gives Burzōe's introduction in ordinary prose, as an artificial style does not suit its matter. The work was lithographed in Ṭihrān in 1282 (= 1864; this disposes of Chauvin's doubts, p. 46/7), 1304 and 1305. Cf. de Sacy in *Not. et Extr.* X, i. 96 *sqq.*; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. (London 1906), p. 349.

A metrical version of the book was given by Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Ṭūsī Ḳāniʿī, a contemporary of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Ḳonya, whither he had fled before the Mongols from his native city of Ṭūs, for Sulṭān ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaikāʾūs (643—662 = 1244—1263), probably based on Naṣr Allāh's translation, which, however, he nowhere mentions; see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 582 *sqq.*; E. G. Browne, *A History of Pers. Literature under Tartar Dominion* (Cambridge 1920), p. 111.

This work was, however, put in the shade completely by the revision of Naṣr Allāh's translation done by Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910 = 1504, see KĀSHIFĪ), the court-preacher of Ḥusain Baiḳarā of Herāt [see ḤUSAIN MĪRZĀ]. In honour of Ḥusain's minister Aḥmad Suhailī he called his work *Anwār-i Suhailī*. He professed to be making the rhetorical artificial prose of Naṣr Allāh easier to understand by giving it in a new version but in reality he created an even more florid and verbose concoction, "full of absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far fetched comparisons and tasteless bombast and represents to perfection the worst style of those florid writers who flourished under the patronage of the Timurids" (E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 354, *op. cit.*, p. 503 *sqq.*). But as this style remained predominant in Persia and particularly in India down to the threshold of the modern period, the work had an unparalleled success and was printed in England (first complete edition London 1836), where it was used as a text book for the examination of English officials in India in Persian and repeatedly printed and lithographed in India and Persia, translated into several Indian dialects, into Pushtu, Georgian and all the principal languages of Europe (see Chauvin, p. 26—43). Ḥusain replaced the four prefaces at the vulgate of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ by a new introduction from a so far unidentified source; de Sacy supposes (*Not. et Extr.* X, i. 39) that in it we have the older *Djāwīdān Khirad*, which al-Ṭarṭūshī was still able to use for his *Sirādj al-Mulūk* (Būlāḳ 1289), p. 97, 10—21, 185, 25 *sqq.* The Emperor of China Humāyūnfāl is persuaded to give up the idea of abdicating his throne by his vizier, who

tells him how the Indian king Dabshalim was directed by a dream to a cave in which an old man would give him a treasure. Of the latter Dabshalim keeps only the testament of Hōshang, king of Persia, which contains 14 pieces of advice for rulers, and with these he goes to Ceylon where the Brahman Bidpai or Pilpai explains each of these precepts by stories which form the separate chapters of the book.

Dislike of the extravagant and luxurious style of the *Anwār-i Suhailī* induced the Emperor Akbar (1556—1605) to commission his vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl to prepare a new edition of the work. This bears the title *'Iyār-i Dānish* and was completed in 996 (1578). It retains the arrangement of its model but restores Ibn al-Muḳaffa''s preface and Burzōe's introduction. The work itself is not yet printed but a Hindustānī translation by Ḥafīẓ-uddīn, entitled *Khirad Afrōz*, was published by Th. Roebuck (Calcutta 1815) and by Eastwick (Hertford 1857, London 1867) on account of its elegant diction.

8. Turkish translations. Ibn al-Muḳaffa''s work was twice translated into Eastern Turkī from Naṣr Allāh's translation; see the manuscripts in Dresden in Fleischer, *Cat. Codd. Mss. orient. Bibl. Regiae Dresdensis* (Lipsiae 1831), p. 19, Nº. 136 and Munich in Aumer, *Die pers. und türk. Hdss. der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, p. 54.

Naṣr Allāh's edition was translated into old Ottoman Turkish (not into Eastern Turkī, as Hertel, p. 407 says, relying on a somewhat misleading expression of Ethé's, *op. cit.*) by Mas'ūd for 'Umūrbeg, prince of Aidin (d. 750 = 1349) (a MS. in the Bodleian, Marsh. 180). This prose text was put into verse by an unknown author who dedicated his work to Sulṭān Murād I (761—792 = 1359—1389); only about half has survived in a Gotha manuscript (see Pertsch, *Verz. der türk. Handschr. d. Herz. Bibl.*, p. 168, Nº. 189). A modern Ottoman prose version, which must have been made before 955 (1548), exists in the Bodleian MS. Marsh. 61: cf. H. Ethé, *On some hitherto unknown Turkish Versions of Kalīlah und Dimnah* in the *Actes du 6e Congr. internat. des Orientalistes*, 2nd sect., i. 241 *sqq.*

'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ, called 'Alī Wāsi' or 'Alī Čelebi, translated the *Anwār-i Suhailī* into Ottoman rhymed prose and dedicated his work to Sulṭān Sulaimān I (1512—1520) with the title *Humāyūn-nāma*; it has been several times printed in Būlāḳ and Stambul (see Chauvin, p. 50). Among the different European translations of the *Humāyūn-nāma*, the best known is the French of Galland, published after his death by Gueulette (Paris 1724); it was translated by Gonggrijp into Malay (Batavia 1866) and the latter version inspired a Javanese translation by Kramaprawira, which was put into Javanese verse by an anonymous poet. The luxuriousness of its language, in which the *Humāyūn-nāma* surpassed even its Persian original, induced the Muftī Yaḥyā Efendī and 'Othmānzāde, who died in 1139 (1726) as Ḳāḍī in Cairo, to prepare extracts from it (see Ethé, *op. cit.*, p. 242).

The *Anwār-i Suhailī* was translated, apparently with the assistance of the *Humāyūn-nāma* by Faḍl Allāh b. 'Īsā Tashkendī at the instigation of Muḥammad Mūsā Bai Bābā into modern Eastern Turkī prose (to be more accurate into the language of Tashkend and Farghāna as the colophon, or the language of Turkestān and Farghāna as the title states); the latter then had the book lithographed by the calligrapher Mīrzā Hāshim Khodjandī, according to the colophon in 1306 (1888); according to the title, the book was published in 1893.

Ibn al-Muḳaffa''s book was translated from the Arabic into Ḳazan Turkī by 'Abd al-'Allām Faiḍ Khān Oghlu and printed at Ḳazan 1889 (University Press, *Orient. Bibliographie*, iii. 1421), in the same year at Wjatschakow (ibid., iv. Nº. 3935) and in 1892 at Cirkova (ibid., vi. 167, Nº. 3166). The introduction, however, was, according to a communication from Prof. Hommel, borrowed from the *Anwār-i-Suhailī*.

9. The Mongol translation. The Mongol translation which Malik Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, a descendant of Muḥammad Bakrī, prepared in Ḳazwīn has not survived (see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, Gibb Mem. xiv. p. 844/5, transl. p. 233; Browne, *A Hist. of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 93, and correctly stated as early as Hammer-Purgstall in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 3rd Ser., i. 580). This statement is confused in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v. 239, who ascribes a translation into Turkish (*bi-lughat al-Turk*) to the ancestor Muḥammad Bakrī (see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* X, 175; Ethé, *op. cit.*, p. 243, who does not take notice of von Hammer's correct statement). As Flügel wrongly translates *in linguam Tataricam*, Hertel (p. 414) wrongly identifies this reported Tatar translation with the above mentioned Ḳazan Turkī (so-called Tatar) translation quoted in Chauvin, p. 78, note.

10. The Ethiopic translation. An Ethiopic version, which was certainly based on a text, indigenous to Egypt, of the Arabic of Ibn al-Muḳaffa', is also lost: it is mentioned in a work composed in 1582 (see Wright, *Cat. of the Ethiop. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 82b) (see Nöldeke, *Gött. Gelehrte Anz.* 1884, p. 676, note 5).

11. The Hebrew and older European translations. At the beginning of the twelfth century a certain Rabbi Jō'ēl translated Ibn al-Muḳaffa''s work into Hebrew from a valuable manuscript which, however, already contained the false story of Burzōe's mission and the two not genuine fables at the end of the heron and the duck and of the fox, dove and heron. From the unique manuscript, exceedingly corrupt in the beginning, J. Derenbourg published this translation along with that of Jacob b. Elazar of the xiiith century (*Deux versions hébraïques du Livre de Kalîlâh et Dimnâh* in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 49., Paris 1881). Jacob's version while based on a similar text to that of Jō'ēl is, however, very free, composed in elegant rhymed prose and full of Biblical locutions. The version of the Rabbi Jō'ēl was then translated into Latin by the baptised Jew John of Capua for Cardinal Ursinus between 1263 and 1278 with the title *Directorium vitae humanae* (cf. Johannes de Capua, *Directorium vitae humanae*, publ. and annot. by J. Derenbourg in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 72, Paris 1887; a new edition based on manuscripts which he has recently discovered is to be expected from Hilka). With the exception of an old Spanish version, which reproduces the same text as Rabbi Jō'ēl much more faithfully than John of Capua does (see Clifford G. Allen, *L'an-*

cienne version espagnole de Kalila et Digna, texte des mss. de l'Escorial, précédé d'un avant-propos et suivi d'un glossaire, Thesis, Paris-Macon 1906), all later translations into Western European languages with the exception of quite modern ones are based on the Latin text of John of Capua (see Chauvin, p. 59—72; Hertel, p. 366—400).

12. The Greek translation. Towards the end of the xith century, Symeon son of Seth translated Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work fairly freely into Greek from a manuscript which was still free from later additions but contained the chapter on the king of the mice and his ministers. He called the book Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης, because he recognised in *Kalīla* the Arabic *iklīl* and in *Dimna* the Arabic word for "trace". See Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης. *Quattro recensioni della versione greca del Kitāb Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, pubbl. da Vittorio Puntoni, *Pubblicazioni della Soc. Asiat. Ital.*, ii. (1889). This version was in turn translated into Latin and German as well as into several Slavonic languages.

13. The Persian translation of the Hitōpadēsha. The later Sanskrit version of the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitōpadēsha*, was translated very freely into Persian, probably in the reign of Akbar, by a certain Tādj al-Dīn, under the title *Mufarriḥ al-Ḳulūb* (see de Sacy, *L'illustrateur des cœurs, ou traduction persane du livre indien intitulé Hitoupadesa par Tadj-eddin, ms. persan de la Bibl. du Roi, N°. 386* in the *Not. et Extr.* X, i. 226—264). This work was then translated by the highly esteemed Hindūstānī author Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī Ḥusainī in 1217 (1802) into his mother tongue (see Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litér. hindouie et hindoustanie*², i. 609 *sqq.*). A year later the latter was edited by Gilchrist as *Ukhlaqi Hindee or Indian Ethics, transl. from the Version of the celebrated Hitoopades or Salutary Counsel* by Meer Buhadoor Ulee, . . . under the superintendence of John Gilchrist, Calcutta 1803; cf. J. Hertel, *Die Akhlāq-i Hindī und ihre Quellen* in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lxxii. 65—86, lxxiv. 95—117, lxxv. 129—200.

14. The older Malay translation. On a mixture of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work and a Tamil text of the Pañcatantra is based the Malay version *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*, which was first brought to notice by Werndly in his *Maleische Spraakkunst*, Amsterdam 1736, and was published in 1876 by Gonggrijp at Leiden (2nd ed. 1892; cf. J. J. Brandes in the *Feestbundel aan Professor M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden 1891, p. 77 *sqq.*). This work was next translated into Javanese (Batavia 1878) and Madurese (ibid. 1879).

15. Imitations of *Kalila wa-Dimna*. Setting aside the fables included in the *1001 Nights*, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work has been three times imitated in Islāmic literature. Ibn al-Habbāriya (see above) followed up his versification with the *Kit. al-Ṣādiḥ wa'l-Bāghim* (see above p. 378 *sq.*; also printed in Cairo 1294). While this was only an imitation of the beast-fable, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ẓafar al-Ṣiḳillī (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172) in his *Sulwān al-Muṭāʿ*, which he first composed in 545 (1150) and dedicated in 554 (1159) in a new edition to the Ḳāʾid of Sicily, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī, intended to produce a mirror for princes, like the *Kalila wa-Dimna*; in addition to beast-fables the book also contains historical anecdotes. It was lithographed at Cairo 1278, printed Tunis 1279, Bairūt 1300; translated into Turkish by Ḳara Khalīfzāde (d. 1168—1754) and printed Stambul 1285; translated into Italian by M. Amari, *Solwan el-mota ossiano Conforti politici di Ibn Zafer, arabo siciliano del XII secolo*, Florence 1851, 1882 (Engl. transl. London 1852).

Another mirror for princes in which historic anecdotes are mingled with beast-fables for the edification of the reader, was composed about the end of the fourth century A. H. by the prince of Ṭabaristān, Iṣpahbadh Marzubān in the Persian dialect of his land. This work itself has not survived, but in the vith (xiith) and viith (xiiith) century it was twice translated into classical Persian. This was first done at the court of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor, Sulaimānshāh (588—600 = 1192—1204) by his vizier Muḥammad b. Ghāzī of Malaṭya; his work, entitled *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳūl*, exists in two manuscripts in Leiden and Paris. The *Marzubānnāma* of Saʿd al-Dīn-i Warāwīnī, composed between 607 and 622 (1210—1225), enjoyed greater popularity. It has been edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad (Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. viii.).

Warāwīnī's version was translated by an unknown author into Ottoman Turkish (a copy of 848 (1444) in Berlin; see Pertsch, *Verz. der Türk. Hdss.*, N°. 444); this Turkish version was again translated anonymously into Arabic (MS. Berlin, see Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, N°. 8472). A second Arabic translation, which, according to the Gotha MS. (see Pertsch, *Die Arab. Hdss. der Herz. Bibl.*, N°. 2692), is also based on the Turkish, was made by Ibn ʿArabshāh (q. v.); there is another MS. in Paris (de Slane, *Catal.*, N°. 3524) and it was lithographed in Cairo in 1278. The same author then rewrote his work in artificial prose in his *Fākihat al-Khulafāʾ wa-Mufākahat al-Ẓurafāʾ*, and added several new stories.

The same recension which had been translated into Ottoman Turkish and which is distinguished from Warāwīnī's vulgate as well as from the *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳūl* by the tenth (concluding) chapter *dar bayān-i ziyādat-i ʿumr wa-dawlat wa-sitadjhīz kardan bi dūst wa-dushman*, was translated into Ḳazan Turkī by an unnamed writer for a certain Sulaimān Bek, son of Muḥammad Bek, and printed at Ḳazan in 1864 under the title *Kitāb Dürr-i Shāhī fī ḥikāyāti Pādishāhī*.

Bibliography. V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes* etc., ii. *Kalîlah* (Liège—Leipzig 1897); J. Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig and Berlin 1914.

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KALĪM, a Persian poet of India of the seventeenth century. His full name was MĪRZĀ ABŪ ṬĀLIB KALĪM of Hamadhān. He lived first in Kāshān, so that he is also given the *nisba* Kāshānī as well as Hamadhānī. In the beginning of the reign of Djahāngīr (q. v., 1014—1037 = 1605—1627) he came to India to his court. A considerable journey took him in the following years to the ʿIrāḳ, from which he returned in 1028 (1619) to India and lived there henceforth as court-poet of the Moghul Emperors. Under Djahāngīr's successor Shāh Djahān (1037—1068 = 1628—1656), whom he celebrated in an epic — the title of which is given in three forms: *Shāhinshāhnāma*, *Shāhnāma* and *Pādishāhnāma* — he was given the title of honour *Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ*.

He died in Kashmir in 1062 (1652); the date 1061 (1651) has less authority. His *Dīwān* contains the usual kinds of poetry, especially ḳaṣīdas and mathnawīs of a panegyric character. Manuscripts of the *Dīwān* are frequent — a lithographed edition appeared at Lucknow in 1878 — but his *Shāhanshāhnāma* seems only to exist in extracts. He is estimated to have left 24,000 verses.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, iii. 304, N⁰. 5636; Ethé in the *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii. 238, 309, 311; more details are given in the Catalogues of manuscripts: Sprenger, *A Cat. of the... Mss. of the Libraries of King of Oudh.*, p. 453 *sq.*; Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, ii. 686 *sq.*; Pertsch, *Verz. der pers. Handschr. ... zu Berlin*, p. 920 *sq.*; Sachau-Ethé, *Cat. of the Persian ... Mss. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 692—4; and especially Ethé, *Cat. of Persian Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, p. 854 sqq., where the references in the *Tadhkiras* to K. are given.

(H. H. SCHAEDER)

KALĪM ALLĀH. *Kalīm* is one who speaks to you, following the equation *faʿīl* = *mufāʿil* (e. g. al-Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 445, 22, 583, 13, 595, 1); so in the *Lisān* (xv. 428 *infra*) which adds that the *Tahdhīb* (of al-Azharī) allows it to mean also one to whom you speak. In consequence, *Kalīm Allāh* has become the special honorific title of Mūsā, "He who spoke to Allāh", or, following the *Tahdhīb*, "He to whom Allāh spoke", because of several passages in the Ḳurʾān describing direct speech between Allāh and Mūsā — especially Ḳur. iv. 162, *wa-kallam Allāhu Mūsā taklīmā*, where the addition of the infinitive is said to show that literal and direct speech is meant and not a metaphor (*Lisān*, xv. 429, 3 *sqq.*; al-Ashʿarī, *al-Ibāna*, ed. Ḥaidarābād, 1321, p. 27 *infra*). In these passages the emphasis is always on Allāh's speaking to Mūsā, and this may be the cause of the extension of meaning of *kalīm* in the *Tahdhīb*. Further, the third stem of *klm* does not occur in the received text of the Ḳurʾān; but in Ḳur. ii. 254, there is a variant reading, *kālam Allāha* (al-Baiḍāwī, i. 130, 4) and this variant reading is given by al-Baiḍāwī as the source of the honorific title, *kalīm* = *mukālim*. Yet in this passage there is no mention of Mūsā. Cf., also, the epithet with similar meaning *nadjī*, applied to Mūsā in Ḳur. xix. 53, where al-Baiḍāwī (i. 583, 13) equates *nadjī* with *munādjī*.

Bibliography: See under KALĀM. Add Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 174; and on variants in the Ḳurʾān text, pp. 1—54; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 486*b*.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

KALIMA. For the primary meaning see under KALĀM. Each utterance of Allāh is a *kalima*, whether it is the single creative word, *kun*, "come into being!" or a longer expression. Thus it is a synonym of *ḳaul* (Dozy, *Suppl.* ii. 486*a*); *kalimatan bāḳiyatan*, in Ḳur. xliii. 27 is interpreted as meaning the *tawḥīd*, the first of the two articles of the Muslim creed (al-Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, ii. 237, 22) and "two words" in *The 1001 Nights* (Calcutta ed., N. 854, iv. 159; in the Breslau text, iv. 327, it is *fard kalima*) means the two articles. In this wide sense the *kalima* of a poet can mean a whole *ḳaṣīda* by him (*Lisān*, xv. 428 *infra*; al-Baiḍāwī, i. 154, 17 on Ḳur. iii. 34) and it is a question whether ʿĪsā is called a *kalima* from Allāh (Ḳur. iii. 34, 40) because he is an expression of the *kalām* of Allāh, or because he was produced by the single creative word *kun*, and is thus a primary creation like Adam (al-Baiḍāwī, *loc. cit.*; Lisān, xv. 430 *supra*). From the doctrine of Allāh's *kalām* it follows that his *kalimāt* must be innumerable (see KALĀM). But all contingent existences (*al-mumkināt*) have been produced by *kalimāt* of Allāh, i. e. the creative commands *kun*; therefore the Speech of the Reality (*al-ḥaḳḳ*) is the self of the identities of the contingent existences, or the contingent existences themselves (*nafs aʿyān al-mumkināt*, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1271, *infra*). The half page which follows the last reference shows how this is the bridge from the orthodox doctrine of Allāh's quality, Speech, to the Neoplatonic Chain and all its descendants.

Bibliography: Has been given above. See further on ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ (i. 61 *sqq.*); AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL (ii. 510 *sq.*).

(D. B. MACDONALD)

AL-ḲALḲASHANDĪ, *nisba* from Ḳalḳashanda near Ḳalyūb.

1. SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH (in MSS. often briefly called AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH) B. ABĪ GHUDDA, died on Djumādā II 10, 821 (July 16, 1418), wrote besides a number of smaller works a guide to the artistic composition of essays and reports, especially for the use of Egyptian government officials; just as Ibn Ḳutaiba [q. v.] in his *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* and the supplements to that work wished to afford the secretary class an encyclopaedic survey of the most important branches of knowledge of his time, so al-Ḳalḳashandī's work, composed after 791 (1387), entitled *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ*, presents in a much more comprehensive and systematic form practically the whole knowledge of his time and contains information of the utmost value, especially regarding the history and geography of Egypt and Syria. It has been printed as a publication of the Dār al-Kutub al-Khadīwīya (al-Sulṭānīya) (Cairo 1331—8 [1913—9], 14 vols.). Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten nach dem Arab. des Abu 'l-Abbâs al-Calcaschandi* in the *Abh. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Cl., XXV (1879); W. v. Tiesenhausen in the *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arch. Obšč.*, i. 208; do., *Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, i. 395; H. Sauvaire, *Extraits de l'ouvrage de K. intitulé Lumière de l'aurore pour l'écriture des hommes* (Arab. MS. of the Bodleian Library) in the *Mém. de l'Acad. de Marseille*, 1886, 1887; H. Lammens, *Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes* in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, ix. (1904), 151—187, 359—392. A selection from it entitled *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣubḥ al-Musfir wa-Djany al-Dauḥ al-Muthmir* was printed in Cairo 1906. His second great work which he composed in 812 (1409) is a genealogy and history of the Arab tribes before Muḥammad with an alphabetical list entitled *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Maʿrifat Ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, MSS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, N⁰. 9382/3) and London (*Cat. Codd. Mss. Or. ... in Mus. Brit.*, N⁰. 341/2); according to Lammens in the *Mél. de la Fac. orient. de Beyrouth*, iii/i. 150 N. 4, it has been printed in Baghdād s. d.; in this

text the author is called Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh; Lammens concludes from this that the authors of the *Ṣubḥ* and of the *Nihāya* were different individuals; but here either the father is confused with the son (see Nº. 2) or the printed book contains the work of the son. The alphabetical list was worked up by Abu 'l-Fawz Muḥammad Amīn al-Suwaidī in 1229 (1814) into a genealogical survey and extended to the Caliphs and Sulṭāns with the title *Sabāʾik al-Dhahab fī Maʿrifat Ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, lith. Baghdād 1280, Bombay 1296. After the year 818 (1415) al-Ḳalḳashandī wrote a supplement to it entitled *Ḳalāʾid al-Djumān fi 'l-Taʿrīf bi-Ḳabāʾil ʿArab al-Zamān*, MSS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, Nº. 9384) and London (Rieu, *Suppl. to the Cat. of the Arabic Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, Nº. 595); a synopsis by al-Suyūṭī in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, Nº. 9385).

2. His son NADJM AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD imitated his two chief works, the *Ṣubḥ* under the title *Ḳalāʾid al-Djumān fī Muṣṭalaḥ Mukātabāt Ahl al-Zamān* (see Rieu, *Suppl.*, Nº. 1020) and the *Nihāya* under the title *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Maʿrifat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, dedicated to the Grand Emir of the Arabs of the East and of the West Zain al-Dīn Abu 'l-Djūd Baḳr b. Rashīd al-Zaiur; the autograph of the year 846 (1442) in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris (see de Slane, *Cat.*, Nº. 2049), another MS. in Cairo, Khed. Bibl. (*Fihr.*, v. 170; author Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, see Vollers, *Zeitschr. d. Dtsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, xliii. 118; on the Baghdād printed text see above).

3. ABU 'L-FATḤ IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD AL-MAḲDISĪ, BURHĀN (DJAMĀL) AL-DĪN, d. 922 (1516), Traditionist, whose works are detailed in Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. ar. Litt.*, ii. 78.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, Nº. 467; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii. 134.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

KALMUCKS, the Turkish name for a Mongol people who call themselves OIRAT. In Radloff's *Wörterbuch* (ii. 272), the forms Ḳalmaḳ (Central Asian dialects), Ḳalmiḳ (Volga dialects; whence the Russian word) and Ḳalmuḳ (Ottoman; whence the Crimean Tatar expression *ḳalmuḳ-i bash-maḳhluḳ*) are given. In Central Asia the Turkish speaking Teleuts are called "White Kalmucks" (Aḳ Kalmaḳ) and the Western Mongols proper "Black Kalmucks" (Ḳara Ḳalmaḳ). The word is derived (probably only by a popular etymology) from the verb *ḳalmaḳ* "to remain"; it is said to denote the Oirat, who "remained" pagans, in contrast to the Dungans (the Chinese-speaking Muḥammadans), who "returned" (verb *dönmek*) (according to the well known Muslim idea) to Islām.

The word Ḳalmaḳ seems first to occur in the *Muḳaddima* (not included in the printed edition) to the *Ẓafar-Nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, not, it seems, as an ethnographical term but as a geographical one. It is said that after the expulsion of the Mongol dynasty from China only their "original territory" (*yurt-i aṣlī*), i. e. Ḳaraḳorum and Ḳalmaḳ remained in their possession; the "Emirs of the Oirat" later deprived them of this also.

From the time of Wais Khān (1418—28) the Mongols on the Ili [q. v.] had to fight against the "infidel Ḳalmaḳ"; accounts of these wars are found, notably in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (ed. Ney-Elias, see Index). Wais Khān was twice taken prisoner by the Ḳalmaḳ and had to give his sister in marriage to the chief of the Ḳalmaḳ Isān Tāishī (properly Esen Taishi). Toghon, father of the latter, was then ruling in Mongolia on the Chinese frontier, where he was succeeded in 1439 by Esen Taishi. After the death of Esen Taishi (1455) the great nomad kingdom of the Oirat broke up; individual princes are mentioned from time to time later, as ruling in the neighbourhood of Muslim lands; in the beginning of 864 (end of 1459) a Ḳalmaḳ embassy appeared in Herāt. According to Chinese sources, the Oirat in 1552 had to submit to Altan Khān, prince of the Tümet. The name Ḳalmaḳ seems to have been extended by the Muslims to this kingdom. According to the Ottoman Saifī (wrote 990 = 1582), the prince of the Ḳalmaḳ bore the title *Altun Khān* (Turk. *Altun* = Mongol *Altan*); cf. the text in the Leiden MS. Nº. 917 and the translation by Ch. Schefer in Abdoul Kerim Boukhary, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, transl. p. 292 *sq.* The Muḥammadan sources also report the restoration of the Oirat kingdom under Khara Khula (d. 1634). In Turkestān the Ḳalmaḳ, during this period also, were regarded as powerful foes to Islām. The prince of the Ḳazaḳ (Kirgiz), Tawakkul Khān, had to fly before them to Tashkend, where he was received by Nawrūz Aḥmad Khān or Barāḳ Khān (d. 1556); but Nawrūz Aḥmad is said to have replied to his guest's appeal for help that ten such princes as they two could do nothing against the Ḳalmaḳ. At a later date on the other hand we find Tawakkul described in Russia as "Czar of the Ḳazaḳ and of the Kalmucks" on the occasion of his embassy to the Czar Feodor (1594), perhaps because a few bodies of Kalmucks had attached themselves to him; according to the *ʿAbdallāh-Nāma* (MS. of the Asiatic Museum, Nº. 574, f. 352ᵃ) there were also Kalmucks (Ḳalmāḳān) in Tashkend in the army of Bābā Khān (a son of Nawrūz Aḥmad) about 1582. In the winter of 1603—4 took place the first raid of the Kalmucks into Khwārizm (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, text p. 275). Soon afterwards, under the Czar Wassilij Shuiskij (1606—1610), the Kalmucks for the first time entered into relations with the Russian government, although it was not till 1632 that Kalmucks settled on the Volga on a large scale. This branch of the Kalmucks had separated from their kinsmen, under the leadership of Kho Urlük, as early as 1618. The land of the Volga Kalmucks therefore did not belong to the empire founded by Khara Khula, although the relations between the two branches of the people had not yet been broken. Representatives of the Volga Kalmucks still appeared at the *ḳurultai* (parliament) of 1640; Batur, the son and successor of Khara Khula gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Kho Urlük. By the same *ḳurultai* the dominance of Buddhism was firmly established among all branches of the Kalmucks. The progress made by Islām described in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (p. 91) in connection with the above mentioned marriage contract apparently was not maintained. Most of the Muslim territories of Turkestān were under the suzerainty of the Buddhist Kalmuck prince on the Ili, the founder of the last great nomad empire in Central Asia, until the destruction of this empire by the Chinese in 1758 (subjection of Kāshgharia in 1682, conquest of Tashkend in 1723); as late as 1749 the regent (*Ataliḳ*) of

Bokhārā and his opponent had to submit a dispute to the verdict of an embassy of the Kalmuck prince (*Tūra-i Ḳalmāḳ*) (Muḥammad Walī Karmīnagī, MS. of the Asiat. Mus., c. 581^{b}, f. 101^{b} *sqq.*) A great part of the pasture grounds of the Ḳazaḳ was at once occupied by the Kalmucks. Islām was then almost completely driven out of the southern part of the modern Semirječje. From this period date several Buddhist monuments, including Tibetan inscriptions. It was only after the decline of the Kalmuck empire that these areas were again occupied by the Muḥammadan Ḳazaḳ. The wars of the Volga Kalmucks with the Crimean Tatars and their raids into Khwārizm had less effect on Islām; from 1724 the Kalmuck chiefs on the lower course of the Volga were simply considered governors (*namjestnik*) of the Czar of Russia. No connection existed then with the ruler on the Ili. The decision of the "governor" Ubashi and a great part of his people to migrate from Russia and settle on Chinese territory proved disastrous for the Kalmucks. During this migration heavy losses were inflicted on the Kalmucks in Central Asia, especially by the Ḳazaḳ (1771). Henceforth the Kalmucks were of no political significance either in Russia or in China. During the Muḥammadan rising in the Ili valley the great Kalmuck temple of Buddha near Kuldja was destroyed (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 403). After the Russian revolution an "autonomous Kalmuck territory" (*avtonomnaja kalmitskaja oblast'*) arose in what was formerly the gouvernement of Astrachan, between 45° and 48° N. Lat. and 44°—48° E. Long. A portion of the Kalmucks in Semirječje (less than 2000 souls) which has adopted Islām and taken to agriculture is called Sart-Kalmaḳ.

Bibliography: Iakinf, *Istoričeskoje obozrenije oiratov ili kalmikov*, St. Petersburg 1834; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, i. London 1876; W. Barthold, *Očerk istorii Semirječja*, p. 78 *sq.*; N. Pal'mov, *Očerk istorii kalmickogo naroda za vremja jego prebivanija v predjelach Rossii*, Astrachan 1922; *Oiratskije Izvjestija*, founded in 1922. (W. BARTHOLD)

ḲALPAḲ (T.), A Central Asian headdress, which was introduced by the Turks into Europe and became widely distributed there. The word *ḳalpaḳ* is found in the most diverse Turkish dialects in meanings which are detailed by W. Radloff in his *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialekte*, ii. 268 *sq.* (cf. also *ḳalaḳ*, ii. 234). The Eastern Turkish *ḳalpāḳ*, Djag. East. Turk. *ḳalpāḳ*, Kirg. and Karakirg. *ḳalpāḳ*, meaning cap, felt cap (cf. also the French *colpack*) is certainly related. Cf. thereon Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk-oriental*, p. 408). In its original form the ḳalpaḳ is a cone-shaped sheepskin cap, flattened on top, covering the head down to the eyes and ears, for the manufacture of which skins of darker colour, in people of rank particularly a black astrachan, were used and then trimmed with softer fur of a brighter colour. Such caps have been worn among almost all Tatar tribes from ancient times to the present day. In earlier times, as G. Rosen suggests, they were a part of the national costume also among the Ottomans. Nevertheless, neither the headdress nor the word ḳalpaḳ can be proved to have existed before the middle of the xviith century. The ḳalpaḳ must, very soon after this, under the arabicising influence of Islām, have been driven out by the turban in its countless forms (cf. 286 styles in Michael Thalman, *Elenchus librorum or. mss.*, Vienna 1702, vi. 29 *sq.* on Codex Turc. VII, Bologna). But the ḳalpaḳ remained as the distinguishing headgear of prominent Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte, with, it is true, considerable alterations in its original appearance. In place of the fur a thick black felt was used and the shape became swollen almost like a melon. Of these headdresses three kinds were especially known, called after professions which particularly wore them, viz. the ḳalpaḳ of the physicians, of the money-changers and of the interpreters (*ḥekīm*, *ṣarrāf* and *terdjumān ḳalpaghi*). As late as the beginning of the xixth century the embassy interpreters, who were not Turkish subjects, had to wear the ḳalpaḳ, when they went on business to the Porte. In the house the ḳalpaḳ, which, on account of its weight, was too hot and uncomfortable for indoor wear, was placed on a stand elaborately carved, often painted and adorned with gilding, the *ḳalpaḳliḳ*, a piece of furniture, which was considered the sign of a distinguished and prosperous Christian household. When, with the coming of the fez, the ḳalpaḳ threatened to go entirely out of use among the Christian population also, an edict (*fermān*) of the grand vizier 'Izzet Meḥemmed Pasha ordered in 1842 that all non-Turkish subjects should wear the ḳalpaḳ instead of the fez. But this order was not long enforced. At the present day the ḳalpaḳ is still made and worn only by Armenians. The fine lambskins stretched over pasteboard shapes were at one time imported from Urls in Russian Tartary, and also from Khiva and Bokhārā, and manufactured and sold on the so-called Ḳalpaḳdjilar Čarshusi in Stambul. Among the peoples who adopted the name ḳalpaḳ for their corresponding headdress, special mention may be made of the Slav tribes of the Balkans (cf. Slav *klobuk*; Greek καλπάκι). Down to 1763 the ḳalpaḳ was also the headdress of the Hungarian Hussars. The high felt cap made of the finest arctic furs and adorned with valuable jewelled clasps, which is still worn as part of the state-dress of Hungarian magnates and Roumanian boyars, is also called ḳalpaḳ (Magyar *kalpag*, cf. also *kalap* = hat). The Hungarians may have adopted the headdress from the Ottomans in the beginning of the xviith century. Cf. also J. Szendrei, *A magyar viselet történeti fejlődése*, Budapest 1905, *s.v.* Among the Hussars of the German army, where the ḳalpaḳ was worn since the time of Frederick the Great, kolpak means the cloth tab above in the bearskin, the colour of which served to mark the regiment. Under the First Empire in France the ḳalpaḳ (*colback*) was introduced into the French army as the headdress of certain arms; under the Second Empire the mounted chasseurs wore a cap called *talpack*.

Bibliography (in addition to the works quoted): cf. Ch. White, *Häusliches Leben und Sitten der Türken*, ii. (Berlin 1845), p. 299 *sq.*; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, ii. (Paris 1790), 157; *Magyar Nyelvőr*, iv. (Budapest 1875), 400 (G. Szarvas); also vi. 363. (FR. BABINGER)

ḲALYŪB, a fair sized town in Lower Egypt with a railway station, 10 miles north of the central station at Cairo on the Cairo-

Alexandria railway. The town proper lies about a mile west of the station and about 3 miles from the right bank of the Nile, on the Tur'at al-Sardūsiya. Down to the middle of last century Kalyūb was the capital of the Mudīriya al-Kalyūbiya. Under the Khedive Ismā'īl the Dīwān of the Mudīriya was moved to Benha. Since that date Kalyūb has been a *markaz* (district-capital). Branch lines run to Zaķāzīķ and the Barrage du Nil. The majority of the inhabitants are Muslims. According to 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, Kalyūb possesses a Sharī'a court (*maḥkama Shar'iya*) and a hospital. Cf. 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xiv. 114 *sqq.*; Baedeker, *Egypt*[7] (1914), p. 34; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, Stambul 1314 (1896), v. 3693[b], where (line 2—3) we should read *Ḳalyūbiyeh* for *Ḳaṣābadeh*.

A Greek Καλλιόπη — not yet, however, found — is at the base of the name. In the *Scalae* it is found under the form Καλιωπ (Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, Series i. 151).

Historical: John of Nikiu mentions Kalyūb in his *Chronicle*, Chap. 113 (ed. Zotenberg, p. 321, 509). 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ [q. v.] had a bridge thrown over the canal at this town to be able to conquer the other towns of the province of Miṣr (circa 20 = 641). In 549 = 1154/5 the Caliph al-Ẓāfir granted Kalyūb as a fief to his great favourite Naṣr b. 'Abbās. Usāma b. Munķidh so depreciated this present in the eyes of Naṣr and his father that it became one cause of the murder of the Caliph by Naṣr and 'Abbās (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 126; Usāma b. Munķidh, ed. Derenbourg, i. 245; Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, p. 93). In the fighting between Selim I and Tūmān-Bey, Kalyūb did not escape the raids of the Arabs (Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, under Ṣafar 923 = March 10, 1517). For embassies etc. Kalyūb was the last stage before Cairo. Thus, for example, in Rabī' I 925 (= March 1519 ('Alī Pasha Mubārak wrongly gives R. I 25, 923 for R. I 23, 925), Khā'ir Bey had the Sulṭān's envoy received there with the greatest ceremony by the Ḳāḍī Barakāt b. Mūsā (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii. 109). The town had again to suffer exceedingly from the extortions and plundering of the half-savage soldiers and Mamlūks in the years 1219 and 1220 (1804 and 1805); cf. al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-Āthār*, under the years quoted. Kalyūb, as a result of its situation close to the gates of Cairo, may not have escaped on other occasions the effects of the political happenings in the capital. Ibn Duḳmāḳ (809 = 1406) and al-Ẓāhirī (839 = 1434/5) report, that in their day Kalyūb was for the most part lying in ruins.

Economic: Almost all sources praise the wealth of Kalyūb in gardens and trees, among which the acacias (*sanṭ*) are mentioned as particularly valuable. In spite of the restrictive edicts of al-Malik al-Kāmil, the ground was very badly farmed, so that Kalyūb's prosperity suffered considerably (cf. 'Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī — wrote 637—648 = 1240—1249; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.* i. 335 — who devotes a longish section to Kalyūb in his *Luma' al-Ḳawānīn al-Muḍī'a fī Dawāwīn al-Diyār al-Miṣriya*; quoted in 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *op. cit.*, 114 *sq.*). — In 1240 (1824/25) Muḥammad 'Alī built a cotton mill in Kalyūb and later barracks and a remount depot were established there. The al-Shawāribī family deserves special mention for its share in the economic development of Kalyūb, where they also built a serai with a mosque.

There are six mosques in Kalyūb, in one of which the Friday service is held. Among these the "great Mosque", formerly called Djāmi' al-Zamālī, with its great *Manāra*, made a great impression on Ibn Djubair (578 = 1182/3 in Egypt: cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, i. 478; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *op. cit.*, p. 114). According to the inscriptions on its minbar and above the door it was renovated in 1148 = 1735/6 by the Shaikh al-'Arab of Kalyūb, Aḥmad al-Shawāribī. Among the tombs of saints the most important is that of Sīdī 'Awwād with popular amusements and horse-racing.

'Alī Pasha Mubārak gives a very full account of the above mentioned al-Shawāribī family as one of the most prominent in the town. Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baibars gave them charge of the new bridge over the Baḥr Abu'l-Manadjdja (cf. also al-Ḳalḳashandī, transl. Wüstenfeld, p. 28) and granted them large estates as fiefs and an annual pension (which lasted till 1275 = 1858/9). Muṣṭafā Pasha granted them the supervision of the whole province of al-Kalyūbiya. Various members of the family also filled important posts in the administration, besides the office of Shaikh al-'Arab of Kalyūb, which seems to have been hereditary with them. Sulaimān al-Shawāribī's patriotism cost him his life: in Radjab 1213 (Dec. 1798) he was beheaded by the French for his part in an attempted rising (cf. al-Djabartī, *op. cit.*, iv. 37 *sq.*).

According to Ibn Dji'ān (cf. 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *al-Ifāda wa 'l-I'tibār* etc., French transl. by de Sacy entitled *Relation de l'Égypte* etc., p. 595) the province of al-Kalyūbiya comprised in his time (777 = 1375/76) 59 townships and yielded a revenue of 419,054 dīnārs (but on p. 590 a list of 61 townships is given). Ibn Duḳmāḳ gives 60 with a total revenue of 383,140 dīnārs. In the time of the French expedition the revenues of the province from the estates (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, i. 306 *sqq.*) amounted to: 1. for the payment of the *mīrī* 3,390,742 dinars; 2. for the *kushūfiya* 1,710,462 dinars; 3. for the *fā'iḍ* 15,119,199 dinars.

The Baḥr al-Sardūs — according to legend built by Pharaoh and enlarged by his vizier Hāmān' (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, al-Ḳalḳashandī) — was, according to the enthusiastic description in Ibn Duḳmāḳ (whom al-Ḳalḳashandī follows), a large canal, apparently with water always in it. This is indicated also by two documents of the years 891 (1486) and 1061 (1650/1) (quoted by 'Alī Pasha Mubārak) in the possession of the al-Shawāribī family. Al-Ḳalḳashandī notes that the canal in his time had disappeared and that its place had been taken by the Abu 'l-Manadjdja canal, (cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 25 *sq.*); Maspero-Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 105). According to 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, there was only a small canal in his time: the Tur'at al-Sardūsiya. Ibn Khallikān, Buṭrus al-Bustānī and 'Alī Pasha Mubārak give several scholars, who have the *nisba* al-Kalyūbī. The best known of them is Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kalyūbī (see the following article).

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Kitāb al-Rawḍatain in the *Hist. des Crois.*, iv. 147; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fī ʿAdjāʾib al-Barr wa ʾl-Baḥr*, ed. Mehren (Copenhague 1874), p. 231; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Wiet), i. 313, Chap. 25, ii. 85, note 2; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Vollers, with title *Descr. de l'Égypte* (Būlāḳ 1309), v. 43, 47; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* in Wüstenfeld, *Calcaschandi's Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, (*Abh. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxv. [1879]), p. 25 *sq.*, 28, 109; al-Ẓāhirī in De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*[2] (Paris 1826), ii. 5; Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr* (Būlāḳ 1311), ii. 54, 109, 157, 197, 204, iii. 109, 110, 170, 192, 206, 286, 303, 318; d'Anville, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte* .... (Paris 1766), p. 39; al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Āthār fi ʾl-Tarādjim wa ʾl-Akhbār* (Cairo 1322), iii.; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda* ... (Būlāḳ 1305), xiv. 114—119 (cf. also the article RIVER).

(A. RICHTER)

AL-ḲALYŪBĪ, AḤMAD B. AḤMAD B. SALĀMA, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, an Arab author, pupil of the celebrated Shāfiʿī Faḳīh Shams al-Dīn (al-Shams) al-Ramlī (d. 1004 = 1596), was regarded in his day as an unchallenged authority and died towards the end of Shawwāl 1069 (July 1659). He composed numerous works, of which 21 have survived, in the fields of Fiḳh, geography, medicine, secret sciences and Adab. To the 17 works mentioned by Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, we have to add 1. a *Kit. al-Mudjarrabāt* in Göttingen (see *Verzeichn. der Hss. im Preuss. Staate, 1. Hannover, 3. Göttingen*, iii. Berlin 1894, N°. 100); 2. *Miʿrādj al-Nabī* in the Ẓāhiriya or ʿUmūmiya in Damascus, see Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt, *Khazāʾin al-Kutub fī Dimashḳ wa-Ḍawāḥīhā* (Cairo 1902), p. 74, N°. 40; Houtsma, *Cat. d'une coll. de Mss. arabes et turcs* etc. (Leiden 1889), N°. 241; 3. *Risāla fī Maʿrifat Asmāʾ al-Bilād wa-Ṭuruḳihā wa-Aḥwālihā* in Princeton, see Littmann, *A list of Arabic Mss. in Princeton Univ. Library* (Princeton—Leipzig 1904), p. 9, N°. 40; 4. a *Kit. Ḥikāyāt*, anecdotes of pious individuals, different from the *Kit. al-Nawādir* in the Brit. Mus., see Ellis and Edwards, *A Descr. List of the Arabic Mss. acquired ... since 1894* (London 1912), p. 62, Or. 7018. Of his works there have been printed: 1. *Ḥāshiya* to al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1460) commentary on al-Nawawī's *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn*, along with the *Ḥāshiya* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Burullusī, Cairo 1306, 1318, 4 vols.; 2. *K. al-Ṣalawāt*, Būlāḳ 1300; 3. *al-Tadhkira fi ʾl-Ṭibb* on the margin of al-Suwaidī's *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1302, alone Cairo 1305; 4. *Ḥikāyāt Gharība wa-ʿAdjība* or *Ḥikāyāt wa-Gharāʾib wa-ʿAdjāʾib wa-Laṭāʾif wa-Nawādir wa-Fawāʾid wa-Nafāʾis*, usually briefly quoted as *Nawādir al-Ḳalyūbī*, which was only published after his death; see *The Book of Anecdotes, Wonders, Marvels, Pleasantries, Rarities and Useful and Precious Extracts*, ed. by W. Nassau Lees and Mawlawi Kabir al-Din, Calcutta 1856, 2nd ed. 1864, also in Cairo several times since 1274, last ed. 1323, 1328, the conclusion of which differs from the Calcutta edition.

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

KAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM ʿOMAR B. AḤMAD .... B. ABĪ DJARĀDA B. AL-ʿADĪM AL-ʿUḲAILĪ, historian of Aleppo, a member of the highly esteemed family of notables, the Banū Djarāda, whose ancestor had migrated from Baṣra into Syria with other members of the tribe of ʿUḳail about 200 (815) on account of a pestilence and had settled as a merchant in Aleppo, born in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 588 (Dec. 1192; in the *Fawāt* wrongly 586), the son of a Ḥanafī ḳāḍī, whose office had been hereditary in the family for four generations. After studying in his native city, in Jerusalem, to which his father took him in 603 (1206/7) and again in 608 (1211/12), Damascus, in the ʿIrāḳ and in the Ḥidjāz, he became in 616 (1219) professor in the madrasa of Shādbakht in Aleppo. He later filled the office of ḳāḍī there and served the two last Aiyūbids, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz (613—634 = 1216—36) and al-Malik al-Nāṣir (634—658 = 1236—1260) as wazīr and several times, by their command, acted as ambassador to Baghdād and Cairo. When his native city was captured and destroyed on Ṣafar 9, 658 (Jan. 26, 1260) by the Tatars, he fled with al-Malik al-Nāṣir to Egypt. Hūlāgū summoned him back to Syria as Chief Ḳāḍī, but he died in Cairo on Djumādā I 20, 660 (April 21, 1262) before he could obey.

His principal work was an alphabetically arranged history of the famous men of his native city, on the model of those of Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [q.v.] and Ibn ʿAsākir [q.v.] in ten (according to some in 40) volumes entitled *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, which on account of its too great bulk was never completed in a fair copy and was therefore already scattered to all the winds before the Mongol invasion under Tīmūr, so that even Ibn al-Shiḥna (see below) only knew of one volume of it (see *Cat. Codd. Arab. Bibl. Acad. Lugd.-Bat.*, ii. 82); odd parts are preserved in Paris (Bibl. Nat., de Slane, *Cat.*, N°. 2138), in London (*Cat. Codd. Mss. Or. in Mus. Brit.*, Pars ii., N°. 1290) and perhaps in Constantinople, Aya Sofya, N°. 3036 (see Horovitz, *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, Berlin, x. 60, N°. 51). Out of this he made a synopsis arranged chronologically entitled *Zubdat al-Ḥalab fī Taʾrīkh Ḥalab* down to 641 (1243), but died before he had finished the fair copy of this work either. The Paris MS. (de Slane, N°. 1666, another in St. Petersburg, which, however, is perhaps only a copy of the Paris one, see V. Rosen, *Not. sommaires des manuscr. arabes du Musée Asiat.*, St. Pétersbourg 1881, p. 98, N°. 160) has been utilised by G. W. Freytag, *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, Lutetiae Par. 1819; *Regnum Saahd-aldaulae in oppido Halebo*, Bonn 1820; *Historiens orientaux des Croisades*, iii. 691—732; H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma* (*Publ. de l'Éc. des Langues or. viv.*, 2nd series, xii.1.), 569—585; E. Blochet, *L'histoire d'Alep de Kamâladdîn*, French version after the Arabic text, in the *Rev. de l'Orient latin*, 1896, p. 509—565, 1897, p. 146—235, 1898, p. 37—107, 1899, p. 1—49. A further synopsis with continuation down to Rabīʿ II 6, 951 (June 28, 1544) was made by Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, d. 971 (1564), entitled *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Taʾrīkh Aʿyān Ḥalab* (see *Cat. Codd. Mss. Or. in Mus. Brit.*, N°. 334; *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. Mss. Orient.*, i. N°. 810, 836, cf. ii. 597; V. Rosen, *Not. sommaires*, N°. 203).

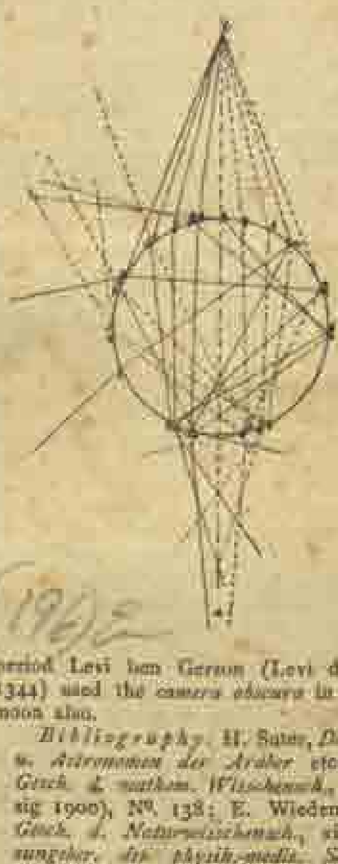
The basic work, the *Bughya*, was twice continued in the 14th century: 1. by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriya, d. 843 (1439) entitled *al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*; the work contains a description of the city of Aleppo followed by biographies of distinguished natives since 658; Horovitz details the MSS. in the *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, x. 60 *sq.*; 2. by Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Shiḥna al-Ḥalabī, d. 890 (1485), entitled *Nuzhat al-Nawāẓir fī Rawḍ al-Manāẓir*, MSS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, Nº. 9791); vol. i. in London (*Cat. Codd. Or. in Mus. Brit.*, Nº. 436, 2); vol. ii. in Gotha (Pertsch, *Verz.*, Nº. 1772); vol. iii. in Paris (de Slane, *Cat.*, Nº. 2139). From this one of the descendants of Ibn al-Shiḥna between 1014 and 1024 composed a synopsis with occasional notes down to his own time; MSS. of this synopsis are given by Pertsch, *Verz. d. arab. Hdss. zu Gotha*, Nº. 1724 and further in *Cat. Codd. Arab. Bibl. Lugd.-Bat.*, ii. 85, Nº. dcccciii. This synopsis was published as *al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Ta'rīkh Mamlakat Ḥalab* by Joseph Elias Sarkis, Beirūt 1909. Extracts from it were given by A. v. Kremer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., IV (1850), i. 125 *sqq.*

Of the history of his family *al-Akhbār al-Mustafāda fī dhikr Banī Abī Djarāda*, which he composed for Yāḳūt, the latter gives extracts in his *Irshād*, vi. 18—35. Of his verses an elegy on the fall of Aleppo, of which Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, gives specimens, is the most famous. In 610 (1213) he handed al-Malik al-Ẓāhir a congratulatory letter on the birthday of his son Malik al-'Azīz, entitled *al-Darārī fī dhikr al-Dharārī*, which is printed from the MS. Nūri 'Othmāniye, Nº. 3790 in the *Madjmū'a*, Stambul 1298, as Nº. 2. Last he wrote under the title *al-Wuṣla ila 'l-Ḥabīb fī Waṣf al-Ṭaiyibāt wa'l-Ṭīb* a guide to make all sorts of perfumes; MS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, Nº. 5463), in the Brit. Mus. (Ellis and Edwards, *A descr. List of the Arab. Mss. acquired . . . since 1894*, London 1912, p. 56, 62; Or. 6388, and in Bankipore (*Cat. of the Arab. and Pers. Mss. in the Orient. Publ. Libr.*, iv. 146, Nº. 96). Specimens of his hand-writing — he was one of the most famous calligraphers, according to Yāḳūt — are in St. Petersburg (see *Cat. des Mss. et Xylographes orient. de la Bibl. Imp.*, Nº. 147).

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KAMĀL al-DĪN al-Fārisī (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ḥasan) died about 720 = 1320. He was a scholar equal in calibre to Ibn al-Haitham [q. v.] and, indeed, perhaps surpassed him in originality. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī had called his attention to the latter's *Optics*, which he procured and wrote an excellent commentary upon. He added a series of brilliant treatises to it. These deal more particularly with the refractions and reflections of a sphere, the rainbow, the halo, *camera obscura*, etc. As to the latter it should be noted that the first scholar whom we know to have used the *camera obscura* was Ibn al-Haitham. On the wall opposite the orifice, he showed the image of the sun during an eclipse of the sun and explained the phenomenon. That he did not succeed in obtaining a representation of the crescent moon is due, not to some error in his assumptions, but to the fact that its tips are too faint. Kamāl al-Dīn gave a more perfect theory and tested it by brilliant experiments. He first made the orifice very small and placed opposite it a surface half red and half green. He then showed how one got the sharper images the smaller the opening and that the images were independent of the shape of the orifice. The larger the opening the less these principles applied. It was to be noted that the images were reversed. With this apparatus Kamāl al-Dīn also observed on the wall the clouds and their movements as well as a bird flying past. The movements in the image are in the contrary direction to real life. At a later



The figure, taken from a manuscript, shows the path of the rays, which start from *b* and undergo a second reflection in the interior of the sphere. They produce the secondary rainbow. The primary bow would be the result of the first reflection. Goethe and Boisserée at a later date observed the secondary rainbow.

period Levi ben Gerson (Levi de Balneolis, d. 1344) used the *camera obscura* in eclipses of the moon also.

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KAMĀL al-DĪN ISMĀ'ĪL. [See KEMĀL AL-DĪN ISMĀ'ĪL.]

KAMĀL KHODJANDĪ. [See KEMĀL KHODJANDĪ.]

KAMĀL PASHAZĀDE. [See KEMĀL PASHAZĀDE.]

AL-KAMAR, the moon, the satellite [of the] earth, considered in quite early times the principal heavenly body next to the sun, whose path lay on the sphere next to the earth (*falak al-kamar*). Pythagoras was the first to recognise it as a dark body illuminated by the sun, from whose relative position with regard to the sun its changes in illumination or phases were seen to result; the recurrence of the latter, when the sun and moon have again reached the same positions with regard to the earth, led to the conception of the synodic month (29½ days). The Muhammadans calculate time by lunar years, each of twelve months. These are alternately "full" of 30 days and "empty" of 29 days. This gives a year of 354 days. The Iranian astronomer al-Bīrūnī [q. v.] in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* (Maḳāla iii, Ch. 7) makes the interesting suggestion that the number 360 may have been introduced for the division of the circle, because it is midway between the solar and lunar years.

But as the synodic month, to be quite accurate, is 29.5306 days, which means that the month as reckoned by the Muslims is ,0306 and the lunar year ,367 days too short, a number which in 30 years amounts to 11.01 days, in the Muhammadan calendar an intercalary period of 30 years is in use. It is called *al-madjmū'a* and the intercalary year itself *al-sana al-kabīsa*. Within an intercalary period there are 11 intercalary years.

The Muhammadan year begins (or rather should begin) with the sunset after which the crescent moon is seen for the first time (first day of Muharram). The beginning of this era was dated on the first Muharram of the year in which the Prophet migrated to Medina from Mecca (July 15, 622 of the Christian era = *al-Hidjra*).

The first appearance of the crescent moon (*ru'yat al-hilāl*) (cf. *Zīdj* of Habash al-Hāsib, Berlin MS., Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, Nº. 5750, f. 151b) on the night of Sha'bān 29 is of special importance as the fast of Ramaḍān begins with this moment. It is necessary to be able to calculate this moment when the weather prevents the observation of the first appearance of the crescent moon. This is one of the most difficult tasks of Arab astronomy. H. Suter has illustrated this from the example: "to find whether on the night of Sha'bān 29 of the year 540 A. H. the moon is visible" (cf. *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914, p. 67 *sqq.*) and C. A. Nallino gives a formula for ascertaining the smallest phases of the moon (cf. *al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum*, Milan 1903, i. 269).

Even in the earliest lunar theory, as stated by Hipparchus and Ptolemy, the complicated and irregular movement of the moon during a month is apparent: it is in reality due to the double attraction of earth and sun to which the moon is subjected (the three body problem of modern astronomers). The determination of the longitude of the moon in its orbit is the main problem of lunar theory and, in order to solve it in some degree, Ptolemy was forced to substitute for the eccentric circle of the moon's orbit an auxiliary circle, the so-called epicycle, which the moon would traverse regularly in an anomalistic month (27 days, 13 hours, 18 minutes), while at the same time the centre of this epicycle moved uniformly round the earth on a second called the deferent circle in a nodical month (27 days, 5 hours, 5 minutes). In addition the plane of oscillation was, according to Ptolemy, inclined to the plane of the earth's motion (ecliptic) at 5° (to be more accurate 5° 9'), while he made the line of intersection of the paths of the earth and moon (nodal line) execute a retrograde movement and put the centre of the oscillation about 10½° nearer the apogee (distance from the earth).

The true longitude of the moon therefore consists of the four so-called great variables, equation of centre, evection, variation and annual equation. The first denotes the transition from circle to ellipse, the second the displacement of the centre of the deferent just mentioned, while the fourth was laid down by the astronomer Kepler. As to the variation, it is given by the following expression:

$$-z' = \sin(l-\lambda) + 39'\,5''\sin 2(l-\lambda)$$

in which l and λ are the mean longitudes of sun and moon. From this formula we find that the variation in the syzygies ($l-\lambda = 0°$) and in the quadratures ($l-\lambda = 90°$) i. e. $2(l-\lambda) = 180°$, quite disappears or is very small, but on the other hand is very marked in the octants. Ptolemy, in order to reconcile smaller differences between theory and observation, actually introduced a kind of variation of the line of apsides, the πρόσνευσις. After Tycho Brahe had long been regarded as the real discoverer of the variation, the orientalist and astronomer L. Am. Sédillot in his article *Sur un manuscrit arabe dans lequel la variation de la lune est signalée* (*Compt. Rend.*, 1836) asserted that it was evident from the *Almagest* of the mathematician and astronomer Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būdjānī (328—388 = 940—998) that he was really the discoverer of the variation to which he gave the name *Ikhtilāf al-Muḥādhāt*. A long dispute arose on the accuracy of Sédillot's interpretation of the text, which ran through many years of the *Comptes Rendus*; Sédillot, Mathieu, Chasles etc. formed the one party, Biot, Binet, Bertrand etc. the other, who held the contrary view that Abu 'l-Wafā' had discovered nothing new but only substituted his *Muḥādhāt* for Ptolemy's *prosneusis*. In the end Carra de Vaux has been able to prove definitely the erroneousness of Sédillot's argument by a thorough analysis of the Arabic text in question and the citation of other Arabic and also Persian and Hebrew sources.

The Arab astronomers adopted the lunar theory of Ptolemy and developed it. They also recalculated several numerical values on which the study of the *Zīdjāt* accessible to us, e. g. those of al-Khwārizmī, al-Farghānī, al-Battānī and al-Djaghmīnī gives the information we require.

In determining the parallax of the moon (*ikhtilāf manẓar al-ḳamar*) and ascertaining its distance from the earth, the Arabs did not go beyond Ptolemy. Al-Bīrūnī in chap. 8 of *maḳāla* iii. of his *Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* makes an interesting observation on the shadow thrown by a gnomon (*miḳyās*) in moonlight. As the size of the radius of the earth in relation to the distance of the moon from the earth is not infinitely small (as in the case of the sun), the staff at the same apparent altitude of the moon and of the sun throws longer shadows in the case of the moon. Al-Bīrūnī calculates the difference between the two shadows for an altitude of 45°.

The Arab astronomers devoted special attention to the exact calculation of the frequency of eclipses (*kusūf al-ḳamar*), as they made use of it to

ascertain the difference in longitude between two places on the earth. They worked out tables (based on Ptolemy) which gave the times of the beginning and ends of the eclipse for various parts of the earth as well as the area of the moon's disc covered. But it is impossible to calculate these with great accuracy from observation only. The difficulties (according to al-Bīrūnī) lie in ascertaining the point where the eclipse begins on the edge of the moon, in the indistinctness of the shadow, the lack of agreement between the astronomical instruments of the two observers, etc. The result was that the calculations of longitude from eclipses of the moon were often very inaccurate. It is true that in al-Khwārizmī's astronomical tables (H. Suter, *op. cit.*, p. 85) there is an example in which the period of commencement of the eclipse agrees perfectly with the previous calculation of it, but not every calculation was so accurate. The Fāṭimid astronomer Ibn Yūnus (d. 399 = 1009 in Cairo), who goes so far as to distinguish five phases in the course of an eclipse, gives in his *al-Zīdj al-Kabīr al-Ḥākimī* cases where the difference between calculation and observation amounted to as much as 23 minutes (cf. Caussin, *Le Livre de la Grande Table Hakémite observée par .... Aboul-hassan Ali .... ebn Iounis* in the *Not. et Extr.*, vii. 92).

Several studies on the moon, none of which are yet published, have been preserved to us from the pen of the exceedingly prolific Arab mathematician, physicist and astronomer Ibn al-Haitham (d. 430 = 1039). We may mention: 1) the great *Maḳāla fī Ḍaw' al-Ḳamar* (India Office Catalogue, N°. 734, ix.); 2) *Maḳāla fī Ikhtilāf manẓar al-Ḳamar* (ibid., N°. 734, xix) dealing only with a special case of parallax ("when the altitude of the moon is less than 30° and is western, its latitude lies south of the ecliptic and the head of the constellation of Cancer is under the western horizon so that it does not reach the meridian from below, the latitude of Medina being taken at 30° or near this figure, the parallax of the moon is in longitude the opposite of the order of the signs of the zodiac...."); 3) *fī Māʾiya al-athar alladhī fī Wadjh al-Ḳamar*, Municipal Library (*maktabat baladī*) of Alexandria ("If one carefully observes and examines these marks on the superficies, one finds them always the same in shape and never changing, either in configuration or in position or magnitude or as regards their dark character").

Bibliography: For all questions relating to the **moon** and its **orbit**, see: C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, i. 59—60, 76—84, 85—92, 96—113, 265 etc., and also: H. Suter, *op. cit.*, p. 81—94. On the stations of the moon (*Manāzil al-Ḳamar*): C. A. Nallino, *ʿIlm al-Falak. Taʾrīkhuhu ʿinda ʾl-ʿArab fī ʾl-Ḳurūn al-Wusṭā* (Rome 1911), p. 117 *sqq.*; on the ascertainment of **the first visibility** of the moon: K. von Littrow, *Zur Kenntniss der kleinsten Mondphasen*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, math.-naturw. Kl., 1872, p. 459—480, following Maimonides' *Constitutiones de Sanctificatione Novilunii*. For details of the **eclipse**: C. Schoy, *Aus der astronomischen Geographie der Araber*, in *Isis*, viii. (1922), p. 63 *sqq.*, and: *Moslem Geography of the Middle Ages*, in *The Geographical Review*, New-York 1924, p. 265, where original passages from the Ḥākimī tables of Ibn Yūnus are given). On *al-Mufaḍḍal*: Carra de Vaux, *L'Almageste d'Abû 'l-Wéfa al-Bûzdjâni*, *J. A.*, series 8, xix. (1892), p. 440 *sqq.*); on **optical phenomena** in eclipses of the moon: E. Wiedemann, *Über die verschiedenen bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach Bîrûnî* in the *Jahrbuch f. Photographie und Reproduktionstechnik*, 1914, p. 1—9. (C. Schoy)

AL-ḲAMAR. Title of Sura liv. of the Ḳurʾān after the splitting of the moon which is mentioned in the first verse. Cf. MUʿDJIZĀT.

KAMARĀN, an **islet in the Red Sea**, on the coast of Tihāma, opposite Zabīd. The fortified town of Kamarān has always belonged to whosoever possessed Tihāma; it contained prisons of the King of Yemen, in al-Maḳdisī's times, and a spring of sweet water called al-ʿAbd. Taxes and customs duties were collected there.

The jurist Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdūya, a disciple of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, author of works on uṣūl al-fiḳh, lived in Kamarān and is buried there. When there is a storm and ships are in danger the natives throw dust from his grave into the sea, which is then supposed to subside.

In modern times Kamarān has become one of the quarantine-stations for pilgrims; cf. on this subject Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 299, note 1; do., *Verspreide Geschriften* (Bonn and Leipzig 1923 *sqq.*), iii. 27, 32.

Bibliography: al-Muḳaddasī (ed. de Goeje), *B. G. A.*, iii.² 103; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 80. (V. Vacca)

KĀMIL, the fifth metre in the system of Arab prosody, is regularly composed of three *mutafāʿilun* in each hemistich: it has three ʿ*arūḍ* and nine *ḍarb*:

I	*mutafāʿilun*	»	»	⁖	»	»	*mutafāʿilun*
	mutafāʿilun	»	»	⁖	»	»	*mutafāʿil*
II	»	»	»	⁖	»	»	*mutafā*
	»	»	*mutafā*	⁖	»	»	*mutafā*
	»	»	»	⁖	»	»	*mutafā*
III	»	*mutafāʿilun*		⁖	»		*mutafāʿilātun*
	»	»		⁖	»		*mutafāʿilān*
	»	»		⁖	»		*mutafāʿilun*
	»	»		⁖	»		*mutafāʿil*

In all the feet except *mutafā* and *mutfā* one may suppress either the second vowel of the foot (*mutfāʿilun*), or the second consonant with its vowel (*ta*), or the second vowel and the prolongation of the third consonant (*mutfaʿilun*) which is exceedingly rare.

As a result of these suppressions the regular foot, *mutafāʿilun*, may become *mutfāʿilun* (= *mustafʿilun*), *mufāʿilun* (= *mafāʿilun*), *mutfaʿilun* (= *muftaʿilun*); if this is done so that a piece does not contain a single whole foot in *mutafāʿilun*, it then belongs to the *radjaz* metre. (Moh. Ben Cheneb)

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL. [See AL-MALIK].

KĀMRĀN MIRZĀ, **second son of Bābur**, and half-brother of Humāyūn; his mother was Gulrukh Bēgam, and he was born in Kābul city about 1509. He was cleverer than Humāyūn and had a poetical turn, but he was cruel and vicious, and a restless schemer. He repeatedly rebelled against Humāyūn, who was at last compelled by his officers to make him innocuous by blinding him in the end of 1553. He went to Mecca in 1554 and died there in October 1557. The most interesting thing about him is the devotion of his wife, Māh Čūčak Bēgam Arghūn, daughter of Shāh Ḥasan of Sind. She insisted on going on board his vessel

and accompanying him to Mecca, in spite of her father's remonstrances, saying that he had given her to Kāmrān in the days of his greatness (in 1546) and that she would not abandon him now in the time of his misery. She died at Mecca a few months after her husband.

Kāmrān was put in charge of Ḳandahār by his father, and in the beginning of Humāyūn's reign he was governor of the Pandjāb. During the interregnum, when Humāyūn was in Persia, Kāmrān and his younger brother, 'Askarī, ruled over Afghānistān. He left one son and three daughters. The son, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who inherited his father's poetical talents, was confined in Gwalior by Akbar in 1557, and was put to death some years later as a dangerous competitor. All three daughters were given in marriage; one of them, named Gulrukh, was a woman of a masculine spirit; she married Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Sulṭān; and she and her son were thorns in Akbar's side. (Firishta, lith. ed., p. 221, and Muhammad Ḥusain, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, vol. i; Muḥammad Ḥaidar, *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, Engl. vers. by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross; Djawhar Āftābčī, *Memoirs of the Emperor Humāyūn*, transl. by Major Stewart (O. T. F. 1832); Bābur's *Memoirs*: Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*; Gulbadan Bēgam, *History of Humāyūn* (O. T. F.), London, 1902; Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, i. 451 *sqq.*; Elliot-Dowson, iv. 498, v and vi. There is a copy of Kāmrān's *Dīwān* in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, *Cat.*, ii. 145, and 215, where a biography of Kāmrān is given. (H. Beveridge)

KĀMRĀN SHĀH Durrānī, the last sovereign of the Sadozai family of Afghānistān who succeeded his father, Maḥmūd Shāh, in the limited sovereignty of Herāt in 1245 (1829) and reigned till 1258 (1842). In the civil wars between the sons of Taimūr Shāh, the princes Zamān, Shudjā' al-Mulk and Maḥmūd, the prince Kāmrān proved himself a brave warrior and in 1221 (1806) he took Ḳandahār from Shudjā' al-Mulk, but lost it soon afterwards. In 1232 (1816) he took a leading part in the events which led to the disruption of the Durrānī monarchy. In revenge for an insult offered to his sister by Dōst Muḥammad he blinded and beheaded Fatḥ Khān, the Bārakzai Wazīr (Dōst Muḥammad's father), to whom Maḥmūd Shāh owed his kingdom. This led to the loss of the whole kingdom except the Herāt province. Kāmrān was debauched and indolent in his later years, but maintained himself at Herāt through the efforts of his able and unscrupulous wazīr, Yār Muḥammad Alikuzai. The siege of Herāt by the Ḳādjār Shāh of Persia in 1837—39 was the principal event of his reign. The rivalry between England and Russia was one of the principal causes of this siege, the Persians being advised by Russian officers, while Lieut. E. Pottinger, a young English officer, was the main spirit in the defence. In 1258 (1842) Kāmrān Shāh was assassinated by Yār Muḥammad, who was in league with the Persians and remained in possession of Herāt. Coins were struck at Herāt by Kāmrān.

Bibliography: Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 3rd ed., London 1839—42; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, London 1858; Kaye, *Hist. of the War in Afghanistan*, London 1851; Masson, *Travels in Afghanistan*, London 1844; Mōhan Lāl, *Life of Dost Muhammed*, London 1846. (M. Longworth Dames)

KĀMRŪP, a district in Assam, situated between 25° 43″ and 26° 53″ N. and 90° 39″ and 92° 11″ E.; the greater part consists of a wide plain, through the lower portion of which the Brahmaputra R. flows from east to west; but south of the river there are ridges of hills, thickly covered with jungle. Under the rule of the Kōč dynasty, the first attempt to bring this country under Muḥammadan rule was made by Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khaldjī [q. v.], but his victorious progress eastward was checked when he attempted to enter Assam, and successive rulers of Bengal after him made similar fruitless attempts. In 1256 Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Yūzbak Tughril Khān invaded Kāmrūp and erected a mosque in commemoration of his victories, but disease broke out among his troops and the Assamese destroyed the general and most of his army. The thick jungles and moist, unhealthy climate of the Brahmaputra Valley proved to be effectual obstacles to the progress of the Muḥammadan troops. It was not until 1638 that they succeeded in gaining a footing in Kāmrūp and Gauhati became the capital of a Muslim governor; but 20 years later they were driven out of the country by the Ahoms, who took advantage of the confusion that resulted from the conflicts between the rival claimants to the throne of Shāh Djahān [q. v.]. In 1662 Mīr Djumla [q. v.] made a vigorous attempt to conquer the Assam valley, but though he was at first successful, the difficulty of military operations during the rainy season and the outbreak of disease among his soldiers compelled him to beat a retreat into Bengal, and Mīr Djumla himself did not survive the failure of his expedition. After intermittent struggles for some years, the last vestige of Muḥammadan rule disappeared in 1681 from Kāmrūp, and it formed part of the Ahom kingdom, until it was ceded to the British in 1826.

Bibliography: H. Blochmann, *Koch Bihār, Koch Hājo, and Āsām, in the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the Akbarnāmah, the Pādishāhnāmah, and the Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah*. (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xli., Part i. (1872), p. 49 *sqq.*); E. A. Gait, *The Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa* (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. lxii., Part. i. (1894), p. 279 *sqq.*); B. C. Allen, *Gazetteer of Kamrup* (Allahabad, 1905), p. 27 *sqq.*

KĀN. [See khān].

KĀN WA-KĀN, the name of one of the seven kinds of modern poetry (*funūn*), unknown to the classical authors. It was invented by the people of Baghdād and takes its name from the formula used by story-tellers at the beginning of their recitals: "There was once upon a time". Originally the *kān wa-kān* was a rhymed tale and it was only later that it was applied to other subjects, especially of moral tendency. In the spoken language it was always in vogue in the east only, especially in its place of origin. The *kān wa-kān* is a poem composed of strophes of two lines the metre of which is given by the prosodists as follows:

mustaf'ilun fa'ilātun, mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilān
fa'lān.

But, according to the 32 specimens that I have seen, the last foot of the first verse is *mustaf'ilun* and not *mustaf'ilān*; and therefore there is a rhyme only in the last hemistich of every second verse. The principal variations are the disappearance of *s* or *f* in *mustaf'ilun* and *fa'lān* is often changed to *fa'lān*. Al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ

1292, ii. 273 *sqq.*, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1286, iv. 158, and especially Ḥurūfīsh, *al-Kanz al-fā'iḳ*, Cairo 1311, p. 23, 26, 29, 33, 34, 42, 53, 55, 71, 74, 77, 80, 86, 135, 137, 144, 160, 181, 191, 204, 217 give specimens of *kān wa-kān*.

Bibliography: Besides the majority of the works indicated in the article 'ARŪḌ see al-Khafādjī, *Shifā' al-Ghalīl*, Cairo 1325, p. 9; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284, i. 109; al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1292, ii. 252—277; Muḥammad Tal'at, *Ghāyat al-arab fī ṣinā'at shi'r al-'Arab*, Cairo 1316, p. 92—110; Muḥammad Diyāb, *Ta'rīkh ādāb al-lughat al-'Arabīya*, Cairo (not dated), i. 129—150; H. Gies, *al-Funūn al-sab'a. Ein Beitrag z. Kenntnis sieben neuerer arab. Versarten*, diss. Leipzig 1879, p. 53—62. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KAN'ĀN, the biblical K^e^na'an, is a personality, regarding whom the traditions, in spite of their sparsity, agree in hardly a single point. Al-Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i. 513) mentions him as the father of the famous Nimrūd (Numrūd according to the *Lisān* and the *Tādj*); he is also regarded as the ancestor of the Kan'āniyūn (*Lisān*, x. 191) and of the Berbers (al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 266 and Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, vi. 93, 10 *sqq.*, 97, 11 *sqq.*). — Very little is known about him. Many refer to him the story in Sūra xi. 44 *sq.*, that a son of Nūḥ in spite of his pressing appeal refused to take refuge in the Ark with him and thus perished in the Flood with the unbelievers (al-Baiḍāwī, ad locum and al-Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1324, p. 36 below). — Al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, i. 199) also knows of a son of Nūḥ called Kan'ān, who lost his life at the Flood, but refers the Ḳur'ān verse in question to Yām b. Nūḥ (see *Tafsīr*, ad Sūra 44 *sq.*), whom, however, he identifies with Kan'ān in i. 199, 4.

While Kan'ān appears here as the son of Nūḥ and Ibn al-Kalbī mentions Shalūm (i. e. Kan'ān) as Nūḥ's fourth son (in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 311) we find him in the parallel passage to Genesis, ix. 25 (in al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 212) as a son of Ḥām b. Nūḥ (see also al-Ya'ḳūbī, i. 13, 8 *sq.*, 16, 1; al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 240, 294). According to a third tradition (in Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*) Kan'ān was a son of Sām b. Nūḥ and according to a fourth — not quite reliable — tradition, a son of Kūsh b. Ḥām (al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*). (B. JOEL)

KAN'ĀN PASHA. [See KEN'ĀN PASHA.]

ḲANĀT, plur. *ḳanawāt*, *ḳanawāt*, *ḳanī* and *aḳniya*, means in Arabic: (1) canal, aqueduct, (2) lance or stick (see *Lisān al-'Arab*, xx. 66; *Tādj al-'Arūs*, x. 304; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 414). These two conceptions have developed from the original meaning of "reed". The word may be said with considerable certainty to be borrowed in the western Semitic languages from the Assyrian or Accadian, where *ḳanū* = reed, bulrush; cf. Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, p. 56. Hence we have in Hebrew *ḳanā*, in Aramaic *ḳanyā*; the word passed through the intermediary of the Aramaic into Arabic; there in the popular dialects of Syria and Egypt it is pronounced *ḳanāya*, *ḳanāyāt*. The Greeks and Romans took over the Semitic word as κάννα, κάννη (κάνη), canna; note the change of meaning — an exact analogy to the Arabic — of the Latin *canalis*, strictly an adjective meaning "reed-shaped", then "channel, canal". In modern Persian also *ḳanāt* is in use but there it has the special meaning of subterranean channel or aqueduct. The true Persian word for this particular kind of canal is *kārīz*, earlier *kahrīz* (Vullers, *Lexic. Pers.-Lat.*, ii. 767, 927; in the older language we also find *zāhghāz*; see Vullers, i. 58). This latter word has in turn entered Arabic as *ḳiḳrīdj* (also *ḳukārīdj*), but there means "water-holder", "cistern"; cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, iii. 136; Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1738; cf. also Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 270, 2. Only in Syria (according to Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene*, in the *Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1889, iv. 12) do we find *kahrīz*, *ḳahrīdj*, vulgar *kahrīz*, in the meaning of "subterranean aqueduct". It may here be pointed out that the other words in Arabic for aqueduct seem also to be borrowed (probably all from the Aramaic); cf. Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, p. 23—25; take, for example, *ḳaṣṭal* (Dozy, ii. 344; from the Aram. *ḳasṭal* = castellum; that is "any large building"; cf. the meaning of *ḳanṭara* = bridge, aqueduct, castle).

The plural *Ḳanawāt* occurs in Syria as a place-name. It is, for example, the name of a town on the western slope of the Ḥawrān, fifty miles south of Damascus, which is so called on account of its wealth of water, and is certainly a very ancient settlement, although hardly identical with the Biblical Ḳenāt (*Numbers*, xxxii. 42; I *Chron.*, ii. 23), which Wetzstein would rather recognise in Ḳ'naia (diminutive of *Ḳanāt*), a village near Kerak, four hours' journey east of Der'āt in al-Nuḳra; see Wetzstein, *Das batanäische Giebelgebirge*, Leipzig 1884 (from Delitzsch's *Psalmenkommentar*[4], p. 26). Ḳanawāt's (Kanata, Canatha) period of greatest prosperity was in the early centuries of the Christian era; splendid ruins still exist dating from the Roman period. Mention is made of the building of a new canal in the reign of Trajan; this must certainly have been simply the restoration of an already existing canal of older date. The upper town still has a well preserved ancient aqueduct. On this Syrian Ḳanawāt see Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien und Palästina*, Weimar 1823 *sq.*, p. 157 *sq.*; Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, Berlin 1854—59, i. 79 *sq.*, iv. 51—54; J. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, London 1885, ii. 90 *sq.*; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 386; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, i., Berlin 1899, p. 104; P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, Halle 1907, p. 76—77; Georgius Cyprius, ed. Gelzer, Leipzig 1890, p. 206—207; Moritz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, x. 1856; Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*[7], Leipzig 1913, p. 153—155.

On the Syrian aqueducts, Ḳanṭarat Zainab and Ḳanāṭir Fir'awn, see ḲANṬARA.

Subterranean aqueducts such as we get in Persia are only rarely found in Syria, e. g. at Karyatēn on the ancient road from Damascus to Palmyra (according to Moritz, *Die antike Topographie der Palmyrene*, *loc. cit.*). The town of Damascus is supplied by a channel from the river Baradā, the water of which is led into the dwelling-houses by subterranean pipes. For information on aqueducts in Syria and Arabia in general see also J. Berggren, *Guide français-arabe vulgaire*, Upsala 1844, p. 56—57, s. v. *aqueduc*.

Among the oldest aqueducts of the Muslim period is the aqueduct of Mekka, which was begun in the time of Mu'āwiya. Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, earned special merit by providing for the water supply of the holy city; in 810 (1407) she had canals made which led the water from the district of Ṭā'if, the valley of Minā and from 'Arafāt to Mekka. The channels, much neglected in course of time and often only very negligently repaired, were restored by the Turkish Wālī 'Uthmān Pāshā (1882—86). For details see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, the Hague 1888, i. 6—10, where the Arabic sources are also cited.

In view of the dryness of Īrān, artificial irrigation by means of canals has always been a necessity of existence there (cf., for example, *Polybius*, x. 25), as river water is in many places not available in sufficient quantity and the rainfall is slight. Open canals continually lose large quantities of water through infiltration and evaporation and they are also not infrequently damaged by cloud-bursts and torrential floods. The subterranean *ḳanāt* or *kārēz* (*kahrīz*) system is therefore generally preferred in Persia. By this means water is brought often from great distances to the humus-covered plains. Wells are made in the higher lying parts of the valleys, especially at the foot of hills, and the water accumulates plentifully in them and is led first by subterranean tunnels, latterly by open trenches and furrows (*djūī*), to the fields and gardens to be watered. These channels are often 50 or more feet below the surface of the ground, are vaulted and often lined with bricks and so high that a man can crawl through them. Every 30 or 40 paces a perpendicular shaft, often of masonwork, and covered at the top, leads down to the pipe. In the making of these channels the Persians reveal great skill. The searching for springs and the making of channels is a special industry, that of the *muḳannī* (see especially Bishop, *op. cit.*; see *Bibliography*). The making of a *ḳanāt* costs a great deal in proportion to the water it supplies and the annual cost of maintaining it is also not inconsiderable. It is also very important to see that the water is properly distributed, and much care is taken that the villages in turn have the use of it for the proper length of time. This business of water-distributing is perhaps the most important part of the administration of a Persian village. A special official, the *Mīr-āb*, is entrusted with the duty. He has also to see to the maintenance of the pipes etc., especially to their being kept clean; cf. thereon Gordon, *op. cit.*; see *Bibliography*.

At the present day the Persian *ḳanāt* system is, unfortunately, much neglected; many channels are now quite dry; for example, the great network of channels which once supplied the thickly populated town of Ray near Ṭihrān is now so much destroyed that it can barely supply the wants of the village of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aẓīm which is built on the ruins of Ray (Polak, *op. cit.*, ii. 118). Ṭihrān is, according to Bishop, *loc. cit.*, still supplied by 35 canals.

This method of irrigating the fields by artificial channels is called in Persia the *ābī* system of agriculture, in contrast to the natural method, the *daimī* or *bārānī* system; cf. Polak, *op. cit.*, ii. 120; Stolze-Andreas (see *Bibl.*), p. 8.

Bibliography (for Persia): J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia* etc., London 1818, p. 163—164; Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sind*, London 1816, p. 309; J. Johnson, *A Journey from India to England*, London 1818, p. 127 *sq.*; [Dupré], *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, i. 358, 379, ii. 384 *sq.*; R. Binning, *Journal of Two Years' Travel in Persia, Ceylon* etc., London 1857, ii. 171—174; J. Ussher, *A Journey from London to Persepolis*, London 1865, p. 575; J. E. Polak, *Persien. Das Land und seine Bewohner*, Leipzig 1865, p. 116—118; F. Stolze and F. C. Andreas, *Die Handelsverhältnisse Persiens* in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Erg. H. 77, Gotha 1885, p. 8—9; Mrs. Bishop (J. L. Bird), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, i. 241 *sq.*; Sir Thomas E. Gordon, *Persia Revisited*, London 1896, i. 64—68.

A great network of canals cuts up Central Asia. The planning of this system is ascribed to Tīmūr; but they are certainly much older and their origin may be dated at least as far back as the early middle ages. To make them, the water from springs in the oases miles apart was collected, great rivers diverted, and water led by tunnels through ranges of hills and by aqueducts over the valleys. A great many of these canals are, however, now decayed, as in Persia. There the canal is called *arīk* and the canal manager *arīk-aksakal*. A thorough account of this Central Asian system of irrigation is given by A. Th. v. Middendorf in his article *Einblicke in das Ferghana-Thal* in *Mém. de l'Acad. imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 1881, Series 7, vol. xxix. See also, especially for the country east of Bukhārā, H. Moser, *Durch Central-Asien*, Leipzig 1885, p. 114—119.

(M. Streck)

KANAWDJ or Kanōdj, Skr. Kanyākubdja, (known to the Arab authors as Ḳannawdj or Ḳinnawdj) was the capital of a powerful kingdom before the Muslim invasions. It is now a small town in the Farrukhābād district of the United Provinces on the R. Ganges (27° 2′ 30″ N. 79° 58′ E.). It has been supposed to be identical with Ptolemy's Kanagora or Kanagoza (see McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 134; Beal, *Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 70). V. Smith disputes this on the ground that the existence of Kanawdj at the time of Ptolemy (140 A. D.) is doubtful. The identification is however not improbable. The first undoubted mention is found in the travels of Fa-hsien (405 A. D.), when it was a place of no great importance under the Gupta kings. At the time of Yuan Chwang's visit (circa 641 A. D.) under the rule of Harshavardhana it had grown into an important capital and a centre of Buddhism. It may be noted that this traveller gives the Chinese transcription (Kano-kü-she) of the Sanskrit-name Kanyākubdja, while the earlier traveller Fa-hsien gives Ka-no-yi, answering to the Prakrit and modern form. The country of which it was the capital was known as Panḍāla. After a period of anarchy and short lived monarchies it became the capital of the Gurdjara Pratihāra kings, who founded a dynasty which lasted for two hundred years. The most powerful king of this race was Bhōdja (A. D. 480—90) under whom Kanawdj became the capital of an extensive empire, which may be stated to have included all the plain of northern India from the Satladj to Bihār and southwards to Gudjarāt and Saurāshtra. On the west it was bounded by the territories of Sind now under Muslim rule.

Al-Masʿūdī writing in A.H. 332 (943—4) says that the king of Ḳinnawdj ruled over the country bordering on Multān and Sind and southwards on al-Mānkīr, the country of the Ballahrā (i.e. the Vallabhi kings), and al-Bīrūnī [q. v.], says that Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Munabbih, who had entered Sind from Sidjistān, penetrated India as far as Ḳannawdj, but the date of this invasion is not given. Probably this invader is identical with Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, the conqueror of Sind who, according to the *Čač-nāma*, made war on the chief of Ḳannawdj. But, if any such expedition took place, it could not have been directed against Ḳannawdj itself, but only against its territories bordering on Sind. There is no ground for supposing that any Muhammadan invader penetrated as far as Ḳannawdj before Maḥmūd of Ghazni. His conquest overthrew the Pratihāra rule, which had already been weakened by the attacks of the Rāshtrakūtās. At the time of Maḥmūd's invasion, after his conquest of Djaipāl, the Shāhī of Gandhāra, Ḳannawdj was under Rādjyapāla, who abandoned the city and fell back on Bārī, east of the Ganges, which became the capital. After Maḥmūd's departure the Čandēls seized on Ḳannawdj and Rādjyapāla was killed. Maḥmūd returned next year and defeated the Čandēls, and the Ḳannawdj kingdom continued as a small state until it fell into the hands of the Gaharwār Rādjpūts.

In 589 (1193) the final destruction of the Hindū kingdom was brought about by the invasion of Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, the Ghōrī king of Ghazni, and Kanawdj ceased to be a place of importance. It probably never really recovered from its destruction by Maḥmūd, as al-Bīrūnī, writing as a contemporary, says that it was mostly in ruins after the transfer of the capital to Bārī. Muʿizz al-Dīn adopted the style of the coins of Ḳannawdj in some of his issues with Sanskrit legends, and these were probably struck at Ḳannawdj after the conquest. There are not many important events in its later history.

In 948 (1540) the emperor Humāyūn was defeated here by Shēr Khān, and in the eighteenth century it was included in the territories of the Bangash Nawwābs of Farrukhābād and afterwards in Awadh. During the mutiny of 1857 the Nawwāb of Farrukhābād was defeated by the British army here.

Ḳannawdj was made a mint by Shēr Shāh after his victory over Humāyūn, and on the Sūrī coins it appears and "Ḳannawdj urf Shērgaṛh". Shērgaṛh was changed to Shāhgaṛh in Akbar's reign. Under Muḥammad Shāh and his successors, Aḥmad Shāh, ʿĀlamgīr II, Shāh Djahān III, and Shāh ʿĀlam II, the name of the mint was Shāhābād Ḳannawdj.

From Kanawdj are derived the names of the Kanawdjia section of the Brāhman caste and the Kanaudjia dialect of Western Hindi. The only important modern industry is cloth-printing.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. (al-Iṣṭakhrī) 9, 10—13, ii. (Ibn Ḥawḳal) 14, 5; 227, 2; iii. (al-Muḳaddasī) 477, 11—478, 1; 480, 2 sqq.; 485, 5; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, i. 162, 178, 372, 374 (transl. Sprenger, p. 173, 193, 380 sq., 382); al-Bīrūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, p. 11, 97; transl., p. 21, 199; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 186, 14—20, 217 infra sq.; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, London 1872, Vols. i., ii., iv., v., vi., viii.; cf. Ind.; M. Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, Paris 1849, p. 130—143; do., *Géogr. d'Aboulféda*, i. p. ccclxxxvi. sq., ccclviii., ii. part 2, p. 120; *Relations de voyages et textes géogr.*, etc., trad. par G. Ferrand, i., ii. (Paris 1913—4), cf. Ind. Kanūdj; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 263—5; Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1914; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, O. T. F., London 1904; McCrindle, *Ancient India of Ptolemy*, Bombay 1885; Beal, *Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims*, London 1869.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

ḲANDĀBĪL, a city in the territory of the Budha (Budhiya, var. Nudha) which corresponds to the modern Kačhī or Kač Gandāva in Balōčistān. It is probably the modern town of Gandāwa, which is not now important. Ḳandābīl was taken by the Arab invaders in the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj probably before the invasion of Sind by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim [q. v.] in 89 (707). The *Čač-nāma*, a legendary history of Sindh and its capture by the Muslims, mentions Ḳandābīl as having been taken by the legendary King Čač, who advanced through Armābēl (Las Bēla) and Tūrān (the hill-country of Ḳuṣdār) into a desert, and took the fort situated on the river Sini (which should doubtless be read Sibi, as a branch of the Nāri flowed through Sībī towards Gandāva). In the reign of Yazīd II (101—105 = 720—724) it was chosen by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as a place of refuge for his family when he rebelled. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal mention it as the principal emporium of the Budha. In the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (136—158 = 754—775) it is stated by al-Balādhurī that Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī attacked a body of Arab rebels at Ḳandābīl, and ʿImrān b. Mūsā in the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (218—227 = 833—842) conquered Muḥammad b. Khalīl there and carried the inhabitants off to Ḳuṣdār. The name of Ḳandābīl or Ḳandāʾīl is not met with in more recent times.

Its identification with Gandāwa is doubted by Raverty on the ground that the *Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 179 3) states that it is but five farsangs distant from Ḳuṣdār, but this is not in accordance with its position as shown in al-Iṣṭakhrī's and Ibn Ḥawḳal's map (see *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* 1892. Plate XI) which shows it to the west of the Mihrān and a long distance North of Ḳuṣdār. There is in reality no other place with which it can reasonably be identified. Cf. also J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* (*Abh. K. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., new series III, Nº. 2, Berlin 1901), p. 187 sq., 190. Gandāwa remained an important centre as is shown by the Balōč ballads of the commencement of the xvith century, and it is probable that the *ḳ* of the Arab writers represented a vernacular g, as in Ḳandahār for Gandhāra and other cases. It is an ancient walled town standing on a mound, and was long the capital of the province of Kačhī, which from it obtained the name of Kačhh Gandāva. The disappearance of the name Ḳandābēl from history may be therefore accounted for by the decay of the Arab rule and the revival of indigenous government which naturally gave the chief town its original vernacular name.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhrī (*B. G. A.* i.), p. 171, 3, 176, 3 sqq., 178, 3 sq., 179, 1 sqq.; Ibn Ḥawḳal (*B. G. A.*, ii.), p. 226, 20, 231, 11 sq., 233, 1 sq., 234, 5; al-Muḳaddasī (*B. G. A.* iii.²), p. 486, 10 sq.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüsten-

feld), iv. 183, 772 *sq.* (al-Nudha) cf. I.....; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, transl. Joubert (Paris 1836), i. 169, 170; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 435, 442, 445; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), ii. 1410, 1412; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* (London 1867—77), i., Ind.; Raverty, *The Mihrān of Sindh* etc. (in *J.A.S.B.*, lxi., 1, 216 *sq.* 1892); Ch. Masson, *Narrative of various Journeys in Balochistan in Afghanistan* etc. (London 1844); A. W. Hughes, *The Country of Balochistan* etc. (London 1877); Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris* etc. (London 1874).

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

ḲANDAHĀR. 1. The name given by the Arab historians to the Indian Kingdom of Gandhāra, situated in the valley of the Kābul river as far as its junction with the Indus. Its capital was Waihind or Ohind as noted by al-Bīrūnī (Sachau i. 206); and at an earlier period al-Mas'ūdī speaks of Kandahār as the country of the Rādjpūts (Rahbūt) and as situated on the river of Kābul which flows into the Indus (Sprenger p. 381). It was from this Ḳandahār that the name was carried to the settlement of the Gandhārians on the banks of the Arghandāb, which afterwards became famous as the modern Ḳandahār.

Bibliography: Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, Trübner's Or. Series, London 1888; Bellew, *Races of Afghanistan*, Calcutta 1880.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

ḲANDAHĀR. 2. A city in Afghānistān (which also gives its name to a province) situated 31° 27′ N. and 65° 43′ E. at an elevation of 3,462 ft. between the Tarnak and Arghandāb rivers. It is an important centre of trade and administration, with a population estimated at 31,000. The province, now the principal territory of the great Durrānī tribe of Afghāns, is identified with the Harahwati of the Achaemenians, the classical Arachosia, and the mediaeval Zamīn-dāwar and Zābul, and historians have generally assumed that the town was founded by Alexander and named Alexandria Arachosia, but this does not rest on good evidence, and it is very improbable that the name Ḳandahār can be derived from Alexandria. Its identity with the name Gandhāra, the ancient Indian Kingdom occupying the valley of the Lower Kābul River, on the other hand, appears to be well established. Kandahār was the form used by the Arab chroniclers for Gandhāra; the Ḳandahār of Mas'ūdī, for instance, has nothing to do with modern Ḳandahār. There seems some ground for accepting Bellew's theory that the name was brought to Arachosia by emigrants from Gandhāra. The most probable period for such an emigration is the fifth century, when the Ephthalites conquered Gandhāra, as related by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun, who visited Gandhāra about A. D. 520. Buddha's begging-bowl, still preserved in the Shrine of Sulṭān Wais outside Ḳandahār, was probably brought there by refugee Buddhist monks. It was not however till the 12th or 13th century that the new Kandahār began to be famous. It is not mentioned by the Arab historians in their record of the conquest of Arachosia (al-Rukhkhadj): the capital was then Bust which was taken by 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and the same place was a mint-town of the Ṣaffārids. It was not until after the destruction of Bust by 'Alā al-Dīn Djahān-sōz in 545 (1150) that Ḳandahār began to rise into importance. Shams al-Dīn II, the Kart ruler of Herāt, is stated by Khwāndamīr to have besieged Kandahār, and as his reign began in 676 (1278) it may be held that by that period Ḳandahār had become the capital, and henceforward it plays a prominent part in history. It was conquered by Tīmūr and formed part of the province bestowed on his grandson, Pīr Muḥammad. At the close of the 15th century it formed part of the Kingdom of Ḥusain Bāiḳarā of Herāt, and the name Ḳandahār first appears as a mint on his coins. Under Ḥusain, the Arghūn Chief, Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg, obtained the government of Zamīndāwar in addition to other provinces and made Ḳandahār his capital. After his death in the wars with Shaibānī the emperor Bābur drove his son Shāh Beg Arghūn out of Ḳandahār in 913 (1507), but Shāh Beg soon recovered the town with the aid of Shaibānī and held it for several years, but Bābur finally took it in 928 (1522) and it remained part of the territories of the Mughal Empire of India, although always regarded by the Ṣafawī Shāhs of Persia as properly belonging to Khorāsān. Kāmrān succeeded Bābur in the possession of Kābul and Ḳandahār, and held them even when his brother Humāyūn was expelled from India. A Persian attack on Ḳandahār in 941 (1535) failed. In the disputes between the brothers which followed Humāyūn's exile, Humāyūn besieged Ḳandahār with the aid of a Persian army and after its fall made it over to the Persians, but re-took it from them afterwards. In the early part of Akbar's reign Ṭahmāsp Shāh succeeded in taking Kandahār 965 (1556) and Akbar did not recover it till the latter part of his reign, 1003 (1594). Persians again took it from the Emperor Djahāngīr in 1031 (1621), but Shāh Djahān's army occupied it in 1047 (1637). The last transfer was in 1058 (1648) when Shāh 'Abbās II took it, and the Mughal Emperors were never again able to conquer this province.

Ḳandahār remained under the Ṣafawī Monarchy until the rising of the Ghalzai tribe to power under Mīr Wais (v. GHALZAI). The success of the Ghalzai rebellion in driving the Persians out of Ḳandahār emboldened them to invade Persia itself, and Maḥmūd became Shāh of Persia. Kandahār itself came into his brother's power, and the Ghalzais maintained their hold on it until Nādir Shāh took it after a year's siege in 1151 (1738). During the siege he built a new town outside the old city and named it Nādirābād. The Ghalzais were driven away from the neighbourhood, and the Abdālīs, who had been removed to the Herāt province, were allowed to return. They are still the most important element in the province. Aḥmad Shāh, one of their leaders who had held high command under Nādir Shāh, obtained possession of Ḳandahār without difficulty after the latter's death, and made it the capital of the Durrānī Kingdom which he founded (v. AḤMAD SHĀH, ABDĀLĪ, DURRĀNĪ, AFGHĀNISTĀN). He built a new town and gave it the name of Aḥmadshāhī with the epithet of *ashraf al-bilād*, "most illustrious of cities", which appears on all coins struck there during the Durrānī rule, but has been replaced under the Bārakzais by the old name Ḳandahār. The vicissitudes of Ḳandahār were not at an end: it passed rapidly from one pretender to another in the course of the wars between Zamān Shāh and his brothers, Maḥmūd and Shudjā'

'al-Mulk, and, after Dōst Muḥammad Bārakzai had obtained the principal power, the inevitable rivalry set in and Ḳandahār was held for long by his brothers Kohandil and Purdil. In 1839 it was occupied by a British Indian army in support of Shāh Shudjā' al-Mulk, and held till 1842 when the British left Afghānistān. After Dōst Muḥammad's death Ḳandahār again passed from one to another during the civil wars between his sons (*see* 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN). In the war of 1879—80 after the deposition of Yaʿḳūb Khān, Ḳandahār was for a time erected into a separate state under the Wālī Shēr 'Alī, but after Aiyūb Khān's invasion and his final defeat by Roberts at Ḳandahār the British Government decided to put the whole country under 'Abd al-Raḥmān as Amīr, and the separate state of Ḳandahār came to an end. Since then it has remained peacefully under him and his successors.

The changes in the political relations of Ḳandahār are reflected in its coinage. It first appears under Ḥusain Bāiḳarā of Herāt; then under Humāyūn. Then for a long season only a few copper coins of Persian origin are known. Rupees were struck by Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān. These are followed by a long series of anonymous copper coins of Persian origin bearing figures of antelopes, peacocks, the hand of Fāṭima or the sword, Dhu 'l-fiḳār. Maḥmūd the Ghalzai struck rupees, and Nādir Shāh also, both in the names of Ḳandahār and Nādirābād. Then follows a full series of all the Durrānī Kings, followed by anonymous coins in the name of the "Ṣāḥib-i-Zamān", or "Amīr-i-Kullamīr". Last of all come the coins of the Bārakzai dynasty, and even the temporary Wālī, Shēr 'Alī, is represented.

The site of Ḳandahār has been several times altered. The town taken by Nādir Shāh appears to have been on hilly ground; it was no doubt the Ḥusainābād built under the Ghalzais and named after the Persian King Ḥusain Shāh, afterwards dethroned by Maḥmūd. Nādirābād seems to have been some distance away on the open plain, while Aḥmadshāhī, the modern Ḳandahār, was nearer to the old city, according to Elphinstone. Masson about 1830 describes the ruins of the old town dismantled by Nādir Shāh as on the slope of a hill about two miles distant from the walled town of his days. The tomb of Aḥmad Shāh is in Ḳandahār.

Bibliography: *Bābur-nāma* trans. Erskine, London, 1826; *Waḳāʾiʿ-i-Durrānī* (Urdū, Kahnpur, 1292); Longworth Dames, *Coins of the Durrānīs* (Num. Chron. 1888); White King, *Coins of the Bārakzais* (Num. Chron. 1896); Elphinstone, *Caubul* (London, 1839—42); Masson, *Travels* (London 1844); Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, London, 1874.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

ḲANDAHĀR. 3. A fort in the Dekhan, 77° E. 19° E. which gives its name to a taʿalluḳa in the dominions of the Niẓām of Haidarābād. This place appears to be the mint-town of some rupees of Ḳandahār struck in the reign of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh from 1157 to 1159 (1744-45). As the city of Ḳandahār in Afghānistān had been separated from the Mughal Empire since 1058 (1648) and was at this period in Nādir Shāh's possession, it is impossible that these rupees should have been struck there.

Bibliography: H. Nelson Wright, in *J. A. S. B.* Nov. 1910, p. 580; *Imperial Gazetteer of India* xiv. 377.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

KANDŪRI. The Persian word *kandūra* or *kandūri* means a leather or linen tablecloth; in Hindūstānī this word means also a religious feast held in honour of a venerated person like Fāṭima. In this latter meaning the word has been imported, apparently from India into the Indonesian archipelago. In Acheen the word is unchanged. In Java it is slightly altered into *kenduri* or *kenduren*; it may be noted that nowadays the more usual term in Java is: *sedekah* or *sidekah*, from the Arabic *ṣadaḳa*, *slametan*, from the Arabic *salāmat*, or *ḥādjat*, a well known Arabic word, meaning need, want of a man's presence at a feast, and hence the festival itself. In general it is a feast given with a religious purpose, or at least in conformity with religious law, just like the *walīma* in the books of *fiḳh*. The occasions which give rise to it are numerous, for instance: days of commemoration, domestic events, especially circumcision, the completion of teaching the Ḳurʾān, certain periods, such as pregnancy, sowing and harvest, and sundry reasons like setting out on a journey, occupying a new house and other enterprises, the averting of epidemics and calamities, etc. According to the Law each *kandūri* should have a religious character; the poor must be invited, forbidden things should be avoided, but the strong local *'ādat* is always prone to look for means of effecting a compromise. Every complete *kandūri*, especially those in commemoration of deceased relatives and those given on the anniversary of a saint, is sanctified by means of recitation of the Ḳurʾān, *dhikr*'s or prayers; popular superstition, however, regards such *kandūri*'s as consisting of actual offerings of food to the deceased. Almost every *kandūri* is opened by a prayer, the commemorative ones by the *duʿāʾ kubur*. In Acheen some months are called *kandūri* with a second word indicating the food the sacred meal consists in.

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(PH. S. V. RONKEL)

KANEM, a country in the Central Sūdān, east and north-east of Lake Tchad. Until recent years Kanem was only known from the accounts of Barth, who visited a part of it in 1851, and Nachtigal, who crossed it in 1871 on his way to Borku. But from 1900 onwards, the work of French scientific missions, as well as the explorations of officers and officials entrusted with the administration of the "territoire militaire du Tchad", have made it possible to rectify and complete the data furnished by these two travellers.

The name Kanem, taken in the widest acceptation, is applied, according to Nachtigal, to a region bounded on the north by the caravan route from Kawar to Lake Tchad, in the south by the Baḥr al-Ghazāl [q. v.], in the east by the depression of the Egueï, in the west by the Lake, and lies between 14°—16° N. Lat. and 12°—14° E. Long. (Greenwich). The surface may be estimated at 27,000 to 30,000 square miles. Kanem, in the stricter sense, only occupies about a quarter of this huge area, between Lake Tchad on the west, Baḥr al-Ghazāl on the south and the mountainous massiv of the Manga, which separates it from the Egueï, on the east.

The most characteristic topographical feature of Kanem is the existence of numerous sand dunes

running N. W. by S. E., separated from one another by hollows several hundred yards broad and sometimes four or five miles long. Dunes and depressions are specially marked in the northern part. The hollows, which are given the name of wâds, are dry except during the rainy season, when ponds are formed in the deepest parts; their bottoms consist of soil impregnated with natron. Below this, to a depth of 3 to 30 feet, lies a vast water-bearing stratum; wells therefore are dug into the beds of the wâds. The existence of this subterranean water supply has suggested that the present Kanem is simply an ancient lagoon formerly fed by the waters of the Bahr al-Ghazal and now dried up. The wâds themselves would be the beds of the ancient exits or *bahr* of the Tchad. The shore itself is in process of transformation. It is bordered by elongated islets lying S. S. E. by N. N. W. and separated from one another by narrow channels. The islets, which number 300, of which 80 are inhabited, lie from two to three miles from the shore. They are divided into two groups, the Kûri archipelago in the south and the Buddûma archipelago in the north. The gradual desiccation of the south-east part of Lake Tchad has added a certain number of islands to the mainland. Peninsulas and bays, which cut into the shore, have thus been formed and force sailors to make numerous detours.

The climate of Kanem is that of tropical regions. Two seasons are distinguished, the rainy season from July to September, and the dry season from February to June. The intermediate period, from October to January, corresponds to winter and is marked by a perceptible drop in the temperature; in the bottoms of the wâds the thermometer goes sometimes down to zero Centigrade (= 32° Fahrenheit). The rains themselves are unequally distributed and diminish from south to north. The very luxurious vegetation of the southern part becomes less and less rich as one ascends northwards. It flourishes on the slopes of the wâds, the bottoms of which remain barren. The date-palm grows wild in many of these wâds. It even forms a regular oasis at Mao, in the centre of Kanem, but disappears in the northern part, which is of prairie character. Cultivation is limited to the area around the villages, built on the slopes of the dunes close to the wooded zone. The commonest crop is the millet, to which may be added beans and cotton in the *bahr* of the Tchad. The rearing of horses, cattle, sheep and camels is also a very important source of income for the inhabitants. Fishing around the lake and hunting in the interior also contribute to the support of the inhabitants. The fauna is very rich and varied. The elephant is becoming scarce, but the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, lion, buffalo and panther abound in Kanem proper and the ostrich, antelope, gazelle and giraffe on the northern steppes.

The number of inhabitants is difficult to estimate. It is certainly not above 80,000 to 100,000 or about two to the square mile. The population is settled, with a few nomads. The principal settlements are in the south Ngûri, in the S. E. Mondo, in the centre Mao, "a junction of roads, a centre of gravity and of confluence of races ... the first oasis in the date country, still rich in millet, suited both for the rearing of camels and cattle". (Largeau).

The population is far from being homogeneous. The diverse elements which compose it belong some to the negro group and some to the Arab group, more or less altered. To the first belong the Kanembû, the Buddûma, the Kûri; to the second the Ulâd-Slimân and the Shoa; the Tundjur and Tubu are classed between the two.

The Kanembû, descendants of the first settlers in Kanem, constitute the basis of the population, upon whom they have imposed their language. They are dark grey (*azrak*) in colour and tall in stature. Industrious and peace-loving, they are settled and devote themselves to agriculture. They profess Islâm and are fairly strict Muslims. In their midst live groups of individuals called Haddâd (in Kanembû *dogoa*) who, although differing from the Kanembû neither in language nor in physical type, are considered as belonging to an inferior race and are despised. These natives are distinguished from the others by their weapons and by their mode of life. They use bows and arrows, while the Kanembû use spears, and live chiefly by hunting. Very warlike in disposition, they have played an active part in the civil wars which desolated the country in the course of last century.

The Buddûma and the Kûri inhabit the islands of Lake Tchad, to which they retired when they abandoned the mainland. The Buddûma, who occupy the northern archipelago, live by fishing, cattle-raising and the cultivation of millet. Before the French occupation, they practised piracy to the detriment of their neighbours of Kanem and even at the expense of the natives of Barnû [q. v.]. They have, for the most part, remained fetish-worshippers, although they have adopted some Muslim customs. The Kûri, on the other hand, while leading the same sort of life as the Buddûma, are completely islâmised.

The Ulâd Slimân and the Shoa represent the Arab element in Kanem. The first, who came from Tripolitania and Fezzân [q. v.] in the middle of the nineteenth century, have preserved the Semitic type quite pure. They have light complexions, speak the Arab dialect of Tripolitania and dress like the Arabs of the north. Nomads and robbers, possessing, thanks to their rifles, an incontestable superiority over the negro tribes, their sole means of existence was the slave trade and brigandage. Since the French occupation, some sections of them have taken service with Europeans, while others have left the country and entered the service of the Sanûsiya.

Of Arab origin, like the Ulâd-Slimân, the Shoa have been long established in the Sûdân. But if they have retained the use of the Arab language, which they speak quite purely, their physical type has been markedly altered by mixture with the black population. The Islâm which they profess is fairly strict among the tribes of the north, where many of them are affiliated to the Tidjâniya brotherhood; among the tribes of the south, however, their faith has been contaminated by fetishist practices and the orthodox regard them as *Kirdi*, i. e. idolaters. The Shoa live almost entirely by cattle-rearing; nomads in the dry regions near the desert, they become settled in the moister southern regions. They are represented in Kanem by the Ulâd Serrar, the Banû Wail and the Dagana of the Bahr al-Ghazal.

The Tubu or Teda, who came originally from Tibesti, are fairly numerous in Kanem. But, as

a result of contact with negroes, they have lost some of their distinctive features, notably the slimness of the body and elasticity of gait. They are also much less fanatical than their kinsmen who have remained among the mountains. Lastly, while the Tubu, strictly so-called, are nomads and live almost entirely by brigandage, the Tubu of Kanem or Dazagada Kanuma are for the most part settled. They follow agricultural pursuits, for which they are not fitted, without great success. The principal bodies of them are the Gadoa, the Warabba, the Doguda and the Yorumma, related to the Kecherda of the Baḥr al-Ghazal. Their language is connected with the Kanuri spoken in Bornū.

The Tundjur are the descendants of Hilālī Arab tribes, who, after sojourning around Tunis, migrated to Dār Fūr at the end of the fifteenth century. There they passed to Wādāi and finally settled themselves in Kanem towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Much mixed with negroes since then, they form a group intermediary between the Arabs, the Kanembū and the Tubu. Arabic is their proper language, but they also speak Tubu and Kanembū. They are found especially in the region of Mondo and acknowledge the authority of a chief called *fugbu*.

History. According to the Arabic sources studied by Marquart, who modifies on this point the data of Barth (cf. BORNŪ), the kingdom of Kanem seems to have been founded by the Zoghāwa, whose territory extended in the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. from Dār Fūr to Lake Tchad and Kawar. Al-Bakrī mentions the inhabitants of Kanem as idolators and al-Idrīsī seems also to consider them as such. Some time after the tenth, but not later than the twelfth century, Kanem was occupied by the Tubu (Teda) who came from Borku and Tibesti, conquered the Zoghāwa and introduced Islām. This occupation seems to coincide with the accession to the throne of the Yazanīs, who claimed to be descendants from Saif b. Dhī Yazan [q. v.] and became the disseminators of Islām, which had been introduced by al-Hādī al-ʿOthmānī, the predecessor of the Yazanīs. The *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 32, transl. Fagnan, p. 61) places the conversion to Islām of Kanem about 500 = 1106/7. According to a Hausa legend, Abū Zaid al-Fāzāzī (end of the xiith and beginning of the xiiith century) preached Islām in Kanem and Borku. Another tradition refers the introduction of Islām to the beginning of the twelfth century, in the reign of King Ūmé. In any case this religion was solidly established in Kanem in the thirteenth century. Some Muslims from Kanem founded a Mālikī school in Cairo between 640 and 650 (1242—1252). The soi-disant descendants of Saif remained in power as long as the kingdom existed. They preserved their complexion "fair like the Arabs" down to Selmaʿa, son of Bikoru, who was the first negro king of the country. This dynasty considerably extended the kingdom of Kanem, the boundaries of which were carried by Dunama I, Selmaʿa and Dunama II up to the frontiers of Egypt. The Sulṭāns of Kanem maintained friendly relations with the Ḥafṣids. A rapid decline followed this period of prosperity. The Bulala, a Kanembū tribe which at the beginning of the xivth century A. D. had withdrawn to the S. E. of Lake Tchad, attacked the Sulṭāns of Kanem and after a century of incessant fighting ended by conquering the country. Ndjimi, capital of Kanem, was taken by the invaders. Sulṭān ʿOmar b. Idrīs (796—800 = 1394—1398) had to retire to the country west of Lake Tchad, where one of his successors founded the kingdom of Bornū [q. v.]. In the sixteenth century the sovereigns of the new state in their turn took the offensive against the Bulala in order to re-conquer Kanem. This end was achieved by Idrīs Katakarmabi (1504—1526 A. D.). The conquered Bulala had to pay tribute and Kanem became a province of Bornū. The submission of the Bulala remained, however, somewhat precarious. During the xvith century the Sulṭāns of Bornū found themselves forced to resort to force in order to oblige their neighbours to respect the treaties that had been made. Thus we find Idrīs Alaoma (1571—1603) sending five expeditions against the Bulala, who were supported by the Tubu. The Sulṭān of Bornū was victorious over his adversaries but his authority and that of his successors were hardly recognised except by the people around the shores of the Lake; the interior of the country slipped from them. Very soon the weakening of Bornū enabled the Bulala to recover their independence. But towards the middle of the xviith century they were in their turn conquered by the Tundjur from Wādāi. They then left Kanem and went to settle in the west of Baḥr al-Ghazal, then in Fitri, where their descendants still are to-day. The Tundjur imposed their authority on the various peoples of Kanem but had to endure the attacks of the Bornuans who drove them into the region of Mondo and reduced them to the state of tributaries. The Bornuan troops, commanded by a Hausa slave named Dalatou, settled permanently in Kanem, where their descendants are known as Dalatna. Their chief (*alīfa*) settled at Mao and became the representative of the Sulṭān of Bornū, to whom he paid an annual tribute. This restoration of the Bornuan suzerainty was of short duration. From the beginning of the xixth century Kanem was attacked by new enemies, the Wādāians, who claimed the country as a former possession of the Bulala settled in Wādāi. The Sulṭāns ʿAbd al-Karīm Sabūn (1805—1819) and Muḥammad Sharīf occupied parts of the south almost without striking a blow. Bornū, invaded by the Fulbe, was unable to intervene, and Kanem occupied with the feuds of the Tundjur and Dalatna was in a state of complete anarchy. The Dalatna ended by triumphing over their rivals but recognised the suzerainty of Wādāi. Their chief, the *alīfa* of Mao, received the title of *agīd al-baḥr*, and became the representative of the Sulṭān of Wādāi, in the name of whom he gave investiture to the Kanembū and Ḥaddād chiefs. The natives who would not submit to the Wādāians took refuge in the islands of Lake Tchad. The arrival of the Ulād Slimān (1846) provoked new disorders. Driven out of Fezzān by the Turks these nomads reached the country north of Lake Tchad and began to plunder it. Severely defeated by the Tuaregs in 1850 they moved on to Bornū. The Sulṭān then took into his service the remains of the tribe and entrusted the Ulād Slimān with the defence of the frontier against the Wādāians. The Ulād Slimān took advantage of this to reconstitute themselves and to plunder friends and enemies without distinction.

At the period of Nachtigal's visit to Kanem

1871) they were the real masters of the country. The Tundjur of Mondo tried to resist them but being decisively beaten in 1883, they were reduced to slavery. The Ḥaddād of Ngumo alone succeeded in keeping in check these nomads, who dreaded their poisoned arrows.

The situation was none the less much disturbed. The Kanembū and the Ḥaddād were fighting between themselves while the Wādaians made frequent inroads. Finally, after the death of Shaikh ʿAbd al-Djalīl, the various factions of the Ulād Slimān began to fight with one another.

The French occupation put an end to this anarchy. Kanem was included in the zone of French influence, as determined by the Anglo-French agreement of March 21, 1899. After being visited by the Joalland and Foureau-Lamy missions (1900) it was effectively occupied between 1901 and 1905. Accepted without opposition by the Kanembū, European domination met with an obstacle in the hostility of the Sanūsīya, who in 1900 established a zāwiya at Bīr Alali, in the north of Kanem. Muḥammad al-Barrānī, the deputy for the grand master of the brotherhood, at the head of bands of Arabs from Tripolitania, Tuaregs and Ulād Slimān, endeavoured to arrest the advance of the French. The evacuation of the zāwiya in 1902 determined a number of the Ulād Slimān to abandon the struggle. The malcontents, who had been joined by Tubu brigands, continued hostilities down to January 1905, when their chief, Shaikh Aḥmad, finally made his submission.

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KIANGHRI (also written KANGRI, with the subsidiary form Čangrī), capital of the liwā (administrative district) of the same name in the wilāyet (province) of Ḳasṭamūnī, on the Adjī Ṣu, a tributary of the Ḳizil Irmak (Halys), the ancient Gangra, famous even in ancient times as a stronghold, was sometimes used by the Byzantines as a place of banishment and later in the wars with the Arabs and the Dānishmand-Oghlu again became important on account of its almost impregnable citadel. On their campaigns against the Byzantines the Umaiyads repeatedly penetrated as far as Khandjara (variant Djandjara), e. g. in the year 93 = 711/12 (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1236 = Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, iv. 457; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 350, who calls the town Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadīd), in the year 109 = 727/28 (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 395) and in the year 114 = 731/32 (Bar-Hebraeus, *Kṯābā de Maḵtbānūṯ Zabnē*, ed. Bruns and Kirsch, ii. 125; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1561, and Theophanes under the year 6224). When as a result of the defeat at Manzikert in 1071 the eastern frontier provinces were abandoned by the Byzantines, the Saldjūḳs and the Dānishmand-Oghlu shared the spoil: the former established themselves in Ḳonya, while the latter spread through the northern half of Asia Minor from Amasia to Ḳasṭamūnī; among the conquests of the first Dānishmand-Oghlu in 468 (1075/6) we find Kianghrī mentioned; cf. *Taʾrīkh Āl Dānishmand* in Amāsiali Ḥusain Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amāsia Tārīkhi*, Stambul 1322, ii. 286 *sqq.*; Hezārfenn, *Tanḳīḥ al-Tawārīkh* in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xxx. 470. In the year 1101 an army of Crusaders left Constantinople for the land of the Dānishmand-Oghlu, in order to liberate Boemund of Antioch, who had been captured by them at Malāṭya and imprisoned in Niksār, conquered Angora and reached Kianghrī (= praesidium Gangara), but the attack on the fortress failed and soon afterwards the army was completely wiped out by the allied Saldjūḳs and Dānishmand-Oghlu at Amāsia (Albertus Aquensis, liber viii. caput 8, Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x. 203; cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xxx. 476; Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, i. 224 *sqq.*). The emperor John Comnenus captured Kianghrī in 1134 with the help of his heavy siege artillery, after having stormed it in vain a year before (*Chronicle* of Niketas, i. ch. 6 and especially also Joannes Prodromos; see Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii. 84 *sqq.*); but very soon after the departure of the emperor the fortress was retaken by the Dānishmand-Oghlu and never again passed into the hands of the Byzantines. In the period following we find Kianghrī in possession of the Saldjūḳs of Ḳonya (see Chalandon, *op. cit.*, passim). After the decline of the Saldjūḳ empire Kianghrī belonged to the territory of the Isfandiyār-Oghlu of Ḳasṭamūnī, was taken from them in 795 = 1392/3 (so Neshrī) or 797 = 1394/5 (so ʿAshīḳpashazāde and the anonymous Ottoman chronicles) by Bayazīd I with the greater part of their lands, but restored to them by Tīmūr in 804 (1401) and finally in 822 (1419) definitely annexed by Meḥemmed I (ʿAshīḳpashazāde, *Tārīkh*, p. 88 *sq.*; Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, Frankfurt 1591, col. 475; the statements of von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, i. 70, 248 and ii. 176 are due to a misunderstanding). In the period of peace that now followed under Ottoman rule, Kianghrī falls completely into the background; it is scarcely mentioned by the historians; we have, however, full descriptions of the town from Ewliyā, *Siyāḥetnāme*, iii. 250 *sq.*, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 645. Among European

travellers we find it first mentioned in 1553—55 by Dernschwam in his *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, ed. Babinger, Munich 1923, p. 196; nearly 300 years later Ainsworth was the first European to describe it from his own observations and in our own time it has been occasionally visited and described by German explorers in Asia Minor. The castle, in its day stormed by Arabs, Dānishmand-Oghlu, Byzantines and Crusaders, lies in ruins; the tomb still survives of Ḳarategin, who captured the town for the first Dānishmand prince and is now revered as a saint. The system of cisterns, which dates from pre-historic times, on the castle hill, which Ewliyā and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa fully described, has not yet been closely examined, nor has the "Medjid Tash" (Tash Masdjid), i. e. the monastery of the Mewlewī dervishes, with its inscriptions, which, as Ainsworth was told, are said to date from the Arab Caliphs. Of the 27 large and small mosques some are said to date from the Byzantine period (see Cuinet); the principal mosque was built by Sulaimān I in 966 (1558/9).

The extensive deposits of rock-salt at Maghāra, two hours south-east of Kʿanghrī (Cuinet, iv. 427 and Märcker) are famous; their product was known even to the Byzantines under the name Γαγγρενὸν ἅλας (Nikolaos Myrepsos, end of the xiiith century, in Du Cange, *Glossar. ad scriptores med. et inf. Graec.*, s. v.). The severe earthquakes, which have repeatedly shaken the town in modern times, are mentioned in the mediaeval ages also; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 368, gives a full account of one of these catastrophes, which destroyed the town in Aug., 1050.

The number of inhabitants may be approximately estimated at 30,000 in 5,000 houses; among them were about 150 Greek and 50 Armenian families, who may now have left it as a result of the Great War.

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(J. H. Mordtmann)

KĀNĪ, Abū Bakr, a notable Ottoman poet and prose stylist of the old school. Born in 1124 (1712) in Toḳād in Asia Minor, while still a young man he attained a great reputation in his native town as a stylist and poet. He belonged to the Mewlewī order and was allotted to the Shaikh of the Mewlewī monastery in Toḳād to serve him. An important landmark in his career was the passing of Ḥakīm Oghlu ʿAlī Pasha through Toḳād in 1165 (1754/5); he had been summoned from Trebizond to Constantinople to fill the office of Grand Vizier for the third time. Kānī presented him with a ḳasīda of welcome and a chronogram which made such an impression on the aged statesman that with the permission of the Shaikh of his order he at once took him to Constantinople and procured him a position in the imperial Dīwān. The way to the highest offices of state was thus opened to Kānī; but ambition was foreign to his nature. The careless and somewhat unrestrained life that he had been leading in his native town — he was only a lukewarm Muslim and only at the end of his long life returned again to the devout life of the order — seemed to him more desirable; so he took advantage of the fall of his patron, which took place after only two months of office, to give up his position in Constantinople. Henceforth his activities lay mainly in the provinces; — in Silistria, in Wallachia and in Bucharest. He acted for a considerable time as Dīwān secretary to the voivod Alexander; there is a picture of them together in the Museum of Sinaya. Finally Yegen Meḥmed Pasha, who had previously been a close friend of his, summoned him to Constantinople, when he became Grand Vizier (1196 = 1782). But this brought nothing but misfortune to Kānī. Kānī showed himself indifferent to all ceremony and conducted himself towards the Grand Vizier with as little politeness as in the old days when there was no difference of rank between them. He also chattered about matters that should have been kept secret. Yegen Pasha enraged at this had him condemned to death and it was only with difficulty that the punishment was reduced to banishment to Lemnos. All his property was confiscated, so that he had to struggle with poverty. He died in Rabīʿ II, 1206 (Jan.-Feb., 1792) and was buried in Aiyūb. Surūrī and Sünbül-Zāde Wehbī composed chronograms on his death.

Kānī is one of the most remarkable figures in Ottoman literature of the post-classical romantic period during which Persian influence died down and was replaced by a more national spirit. As a poet Kānī was not specially distinguished; he even lacks one of the principal features of most Ottoman poets: smoothness and polish of language. In his poems there are many inequalities and harsh passages: this is closely connected with his manner of working and his habit of extemporising verses on any stimulus or on any occasion. Kānī himself, it should be added, never collected and arranged his poems nor put the finishing touch to his *Dīwān*. Only at the instigation of the Reʾīs ʾl-Kuttāb Meḥmed Rāshid Efendi were the poems which could still be found in existence collected by Nūrī and the *Dīwān* published. A portion of the poems have been lost. He wrote poems in Arabic and Persian in addition to Turkish.

His poetical works consist of numerous hymns, *mesnewī's* and *takhmīs*, *ḳasīda's*, chronograms and some hundreds of ghazals. What distinguishes his poems from those of other poets is his fondness for wit and humour, his humorous phraseology, while otherwise humour is entirely lacking in the old Ottoman poets.

A much higher estimate must be placed on Kānī as a prose-writer in his *Münsheʾāt* and we have the very high opinion expressed by Abu ʾl-Ḍiyā Tawfīḳ that, as regards his style, a nation produces not more than five or six of his rank. In his letters Kānī gives rein to his humorous mood and produces the most peculiar and unexpected flowers of speech. He might be compared with Rabelais. Many witty sayings and anecdotes of him are recorded. His happy disposition and his humour made him thoroughly

popular and gave his hearers and readers that attraction to him, his letters (of which about 120 exist) and his poems, which is only partly intelligible to our taste and ideas. His works are especially important for the phraseology, as he often uses popular expressions not found in the literary language and says most unusual and unexpected things.

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(TH. MENZEL)

KANĪSA (plural *kanā'is*), synagogue, church, the arabicised form of the Aramaic *kenishtā* "meeting (place), school, synagogue" (cf. J. Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Wörterbuch*, ii. 359 *sq.*). The Syrian form *kenūshtā* in the Peshittā on the New Testament is a rendering of συναγωγή and sometimes also of ἐκκλησία (cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syr.*, i. col. 1773), whereas the form *knīshtā* in Christian Western Aramaic represents συναγωγή as well as ἐκκλησία (cf. Schulthess, *Lex. Syropal.*, Berlin 1903, p. 95). The latter term is nearly always rendered by *'idtā* in the Peshittā. The *Lisān al-'Arab*, viii. 83, 4 *sq.* is nearly right in so far as it derives *kanīsa* from *kunishtā*; al-Khafādjī (*Shifā' al-Ghalīl*, Cairo 1282, p. 195), however, rejects this view and expresses the opinion that the word denotes an especially Christian institution and goes back to *kalīsa*, an abbreviated form of *kalīsiyā* (ἐκκλησία). Al-Bustānī also considers the word as being the arabicised ἐκκλησία (*Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, Beyrouth 1286, p. 1847ª).

In Arabic *kanīsa* denotes the Jewish as well as the Christian place of worship; this appears also from the various statements of the lexica: some refer to churches, others to synagogues exclusively (cf. al-Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, Būlāḳ 1282, i. 473 *ult.*; al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāgha*, Cairo 1299, ii. 212, 20; *Lisān al-'Arab*, *loc. cit.*; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 314, 3). According to al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs*, Būlāḳ 1272, i. 549 *r.*, *kanīsa* denotes the place of worship (*muta'abbad*) of the Jews, the Christians or the Kāfir's; cf. also *Tādj al-'Arūs*, iv. 235 *infra*.

In early literature *kanīsa* is often found in the meaning of "church". Two documents on papyrus of the year 88 (707) mention the church of a monastery called (*Munyat*) *Kanīsat Mārya* in Egypt (*Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i., ed. C. H. Becker, Heidelberg 1906, p. 111, 8, line 4, p. 112, 1, line 4). In a satyrical verse Djarīr speaks of the churches of Taghlib (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 485, 3). The treaties which 'Umar or his generals are said to have concluded with the inhabitants of several towns usually contain stipulations concerning the *kanā'is* (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 173; al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 167, 18; al-Ṭabarī, i. 2405, 2 *sq.*, 2588, 7; Eutychius, ed. Cheikho, ii. 17, 7; Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329 *sqq.*, i. 178; cf. also Abū Yūsuf, *Kit. al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1302, p. 80). In the Ḥadīth it is related how Umm Ḥabība and Umm Salama told the Prophet of a church in Abyssinia adorned with images (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 54; *Djanā'iz*, bāb 70; *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, bāb 37).

Kanīsa further occurs with a following noun in the genitive, e.g. Kanīsat Ḥanas (in Alexandria, Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, i. 257, 31), K. al-Ghurāb (on Cape St. Vincent in South Portugal, Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, i. 377, 19; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, partly ed. by Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 180; transl., p. 218), K. al-Kaff (in Egypt, with an impression of Jesus' hand, Yāḳūt, ii. 22, 2 *sq.*), K. Yoḥannā and K. Maryam (in Damascus, Yāḳūt, ii. 591, 10, 596, 23); K. al-Ḳumāma (Church of the dust heap, an intentional corruption of K. al-Ḳiyāma, Church of the Resurrection, in Jerusalem, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, i. 111; iii. 405; cf. also G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 141 *sq.*, 202 *sqq.*), K. al-Bāghūta (al-Bā'ūtha); in al-Ḥīra, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 127, 2), etc.

Al-Maḳrīzī denotes synagogues as well as churches by the word *kanīsa* (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii. 464 *sqq.*, 510 *sqq.*).

In Spain and in the Maghrib the Form *Kanīsiya* (perhaps influenced by *iglesia*) was in use; it is still current in Morocco and Tunisia (vgl. Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 493.

In the modern language *kanīsa* denotes a church, *kanīs* a synagogue (al-Bustānī, *loc. cit.*). For the Egyptian dialect cf. S. Spiro Bey, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1923, s. v.).

Al-Kanīsa or al-Kanīsa al-Sawdā' was a town with a stronghold in the frontier province of Northern Syria, which Hārūn al-Rashīd restored from its ruins (Yāḳūt, iv. 314; cf. i. 927, 20; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B G A*, i. 63, 7; 68, 5); vgl. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 477 *sq.*). — Al-Muḳaddasī, *B G A*, iii.², 453, 9) mentions a place K. al-Madjūs at a day's journey from Arradjān. — A harbour in Yemen on the Red Sea in the neighbourhood of Zabīd also bore the name of al-Kanīsa (al-Fīrūzābādī, *loc. cit.*; *Tādj al-'Arūs*, *loc. cit.*). — According to *Tādj al-'Arūs*, *loc. cit.*, Kunaisiya occurs in several names of places in Egypt.

On the rules for churches laid down by the Muslims cf. the art. NAṢĀRĀ.

Bibliography: In addition to the literature mentioned in the art. cf. S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 275.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

KANO (in Hausa KANU), a town in the Central Sūdān 300 miles west of Kūka and 290 E. S. E. of Sokoto, 1200 feet above sea-level, situated in 12° 27' N. Lat. and 8° 20' E. Long. (Greenw.). Kano lies in the middle of a marshy plain dominated by the isolated rocky hills of Goron Duchi and Dala. The town is surrounded by a fortified wall (*birni*) 20 to 25 feet high and measuring, according to Barth, nearly 20 miles in circumference. A portion of the area thus mapped out is occupied by tilled fields especially in the West and North-west. The houses are grouped in the South between Dala and the wall. The town divided into two by a marshy pond called Djakara (Robinson: Jakhara) is formed of mud

houses. Only the houses of great personages or of Arab traders or rich Hausa merchants are provided with an upper story. The number of inhabitants, estimated by Barth at 30,000, would, according to Monteil, amount to 50,000 or 60,000, according to Robinson, to 100,000, according to the reports of the English officials in Nigeria, to 200,000. This population comprises very diverse elements, Hausa, Fulah, Kanūri and Arab; of whom 2/3 (Robinson) or 4/5 (Monteil) are slaves. In addition to the fixed population there is a very large floating one, reaching, according to Monteil, the figure of two million individuals a year.

This accession is explained by the economic rôle of Kano, the commercial metropolis of the whole of the Sūdān and at the same time a much frequented stage on the pilgrim route to Mekka. Representatives of all the negro races from the mouth of the Niger and Senegambia to Bornū and Wadaï meet there with Tuaregs and Arabs from Ghadāmes and Tripolitania. Every day a market is held there attended by over 30,000 people. Business is done through the intermediary of brokers, and owing to the scarcity of currency settlements are made most often with cowries; some transactions are carried through by simple barter. The principal articles of commerce are clothes and garments of local manufacture, leather, salt brought from Bilma, natron and above all the *kola* nut from the Western Sūdān, which is perhaps the most important element in the commerce of Kano. To these we must add sugar from Egypt, gunpowder, paper, iron-mongery, cotton goods of European origin, ostrich feathers and ivory to a small extent and finally slaves. The articles sent to or brought from Ghadāmes or Tripolitania are carried by Arabs settled in Kano to the number of 400 or 500. But the Sūdānese trade, which makes up 4/5 of the total transactions, is entirely in the hands of Hausa merchants.

Kano is not only a great centre of commerce; it is also a centre of native industries. Weaving and dyeing flourish there. The manufacture of cotton goods is so active that the town has been given the name of the "Manchester of the Sudān." Robes (*tobe*) dyed black are much esteemed and exported to all the neighbouring lands. Metal work occupies numerous smiths, who make hunting spears and stirrups as well as ornaments in copper and silver. The leather dyed yellow and red called morocco is very much esteemed and exported as far as Morocco and the markets of Tunisia and Tripolitania. The same is the case with the leather sacks indispensable for caravans.

The province of Kano is very fertile. As early as the xvith century we find Leo Africanus remarking the abundance of cattle, the richness of the soil, the extent of the fields of rice, cereals and cotton. The observations of modern travellers coincide with those of this early writer. The province of Kano, says Barth, includes 27 walled towns with 300,000 inhabitants and an equal number of slaves. "All the ground", says Monteil, "is cultivated for a distance of 60 miles round the town." Robinson notes the large number of separate farm places surrounded by plantations of tobacco, indigo, cotton and dura (*sorghum vulgare*).

A tradition noted by Robinson attributes the foundation of Kano to a group of refugees from Daura, a place three days' journey to the North, led by a certain Kano, son of Bano. The latter, it is said, built a new town at the foot of the rocks of Goron Duchi and Dala, on the top of which two villages had long been planted. According to Barth, Kano was the son of Biram and brother of Daura. He would thus be one of the seven "legitimate Hausas" (see HAUSA, ii. 291b). Another tradition to the effect that Kano had been appointed by his father *Sarikin baba*, i. e. chief of the dyers, attests the antiquity of this industry in the town. The date of the foundation is uncertain but it seems that by then Kano was already of some importance. In the second half of the xvth century A. D. education was held in honour in the town. Scholars had settled there on returning from the pilgrimage and were teaching theology and Māliki law. The celebrated 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Marghīlī taught there. At the beginning of the following century, Leo mentions Kano as a town filled with rich merchants and artisans. These facts seem to invalidate Barth's statement that at this date Kano could only have been a citadel built on the rock of Dala. The king of Kano had subjected to his authority the kings of Zegzeg and Katsena, but he was in his turn conquered by the Sulṭān of Timbuktu, Muḥammad Askia, and was reduced to the state of a tributary. Later the kings of Kano had to endure incessant fighting against the Sulṭāns of Bornū, who even annexed Kano to their empire. The Bornūan governor, however, was driven out by king Korafa and Kano regained its independence. The invasion of the Fulah at the beginning of the nineteenth century increased the commercial importance of Kano, as the merchants of Katsena sought refuge there after the capture of the latter town by 'Othmān Dan Fodio in 1814. Kano was, however, not long in falling in its turn. On the dismemberment of the Fulah empire, the town was included in the kingdom of Sokoto. The country was administered by a governor (*serki*), who paid the Sulṭān of Sokoto an annual tribute (100 horses, 15,000 robes and other garments, 10,000 turbans etc. in the time of Barth). The Anglo-French agreements of Aug. 5, 1890 and June 14, 1898 having placed Sokoto within the zone of British influence, British representatives attempted to settle in Kano. These first attempts were unfortunate. Rev. C. H. Robinson (1893) and Wallis, a British official of Nigeria, were able to visit the town where the French traveller Monteil had already spent three months (1891—1892) in his journey from St. Louis to Lake Tchad, but Bishop Tugwell's mission was badly received and he had to withdraw. The effective occupation of Kano only took place in 1903 after a military expedition led by Sir Frederick Lugard.

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Hausaland, London 1896, Chap. viii; C. P. Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*[2], vol. iii. 1913; *Le commerce des caravanes tripolitaines dans la région du lac Tchad et le Sokoto.* — *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française*, 1898, *Renseignements coloniaux*; Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung*, p. xcix—ccxii; Mischlich and Lippert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Haussastaaten*, *Mitth. d. Sem. f. Or. Sprachen*, sixth series, iii. 5—7; Paul Staudinger, *Im Herzen der Haussaländer* Leipzig 1891. See also the bibliography to the article HAUSA.

(G. YVER)

KANSU, a frontier province in the north-west of China proper; it is bounded on the south and east by the provinces of Sze-čuan, Shensi and Shansi, in the west and north by the territory of Kukunor, Chinese Turkestan (formerly included in Kansu, but since 1884 the separate province of Sin-Kiang) and Mongolia. With its present area of 5910 geogr. sq. m. = 125,483 sq. miles, Kansu is the third largest province of China but as regards density of population it is lower than all the other provinces of China with the exception of Kuangsi. The province first formed under the Emperor Ḳūbilāi in 1282 A. D. is said to have received its name from two towns in the extreme north-west, Kančou-fu and Sučou; both towns are already mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and in Gardīzī (cf. W. Barthold, *Otčet o poězdkě v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 92), the former in the form Khāmču (in the Mongol period Ḳamču or Ḳamčī), the second as Sakhčū (later Shukčū or Sūkčī).

Down till the xiiith century A. D. this territory was for the most part under the rule of foreign peoples of Turkish (Uigur) or Tibetan (Tangut) origin; immediately before the Mongol conquest there was a Tangut kingdom here under the rule of the Hia (or Si-hia) dynasty (1032—1227) with its capital in Ning-hia. Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Blochet, p. 484 *sqq.*) in giving a list of the twelve provinces (*shinā*, chin, *shin*) reckons two with capitals Kinčānfū (now Sian-fu, capital of Shensi) and Ḳamčū (Kančou) respectively to Tangut (Tangkūt). In reality Kančou was at this time the capital of Kansu; Kansu and Shensi then as now combined in one governorship, the only difference being that the residence of the governor was in the capital of Shensi and not, as now, in the capital of Kansu. The boundary between Kansu and Shensi was formed by the Hoang-ho, so that the present capital of Kansu, Lančou-fu, then belonged to Shensi. In connection with Kinčānfū Marco-Polo (ed. Yule and Cordier, ii. 24) mentions prince Mangalai (d. 1280; called Mingḳālā by Rashīd al-Dīn), Ḳūbilāi's third son, as ruler of Tangut, while Rashīd al-Dīn (p. 495 *sq.*) gives his son Ananda; Rashīd al-Dīn says that Ananda was the founder of the dominance of Islām in this region. He was born about 1270 (in the early years of the viith [xivth] century, he was 30 years of age, ibid., p. 603, *c*) and was brought up by Muhammadan foster-parents (ibid., p. 599 *sq.*); but it was only after the conversion of Sulṭān Ghāzān in Persia (i. e. about 1295; cf. GHĀZĀN, ii. 1149 *sq.*) that he openly professed Islām (Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 602). The greater part of his army, said to have numbered 150,000 men, was converted to Islām (ibid., p. 600); the people of Tangut, except the peasants, likewise adopted Islām (ibid., p. 599). Taken to task by his cousin, Ḳūbilāi's successor Tīmūr (1294—1307), for his conversion, Ananda remained faithful to Islām and after a period of interruption was restored to his dominion. In 1307 a party wished to raise him to the throne; he was therefore killed after the success of another claimant, Tīmūr's nephew Khaishān (1307—1311) (d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, ii. 525 *sqq.*). Not till 1323 was Ananda's son Ürüktīmūr again appointed prince of Tangut (Blochet, in Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 362, note *c*).

As Marco Polo (ed. Yule and Cordier i., 203 and 219) shows, there were already Muslims in Kansu before Ananda's day; on the other hand he says nothing about the dissemination of Islām south of the Hoang-ho (cf. the erroneous statement in the article CHINA, i. 851, following *Mission d'Ollone*, p. 435, that Marco Polo mentions "the presence of Muslims in the province of Yunnan only"). The Turkī speaking Salar (cf. CHINA, i. 850), who live at the present day on the south bank of the Hoang-ho, are mentioned as living there as early as the Ming dynasty (1368—1644) and described as unruly subjects (W. W. Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, London 1891, p. 40), although no Muhammadan risings are mentioned for this period. The story which reached Tīmūr's lands about 1398 to the effect that the founder of the Ming dynasty had had about 100,000 Muslims slaughtered and had completely rooted Islām out of his kingdom (Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī in Barthold, *Ulugbek*, Petrograd 1918, p. 42 *sq.*, note 6) finds no confirmation in any Chinese source. Under Manchu rule (from 1644) risings of the Muslims of Kansu are mentioned by 1646 and 1648 and have been several times repeated in the xviiith and xixth centuries.

In Kansu those who profess Islām are at the present day certainly more numerous than in the other provinces (the figures are very variously estimated; cf. the article CHINA, i. 847). The most important centre of Muslim life and culture was until quite recently Ħočou (south-west of the capital Lančou-fu), "the Chinese Mekka". Hočou was at an earlier date considered a purely Muslim city (about 30,000 inhabitants); in the year 1884 the traveller G. Potanin (*Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya*, St. Petersburg 1893, i. 169) was told that there were no longer any Muslims at all there; later the Muslims were only allowed to live in a separate suburb there (*Mission d'Ollone*, p. 233). The Muhammadan area in Kansu is divided into two separate tracts, Hočou-Sining in the south-west and Ninghia-Kintsip'u in the north-east; in the intervening area the Chinese have built hill-forts (ibid., p. 253). Kintsip'u, sometimes called "the Chinese Medina", was first founded by the religious reformer and leader of a rebellion, Ma Hua-lung (cf. CHINA, i. 849).

In the xviiith century there still seem to have been more Muslims in Shensi than in Kansu (Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, i. 41 and 156); their language and dress were also different from those of the Chinese (ibid., p. 155). This suggests that the modern Dungans or Tungans (cf. CHINA, i. 850) did not adopt the Chinese language until a later date.

The rebellions were usually local movements, not general risings under the banner of Islām. During the great rebellion in Kansu, which began in 1872, there was perfect quiet in Shensi (Dabry,

op. cit., i. 159). The rebellion which had begun in 1861 or 1862 in Shensi was only spread to Kansu by the expulsion of the rebels from Shensi. The fighting was carried on with even greater bitterness in Kansu than in Shensi and had the most disastrous effects on the Muslim population as well as on the economic prosperity of the province generally. Just as at an earlier period the number of Muslims in Shensi had been considerably reduced by the expulsion of the rebels into Kansu, so now (since 1872) a considerable part of the Muslim population of Kansu has migrated westwards under the leadership of the valiant Boyan-akhūn. The birthplace of Boyan-akhun (also written in Chinese Bo-yan-hu or Pai Yen-hu; his Muslim name was Muḥammad Ayyūb) is variously given; he had lived for a long time in Pekin and only moved to Kansu shortly before the rising. In December, 1877, Boyan-akhūn with the remainder of his army crossed the Russian frontier into Semirečye; the Chinese authorities demanded (of course without success) that he should be handed over to them. After his death in 1883, he was celebrated in songs as a national hero by the Dungans settled in Semirečye; whether his memory is still revered in Kansu also, does not seem to have been ascertained. The last rising (1895/1896) was started by the Salar and is said to have been provoked by the proclamation of their Chinese governor ordering that in future one Chinese should be regarded as equal in value to ten Muslims. There seems to have been no activity in Kansu against the present Republican government.

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ḲANṢŪH, AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF SAIF AL-DĪN *min Baibardī* (i. e. Baibardī's Mamlūk) AL-GHŪRĪ (originally pronounced in Eastern Persian with ō and later there and in Egypt with ū, of the "al-Ghūr" division of Mamlūks from Afghānistān, which was specially instructed in the Ḳor'ān and theological subjects. He served for a long time as a *Silāḥdār* (lifeguard) and *Djamdār* and only when he was about 40, he became governor of the province of al-Baḥriya [see BAḤRIYA], and in 893 (1490) *Ḥādjib* [q. v.] *al-Ḥudjdjāb* (president of the military court) in Aleppo, where he gave proof of his great energy in the suppression of a rising. In 903 (1497) he became *Muḳaddam al-ulūf* (commander of a thousand Mamlūks) and two years later *Ra's nawbat al-Nuwwāb* (commander of the Mamlūk officers) under Sulṭān Djānbalāṭ [q. v.]. The latter's rival and successor Ṭūmānbāi I during his brief reign in 906 (1500) appointed him Grand Dawādār [see DAWĀTDĀR] and, as often happened in the last period of the Mamlūk dynasty, at the same time Grand Ustadār (Grand Chamberlain), vizier and *Kāshif al-Kushshāf* (chief inspector of domains). The choice of the Mamlūks therefore, as a result of his high position, naturally fell upon him, when after a few months they were discontented with Ṭūmānbāi; after considerable hesitation he accepted, as he was now over sixty. By inflicting heavy taxes and levies and issuing a depreciated currency he ruthlessly raised the money to pay the old Mamlūks and to buy new ones in order to create a following. In his financial measures he did not even respect the privileges of the pious foundations and by depreciating the currency injured commerce and trade, and extorted money from merchants, women, eunuchs and from his own court-officials down to the very door-keeper. All this is made a very grave reproach against him by his contemporaries; it was even cast up against him in the Friday sermon. The chroniclers number him among the "bad Sulṭāns". He hurried on the financial ruin of his country by over-heavy taxes on the sales of goods and by oppressive customs duties, even although he made good use of a great part of the money by strengthening fortresses (notably Aleppo), making roads and wells in the Ḥidjāz and in providing water by good aqueducts (e. g. the aqueduct in Cairo). One great source of revenue in these days was the harbour and customs dues on Indian goods, which then had to be brought to Europe via Egypt ('Aden, Djidda, Suez, Alexandria) or Syria (Hormūz, Baṣra, Aleppo). To avoid these oppressive dues, the Portuguese staked everything on finding the sea route to India, which Vasco de Gama finally succeeded in doing. The Portuguese then gradually established themselves on the coasts of India and brought their great quantities of goods directly to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. In this way the excessively high costs of passing through Egyptian ports as well as the cost of overland transit were avoided and the profits went to the Portuguese. These losses in revenue could not be tolerated by the Sulṭān al-Ghūrī; besides, he felt it his duty as first ruler in Islām, as plenipotentiary of the Caliph and as a servant of the holy places of Mekka and Medina to come to the help of the oppressed Muslims in India. The first encounter with the Portuguese took place in 909 (1503) when the latter robbed an Egyptian ship coming from India of its cargo and sent it to the bottom. Sulṭān al-Ghūrī tried at first to get redress by peaceful means by sending the Grand Prior of the Sinai monastery to the Pope with a letter of complaint, threatening to destroy the holy places in Jerusalem if King Manuel of Portugal did not cease from oppressing Muslims in India and from conducting hostilities against his merchant-ships. The mission failed in its object as King Manuel knew quite well that the Sulṭān's interest in the great profits derived from Christian pilgrimages would prevent him from going to extremes. Sulṭān al-Ghūrī had

therefore to make up his mind to equip a considerable fleet, especially as 17 Arab ships were destroyed in 910 (1504) in the Indian harbour of Panane. The Sulṭān was interrupted even in the building of his fleet by the fact that the Knights of St. John in Rhodes captured a consignment of wood intended for Egypt. To secure a base for his naval war against the Portuguese, the Sulṭān dispatched several expeditions to keep the coast of Arabia under his control; his able general Ḥusain fortified Djidda with walls and towers and made the harbour a base for the fleet. The first encounter in the Indian harbour of Shaul between Ḥusain and Lorenzo, son of the Portuguese viceroy, in 914 (1508) ended in favour of the Egyptians, who were supported by the fleet of the Muslim governor of Diu. Lorenzo perished and the Admiral's ship was burned. But the very next year the Admiral avenged his son's death, destroyed a part of the Egyptian fleet (the Indian ships kept aloof) and forced Ḥusain to a hurried retreat into the Red Sea. Hostilities between the Portuguese and Egyptians continued in the following years, a strong Portuguese fleet even attacked ʿAden but without any lasting success. A new fleet was then sent to India by the Sulṭān. But when it reached Djidda, the political situation in Egypt had changed. In 922 (1517) the Ottoman Sulṭān Selīm I seized Cairo and thereby became protector of the Holy Cities as well as master of the western coast of Arabia. Sulṭān Selīm, who cared little about expansion towards India, as his interests lay in the direction of Asia Minor and the Balkan lands, at the request of the Mekkans, recalled Ḥusain, in spite of his successes, along with his subordinates, who held other parts of Arabia, and had him executed on account of his numerous acts of cruelty to the people of Arabia. The Egyptian fleet had to return. The Portuguese on their side were content with the successes they had won, as they had succeeded in diverting commerce from the route through the Red Sea. After the appearance of the Portuguese in the East and the alteration of the trade-route the most important source of revenue for Egypt gradually dried up so that Sulṭān al-Ghūrī, for want of an intelligent system of taxation, had to fall back on extortion and the oppression of his subjects as he could do nothing else in view of the disorganisation of the finances. Thus it was not possible for him to pay his Mamlūks well so that his rule now lacked a firm support. His foreign policy also was unsuccessful. From fear of the powerful Selīm, he made an alliance with the latter's most bitter enemy Ismāʿīl [q. v.], the ruler of Persia. In 922 (spring of 1516) Sulṭān Selīm entered Asia Minor, ostensibly to fight against Shāh Ismāʿīl. Sulṭān al-Ghūrī went to Aleppo under the pretext of acting as intermediary between the two rulers. To show his peaceful intentions he had brought with him the Caliph and the chief ḳāḍīs but had in secret promised Ismāʿīl his support. Selīm learned of this through spies and was not deceived by the friendly reception accorded his envoys by Sulṭān al-Ghūrī. To make war inevitable, he maltreated al-Ghūrī's envoy, had his attendants killed and sent him back ignominiously on a mule, with a declaration of war. Sulṭān al-Ghūrī's cause was hopeless from the first as he was not sure of his generals. He could neither protect his subjects from the extortions and acts of cruelty of his governors nor could he rely on their fidelity. Although several times warned, he entrusted the command of the left wing to the governor of Aleppo, Khāʾirbek; but at the first charge the latter left the battle with his troops and soon after the beginning of the battle the aged Sulṭān fell from his horse, struck with apoplexy. According to his biographer, his body was never found; others say that a Mamlūk cut off the head from the body and took it to Sulṭān Selīm. On the rapid occupation of Syria and Egypt and the last desperate battle of the Mamlūks see the articles SELĪM and ṬŪMĀNBĀY II. Although Sulṭān al-Ghūrī had tackled his task with energy, he could neither make friends nor bring order into the chaos of the finances. His attention was always directed only to immediate profit and to making ends meet somehow, while he was not sure of his Mamlūks and Amīrs. He had no sense of justice nor a proper appreciation of relative strengths. Besides there was his aversion to the new arms, artillery and rifles, due to a certain disdain of using long range weapons, which it did not require personal bravery to carry. The rapid victory of the Turks and the superiority of the Portuguese was certainly to some extent due to the objection of Sulṭān al-Ghūrī and his knights to proper training with fire-arms, as is specially mentioned by Ibn Iyās.

[In the Ḳurʾān in the Sulṭānīya Library, Cairo, written for him, his name is spelt Ḳānṣawh Ghawrī, see E. Denison Ross in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, ii. 334 (London 1922). Red.]

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 384—416; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1827 *sqq.*, ii. 462 *sqq.* (in both, the principal Oriental manuscript sources as well as the contemporary chronicles and consular reports of the west are given). Ibn Iyās deals with the reign of Sulṭān al-Ghūrī in the *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr* [see IBN IYĀS]; but only the end is printed in the Cairo edition, the years 906—922 are contained in the Paris manuscript, Bibl. Nat., de Slane, *Cat.*, N°. 1824 (years 906—913) and in the St. Petersburg manuscript, Rosen, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Inst. des Langues orient.*, N°. 46 (the years 913—922). The full biography by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī has not previously been utilised; see Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Taʾrīkh Aʿyān Ḥalab*, MS. Vienna, Flügel, *Die arab. ...... Handschr. der Hofbibl.*, ii. N°. 1184 (cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, ii. 368), f. 176b *sqq.*; J. J. Marcel, *Hist. de l'Égypte depuis la conquête des Arabes, etc.*, Paris 1834, p. 407—11; W. Muir, *The Mameluke Slave Dynasty*, London 1896, p. 187—201. On his building operations or detailed particulars will be given in the coming work on inscriptions in Aleppo in the sections "citadels and city-wall"; on his buildings in Damascus see M. Sobernheim, *Die Inschriften der Zitadelle von Damaskus*, N°. 24—26 in *Der Islam*, xii. (1921); on commerce in his time see B. Moritz, *Ein Firman des Sultans Selim* in the *Festschr. Ed. Sachau .... gewidmet*, Berlin 1915, p. 425—27. On his wars with Portugal see S. Ruge, *Gesch. des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (Samml. Oncken, ii. 9) and H. Schäfer, *Gesch. Portugals*, iii., Hamburg 1850, p. 200 *sqq.*; R. S. Whiteway, *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, London 1899. For his coins see *Or. Coins*, of in the *Cat. Brit. Mus.* iv. 214—216. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

ḲANṬARA, plur. *ḳanāṭir*, means in Arabic (1) bridge, particularly a bridge of masonry or stone; also (2) aqueduct (especially in the plural), dam, and finally (3) high building, castle (similarly *ḳasṭal* = aqueduct from *ḳasṭal* = castellum; see ḲAṢR); cf. *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, iii. 509; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 412; de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, iv. 334; and particularly R. Geyer in the *S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1905, vol. cxlix. Nº. 6, p. 114—119. The original meaning of the word, "arch", is found in the earliest Arabic lexicographers; cf. Dozy—de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrîsî*, p. 369. *Djisr*, a bridge of wood or boats, is the opposite of *ḳanṭara*, which is of stone; in time, however, the two words came to be used as synonyms (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, i. 194).

No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the origin of the word. The oldest reference is found in a verse of Ṭarafa (iv. 22; see *The Diwans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, 1870, p. 55). On account of this early occurrence of the word, Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 187) considers the word to be genuine Arabic. But we may with considerable certainty regard it as a loan-word. Vollers and Geyer thought it borrowed from Latin or Greek. The former connected (*Z.D.M.G.*, li. 370; *Z.A.*, viii. 100 *sq.*) *ḳanṭara* with the mediaeval Latin word *cintrum* (French *cintre*, arch, vault), while Geyer (*op. cit.*, p. 118—119) sought the original either in κανθήλιος = basket, *cantherius* = wickerwork used in the making of roofs and buildings, or in κάμπτρα, κάμπτρον = depository (cf. also καμπτός = vaulting), from which Vollers, *Z.D.M.G.*, li. 302, derived Egypto-Arab. *ḳanṭar*. But all these explanations had best be rejected, because there are phonetic objections to them and they partly rely for the meanings of the words cited on obsolete, far-fetched glosses; cf., on the other hand, Fränkel in the *Z.A.*, xix. 270 *sq.*, and Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 408. Ḳanṭara is most probably to be derived from the Aramaic and, as Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, thinks, in the first place from *ḳeṭīrā* = band, arch (see Payne-Smith, *Thesaur. Syriac.*, col. 3591; note specially *ḳeṭīrā* in Bar Bahlūl, *Lexic.*, col. 1768). The above mentioned word *djisr* also comes from the Aramaic (Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, p. 285 and D. H. Müller in the *W.Z.K.M.*, i. 31), but can actually be traced back to the Assyrian or Accadian; cf. Meissner in the *Z.A.*, ix. 269, and Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, p. 31.

Al-Ḳanṭara has survived in Spanish in the diminutives *alcantarilla* = little bridge, gutter and *alcantarillado* = arched aqueduct; see Dozy—Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*[2], Leiden 1869, p. 47; *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Española* [13], Madrid 1899, s. v.

Al-Ḳanṭara and al-Ḳanāṭir are frequently found — sometimes with descriptive additions e. g. Ḳanāṭir Firʿawn — as names for places like quarters of a city (notably in Baghdād) in areas where Arabic was, or is, spoken in the mediaeval or modern East. In his geographical dictionary (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 180, 185—192, vi. 179—180) Yāḳūt gives a dozen places named al-Ḳanṭara and four called Ḳanāṭir; cf. also, for example, the indices to al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, p. 759—760, and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xiii. 790. For the numerous districts of Baghdād named after particular bridges under the Caliphate see the index to Guy le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London 1900, p. 368.

Of the places named al-Ḳanṭara, the following are worthy of special mention:

1. An oasis on the southern slopes of the Atlas in Algeria at the exit of a narrow pass through which run the road and railway from Constantine to the desert regions; it is a station on the Constantine-Biskra line, 35 miles north of the latter. This, the most northern oasis in Africa, consists of three villages with about 3,500 inhabitants and possesses a very dense date grove. From its situation it was an important military station and, as Roman inscriptions found there show, settled in ancient times. It is presumably identical with the station *Ad Calcem Herculis* of the Roman itineraries; see Dessau in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklop. der klassischen Altert.-Wissensch.*, iii. 1345. The name al-Ḳanṭara is derived from the Roman bridge, restored in 1862 by the French, which spans in one huge arch the ravine, the 150 feet wide Fumm al-Ṣaḥrāʾ = the mouth of the Ṣaḥrāʾ (so-called by the natives), through which flows the Wād al-Ḳanṭara; cf., for example, Vivien de St. Martin, *Diction. de Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1879, i. 66 and Kobelt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Algerien und Tunis*, 1885, p. 332.

2. Alcántara, a little town of great antiquity in the province of Caceres (district of Estremadura) in Spain, near the Portuguese frontier, with 3,200 inhabitants. It receives its name from an imposing granite bridge, built in 105 A. D., which crosses the Tagus in six great arches to the northwest of the town. The place is also famous for the order of knighthood founded there in 1176 to defend the frontier against the Moors, which became called the Alcantara Order after its headquarters were moved to this town in 1213; see Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal*[4], Leipzig 1913, p. 459.

3. A small town with a mosque in Egypt, on the Asiatic side of the Suez canal, half-way between Port Saʿīd and Ismāʿīliya, a station on the railway connecting these two towns. It lies on a low narrow tongue of rising ground, which runs out between the large Menzaleh lake in the north and the little Balāḥ lake in the south. But it hardly takes its name from this "land bridge", but from a bridge which already existed here probably in the early Middle Ages.

The Arab geographer Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, who wrote about 741 (1340), mentions the arch of a bridge, called Ḳanṭarat al-Djisr, near the old caravan station of al-ʿAḳūla, under which the superfluous water flowed into the desert at the time of the Nile's inundation. There was still a bridge here at the beginning of the nineteenth century, built over a canal connecting the two lakes already mentioned. The modern al-Ḳanṭara has only arisen on its present site since the making of the Suez Canal. The old settlement was a short half-hour's journey to the east and is marked by the mound of ruins Tell Abū Sēfe (on the maps also called Tell al-Aḥmar). This place may be regarded as the key to Egypt, for it has always been used by conquerors as the gateway to the Nile valley. Its strategical importance led to its being occupied in remote antiquity. Tell Abū Sēfe (with ruins of a temple of Rameses II and remains of the Ptolemaic and Roman period)

marks the site of the ancient Egyptian town of Zaru (*Ṯ'r w*), the capital of the fourteenth district of Lower Egypt, which was already a fortress in the time of the Middle Kingdom. In the later classical and Byzantine literature it appears as Sile, Sele (Selle); according to a Latin inscription found here, it had a Roman garrison in 288 and was later also the see of a bishop. In the Middle Ages it was called al-ʿAḳūla (on the name al-ʿAḳūla = "the bend" see above s.v. DAIR AL-ʿAḲŪL), a name which was temporarily supplanted by that of the castle of al-Ḳuṣair during the Mamlūk period. In the World War (1914—1918) al-Ḳanṭara played an important part in the struggle for the Suez Canal. From November, 1914, to March, 1916, there were frequent encounters there between English and Turkish troops; cf. thereon, for example, Baer, *Der Völkerkrieg. Eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914*, Stuttgart 1914 *sq.*, iv. 220—24, viii. 367, xi. 318, xvii. 47 *sq.*, 128, 130, 132.

In remote antiquity as well as in the late Middle Ages and modern times, al-Ḳanṭara was the point of departure for the caravan road from Egypt to Syria. Since the World War the new railway line to Syria has branched off here from the Port Saʿīd-Suez line, and runs from al-Ḳanṭara via Ḳaṭya, al-ʿArīsh and Ghazza to Ludd, where it links up with the line from Yāfā to Jerusalem.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*[7] (1913), p. 177, 171; C. Küthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, Berliner Dissert., 1911, p. 38—49; R. Hartmann in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lxiv. 688, 691, 696; lxx. 486 *sq.*, 511 and in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1916, lxii. 373—377; Alt in the *Palästinajahrbuch des deutsch. evangel. Instituts*, x., Berlin 1914, p. 60—63 and Dalman, *loc. cit.*, xx., 1924, p. 44—46. On excavations and finds in the region of al-Ḳanṭara see Clédat in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à l'archéol. égyptienne et assyrienne*, Paris 1915, xxxvii. 38 *sq.* and 1919, xxxviii. 1 *sq.*, 70 *sq.*

4. A sanctuary among the ruins of the ancient Petra on the Sinai Peninsula; cf. Savignac, *Le Sanctuaire d'el Kantara* in the *Rev. Biblique*, New series, 1906, iii. 391 *sq.*

5. Ḳanṭarat Zainab in the valley of the Nahr Bairūt in Syria, an ancient Roman aqueduct of which considerable remains exist at the present day; according to Arab legend, it was built by Queen Zenobia (Zainab); cf. Fr. Müller, *Studien über Zenobia and Palmyra*, Diss. Königsberg 1902, p. 14 *sq.*

6. Ḳanāṭir Firʿawn („Pharaoh's aqueduct"), a great aqueduct in the south of Syria, which, beginning at Dilli, at the western foot of the lava plateau of Ledjā (west of Ḥawrān), runs in a south-western direction for some sixty miles as far as Muḳīs (Gadara), providing many villages with the necessary drinking-water in the summer months. It is identified by Wetzstein — probably rightly — with the Ḳanāṭir mentioned by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (*Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 117). But the Ghassānid Djabala b. al-Ḥārith, who reigned about 500 A.D., can hardly, as Ḥamza says, be the builder of this marvellous piece of work; see Nöldeke, *Die ghassan. Fürsten*.... in the *Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1887, iv. 50; it certainly dates back to ancient times. For further information see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, Berlin 1860, p. 123—125.

The diminutive Ḳunaiṭira (popularly Ḳnāṭra or Ḳonēṭri) is occasionally used as a place name, e.g. a village in the district of Djawlān (Eastern Jordan); see Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*[5], 1912, p. 268. (M. STRECK)

ḲĀNŪN, the name of a month, which is found as early as in inscriptions from Palmyra (see S. A. Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, s.v.) and corresponds to Marḥeshwān. It later appears among the Syriac names of the months (see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syr.*, s.v.) as *K. ḳedēm* or *ḳadmāyā* and *K. ḥrāy* or *ḥrāyā*. Here the two *K.* are the ninth and tenth months respectively. Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, transcribes the Syriac forms exactly as *K. ḳadīm* and *K. ḥrāy*. In Arabic terminology they are called *K. al-awwal* and *K. al-ākhir*. In the Ḥadīth the former appears in a remarkable connection. In Muslim, *Ashriba*, Trad. 99, a reason is added for the regulation, often mentioned elsewhere, that vessels should be kept covered: "for there is a night in the year in which the *wabāʾ* passes no uncovered vessel". In another version of the same tradition it is added: "foreigners (*aʿādjim*) among us used to fear this in *Kānūn al-awwal*". (A. J. WENSINCK)

ḲĀNŪN, a musical instrument, consisting of a flat thin quadrilateral box strung with wire chords, which is laid on the knees and played with a key of metal fixed on the forefinger, like the zither (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 70, 72; Salvador Daniel, *Musique Arabe*, p. 37).

ḲĀNŪN (from the Greek κανών), canon, custom, law. The development of the Muslim empire, its vast conquests which brought it into contact with peoples of very different characters, who for the most part had laws already codified, the rise of commerce and industries and the institution of regular troops forced the governors to establish alongside of the *sharīʿa* or religious law a series of special enactments by the application of the principle of *ʿurf*, *lex principis*. It is these edicts that are called *ḳānūn* (plur. *ḳawānīn*). The Berbers give this name to their own statutes, their customary law; see Hanoteau et Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles*, Paris 1873, ii. and iii.; Morand, *Les Kanouns du Mzab* in the *Études de droit musulman algérien*, Algiers 1910; Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les populations arabes sédentaires*, Paris 1886, p. 74 *sqq.*; *Archives berbères*, i. and ii.; *Le droit Kabyle*, 2[nd] ed., Paris 1917; Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, chapter v.: *La littérature juridique des Kanouns*. (CL. HUART)

ḲĀNŪN-I ESĀSĪ, "fundamental law", the name given to the constitution of the Ottoman empire dated Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 7, 1293 (Dec. 24, 1876), promulgated by a *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of the same date addressed to the Grand Vizier Midḥat Pasha. It maintains the order of succession of the family of ʿOthmān and explicitly gives the Sulṭān the title of *Khalīfa* (art. 3), protector of the Muslim religion (art. 4). It confirms his sacred and non-responsible character (art. 5). It enumerates the rights of Ottoman subjects (art. 8—26), the duties and responsibilities of the ministers (art. 27—38) and other officials (art. 39—41); establishes a parliament (*medjlis-i ʿumūmī*), consisting of two chambers, the Senate (*Heyʾet-i aʿyān*) and the

Chamber of Deputies (*Hey'et-i mebʿūthān*); the first is to consist of members nominated directly by the Sulṭān and its numbers must not exceed a third of the second (art. 60), which is elected by the people on a ratio of one deputy for every 50,000 Turkish subjects (art. 65). It establishes the permanency of the magistracy (art. 81). No tax can be levied if it is not passed by a law, *ḳānūn* (art. 80). The administration of the provinces is based on the principles of decentralisation (*tewsīʿ-i meʾdhūniyet*) and the separation of powers (*tefrīḳ-i wezāʾif*); it is based on elected municipal councils (art. 108—112). In case of trouble, the state has the right to proclaim an autocratic government, *idāre-i ʿurfiye*; it is the state of siege which is meant by this name (art. 113); banishment on the Sulṭān's decision is provided for those who stir up trouble. The principle of compulsory elementary education is laid down (art. 114). In spite of the formal terms in art. 115, according to which not a single article of the constitution could be suppressed or not put into operation for any reason or under any pretext, the fundamental law of the empire, although continuing to figure at the head of the *Sālnāme* (official annuals), was actually suspended after the fall of Midḥat Pasha and only re-established by the military revolution which marked the close of the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II.

The same name was given to the Persian constitution proclaimed by a *firmān* (royal proclamation) dated Djum. II 14, 1324 (Aug. 5, 1906) and promulgated on Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 14, 1324 (Dec. 30, 1906) in the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh. It deals only with the formation and activities of the national assembly; it was granted in reply to the demand of the refugees in the English legation. A supplementary constitution, promulgated by Muḥammad ʿAlī, successor to Muẓaffar al-Dīn, on Shaʿbān 29, 1325 (Oct. 7, 1907), laid the foundation for constitutional law in Persia. It laid down more especially that Shīʿī Islām is the official religion of the State, that Ṭihrān is the capital, that the national flag is green, white and red (in three horizontal stripes) with the emblem of the Lion and Sun. It provided for the equality of citizens of Persia before the law, the protection of life and property; arrests could not take place without a written order from the President of the Tribunal of Justice. It recognises the freedom of the press, except for heretical publications or those harmful to religion, as well as the right of association and assembly. Legislative power is divided between two chambers. The ministers must be Muslims, they are responsible to the two chambers; lastly it provides for the establishment of provincial and departmental councils (*andjuman*).

Bibliography: The *Sālnāme*'s (official annuals of the Ottoman Empire) from 1293; A. Ubicini, *La constitution ottomane*, Paris 1879; Edw. G. Browne, *Persian Revolution*, Cambridge 1910, p. 119, 123, 351, 362, 372.

(Cl. Huart)

ḲĀNŪN-NĀMA, the name given to the fundamental law of the Ottoman Empire promulgated by Sulṭān Muḥammad II on the advice of his Grand Vizier, Muḥammad of Caramania. It is divided into three sections called *bāb* (chapter), which treat respectively of the great dignitaries of the Empire, of customs and ceremonies and lastly of the fines for crimes and revenues set aside for special appropriations.

Sulṭān Sulaimān completed these ordinances by issuing several *Ḳānūn-nāme*'s. The one reorganised the administration of the military fiefs (*zeʿāmet, timār*) established by Murād I; the second codified the administration of the farms in Egypt; the third laid down the rights and duties of the *reʿāyā*, "subjects" Muslim and non-Muslim in respect of feudatories; the fourth dealt solely with the police regulations and the penal laws.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Osmanische Staatsverfassung*, i. 97 *sqq.*; do., *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, iii. 299 *sqq.*, vi. 264 *sqq.*; G. Jäschke, *Die Entwicklung des osmanischen Verfassungsstaates* (*W. I.*, v. 5 *sqq.*) Berlin 1917; A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, p. 152 *sqq.*; Ewliyā-Efendi, *Travels*, transl. von Hammer, i. 88 *sqq.*

(Cl. Huart)

ḲAPLĀN GIRĀY, the name of two Khāns of the Crimea in the eighteenth century.

1. Ḳaplān Girāy I reigned three times: 1119—1120 (1707—1708), 1125—1128 (1713—1716) and 1143—1149 (1730—36). He died on the island of Chios in Shaʿbān, 1151 (Nov.-Dec., 1738). Immediately after the death of his father Salīm I, in Shaʿbān, 1116 (Nov.-Dec., 1704), he set up as a claimant to the throne but was not proclaimed Khān till after the death of his brother Ghāzī III. His own three depositions were on each occasion the result of the unfortunate course of military operations; the first (according to Smirnow, 9 months before the battle of Poltawa, i. e. Oct., 1708) after an unsuccessful campaign against the (then not yet completely islamised) Circassians, the second as a result of his arriving too late on the scene of operations on the Danube, the third (when he was now enfeebled by old age and illness) after his campaign to Persia, by which without even reaching the frontiers of Persia he exposed his own country to the invasion of the Russians. He was generally regarded as a skilful politician but an unfortunate general.

2. Ḳaplān Girāy II, grandson of Ḳaplān Girāy I and son of Khān Salīm II, only reigned for a short period: 1183—1184 (1770). He fought unsuccessfully against the Russians in the Dobrudja, was falsely accused of having had dealings with the enemy and deposed on Shaʿbān 4, 1184 (Nov. 23, 1770). He died in Rabīʿ II, 1185 (July-Aug., 1771) of the plague at the age of 32.

Bibliography: W. Smirnow, *Krimskoje chanstvo pod werchowenstwom Ottomanskoi Porti v XVIII. stoljetii*, Odessa 1889, p. 6, 8—14, 25—30, 51—58, 116—127; O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, p. 165 *sq.*, 170 *sq.*, 184 *sq.*, 230 *sq.*

(W. Barthold)

ḲAPLAN MUṢṬAFĀ Pasha, a native of Merzifon, an Ottoman general and statesman of the time of Sulṭān Meḥmed IV (1648–87), one of the ablest and most successful collaborators of the Grand Vizier Köprülü Aḥmad Fāḍil (Fāżil) Pasha and therefore closely involved in Turkey's struggle under the Köprülü's to regain her old position of power.

He was brought up in the court service, was Silāḥdār of the Sulṭān and in 1650 was appointed Wezīr and Wālī of Baghdād. He spent a number of years as Wālī of important provinces, in Wān, Ḳonya and Damascus, until the Hungarian campaign gave him an opportunity to distinguish

himself, notably before Neuhäusel in 1663, at Kanischa and elsewhere. The Grand Vizier gave him his sister in marriage in order to ally him closely to him. Aḥmad Fāḍil Pasha cleverly managed to transfer the most important affairs to his brothers-in-law. In 1660 Ḳaplan was appointed Grand Admiral (*Ḳapudan-i Deryā*) ("a tiger on land and a crocodile at sea", as Rāshid describes him à propos of his appointment in allusion to his name) (Ḳaplan = panther). He filled this important post for six years, commanded the Ottoman fleet with vigour and caution during the heavy fighting of the time and cooperated with special distinction in the conquest of Crete. He then took part in the campaign against Poland and conquered Lemberg along with the Khān of the Crimea. He then became Wālī of Aleppo in 1672, of Diyārbakr in 1675, of Baghdād for a second time in 1676 and in 1677 of Diyārbakr again. After the death of the Grand Vizier Aḥmad Fāḍil Pasha his frank nature still enabled him to maintain his position against the new Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā, who was not inclined in his favour. Even the severe defeat which he suffered in 1678 in the Ukraine in the swamps between the fortress of Tschechrin and Romodanowski, where he lost the whole of his army and equipment, brought him only temporary dismissal and disgrace. Soon afterwards he became Grand Admiral for a second time. He died in November, 1680, in Smyrna, which he happened to have entered with the fleet, and was buried there. In Baghdād he had restored the mosque and *türbe* of Shaikh Muḥammad Ḳudūrī.

Bibliography: Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1282, i. 117, 134, 153, 353, 364; Aḥmad Rif'at, *Rawḍat al-Asātiye*, Constantinople 1282, p. 105; Meḥmed Shem'ī, *Ḥawādith Elḥmār al-Tewārīkh*, Constantinople 1295, p. 142; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, Constantinople 1314, v. 3601; Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, Constantinople 1315, iv. 52 *sq.*; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Pest 1130, vi., cf. Index; Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Gotha 1911, iv. 179.

(TH. MENZEL)

ḲAPU, gate, the Ottoman Porte, properly the palace of the Sulṭān or of the Grand Vizier. The name (by synecdoche, cf. "court") may be of Central Asian origin; it recalls names like the Japanese mi kado, for example, literally "exalted gate", etc. (cf. J. Six in *Acta Orientalia*, ii. 205 *sq.*). Among the Ottomans *Ḳapu* has been long in use in the above sense and used alternately with the Arabic *bāb* or the Persian *der*. The name may have passed from Turkish into Arabic about the Mamlūk period, as, for example, the passage i. 469, 2 from below, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Algiers 1847, where *kāb* = palace, shows. — *Ḳapu Ḳulī* "gate-slaves" (the meaning of this expression is explained and a list of the troops concerned given in Aḥmad Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, xii., Stambul 1301, p. 224, 1 from below; cf., on the other hand, J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv. 566). — The name "lofty gate" for the office of the Grand Vizier (*Pasha Ḳapusu*, *Bāb-i 'ālī*, "Sublime Porte, Fulgida Porta") probably did not come into use before 1654, when the Grand Vizier Derwish Meḥmed Pasha was given a building near the Serai for an office by Sulṭān Meḥmed IV.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 44, 137 *sq.*; T. X. Bianchi and J. D. Kieffer, *Dictionnaire turc-français*[2], Paris 1850, s. v. Ḳapu, ii. 438.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲAPUČI, gate keeper, porter (*Ar. bawwāb*, Pers. *darbān*), formerly the lowest grade and outermost guard of the Imperial Serai chosen from the Yaničars, who guarded its gates, 50 at each gate. By day they carried a rod of bamboo, by night they were armed with sword and dagger. They were used as messengers to carry to the grandees of the Empire and foreign princes invitations to court festivities or documents of state. Some performed the duties of eunuchs. They wore white helmet-like caps (*ṭarḳūf*, *zuffia*). Their number and pay varied. While they numbered 300 at the beginning of the sixteenth century (cf. T. Spandugino, *Commentari dell' origine de' principi Turchi* (Florence 1551, p. 130; in Schefer's edition, Paris 1896, p. 116 *sqq.*) and each Ḳapuči received up to 7 aspers a day, their pay had risen to 20—50 aspers daily about 1511 (cf. the Bailo Andrea Foscolo report of March 6, 1511, quoting Marino Sanuto, in J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, ii. 627; cf. ii. 234 as well as Spandugino, ed. Schefer, p. lix.); under Sulṭān Murād III in 982 (1574) their number was 356 (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, 1861, xv. 283) and under Sulṭān Meḥmed IV (1648—1687), according to Ḥusein Hezārfenn's (*d.* 1103 = 1691) *Ḳānūnnāme* (written in 1080 = 1669; cf. F. Pétis de la Croix, *État général de l'Empire Othoman, par un militaire turc*, Paris 1695, and J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung des Osman. Reiches*, ii. 44 *sq.*), they had risen to 1962, who received 5,785,004 aspers a year. The *Ḳapuǰiler* were divided into 45 companies, each of which was under its own company-commander (*bölük bashî*), who held a fief in place of salary. The commander of the gatekeepers was the *Ḳapuǰiler Bashî*, a kind of chamberlain. According to the evidences of Menavino, Navagero and Spandugino, the number of *ḳapuǰiler bashî*'s in the first half of the xvi[th] century was only four. Above them was the *ḳapuǰiler kyayasî*, head-chamberlain.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲAPUDAN PASHA, formerly the title of the supreme commander of all the Ottoman fleets, who had also unlimited control of the imperial arsenal. The origin of this rank dates back to the beginnings of Ottoman sea power under Sulṭān Meḥmed II. The first naval captain (*Ḳapudan-i Deryā*; the word *Ḳapudan* comes from the Greek Καπετάνος) was Balṭa-Oghlu Suleimān Beg, probably of Bulgarian origin, the Παλτόγλης or Παλτόγλους or Παλτογλῆς of the Byzantine chroniclers (Chalcocondylas, p. 390, 519; Kritobulos, i. 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 41; Dukas, p. 270, 4; cf. 'Ālī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 168, 174). Till 1533 the Sandjakbeg of Gallipoli was at the same time *Ḳapudan Pasha* (cf. [Ramberti], *Cose de' Turchi*, Venice 1543, p. 142[a]; T. Spandugino, *Commentari dell' origine de' principi Turchi*, Firenze 1551, p. 146, 164; Nic. de Nicolai, *Navigations et pérégrinations orientales*, Lyon 1567, p. 77; N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti*, p. 356: capitano dell' armata di Gallipoli; cf. Feridūn Bey, *Munsha'āt al-Selāṭīn*[2], i. 464: *Gelibolu Ḳapudanî*). With the increasing sea power of the Ottomans and the foundation of an arsenal of their own, especially under Sulaimān the Great when the dreaded Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa

for so long commanded the fleet, the headquarters of the High Admiral were removed from Gallipoli to Constantinople. While the office of Ḳapudan Pasha, who had the 19th wilāyet of the Empire as well as 13 sandjaḳs under him and disposed of an income of 885,000 aspers (cf. Sir P. Ricaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1687, p. 102 *sq.*), was already one of prestige, with the increasing size of the Ottoman navy it soon became one of the first in the Empire. As long as the Sandjak-beg of Gallipoli was at the head of naval affairs, his jurisdiction only extended to Pera and Nicomedia and in larger naval enterprises a special Pasha was appointed beside him, who acted in supreme command as admiral (Spandugino, *Commentari*, Firenze 1551, p. 165). Later, especially from the time of Barbarossa, the Ḳapudan Pasha was one of the regular and active members of the Dīwān and was not only one of the most powerful but also one of the best paid dignitaries in Turkey. In rank he was equal to the *Ser Asker*, directly below the Grand Vizier and the *Shaikh al-Islām*. On account of the revenues attached to the post it was always an object of ambition in the Turkish official world and was granted by the Sulṭān as a mark of special favour without regard to practical or theoretical training and fitness. Down to about 1780 the Kapudan Pasha was also given the governor-generalship of the islands subject to the Porte in the Aegean Sea, some of the sea-provinces of Asia Minor and the controllership of the arsenal on the north shore of the Golden Horn in Galata, where he had his residence among the wharves. In the sixth century the title was abolished under Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and replaced by that of *Baḥriye Nāẓiri*, Director of the Arsenal. All naval establishments were under him, the Minister of Marine; a naval council (*Shūrā-i Baḥriye*) assisted him and advised on technical matters and affairs of administration. In June, 1876 under Murād V, the title was revived but only for a short time; it was then definitely replaced by that of Minister of Marine.

A list of all *Ḳapudānān-i Deryā* is given in J. v. Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte d. Osmanischen Reiches* (at the end of each volume) and in the work — which first appeared as a feuilleton of the newspaper *Djerīde-i Ḥawādith* — by Rāmiz Pasha-Zāde Meḥmed Efendi, *Kharīṭa-i Ḳapudānān-i Deryā* (of 761—1258 [= Chronogram of the title]; 220 pp., 12°, Stambul 1285 = 1868/69) and in Meḥmed Rāʾif, *Mirʾāt-i Istambul*, Stambul 1314, p. 481—497.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār fī Asfār al-Biḥār*, Stambul 1141; I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, vii., Paris 1824, p. 424, 429 *sqq.*; J. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vienna 1818, ii. 291. (FRANZ BABINGER.)

ḲARA, the Turkish word for black or dark colour in general. It is commonly used with this meaning as the first component of geographical names, for example Ḳara Āmid (on account of the black basalt of which this fortress is built); Ḳara Dagh (on account of its dark forests), etc. Beside Ḳara we find in place-names the form Ḳaradja. In personal names it refers to the black or dark brown colour of hair or to a dark complexion. It has, however, at the same time also the meaning "strong, powerful" and has to be interpreted in this sense in the name Ḳara Osmān or in names like Ḳara Arslān. In this connection also we have the name Ḳara Khān, which was assumed by the Ḳarakhānids in Eastern Turkestan.

Bibliography: Von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reichs*, i. 80; Maḥmūd Kashgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333, iii. 167. (J. H. KRAMERS)

ḲARA ARSLĀN IBN DĀʾŪD with the *laḳab* FAKHR AL-DĪN, third Amīr of the line of the Ortoḳids [q. v.] of Ḥiṣn Kaifā and great-grandson of the founder of this dynasty.

Statements differ regarding the year in which he succeeded his father Dāʾūd b. Soḳmān. According to Abu 'l-Faradj Barhebraeus (*Chronicon*, ed. Bedjan, Paris 1890, p. 305), Dāʾūd died in the Greek year 1455 (1143—44). The Arabic sources do not give the year; in any case Stanley Lane-Poole, who bases his view that Dāʾūd did not die till about 543 (1148) on a mistaken interpretation of Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, xi. 73) (*Coins of the Urtuḳi Turkomāns* in *Numismata Orientalia*, Part ii., London 1876, p. 6), puts the date too late. Münedjdjim Bashī (iii. 377) gives 540 (1145). Even before his father's death we find Ḳarā Arslān at war with the Crusaders. When in Ramaḍān, 532 (May, 1138) the Byzantine Emperor John, in alliance with the Franks against the Atabek Zangī of Mawṣil, besieged the fortress of Shaizar near Antioch, he retired when he heard that Ḳarā Arslān had crossed the Euphrates with 50,000 men to come to the help of the town (Kamāl al-Dīn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Orientaux*, iii. 677). Ḳarā Arslān does not, however, seem to have had at all a friendly reception from Zangī on his arrival; the Atabek, indeed, ordered him to go back to his father. His relations with Zangī continued to be strained, as is shown in the account in Kamāl al-Dīn (p. 684) that a battle was fought between the two in 536 (1141—1142) at Bahmurd, in which Ḳarā Arslān was defeated. Peace was restored next year again. According to Abu 'l-Faradj's account of his accession (see above), Zangī went so far as to attempt to secure the succession of Ḳarā Arslān's elder brother Toghrïlsh, who had escaped to Mawṣil. Sulṭān Masʿūd of Konya, however, gave help to Ḳarā Arslān and Zangī had to abandon his plan.

However strained may have been Ḳarā Arslān's relations with Zangī, his alliance with the latter's son Nūr al-Dīn of Aleppo was a most faithful one. In 544 (1149—1150) he accompanied the latter on an expedition against the town of Sindjār, which, however, was later again restored to Nūr al-Dīn's brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. In 559 (1164) he again assisted him, along with Nadjm al-Dīn of Mārdīn and other princes, at the capture of the fortress of Ḥārim, where many Frankish knights were taken prisoner (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 92, 185). For the rest Ḳarā Arslān does not seem to have been of a particularly warlike disposition. He would have preferred to keep out of the last named expedition, if the fear of his own subjects, whose fanaticism had been aroused by Nūr al-Dīn (and apparently also the fear of Nūr al-Dīn himself), had not compelled him to take part. Very little else is chronicled of his activities; for example, the capture of the Kurdish stronghold of Shāṭān (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 185) in 546 A. H. and the unsuccessful

siege of 'Āmid on a campaign against the Danishmandid Yaghi Arslān in 1163 A. D. (Abu 'l-Faradj, *op. cit.*, p. 329).

The Arabic and Syriac sources are unanimous in giving the year 562 (1166—67) as the year of his death. Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 217) tells how before his death he commended his son and successor Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad to the protection of his powerful ally Nūr al-Dīn of Aleppo. The latter kept the trust and prevented his own brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn from seizing Ḳarā Arslān's territory. Stanley Lane-Poole, on the other hand, relying on coins of the year 570 A. H. of Ḳarā Arslān, places his death in 570 or even not till 571 (*op. cit.*, p. 16).

Ḥiṣn Kaifā [q. v.] seems to have been his usual residence. There still exist here the remains of the great bridge of one arch over the Tigris which, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (*B. G. A.*, ii. 152), he had restored. Abu 'l-Faradj, however, calls him, like his father, lord of Ḥiṣn Ziyād (i. e. Khartabirt) (Kharpūt). It is very possible that this town belonged to Ḳarā Arslān's territory, for in 1122 it was in the hands of the Ortoḳid Balak and Ḳarā Arslān's son 'Imād al-Dīn later (581) founded there a collateral line of the Ortoḳids. But the town of 'Āmid most probably never belonged to his possessions; it was only presented to his successor by Saladin in 579 (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 324). At his death he is, however, described as ruler over Ḥiṣn Kaifā and the greater part of Diyār Bakr (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 217).

Bibliography (besides works already mentioned): F. Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, ii., iii., Leipzig 1813, 1817; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, *Documents Arméniens*, Paris 1869, p. 155, 357, and *Historiens Orientaux* (besides Kamāl al-Dīn also Abu 'l-Fidā' and Abū Shāma). On Ḳarā Arslān's coins (remarkable, like the coins of other Ortoḳid and Atabeg lines, for their pictorial types) see Stanley Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, and his *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, iii. (1877), 118. On inscriptions with the name of Ḳarā Arslān cf. M. v. Oppenheim, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, i.; *Arabische Inschriften* by M. v. Berchem, Leipzig 1909, p. 83, 85. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KARABADHIN. [See AḲRABĀDHĪN.]

ḲARA-BĀGH (Turkish-Persian: "black garden", because of the black and fertile soil of its high valleys), the present-day name of the mountainous part of Arrān [q. v.] forming a province of Transcaucasia bounded by the Kurr, the Aras and the district of Erīwān; area about 6,750 sq. miles and 250,000 inhabitants (half Ādharbaidjānī and half Armenians); capital Shūsha; mountains: Kūmish (12,480 feet) and Ḳapudjik (12,360 feet). Its horses are famous for their swiftness, and reptiles, scorpions and tarantulas are found there. It is in this province that Fatḥ 'Alī Ākhoundzāde [q. v.] lays the scene of his comedy: *Monsieur Jourdan, botaniste parisien*.

At the beginning of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I, in 996 (1588), the Ottoman general Farhād Pasha, in alliance with the governor of Shirwān, Dja'far Pasha, invaded Ḳarā-bāgh and seized Gandja (v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii. 221; Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 257—258). This province was at that time the hereditary fief of the Turkish clan of Djewānshīr, the family of Sarū-lu, a descendant of Avshār or Afshār, eldest son of Yulduz, third son of Oghuz (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, St. Petersburg 1871—74, p. 27). This clan emigrated from Turkestān with Hūlāgū and was brought back from Asia Minor by Tīmūr and scattered over Turkestān, Persia and Afghānistān, especially around Kābul and Ḳandahār. Its chiefs were called from father to son alternately Panāh and Ibrāhīm Khalīl; it was Panāh III who built Shūsha in 1165 (1752) and gave it the name of Panāh-ābād, whence the name *panāh-ābādī* given to the coins which he struck there. His son Ibrāhīm Khalīl Khān, having succeeded him, found himself attacked by the Persians; after two fruitless sieges, Āghā Muḥammad Khān (later Shāh) Ḳādjār captured Shūsha but was assassinated there on the morning of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 21, 1211 (June 18, 1797), five days after entering the town, by three of his servants who feared his vengeance. Ibrāhīm, who had fled, came back two months later; he submitted to the Russian general, a Georgian by origin, Prince Sisianoff (Zizishwili), after the capture of Gandja in 1219 (1804) and agreed to pay a tribute of 6,000 ducats; he received the rank of lieutenant-general and a Russian garrison occupied his capital. His eldest son, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Khān, was the brother-in-law of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh and had remained faithful to the Persian alliance; he brought his father back to the Ḳādjār party and the latter attempted to liberate his capital, but Dja'far Ḳulī Khān, son of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān and grandson of Ibrāhīm, warned the Russians of the Persian advance. 600 Russian soldiers left the citadel and in the middle of the night of Rabī' I 23, 1221 (June 10, 1806) attacked the camp of Ibrāhīm Khalīl, who was killed with his family in the fighting. The Russian major commanding the garrison installed another of his sons in his place, Mahdī Ḳulī Khān, who reigned till 1238 (1822) when he fled to Persia. The Ḳādjārs had, however, renounced all claim to Ḳarā-bāgh by the treaty of Gulistān (Oct. 12, 1813).

Bibliography: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 181, 182 (transl. p. 173, 174); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 392, 393 (transl. de Norberg, p. 559); Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Tihrān, ix. 108, 119, 121, 160, 167, 172; Samī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3621; Schefer, *Chrest. pers.*, ii. 121; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 179; Ed. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus*, i., Stuttgart 1837, p. 25—31, 559 *sq.*; K. Koch, *Reise in Grusien . . . . und im Kaukasus*, iii., Weimar 1847, p. 111—116, 200—206; G. Radde, *Karabagh*, in *Petermann's Mitt.*, Ergänzungsbd., xxi. (1890), Heft No. 100. (CL. HUART)

AL-**KARĀBĪSĪ**, the cloth-merchant, the *nisba* of several Arab authors; viz.:

1. the mathematician AḤMAD B. 'UMAR, the date of whose death is not known and among whose works, a commentary on the translation of Euclid is specially celebrated; see *Fihrist*, p. 265, 13, 282, 1; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, Cairo 1326, p. 57, 5.

Only one of his works has came down to us, viz. his *Kitāb Misāḥat al-ḥalaḳ* (Oxford and Cairo; cf. *Bibl. Bodl.*, *Codd. Mss. Or.*, i. No. 913; and *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'arabiyya fi 'l-Kutubkhāne al-Khedīwiyya*, v. 204).

2. the traditionist and faḳīh ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-

Ḥusain b. ʿAlī b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī, who had at first belonged to the Ahl al-Raʾy, but after the arrival of al-Shāfiʿī at Baghdād attached himself to him; at the same time he remained an absolute supporter of the belief in predestination (*ḳadar*); nothing has survived of his writings on criticism of traditionists and fiḳh. He died in 245 (859), according to others in 248 (862).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 181, 4; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, facsimile ed. by Margoliouth, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xx., 1912, f. 476b; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 180; Cairo 1299, i. 181; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal*, ed. Cureton, p. 96; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 774; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1324, i. 251—6; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1303, vii. 29; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1287, ii 439; ed. Reiske–Adler, ii. 204; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll, i. 753, 763.

3. the Ḥanafī faḳīh Asʿad b. Muḥammad (d. 570 = 1174), whose *Kitāb al-Furūḳ fi 'l-Furūʿ*, which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, iv. 419, No. 9041 confuses with the *Talkhīṣ al-Uṣūl* of al-Maḥbūbī (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 380, No. 34), is preserved in Cairo; see *Fihrist al-Kutub al-ʿArabiya fi 'l-Kutubkhāne al-Khedīwiya*, iii. 96.

(C. Brockelmann)

KARA-ČELEBI-ZĀDE, epithet of the Ottoman historian, jurist and Shaikh al-Islām, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi. Born in the year 1000 = 1591/92 at Stambul, the son of the then military judge of Rumelia, Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusām al-Dīn Efendi (d. in Muḥarram, 1007 = Aug., 1598 at Brussa and buried there; cf. al-Saiyid Ismāʿīl Belīgh Brūsewī, *Taʾrīkh-i Brūsa*, Brussa 1302, p. 314—316; Ewliyā, *Siyāḥatnāme*, Constantinople 1314—1318, ii, 55; he bore the *makhlas* Ḳara-Čelebi-Zāde which passed to all his descendants and caused frequent confusion), he enjoyed the tuition of his elder brother, the chief district judge Muḥammad Efendi (cf. M. Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv. 155; Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, i. 407; J. von Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii. 25; M. E. died Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 6, 1042 = June 14, 1633 and is buried at Aiyūb in Stambul) and studied also under the Mufti Ṣanʿ Allāh Efendi. He then filled a series of offices: in August, 1612 he became Müderris at the medrese of Khair al-Dīn Pasha, in April, 1613 at the new medrese of ʿAlī Pasha, in April, 1616 at the medrese of Pīrī Pasha, in April, 1617 at the medrese of Ḳalender Khāne, in December, 1619 so-called "eighth" (*ṣaḥn-i thāmin*) at the mosque of Muḥammad the Conqueror; in Jan., 1621 he was transferred to the Sulaimānīya at Brussa, but by October of the same year appointed to the Sulaimānīya in Adrianople and in May, 1623 summoned to the same institution in Stambul. In June, 1623 he was involved in a mutiny of the ʿUlamāʾ at the mosque of the Conqueror and sent as a punishment to Brussa to the medrese of Molla Khusraw, but pardoned on the accession of Murād IV and in Jan., 1624 recalled to Stambul to the Sulaimānīye. In March of the same year he became judge of Yeni Shehir, was dismissed in December, appointed judge of Mekka in February, 1626 and dismissed once more in December, 1627; returning to Stambul, after a short stay in Adrianople, he was appointed city-judge of Stambul in Jan., 1634. In this capacity he had to take measures for the security of the city during the preparations for the Polish campaign: cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v. 178). But when in July of the same year the shortage of grease provoked discontent among the people of Stambul and brought down the wrath of Murād IV upon the judge responsible for the regulation of the market (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, xviii. 722) he was dismissed from his office and sentenced to death by drowning. A letter in the Sulṭān's hand ordered the Superintendent of the Imperial Gardens (*Bostāndjī Bashī*), Dudje Efendi, afterwards governor of Bosnia, to take the disgraced magistrate in a boat and to supervise the execution of the sentence on one of the Princes' Islands. The boat was just reaching Prinkipo, where the sentence was to be carried out, when fortunately for Kara-Čelebi-Zāde, a second letter, procured by his patron, the Grand Vizier Bairam Pasha (d. 1638), brother-in-law of the Sulṭān, arrived which altered the drowning to banishment to Cyprus and at the last moment prevented the execution of the death sentence (cf. Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh* Stambul 1147, i. 577). Pardoned by December, 1634, he was appointed military judge of Rumelia. During the rebellion which cost Sulṭān Ibrāhīm his throne and life in the summer of 1648 Kara-Čelebi-Zāde distinguished himself by such shamelessness that even the frank Naʿīmā (ii. 166; J. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, v. 449) has not the courage to repeat his utterances. After Ibrāhīm had been disposed of, he gained the favour of the youthful Muḥammad IV, who again appointed him military judge in Aug., 1648. The real object of his ambition, which he pursued by every means in his power, was the office of Shaikh al-Islām. After he had first been granted the title of a Shaikh al-Islām (Naʿīmā, ii. 231), a case probably unique in Ottoman history, he was removed in October, 1649 from his position as military judge and appointed Shaikh al-Islām in place of Bahāʾī Muḥammad Efendi, dismissed on May 2, 1651 (*Bulios Müftisi; cf. von Hammer, *op. cit.*, v. 531—535). On the fatal Sept. 2, 1651 he once more fell into the imperial disfavour and was banished to Chios. Two years later he was given permission to go to Brussa and in 1655 for the barley-money (*arpaliḳ*; see i. 460) which he had so far enjoyed he received the revenues of Chios and the office of judge of Mudania, which he exchanged in March, 1657 for that of Gallipoli. On the evening of Jan. 11, 1658, death finally ended Ḳara-Čelebi-Zāde's eventful career. He was buried at Brussa in the cemetery of Shaikh Muḥammad Dewedjī; his tomb may still be seen there.

Ḳara-Čelebi-Zāde is not a very pleasing figure in Ottoman history, as he was a ruthless, selfish and intriguing man. His prestige as a scholar is therefore all the more marked. He was the author of a series of historical works, of which two have so far been printed. With the *Mirʾāt al-Ṣafā* his chief production is the *Rawḍat al-Abrār*, a historical work in four parts dedicated to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm I, which covers the period from Adam down to 1056 (1646/47). The book, of which there are several good manuscripts in Europe (cf. G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Hss. . . . zu Wien*, ii. 96, No. 865; Tornberg, *Codices . . . Bibl. Reg. Univ. Upsaliensis*, p. 193, No. 277 and p. 197, No. 286, which appears not to be complete), was printed in Muḥarram, 1248 (1832/33) at Būlāḳ

(large 4°, six parts, 637 pp.; on p. 637 full title). His *Sulaimān-nāme* has also been printed (Būlāḳ 1248, large 8°, 230 pp.): it is the epic of the legislator Sulaimān in which he describes his glorious reign to his death (1520—1566) in a pleasing flowery style (a MS. in Vienna; cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 230). He extended his historical work from 1056 to 1068 (1646—58) by a supplement (*Dhail*) of which there are copies in the Vienna National Library (cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 262), in the Johanneum of Graz and in the possession of Dr. J. H. Mordtmann. Several other smaller historical works from his pen exist in manuscript, e. g. an account of the conquest of Eriwān (1635) and Baghdād (1638) entitled *Ta'rīkh-i Fatḥ-i Riwān wa-Baghdād* (cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 262). Ḳara-Čelebi-Zāde's translations from the Persian and Arabic as well as other writings are detailed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii. 113, v. 253. He also dabbled in poetry under the name 'Azīz. A poem entitled *Gülshen-i Niyāz*, written in 1634 on the occasion of his banishment, exists in MS. in the Prussian State Library in Berlin (cf. Pertsch, *Verz. d. Türk. Hss.*, p. 415 *sq.*) and in the British Museum (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of the Turk. MSS.*, p. 191ᵃ; see also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *op. cit.*, v. 233, N°. 10,840).

Bibliography: cf. besides the already mentioned sources the biography in Na'īmā under the year 1068; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhlike*, ii. 152 (biography); the best sketch of his life with all details is given by Ismā'īl Belīgh Brūsewī, *Güldeste-i Riyāḍ-i 'Irfān*, Brussa 1308, p. 317—322; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iii. 330; Mustaḳīm-Zāde, *Dawḥat al-Mashāyikh al-Kibār*, Vienna MS., Mxt. 153 (Flügel, ii. 409 *sq.*); Rif'at Efendi, *Dawḥat al-Mashāyikh*, Stambul n. d., p. 58—62; *'Ilmiye Sālnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 461 *sqq.* (with reproduction of Ḳ.'s signature); J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Osm. Dichtkunst*, iii. 426 *sqq.*; do., *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v. 178, 184. — Ḳ.'s collection of manuscripts is still preserved in the library of the Shāhzāde mosque in Stambul. A catalogue of the books (16 pp., 4°, Stambul n.d.) has been printed. — On the family, of which several members achieved fame, cf. especially Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīkh*, p. 191; also Ismā'īl Belīgh, *op. cit.*, p. 315, where the ancestors of Ḳara-Čelebi-Zāde are dealt with; cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbī*, p. 48). (FRANZ BABINGER)

KARĀČI (KURRACHEE). 1. An important city and seaport on the coast of Sindh situated 24° 51' N. 67° 4'. E. Population (1901) 116, 663. The administrative centre of the province of Sindh at the present day, and gives its name to a district.

The name does not appear to be of great antiquity, and is probably due to the settlement of a Dodāi Balōč tribe called Kulāčī, originally Rādjpūt (see *Glossary of Panjab Castes*, Lahore 1911), from whom the town of Kulāčī (in the Dēra 'Ismā'īl Khān District of the N. W. Frontier) also took its name. Following a common practice in the Sindhī language the *l* has become *r*. (Cf. Kāīl in the Pandjāb and Kōurī in Sindh).

The harbour of Karāčī was naturally a good one, although when first surveyed by English sailors it was impeded, as Pottinger tells us (1808), by a bar, which prevented vessels drawing more than 16 ft. from entering. The population was at that time only 9000, but it had already become the principal port of Sindh. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (*Bombay*, Vol. II) asserts that Karāčī began to be known as a port about 1729, and that its rise was due first to the silting up of Khārak and afterwards of Shāhbander, a statement which is not easy to understand. Khārak (an island in the Persian Gulf occupied by the Dutch from 1748 to 1765) could have had no influence on Karāčī, and Shāhbandar is too far to the Eastern side of the Indus Delta to have affected it. The real cause was the gradual deterioration of the two ports of Dēwal and Sindi (often spoken of jointly as Dial-Sindi) which were situated on the two sides of the west mouth of the Indus. These were still in use in Thevenot's time (*Travels in India*, published 1687) and Manucci visited Sindi on his way to India in 1655. During the 18ᵗʰ century the advance of the land cut off these ports from the sea, but Karāčī, lying outside the Delta to the west, was not liable to such rapid silting. It also took the place of Tatta as the principal city of S. W. Sindh. Under the Kalhōra rulers of Sindh it was made over to the Khān of Kilāt, and under his suzerainty was held for a time by the Djām of Las, but after the fall of the Kalhōras the Tālpur Amīr, Fatḥ 'Alī Khān, took Karāčī in 1795 and erected a fort on Manora point to protect the harbour. Henceforward the trade grew considerably. Pottinger's account in 1808 has been alluded to above. Burnes found the population in 1831 to be 15,000.

Sir Charles Napier made it his landing place in 1841 and after the annexation of Sindh in 1843 he undertook its development with the object of making it the military and civil centre of the administration and also an important port equipped to deal with the trade of the Pandjāb as well as of Sindh. Through his judgment and foresight he was able to lay the foundations of the progress made in more recent times. Sir Bartle Frere improved the harbour in 1854 by the construction of the Napier Mole which connects Kiamāri Island with the mainland. The Manora breakwater was constructed in 1869—73, and the harbour has gradually been restricted in area, and at the same time deepened and otherwise improved. In 1883, a good supply of water from the Malir R. was brought in. General Haig in his work on the Indus Delta identifies the harbour of Karāčī with Alexander's Haven which Nearchus reached by sailing westwards from the western mouth of the Indus. As the coast here has not changed so much as in the actual Delta, it is possible to identify some of the places mentioned. The Island of Bibakta appears to be Manōra point, and Eiros seems to be the high ground east of the harbour now known as Clifton. In spite of this identification, however, Karāčī as a town has no ancient or mediæval history, although the harbour must always have been of use as a haven of refuge. Its enormous development in modern times is due to the opening up of the trade of N. W. India by railways. It is the outlet for the wheat, cotton, oilseeds and hides of the Indus valley.

2. Karāčī District. A modern administrative district taking its name from the town of Karāčī, lying between 23° 35' and 26° 21' N. and 66° 42' and 68° 48' E. with an area of 11,970 sq. m., and a population in 1901 of 607,

828. Its boundaries are on the N. the District of Lārkāna, on the E. the R. Indus and the Ḥaidarābād District on the S. the sea, and on the W. the Kīrthar Mts. and the Ḥabb River. Besides Karāčī the most important town is Tatta, the ancient capital of S. Sindh, which first rose to importance about the beginning of the 16th century, and was an important centre of trade and government in the 17th century, and still a large and flourishing town in Nādir Shāh's time (1742). It was an important mint of the Mughal emperors from the time of Akbar till that of Muḥammad Shāh, when Sindh ceased to form part of the empire. Nādir Shāh and the Durrānīs both used this mint; their other mints in Sind were Bhakkar and Ḥaidarābād which latter mint probably also issued the coins of Nādir and the Durrānīs bearing the name Sindh alone. Tatta, which is now far inland was in the 16th century accessible to seagoing ships and was visited by a Portuguese fleet in 964 (1556). The Portuguese had apparently been called in by the Tarkhān chief 'Īsā Tarkhān, who had obtained possession of Tatta after the death of Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, but, finding the city unprotected in the absence of 'Īsā at the siege of Bhakkar, they turned their arms on their ally and plundered Tatta unmercifully. The port alluded to by the Portuguese as Bandel, which was also plundered on this occasion, was probably Shāhbandar. [See Saiyid Djamāl's *Tarkhān-nāma* in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, i. 324 and Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, i. 408]. The town of Tatta quickly recovered from this disaster, and its final decay was due no doubt to natural changes in the Indus Delta.

Bibliography: Pottinger, *Travels in Beluchistan and Sinde*, London 1816; Napier, *Conquest of Scinde*, London 1845; do., *Administration of Scinde*, London 1851; Postans, *Personal observations on Sindh*, London 1843; Burton, *Sind revisited*, London, 1877; Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, London, 1887; Burnes, *Bokhara and a Voyage on the Indus*, London, 1835; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Bombay, Vol. II.; Thevenot, *Travels*, London, 1687; Irvine, *Manucci's Storia do Mogor*, 4 Vols., London, 1907. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)

ḲARADAGH. [See MONTENEGRO].

ḲARA DENIZ, the Turkish name for the Black Sea, the Pontus Euxinus (abbreviated to Pontus) of ancient and Byzantine geography. The Arab geographers took over the Greek names Pontus and Maeotis (Sea of Azov) in the forms *Nunṭus* and *Ma'uṭis*, which early became *Nīṭash* and *Mānīṭash* in Arabic writing and language (Juynboll on *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, iv. 194) and in these corrupt forms have survived down to the latest works of Oriental geography. Other names were also used, for example Sea of Trebizond (*Baḥr Ṭarabazunda*), Sea of the Crimea (*Baḥr Ḳirim*), Russian Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūs*; cf. *mer de Rossie* in Villehardouin, ed. Wailly, § 226), which are explained by the commerce of the Muslim East with Trebizond and the coast lands of South Russia (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 499; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, passim; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, passim; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, i. 260 *sq.*; cf. Marquart, *Osteuropäische u. ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 162, 333); on the other hand, in the passages where *Baḥr al-Rūm* — which otherwise means the Mediterranean Sea only — refers to the Black Sea (e. g. Gardīzī in Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 161; al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 138, 18, 259, 4 *sq.*) *Baḥr al-Rūm* should be emended to *Baḥr al-Rūs*. The name *Baḥr al-Khazar*, which originally meant the Caspian Sea, was, on the other hand, transferred to the Black Sea (Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. passim; Ḳudāma, *B. G. A.*, vi. passim; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kit. al-Tanbīh*, *B. G. A.*, viii. passim), as al-Mas'ūdī (p. 67) thinks, because a connection was erroneously thought to exist between the two seas; as at the same time the name Ma'ūṭis (Mānīṭash) was extended to the Black Sea (al-Mas'ūdī, *Kit. al-Tanbīh*, p. 138, 140; *Murūdj*, i. 272 *sq.*; al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 138, 11, 143, 12, 228, 17), the name Sea of the Khazars may have been at first limited to the Sea of Azov and only by a mistaken use have come to include the Black Sea.

All these names were driven out of use by the name Ḳara Deniz, evidence of which is first found in the xiiith century and which is no doubt the name given to the Black Sea by the Turco-Tatar inhabitants of its shores in Southern Russia; it was understood by the western authors of the time to mean "Great Sea" (locus classicus, Rubruquis, ed. Bergeron, p. 2: en la mer du Pont que les Bulgares appellent la grande mer; Mare Majus in Haython, Vincentius Bellovacensis, Marco Polo, chap. 1; Mar Majour in Ghillebert de Lannoy and Bertrandon de la Broquière; mar mayor in Clavijo; the Grete See in Chaucer, *Prologue*, l. 59), more rarely as Black Sea (Schiltberger, who, however, also writes "Grosses Meer"; mare nigrum, quoted for the year 1338 in Yule, *Cathay* etc., new ed. by H. Cordier, iii., London 1914, p. 81; il mar nero in a document of 1473 in Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Venezia 1865, p. 12), by the Arabs as "Black Sea", *al-Baḥr al-Aswad* (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, p. 31, 34; al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 139, 143, 145, 220; *al-Baḥr al-A'ẓam* in Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 110 is to be explained otherwise); among the Greeks we find only *mavri thalassa* and this only for the first time in the treaty with Venice concluded in 1265 (*Fontes Rerum Austr.*, part II, xiv. 62); in literature from the xvith century (see Leunclavius, *Pandectes Hist. Turc.*, Ch. 148). The Italians and French used Mare Maggiore, Mer Majour down to the first half of the xviiith century: henceforth we find the name Black Sea throughout geographical literature. The older reproduction of Ḳara Deniz by "Great Sea" shows that *Ḳara* in this connection does not refer to the colour but means, as often in proper names, "great, powerful, terrible" (cf. ḲARA), in keeping with the dangers of the voyage, particularly in bad weather, upon this sea so liable to storms and of such extent. All other attempts to explain the meaning, especially those which seek to find the name "Black Sea" among the Greeks and Byzantines, or, like L. de Saussure in his brilliant essay *L'origine des noms de Mer Rouge, Mer Blanche et Mer Noire* (*Le Globe*, xliii. 23 *sqq.*), to trace it to the cosmographic conceptions of the Far East, are to be rejected; nor should one quote in support of "black" Sea the fact that the Turks called the Mediterranean Aḳ Deniz (White Sea), as if by contrast, any more than we could justify the mediaeval nigromantia (a corruption of nekromantia) by saying that white magic was invented as a pendant to it. — The name "Sea

of the Khazars" has survived into modern times in corrupt form *Baḥr-i Ḥazar* (the result of transposition of the diacritical points) as a name of the Sea of Azov.

After the Black Sea had been treated as a *mare clausum* during the centuries under Byzantine rulers, in the latter half of the Middle Ages it was opened up under the Komnenoi and Palaiologoi to the Genoese and Venetians and thus to European trade with the Near and Far East; in Kaffa [see KAFA], Tana, Amasra and Samsūn there arose autonomous Frankish colonies and smaller settlements in Sinope and Trebizond. After the fall of Constantinople Meḥemmed the Conqueror closed the Black Sea to foreign shipping by barring the Straits; the destruction of Amasra (1459), Sinope and Trebizond (1461) and Kaffa (1475) completed the ruin of Frankish commerce and the Black Sea became a Turkish inland sea, a Πόντος Ἄξενος, on which only the Turkish flag was allowed to wave. It was only with the advance of the Russian empire to the north coast of the Black Sea that the latter was opened first to Russian commercial navigation by art. X of the treaty of Küčük Kainardja in 1774, and ten years later, in 1784, to Austrian and in 1799 to British commerce; in the xixth century the other European powers obtained liberty of access to the Black Sea: France in 1802 and following her the smaller seafaring nations; the last treaties on this matter were concluded in 1827. Down to quite recently foreign warships were not allowed to pass through the Straits and into the Black Sea.

Bibliography: The history of the various appellations of the Black Sea has not yet been written. The main work on commerce at the close of the Middle Ages is W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885—1886; reprint 1924; for commerce under Turkish rule: Ch. Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, Paris 1787; for the later period: Hommaire de Hell, *Les steppes de la Mer Caspienne*, Paris and Strasburg 1843—1845. — The political and diplomatic events which led to the opening of the Black Sea in the xviiith century are fully discussed in [P. Hadji Mischef], *La Mer Noire et les Détroits de Constantinople*, Paris 1899; cf. thereon the notes in Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, ii. 284 and vii. 485 *sqq.*; the documents concerned are given by Noradounghian, *Recueil des traités internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i. and ii., Paris and Leipzig 1897—1900. (J. H. MORDTMANN).

ḲARAFERIYA, a small town in Macedonia, situated about 40 miles to the S.W. of Selānīk, on the Ana Dere, a tributary of the Indje Ḳara Ṣu, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Salonica. The ancient Greek name is Βέροια, in modern Greek Vérria (Slav. Ber), to which form the Turks have added the adjective Ḳara. According to the Byzantine authors the town was sacked as early as 1331 by Turkish pirates belonging to the country of Ḳarasi. They landed with 70 ships and laid waste the region of Vérria and Trajanopolis, but they were finally driven back by the emperor Andronicus. Ḳaraferiya was an important military point; in 1347 it was occupied by the Servians and in 775 A.H. (1373/4) it was conquered for the first time by the Ottoman Turks. From the reign of Murād II, from whom dates the conquest of Selānīk (1430) down to the Balkan war, Ḳaraferiya belonged to the Ottoman Empire. In November, 1912 Ḳaraferiya was one of the last Turkish supports in the defence of Selānīk, which was at last taken on November 8 of that year by the Greeks; since the peace of Athens (Nov. 14, 1913) it has belonged to Greece.

Ḳaraferiya is situated at the foot of the richly wooded Aghostos Dagh in a fertile region which produces all kinds of crops and vegetables and is famed for its tobacco and especially its vineyards on the mountain slopes. The silk-growing has given rise to a rather important weaving-industry in the town. In the neighbourhood are still ruins of the ancient Βέροια. In the last period of Turkish domination the number of its inhabitants was a little less than 10,000 of whom about one fourth Muslims, the rest being composed of Greeks, Bulgarians and Wallachians. It was the chief place of a Ḳaḍā of the same name in the wilāyet of Selānīk.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. (1314/1892), p. 3639; von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1829, i. 127, 600; de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1914, ii. 404; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumili und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 86; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, iii. col. 304 *sq.*
(J. H. KRAMERS)

ḲARAGÖZ, principal character in the Turkish shadow-play. The shadow-play has been known to the Muhammadan peoples since about the xiith century of our era. Its origin is perhaps to be sought, as Jacob suggests, in Eastern Asia, but, as regards the matter of the plays, there seem to be connections with the Hellenistic mime (Horovitz, Reich). The modern Turkish shadow-players attribute the invention of their art to the patron saint of their gild, Shaikh Küshteri (i. e. Tustarī, the man from Tustar [Shūshtar] in Persia), after whom they call their shadow-stage *Shaikh Küshteri Maidānī* "Shaikh-Küshteri place". According to the Turkish biographers a certain Shaikh Meḥemmed Küshteri migrated from Persia to Asia Minor in the xivth century and was buried in Brussa. On the various legendary accounts of the origin of the shadow-play see Ritter, *Karagös*, i. 5. The shadow-players talk among themselves a kind of professional language, in which gipsy elements predominate. Another circumstance in favour of a connection with the wandering gipsies is the fact that the principal figure, Ḳaragöz, is represented as a gipsy. The shadow-play is a favourite image of the transitoriness and worthlessness of all that is mortal with poets, especially those who are fond of mysticism. The idea often expressed by the mystics that all things in the world have only a shadow-existence and only owe their being to the light permeating things from the Primeval One, who alone possesses reality and substance, found in the shadow-play a symbolical application. The shadow-players are fond of calling attention to this edifying aspect of their performance in the so-called stage-ghazel (*perde ghazeli*).

The external apparatus of the shadow-play consists of a stand like that of the European marionette theatre, only that in place of the open stage a canvas is stretched across and illuminated by an oil-lamp. Against this canvas (*perde*) the

shadow-player presses coloured figures about a foot high made of dried skin; this is done by means of guiding rods which are put into the figures through holes provided with links. All the figures that appear are controlled by one player. Two musicians are his only assistants. The performances usually take place in the early hours of the nights of Ramaḍān but are also given as entertainments at domestic festivals, such as circumcisions.

The following is the course of the typical performance of the Turkish shadow-play: an introductory picture (*göstermé*) is shown on the canvas before the beginning of the performance. This is removed during introductory music on a reed-pipe and one of the two principal characters, Hadjiwad, comes on the scene singing a song. At the end of the song Hadjiwad calls out *Hai Ḥaḳḳ*, "O God", as the introductory religious formula of the play, recites the stage-ghazel, praises God and curses Satan and then proceeds to pay a tribute of homage to the Sulṭān. After a conventional introduction he begins to express in rhymed prose his longing for his companion Ḳaragöz and to sing to him before the door of his home — where the scene is supposed to be laid — in languishing tones. Ḳaragöz rushes out in anger and a fight ensues between the two at the end of which Hadjiwad usually disappears to return after an interval. The prologue proper then begins, consisting of a dialogue (*muḥāwere*) between Hadjiwad and Ḳaragöz, and this is followed after a stereotyped transition-formula by the piece proper, the dramatic part (*faṣl*). The piece again concludes with unvarying turns: Ḳaragöz gives Hadjiwad a box on the ear and the latter goes to tell the "master of the curtain" that Ḳaragöz has torn the curtain down and destroyed it. Ḳaragöz then asks for indulgence to the defects of the play and goes off after threatening to punch Hadjiwad still harder the next time — here the piece is announced for the next evening.

The principal characters are always Hadjiwad and Ḳaragöz. The former is a cultivated elderly gentleman somewhat given to opium eating who is wellknown to all the characters who appear and often acts as their confidant. Ḳaragöz is an uneducated, rough gipsy, the type of simple, natural vivacity contrasted with the decrepit representative of prudence and deliberation. Like his relatives in the European marionette theatre he is the real favourite with the public. He is bald and sometimes still appears with the phallus, both features which indicate a certain connection with the ancient mime. Both characters wear special caps, peculiar to the shadow-play.

The humour of the dialogue between Hadjiwad and Ḳaragöz depends for the most part on countless puns and plays on words which are always brought about by Ḳaragöz misunderstanding the learned words of his friend and giving them humorous interpretations. The preludes are not limited to any particular piece (*faṣl*) but are chosen for presentation at will according to the length of the following play. The substance of the dialogue has almost always the same object, to attain humorous effects by the contrast between Hadjiwad's learning and Ḳaragöz's stupidity. Hadjiwad, for example, gives Ḳaragöz lessons in spelling, proposes games which he does not understand, goes with him as a singing Ramaḍān-night watchman round the streets, when Ḳaragöz sings all the songs out of tune and misunderstands them, or gives him sentences to be said rapidly, or plays games with him which necessarily end in a fight, etc.

The production of the dramatic part (*faṣl*) which follows the prelude shows certain peculiarities in scenic technique which are the natural result of the paraphernalia of the shadow-stage. The white surface of the canvas, only rarely relieved by a few figures in the wings, always represents the Küshteri square in front of Ḳaragöz's house, which latter is, as it were, represented by the frame of the canvas. As Ḳaragöz has continually to accompany the action with comments from the window of his house, there are often several scenes of action in one, one quite remote, the real scene of action, and the square before Ḳaragöz's house. The possibility of mixing up the characters into crowds with the conducting-rod is used to present remarkable scenes of recognition.

The players have a fixed stock of pieces, which is practically the same with all companies and, except for a few modern pieces, is considered to have "been handed down from olden times." The pieces are sometimes dramatic versions of popular books (*Ferhād* and *Shīrīn*, *Ṭāhir* and *Zühre*, *Medjnūn* and *Lailā* etc.), in which case Hadjiwad appears as trusted adviser and Ḳaragöz as servant of the heroes concerned, or suchlike; sometimes they are pictures of everyday life in Stambul. In the latter we are given a series of Stambul types, among which one recognises pathological (the drowsy opium-eater, the pugnacious drunkard, the lame beggar, the dwarf, the crazy man) and racial types (the young Stambul Efendi, the Persian, the Armenian, the Jew, the rough woodcutter from Ḳasṭamuni, the Ḳaiṣarli, the Laz, etc.). The effect is very often attained by the formation of a series of incidents. A whole series of characters, differing as much as possible from one another, is brought successively into the same comical embarrassing situation, or they bring Ḳaragöz, around whom the action then usually develops, into some such situation so that the tension increases with each successive character until it is finally relieved by a character superior to the situation.

Pieces of this kind are, for example: *Yalowa Ṣafasi*, "The pleasure-excursion to Jalowa". A young Efendi, usually called Čelebi, wishes to take a trip with his sweetheart to the seaside resort of Yalowa and buys a bag and a jug in which to put provisions for the journey. While he is away to make the final preparations, Ḳaragöz appears and teases the young woman, who has remained behind with the sack and jug, with stupid stories about a fatal accident that has overtaken her lover, that he has set the sea on fire with a match he had thrown away and has been burnt or that he has been swallowed by an eater of *boza*, and so on. Then a series of typical characters appear all of whom wish to go to Yalowa with the young woman and are hidden one after the other by the obliging girl in the sack and jug, in which a new fight begins for the little room available with every new-comer. After 5 or 6 people have disappeared in the narrow jug, Čelebi returns and pulls out all the stowaways again. — Another piece of the same kind is *Ḳanlï Nigâr* "Bloody Nigâr". The young Efendi is stopped in the street by two

ladies of his acquaintance, each of whom assert they have a good right to him and try to pull him with her. As neither will abandon him, women-neighbours are called in to decide which is worthy of the pretty young man. But when the neighbours decide in their own favour, the two women (one is called "Bloody Nigar") drag the young man into their house, undress him, thresh him and throw him out on to the street to punish him for his infidelity. A series of characters then come up who see the young man sitting naked and volunteer in turn to fetch his clothes out of the women's house; first comes Ḳaragöz, then Ḥadjiwad, then the drunkard, then a negro and next a dwarf. In the attempt to get the young man's clothes, they all meet in turn with the same fate. They are likewise undressed and thrown naked upon the street so that naked figures keep accumulating round the door of the house. In the end the problem is solved by the robber captain Ṣarï Efe from Brussa, whom the women respect, and the naked forms receive their clothes again. — Another is *Mandïra*: — Ḳaragöz finds himself malevolently abandoned by his wife and enters into relations with a lady who meets him on the street and takes her to his house. To his question whether she also has no lover she replies: "apart from him who comes afterwards, no one". Then various lovers of the woman come in turn, ask for Ḳaragöz's new house-mate and send all kinds of love-verses to her through him which the latter delivers to her in quite a distorted fashion, and ask her to take a trip with them to Mandïra. But they are always driven away by Ḳaragöz and to his repeated question whether there is still any one coming the woman only answers with the above phrase. This goes on for a considerable time until finally Ḳaragöz is turned out of his own house by the drunkard and then collects the admirers he has driven away in order to recapture his own house. In the mêlée which follows all take to their heels. — In the "Singer's competition" (*Ḳaragözün Shā'irliyi*) Ḳaragöz as a strolling singer (*'āshyḳ*) disposes of a number of droll singers who have assembled for a competition. In the "writer-play" (*yazïdjï oyunu*) he appears as a public letter-writer who writes letters which are absolute nonsense for his clients. — In the "Boat-play" (*ḳayïḳ oyunu*) he acts in his particular way as a ferry-man assisted by Ḥadjiwad. In the "Swing-play" (*salïndjaḳ oyunu*) he lets a swing to the most varied customers, lastly to a Jew who apparently dies on it and is buried by his co-religionists in the most ludicrous fashion and is then brought to life again. Another time we find Ḳaragöz as a rich gentleman (*Ḳaragözün Aghālïghï*) and in this capacity he has to deal with a series of people who wish to get positions in his service and with a beggar.

The series of incidents is often made up of vain attempts by Ḳaragöz to gain admittance to a house or a garden, for example in the "Garden-play" (*Baghče Oyunu*), in the "Bath" (*Ḥammam*), the "Surprise" (*Baṣḳïn*), or of his unsuccessful attempts to ascertain something about his wife's doings by questioning the neighbours, who in turn misunderstand his questions and give the stupidest answers ("The Well *Ḳuyu*").

Pieces in which we do not have this succession of incidents are, for example, "The Poplar" (*Kawli Kawaḳ*), in which an amusing act is spun round a brief touching episode: the singer Ḥasan's son is stolen by the spirit of the poplar but restored on the poetic appeal of his father. Ḳaragöz is first of all bewitched by the spirit of the poplar, then released by Ḥadjiwad and, when he wants to cut down the poplar as a punishment, he is seized by two Albanian foresters and punished with the bastinado, which is made the more severe in a comical way as the foresters continually go wrong in counting the blows and have to begin all over again. — In the "Circumcision" (*sünnet*) Ḳaragöz is circumcised when a full grown man and the usual games are played which are used to distract a boy from the pain. A shadow-player appears, for example, so that we have here a play within a play, also an *orta oyunu*-player, two jugglers, etc. — A kind of competition in magic between two witches, in which the young Efendi and his sweetheart and then Ḳaragöz and Ḥadjiwad are turned into animals, is the "Witch-play" (*Djadïlar*). — In the "Lunatic asylum" (*Tïmarkhāne*) Ḳaragöz is infected by some lunatics escaped from an institution and chained by Ḥadjiwad in an asylum and treated by a Frank doctor. — In the "Wrong Bride" (*Sakhte Gelin*) Ḳaragöz is brought as bride to the drunkard, in order to cure him of his craving. — Lastly the play the "Bar" (*Maikhāne*) shows the doings of a famous sot named Bekri in a bar. The pieces so far mentioned substantially form with several other less important and less well-known pieces (*Tokhmakdjïlar*, "The broken ones", *Ḳïrykhlar*, "The coffee-crushers", *Balïḳ Oyunu*, "The fish-play", *Djanbazlar*, "The rope-dancers", *Edjzakhāne*, "The chemist's shop") the usual repertoire of the shadow-players.

Very few of these plays have so far been published and translated and those usually in an abbreviated form. The texts printed in the east are almost all bad and defective. For further particulars see the *Bibliography*.

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Abendland. Vortr. geh. bei der Philol.-Vers. zu Strassburg am 4 Okt. 1911, Berlin 1911; do., *Zwei türkische Inschriften* in the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1904, lviii. 811—13 (cf. suppl. to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, München, April 15, 1904; do., *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Weltliteratur*, Berlin 1906; do., *Geschichte des Schattentheaters. Erweiterte Neubearbeitung des Vortrages: Das Schattentheater in seiner Wanderung vom Morgenland zum Abendland*, Berlin 1907; do., *Die Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters und der Zauberlaterne bis zum Jahre 1700. Erweiterter bibliographischer Nachweis*, Berlin 1912; K. Süssheim, *Die moderne Gestalt des türkischen Schattenspiels (Qaragöz)*, in the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1909, lxiii. 739 *sqq.*; shadow-plays are published and translated most fully by Hellmut Ritter in *Karagös, Türkische Schattenspiele, hrg., übers. u. erkl., 1. Folge. Die Blutpappel, Die falsche Braut, Die blutige Nigar*, Hannover 1924.

(H. Ritter)

ḲARAGÖZLÜ ("Black-eyed"), a Turkish people around Hamadān, to which they pay their tribute (Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii. 270 and 472). The Ḳaragözlü are several times mentioned in the history of the domestic troubles in Persia in the second half of the xviiith century; cf. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*², Pest 1836, iv. 475; *Taʾrīkh-i Zandiye*, ed. Beer, Leiden 1888, p. 33, 42 and 93. In the first half of the xixth century the Ḳaragözlü are said to have numbered some 12,000 souls (C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 404 and ix. 78). Ḳaragözlü is also the name of a small Turkish clan in Fārs, which belongs to the ʿInānlu group of the tribal confederacy Īlāt-i Khamsa (Tumanskiy, *Ot Kaspiyskago morya k Khormuzskomu prolivu i obratno*, St. Petersburg 1896, p. 78). A Tatar village in what was formerly the gouvernement of Yelisawetpol in the district of Djewanshir is also called Ḳaragözlü.

(W. Barthold)

ḲARA ḤIṢĀR, "Black Castle", the name of several places in Asia Minor, which, although distinguished by epithets, are often confused with one another; lists of them, none of which is complete, are given in a later addition to Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 44, then by Ewliyā, *Siyāḥatnāme*, Constantinople 1314—18, ii. 384 = *Narrative of Travels by Evliya Efendi*, *O.T.F.*, London 1850, ii. 203 (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, Pest 1827—35, iv. 619), in Aḥmad Wafīḳ's *Lahdje-i ʿOthmānī*, Constantinople 1293, p. 911, and in ʿAlī Djawād, *Taʾrīkh we-Djoghrāfiya Lughāti*, Constantinople 1313, i. 599. They are alike in being situated on heights, sometimes difficult of access and fortified; the majority date probably from the middle ages only and were mainly built as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding country during inroads which were continually made in the wars of the Byzantines with the Arabs and Saldjūḳs and later in the wars between the small states that arose in Asia Minor; many were later abandoned under the peaceful rule of the Ottomans and disappeared from our maps.

The most important places of this name are: 1. Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib (in Nashrī, *Z.D.M.G.*, xiii. 193 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, Frankfort 1591, col. 140, Ṣāḥibīn Ḳara Ḥiṣārī; Saibearacar in Caterino Zeno, *Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia*, Venice 1558, fol. 14ᵇ), also called Afiūn Ḳara Ḥiṣārī ("the opium K. Ḥ."). The former name is derived from a notable man of the last period of the Saldjūḳs of Ḳonya, Ṣāḥib Atā' Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Beg (d. 687 = 1288/9), who had retired there with his treasures before the Ḳaramānians and Mongols and whose successors ruled the town and district under the protection of the Germiyān-Oghlu of Kütāhya (Houtsma, *Recueil de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, iv. 308, 325, 327, 334, where Ḳ. Dewele means this Ḳ.; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, transl. by Quatremère in the *N.E.*, xiii. 350, 357; Aḥmad Tawḥīd in the *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane*, first series, p. 563 *sq.*). The popular name Afiūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār later became generally used in place of Ḳ. Ḥ. Ṣāḥib, which is still the official name. Afiūn Ḳ. takes its name from the extensive cultivation of opium in the neighbourhood which is mentioned as early as Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables*, Paris 1555, fol. 183ᵃ; cf. Blau in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. 280.

Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib is now identified with the Byzantine fortress Akroinós, Akroïnoi, in the vicinity of which the legendary Saiyid Baṭṭāl in 739 perished with his followers on a campaign against the Byzantines (Theophanes, *Chronogr.*, ed. de Boor, i. 390, 411) and where the Comnenus Alexius I negotiated with the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān in 796 (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 285); in the course of the xiiith century it must have been taken from the Byzantines by the Germiyān-Oghlu. Khiḍr Pasha (d. 750 = 1349), son of Sulaimānshāh of Germiyān, and other members of this dynasty are mentioned as presidents (*Čelebi*) of the Mewlewī settlements in Ḳ. (cf. Ghālib Dede, *Tadhkira-i Shuʿarā-i Mewlewiye*, MS., N⁰. 1257 of the Vienna Nat. Libr., fol. 54ᵃ and 90ᵃ = ʿAlī Enwer, *Samāʿkhāne-i Edeb*, Stambul 1309, p. 48 *sq.* and 102). During the invasion of Asia Minor by Tīmūr after the battle of Angora (1401) Ḳ. also was visited by the victor's raiding parties (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāme*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1887—88, ii. 446, 457, 484, 492 = *Histoire de Timur-Bec* etc., Fr. transl. by Pétis de la Croix, Delf(t) 1723, iv. 21, 31, 60, 68; Dukas, *Hist.*, ed. Bonn, p. 77). In 832 (1428/9) the kingdom of the Germiyān-Oghlu passed to the Ottomans and Ḳ. with its lands became incorporated in a sandjaḳ of the eyālet of Anadolu (cf. *Djihānnumā*, p. 641). As a stronghold near the Ḳaramānian frontier it remained of military importance so long as Ḳaramān was still independent; at the beginning of the war with Uzun Ḥasan in 877 (1472/3) prince Muṣṭafā fell back on its defences and made raids from it upon the Ḳaramān-Oghlu who were allied to the Persians (ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332, p. 177; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i. 524; Caterino Zeno, *op. cit.*) and in 895 (1489/90) Ḳ. formed the base of the operations of the Hersek-Oghlu Aḥmad Pasha against the Egyptians who had invaded Ḳaramānia (Saʿd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, ii. 65). But Ḳ. became still more important as a junction of the caravan routes leading from Smyrna to trading centres of the interior, like Angora, Ḳaisarīya, Tokat, etc. In recent years the Smyrna-Cassaba railway there joins the Anatolian railway system which starts in Stambul. On the dissolution of the old eyālet of Anadolu the sandjaḳ of Ḳ. was attached to the

province of Brussa; the town of Ķ. is the residence of the *mutaṣarrif*; its population was estimated at 25,000 in 5,000 houses (20,000 Muslims, 5,000 Armenians, some 300 Greeks), but later figures are not available.

Of the few relics of classical antiquity the majority must have been brought here from ruined sites in the neighbourhood, like Sandiklar (Prymnessos), Iscḥe Ķaraḥiṣār (Docimaeon) and Čifut Ķaṣaba (Synnada); the monuments of the time of the Germiyān-Oghlu, e. g. the Ulu Djāmiʿ of Khodja Beg and the tomb of Sulṭān Dīwānī, and the older buildings of the Ottomans have not yet been thoroughly investigated.

The feature of the town, the steep cone of trachyte which rises 650 feet above the level of the town which lies around it, with the late Byzantine defences renovated by the Germiyān-Oghlu, still bore in Niebuhr's time the name Esk Baran Ḳalʿesi, ("the fortress which affords shelter to the Beg"); this citadel was probably never really a permanent settlement and is now left to fall to pieces, although it has been from time to time used for the internment of political prisoners (ʿAshiḳ Pasha Zāde, *Tārīkh*, p. 243—4), the last occasion being in 1802 when French prisoners of war from Egypt were kept there. The "Arabic" foundation inscription at the entrance, which Niebuhr and Oberhummer saw, has not yet been copied.

Bibliography: *Sālnāme* of the wilāyet of Brūsa for the year 1302, p. 466 *sqq.*; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv. 224 *sqq.*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople, p. 641 *sq.*; Tavernier, *Les six Voyages*, Paris 1677, i. 87 *sqq.*; Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii/ii. 82; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii. 131—134 (with plan and view of the town); William George Browne (1802) in Robert Walpole's *Travels in various Countries of the East*, London 1820, p. 116 *sq.* Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, p. 64 *sqq.* (with fine views); W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i. 462, 470; *Planvillas von Kleinasien* by v. Vincke, [F.L.] Fischer and v. Moltke, Berlin 1846—1854, plate Nº. 4; *Mitt. des deutschen Arch. Institutes in Athen*, 1882, vii. 130 *sq.*; G. Radet, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Asie Mineure* in the *Nouv. Archives des missions scientifiques*, 1895, viii. 425 *sqq.*; E. Naumann in *Globus*, vii., Nº. 19 (picture); Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, Berlin 1896, p. 81 *sqq.*; Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, Berlin 1899, p. 390 *sqq.*

Some 15 miles or 5 hours north of Ķara Ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib lies:

2. Isdje Ķaraḥiṣār — the correct name, not Eski Ķ., as in Hamilton, *op. cit.*, i. 461, 467, de Laborde, *op. cit.*, p. 68 *sq.*, Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, i. 145—152, and following them C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 605, 642 *sq.*, nor Itchki or Istya (Ramsay, *Mitt. Dtsch. Arch. Inst. in Athen*, vii. 132 *sqq.*, x. 348), nor again Ischischi (Körte, *op. cit.*, i. 88 *sqq.*) or Ishite K. (v. Diest, map in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, Erg.-Heft Nº. 125 —, a village of 251 houses near the quarries of the ancient Docimaeon, from which the marble of Synnada came; the quarries have again been worked in modern times by European enterprise (*Sālnāme Brūsa*, 1325 A. H., p. 125).

3. Ķara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī, also called Shābīn (or Shebin, Shab) Ķara Ḥiṣār, or Ķaraḥiṣār-i Shābkhāne, from the alum-mines in the neighbourhood which were worked in ancient times and still more in the middle ages and produced a particularly esteemed kind of this mineral.

As was first pointed out by Blau in 1865 on the authority of a Byzantine inscription the town is the ancient and mediaeval Colonia and bore this name down into modern times. After the reforms of Justinian it belonged to Armenia Prima; in the *Notitiae Episcopatuum* it appears as the see of the bishop of Armenia Secunda. In 162 (778) the town was captured by Yazīd b. Usaid al-Sulamī in a raid on the Pontus (Ghévond, *Hist. des Guerres des Arabes en Arménie*, p. 106, quoted by Blau; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 493; cf. Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. 108). On the other hand the Kalūniya which, according to Eutychius, ed. Selden and Pococke, p. 385, was taken by the Sāsānid Shāpūr with Cappadocia and the Ḳalūniya, which the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla captured in 335 (946/7) (*Z.D.M.G.*, x. 467; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ix. 168) are almost undoubtedly identical with Colonia Cappadociae, which, according to Niketas (p. 72 and 689), is the later Aḳ-sarāi. This strong fortress must have been lost to the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert. The Dānishmand-Oghlu first established themselves there (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 164); later we find the Saltuḳids of Erzerūm in possession (Niketas Chon., *Ann.*, ed. Bonn, p. 185, 294) who were dispossessed in 598 (1201/2) by the Saldjūḳs of Ḳonya; they in turn were succeeded by the Mangudjaḳs, vassals of Ḳonya. After the fall of the Sulṭanate of Ḳonya, the descendants of Eretnā ruled there and various princes of the house of the Aḳ-Koyunlu and Ḳara-Koyunlu (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 287 = ʿAlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 178 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 474, 12 *sqq.*); in 1473 after the battle of Terdjān the town was taken by Meḥemmed the Conqueror and incorporated in the Ottoman empire (ʿAshiḳ Pasha Zāde, *Tārīkh*, p. 378 and 181, who describes the town as the Ḳara Ḥiṣār of Kamākh, and Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 541 and 542; Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, col. 589, 11 *sqq.*). Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī formed a sandjaḳ of the eyālet Erzerūm (Ewliyā, *Travels*, ii. 205; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 422, 424); this district now belongs to the wilāyet of Sīwās and the seat of government is in the town of the same name.

The old name Colonia was taken over by the Saldjūḳs in the Armenian form Koghōniya, which we find in Ibn Bībī's chronicle (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii. 291—295, iv. 151, 152, 319) and on the coins of Eretnā (Aḥmed Tawḥīd, *Meskūkāt-i Ḳadīme-i Islāmiye*, iv. 439). If, as seems almost certain, the Mavro-Kastron mentioned by Michael Attaliota, ed. Bonn, p. 125, and Skylitzes, p. 679, "on a high hill difficult of access in Armenia", is identical with Colonia, Ḳara-Ḥiṣār seems to have already been in use alongside of Colonia; among the Greeks of the xviii[th] century we again find the form Gαrαsαris, corrupted out of Ḳara Ḥiṣār, in use as well as Colonia.

The imaginative description of the town in Ewliyā Čelebi and scanty references in the *Djihānnumā*, both of the second half of the xvii[th] century, are corrected and supplemented by the descriptions of modern travellers. The town, built on

the slopes of a hill below the ancient fortifications possessed — according to Cuinet, with whom travellers agree — 12—13,000 inhabitants (7500 Muslims, 3000 Armenians and over 1500 Greeks) and was the residence of the *mutaṣarrif* and of an Armenian Bishop and of the Greek Metropol of Nicopolis; there is no more modern information available. The citadel surrounded by a ring of walls, in which old well-shafts suggest a pre-Hellenic settlement, is no longer inhabited; within this fortress on the summit of the hill lies a small fortified redoubt with an octagonal watch-tower. The defences date from the Byzantines and were further developed by the Muslim rulers.

Schiltberger (*Reisebuch*, ed. Langmantel, p. 57) calls Karasserie "ein fruchtpare lant an weinwachs" (a land rich in vine-yards); more famous than the vine-yards which still exist were the rich alum-mines in the adjoining village of Shabkhāne, in which were obtained the valued "alume de rocca di Colonna" (i. e. Colonia) (Pegolotti in Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii. 565); these are the *aluminis minera iuxta Sabastiam quae valet unum argentarium* of Vincentius Bellovacensis, xxxi. col. 143; they were also mentioned by Rubruquis (ed. Bergeron, p. 147). Meḥemmed the Conqueror took possession of them for the state treasury (Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 342) and from the rent they yielded when farmed out the garrison of the fortress was later paid (*Djihānnumā*, p. 424).

Bibliography: Ewliyā, *Siyāḥatnāme*, ii. 384 *sqq.* = *Travels*, ii. 204 *sqq.*; C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 208 *sqq.*; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, Supplement to *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, Gotha 1860, p. 14 *sqq.* (with plan of the town), thereon A. D. Mordtmann's additions in *Ausland*, 1863, p. 406 *sq.*, 424 *sq.*; O. Blau in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, 1865 p. 252; Taylor in the *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1868, xxvii. 293 *sqq.*; P. Triantaphyllides, Ἡ ἐν Πόντῳ Ἑλληνικὴ φυλή, Athens 1866, p. 113 *sqq.*; X. A. Sideropulos in the Arch. Supplem. to vol. xviii. of the publications of the Greek Syllogos at Constantinople; F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* ii.: *Voyage d'Exploration archéologique dans le Pont*, p. 296 *sqq.* (with pictures).

4. Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Behrāmshāh (Bairāmshāh) is first mentioned by Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 97; Sīdī Reʾīs (xvith century) visited the place on his journey from Siwās to Ḳonya and Ḳirshehir (*Mirʾāt al-Mamālik*, Stambul 1312, p. 96). In Kātib Čelebi's time (xviith century) it was a ḳaḍā of the eyālet Siwās (*Djihānnumā*, p. 622); it is now the residence of the *Mudīr* of the nāḥiye of the same name of the ḳaḍā of Maʿden in the sandjaḳ Yozghad in the wilāyet of Angora, a day's journey east of Yozghad. The place is not marked on our maps.

5. Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Demirdji, a village in the Ḳaḍā Čorum of the wilāyet of Angora, a few hours north of the famous ruined site of Üyük, given in the *Djihānnumā*, p. 625, among the Ḳaḍā's of the sandjaḳ of Čorum. W. Hamilton in 1838 was the first European to visit and describe it (*Researches etc.*, i. 379, 381, 403; following him Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 147, 149 *sqq.*), next came in 1859 H. Barth (*Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, p. 42) and A. D. Mordtmann (in *Ausland*, 1863, p. 785; *Sitzungsber. Bayr. Ak.*, 1861, p. 191 *sq.*). The ruined site of Ḳara Sarāy which belongs to it is mentioned under this name in the *Djihānnumā* also. On our maps this Ḳara Ḥiṣār appears without an epithet; it may be identical with the Ḳara Ḥiṣār which the older Ottoman chroniclers mention in connection with the fightings of prince Muḥammad with the Yürük chief Gözleroghlu about 805 A. H. (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 386; Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 209).

6. Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Teke (*Djihānnumā*, p. 638; Aḥmad Wafīḳ, ʿAlī Djawād, *loc. cit.*) also called Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Adalia (Ewliyā, *Travels etc.*, ii. 705), is mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 44 as a village a day's journey from Anṭākiya (or rather Anṭāliya). In the time of Ibn Faḍl Allāh a certain Zakariyā, a former Mamlūk of the lord of Adalia, had made himself independent there and ruled a small territory which included 3 towns and 12 strongholds (*N. E.*, xiii. 372 *sq.*). The place is still mentioned in the surveys of Meḥemmed the Conqueror (*Revue Historique publ. par l'Institut d'histoire Turque*, part ii. 76) and as a ḳaḍā of the sandjaḳ of Adalia in the *Djihānnumā*, *loc. cit.* According to Aḥmad Wafīḳ, Ḳ. is the capital of a nāḥiye of the ḳaḍā of Sirik in Adalia, in the wilāyet of Konya; the *Sālnāme* of this wilāyet, however, only knows the place-name Sirik, *sc.* is the older name found on our maps. Sirik, a miserable village on a tributary of the Köprü Ṣu (Eurymedon), is the ancient Selge (Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. 515 *sqq.*, 653; G. Hirschfeld, *Reise im südwestlichen Kleinasien* in the *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1875, p. 134). The similarity of names is accidental because Sirik is originally the name of a Yürük clan.

Besides these towns of the name Ḳara Ḥiṣār and Dewele Ḳ. dealt with separately (see above, i. 952) the following are also given:

Ḳara Ḥiṣār in the land of Osman (Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*); this may refer to Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār, also called Ḳaradja Shehir near Inönü in the ancestral lands of the Ottoman Sulṭāns for which even in the older historians Ḳara Ḥiṣār is often written.

Ḳara Ḥiṣār in the land of Ibn Torghut (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *op. cit.*, p. 350): no other reference is known, unless it is an older name for Torghudlu Ḳaṣabasi near Manisa.

Ḳara Ḥiṣār, capital of the Ḳaḍā of Naʿllu-khān, wilāyet of Angora (Aḥmad Wafīḳ, *op. cit.*), not given in the *Sālnāme* nor marked on the maps.

Ḥammām Ḳara Ḥiṣāri, village of the nāḥiye of Günyüzü, Ḳaḍā of Siwri Ḥiṣār, wilāyet of Angora (*Sālnāme*); also on the maps.

Wān Ḳara Ḥiṣāri (Ewliyā, *op. cit.*); no other reference known. (J. H. MORDTMANN)

KARAK. [See KERAK].

ḲARAḲALPAḲ ("black caps"), a Turkish people in Central Asia. In the Russian annals a people of this name (Černii Klobuki) is mentioned as early as the twelfth century; whether these "black caps" are identical with the modern Ḳaraḳalpaḳ cannot be definitely ascertained. It is not till the end of the xviith century that we find records of the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ in Central Asia. According to the embassy report of Skibin and Troshin (1694), they then lived on the Sir Daryā, 10 days' journey below the town of Turkestān. There they are again mentioned in the xviiith century as neighbours of the land of the Khāns of Khīwa; about 1722 a treaty was concluded by the ambassador Vershinin between Peter the Great and the Khān of the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Saʿādat ʿInāyat Muḥammad

Bahādur (*Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonow*, 1722, Nº. 4101). The eastern part of the lands of the Volga Kalmucks between the Ural mountains and the Volga used to be raided by the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ. Even then the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ lived not only by their herds and by their raids but also by agriculture — with artificial irrigation of their fields — and by fishing (on Lake Aral). They are said to have migrated to Central Asia from the Volga region. About the middle of the xviiith century the winter quarters of a body of the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ were on the central course of the Sir at Khawās (north of Ura-Tübe); the prince (*tura*) of these Ḳarāḳalpaḳ entered into an alliance in 1755 with the *Atalïḳ* of Bukhārā, Muḥammad Raḥīm; 5,000 families of the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ were settled at Samarḳand and received from there 400 ass-loads (*kharwār*) of corn; the son of the *tura* joined the army of the *Atalïḳ* (Muḥ. Wafā Karmīnagī, MS. of the Asiatic Museum, c. 581 b, f. 148b). Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1893, i. 228) visited in 1868 north-east of Samarḳand some settlements of the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ, who had immigrated "from the Amū-Daryā not long ago". A considerable number (about 20,000) still live in Farghāna at the present day. The Ḳarāḳalpaḳ are said to have been driven out of the lower valley of the Sir Daryā by the Ḳazaḳ towards the end of the xviiith century; they are still mentioned in the xixth century a little farther south on the (now dried up) Yeni Daryā à propos of the campaigns of Muḥammad Raḥīm, Khān of Khīwa, against the land of Kungrat (1807—1811). The Ḳarāḳalpaḳ were then subject to the Khān of Kungrat and lived, in part, on the lower course of the Amū Daryā, especially on the arm of the river known as the "Ḳazaḳ"; there they succeeded in holding their own even at a later date against the Ḳazaḳ. After the union of Kungrat with Khīwa (1811) the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ also had to submit to the Khān of Khīwa, but made frequent attempts to throw off this yoke; in 1827 the town of Kungrat was even captured by them for a time; after the suppression of this rising a part of the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ migrated to Farghāna (*History of Khīwa*, MS. of the Asiatic Museum, 590 ob, f. 300b—305b). In 1855 the leader of the rebel Ḳarāḳalpaḳ, Ir-Naẓar-bī, adopted the title of Khān (*ibid.*, f. 516a); the fortress built by him near where the Ḳazaḳ flows into Lake Aral, the ruins of which still bear his name, did not fall till the following year, and then through treachery, into the hands of the Khīwans. After the Russian conquest of Khīwa in 1873, when the Khān had to cede to Russia all his possessions east of the main arm of the Amū and the most north-western arm of its delta (Talïḳ or Taldïḳ), the land of the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ also became Russian. The area, then separated from Khīwa, was first administered as a separate circle (*otdyel*), later as part of the gouvernement of Sir Daryā; after the revolution it was constituted a separate territory (*oblast'*). The Ḳarāḳalpaḳ form about half the population there, according to the latest census over 110,000 souls. In addition there are about 20,000 Ḳarāḳalpaḳ in Khīwa and as many in Farghāna.

The dialect of the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ was first investigated in 1903 by S. Ilyelyayew; some of the texts then written down were later published (1917) in the *Protokoli Zakaspiyskago Kružka Lyubitéley Arkheologii* etc., parts 3 and 4. Information on the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ is given in all books on Turkestān and its population; e. g. Fr. v. Schwartz, *Turkestan*, p. 17; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, St. Petersburg 1880, i. 329 *sq.*; Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 390 *sq.*; *Aziatskaya Rossiya*, St. Petersburg 1914, an official publication, i. 163 *sq.*; Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1885, p. 373 *sq.* No special monograph has so far been devoted to the study of the Ḳarāḳalpaḳ people. (W. Barthold)

ḲARA KHALĪL. [See Čendereli].

ḲARA KHITĀI (or Ḳara Khitāi), the usual name since the vith (xiith) century in Muḥammadan sources for the Kitai people, mentioned by the Chinese from the eighth century A. D. onwards, who were probably Tungus (according to another view Mongol). In the Turkish Orkhon inscriptions the Kitai are several times mentioned as enemies of the Turks in the extreme east of the area visited by the Turks in their campaigns; according to Chinese sources, they lived in the southern part of Manchuria. From the beginning of the tenth century the Kitai carried on a campaign of conquest, conquered the northern part of China and founded a dynasty which as a Chinese ruling house was called Liao (916). Even the founder of the dynasty, Apaoki, was able to subdue Northern Mongolia, which had been conquered by the Kirghiz about 840; Apaoki himself visited Karakorum in 924 and is said to have received an Arab, i. e. Muḥammadan, embassy there (Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, London 1910, i. 265), the first record of the appearance of Muslims in this region; it was probably only a trading caravan (Mongolia, of course, lay outside the usual range of Arabic geographical literature, for which the Kirghiz were the extreme north-eastern people). The house of Liao succeeded in holding its ground against the national Sung dynasty which had arisen in South China since 960; not till about 1125 were the Kitai driven from China and Eastern Asia by another Tungus people, the Djurdjen.

Even before settling in China the Kitai had adopted Chinese civilisation to a greater extent than other nomadic peoples; in contrast to the cult of the rising sun predominant among the other nomads of the East, they had borrowed from the Chinese the cult of the South; with this fact is no doubt connected the spread of this cult among the Mongols, and throughout the Mongol Empire in Central Asia generally (see W. Barthold's essay in the *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, xxv. 55 *sq.*). As the Djurdjen did later, the Kitai formed a system of writing of their own based on the Chinese hieroglyphic system (about 920 A.D. with some 1000 characters). A statement in the official "History of the Liao" (*Liao-shi*) where, according to de Groot's translation, there is mentioned an alphabet prepared for the Kitai ("small characters, few in number and all arranged in rows") by the foreign wise man, Tiet-ts'ih (according to F. W. K. Müller, perhaps *tarsā* = Christian), is explained by Marquart to mean that about this time (the statement refers to the reign of Apaoki) the sounds of the language were reproduced in an alphabet of western origin (perhaps modelled on the Uighur) (*Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad.*, 1912, p. 500 *sq.*); documents or inscriptions in this alphabet have so far not been found. On the other hand we have specimens of Kitai writing in the alphabet

modelled on the Chinese. Quite recently P. Pelliot (*Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. 11, iv. 174) mentions a Chinese "maigre vocabulaire" of the language of the Kitai.

As early as the first quarter of the eleventh century (according to some 403 = 1012/3, according to others 408 = 1017/8) an attack was made by the Khitā or Kitai (not yet called Karā Khitāi) against Muslim lands; they are said to have advanced within 8 days' journey of Balāsāghūn [q. v.] and were only driven back from there by the Ilek Khāns [q. v.]. In what connection this campaign stands with events in Eastern Asia is not known; Marquart's attempt (*Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin 1914, *Abh. der Kön. Ges. der Wiss. in Göttingen*, *phil.-hist. Klasse*, New Series, vol. xiii., N°. 1, p. 194 *sq.*) to find with the help of de Groot some reference in the *Liao-Shi* which might be connected with this campaign has not been successful. On the campaign itself see Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 209 *sq.*; Marquart, *Osttürk. Dialektst.*, p. 54; Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., ii. 294.

More important for the Muslim world was the western movement of the Kitai after the destruction of their empire in China by the Djurdjen (in Muslim sources later called Čurčit) about 1125. It was not the migration of a whole people; a part of the Kitai remained in China under the rule of the Djurdjen and at a later date, in the time of Čingiz Khān [q. v.], took the opportunity to rebel against the dynasty and to restore the kingdom of the Kitai as a Mongol vassal state. Kitai is, of course, still the usual name for China among Mongols and Russians; in Muḥammadan sources the Kitai who remained in China as well as those who migrated westwards are called Karā Khitāi. The Chinese historians continue to regard the Kitai dynasty expelled from China as a Chinese imperial dynasty under the name "Western Liao", with posthumous titles, reign periods, etc. — probably the only example of the members of a dynasty of foreign origin being regarded as Chinese emperors even after their expulsion from China. But the statements of the Chinese annals regarding the Western Liao are very inaccurate as regards chronology and in other respects also very meagre. The Chinese can only report one march of the Kitai through the modern Chinese Turkestān; from Muḥammadan sources we know that it was not this migration that led to the formation of a Kitai kingdom in the West; on the contrary, these Kitai were completely defeated by Arslān Khān Aḥmad b. Ḥasan, prince of Kāshghar, a few days' journey beyond this town. Ibn al-Athīr (cf. the account in his *Chronicle*, xi. 55) places this battle in the year 522 (1128); perhaps it took place a few years later, as it is mentioned as a very recent event in the letter sent in name of Sulṭān Sandjar to the Caliph's vizier in Ramaḍān, 527 (July 6—Aug. 4, 1133) (Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 35 and 37). Presumably another branch of the migration of the Kitai by a more northern route met with more success; we get the fullest account of it from Djuwainī (*Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-Kushāi*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, ii. 86 *sq.*; translation in d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 441 *sq.* and following him in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* etc., i. 225 *sq.*). According to this account, the Karā Khitāi advanced through the land of the Kirghiz (on the Yenisei), then south-westwards to the region of the modern Čugučak, where they built the town of Imil. From there as a base they occupied without opposition the town of Balāsāghūn [q. v.], whither the Muslim ruler of this region of the Ilek Khān dynasty had summoned them against his enemies; it was only from here, i. e. from the North, that they conquered Kāshghar and Khotan and later Mā-warāʾ-al-Nahr and Khwārizm; the king of this land, Atsïz (1128—1156), had to bind himself to pay a yearly tribute of 30,000 dīnārs. On the fighting in Mā-warāʾ-al-Nahr and Khwārizm we are particularly well informed by Ibn al-Athīr as well as by a few earlier sources like ʿImād al-Dīn (Houtsma, *Recueil de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seljoucides*, vol. ii.) and Rāwandī (*Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥ. Iḳbāl, esp. p. 172 *sq.*); the material is utilised in Barthold's *Turkestan* etc. and in Marquart's *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*. In Ramaḍān, 531 (May-June, 1137) the Khān of Samarḳand, Maḥmūd, was defeated at Khodjand and on Ṣafar 5, 536 (Sept. 9, 1141) his powerful overlord, Sulṭān Sandjar, in the desert of Ḳaṭwān north of Samarḳand. After this the kingdom of the Karā Khitāi stretched from the land of the Kirghiz (on the Yenisei) in the north for a time as far as Balkh in the south, from Khwārizm in the west to the land of the Uighurs (see BISHBALÏK) in the east, with its ruler's residence on the Ču [q. v.] at Balāsāghūn. The ruler bore the title *Gūrkhān*, which is explained by Djuwainī (ii. 86 below) as "Khān of Khāns" (*Khān-i Khānān*); the word *Gūr* is perhaps reproduced by the Chinese Ye-lu (family name of the Liao emperors). Unlike the other nomad empires no fiefs were granted either to the relatives of the *Gūrkhān* or to other persons of high rank; the first *Gūrkhān* is said to have allowed no one command of more than 100 men. On the other hand almost everywhere (Balāsāghūn perhaps formed the only exception) the native dynasties continued to exist as vassals of the *Gūrkhān*; these vassal states probably formed the greater part of the empire. The level of taxation was, as in China, fixed by the number of houses; a dīnār was levied on every house. The language of the government seems to have been Chinese. The son-in-law of the *Gūrkhān* is called *fūmā* (Chinese "son-in-law") in Djuwainī (thus Defrémery in his note on Mīrkhond, *Hist. des Sultans du Kharezm*, Paris 1882, p. 124; in the edition by Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, ii. 17, 18 and 20, *furmā*); in the account of the Khitā in ʿAwfī (*Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne, ii. 385) we appear to find the well-known Chinese word *paiza* (so to be read for *bā mujza*), later also adopted by the Mongols. Even under the rule of the pagan Karā Khitāi the Muslims appear, however, to have retained their leading positions; the wealthy merchant prince, Maḥmūd Bāī, is mentioned by Djuwainī (ii. 89) as vizier of the last *Gūrkhān*. In Kāshghar about this time we find a Christian bishop (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, III, part ii. 502); to the same period also belong the oldest Christian inscriptions on the Ču (*Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, viii. 26; W. Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums* etc., Tübingen 1901, p. 58); but Islām also seems to have made progress during this period. In the story of the conquests of the Karā Khitāi, the country of the princes of Balāsāghūn appears as the frontier land of the Muslim world; in the beginning of the xiiith century two Muḥammadan principalities are mentioned north of the Ili [q. v.] (one in the northern part of the

modern Semiryečye and one at Kuldja). After the destruction of the kingdom of the Ķarā Khitāi and of that of the Naiman prince Kūčlük, which succeeded it although over a much smaller area, the last Ķarā Khitāi, as is apparent from the account of the journey of the Chinese envoy Wu-ku-sun (1220—1221), had to adopt Muslim customs and Muslim garments (Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* etc., i. 29). All this says little in favour of Marquart's (*Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, p. 209) idea of the civilization of the Ķarā Khitāi, which, according to him, stood "brilliantly out from its miserable surroundings".

The first *Gūrkhān* died, according to Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 57, in Radjab, 537 (Jan. 20—Febr. 18, 1142); he was followed by his widow "and his son Muḥammad". Marquart wants to read *ibnatu ʿammihī* for *ibnuhu Muḥammad* (*Osttürk. Dialektst.*, p. 237); but it is nowhere stated that the wife of the *Gūrkhān* was also his cousin; moreover, according to Chinese sources, she was only regent for her son who was still a minor. The latter, of course, cannot have been called Muḥammad; but how the text is to be emended must remain unsettled (the reading *wa-ibnuhu Muḥammad* is also found in the Būlāķ edition, xi. 36). In the Muḥammadan sources we find no complete list of the *Gūrkhāns* with particulars of their dates; the only references to these are scanty and contradictory. Djuwainī in his chapter on the Ķarā Khitāi (ii. 88 *sq.*) only mentions the widow and the brother of the first *Gūrkhān*; in another passage (ii. 17) he also mentions, as do the Chinese annals, the rule of the daughter of the first *Gūrkhān*; the same queen is mentioned by Rāwandī (*Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 174), but he makes her reign down to his time, i. e. to the beginning of the thirteenth century, which cannot be correct. A more accurate list of the *Gūrkhāns* is given by the Chinese annals, but their tradition also is obviously inaccurate, especially in its chronological data. Marquart's endeavour (*loc. cit.*) to bring the Muḥammadan and Chinese sources into agreement and thus to date the reigns of the different rulers seems in general to be successful. According to him, the widow of the *Gūrkhān* reigned till 1150, his son till 1163, his daughter till 1178 and his grandson till 1211. The latter is mentioned in the Chinese annals and, according to the usual pronunciation of the characters concerned, was called Či-lu-ku; Marquart (following De Groot) reads Tīgu.

Under this ruler took place the fall of the Khitāi kingdom, brought about partly by the activities of the Muslim rulers in the west and partly by the Mongol inundation, then just breaking; cf. the accounts thereon in Barthold and Marquart and also the articles BUKHĀRĀ, BUKHĀRĀ, ČINGIZ KHĀN and MUḤAMMAD B. TAKASH. As happened elsewhere also, it was here not always the conflict of religions that was the deciding factor. The Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad, afterwards leader of the Muḥammadan movement, relied in the early years of his reign for assistance against his Muslim enemies on the pagan Ķarā Khitāi, as well as the spiritual rulers (*ṣudūr*) of Bukhārā. The rising of ʿOthmān, prince of Samarķand, against the Ķarā Khitāi is explained by Djuwainī (ii. 91) as due to the refusal of the *Gūrkhān* to give his daughter in marriage to this prince. Later, under the influence of the estrangement between ʿOthmān and his Muḥammadan liberator and father-in-law Muḥammad, this matrimonial alliance nevertheless took place (*ibid.*, ii. 124); the rising of the Muḥammadan population of Mā-warāʾ al-Nahr against their liberator had to be put down with ruthless vigour and bloodshed (609 = 1212). In contradiction to the view of these happenings given by Djuwainī, the *Gūrkhān* was in reality deprived of his power a year earlier, in 1211, by Kūčlük, prince of the Naiman. The attitude of this originally Christian, later pagan (probably Buddhist) ruler to the Muslim population did not always remain uniform; he appears as an ally of the Muslim enemies of the *Gūrkhān* and as an ally of the prince of Kāshghar (cf. the text of Djamāl al-Ķarashī in Barthold's *Turkestan* etc., i. 133). He afterwards became a most bitter enemy of Islām. In his reign took place the first and only persecution of Islām in Central Asia; public Muslim worship was suppressed, the Muslims forced either to adopt Christianity or the religion of the pagans or at least to adopt the clothing of the Ķarā Khitāi. Those who resisted were, like the Protestants under Louis XIV, punished by having soldiers billetted on them. The only source on this point is Djuwainī (i. 49 *sq.*). By Čingiz Khān's victory over Kūčlük the religious persecution was ended; the former Muslim subjects of the Ķarā Khitāi, who had as early as 1211 been in negotiation with Čingiz Khān, received complete freedom of religion under Mongol rule. The Muslim dress was now adopted (cf. above) by the remaining Ķarā Khitāi, which was the very reverse of Kūčlük's law. Neither inscriptions nor buildings nor any other trace whatever of the rule of the Ķarā Khitāi have survived in Central Asia.

On the rule of a former "Amīr" of the *Gūrkhān* and his descendants in Kirmān see BURĀĶ, ḤĀDJIB and KIRMĀN. (W. BARTHOLD)

ĶARA KIRGIZ. [See KIRGIZ].

KARAKOL, KARAGHUL. [See ĶARAUL].

ĶARAĶORUM (ĶARAĶORAM), a chain of mountains in the centre of Asia lying north of and almost parallel to the Himalaya. The range extends westwards as far as 73° of Long.; it has not yet been definitely ascertained how far it runs eastwards. At one time the eastern limit was thought to be the pass of the Ķaraķorum, but, according to the views of several famous geographers, the range runs much farther into Tibet and the Tang-la should, they think, be regarded as a part of the Ķaraķorum. This idea was first put forward by Klaproth in 1836 and is now held by Burrard, Sven Hedin and others who further regard the Trans-Himalaya as belonging to the Ķaraķorum system. If this is accurate, the whole system would be about 1250 miles long.

The highest elevations are found in the part west of the pass of Ķaraķorum. There we find several peaks over 26,500 feet high and countless summits over 23,000 feet. The highest peak — probably the second highest in the world — is Mount Godwin Austen, indicated on the *Survey of India* maps as K 2, but which seems to have been long known as Chogo-ri among the natives. This giant attains a height of 28,265 feet.

This western part of the Ķaraķoram possesses a wild and imposing natural beauty; it is covered with eternal snows over a considerable extent. The snow line runs from 15,500 feet north of the principal chain to 17,000 in the south.

If we exclude the polar regions the largest glaciers in the world are found in this part of the Ķaraķorum. The Siachen glacier is 45 miles long and covers a surface of about 1,000 square miles. The Baltoro, Hispara and Biafo glaciers are only a little less than the Siachen. The plateau out of which rises the Ķaraķoram has an average height of 10,000 feet. The whole region is excessively dry because the rain (snow, hail) falls almost exclusively on the high mountains. The vegetation in the valleys is very slight and is confined to the vicinity of torrents and streams. At the terminations of the glaciers we find — very often on a little plain — a very beautiful alpine flora.

The Ķaraķorum is the most important watershed in Central Asia, dividing the rivers which running northwards empty their waters into the deserts of this part of the world, and running southwards into the Indian Ocean.

The principal pass is the *col* of Ķaraķorum (18,550 feet), through which runs the important trade route between Chinese Turkestan and Kashmir. It is difficult and dangerous. In their long journey countless beasts of burden perish of exhaustion or in the avalanches. The mountains take their name from the pass. But, as Ķaraķorum means "black debris", the name is not very appropriate. It is found for the first time in a map by Elphinstone published in 1815. On this map the range in question is indicated by the name Moor Taugh or Karrakoorrum Mountains.

The first traveller to write on the mountains now called Ķaraķorum was Mīrzā Ḥaidar, a prince of Chinese Turkestan, à propos of his journey from Yarkand to Leh, capital of Ladak, in 1533. The exploration proper of the Ķaraķorum only began in 1808 when Elphinstone visited these regions. The more systematic and detailed exploration of the high mountains proper was only begun in 1892 by Sir Martin Conway's expedition, which has been followed by several others.

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(Ph. C. Visser)

ĶARAĶORUM, a town in Mongolia on the Orkhon, in the thirteenth century for a short time (about 1230—1260) the capital of the Mongol Emperors, now in ruins. The fullest accounts of the town are given among European travellers by Rubruk (Latin edition in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, 1839, iv. 345 *sq.*; transl. by W. W. Rockhill, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, especially p. 220 with the translator's notes) and among Muslim historians by Djuwainī [q. v.], *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān Gushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, especially i. 169 *sq.* and 192. The fullest account of the ruins (by the members of the Orkhon expedition of 1891) is in *Sbornik Trudow Orkhonskoy Ekspeditsii*, part i. (1892); in Radloff's *Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei* is a plan of the ruins (Pl. xxxvi.) and a squeeze of a large (not completely preserved) Persian inscription (Pl. xlviii.); on the latter see E. Blochet in *T'oung Pao*, 1897, viii. 309 *sqq.* As Djuwainī rightly remarks, a little below Ķaraķorum there were the ruins of the old (viiith—ixth century) Uighur capital Ordu baliķ ("court-town") which, from being in ruins, was then called Mo-baliķ ("bad town") and is now known as Khara-Balgasun ("black town"). The city built by the Mongol Emperor Ögedei (1229—1241) was also at first officially known as Ordu-baliķ; the name Ķaraķorum was a popular one. On linguistic grounds Ķaraķorum cannot, as Rockhill supposes, be a corruption of *Ķara Küren* ("black camp") but means "black debris" (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs* etc., s. v. *Korum*), a name still frequently found in mountainous regions. As Djuwainī expressly remarks, this was the original name of the mountain region round the sources of the Orkhon. The statement ascribed by Rockhill (following d'Ohsson) to Djuwainī that the town was half a farsakh long does not seem to be found in the printed text of the *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān Gushā* nor in manuscripts. Rubruk describes Ķaraķorum as a small town not larger than the faubourg St. Denys in Paris; the monastery of St. Denys far surpassed in size the palace of the Mongol emperor. The ruins of the Mongol Ķaraķorum indeed indicate a town of very moderate size; the Uighur Ordu-baliķ was considerably larger. On the other hand there was much building in Ķaraķorum during the city's brief period of splendour; Rubruk as well as Djuwainī give full descriptions of the imperial palaces built in the city and around it, some by Chinese and others by Muḥammadan architects; according to Rubruk, Russian and Western European architects also shared in the building operations at a later date. Two *farsakh* east of Ķaraķorum lay, according to Djuwainī, the palace of Targhu-baliķ ("city of precious stuffs brought as presents").

After the Mongol Emperors had removed their residence to China, Ķaraķorum was only the seat of the governor of Mongolia; according to Marco Polo (transl. Yule-Cordier, London 1903, I 226), who was not himself in Ķaraķorum, the palace of the governor was in the citadel. After the Mongol dynasty was driven out of China (1368) the Emperors returned to Ķaraķorum; after the dissolution of the dynasty in the 15th century the city lost all importance; at the present day the great Buddhist monastery of Erdeni-Tsu is there.

(W. Barthold)

ḲARA-ḲOYŪN-LU (Turkish "those of the Black Sheep"), a Turkoman dynasty which reigned in Persia and Mesopotamia from 777 (1375) to 873 (1468). In the reign of the Djalā'irid Sulṭān Uwais, Bairām Khwādja, chief of the family of the Bahārlu, had obtained an important position at the court of the Sulṭān through his valour; at the latter's death he seized al-Mawṣil, Sindjār and Ardjīsh. When he died in 782 = 1380, his son Ḳara Muḥammad Turmush, who was in the service of Sulṭān Aḥmad, son of Uwais, came back to succeed him and fell in a battle in Syria (792 = 1390). The son of this Ḳara Muḥammad, Ḳara Yūsuf, proclaimed himself independent and chose Tabrīz as his capital. He made war on Tīmūr, took refuge with Bāyazīd Yildirim and took advantage of the conqueror's campaign in Asia Minor to seize 'Irāḳ 'Arabī, but he could not defend Baghdād against Mīrzā Abū Bakr, sent against him by Tīmūr, and retired to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, who kept him prisoner for some time. On Tīmūr's death he was released, collected the thousand men who had accompanied him, took Diyār Bakr after overcoming a thousand difficulties, defeated Mīrzā Abū Bakr in the vicinity of Nakhčewān (809 = 1406), recaptured Tabrīz and settled himself there. The following year he again defeated this prince, accompanied by his father Mīrān Shāh, who fell on the field of battle. He took as colleague on the throne his son Pīr Budaḳ, who had been adopted by Sulṭān Aḥmad. He took Diyār Bakr from Ḳara 'Othmān Bayendiri, put Sulṭān Aḥmad to death after his defeat and capture not far from Tabrīz, seized 'Irāḳ 'Arabī (813 = 1410) and made peace with Ḳara 'Othmān after defeating him. He destroyed the army sent against him by Shaikh Ibrāhīm, king of Shirwān, and Kustendil, king of Georgia. In 822 (1419) he captured al-Sulṭāniya, Ḳazwīn and Sāwa, towns of 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī. Shāh Rukh, son and successor of Tīmūr, was leading a vast army against him when he fell ill and died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the same year (December) in the town of Ūdjān, at the age of 65, after reigning 14 years. His body was despoiled by the Turkomans and lay for two days without burial; then he was buried at Ardjīsh beside his grandfather Bairām Khwādja.

His eldest son Amīr Iskandar, having reunited the scattered members of his tribe, took the field against Shāh Rukh and was defeated after a battle lasting two days (824 = 1421); but he seized the opportunity of his opponent's return to Khorāsān to regain Ādharbaidjān. He defeated and slew Shams al-Dīn, Sulṭān of Akhlāṭ (828), Sulṭān Aḥmad, chief of the Kurds, and 'Izz al-Dīn Shīr (830 = 1426). He recaptured Shirwān and al-Sulṭāniya. He fought again with Shāh Rukh in 832 (1429) and, despite the bravery of his brother Djahān Shāh, he lost the battle and fled into Asia Minor; then, taking advantage of the fact that the Tīmūrid sovereign had placed on his throne his other brother Abū Sa'īd, he returned to the charge, captured his brother and put him to death. On the complaint of the people of Shirwān, who had been ruined by the plundering, Shāh Rukh sent a new army in 838 (1434) with which Djahān Shāh and Shāh 'Alī, his nephew, joined forces. Not being able to make a stand, Iskandar fled and came back again when Djahān Shāh had been installed by the Tīmūrid, but he was defeated and shut himself up in the castle of Alendjaḳ, where he was murdered by his son Ḳobād at the instigation of one of his wives, who had fallen in love with the young man (841 = 1437). He had reigned for sixteen years.

Mīrzā Djahān Shāh, appointed by Shāh Rukh (839 = 1435), engaged in the reorganisation of Ādharbaidjān and added to it new provinces, 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī (856 = 1452), Iṣfahān, in which the inhabitants were massacred, Fārs, Kirmān and Khorāsān (862 = 1458), where he established his capital in the town of Herāt. He was obliged to make peace with the Tīmūrid Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, who took the field against him, by giving up the latter province to him because his son Ḥasan had escaped from his prison and had succeeded in taking Ādharbaidjān. After an exceedingly swift march, on which he laid the country passed through waste and many beasts of burden perished, he captured his son and banished him from the country. Another of his sons, Pīr Budaḳ, whom he had deprived of his office as governor of Fārs because of his evil conduct and relegated to Baghdād, rebelled in 869 (1465) and sustained a siege for a year. He then obtained by a ruse the submission of Pīr Budaḳ, put him to death and replaced him by his other son Muḥammad Mīrzā. He reigned undisputed over the whole of Ādharbaidjān, the two 'Irāḳs and Kirmān as well as over the coast of 'Omān. Winter prevented him from putting into operation his plans against Diyār Bakr (871 = 1466). On his return, while out hunting, he was surprised by his enemy Uzūn Ḥasan Bayendiri and killed while trying to escape, at the age of 70 after a reign of 32 years (on the 12th of Rabī' II = Nov. 11).

Ḥasan 'Alī, his exiled son, whom Uzūn Ḥasan had welcomed, and whose brain was affected by his 25 years in prison, gathered together a body of bad characters and marched on Tabrīz where his brother Ḥusain 'Alī, the dervish, who had been crowned king in spite of himself, had just been murdered as a result of feminine intrigues. He ascended the throne, distributed his wealth to the mob and avenged his brother. Abandoned by the army leaders who went over to the camp of Uzūn Ḥasan, he tried to raise the people of Hamadhān but was captured and put to death in 873 (1468). This was the end of the main branch of the family.

The branch which reigned at Baghdād consists of the following succession of princes: 1. Shāh Muḥammad, son of Ḳara Yūsuf (died 837 = 1433), had been entrusted by his father with the administration of this province, but he was deprived of it after 23 years by 2. his brother Espān, who reigned 12 years and died in 848 (1444). 3. His son Fūlād succeeded him; it was in his reign that Djahān Shāh took Baghdād and thus put an end to this line.

Bibliography: Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, the whole of Book vi. and particularly p. 133, 168, 188, 194, 210, 251, 260; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, III, part iii., especially p. 101, 105, 115, 120, 124, 133; Munadjdjim Bashi, iii. 149 *sqq.*; Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, p. 22—25.

(CL. HUART)

ḲARAḲUM (Turkish "black sand"), a desert in Russian Turkestān, between the Amū Daryā, the Ust Urt and the ranges of hills on the Caspian, contrasted with Ḳizil-Ḳum ("red sand"),

the desert between the Sir Daryā and the Amū Daryā. The Ḳarāḳum (area 148,000 sq. miles) is a still more dreary waste and possesses even fewer fertile areas than the Ḳizil-ḳum. The sandy stretches north of the Sir as far as Lake Čalkar are called "little Ḳarāḳum"; cf. Franz Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921, p. 15 *sq.*, 285 and Index. The Ḳarāḳum mentioned by Djuwainī in the *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān Gushāi* is, in the opinion of the editor, probably identical with the little Ḳarāḳum (the readings of the MSS. are not certain; cf. edition by Mīrzā Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xvi., part i. 69 *sq.*, ii. 101 *sq.*).

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲARĀḲŪSH, BAHĀ' AL-DĪN IBN 'ABD ALLĀH (i.e. son of an unknown father) AL-ASADĪ (mamlūk of Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh) AL-RŪMĪ (born in Asia Minor) AL-MALIKĪ AL-NĀṢIRĪ, officer of Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (i.e. Saladin), a eunuch, received his liberty from Shīrkūh and was appointed an Amīr. By the time of Shīrkūh's death (564 = 1169) he was already playing an influential part; it is said that it was due to him and the Ḳāḍī 'Īsā al-Hakkārī that the Caliph al-'Āḍid appointed Saladin vizier. After the suppression of the rebellion fomented after al-'Āḍid's death by his Chamberlain, the eunuch Mu'tamin al-Khilāfa, Ḳarāḳūsh was appointed Chamberlain. In this capacity he had the surveillance of the family of the late Caliph and is said to have administered his office with great strictness. To prevent the family of the Caliph increasing, he separated men and women. Saladin gave him the task of building the citadel of Cairo and extending the city walls to include Cairo and Fusṭāṭ; later he was asked to fortify and defend 'Akkā. When the town fell in 587 (1191) after eighteen months' fighting he was taken prisoner; Saladin ransomed him a few months later for the high sum of 20,000 dīnārs. After the death of Saladin in 589 (1193) he entered the service of his son al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Othmān and was trusted to represent the Sulṭān when the latter was out of Egypt. When the Sulṭān felt his end approaching (595 = 1199) he designated his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr his successor and Ḳarāḳūsh his regent. In keeping with this wish, the young ruler appointed him Atābeg although Ḳarāḳūsh was now very old. He only held his post for a very short time as most of the Amīrs and the head of the chancellery, Ibn Mammātī, declared him incapable of ruling, presumably on account of his great age. His supporters, who considered him the most worthy, consulted Saladin's adviser, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [q. v.], but the latter, who had retired from political life, would not be drawn into the question. Finally the Amīrs asked al-Manṣūr's uncle, al-Malik al-Afḍal, to take over the regency. After this we find only one mention of Ḳarāḳūsh, when Sulṭān al-'Ādil, who had seized the throne in 596 (1200), had two of his nephews taken to the house of Ḳarāḳūsh as prisoners. He died a year later. Contemporary historians, like 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, bestow the highest praise upon him, as do later writers, like al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, and describe him as the ablest man of his day. They give him particular credit for his activity as a builder. Besides the buildings already mentioned, his house, his hippodrome and the bridge at Gīzeh, which he built out of stones from the Pyramids at Memphis, are mentioned.

In the same period a "Ḳarāḳūsh" became notorious as a type of stupidity. A series of absurd verdicts are related in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Ḳarāḳūsh*, "the book of the stupidity in the judgments of Ḳarāḳūsh". According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, the above mentioned Ibn Mammātī was the author of this book. Casanova (see *Bibl.*) in his elaborate study on Ḳarāḳūsh quotes three manuscripts: 1) a Cairo manuscript which contains a brief selection from the *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh*; the author is there given as Ibn Mammātī; 2) a Paris manuscript the author of which is given as al-Suyūṭī, certainly wrongly as in the introduction Ibn Taghrībirdī is wrongly quoted and given a wrong praenomen, which one can hardly credit of al-Suyūṭī; 3) a Cairo manuscript which is a later version, in which Ḳarāḳūsh is called a Sulṭān and the number of his "verdicts" is increased, by 'Abd al-Salām al-Laḳānī of the year 1200 (1786). These "verdicts" have nothing to do with state-craft but are court verdicts; they are typical, well known anecdotes, current among other nations also. A special investigation has not yet been made of the problem. Casanova endeavours to show that the work is a pamphlet against Ḳarāḳūsh, whom, he says, Ibn Mammātī hated as an exceedingly severe man. It is not known whether Ibn Mammātī collected and published these anecdotes in the life-time of Ḳarāḳūsh. Ibn Khallikān rightly points out that it is impossible that a man such as is described in the anecdotes could have held high offices of state. Nor is anything known of a particular feud between Ibn Mammātī and Ḳarāḳūsh except that Ibn Mammātī had protested in 595 (1199) against the appointment of this then very old man; Ḳarāḳūsh is described by the Frankish chroniclers as advanced in years even in 585 (1189) at the siege of 'Akkā; he is said even to have known Godfrey de Bouillon. One thing is clear from Ibn Khallikān's observation: the anecdotes given by Ibn Mammātī were referred to our Ḳarāḳūsh.

Bibliography: Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatain fī Akhbār al-Dawlatain*, Cairo 1287—88, ii. 244, containing an appreciation by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī of Ḳarāḳūsh; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 544 (transl. de Slane, ii. 520 *sq.*); 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *Al-Ifāda wal-I'tibār*, Cairo 1286, p. 25; transl. de Sacy, as *Relation de l'Égypte*, Paris 1810, p. 171 *sq.*, 206—213 passim. Comprehensive: Casanova, *Karâkoûch, sa légende et son histoire*, communication faite à l'institut égyptien, Cairo 1892; do., *Karâkoûch* in the *M. M. A. F.*, Paris 1897, vi. 447 *sqq.*; the other references to him are given in H. Derenbourg, *Ousâma ibn Mounkidh*, p. 432, note 4, Paris 1889.

(SOBERNHEIM)

KARAM (BANU 'L-), a dynasty of 'Aden, from 476—533 (1083—1138) conducted an Ismā'īlī condominium — at first as viceroys of the Ṣulaiḥids of Ṣan'ā' — in two branches, the Banū Mas'ūd and the Banū 'Abbās Abi 'l-Zuraiʿ; from 533—569 (1138—1173) the latter alone — the Zurai'ids, also called Banu 'l-Dhi'b (sons of the wolf) — held the now independent sultanate, only recognising the Caliphate of the Fāṭimids.

The Banu 'l-Karam belonged to the Djusham clan of the tribe of Yām in the Hamdān group and were closely related to the Ṣulaiḥids [q. v.]. They were therefore the principal supporters of

the founder of this dynasty, the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimī *dā'ī* 'Alī b. Muḥammad and of his son and successor al-Mukarram. When the Banū Ma'n, whom the *Dā'ī* had allowed to remain as vassals after the conquest of 'Aden in 439 (1047), rebelled, al-Mukarram and his wife, the Sulṭāna Saiyida Ḥurra, to whom 'Aden belonged as her dowry, transferred the governorship to the two brothers Mas'ūd and 'Abbās, sons of al-Karam, in 476 (1083); the former received the castle of al-Khaḍrā' and the revenues of the coast-lands while the latter got the revenues of the landward part of the country and the castle of al-Ta'kir at the gateway to the interior (not to be confused with the stronghold of the same name above Djubla, not far from the road from Djanad to Yarim). Their joint annual tribute amounted to 100.000 dīnārs. Mas'ūd and al-Zuraiʿ, son and successor of 'Abbās, fell before the gates of Zabīd, performing their feudal duty under the command of the major-domo of the Saiyida, al-Mufaḍḍal Abū 'l-Barakāt. The division of the territory into two parts was for the time being maintained. Mas'ūd was followed in succession by his son b. 'Abu 'l-Gharāt and the latter's sons Muḥammad and 'Alī; al-Zuraiʿ's heir was his son Abu Su'ūd and the latter's son Saba. But the manner of division of the country afforded the latter line an advantage from the first in view of greater facilities for expansion into the interior and the easier defence of the strongholds won by the two families there. It was the mountains in the north of the al-Ma'āfir district that were specially concerned. It proved to be of importance that al-Zuraiʿ had taken possession of Dumluwa in 480 (1087), a fortress in the Djabal al-Ṣilw above the bend where the road from Djanad has to curve round the mountain and is at its farthest east point. Under the vigorous Sabā, if not earlier, not only had their lands there been considerably increased but even Dhubḥān about 100 miles W.N.W. of 'Aden on the road to Mokhā and Zabīd had been occupied. Sabā's father, along with Abu 'l-Gharāt, had succeeded in getting the tribute reduced to half and then to a quarter by successfully refusing to pay more to the Saiyida. Sabā was able to stop it altogether when the difficulties of the widow increased. The changed conditions attracted attention in Cairo: the eleventh Fāṭimid, al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Madjīd, soon after his accession received Sabā into the Ismā'īlī hierarchy as *dā'ī* in 525 (1131). Dumluwa remained the royal residence. A two years' war in the Wādī Laḥdj brought about a decision between the families of the two brothers. 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Gharāt began by purchasing the support of numerous warriors. When he had shot his bolt, Sabā gained the upper hand by throwing his great wealth into the conflict and 300,000 borrowed dīnārs in addition. He was finally victorious on the same day, it is said, as his ally in 'Aden, Bilāl b. Djarīr, stormed the castle of al-Khaḍrā'.

Henceforth the ZURAIʿIDS ruled alone. But Sabā died six months after his entry into 'Aden in 533 (1138). He is buried there at the foot of al-Ta'kir. By the next year his son and successor 'Alī al-A'azz had died of consumption. He had designated as his successors his infant sons, who were in Dumluwa under the guardianship of their tutor Anis and the minister Yaḥyā b. 'Alī. But Bilāl, whom he had dismissed and menaced, was now in 'Aden and gave the crown to another son of his former patron Sabā, namely Muḥammad who had taken refuge from 'Alī al-A'azz on his father's death with Manṣūr, son of the above mentioned major-domo al-Mufaḍḍal. The reign of this Muḥammad b. Sabā from 534 to 548 or 550 (1139 to 1153 or 1155) marks the zenith of Zurai'id power. He put to death the last prince of the line of Mas'ūd in 545 (1150/1), 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Gharāt, who had still held out after his defeat with some members of his family and a few faithful followers in a few mountain strongholds, for example in the Djabal Manif, north of Laḥdj. In 547 (1152/3) he purchased from his former protector Manṣūr, the heir of Saiyida, 28 towns and strongholds including al-Ta'kir with Djibla and Ibb in the north-east and Dhū Ashraḳ in the south-east. He had received the rank of *dā'ī* immediately after his accession, for the Ḳāḍī sent from Cairo to invest 'Alī al-A'azz found Muḥammad already in actual power. It is to this ruler that we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of the history of the Zurai'ids. For, with some men not so fully interviewed, like Anis and Bilāl already mentioned, he is the main authority for the section on the dynasty in the *Ta'rīkh al-Yaman* of 'Umāra, who visited him personally and on 'Umāra are based e. g. al-Djanadī, al-Khazradjī and Ibn Khaldūn. 'Umāra praises Muḥammad very highly, notably as a Maecenas. But one cannot help thinking that he — himself an enthusiastic Ismā'īlī — was biassed in favour of his royal co-religionists. Whether Muḥammad for the rest interpreted his duties as *dā'ī* in a religious sense, we do not known nor can we tell whether the request of the founder of the Mahdī dynasty, 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, who had asked Muḥammad in the presence of 'Umāra in an audience shortly before his death for help against Zabīd, was rejected for purely political and military reasons or for religious reasons as well. In his son and successor 'Imrān the religious interest predominated. The real power passed into the hands of the vizier family of Bilāl. The latter himself, who had already had the share in the government in the reign of Muḥammad, which was due him for his help in securing the throne, had died not long before — or very shortly after — the change in the throne, leaving a vast estate. He was succeeded in office first by his son Mudjīʿ and after the latter's early death by his other son Yāsir who ruled quite independently. When 'Imrān died in 560 (1164/5) and in keeping with his wishes was buried in Makka, Yāsir had his 3 sons, who were still minors, imprisoned in Dumluwa in charge of the eunuch Abu 'l-Durr Djawhar al-Mu'aẓẓamī. But the Zurai'ids were to be spared the fate of being definitely dethroned by their own people. The last blow came from without: in 569 (1173/4) Saladin's brother Tūrānshāh conquered 'Aden along with the rest of Yemen. In the following year Djawhar surrendered him Dumluwa by treaty and a year later Tūrānshāh had Yāsir, whose hiding-place was betrayed, beheaded.

Bibliography: The authors mentioned in the text in H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early Mediaeval History*, London 1892; R. L. Playfair, *A History of Arabia Felix or Yemen*, Bombay 1859, p. 85—88; J. W. Redhouse, *The Pearl-strings . . . . . by . . . . . 'el-Khazrejiyy*, vol. i. in

the Gibb Memorial Series, iii/i. (1906), p. 15, 18 *sqq.*; S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894, p. 97.

(K. STROTHMANN)

KARĀMA is strictly the infinitive of *karuma* (to be *karīm* "generous" in the widest sense); but in usage it is a noun of similar meaning to *ikrām* and *takrīm*, to show one's self *karīm* to any one (*Lisān*, xv. 456, 1 *sqq.*). It does not occur in the Ḳur'ān although *karīm* is very frequently used of Allāh and his workings (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt*, *sub voce*). It has come, therefore, in the devotional language of Islām, to mean the exhibition by Allāh of his generosity, favour, protection, help towards any one, e. g. al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳur. x. 63 (ed. Fleischer, i. 419, *ult.*), a *locus classicus* on the *walīs*; and *karāmāt* mean individual cases of this generosity. In a special sense, the *karāmāt* then come to mean the miraculous gifts and graces with which Allāh surrounds, protects and aids his Saints (*al-awliyā'*). A Ḳur'ānic basis for these was sought in the story (Ḳur. iii. 32) of the food which came miraculously to Maryam in the locked *miḥrāb* and in the transporting in a moment from Yemen of the throne of Bilḳīs by a unnamed companion of Solomon (Ḳur. xxvii. 40). As neither Maryam nor the unnamed companion was a prophet these could not be evidentiary miracles (*mu'djizāt*). See the whole discussion in al-Taftazānī on al-Nasafī's *'Aḳā'id*, Cairo 1321, pp. 134 *sqq.* But the real basis lay in the innumerable narratives of *karāmāt* in the lives of the *walīs*, exaggerated and distorted reflections of indubitable facts in the ecstatic religious life. The fact of these all orthodox Islām admits, even so philosophical an historian as Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Quatremère, i. 169, 199; transl. de Slane, i. 190, 227) and a peripatetic philosopher like Ibn Sīnā (*Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, pp. 209, 219, 221 *sqq.*). These were evidently driven by the pressure of facts to fall back on the hypothesis of still unsolved mysteries in nature; cf. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, p. 139, note 3. Only the Mu'tazilites, who were certain that nature held no mysteries for them and that they need only apply reason to their theological positions, protested and found, even in the Ḳur'ān, basis for their protest. See al-Zamakhsharī on Ḳur. lxxii. 26, 27 (*al-Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, ii. 1530) and on the whole development Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 *sqq.* The coincidence in sound, in derivation and in meaning between these *karāmāt* and the χαρίσματα of the early Christian Church (I Cor. xii.) is most striking and can hardly be accidental. The religious phenomena behind both are the same; but the verbal link is not clear; the Syriac Church called the χαρίσματα simply "gifts", *mauhebhātha*, in Arabic, *mawāhib*, which indeed occurs in this sense; it is possible that the Greek word taken over into Syriac may have suggested to users of Arabic their own *karāmāt*. Technically, such a *karāma* is one of the *khawāriḳ al-'āda*, "the breakers of usage"; for there is no Nature in orthodox Islām, only, and at best, a custom which Allāh has established (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 130). It differs from the *mu'djiza* or "evidentiary miracle" in that it is not worked by Allāh for a prophet in proof of his mission and is not accompanied by a *da'wat nubūwa* or a *taḥaddī*, a claim of prophetship or a challenge to the unbeliever. It differs from the *ma'ūna*, "help", in that while the recipient of the *ma'ūna* is a Muslim he has had no special religious experience; and from the *irhāṣ*, an anticipatory miracle worked for a prophet before his call. It differs from the *istidrādj* and *ihāna* as these are wrought at the instance of unbelievers to lead them astray and bring them to shame (*Dict. of Techn. Terms*, i. 444 *sqq.*; al-Nasafī, *'Aḳā'id*, *loc. cit.* with accomp. commentaries). A *walī* should conceal his wonders, while a prophet must display them; a *walī* may not know about them, while a prophet cannot help knowing. Yet the *karāma* of a *walī* may be regarded as a *mu'djiza* for the prophet whose follower he is. Finally, a *walī* should disregard them as much as possible and should look on them as tests rather than as privileges.

Bibliography: al-Ḳushairī, *al-Risāla*, Būlāḳ 1290, with commentaries, iv. 146 *sqq.* (cf. Richard Hartmann, *Das Ṣūfītum nach al-Ḳushairī*); Goldziher, *Muhammed. Studien*, ii. 372 *sqq.*; al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, Būlāḳ 1266, with comm. of al-Djurdjānī, pp. 578 *sqq.*, pp. 547 *sqq.*; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. by R. A. Nicholson, by index; al-Sha'rānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, passim; Yūsuf al-Nabahānī, *Djāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā'*, Cairo 1329 (a great thesaurus of legend); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār*, passim; D. B. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Lectures 3—7, 9.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ḲARAMĀN is the name — derived from the Turkoman dynasty of the Karamān-Oghlu [*q.v.*] — 1) of a district in Asia Minor, 2) of a town in Turkey, capital of a *ḳaḍā* of the same name.

The boundaries of the district of Karamān (Ḳaramān-ili, Caramania) have varied. All the lands which were permanently under the Karamānids are occasionally so called, that is Lycaonia, the Cilician Taurus and the whole southern Anatolian coast territory as far as Adalia. When the Karamānids were finally overthrown, their lands became one Ottoman province (wilāyet) with Konya as the residence of the Pasha. The sandjak of Iç-ili [*q.v.*] was afterwards separated from the Pashalik; the northern larger portion was called Khāridj, probably in contrast to Iç-ili (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 615 *sq.*; cf. also Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, Constantinople 1314—18, iii. 20), and comprised in the xviith century the sandjaks of Aksarāi, Aḳ-shehir, Konya, Ḳir-Shehir, Ḳaisarīya, Nigde. After the administrative reforms of 1864, the name of the province was changed to Ḳonya [*q.v.*]. The population of Caramania is overwhelmingly Turkish (picture of a Muslim of Caramania in d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788—1820, ii., opposite p. 137); even the Greeks, or at least those inhabitants who belong to the orthodox Greek church, speak Turkish. They are known as Ḳaramānlī and write Turkish in Greek letters; in Constantinople they have their newspaper *Nea Anatoli* printed in this way. During the nationalist fighting in 1919 and 1920, the Ḳaramānlī under the protection of the nationalist government cast off the Oecumenical Patriarch and for a time chose a patriarch of their own. They are very probably not Greeks at all by origin but descendants of the ancient Lycaonians. In the mountains of Caramania live Yürüks and Turkomans. The name Caramania for the coastlands from Mersina to Adalia seems to have become

obsolete. In 1812 it was described by Fr. Beaufort in his book *Karamania* (second edition, London 1818).

4. The **town** of Ḳaramān is the ancient Lāranda (Τὰ Λάρανδα; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc. d. class. Altertumswiss.* xii.¹ col. 793). It lies 55 miles S.E. of Konya in the plain at the foot of the Taurus, on one of the great roads which lead from the coast (Selefke) across the Taurus into the interior of Anatolia. It is not known when it fell into the hands of the Saldjūḳs for the first time; as was the case in the rest of Anatolia, the process of islamisation probably was rapidly completed here. Lāranda also belonged to the Dānishmandids from whom Ḳilidj Arslan retook it in 1165 (Michael Syrus in the *Rec. des Hist. des Crois.*, *Doc. Arm.*, i. 300). In 1190 Frederick I Barbarossa entered Lāranda on his way to Cilicia and in 1210 it again fell into the hands of the Christians when Leon II, King of Armenia, conquered it for the Knights-Hospitaller. In 1216 it had, however, again to be surrendered to Sulṭān ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaikāʾūs (*Rec.* etc., *Doc. Arm.*, i. 644). Shortly afterwards (about 1230) Lāranda was among the towns which were abandoned to the invading Khwārizmis (Ibn Bībī in Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes rel. aux Seldjoucides*, iv. 191). In connection with this event Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad, father of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, migrated about this time from Khorāsān to Lāranda where Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī married in 623 (1226) and where Sulṭān Walad was born (*Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, transl. by Huart, i., Paris 1918, p. 19, 26, 268).

The town attained great importance through the dynasty of the Ḳaramān-Oghlu [q. v.] who made it their capital in the beginning of the xivth century, when they did not yet feel secure in Konya. Several princes of this dynasty lived there even at a later period. They embellished the town with fine buildings and fortified the citadel. During this period the town was often under Egyptian suzerainty (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, ii. 284; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, in the *N. E.*, xii. 342 sq.). In the wars with the Ottomans, Lāranda was repeatedly occupied by the latter and the Ḳaramānid ruler was forced to take refuge in the mountains. Finally in 1467 it was captured under Meḥmed II and totally incorporated in the Ottoman Empire in 1486 by Bāyazīd II. Henceforth Lāranda was known as Ḳaramān, although the old name has always been retained in official language.

The modern Ḳaramān is a town of about 5,000 inhabitants (according to Banse, p. 106; *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām* gives 7,500, ʿAlī Djawād 10,000). It lies on a low hill on the southern edge of the Lycaonian plain about 4,000 feet above sea-level. The highest part of the hill (about 300 feet higher) has on it the citadel now falling to pieces; it consisted of round and square towers linked by walls; the outer wall is built from stones from older buildings with Arabic inscriptions. Among the most important buildings of the Ḳaramānid period is the Emīr Mūsā Medresesi where several princes of the dynasty are buried. The dome has fallen in; pillars of it are still standing which once belonged to Roman buildings. There is also the Khātūniye Medresesi, one of the finest buildings of the Ḳaramānid period (pictures in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 118 and 120, and Woermann, *Gesch. d. Kunst*, ii. 446). According to the inscription (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni Medjmūʿasī* [also entitled *Revue historique publ. par l'Institut d'histoire ottomane*], N°. 11, p. 711), it was built in 783 (1381) by the daughter of Murād I, who married the Ḳaramān-Oghlu ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (or ʿAlī); there is now very little left of it. Mention may also be made of the *zāwiya* built by the same ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in 772 (1370), where Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī's mother is reputed to be buried (now called Agha Tekke; cf. van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 116), and of the *türbe* where the Ḳaramānid Ibrāhīm Beg and two of his sons are buried. The inscriptions in it are now destroyed (*T.O.E.M.*, N°. 13, p. 831). The *türbe* is situated near the Ḳaramān-Oghlu mosque or ʿImāret Djāmiʿi which was founded by this same Ibrāhīm Beg in 836 (1432) (picture in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 127) and has a finely ornamented gateway and is richly adorned with tiles in the interior.

The houses of the town are built of clay (*toprak*); the inhabitants are reputed to be very dirty and the climate with its great variations in temperature here is said to be very unhealthy. There are a number of looms (*kellim*'s and *sedjdjāda*'s) in Ḳaramān and tanneries. The town is on the Anatolian Railway between Konya and Eregli; it has always been an important station on the trade route to Cilicia.

The Ḳaḍā of the same name, the capital of which is Ḳaramān, belongs to the sandjak of Konya. It has about 30,000 inhabitants (according to Cuinet ii. 417) of whom the great majority are Muhammadans. The Taurus in the south is here called Ala Dagh and in the north rises the Ḳara Dagh. As the chalk soil is as a rule well watered by the streams from the Taurus there are good crops. Most of the farmers in the plains are Muhādjirs (settlers from Rumelia). The mountain valleys are tilled by Turkomans who have settled there. The produce of the soil consists of different cereals, vegetables, fruit (raisins), cotton and opium. Salt is also produced. The wool for the carpet factories is yielded by the many sheep reared there.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 615 sq.; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3644 sq.; *N. E.*, xiii. 373 (where Quatremère in a note gives various MS. sources); E. Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, London 1879, p. 290 sq.; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, ii. 322 sq.; G. Rosen in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*, ii. vol. 33, 29 sqq.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i., Paris 1892, p. 802, 810; E. Banse, *Die Türkei*², Braunschweig 1919, p. 106; Max van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften* in *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, p. 114—131; ʿAlī Djawād, *Taʾrīkh wa-Djughrāfiya Lughati*, Constantinople 1313, p. 608; Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1849, ii. 131.

(J. H. Kramers)

ḲARAMĀNĪ MEḤMED PASHA, an Ottoman Grand Vizier and historian. He first saw the light, probably in Caramania, as son of a certain ʿĀrif Čelebi and was a descendant of the great mystic Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī [q. v.]. He seems to have come when quite young to Stambul where he made the acquaintance of the celebrated

Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha-i Welī [q.v., executed 1474] and through his influence was educated in a medrese founded by him (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, ii. 123 *sq.*). At an early age — in 869 (1464), it is said — he became secretary of state to the signet (*nishāndji*) with the rank of vizier. But in 862 (1454—5) i. e. soon after the capture of Constantinople he must already have been in high office, as is shown by the epithets *al-Amīr al-kabīr wa 'l-wazīr al-kabīr* in his Arabic grant of foundation (*waḳfiya*), dated Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 4, 862 (= Sept. 13, 1458), in the Pruss. Nat. Library in Berlin (cf. W. Ahlwardt, *Katalog der ar. Hss.*, iv. 227, N°. 4763, fol. 74 *sqq.*).

He attracted the attention of Meḥmed II, the Conqueror, more and more, became his adviser in the organisation of the offices of state and in the making of new laws. The celebrated *Ḳānūn-nāme* (cf. *Mitt. zur osm. Gesch.*, i. 13 *sqq.*, Vienna 1921) is probably for the most part his work. When in May, 1478 the Grand Vizier Aḥmad Gedik Pasha was dismissed, Meḥmed II summoned the unwarlike but intellectually distinguished Meḥmed Pasha to be Grand Vizier. As such he achieved fame by composing a dispatch to Uzun Ḥasan, praised alike for style and matter (cf. Ferīdūn Bey, *Munsha'āt al-Salāṭīn*², Stambul 1274, ...). On Rabī' I 5, 886 = May 4, 1481, on the day after Meḥmed's death he was most cruelly murdered by mutinous janissaries in Stambul in the Takht al-Ḳal'a (Un Kapan) quarter (cf. M. Guazzo, *Historie ove si contengono le guerre di Mahometto*, Venice 1545, p. 28; cf. also Andrea Navagero in Muratori, *Rerum italic. script.*, xxiii. 1167, Milan 1733). He is buried in Stambul near the Ḳum Ḳapu in the new Nishāndjï mosque called after him (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, Stambul 1281, i. 209; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osman. Reiches*, ix. 90, N°. 449; do., *Constantinopolis*, Pest 1822, i. 430; [Sehī's statement, *op. cit.*, p. 23, is incorrect). Meḥmed Pasha also dabbled in poetry and published his verses under the *makhlaṣ* Nishānī. He is more important as a historian. He wrote a treatise (*risāla*) in two parts (*ḳism*) on the history of the Ottoman Empire; the first part covers the period from 'Othmān to Meḥmed II (1451), the second from 1451 to 1480 (885) i. e. to shortly before the deaths of Meḥmed II and himself. Specimens of the work, which is written in Arabic, were published in Turkish by Mukrimin Khalīl in the *Revue Historique*, vol. xiv., Stambul 1924, part 2 and 3, from the MS. in the Aya Ṣofia, N°. 3204 (*Defter*, p. 192). The historian Rūḥī Edrenewī [q.v.] follows him.

Ḳ. M. P. had two wives, through whom he became connected with famous and wealthy families viz.: Shāh Khatun, daughter of the celebrated author 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Bisṭāmī (called Muṣannifek, cf. i. 734; he was also a politician, cf. Kritoboulos, ed. C. Müller, p. 146: Σάμις Ἀλῆ and Chalkokondylas, ed. I. Bekker, p. 326, 17) and Sittī Sultān Khatun, daughter of the wellknown chief of 'Alā'iya, Luṭfī Beg, cf. Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, iii. 284 *sqq.* and L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre*, iii. 64—68, Paris 1861, and 'Āshiḳpashazāde, *Ta'rīkh*, Stambul 1332, p. 174 and 192). By his first marriage he had a son, Zein al-'Ābidīn 'Alī Čelebi, from the second a daughter, Ruḳaiye Khatun. His marriage with the daughter of the Beg 'Alā'iya (q. v. incorporated in the Ottoman Empire in 1471) apparently brought him considerable wealth, which he used for splendid endowments in Constantinople and Adrianople. This explains the hitherto obscure spiteful passage in the history of 'Āshiḳpashazāde, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 192, where all sorts of wicked things are said about the "*nishāndji pasha*", which must be due to personal quarrels (probably the withdrawal of *waḳf*-estates in Elwān Čelebi).

A grandson of Ḳaramānī Muṣṭafā Pasha, son of the above Zein al-'Ābidīn 'Alī Čelebi, was the Molla Muṣṭafā (d. 966, 1558, cf. 'Aṭā'ī, *Dhail* to the *Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniya*, Stambul 1288, p. 15 *sq.*); the statement that the family of Ḳara Čelebi-zāde goes back to Ḳ. M. P. (*Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 111) is probably based on confusion with the vizier Rūmī Meḥmed Pasha (cf. Ismā'īl Belīgh Brussewī, *Gulditesti Riyāḍ-i 'Irfān*, Brussa 1302, p. 314 *sqq.*; J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ix. 129, N°. 754; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, ii. 195).

Bibliography: Sehī, *Tedhkire*, Stambul 1325, p. 23; Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, Stambul 1314, p. 334 (Nishānī); Ewliyā i. 335 (Nishānī); Sa'd al-Dīn *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Stambul 1279, ii. 2; 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, under the Viziers of Meḥmed II (unprinted part of the work); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīkh*, Stambul 1164, p. 175; 'Othmānzāde Aḥmed Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā'*, Stambul 1271, p. 14 *sq.*; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 105; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, ii. 246 *sq.* (the statement there made that Ḥādjdjī Baba [i. e. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭūsī, cf. Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniya*, Stambul 1269, p. 226] was Meḥmed P.'s father is due to a mistake); J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, i. 281 (Nishānī), 40 (error regarding Ḥādjdjī Baba repeated).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲARAMANLI, a family who ruled Tripolitania in almost complete independence from 1711 to 1835. The founder of the dynasty, Aḥmad Ḳaramanli, seems to have been a Kulughli. In 1123 (1711) he took advantage of the absence of the Pasha Maḥammad Abū Ammis to have himself proclaimed by the people, conquered and killed at Zuwāgha Khalīl Pasha who was sent to overthrow him, bribed Muḥammad Pasha who commanded a new expedition (1124 = 1712) and purchased from Sulṭān Aḥmad III a *firmān* confirming him in authority with the title of *beylerbey*. He put down insurrections at Tādjūrā and Maslāta and that of 'Alī al-Ṣanhādjī, gave the government of Barḳa and of Benghāzī to his brother al-Ḥādjdjī Sha'bān Bey, who was killed ten years later in a rebellion suppressed by the Pasha. He also rebuilt the fortifications of Tripoli, notably the Burdj al-Mandrik, and built near the gate of Manshiya the mosque which bears his name and the madrasa adjoining it. In his reign a French squadron bombarded Tripoli in 1728 (1141—1142) and a treaty was concluded which lasted till 1766 (1180—1181).

He was succeeded in 1158 (1745—46) by his son Muḥammad Pasha under whom piracy developed and who concluded a treaty with England. He died in 1167 (1753—1754) leaving the power to his son 'Alī Pasha. In his reign the reins of authority became more and more loose and thefts and murders made life in Tripoli miserable; the troops were no longer paid regularly, the people

thought of appealing to the Porte. Matters were made worse by divisions in the family of the Pasha. His third son, Yūsuf, had his eldest brother Ḥasan assassinated on his authority in the arms of his mother (1790 = 1205—1206), then, supported by the Shaikh Khalīfa b. Maḥmūd, chief of the Djabal Nafūsa, he rallied under his flag the Arab and Berber population hostile to the Turks, openly raised the standard of revolt against his father and besieged Tripoli. On these events, an adventurer named ʿAlī Pasha Burghūl, a former official of the Odjak of Algiers, succeeded in obtaining a *firmān* from the Porte and seized Tripoli. In face of a common enemy, the Ḳaramanli were reconciled and asked help from the Bey of Tunis, Ḥamūda Pasha, who was also threatened by the return offensive of the Turks against their former Barbary possessions. With a Tunisian army they retook Djerba commanded by an ally of the usurper, Kara Muḥammad al-Turkī, and Tripoli in which ʿAlī Burghūl had made himself detested by both Arab and Jew (Djumādā II 25, 1209 = Jan. 16, 1795). The latter fled to the East and in 1803 he succeeded in getting himself appointed Pasha of Egypt but was assassinated by a Mamlūk as soon as he arrived.

ʿAlī Pasha's rule was transitory; his son Aḥmad II Bey was next proclaimed. But taking advantage of his absence in Tādjūrā, his brother Yūsuf Bey had himself proclaimed (1210 = 1795—1796) and received a *firmān* from Sulṭān Selīm confirming him in his dignity. Aḥmad resided at Derneh with the title of Bey.

Yūsuf was the most important ruler of the Ḳaramanli dynasty. He completed the fortifications of Tripoli, built a navy with which he forced Sweden to pay tribute to him (1213 = 1798—1799) and in secret agreement with Napoleon resisted Portugal whose fleet commanded by the English captain Campbell bombarded Tripoli. This expedition was celebrated in a Latin poem (*Carmen heroicum de rebus a Lusitanis ad Tripolim gestis*, Lisbon 1800; 2nd edition with French transl., Paris 1846, *La guerre de Tripoli*). Yūsuf had to sustain a more serious fight with the United States (1217 = 1801—3). An expedition commanded by Commodore Morris and another under Commodore Barron forced Yūsuf to accept a treaty which abolished the enslaving of Christians (Rabīʿ I 4, 1220 = June 4, 1805). The Americans had tried to use the help of the Bey of Derneh, Aḥmad, brother of the Pasha; they deported him to Egypt after the peace. In 1232 (1815) the cruiser Decatur confirmed the advantages previously obtained; on the relations of Tripolitania with the United States see E. Dupuy, *Américains et Barbaresques*, Paris 1910, p. 132—297; Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs*, London 1890, p. 274—291. A little later all the countries of Europe, even the weakest, supported by the strongest, finally succeeded in disposing of the last attempts at piracy (on the relations of Tripoli with France see E. de la Primaudaie, *Le littoral de la Tripolitaine*, Paris 1866, p. 182—195, and with England see the references given by Playfair, *The Bibliography of the Barbary States*, i. *Tripoli*, London non dated, p. 49—52).

In addition to these difficulties, Yūsuf had to suppress revolts in the interior of the country; those of Gharyān in 1218 (1803—1804), of Ghadāmes in 1221—1225 (1806—1810), of Maḥmūd Sharīf, governor of Fezzān, in 1227 (1812), of the Djabal Nafūsa in 1231—1236 (1815—1821) and of his own eldest son Muḥammad in the east of the regency in 1237 (1821—1822) (cf. Della Cella, *Viaggio da Tripoli alla frontiere occidentali dell' Egitto*, Genova 1819, p. 19—23), without reckoning the intertribal wars such as that between the B. Bishr and the B. Saif al-Naṣr (cf. Muḥammad al-Tūnisī, *Voyage au Ouadai*, French transl., Paris 1851, p. 564—565) or that of the Sort and the Ahnfela. Fezzān, to add to his troubles, made itself independent under ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. Ghaith of the Saif al-Naṣr, whom Yūsuf had sent to suppress a rising of the Bornu (1242-1246 = 1826—1830). Deprived of the resources supplied him by piracy, Yūsuf sought to procure supplies by imposing extraordinary super-taxes on the Jews whom he had at first protected, then by altering the value of the coins and finally by imposing a tax on gardens. The revolt became general; the insurgents meeting together at Manshiya proclaimed the dethronement of Yūsuf and replaced him by one of his grandsons, Muḥammad (according to others Aḥmad), and came to besiege Tripoli. An army led by the two sons of the Pasha was forced to retreat; not having succeeded in getting the help of the Bey of Tunis Yūsuf decided to abdicate. He did this in favour of his son ʿAlī but this step only increased the troubles. If the European Consuls, ʿAbd al-Djalīl, master of Fezzān, Ghūma, chief of the Djabal Nafūsa, recognised ʿAlī, the rest of the country remained faithful to Muḥammad. The Ottoman Porte took advantage of the occasion with the secret support of England; after having sent a *firmān* to ʿAlī, Turkey sent out under the command of Nadjīb Pasha a fleet which took Tripoli without striking a blow (Muḥarram, 1251 = May, 1835) and reestablished the authority of the Porte in Tripolitania. Yūsuf remained till his death a prisoner in his own house, ʿAlī was deported to Constantinople, Muḥammad committed suicide and his brother Aḥmad fled to Malta.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted above: Aḥmad Bey al-Anṣārī, *al-Manhal al-ʿadhb fī Taʾrīkh Ṭarābulus al-Gharb*, Constantinople 1317, p. 287—292, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303—316, 317—320, 322—324, 332—345; Pellissier de Reynaud, *La Régence de Tripoli*, *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1855, p. 1 sqq.; Slousch, *La Tripolitaine sous la domination des Karamanli*, *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1908, vi. 58—84, 211—232 (from a Jewish chronicle); Rohlfs, *Von Tripoli nach Alexandrien*, Norden 1885, 2 vols., i. 38—47 (contains many mistakes in dates and names); Von Maltzan, *Reise in den Regentschaften Tunis und Tripoli*, Leipzig 1870, 3 vols., iii. 245—250; Miss Tully, *Narrative Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli*, London 1816, passim; R. Basset, *Notice sommaire des manuscrits orientaux de deux bibliothèques de Lisbonne*, Lisbon 1894, p. 27—30; Roy, *Documents sur l'expédition de Tripoli en 1795*, *Revue tunisienne*, 1906, p. 283—291; G. Medina, *Les Karamanli de la Tripolitaine*, *Revue tunisienne*, 1907, p. 21—22; Abū Rās, *Description et histoire de l'île de Djerba*, ed. and transl. by Exiga-Kayser, Tunis 1884, p. 21 of the text, 23—25 of the transl.; Rousseau, *Annales tunisiennes*, Algiers 1864, p. 228—229; Nachtigal, *Sahara et Soudan*, French transl., Paris 1881, i. 31—32. On the tombs of the members of the Ḳaramanli family see Houdas

and R. Basset, *Mission en Tunisie*, vol. i., *Épigraphie tunisienne*, Algiers 1882, p. 29—40; Cooper, *The Hill of the Graces*, London 1902, p. 44.

(René Basset)

ḲARAMĀN-OGHLU, the most important of the various Turkoman dynasties, which arose in Asia Minor after the break up of the Saldjūḳ empire at the end of the viith (xiiith) century. They were for a time the most serious rivals of the Ottomans. The name goes back in the first place to the Turkoman chief Ḳaramān, who attained a certain degree of independence during the Mongol troubles in the middle of the viith (xiiith) century and was granted by the Sulṭan Rukn al-Dīn a territory, from which he himself had come, in Cilicia. His native district was then known as Ḳamar al-Dīn-Ili (now Iċ-Ili) after the Amīr Ḳamar al-Dīn, who had been appointed commander of the conquered Armenian fortresses after the war between ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaiḳobād I and Lesser Armenia (625 = 1223; Ibn Bībī in Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii. 329). Munadjdjim Bashī (iii. 24) derives the name Ḳaramān from Ḳamar al-Dīn, following Ibn Bībī's statement. This explanation of the name is hardly more than a popular etymology. The derivation from a geographical or ethnic name is nevertheless very probable as similar derivations are found among other Asia Minor dynasties and elsewhere (cf. Isfendiyār-Oghlu, Germiyān-Oghlu [q. v.]). It is most probable, that the Ḳaramānids originated in the subdivision of the Turkoman tribe of Sālūr [q. v.] called Ḳaramān. That the town of Lāranda and the surrounding country later became called Ḳaramān [q. v.] and that even the whole southern coast territory of Anatolia is called Caramania, is however due to the name of the dynasty itself. Among the older Ottoman chroniclers the general name Ḳaramān-Oghlu is used almost regularly for every reigning Beg of the dynasty and the European authors of the xvth century also speak of the "Grand Karaman". The Byzantine authors have never had a clear idea of the identity of the Ḳaramān-Oghlu. They confuse them with the Germiyān-Oghlu and sometimes call the princes of Ḳonya Ἀλιδέρας Ἀλιζούρας etc. which goes back to the Germiyān-Oghlu ʿAlī Shīr.

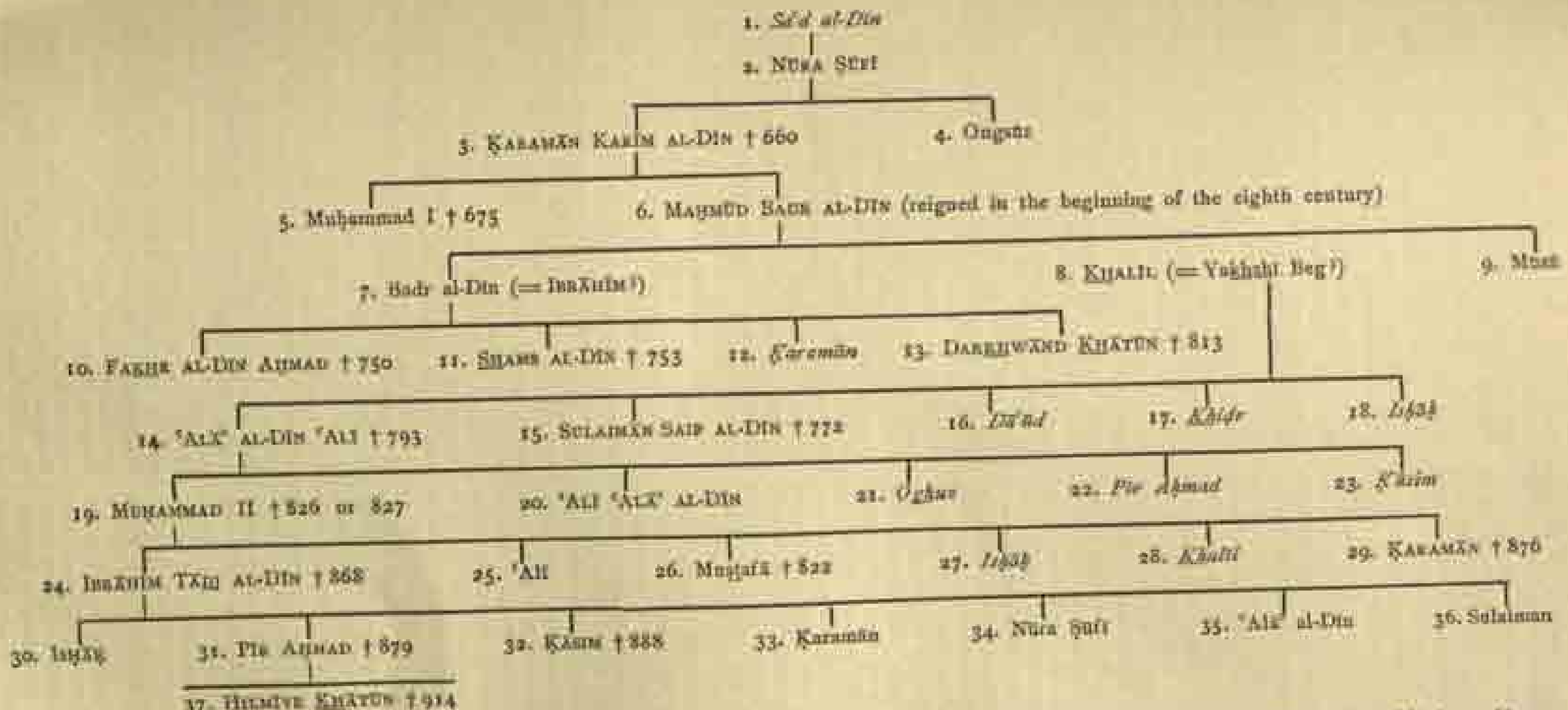
There are two kinds of sources for the earliest history of the Ḳaramānids. The one is hostile to them; it belongs to the school of Saldjūḳ historians and is represented by Ibn Bībī and the later Ottoman chroniclers; the other group is only represented by Shikārī, whose *Ḳaramān Tārīkhi* is a Turkish prose translation of a Persian poem in the style of the *Shāhnāma*. Shikārī sings the praises of the Ḳaramānids, but unfortunately gives no facts (on the *MS.* of Shikārī cf. Khalīl Edhem in the *T. O. E. M.*, N°. 11, p. 597; Munadjdjim Bashī also used Shikārī). Al-Djannābī occupies a position midway between the two traditions. An extremely important addition to our knowledge is formed by the inscriptions of the Ḳaramānids edited by Khalīl Edhem.

The ancestral home and the later regular place of refuge of the Ḳaramān-Oghlu is the almost inaccessible mountainous country in the north-western Taurus on the frontier between Cilicia and Lycaonia, where the town of Ermenek [q. v.], the ancient Germanicopolis, lies. Ḳaramān, according to Ibn Bībī (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv. 321), was a Turkoman charcoal-burner, who used to sell his charcoal in Lāranda, but this statement is biassed; in Djannābī (p. 213) and Shikārī, Ḳaramān's father, is called Nūra Ṣūfī (son of Saʿd al-Dīn in Shikārī), who was a mystic Shaikh held in great esteem by the Sulṭān of Ḳonya. Djannābī calls this Nūra Ṣūfī an Armenian but this statement is probably suggested by the name Ermenek. Besides it is improbable that Ermenek had anything at all to do with Armenia; it never belonged to Lesser Armenia (*Rec. Hist. des Crois. Doc. Arm.*, i. p. xxiii), and there is no obstacle to the derivation of the name from Germanicopolis. The name Nūra (نوره) for the father of Ḳaramān is further guaranteed by an inscription given by Khalīl Edhem from the *türbe* of Ḳaramān (Karīm al-Dīn Ḳaramān b. Nūra) in Bālḳāsūn in the sandjak of Ermenek; Nūra Ṣūfī's *türbe* is said to be at Deyirmenlik in the ḳaḍā of Muṭ [one of the sons of Ibrāhīm Beg (see below) was also called Nūra Ṣūfī]. The Ḳaramān-Oghlu thus have their beginnings in Ṣūfī circles, just as now seems to be probable for the Ottomans (*Giese, Zschr. f. Semitistik*, 1924, p. 246 *sq.*) and for the Ṣafawids (cf. Babinger, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1922, p. 132). Djannābī's statement that Nūra Ṣūfī was a follower of Bābā Ilyās needs only the correction that the latter was not the instigator of the Bābāʾī rising in Amasia (this was Bābā Isḥāḳ) but a Khorāsānī Ṣūfī who strongly influenced the whole religious development of Asia Minor (cf. Köprülü Zāde Fuʾād, *Ilk Mutasawwiflar*, p. 232, 233). It is in any case significant that Ibn Bībī calls the Ḳaramānids Khawāridj, which name was also given to the Bābāʾīs, cf. also Khair Allāh, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1292, ii. 58, where it is said that Nūr al-Dīn Ṣūfī (sic) was *Khalīfa* of Bābā Ilyās for Iċ-Ili.

Nūra Ṣūfī is said (according to Djannābī) to have taken the fortress of Selefke by treachery and his son Karīm al-Dīn Ḳaramān was granted this fortress as a fief by the Sulṭān; according to other sources, he received the beglik of Ermenek (Munadjdjim Bashī) and the Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn hoped therefore to regain the fealty of himself and his brother Ongüz, who had been made *Mīrākhor* of the Sulṭān, after they had begun to stir up unrest in this region. After Ḳaramān's death, which is placed in 660 (1261) (by Munadjdjim Bashī; Shikārī makes him be poisoned by the Sulṭān), his sons and his brother were imprisoned in the fortress of Kāwala (كاوله: Ibn Bībī, *Recueil*, ix. 322; After the death of the Sulṭān (661=1267) they were released by the vizier Muʿīn al-Dīn Parwāna.

Soon afterwards Ḳaramān's son Muḥammad began his activity. He came to an arrangement with the rulers of Syria, who where then at war with the Saldjūḳs, and the vizier Parwāna found it impossible to bring him to obedience again, among his mountains. Then, when the Saldjūḳs and their overlords, the Mongols, were engaged in Mesopotamia with the wars against the Mamlūks, the Ermenek Turkomans began to covet the plain of Ḳonya. Muḥammad Beg made use of Djamrī, the false claimant to the throne, who gave himself out to be a son of the Saldjūḳ ʿIzz al-Dīn who escaped to the Crimea. In the name of this false Sulṭān, Muḥammad seized Ḳonya which was poorly defended and Djamrī entered its citadel as Sulṭān (Thursday, June 7, 1275 = Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ḲARAMĀN-OGHLU



This genealogical list is reconstructed and somewhat different from that of Khalīl Edhem Bey (*T.O.E.M.*, N°. 14, p. 880). The table in v. Hammer, i. 682, is obsolete. The names written in capitals are found on coins and inscriptions, those in italics only in Shikārī. — 4. in Ibn Bībī, *Recueil*, iv. 322, is called Bunsuz. — 7. The Badr al-Dīn of Shikārī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is here tentatively identified with the Ibrāhīm mentioned in the epitaphs of 10 and 11 as their father. — 8. This Khalīl would be the Yakhshi Beg of Munadjdjim Bashī. According to Shikārī he reigned for 17 years. — 9. Inscription of the year 740 at Ermenek. — 13. Tomb inscription of the year 813 at Ermenek. — 14. is the Abu 'l-Fatḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn Khalīl of the inscriptions (see the text), identified with Shikārī's 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn Khalīl and with 'Alī, the husband of Nafīse. — 15. is buried in the Khātūniya Medrese at Lāranda, according to the inscription of 772. — According to Shikārī, he was appointed by his brother (14) regent of Lāranda and poisoned at the instigation of Artena-Oghlu. — 19 and 21 are, according to Shikārī, sons of the Ottoman princess. — 24. On a coin of Rukn al-Dīn; according to Shikārī, he was the son of a Saldjūḳ princess. — 26. Killed in the battle of Ḳaiṣariya (822) against the Mamlūks. — 29. Epitaph at Adrianople 870. — 30. Coin of 880. — 32. Epitaph at Lāranda of 888 (according to Anonymus, ed Giese, p. 117, he died in Muḥarram, 887). — 31—36. are according to the Ottoman chroniclers, sons of the sister of Murād II who married Ibrāhīm. Shikārī in part has other names. — 37. Epitaph of 924 at Lāranda.

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10, 674, if we read 674 instead of 676 in Ibn Bībī). Muḥammad Karamān-Oghlu administered the conquered territory for him as wazīr and married the daughter of Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn. An important administrative enactment of his was that he replaced Persian by Turkish as the official language for the first time and introduced a kind of mixed book-keeping which also became a model for the Ottomans (cf. thereon v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, i. 55). At first Muḥammad and Djamrī (who had taken the name Siyawush) successfully held their own against the Saldjūḳ troops and extended their territory. Finally the Mongol Khān Abāḳā (q. v.) sent his son Oghuz against Ḳonya. On hearing of this Muḥammad and Djamrī hurried out of Ḳonya, carrying with them the vast booty which they had taken at the capture of the city. After the withdrawal of the Mongol army, they again tried to reach the town but the inhabitants under the leadership of the Ḳāḍī Maḥmūd al-Urmawī refused them admittance and the Turkomans retired to their mountains, burning and plundering as they went. Soon afterwards Muḥammad and two of his brothers were killed in a fight with Mongol and Saldjūḳ troops. Djamrī escaped to the north-west; in an encounter between his troops and those of the Sulṭān in the neighbourhood of the Saḳaria he was taken prisoner and afterwards executed. This last battle, according to Ibn Bībī, took place in Muḥarram, 676 (June, 1277). It is therefore probable that Muḥammad's death took place in 675 (1276), which is made the more probable by various epitaphs in Ḳonya (*T. O. E. M.*, p. 702). Shikārī has a somewhat different account (cf. also von Hammer, *Gesch. d. Ilchane*, p. 297, who gives Muḥammad the *laḳab* Shams al-Dīn). No inscriptions are known of Muḥammad; he was, of course, not a reigning prince but acknowledged the Egyptian Sulṭān Baibars as his overlord.

Some years later the power of the Karamānids revived under Maḥmūd Beg, whose *laḳab*, according to Khair Allāh, was Badr al-Dīn. In his inscription of the year 802 (1399—1400) he is called the son of Karamān, which agrees with Shikārī, who says that Maḥmūd had previously taken part in many of his brother's enterprises; Munadjdjim Bashī's statement that he was the son of Muḥammad may therefore be considered to be wrong. Maḥmūd's principal residence was probably Ermenek, where he founded a mosque (702 = 1302). According to Munadjdjim Bashī, he recaptured Ḳonya and in 708 (1308) became completely independent. Driven out of Ḳonya in 719 (1319) by the Amīr Čūbān, general of the Mongol Sulṭān of Persia, he retired again to Ermenek. According to Ibn Faḍl Allāh (*Masālik al-Abṣār* in the *N. E.*, xiii. 344 *sq.*), however, the Karamānids were not entirely independent at the beginning of this period; they called themselves Amīr and frequently placed themselves under the protection of the Egyptian Sulṭāns while they on the other hand endeavoured to live on good terms with the Mongols. They were at that time bitter enemies of the Armenians against whom they felt themselves powerful through the protection of the Egyptian Sulṭāns.

The statements of the historians regarding the succession of the princes after Maḥmūd and their names are contradictory and the inscriptions throw little light on the question. According to Shikārī, Maḥmūd had three sons: Badr al-Dīn, Khalīl and Mūsā, of whom Badr al-Dīn reigned first, being followed on his abdication by Khalīl, then came Badr al-Dīn for a second time. Fakhr al-Dīn, his son succeeded him after his death; he was killed through the intrigues of Artena, Beg of Ḳaiṣariya, and succeeded by Shams al-Dīn's second son, also called Shams al-Dīn, who was poisoned by his brother Karamān after reigning 14 months. The above mentioned Mūsā b. Maḥmūd then ascended the throne to be replaced four years later by Khalīl's son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, passing over the brief reign of Badr al-Dīn's third son Karamān. According to Shikārī, this ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was one of the greatest of the Karamānids and is called by him Abu 'l-Fatḥ. In agreement with the statements of Shikārī is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 281, 284), who visited a Sulṭān Badr al-Dīn in Lāranda in 733 (1332), to whose territory Ḳonya also belonged. But his brother Mūsā had, it is said, already reigned in Lāranda before him but had ceded the town to the Mamlūks from whom it later had been reconquered by Badr al-Dīn; that Mūsā had very close relations with Egypt is confirmed by Ibn Faḍl Allāh also (*Masālik al-Abṣār*, in *N. E.*, xiii. 347). We must therefore assume that the brothers reigned in different parts of Karamānia at the same time. Two epitaphs in the Emīr Mūsā Medresesi in Lāranda prove that Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd died in 750 (1349/50) and Shams al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd in 753 (1352). They must certainly be the two sons of Badr al-Dīn (who, in that case, may perhaps have borne the name Ibrāhīm) mentioned by Shikārī.

It is more difficult to ascertain the identity of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. An inscription of 772 (1370/1) on the gate of the *zāwiya* in Lāranda, where Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's mother is said to be buried, records that the zāwiya was built by Sulṭān Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Maḥmūd b. Karamān and that Saif al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Khalīl (who, according to Shikārī, was a brother of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn) is buried there. Munadjdjim Bashī (iii. 26) also knows an ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, son of Yakhshi Beg, son of Maḥmūd; as there is no documentary evidence for the existence of this Yakhshi Beg, he may perhaps be identified with Shikārī's Khalīl (as Khalīl Edhem Bey in the *T. O. E. M.* has already done; Yakhshi is probably not a proper name at all here; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 310). Shikārī makes his ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn marry the daughter of the Ottoman Sulṭān Murād II, while according to Munadjdjim Bashī it was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's son ʿAlī Beg who made this marriage. The contract of marriage between Murād II's daughter Nefīse and Karamān-Oghlu ʿAlī Beg is, indeed, still preserved in Ferīdūn's *Munshaʾāt*, i. 105 *sq.*) (in the printed text, p. 107, the date is 788 = 1386, but Khalīl Edhem Bey has shown that 783 = 1381/2 is more probably correct). There is an inscription of this Ottoman princess in the Khātūniye Medrese at Lāranda of the year 783, in which the reigning prince is called Amīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Maḥmūd, i. e. the same name as in the above mentioned inscription of 772, but without the title of Sulṭān. The difficulty now is whether the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khalīl of the inscriptions is identical with Shikārī's ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Khalīl and with ʿAlī, the husband of the princess Nefīse. Very strongly in favour of this identity is a *waḳfnāme* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's grandson Ibrāhīm of the year 859 = 1454/5 (given by Khalīl Edhem Bey in the *T. O. E. M.*, N°. 13, p. 831), where this Ibrāhīm is called: b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Khalīl b. Maḥmūd b. Karamān

(cf. on the question van Berchem, *Inschriften* etc., p. 118—125 in addition to Khalīl Edhem Bey). Probably throughout the whole period different Karamānians ruled in different places (like Lāranda, Ḳonya, Ermenek, Akshehir, Aḳserāi). (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 258, mentions a Yūsuf b. Ḳaramān as lord of 'Alāiya). The extent of their territory varied considerably during this period. Lāranda was probably the principal royal residence. Ḳonya, which had been conquered by "Yakhshi Beg" (Munadjdjim Bashi), did not always belong to them. They had to fight with the Artena-Oghlu at Ḳaiṣarīya, who were vassals of the Mongols and, according to Shikārī, once took Ḳonya and Lāranda, with the Mamlūks of Syria, the Armenians, the Franks of Cyprus and with the other Turkoman rulers of Asia Minor, at whose expense they extended their territory considerably; they even advanced as far as Brūsa. Finally in 788 (1385) they came into conflict with Sulṭān Murād I (battle of Ḳonya) and in 793 (1390) the battle of Aḳ Čai in Kermiyān was fought against Bāyazīd I Yildirim, in which 'Alā' al-Dīn (or 'Alī) was captured and put to death by Timūr Tāsh Pasha, while his kingdom was annexed and his two sons taken to Brūsa as prisoners. (Most of the Ottoman writers mention these events; Shikārī's account differs considerably).

The crushing defeat of the Ottomans by Tīmūr gave the Ḳaramān-Oghlu again an opportunity to revive and a third period of struggle ending in final overthrow begins. 'Alā' al-Dīn's son Muḥammad was liberated from imprisonment in Brūsa by Tīmūr's grandson Mīrzā Muḥammad (according to another story, he fled to Tīmūr) and was given a portion of his territory by Tīmūr again (about 805 = 1403). There are coins of his struck in Tīmūr's name. Ḳonya is said to have become his again in 816 (1413/14) (Munadjdjim Bashi). He began to fight the Ottoman pretenders and occasionally supported Djunaid [q.v.], the Izmir-Oghlu. With the Ottoman Sulṭān Meḥmed I he had concluded a treaty before the latter's ultimate success, by which he is said to have ceded half of his lands to the Sulṭān (*Tādj al-Tawārīkh* etc., also Chalcocondylas), but in the same year we find Muḥammad attacking Brūsa on a pretext of avenging his father's death. After 34 days' siege of the citadel and the destruction of the town he withdrew. The lands of the Germiyān-Oghlu were under his rule for $2^{1}/_{2}$ years at this time (inscription at Kutahiya; cf. *T. O. E. M.*, N°. 2, p. 110 *sq.*). There were new campaigns against the Ottomans in 817 (1414) and 818 (1415). Muḥammad was on one occasion captured by Bāyazīd Pasha but again released.

The Turkish chronicles tell us nothing of the years 818—824 (1415—1421). The Egyptian historians (al-'Ainī, al-Maḳrīzī, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin), however, fill the gap. After Muḥammad had sought help from the Egyptian Sulṭān for his war against the Ottomans and had even recognised him as his overlord (as is evidenced by his coins also) hostilities began, in which the Ramaḍān-Oghlu [q. v.] was also involved and during which Muḥammad's brother 'Alī fled to Egypt. This produced an Egyptian expedition against Muḥammad in 822 (1419). Ḳaiṣarīya and Ḳonya were captured and 'Alī installed in his brother's place in Ḳonya. Muḥammad took refuge in the mountains at first but was later captured in an encounter near Ḳaiṣarīya and sent to Cairo.

In 824 (1421) he received permission to return and again ascended the throne. He met his death at the siege of the Ottoman fortress of Adalia, which is fully described by the chroniclers (probably 826 or 827). His son 'Alī went over to the Ottomans, who gave him the sandjaḳ of Sofia, while his son and successor Ibrāhīm returned to his native mountains with his father's body. Of the second Muḥammad various inscriptions exist in Ḳonya. There are also inscriptions of his brother 'Alī in Nigde, where he held sway before and after the Egyptian period. After his brother's death he endeavoured to make himself independent again but when Murād V supported his nephew Ibrāhīm he did not succeed. In this period the power of the Ḳaramān-Oghlu was considerable; Sanudo estimates the size of his army at 30,000 men on a war footing and 60,000 on a peace footing (Murat., *Inschr. Ital.*, xxii. col. 962).

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Tādj al-Dīn reigned from about 827 (1425) to 868 (1463) (coins of the years 827 onwards) and is the last great member of the dynasty, which after the extinction of the Germiyān-Oghlu was now the only dangerous rival of the Ottomans. Ibrāhīm had married the sister of Murād II and was at peace and war alternately with the Ottomans. The fact that he was the Sulṭān's brother-in-law often saved him from destruction. He had also an alliance with the Emperor Sigismund; the early Ottoman chroniclers bitterly reproach him for his dealings with the unbelievers as well as for his repeatedly breaking faith after solemnly concluded treaties (Anon., ed. Giese, p. 63, 64, 68). Murād II had made up his mind to exterminate the Ḳaramānids and for this purpose he made an alliance with the Turkomans of the Dhu 'l-Kadr dynasty. The latter about 840 (1436/7) took Ḳaiṣarīya and the surrounding country from the Ḳaramānids; Ibrāhīm lost Aḳshehir and Beyshehri among other possessions to Murād II. An attempt to regain the lost territory after Murād's death (855 = 1451) failed. Meḥmed II is said to have acted in this campaign as friend and protector of the Christians (Ducas, p. 233). Ibrāhīm was more successful in the south; in 1443 he took the fortress of Gorigos in Cilicia from the Cypriotes (*Rec. Hist. des Crois., Doc. Arm.*, i. 638). Before his death Ibrāhīm wished to abdicate in favour of his son Isḥāḳ. But Isḥāḳ was the son of a slave and the other six sons whose mother was Murād's sister besieged Ibrāhīm and Isḥāḳ in Ḳonya; both had to take to flight and Ibrāhīm died in the fortress of Kāwala (or Gawāle; 868 = 1463).

His successor was his son Pīr Aḥmad whose side Meḥmed II had taken. Isḥāḳ fled to Uzun Ḥasan, prince of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. The confusion that followed in the struggle for the throne finally brought about the end of the dynasty. With the help of the Ottomans Pīr Aḥmad defeated his brother in the battle of Ermenek (869 = 1465) and henceforth regarded himself as the vassal of Meḥmed II (inscription of 870 = 1466 at Ḳaiṣarīye). But he soon came into conflict with his overlord because he had come to an arrangement with the Venetians. In 872 (1467) the Ottomans permanently occupied Ḳonya where the Ottoman prince Muṣṭafā became wālī; a part of the Ḳaramānian population was transferred to Stambul. Pīr Aḥmad retired to Lāranda and Nigde, where he fought the Ottomans and his brothers alternately. He made

an alliance with his brother Ḳāsim for a time (inscription of the two at Nigde of the year 874 = 1469/70). But they could not stand against Gedik Aḥmad Pasha and lost Lāranda. After Ermenek and Minan had also been taken by the Ottomans, where Pīr Aḥmad's family and treasures fell into their hands, the latter threw himself from a cliff but did not kill himself. He was still able to go to Tarsus where he died about 879 (1474), according to the *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*. Isḥāḳ had withdrawn to Selefke, where his widow continued to hold out for some time after his death.

Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm then maintained himself till his death (Muḥarram, 887 = Febr.-March, 1482), according to Anonymus, ed. Giese, p. 177; his epitaph at Lāranda is dated 888). He also sought the assistance of Uzun Ḥasan but could not recapture Lāranda. Then in 887 (1482) he joined the pretender Sulṭān Djem [q. v.] who had at one time governed Ḳonya in succession to his brother Muṣṭafā and on other occasions also had been served by Ḳaramānian troops. Ḳāsim was afterwards pardoned by Bāyazīd II but with his death the rule of the Ḳaramānids ended. His other brothers had already gone over to the Ottomans.

After Ḳāsim's death his generals placed Torghut-Oghlu Muḥammad, who belonged to the Ḳaramān nobility, on the throne, but he also came into conflict with the Ottomans and had to flee to Aleppo in 892 (1487).

It was to their geographical situation that the Ḳaramānids owed the great power they held for a time. Their mountains formed a refuge which it was almost impossible to capture, from which they could make successful descents into the plains of Ḳonya and Cilicia again and again. The possession of the various Cilician passes and other routes over the Taurus brought them a considerable revenue from the tolls which they levied on the Genoese and Cypriote merchants, who carried on a busy trade by these routes with Asia Minor, while their revenue from the customs in the coast towns ruled by them (Scandelor, Manavgat, Anemur, Selefke, Lamos) must have been considerable. Their wealth put them in a still stronger position; their buildings in Lāranda, Ḳonya and Nigde are evidence of this wealth, especially the ruins of the Khātūnīye Medrese in Lāranda or Ḳaramān [q. v.]. Ḳaramānian art is a continuation of Saldjūḳ art in contrast to Ottoman art which rather follows Byzantine models (Woermann, *Gesch. d. Kunst*, Leipzig and Vienna 1915, ii. 445). Of importance in the history of civilization is their encouraging the use of Turkish instead of Persian, as has been already mentioned. The contrast between the Ḳaramānians and the Ottomans seems, however, to have been very marked (Ducas, p. 195, says: ἦσαν γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐχθραὶ διακείμενοι οἱ τοῦ Καραμὰν μετὰ τοῦ Ὀθμάν).

Bibliography: The most important monograph on the Ḳaramānid is Khalīl Edhem Bey's work on the inscriptions of the Ḳaramān-Oghlu, *Ḳaramān-oghullary ḥaḳḳynda wethā'iḳ-i maḥkūke* in Nos. 11—14 (Dec., 1911 to Jun., 1912) of the *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane* (*Tārīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni Medjmūʿasi* = *T.O.E.M.*); he is the only author who has used Shikārī. Of the earlier historians there are Ibn Bībī (vol. iv. of Houtsma's *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, Leiden 1902); ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde, Constantinople 1332; F. Giese, *Die Alt-Osmanischen Chroniken*, Breslau 1922; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Constantinople 1279; Munadjdjim Bashi, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbār*, Constantinople 1285; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīkh*; al-Djannābī's *Ta'rīkh*; the Egyptian historians mentioned in the text. See also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris 1853—1859, ii.; Feridūn Bey, *Münshe'āt-Salāṭīn*, i., Constantinople 1274; the Byzantine Chalcocondylas (ed. Becker, Bonn 1843) and Ducas (ed. Becker, Bonn 1834). — We may also mention: Aḥmed Tewḥīd, *Meskūkāt-i Ḳadīme-i Islāmiye*; Ismāʿīl Ghālib, *Meskūkāt-i Islāmiye Taḳwīmi*, Istambul 1328; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie de l'Asie Mineure* in *Revue Sémitique*, 1895, p. 346 *sq.*, 355 *sq.*, 371; Max van Berchem's edition of the Arabic inscriptions in the *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, collected by Max von Oppenheim, Leipzig 1909, p. 119—125; J. H. Löytved, *Konia; Inschriften der Seldjukischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907, p. 79—84; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1827, i. and ii.; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, Paris 1869, i.; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Darmstadt 1842, i. 297.

(J. H. Kramers)

KARĀMAT ʿALĪ, born (date uncertain, early in the xixth century?) at Djawnpūr [q. v.], of a Shaikh family, which had held the office of *khaṭīb* under Muhammadan rule; his father was *sarishtadār* in the Djawnpūr Collectorate. He studied theology and other Muslim sciences under various celebrated teachers of the time, esp. Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *muḥaddith* of Dihlī, who was also the teacher and afterwards follower of Saiyid Aḥmad of Barēlī. Between 1820 and 1824, Saiyid Aḥmad made a tour through Bengal and Northern India, collecting a band of disciples, and Karāmat ʿAlī was one of the most devoted of the younger men who followed him, but he does not appear to have taken part in the *djihād*, which Saiyid Aḥmad waged against the Sikhs [q. v.], or to have ever been in the Afghān borderland, where Saiyid Aḥmad was slain in battle in 1831. The Saiyid's old master, Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, now became his khalīfa, and an active propaganda for the revival of Islām was organised in Bihār and Bengal. With this peaceful propaganda Karāmat ʿAlī was identified, and he may be regarded as its most successful apostle, as he was certainly its most brilliant exponent. During the early decades of the 19th cent. there were several minor reform movements in Eastern Bengal, led by men with more zeal than learning, notably by Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh [v. FARĀ'IḌĪ, ii. 57], who in 1252 (= 1836-7) met Karāmat ʿAlī in Calcutta. By 1855 the two schools had made some progress towards a rapprochement, and in the meeting then held at Barisal, Karāmat ʿAlī was able to agree on several points with the representative of the other movement, Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, though on the question of the lawfulness of *Djumʿa* and *ʿĪd* prayers in British India, he could not overcome the stubborn opposition of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, and he had to appeal to the humour of ʿAbd al-Djabbār's followers by pointing out that their leader mistook grasshoppers (which were unlawful food) for locusts (which were lawful (*Ḥudjdjat-i-ḳāṭiʿa*, p. 29-32).

Karāmat ʿAlī's life was a double struggle; first, he combated the Hindu customs and superstitions

which had crept into the practise of Islām in Eastern Bengal, against which he wrote a book, entitled *Radd al-Bidʿa*, besides inveighing against them throughout his writings; and secondly, he tried to bring back into the fold of orthodoxy the new heterodox schools against which he waged a successful war; to this subject, also, he devoted a special book, *Hidāyat al-Rāfiḍīn*, besides constant references to "the ignorant" in his voluminous writings. He kept in touch with the Musalmāns of Bengal, and distributed to the needy all the presents that he received. He was a trained *ḳārī* and an expert calligraphist.

Garcin de Tassy (*op. cit.*, ii. 162) says that he competed for the prize offered by Sir Charles Trevelyan for the best Hindustani essay on the influence of the Greeks and Arabs on the Renaissance in Europe, but that his essay was not accepted for want of an English translation, which according to the rules should have accompanied the essay. He was thus interested, unlike the majority of contemporary Indian Mawlawīs, in the relation of Islām to the wider questions of the world at large. He died on the 3rd of Rabīʿ II, 1290 (= 30th May, 1873) and was buried in Rangpūr (*Tadjallī-i-Nūr*, ii. 136), in the province in which he had laboured for the regeneration of Islām all his life. He was succeeded in his work by his son, Mawlawī Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad (ob. 1898), and his nephew, Muḥammad Muḥsin. His following was so large that there was hardly a Bengal village without his disciples and he still exerts a living influence in certain districts of that province.

He wrote chiefly in Urdū. Raḥmān ʿAlī (*op. cit.*, p. 171—2) gives a list of 46 of his works, without claiming that it is exhaustive. One of his works, *Miftāḥ al-Djannat*, has run through numerous editions and is accepted in India as a correct statement of Islamic principles. His writings may be divided into four classes: 1) general works, like *Miftāḥ al-Djannat*; 2) works on the reading and verbal interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, and formal prayers and ablutions; 3) works on the doctrine of spiritual preceptorship (*Pīrī Murīdī*), the cornerstone of orthodox Islām in India; in accepting this doctrine, Karāmat ʿAlī stands in sharp opposition to the Wahhābī sect and merges insensibly in the *Taṣawwuf* schools, which he brings into relation with the traditional religious orders; 4) polemics against Sharīʿat Allāh, Dūdū Miyān, the Wahhābīs, etc.

The common conception that Karāmat ʿAlī was a Wahhābī is refuted by the detailed exposition of his own views as set forth in his *Mukāshafāt-i-Raḥmat*; he had not seen any Wahhābī books, but had made verbal enquiries and found that they were so fanatical (*ḍiddī*) that they called all who did not agree with them *mushrik* (p. 38-9); he and his school carefully distinguished between *shirk*, which was the negation of Islām, and *bidʿa*, which was only an error in doctrine (p. 39). In his *Ḥudjdjat-i-ḳāṭiʿa* he draws a clear distinction between a *fāsiḳ* (sinner) and a *kāfir* (infidel) and inveighs against those who would deny funeral prayers to those who did not pray but repeated the *kalima* (p. 21); if non-Muslims conquer Muslim lands, the *Djumʿa* prayer and the two *ʿĪd* [q. v.] prayers were not only lawful but obligatory (p. 13 *bis*). He laid great stress on authority, successively handed down by living teachers, and based his doctrine on the orthodox Sunnī books of the Ḥanafī school (*Mukāshafāt-i Raḥmat*, p. 37). He accepted the six orthodox books of tradition (*Ṣiḥāḥ sitta*), the commentaries (*tafāsīr*), the principles of ceremonial law as interpreted by the masters (*uṣūl-i fiḳh*), and the doctrines of *taṣawwuf* and *pīrī murīdī* (pp. 38, 35), even basing the mission of Saiyid Aḥmad on a ḥadīth from Abū Huraira (p. 32): in every century a teacher is born to revivify the faith: Saiyid Aḥmad was such a teacher for the xiii.th cent. and should be followed until another teacher arise for the xiv.th cent. (p. 34). All this was in direct antithesis to Wahhābī teaching and the "reform" amounted merely to the abolition of Hindū rites and ceremonies or those introduced through ignorance (p. 36), or to a revival of Islām according to the accepted orthodox schools (p. 50). The political effects of Saiyid Aḥmad's life brought his followers into conflict with the authorities, but the writings of the school show that there was no connection, political or doctrinal, with the sect founded by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in Arabia.

Bibliography: The European accounts of Karāmat ʿAlī are unsatisfactory, being based on secondary information and failing to distinguish between this school of reform and Wahhābīism, and in some places there is confusion between the subject of this article and Mawlawī Saiyid Karāmat ʿAlī of Djawnpūr (1796—1876), who represented the British Government at the court of Dōst Muḥammad Khān at Kābul, 1832—1835, and was superintendent (*mutawallī*) of the Hughlī Imāmbāṛa, 1837—1876 (v. *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1905, pp. 780—782; Sir W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, p. 114; C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 229; Nūr al-Dīn Zaidī, *Tadjallī-i Nūr*, ii. 139); *Census of India, 1901*, vol. vi. part i. (Bengal, p. 174 (Calcutta, 1902); *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. lxiii., part iii., pp. 54-6 (Calcutta, 1894); Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, ii. 162 (Paris, 1870). (It is doubtful whether the *Muʿdjiza-i raḥḳ-i Masīḥa*, Dihlī, 1868, mentioned there, was a work by the subject of this article); Saiyid Nūr al-Dīn Zaidī, *Tadjallī-i Nūr* (biographies of the famous men of Djawnpūr), pp. 135-6 (Djawnpūr, 1900).

A correct appreciation of Karāmat ʿAlī's doctrines can only be gained by a study of his own writings, the most important of which are the following: *Miftāḥ al-Djannat* (Calcutta, 1243) (frequently reprinted); *Kawkab-i durrī* (? Calcutta 1253) (translates passages from the Ḳurʾān for the benefit of those who know only a little Arabic); *Bayʿat-i Tawba* (Calcutta, 1254) (defends the legality of repentance at the hands of a *pīr*, and other practices of the religious orders); *Zīnat al-ḳārī* (Calcutta, 1264), (on the correct principles for the reading aloud of the Ḳurʾān); *Faiḍ-i ʿāmm* (Calcutta, 1282), (a tract on speculative theology, expounding the doctrines of Shaikh Aḥmad Sarhindī); *Ḥudjdjat-i ḳāṭiʿa* (Calcutta, 1282), (a polemical tract against the school of Sharīʿat Allāh and his son Dūdū Miyān, whose name (commonly spelt Dudhu Miyān) Karāmat ʿAlī always writes in this way); *Nūr al-Hudā*, (Calcutta, 1286), on the doctrines of *taṣawwuf*, of the *mudjaddidiya* school, apparently the new school of Saiyid Aḥmad of

Barēlī); *Mukāshafāt-i Raḥmat* (? Calcutta, 1286), (gives an account of the life and work of Saiyid Aḥmad of Barēlī, and discusses and disowns the Wahhābīs); *Zīnat al-Muṣallī* (Calcutta, 1259), (instructions for ablutions and prayers, etc.); *Zād al-Taḳwā* (Calcutta, 1287, reprint), (treats of the beliefs and practices of Islām, and *taṣawwuf*; accepts the Naḳshbandiya teaching). A list (not complete) of Karāmat ʿAlī's works is given in Raḥmān ʿAlī's *Tadhkira-i ʿUlamā'-i Hind*, p. 171 (Lucknow, 1894); 46 separate works are mentioned.

(A. Yusuf Ali)

ḲARA MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, the name of two Ottoman Grand Viziers.

I. Ḳara [Kemānkesh (i. e. archer)] Muṣṭafā Pasha, an Arnaut by origin, taken from the Janissaries became first *kyaya* and was then dismissed; in 1043 (began July 8, 1633) he was appointed *Segban bashi* (general of the Janissaries) and became successively Agha of the Janissaries in Shawwāl, 1044 (began March 9, 1635), Grand Admiral (*Ḳapudan-i Derya*) on Djumādā I 5, 1045 (= Oct. 17, 1635) and Grand Vizier in Shaʿbān, 1047 (began Dec. 19, 1637). During his period of office which lasted till his execution by order of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm I on Muḥarram 1, 1053 = March 22, 1643 (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, v. 326 *sqq.*) he distinguished himself by economy and a talent for administration, which all the historians recognise with admiration. Ḥusein Wadjīhī, the author of a history of the Ottoman Empire covering the period between 1048 (1638) and 1070 (1659), was Ḳ. K. Muṣṭafā Pasha's keeper of seals. A number of buildings owe their origin or restoration to him; he founded mosques, built bridges and planned settlements (for example Ortuḳābād near Siwās). The best verdict on him is that of the contemporary Ism. Bullialdus in *Ducas Historia Byzantina*, Paris 1649, p. 263 infra: *vir, quamvis incruditissimus, ut qui nec legere, nec scribere sciebat, in rebus gerendis negotiisque expediendis solertissimus ac promptissimus*. Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha is buried in Stambul at Parmaḳ Ḳapu on the Dīwān Yolu in the madrasa built by him (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, ii. 30 *sq.*).

Bibliography: Knolles-Rycaut, *The Turkish History*, London 1687, ii. p. 55; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, Pest 1827—35, v. 329 *sqq.*; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, Constantinople 1313—1315, iv. 390; ʿOthmānzāde Aḥmed Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā*, Stambul 1281 *sqq.*, p. 71; Naʿīma, *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1147, ii. 25, 30, 31; Ḥusein Wadjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*, Vienna MS. (Flügel, *Katalog*, ii. 271; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 206, Nº. 83), vol. 25; Ramiz Pashazāde Meḥmed Efendi, *Kharīṭa-i Ḳapudanan-i Derya*, Stambul 1285, p. 50 *sq.*

II. Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, the besieger of Vienna. He belonged to Merzifūn where he was born in 1044 (began July 27, 1634), according to other stories about 1620 (cf. Barozzi-Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori e baili veneti a Constantinopoli*, Venice 1879, ii. 207, according to whom he was 52 about 1677), the son of a *Sipahi* captain named Urudj (according to other sources Ḥasan Agha) who fell before Baghdād. His father was a friend of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha who had the boy educated. His first rank was Silihdār, next Talkhīdjī (master of oratory), in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 1068 (began Aug. 30, 1658) *Mīrakhōr* (chief marshall) and in Muḥarram, 1070 (began Sept. 18, 1659) he became Beylerbey of Silistria with the rank of vizier (cf. Barozzi-Berchet, ii. 134 *sq.* and *Voyages du Sieur A. de la Motraye*, the Hague 1727, i. 439); in Ramaḍān, 1070 (began May 11, 1660) he was appointed governor of Diyārbakr, in Radjab, 1072 (began April 20, 1662) Grand Admiral (*Ḳapudan-i Derya*), in Ramaḍān, 1073 (began March 9, 1663) *Rikāb Ḳāimmaḳāmi* (deputy for the Grand Vizier *a latere*) and two years later dismissed from the office of Grand Admiral; in 1672 he was *Ḳāʾimmaḳām* at Adrianople (d'Arvieux, *o. c.*, Knolles-Rycaut, *o. c.*, ii. 263, 277). In 1086 (began March 28, 1675) he was betrothed to the Sulṭān's daughter Küčük Sulṭāne. In Shaʿbān, 1087 (began Oct. 9, 1676) he was appointed Grand Vizier. His policy as Grand Vizier was that of his great predecessors and may be summed up in the one word, war: — war, for the sake of domestic peace, war, to please the Sulṭān, war, for the glory of the Ottoman Empire, and more particularly for his own prestige. Ambition and avarice are said to have been the motives of his actions (cf. Barozzi, *op. cit.*, ii. 207; Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 89 *sq.*) and contemporary western chroniclers generally describe him as unjust, cruel and avaricious (cf. Barozzi, *op. cit.*, ii. 207: venale, crudele ed ingiusto). In his boundless ambition and avarice he allowed himself to be tempted in the late summer and autumn of 1683 to a campaign against Austria and the siege of Vienna, although he had no ability as a general. He had already conducted an unsuccessful war against Russia in the spring of 1677 and had been forced to consent to an armistice (at Radzin on Feb. 11, 1681) disadvantageous to the Porte and the campaign which he began in 1683 against the Emperor Leopold V brought about his ruin. After he had given Tököly, the chief rebel in Hungary, the Hungarian crown, he advanced into Austria laying the country waste as he went along. On July 14, he began the siege of Vienna with 200,000 men; the city was heroically defended by Count Starhemberg with 10,000 men. The city was near its fall when the German-Polish army of relief appeared and on Sept. 12, 1683, completely defeated the arrogant foe. Muṣṭafā Pasha escaped with the remnants of his force to Hungary. On Dec. 25, 1683, he was executed by the Sulṭān's orders. His body was buried in Belgrade in the mosque erected by him before setting out for Vienna and his skull brought to Adrianople to Sulṭān Meḥmed IV and buried in the mosque of Saridja Pasha (epitaph in J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, vol. ix., p. xxxiv.). The statement, made by J. v. Hammer, *Gesch.*, vi. 519 and 740 and in *Wiens erste aufgehobene türkische Belagerung*, Vienna 1829, p. 119 *sqq.*, supported with documents of Cardinal Leopold von Collowitz (of Sept. 17, 1696) and adopted by V. v. Renner, *Wien im Jahre 1683*, Vienna 1883, p. 465, that the Turk's skull preserved in the armory of the Historical Museum of the City of Vienna, the former arsenal, is Ḳara Muṣṭafā's is wrong. The question of the talismanic shirt (ʿadā) also preserved there and of the skein of silk is more uncertain. Cf. A. Camesina in the *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereines zu Wien*, viii., Vienna 1865, Appendix, p. xlix. *sqq.* and also J. v. Karabaček in the *Katalog der Historischen Ausstellung der Stadt Wien 1883*, Vienna 1883, Nº. 541. —

Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha was exceedingly rich and left a vast estate. According to Sieur A. de la Motraye (*op. cit.*, p. 349), he possessed over 1500 odalisques, the same number of slave-girls, 600—700 black eunuchs and fabulous treasures, all of which passed to the state. He is said to have left 12,000,000 ducats (cf. Franz Wagner, *Historia Leopoldi Magni*, Augsburg 1719, i. 631). Besides several madrasas (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch.*, ix. 158, Nº. 188, 189) he founded a number of mosques, — in Stambul, at Galata, at Adrianople, Belgrade, Djidda and in his native place. His palace (Tirnaḳdji Yalli at Ḳuru Česhme near Constantinople) was sumptuously furnished (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch.*, vii. 362); his splendid tomb in Stambul was destroyed by the mob (Barozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 334). His son was Ḳainaḳ Muṣṭafā Pasha; on his descendants see *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv. 402, 5 *sqq.* from below. A sister was married to Ḳaplan Pasha (d. 1091 = 1680 at Smyrna; Magni, *Viaggi per la Turchia*, Parma 1679, p. 488). — Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha has been repeatedly made the hero of dramas and romances; cf., for example, *Cara Mustapha Grand Vésir, Histoire contenant son élévation, ses amours dans le sérail, ses divers emplois, le vrai sujet qui lui a fait entreprendre le siége de Vienne et les particularités de sa mort*, Paris 1684, 12°, and Pierre Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1906.

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ḲARA OSMĀN OGHLU. [See DEREBEYS].

ḲARAPAPAKH ("Black-caps", so called from their head-dress of black lamb-skin), a Turkish people formerly living on the river Borčala or Debeda in the eastern part of the gouvernement of Tiflis, who migrated about 1828 partly to Turkish territory (to the vicinity of Kars) and partly to Persian territory (district of Sulduz, south of Lake Urmia). In the district of Kars they form about 15% of the population; about 1883 they numbered 21,652 of whom 11,721 were Sunnis and 9,931 Shīʿīs (K. Sadovskiy, *Kratkaya zamětka o Karskoi oblasti* in the *Sbor. Mater. etc. Kavkaza*, iii. 315—350); about 1893, 28,366 (N. Aristow, *Zamětki ob etničeskom sostavě tyurkskikh plemen* etc., St. Petersburg 1897, p. 139 *sq.*, quoting *Prav. Věstnik*, 1896, Nº. 74; according to the census of 1897, 29,879. In the "Caucasus Calendar" (*Kavkazskiy Kalendar'*) for 1910, 99 villages of the territory of Kars are given as inhabited by the Ḳarapapakh, of which 63 are in the district of Kars, 29 in that of Ardahan (Russ. Ardagan) and 7 in that of Kagïzman; the number of the Ḳarapapakh is given as 39,000 (*ibid.*, p. 546, article by A. Dirr).

A small village of Ḳarapapakh, inhabited by Tatars, is also mentioned in the gouvernement of Yelisawetpol, in the district of Kazakh (which bounds on the gouvernement of Tiflis). On the Ḳarapapakh in the district of Salduz cf. C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 939, 1018 and 1032, following Fraser and Rawlinson (up to 1838), and more recently V. Minorsky (member of the Commission for the Rectification of the Turco-Persian frontier, 1911—1914) in *Materiali po izučeniyu Vostoka*, vīp. 2, Petrograd 1915 (see Index).

These Ḳarapapakh, who are all Shīʿīs, were at one time in Russian service and still preserve the certificates given to their ancestors by Russian generals in recognition of their services. After their transfer (it is said there were only 800 families under the leadership of Mahdī Khān affected) to Persian service the district of Sulduz was allotted to them as *tiyūl* (fief) by ʿAbbās Mīrzā [q. v., i. 13] in return for which they were to furnish 400 horsemen. As landowners the chiefs (Khān, Aghā) of the Ḳarapapakh attained considerable prosperity under Persian rule. After the occupation of the district by the Turks (1905) their situation became much less pleasant, because the Turkish authorities favoured the peasants at the expense of the landowners. In a petition sent on Radjab 15, 1329 (July 12, 1911) to the Russian and English delegates of the commission, the Ḳarapapakh expressed the wish that Persian rule should be restored to their land or that they should be given the opportunity of migrating to the interior of Persia. Salduz was thereupon adjudicated to Persia (protocol of Nov. 4/17, 1913). The Turkish troops had already been withdrawn during the Balkan war (1912). How the situation has developed since the world-war I do not know.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲARASĪ, 1) the name of the founder of a Turkoman dynasty in Asia Minor in the viith century A. H. (thirteenth A. D.), the dynasty which was the first to succumb to the Ottomans; 2) the name of the territory ruled by this dynasty, now a sandjaḳ of Turkey.

1. Ḳarasî is said to be a contraction of *Ḳara ʿIsā* or *Ḳara Ese*, the name of a Turkoman chief, a vassal of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd, who conquered the province of Mysia for him from the Byzantines in the reign of Andronicos II Palaiologos (Ducas, p. 13). The name of the father of Ḳarasî is also given by the Byzantine historians (Nicephoros Gregoras, i. 214) as Καλάμης, which Mordtmann identifies with the Λαμίσης or Λαμίσσης of Pachymeres (ii. 316, 389), which name perhaps conceals ʿĀlamshāh or Ḳalamshāh (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 281).

Although Ḳarasî did not conquer the whole of Mysia at once (Edremid and Assos remained Greek down to the xivth century) he must have had considerable power not least on account of the fleet which he created and with which he conducted raids on Rumelia. His territory became a refuge for the inhabitants of Eastern Anatolia, fleeing before the Mongols, as well as for the Turks when they were driven back after conquering the Dobrūča under Ṣary Ṣālṭyḳ Ghāzī [q. v.]. How long Ḳarasî reigned is not known. About 1330 we find two other rulers in the land, namely Yakhshî Khān in Bergama and Demir Khān in Balikesri. They are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 316, 317) and in the *Masālik al-Abṣār* (*Notes et Extraits*, xiii. 339, 366; the مرحان mentioned on p. 339 is probably a corruption for Demir Khān), with which authorities the Byzantine writers agree, except that they (Kantacuzenos, i. 339) make Γιαξῆ the father of Ταμιρχάνης, while the *Masālik al-Abṣār* makes the two brothers and sons of Ḳarasî.

The account given by the Ottoman historians, who all follow ʿĀshiḳpāshāzāde (p. 43—45 of the Stambul edition of 1332), is different. They only deal with the dynasty in connection with the annexation of its land by Orkhān. According to them, Ili ʿAdjlān Beg ruled in Ḳarasî and maintained friendly relations with Orkhān; he even sent his youngest son Ṭursun to be educated at Orkhān's court. After ʿAdjlān's death his eldest son (whose name the chroniclers do not give) succeeded him. He made himself so hated by his subjects that his vizier Ḥādjdjī Ilbeki went to Orkhān to seek help against the tyrant. The younger brother Ṭursun thereupon promised Orkhān the towns of Bergama, Balikesri and Edremid, if he would in return leave him in possession of Ḳirildja Ṭūzla and Maḥram (Assos). In keeping with this agreement Orkhān conquered from the Greeks Ulubād (Lopadion) and several other fortresses which still lay as Greek enclaves between the Ottoman lands and Ḳarasî. He then advanced on Balikesri whence ʿAdjlān's son fled to Bergama. At Orkhān's instigation, negotiations for peace were opened between the two brothers; Ṭursun, however, was killed by his brother on the walls of Bergama during the discussion of terms. The latter was then completely overthrown by Orkhān. He had also to leave Bergama and died two years later in Brūsa of the plague. Ḥādjdjī Ilbeki was given the administration of Ḳarasî Ili and the Timariots were left in their fiefs. These events are put by the Ottoman historians to 735 or 737 (1434 or 1436).

If we compare this with the statements first given, we could equate the elder son of ʿAdjlān with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Demir Khān (as Aḥmad Tawḥīd does); for the latter traveller gives a very unfavourable account of Demir Khān. Yakhshî Khān would then be the same as ʿAdjlān; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself says that Yakhshî Khān only means the "good Khān" (ii. 316) so that his real name might have been ʿAdjlān. It is more important that, as Mordtmann makes probable, the Ḳarasî dynasty existed somewhat longer than the Ottomans say. The Byzantines as late as 1343 still mention a Sulaimān, a descendant of Ḳarasî (Nik. Greg., p. 741; Kantacuzenos, ii. 476, 507), who was married to a daughter of Ventatzes. This is in keeping with the fact that in Orkhān's letter of Muḥarram 1, 741 (June 27, 1340) in which he tells the prince of Djānik of the conquest of Ulubād nothing is said about the land of Ḳarasî (Ferīdūn, *Münshaʾāt*, i. 76). Mordtmann therefore supposes that the country did not finally pass to the Ottomans till a few years later (about 1345) and that the chroniclers have mixed up two events. In any case the Ḳarasî-oghlu dynasty did not arise again later under Tīmūr, as was the case with most other Turkoman dynasties.

There are neither inscriptions nor coins of the Ḳarasî princes; a small mosque at Balikesri is presumably of the pre-Ottoman period.

With the conquest of Ḳarasî Ili a number of able statesmen and soldiers passed into the Ottoman service, such as Ākhī Khalīl, who had led the Muhādjirs out of the Dobrūča, Ḥādjdjī Ilbeki already mentioned, Fāḍil Beg and the celebrated Ghāzī Ewrenos Beg [q. v.].

The lands ruled by the Ḳarasî Oghlu are given in detail by Münedjdjim Bashî, iii. 36.

Bibliography: J. H. Mordtmann, *Über das türkische Fürstengeschlecht der Karasi in Mysien* in the *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1911, p. 2—7; a second monograph in the *Revue Historique de l'Institut d'histoire Ottoman* (*T.O.E.M.*), N°. 9, p. 564 by Aḥmad Tawḥīd, *Bālikesrde Ḳarasî oghullarî*. The Byzantine sources are already mentioned in the text (from Mordtmann). Of the Turkish historians besides ʿĀshyḳ Pāshā Zāde, Constantinople 1332, p. 43—45, see also Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Constantinople 1279, i. 47; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, Constantinople 1277—1285, v. 43, 45; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 661; Münedjdjim Bashî, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār*, Constantinople 1285, iii. 36, 228. See further Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* in Quatremère's translation, *Notes et Extraits*, xiii. 339, 365, 366 and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *loc. cit.*; Nadjīb ʿĀṣim we-Meḥmed ʿĀrif, *ʿOsmānly Taʾrīkhi*, Constantinople 1335, p. 497; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, i., Pest 1827, p. 110 *sq.*

2. The sandjaḳ of Ḳarasî belongs to the wilāyet of Khudāwendigyār; towards the end of last century it formed for a short time a separate wilāyet along with the sandjaḳ of Bighā [q. v.].

Ḳarasî coincides with the ancient Mysia. The rivers Simaw and Ṣu Sighirli divide the land into a western and eastern half. The eastern half is very inaccessible owing to the irregular form of its thickly wooded mountains and it has no towns of any size; the mountainous centre of the west, also thickly wooded, gives place to flat country as it approaches the coast. The most populous and easily accessible parts are in the region along the railway from Banderma to Smyrna; the capital Balakesri [q. v.] is here. In the south-west is

Bergama [q. v.] the most important town; in this region besides the citadel-crowned rock of Pergamon we have several isolated hills (the Ḳazaḳ Dagh in the north and the Ḳara Dagh in the west). The Pergamene plain is very fertile and thickly populated; besides the Turks there are many immigrant Greeks and Muhādjir settlers and Yürüks. The Greek element greatly preponderates in the little towns on the coast, especially in Edremid. The Muslim element increases as we go eastwards, but the Greeks in the interior speak Turkish. According to Sāmī, the total number of inhabitants of the sandjaḳ is 340,000, of whom half are Turks.

Ḳarasi comprises the following ḳaḍā's: Balakesri, Aiwaliḳ, Kemer Edremid, Edremid Erdek, Banderma, Kūnān, Bighadič and Sandirghi. The exports of the sandjaḳ are considerable owing to the fertility of its soil, its wealth in minerals and its cattle-rearing; according to Sāmī, the exports are six times the value of the imports.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3231; E. Banse, *Die Türkei*, Braunschweig 1919, p. 126—131; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1135, p. 661.

(J. H. Kramers)

AL-ḲARASṬŪN (Ḳarisṭūn), means the steelyard or Roman balance, while the common balance is usually called *al-mīzān* (for other names in place of ḳarasṭūn see below). The general observations that follow here apply to both kinds of balances.

In the systematisation of the sciences a science of weights, balances, etc. is included, for example by al-Fārābī in his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿUlūm* and by Ibn Sīnā in the *Risāla fī Aḳsām al-ʿUlūm al-ʿaḳlīya*. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa says (i. 493) that there are works, both short and long, on this subject but unfortunately he gives no titles. The references in the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* should be compared (Bombay ed., 1/ii. 118; Dieterici, *Logik*, p. 55). In the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* it is said that every science and art has a "balance" with which to measure; astronomy the astrolabe, geometry the straight line, circle and angle. At the same time a magnitude with which one measures is called a "balance", for example in mensuration the ell, rope, etc. In the science of the weighing-machine that of centres of gravity (*Marākiz al-thiḳl*) has also to be considered, as al-Akfānī specially mentions (*Beitr.*, iv. 105).

The balances used in ancient and mediaeval times were all steelyards and consist of a beam (*ʿamūd*, in al-Djawharī also *ḳaṣaba*) turning on a horizontal fulcrum (*miḥwar*), a lever the centre of gravity of which is below the fulcrum. On the one arm of the beam is hung the article to be weighed and on the other the weights which are to weigh it, usually in scales. The arms may or may not be of equal length; we have equal armed and unequal armed balances accordingly. In standards with arms of equal length, in which to ensure accuracy in weighing a movable running weight (*rummāna*) is used, we have a combination of the two forms. The points, to which the running weight is moved and which are often marked with numerals, are called *arḳām*, *marākiz*, *nuḳra*, *shaʿīra*.

When the beam is horizontal, the balance is known to be in equilibrium. This may be seen approximately with the unaided eye. Sometimes an equilateral triangle is placed below in the centre of the beam, the altitude *h* of which is marked; from the centre of the beam hangs a pointer (*shāḳūl*); if the pointer coincides with the line *h*, the beam is horizontal. Sometimes, as in our balances, a scissors-shaped fork (*fayārān*) is used above the balance and one watches when the tongue (*lisān*) standing up in the middle of the beam lies between the arms of the fork; or sometimes a pointer is attached to the fork above pointing downwards and one watches when the end of this pointer is exactly opposite the tongue below. Finally the tongue may be placed below and the fork hung downwards, turning on the fulcrum of the balance. If there is not equilibrium the tongue falls outside the fork which is always perpendicular. Of technical expressions we might further mention *al-wazn*, the weight as measure of heaviness (*al-thiḳl*) and lightness (*al-khaffa*), the scale (*al-kaffa*), the threads to which the scales are attached (*al-khaiṭ*), the hook on which the scales or the weights are hung (*al-ʿaḳrab*), the arrangement for suspension (*al-ʿilāḳa*).

Almost the only weights used in scientific works are the *dirham* and the *mithḳāl* (7 *mithḳāl* = 10 *dirham* and one *mithḳāl* = 4—4.5 grammes). The absolute value is usually of no importance in the cases we are concerned with, as it is only a question of relations of the weights. Further, 1 *mithḳāl* = 6 *dānaḳ* = 24 *tassūdj* = 96 *arzz*. The normal weight, the standard, with which the other weights are to be compared, is called *sandj* or *sandja*. Weights etc. have been discussed and studied by H. Sauvaire (see the *Bibl.*).

In the theoretical discussion of the balance the first point to be considered is the definition of heavy and light body, the establishment of the centre of gravity, that of stable and unstable equilibrium, which is given by the relative positions of centre of gravity and centre of balance, the investigation of the question if it matters whether the weights are attached directly to the beam or to rods attached to it which are perpendicular or inclining to it.

By a fortunate chance there has been preserved to us the very important work "The Balance of Wisdom", *Mīzān al-Ḥikma*, by Abū Manṣūr Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī (c. 1100 A.D.). That he was really the author is certain from a passage in al-Baihaḳī (see *Beitr.*, xx. 73). All the above questions as well as the theory of the definition of specific gravities and some special applications of the balance for measuring time and for levelling are fully discussed by him.

In the general part he carefully considers the achievements of earlier workers in this field, for example the classical writers like Archimedes, Aristotle, Euclid, Menelaus and Pappus. He used the pseudepigraphic work of Aristotle — without, however, mentioning his name —, the μηχανικὰ προβλήματα (cf. Th. Ibel, *op. cit.*, p. 123). M. Steinschneider's statement that there is a translation of the work in the British Museum is wrong, as Mr. E. Edwards informs me. The work is, however, mentioned among those of Aristotle by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, p. 43, 11. Among Muslim writers Thābit b. Ḳurra, Ibn al-Haitham and Abū Sahl al-Kūhī were specially used by al-Khāzinī. He also deals with a series of balances which have been made by different students (see below). For specific gravities he relied mainly on al-Bīrūnī's work *Maḳāla fī*

'l-Nisab allatī baina al-filazzāt wa 'l-Djawāhir fi 'l-Ḥadjm, on the relation between metals and jewels as regards volume.

A popular discussion of the theoretical considerations involved would take us too far and would have only subordinate interest for Orientalists (cf. the works by Th. Ibel and E. Wiedemann, mentioned below).

The steelyard or Roman balance (*al-ḳarasṭūn*) is a lever with two arms of unequal length, the centre of gravity of which lies below the centrum of balance. The object to be weighed G_1, is placed on the shorter arm at a distance l_1 from the fulcrum, the travelling poise G_2 (*al-rummāna*) is movable along the longer arm. If equilibrium exists at a distance l_2, $G_1\, l_1 = G_2\, l_2$ or $G_1 : G_2 = l_2 : l_1$, i. e. the weights G_1 and G_2 are at equilibrium in inverse proportion to the distance $l_1 : l_2$ (see further below). This principle of the lever is used by different writers as an example of inverse proportion (*takāfu'*). The principle seems to be first laid down by Archimedes (*Opera omnia*, ed. Heiberg, ii. 152); Arabic references are to be found in Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Abū Dja'far al-Miṣrī's work (about 850; Suter, N⁰. 78) on proportion and relationship (*Fi 'l-Nisba wa 'l-Tanāsub*), in an anonymous work in Gotha, N⁰. 1158, 12, in the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (E. Wiedemann in the *Beitr.*, lviii.), al-Khāzinī (do. in the *Beiträge*, xlviii.). But the ḳarasṭūn is also used as an example for direct proportion in which the greater the weight the greater the distance of the running poise from the fulcrum; so, for example, in al-Miṣrī.

The steelyard is usually called al-ḳarasṭūn. A form frequently occurring, due to a slip in writing, is *al-farasṭūn* (on *ḳarasṭūn* cf., for the rest, Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 327). The origin of the word has been much discussed. According to P. Duhem, who is followed by H. Diels, with better grounds, *ḳarasṭūn* is the Greek χαριστίων which name Simplicius gives to the σταθμιστικὸν ὄργανον of Archimedes and which means the beam of the balance, and received this name from its inventor Charistion. Cf. H. Buchner, *op. cit.*, and E. Wiedemann, in the *Beitr.*, lxiv. 218 at the end.

Instead of *al-ḳarasṭūn* the word *ḳabbān* or *ḳaffān* is frequently used and at the most different periods. The word comes from the Persian *ḳappān* and perhaps from the Latin *campana* (steelyard). In Egypt a man who has to do with the steelyard is called *ḳabbānī*; there was *al-Dīwān al-ḳabbānī* at which contracts to purchase were concluded. The usual pound was called *al-raṭl al-ḳabbānī*. In his *Fiḳh al-Lugha* (Bairut 1885, p. 318) al-Tha'ālibī gives the word among those taken over from the Greek and equates *al-ḳarasṭūn* to *al-ḳabbān* and *al-ḳusṭās* = *al-mīzān*. (On the etymology of various words for scales and weights cf. S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Lehnwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 198). According to Prüfer (information by letter) our modern steelyards are now called *al-mīzān al-maskūfī* ("the Russian balance") in Egypt.

Al-Djāḥiẓ mentions the *ḳarasṭūn* among the things which the Muslims had received from the Greeks (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323, i. 41); he further talks of the *ḳarasṭūn* as a means to keep 300 *raṭl* in equilibrium with 30 *raṭl* (*Kitāb al-Tarbī' wa 'l-Tadwīr*), "work on the quadrilateral and round figure", ed. van Vloten, p. 114.

As the two arms of the beam were of different lengths the superior weight of the longer had to be balanced either by a suitable form of the beam or by a special weight attached to the shorter arm. Thābit b. Ḳurra's work on the *ḳarasṭūn*, which is preserved in Arabic and in Latin translations (cf. Buchner, *op. cit.*), is devoted to this problem.

To increase the steelyard's capacity for weighing, several large running-weights are used (see fig. 1): but attachments can also be fixed to the shorter arm of the lever at two distances from the fulcrum, but in this case compensatory weights must be used. If the spaces are in the relation of 1 : 2, the weights of the articles on it are as 2 : 1, when the position of the running poise is the same; two divisions are marked on the longer arm. It is the same when different running-weights are used; a corresponding number of these divisions is called *bāb*.

In order to be able to weigh the *dirham* and the *mithḳāl* with the same divisions, 'Omar al-Khaiyāmī puts the scale for the *dirham* (silver) at a greater distance from the fulcrum than for the *mithḳāl* (gold). If the lever is in equilibrium for the *dirham*, a compensatory weight (*mi'yār al-ta'dīl*) must be added to the shorter arm for the *mithḳāl*.

The beam of the balance may also have divisions marked on the upper and on the lower side and be so arranged that either side may be turned upwards, so that one can weigh with two quite different systems of weights.

In many steelyards, for example those in use in Egypt at the present day, the scale hangs on to the *luḳma* (the "bit"), a piece of metal shaped like . The running poise is a cylinder of brass the interior (*ḳalb*) of which is filled with lead. Attached to it is the hook; the pointed part that moves along the divisions is called *mirāya* (index). The whole apparatus, about five feet long, rests on a wooden support, *shaltsh*; the rod itself is called *badan*.

In the work by Eliyā (mentioned below) methods are given for ascertaining and correcting errors. These may arise from the balance and its attachments having false weights, from the poise being wrong, the beam bent or crooked or the divisions being wrongly marked.

Al-Khāzinī gives two pictures of older standards, one of the generally known (*mashhūr*) ḳabbān (fig. 2) and another (fig. 1) of the *ḳusṭās al-mustaḳīm* of the great mathematician 'Omar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaiyāmī, author of the celebrated quatrains. The illustration shows the different divisions, the running poises, the different places for the attachments and the marginal notes of the text.

A place in Fez was called al-Ḳarasṭūn, probably because a ḳarasṭūn was placed there (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, s. v.).

The following are Arabic works on weights and balances besides those of al-Khāzinī:

Treatises of Euclid on the balance (*mīzān*), ed. Wöpcke in the *J. A.*, Ser. iv., vol. xviii (1851), p. 27. According to Wöpcke, it comes from the Banū Mūsā, according to M. Curtze and L. Heiberg from Euclid (cf. Th. Ibel, p. 35). The work ascribed to Euclid on "Light and Heavy" is preserved in Arabic and often mentioned.

Works with the title "On the ḳarasṭūn" were written by the Banū Mūsā (about 950), Thābit b. Ḳurra (826—901), Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā (864—923) and Ibn al-Haitham (965—1036).

Important information on balances, especially the ḳarasṭūn, is also contained in the work on masses and weights by Eliyā bar Shinnāyā (975 to a year later than 1049), Archbishop of Nisibis, which is perhaps based on a work by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, *Kitāb fi 'l-Awzān wa 'l-Makāyil*. Part of it was dealt with by H. Sauvaire in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1877, vol. ix. 291, and 1880, vol. xii. 110; such information is also contained in the work by Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Djabartī (1698—1774) entitled: *al-'Iḳd al-thamīn fīmā yataʿallaḳu bi 'l-Mawāzīn*, or as it is also called: *al-Durr (al-'Iḳd) al-thamīn fī 'Ilm al-Mawāzīn*.

According to his son 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Djabartī, weighing machines in Egypt etc. had fallen into great confusion about 1758, which was completely cleared up by his father, who may therefore be regarded as the reformer of Egypt in this respect. In the composition of this work he was assisted by the Shaikh al-Ḳabbān, 'Alī b. Khalīl.

Other authors and their works are: Abu 'l-'Abbās Nadjm al-Dīn al-Khazradjī (1247—1310), *al-Īḍāḥ wa 'l-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Mikyāl wa 'l-Mīzān*, "science of mass and weights"; Ibn Abi 'l-Fatḥ al-Ṣūfī al-Miṣrī (about 1494): Two treatises on the steelyard (*Risālāt al-Ḳabbān*). A number of MSS. on the subject in the Viceregal (now Egyptian) library in Cairo is given by H. Suter in his translation of the math.-astron. part of the catalogue in the *Zeitschr. für Mathematik und Physik., hist.-litter. Abteil.*, year xxxviii.

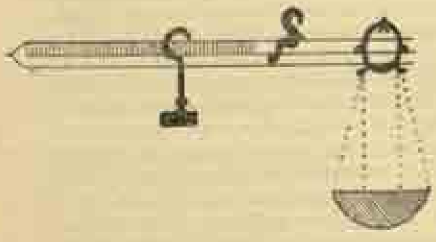


Fig. 2.

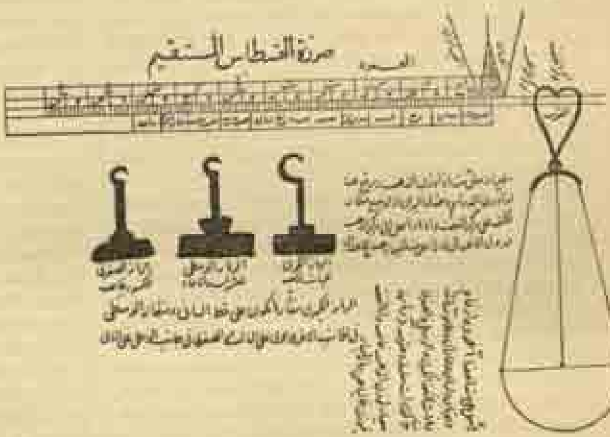


Fig. 1.

Above the beam of the balance is written *al-'amūd*, to the right of it *al-fayārān, markaz* (mark) for gold, for silver. Below are the hook (*al-'aḳrab*). Below the weights is written: the large, middle and small *rummāna* (running poises) for the hundreds, tens and units, for the fractions. Partly below again is information relating in part to the separate running poises. Above on the left of the scale instructions are given for putting on the running poises. Above this the six parts of the balance are given: 1) the beam with the indicator etc.; 2—4) the three *rummāna*'s etc; 5) the scale etc.; 6) the compensatory weight. The illustration is taken from "The Balance of Wisdom".

(1893): Ya'īsh b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Yatmāk al-Amawī al-Andalūsī etc.

Bibliography: As the steelyard (*al-ḳarasṭūn*) and the common balance (*al-mīzān*) are very often treated together in the same works, I give the whole literature here together. Very full references are also given in the works of Buchner, Ibel, Bauerreiss and Wiedemann: N. v. Khanikoff, *Analysis and extracts of the Book of the Balance of Wisdom written by al-Khāzinī* in the *J. A. O. S.*, vi. (1859), 1—123; H. Sauvaire, *On a Treatise on Weights and Measures by Eliā, Archbischop of Niṣībīn* in the *J.R.A.S.*, x. (1878), p. 253—284 and xii. (1880), p. 110—125. Besides the imperfect manuscript in Paris used by Sauvaire there is a complete one in Gotha, Nº. 1331; P. Duhem, *Les origines de la statique*, part I., Paris 1900; Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter* (Dissertation, Erlangen 1906); E. Wiedemann, *Die Schrift über den Karasṭūn* in the *Bibl. Math.*, third series, vol. xii. (1912), p. 21—39; H. Bauerreiss, *Zur Geschichte der spezifischen Gewichte im Altertum und Mittelalter* (Dissertation, Erlangen 1914); E. Buchner, *Die Schrift über den Ḳarasṭūn von Thābit b. Qurra*, in the *Sitzungsber. der med.-phys. Sozietät Erlangen*, part lii. *sq.* (1920/21), p. 141—188; Carra de Vaux, *Notes de l'histoire des sciences* in the *J. A.*, 1917, series 11, vol. x. 453.

In the following, the works of E. Wiedemann are collected from the *Beiträgen* (*B.*) *zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* in the *Sitzungsberichte der med.-phys. Sozietät* (*S. B.*) *zu Erlangen*. When the whole part deals with the subject only its number is given. 1) *Wagen bei den Arabern* (*gefälschte*): *B.*, iv., *S. B.*, xxvii. 388—392; 2) *Über die Lehre von Schwerpunkten*: *B.*, v., *S. B.*, xxxvii. 405 and 427; 3) *Zur Mechanik bei den Arabern*: *B.*, vi., *S. B.*, xxviii. 7—10; 4) *Auszüge aus der Schrift des Archimedes über die schwimmenden Körper*, *B.*, vii., *S. B.*, xxviii. 152—162; *Über al-Fārābī's Aufzählung der Wissenschaften*: *B.*, xi., *S. B.*, xxxix.

96; 6) *Lehre vom Schwimmen, Hebelgesetze, Konstruktion des Ḳarasṭūn*: *B.*, xxi., *S.B.*, xl. 133—159; 7) *Über Verfälschung von Drogen usw. nach Ibn Bassām und al-Nabarāwī* (only section iii. need be consulted: references in al-Nabarāwī and Ibn Bassām on balances, weights and measures), *B.*, xl., *S.B.*, 201—206; 8) *Über die Wage des Wechslers von al-Khāzinī und über die Lehre von den Proportionen von al-Bīrūnī*: *B.*, xlviii., *S.B.*, xlviii. 1—15.

Among the **metrological works** are: H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie des musulmans* . . . . part 2: *Poids*, in the *J.A.*, series 8, vol. iii. 368—445; iv. 270—321; v. 498—506; part 3: *Mesures de la capacité*, *ib.*, vol. vii. 124—177, 394—468; viii. 272—297. Part 4: *Mesures de longueur et de surface*: viii. 479—536; *Mesures de capacité et de poids dans les ouvrages de médecine arabe*, vi. 80; J. A. Decourdemanche, *Étude métrologique et numismatique sur les misqals et les dirhams arabes*, Paris 1906, and *Traité pratique des poids et mesures des peuples anciens et des Arabes*, Paris 1909.

The following works deal particularly with **specific gravities** etc.: Clément Mullet, *Essais sur la minéralogie arabe. Tableau des densités des pierres précieuses* in the *J.A.*, series 6, vol. xi. (1868), p. 250—253; E. Wiedemann, 1) *Zu al-Bīrūnīs Schrift: Ueber das Verhältnis, das zwischen den Metallen und den Edelsteinen im Volumen besteht*, *B.*, viii., *S.B.*, xxxviii. 163—166; 2) *Bestimmung der spezifischen Gewichte*, *B.*, viii., *S.B.*, xxxvi. 166—180; *a*) Abū Manṣūr al-Nairīzī (not the commentator on Euclid): *Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung gemischter Körper*; *b*) Notes by 'Omar al-Khayyāmī: *Bestimmung des Gehaltes von Legierungen zweier Metalle an diesen*; *c*) An essay on specific gravities ascribed to Plato; 3) *Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen nach al-Khāzinī* (contains a collection of the passages publ. down to 1908 from al-Khāzinī's work, *B.*, xv., *S.B.*, lx. 105—159; 4) *Vorbereitung der Bestimmungen der spezifischen Gewichte nach al-Bīrūnī*, *B.*, xxxvi, *S.B.*, xlv. 33—34; 5) *Ueber die Gewichte der Kubikelle u.s.w. verschiedener Substanzen nach arabischen Schriftstellern*, *B.*, xxxiv., *S.B.*, xlv. 168—173; 6) *Ueber das al-Bīrūnīsche Gefäss zur spez. Gewichtsbestimmung* in the *Verhandl. der deutschen Physik. Gesellschaft*, x. 339—343.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲARASU. [See AL-FURĀT].

ḲARAṢU-BĀZĀR, a small town in the Crimea, east of Simferopol, in 45° 10' N. Lat. and 34° 30' E. Long. of Greenwich. In 1736 after the destruction of Baghče Saray [q. v.] by the Russians, Ḳaraṣu-Bāzār was for a short time the residence of the Khān; but this town was also taken by the Russians under General Douglas in 1737. The town has preserved its oriental aspect down to the present day: there are many *khān*'s there with warehouses and coffeehouses. The large Tāsh Khān, said to have been built as a fortress in the seventeenth century, now serves the same purpose. The town was several times pillaged by the Don Cossacks in the seventeenth century. Cf. Velaminof Zernof, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersburg 1864, Index.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲARATEGIN, a district on the Wakhsh or Surkhāb (Turk. Ḳizil Ṣū), one of the rivers which form the Āmū Daryā, called Rāsht by the Arab geographers [cf. i. 339]. The principal place (or "the fortress", *al-Ḳal'a*, al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 340) of Rāsht corresponded as regards its situation perfectly with the modern Garm, the only town in Ḳarategin. Rāsht then formed one of the frontier lands of Islām and was defended on the east against the inroads of the Turks by a wall built by Faḍl b. Barmak [on him cf. i. 665, ii. 57]. In ancient times there ran through this region the road from Western to Eastern Asia described by Ptolemy. Ḳarategin is frequently connected with the "highlands of the Komeds" Κωμηδῶν ὀρεινή (e.g. as recently as Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 164, on the authority of Sewertzow in the *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, part iii. for 1890, p. 420—431); but in the middle ages the name (Arabic Kumīdh or Kumādh, Chinese Kiu-mi-t'o) was borne by the country below Rāsht. In the middle ages and later the valley of the Wakhsh seems to have had no great importance for trade; as far as has been so far ascertained, only the embassy sent by Shāh Rukh to China (1419—22) used on its return journey the road between Farghāna and Balkh described by Ptolemy.

Like all the highlands on the upper course of the Āmū Daryā Ḳarategin also was under its own rulers down to quite modern times; in the pre-Mongol period only one Amīr of Rāsht, Dja'far b. Shamāluk (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 9, under date 337 = 948/949) is mentioned. Under Tīmūr and later the name of the country Ḳayir Tegin (or Tigin) is found, in the printed edition of the *Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 189, erroneously Tir Tegin; when and how the present form arose is unknown. In the manuscripts of the *Bābur-nāma* (ed. Beveridge, f. 33b and f. 63b Karātigin, f. 69b and f. 81 Ḳayittigin) and of the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* (transl. Ross, especially p. 241) both forms are found. *Ḳarategin* is popularly explained as a Turkish word for "blackthorn" (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 135, Ottoman *Ḳara dikān*) or as the name of the two first Ḳirghiz tillers of the soil (I. Minayew, *Svyedeniya o stranakh po verkhovyam Amu Daryi*, p. 241, following Arendarenko). As is narrated in the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (India Office MS., Ethé, *Cat.*, No. 575, f. 277a, in Radjab, 1045 (Dec., 1635—Jan., 1636) 12,000 families of Ḳirghiz, then still pagans, went through Ḳarategin to Ḥiṣār. At the present day the Ḳirghiz (Ḳara Ḳirghiz) form a part of the population of Ḳarategin along with the Tādjīk (and a small number of Özbegs).

In the nineteenth century the princes of Ḳarategin, like the princes of Badakhshān [cf. i. 552 *sqq.*], claimed descent from Alexander the Great. Ḳarategin was then under the suzerainty of the Khāns of Khoḳand; their subjection is said to have taken place under Muḥammad 'Alī Khān (1822—42) in 1250 (1834) (Nalivkin, *Kratkaya istoria Kok. Khanstva*, p. 134 *sq.*); but already under 'Ālim Khān (beginning of the nineteenth century) we find men from Ḳarategin forming a considerable part of the standing army founded by this Khān (*Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusov, p. 42 *sq.*). A campaign from Khoḳand against Ḳarategin in 1275 (1858) under Malla Khān (1858—62) is also mentioned (Nalivkin, *op. cit.*, p. 190); the ruler of Ḳarategin was at this time Muẓaffar Khān

(later also called Muẓaffar Shāh). When in the year 1869 Ḥiṣār had to submit to the Amīr of Bukhārā, Karategin also was occupied by the troops of the Amīr and Muẓaffar Khān taken as prisoner to Bukhārā; the conflict thus engendered between Bukhārā and Khōḳand was only settled by the verdict of the Russian governor-general (K. v. Kaufmann) and Muẓaffar Khān again restored to his principality; but after his death Karategin was definitely incorporated in Bukhārā. Ḳarategin also became involved in the last fighting in Farghāna before the final subjection of this country by the Russians (1874—1876); the Beg Muḥammad Raḥīm Shāh advanced to resist the insurgents with force, although they had been favoured by his brother Muẓaffar Shāh (apparently not identical with the prince already mentioned). The frontier between Farghāna and Ḳarategin (on the heights east of the valley of Kičik Karamuk Su) was defined by a treaty concluded between Skobelew and another brother of the Beg, Ṣafī Khān on August 28 (Sept. 9), 1876.

It was not till 1878 that Ḳarategin was for the first time visited by a European (W. Oshanin). In the following decade the governor Khudāi Naẓar Atālïḳ and his successor Almās Beg had a mountain road, one of the best in Central Asia, built through Ḳarategin on the right bank of the Wakhsh, which made Ḳarategin much more accessible, but in winter Ḳarategin is completely cut off from neighbouring lands. Oshanin and later travellers describe Ḳarategin as a fertile country with numerous villages and orchards, and as one of the most prosperous provinces in the kingdom of the Amīr of Bukhārā. It is said (Logofet, p. 322 sq.) that in Ḳarategin all the inhabitants without exception make a living by agriculture (including gardening), and that there is no landless proletariat there; anyone who neglects his piece of land for three years loses any right to it. On the other hand Rickmers (p. 340) says that many peasants go from Ḳarategin to Farghāna, work there as day-labourers and servants and bring their savings home, so that Russian money is taken more readily there than Bukharian. The only town is Garm; as regards the number of inhabitants, estimates, as usual in the east, are very contradictory: according to Oshanin 2,300 houses, to Masalskiy 4,000 people, to Logofet 15,000. Information regarding administration, taxes, etc. is given in particular by A. Semenow (Journey of 1898). The question: "When will the White Czar (*pādishāh-i safīd*) take us to himself?" was frequently asked Semenow by the people embittered by the arbitrary conduct of the tax-collectors.

Bibliography: Down to 1878 the best authority is Abramow in the *Izv. Russkago Geograf. Obshč.*, vi. 108 *sq.* and Arendarenko in the *Voyenniy Sbornik*, May 1878, p. 116 *sq.*; after him Minayew in the *Swyedeniya otranakh* etc., p. 196 *sq.*, 233 *sq.*; notes from Oshanin's journal in the *Izv. R. Geogr. Obshč.*, 1880—81; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, ii. 197 *sq.*; also *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1880, p. 575; quoted by W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, p. 22. Later travellers: A. Semenow, *Etnograf. ocherki Zarafshanskikh gor, Karategina i Darwaza*, Moscow 1903; D. Logofet, *V gorakh i na ravninakh Bukhari*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 322 *sq.*; W. R. Rickmers, *The Duab of Turkestan*, Cambridge 1913, p. 325 *sq.* (Journey of 1906); cf. W. Masalskiy, *Turk. Kray*, p. 735 *sq.*

(W. Barthold)

ḲARAUL (Ḳaravul, Ḳaraghul), an Eastern Turkī word meaning guardian, watcher, guard, sentinel (borrowed by the Russian in the last sense); a hunter who watches game from a distance; the chief of a body of these hunters is called *ḳaraul-begi*. In Ottoman Turkish *ḳaraḳol* means a police-station. The word is connected with the root *ḳara-*, *ḳarala-*, to observe, watch or guard. — At the present day in Bukhārā, the rank of *ḳaraul-begi* corresponds to that of lieutenant (F. Kounmietsov, *Lutte des civilisations et des langues*, Paris 1912, p. 83).

In Persia the name *ḳaraul-khāna* is given to the watch towers erected on the mountain tops, commanding the surrounding country (Chodzko, *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, Or. Transl. Fund, p. 228, note).

Bibliography: Radloff, *Opyt*, ii. col. 146 and 165; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk oriental*, p. 398; Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughāt-i Djaghatāī*, p. 216; R. Youssouf, *Dict. turc-français*, s. v.; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. turc-français*, s. v.; Mme Carla Serena, *Hommes et choses en Perse*, Paris 1883, p. 56.

(Cl. Huart)

ḲARA YAZÏDJÏ, leader of a serious rebellion in Asia Minor from 1599 to 1602. His proper name was ʿAbd ul-Ḥalīm and he was chief of the corporation of Segbāns (*Segbān bölük bashi*). His followers consisted of Kurds, Turkomans and a large body of soldiers who had fled from the army in Hungary, chiefly on account of the Grand Vizier Čighāla's harsh and cruel treatment of them. They are therefore called *Firārīs*; another name is *Djalālīs*; their rebellion is known as the *Khurūdj-i djalāliyān*. Ḳara Yazïdjï's first act was the occupation of Ruhā or Urfa (= Edessa) in 1008 A.H. The former Beglerbeg of Abyssinia, Ḥusein Pasha, who had been sent as an inspector to Anatolia in the previous year and had also rebelled against the Sulṭān, took refuge with Yazïdjï on hearing that Sinān Pasha Zāde Meḥmed Pasha had arrived at Ḳonya in order to bring him to book. They sustained together a siege in Ruhā in which they were finally compelled to cast bullets from silver coins, but in the end Ḳara Yazïdjï made terms with the government troops by handing over Ḥusein Pasha to them. The latter was sent to Constantinople and put cruelly to death. Ḳara Yazïdjï was then appointed governor of Amasia. In this town he again began a reign of terror; as Ewliya Čelebi tells (ed. Constantinople 1314, ii. 184), the inhabitants hid themselves and their possessions in the mountain caves. Meḥmed Pasha again succeeded in driving him into the mountains round Siwās and, after passing the winter in Diyār Bakr, marched a second time against him. But Maḥmūd Pasha, Beglerbeg of Siwās, and other notables went to Constantinople and convinced the authorities that Ḳara Yazïdjï had abandoned his evil ways. Accordingly the latter was given the sandjak of Čorum, on condition that he would swear fealty. But, with his brother Deli Ḥasan (in Naʿīmā, i. 128 the name is once written Ḥusein) he continued his propaganda, so that Ibrahim Pasha, former governor of Damascus, and Ḥasan Pasha, former governor of Baghdād,

were sent against them; these two Pashas were utterly defeated at Ḳaisarīye on the 11th of Shawwāl, 1008 (April 25, 1600) by 20,000 rebels. After this victory Ḳara Yazîdjî regarded himself as an independent sovereign over the regions which he had taken from the Ottoman power. Finally he was defeated on the 22th of Shawwāl, 1010 (April 5, 1602) by the vizier Ḥasan Soḳolli, at Sepasli. The rebels fled to the mountains of Djānik; here Ḳara Yazîdjî died in Ramaḍān of the same year (according to *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, Constantinople 1311, iii. 301 *sqq.*, his death took place already in 1009). He was succeeded by his brother Deli Ḥasan and three chieftains called Shāhwerdi, Yular Ḳapdi and Ṭawīl; his body was cut by them into several pieces which were buried in different spots in order that the ʿOthmānlî's might not have it in their power to burn the corpse. The new chiefs afterwards waged war successfully against the already mentioned Ḥasan Pasha, who was killed by them in Toḳāt.

The inner history of this rebellion, which continued until its bloody suppression by Murād Pasha in 1605, has not yet been sufficiently studied. It does not seem unreasonable to seek religious pro-Shīʿa motives behind it (cf. Babinger in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvi. 143), as a name like Shāhwerdi suggests. On the other hand the moment was very favourable for a rebellion, the bulk of the ʿOthmānlî power being then occupied in Hungary at the siege of Ḳanizha. On the name Djelālī cf. Babinger, *Isl.*, xi. 14, note 3.

Bibliography: Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1147, i. 88 *sqq.*, 120 *sqq.*, 128, 152, who cites chiefly the chronicle of Ḥasan Bey Zāde; von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv. 271, 305 *sqq.* (J. H. Kramers)

ḲARĪʾ. [See ḲIRĀʾA, ḲURʾĀN].

ḲARĪB, the name of a modern metre used by the Turks and Persians and called *al-muḍāriʿ* by the Arabs. Its measure is in each hemistich: *mafāʿīlun*, *mafāʿīlun*, *fāʿilātun*.

The principal variations are: *mafāʿīlun* by *ḳabḍ* [q. v.], *mafāʿīlu* by *kaff* [q. v.], *faʿilātun* by *khabn* [q. v.], *fāʿilāt* = *fāʿilān* by *ḳaṣr* [q. v.] and lastly *fāʿilā* (= *fāʿilun*) by *ḥadhf* [q. v.].

In Persian, it should be added, *mafāʿīlun* may become *fāʿīlun* (= *mafʿūlun*) by *kharm* [q. v.].

Bibliography: See the article ʿARŪḌ. (Moh. Ben Cheneb)

KARIBĪYA. [See KURAIBĪYA].

KARĪM, of persons: generous, benignant, liberal, honourable, noble, high-born; of things: bounteous, plenteous, honourable, noble, splendid. *Al-Karīm* is one of the ninety-nine attributes or "excellent names" (Sūra vii. 179) of God, but in the twenty-seven passages in which the word occurs in the Ḳurʾān it is only twice applied to Him. It is applied to Muḥammad, to an angel, and, ironically, to misbelievers, but it more frequently qualifies things, e. g. the recompense and provision awaiting the faithful, the Ḳurʾān, the letter sent to Bilḳīs, queen of Sabaʾ [q. v.], the entry of the faithful into paradise, plants, cornfields, dwellings, the mode of addressing parents, etc. In Ḥadīth the term is often applied to Yūsuf, who is called *al-Karīm ibn al-Karīm* (al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, bāb 13; *Tafsīr*, Sūra 12, bāb 1). *Al-Karīmatān* denotes the eyes (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 283).

Bibliography: The lexica, s. v. (T. W. Haig)

KARĪM KHĀN ZEND (Muḥammad), a member of a family of no special distinction belonging to a tribe of the Lūr, was in reality king of Persia at the end of the xviiith century without having the title, as he always retained the surname of *Wakīl* (plenipotentiary), under which his name has remained popular. He was at first one of the lieutenants of the Bakhtiyārī general ʿAlī Mardān Khān who, taking advantage of the anarchy that followed the assassination of Nādir Shāh Afshār, seized Iṣfahān and placed on the throne the last scion of the Ṣafawī dynasty, Shāh Ismāʿīl III, aged eight (1164 = 1757). The murder of ʿAlī Mardān, the defeat of the governor of Ādharbaidjān and of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, lord of Māzandarān, gave him possession of the whole of western Īrān. Attacked in Shīrāz by Muḥammad Ḥasan, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār, who had just seized Iṣfahān, he saw the army of his adversary melt away; a year later, the Ḳādjār prince was killed in a battle against Karīm Khān's lieutenants. Khorāsān, however, eluded Karīm Khān; this province remained in the hands of the blind Shāh Rukh, a descendant of Nādir Shāh. Karīm's two generals were his two brothers Ṣādiḳ and Zakī of whom the latter afterwards made himself notorious for his cruelties. The former directed a campaign against the Ottomans: the town of Baṣra, besieged for 13 months (1189 = 1775), surrendered to the Persians and remained in their hands till the death of the Wakīl. He busied himself in restoring peace to the country and in developing agriculture and commerce; although not in any degree educated, he attracted scholars to his court and proclaimed himself their protector. His usual residence was Shīrāz which he adorned with a number of buildings still standing to-day (mosque, caravanserai and baths); the tomb of the poet Saʿdī was restored by his orders; the tomb of the poet Ḥāfiẓ in beautiful Tabrīz marble on which were inscribed two odes by the celebrated poet; the *Haftten* (seven bodies) was consecrated to the memory of the pious dervishes who inhabited it; it is a pleasure house the interior of which is adorned with paintings of Biblical scenes or imaginary portraits of Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ; not far from it is the garden of the Wakīl, better known as the *Djahānnumā* (mirror of the world), the name given it by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh; the garden called Bāgh-i Dilgushā (garden which rejoices the heart), now occupied by kitchen-gardens.

He died at the age of 74 on the 23rd of Ṣafar, 1193 (March 13, 1779) — the date corrected according to Olivier. After his death, Persia fell back into a state of anarchy from which it was only raised by the coming of the Ḳādjār dynasty.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿAlī Riḍā Shīrāzī, *Tāʾrīkh-i Zendiya*, ed. E. Beer, Leiden 1888, p. 3—6; Malcolm, *Hist. de la Perse*, French transl., iii. 166—220; Charmoy, *Chèref-nameh*, i. 53; L. Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 34, 366; P. Horn, in the *Grundr. der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 592 *sqq.*; Mme Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, p. 412, 415—458; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire ottoman*, iii. 284—341; Cl. Huart, *Hist. de Bagdad*, p. 156—157; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii. 92 *sqq.*; W. Francklin, *Observations made on a tour from Bengal to Persia*, in 1786—87, Calcutta 1788; Robert Binning, *Journal of two years' travel*, i. 216—251, 268, 276 *sqq.*; W. Ouseley, *Travels*, ii. 1 *sqq.*, 192 *sqq.*; R. S. Poole, *Coins of the Shâhs of Persia*, London 1887, pp. liv—lvi, 105—116. (Cl. Huart)

ḲARĪN means a companion of any kind (*muṣāḥib* in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and the *Lisān*, xvii. 214 *sq.*; *ṣāḥib* in al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳurʾān, xli. 24); thus Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa and Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are called "the two *ḳarīn's*." It is plain, too, that for Muhammad and pre-Muslim Arabia the word also suggested a spirit-companion. That is the overwhelming usage of the Ḳurʾān. In theology, every human being has, as a *ḳarīn*, a *shaiṭān* and also an angel appointed to accompany him and, respectively, to tempt him to evil or to incite him to good (*Lisān*, loc. cit.). The *shaiṭān* is sometimes called a *djinni* and will be cast into the Fire at the Judgment along with his human comrade whom he has led astray. These two *ḳarīn's* are therefore different from the recording angels which accompany each human being (Ḳurʾān, lxxxii. 10—12). The basis of this is both Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth. The word occurs in the Ḳurʾān eight times; in Ḳurʾān, xxxvii. 49, a human companion is evidently meant (*khalīl fi 'l-dunyā*, al-Baiḍāwī); in Ḳurʾān, iv. 42 (bis), the *Shaiṭān* is a *ḳarīn*; in Ḳurʾān, xli. 24, the plural *ḳuranāʾ* is used, but the context and especially the word *ḳayyaḍa* (see al-Baiḍāwī on this) shows that tempting spirits are meant; closely parallel is Ḳurʾān, xliii. 35, 37, where a *shaiṭān* is "ordained" (*ḳayyaḍa*) by Allāh as a *ḳarīn*; on Ḳurʾān, l. 22 al-Baiḍāwī is in doubt whether by *ḳarīn* a *shaiṭān* or an angel is meant, but on v. 26 he is certain that it is a *shaiṭān*. In this he follows the oldest exegetical tradition on the whole subject given in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, xxvi. 93 *sq.* Even the prophets have such a *shaiṭān*, but that of Muḥammad was converted by him to Islām; a great many traditions bearing on this are given in the *Aḥkām al-mardjān* of Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Shiblī, bāb x., p. 26 *sq.* (ed. 1326). A very suggestive and full ethical-theological treatment of the whole subject is in the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb ʿadjāʾib al-ḳalb*, ed. with comm. *Itḥāf al-sāda*, vii. 264 *sq.*, where the traditions are given in detail; cf. D. B. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude in Islam*, p. 274 *sq.* At the other extreme is the folkloristic development in popular Islām; for it see S. M. Zwemer, *Influence of Animism on Islam*, chap. vi. Much of this, too, may easily have been in the mind of Muḥammad and his world.

Another use of *ḳarīn* in old Arabia was for the *djinnī* who accompanied a poet and brought to him his verses. This use has been transferred in Islām to the angel who consorted with the Prophet and brought him his revelations (*Lisān*, loc. cit.; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i. 5 *sq.*; D. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 19 *sq.*).

Bibliography has been given above; add traditions in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 385, 397 *sq.*, 401, 460; cf. ii. 323; al-Dārimī, *Musnad*, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ṣifāt al-Munāfiḳīn*, Trad. 69 (ed. with al-Nawawī's commentary, Cairo 1283, v. 362; Constantinople 1334, viii. 138). (D. B. Macdonald)

KARKARALI, a Cossack village and the capital of a district in the territory of Semipalatinsk, 49° 2′ N. Lat., 76° 7′ E. Long. (Greenw.); it has about 3000 inhabitants of whom two-thirds are Muḥammadans. (W. Barthold)

al-**KARKH**, the name of an important quarter of old Baghdād. The word Karkh, which comes from the Aramaic (*Karkhā*), is found in Greek and Roman writers as Carcha, Charcha and Charax (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, Suppl. i. 275, 283) and means town; cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 252, 16; Streck, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 92, 186; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 63). There was still in the Muslim period a whole series of places or parts of towns called al-Karkh within the area of influence of Aramaic culture, in the ʿIrāḳ, Khūzistān and al-Djazīra; they were distinguished from one another by the addition of a geographical name (like Maisān, Sāmarrā). Yāḳūt, iv. 252—257, gives 9 such places; see also al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), Indices, p. 762. Our Karkh is often more exactly defined as Karkh Baghdād.

As the Aramaic name shows, the al-Karkh quarter was already in existence before the foundation of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr (145 = 762), as a small independent township said to have been founded by the Sāsānian Shāpūr II (309—379 A.D.), which, like the other earlier settlements on the site of the future capital of the Caliphs, was no doubt mainly inhabited by Aramaic Christians (cf. above, i. 564). This pre-Muslim Karkh was selected by the Caliph al-Manṣūr to be the mercantile centre and it soon became the busiest quarter of Baghdād owing to its commercial character. Al-Karkh was at first quite separate, south-east of the so-called round city of al-Manṣūr and a fair distance from it; but as new roads and squares grew up all around it, it soon became merged in the sea of houses of the great capital.

Al-Karkh was watered by the Nahr ʿĪsā, the most northerly large canal of the Euphrates in the ʿIrāḳ, as well as by its branches, the Nahr Ṣarāt and the Nahr Karkhāyā. The latter is the "Karkhian Canal" (Karkhāyā = כרכיא; see Frankel, *Die aram. Fremdw. im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, p. xx) which left the Nahr ʿĪsā below the small town of al-Muḥawwal near the village of al-Barāthā (see above, i. 655) and supplied the southern part of the western half of Baghdād, i.e. the mercantile quarter and its neighbourhood, with its branch channels, which in places ran underground. Numerous bridges carried the busy traffic over it. On the Nahr Karkhāyā and its canal system see Ibn Serapion, ed. G. Le Strange in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 24, 17—25; p. 286—8, 292—3; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, ed. Salmon (see the *Bibl.*), p. 66—68, 154—5; Yāḳūt, iv. 252; Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 85—90; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 52—56, 63—80; Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld (see the *Bibl.*), ii. 110.

In the civic history of Baghdād, especially during the Būyid period (xth—xith century), al-Karkh, which was regarded as a Shīʿa stronghold, is frequently mentioned (cf. above, i. 567). Under the Būyids who had ʿAlid sympathies the already frequent encounters and frictions between the Sunnis and Shīʿīs of the capital became more and more serious. Sanguinary street fighting between the two hostile sects often accompanied by pillaging and incendiarism was the order of the day. Al-Karkh was usually in the very centre of this civil strife; its inhabitants were always at daggers drawn with the Sunnis of the adjoining quarters (Bāb al-Baṣra etc.). Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dawla (416—435 = 1024—1044) under whom the situation had become unusually serious was even on one occasion, in 422 (1031), reduced to take refuge with his Shīʿī co-religionists in al-Karkh. In 445 (1053) a considerable part of al-Karkh was laid in ashes as a result of these feuds. A great fire had previously devastated al-Karkh under the Caliph al-

Wāthiḳ (227—232 = 842—7); but the destruction was very soon made good.

In course of time numerous mosques and tombs arose in the area of al-Karkh in the wider sense, by which the whole southern half of Baghdād west of the Tigris was often meant. The most celebrated is the tomb-mosque of the local saint Ma'rūf b. al-Faizurān al-Karkhī (d. 200 = 816) and the alleged tomb of Zubaida, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, barely 300 yards south of it. Both mausoleums (see also I, 569) still exist and are important starting points for studying the topography of old Baghdād. In their present form they were renovated by the Caliph al-Nāṣir (575—622 = 1180—1225); but they have been frequently restored since then. On the tomb of al-Karkhī, which as early as the ixth century was one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in Baghdād and which lies in the middle of an impressive cemetery as in the 'Abbāsid period, cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 159; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 98—100, 350; Massignon, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibl.*), p. 49, 108; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 172—3. For the so-called grave of Zubaida see G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 100, 161 *sq.*, 350 *sq.*; Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 108 *sq.*; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 173. On other mosques and tombs in the west side of Baghdād see Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 64 *sq.* or 94 *sq.*

Al-Karkh was not only the largest but also the most long-lived quarter of the western half of Baghdād. When the quarters around it had gradually fallen into ruins, it stood quite isolated — as early as Yāḳūt's day for example (beginning of the xiiith cent.) — like a separate town, as it had been in the earliest period after the foundation of Baghdād. It was a mile distant from the then still inhabited quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra (in the south-east of the old round city of al-Manṣūr). In the later middle ages (cf., for example, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the xivth century) the name of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter was not infrequently extended to all the quarters of western Baghdād still standing i.e. even to include al-Karkh; cf. G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 114 *sq.* We may here point out that the topography of al-Karkh and its vicinity in Yāḳūt is not quite in agreement with the other sources. It appears that the local knowledge of the author of the *Geographical Dictionary* at the time of writing was no longer quite reliable. Cf. G. Le Strange, p. 84, 159.

Al-Karkh is also known as a rare mint; there are coins of the reigns of the Caliphs al-Muktadir, al-Ḳāhir and al-Rāḍī, dated in the years 308, 315, 318, 321, 325; cf. *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna 1893, vol. xxxiv. 321; Lavoix, *Cat. des Monn. Mus. de la Bibl. Nat.*, i. 285; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, p. 272; 1919, p. 197. The wine of al-Karkh was highly esteemed; in poems of the older 'Abbāsid period (e.g. in Abū Nuwās, Ibn Mu'tazz) it is often mentioned; cf. G. Jacob in *Oriental. Studien, Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, p. 1065.

At the present day the part of Baghdād on the right bank of the Tigris, which barely makes up a third of the area of the city, is called Karkhiaka, properly (Turkish) Ḳarshy Yaḳa = the other side (lying opposite the city proper on the east bank), a reproduction of the popular Arabic *Hādak el-Djānib*. This name has therefore no connection with al-Karkh (the contrary view is held by Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 66). Ḳarshiaka was for long merely an insignificant suburb; but in recent years it has increased somewhat in importance and will certainly continue to do as the railway station of Baghdād is there. Since the second half of the xviiith century Arabs of the tribe of 'Uḳail ('Ogēl, 'Agēl) have settled here, who with other caravan people form at the present day a considerable part of the inhabitants of this western town. Cf. thereon Černik's expedition in *Petermanns Geograph. Mitteil.*, supplem. part 44, Gotha 1875, p. 28, 30; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 74, 238; Cl. Huart, *Hist. de Bagdad dans les temps modernes*, Paris 1901, p. xi. *sq.*, 188 *sq.*; Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Bibliography: *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Indices; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, Indices, p. 762; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (ed. Salmon; see the latter's *Introduct. topograph. à l'hist. de Bagdad*, Paris 1904, p. 20—25, 98—102); Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 254 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. xiii. (Index), p. 793; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 298 *sq.*; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, vol. i., Leiden 1900, p. 92—97; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, republ. 1924, p. 63—80 and passim (see Indices); do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 31; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie* (1907—8), vol. 31, Paris 1912, ii. 49, 99, 108; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii., Berlin 1920, p. 105, 110, 112, 114 *sq.* — Cf. the plans of Baghdād in G. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, plan iii. and vii. and in Herzfeld, who (probably rightly) differs somewhat from G. Le Strange on the exact localisation of al-Karkh; see also the plan of modern Baghdād (scale 1 : 10,000), prepared by the cartographical section of the deputy General Staff of the German Army in 1917.

(M. STRECK)

KARKHA. [See KERKHA].

AL-**KARKHĪ**, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN (or AL-ḤUSAIN), was one of the most important mathematicians of the Arabs; he also calls himself AL-ḤĀSIB (the arithmetician). He lived in Baghdād in the time of Abū Ghālib Muḥammad b. Khalaf Fakhr al-Mulk, vizier of the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.] and his son Sulṭān al-Dawla Abū Shudjā'. The date of his death is not known but it may lie between 410 and 420 (1019—1029). The two of his mathematical works that still exist are entitled *al-Kāfī fi 'l-Ḥisāb* (the requisite for arithmetic) and *al-Fakhrī* (i.e. the book dedicated to the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk). The first exists in a unique manuscript in Gotha, the second in Paris, Oxford and Cairo. The Arabic text of neither of these works has yet been published but there is a German translation of the former by A. Hochheim, *Kâfî fîl Hisâb des Abu Bekr Muh. b. Alhusein Alkarkhi*, in 3 parts, Halle a/S. 1878—80, and a synopsis of the second in French by F. Woepcke, *Extrait du Fakhrî*, Paris 1853. The second work is the most important next to the *Algebra* of al-Khaiyāmī that has come down to us on this branch of mathematics. In it al-Karkhī closely follows the Greek mathematician Diophantus of Alexandria; for the first time among the Arabs indeterminate equations appear in this work and they are solved after the fashion of the Greek mathematicians;

whether al-Karkhī deliberately took no notice of the Indian methods or was not acquainted with them cannot be decided. In his book on arithmetic, like almost all Eastern Arab mathematicians (except 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī, about 980—1040), he does not use Indian numerals but writes out all the figures in words.

Bibliography: There is not a separate article on al-Karkhī in any of the Arab biographical works so far published; he is only occasionally mentioned in Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1310, ii. 65; transl. by de Slane, iii. 279. Cf. also M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. d. Mathem.*³, i. 718—720; H. Suter in the *Abhandl. z. Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 84.

(H. SUTER)

ĶARĶĪSIYĀ (also ĶARĶĪSIYA), a town in al-Djazīra on the left bank of the Euphrates, close to the confluence of the Khābūr, a little above 35° N. Lat. Ķarķīsiyā is simply an Arabic reproduction of the Graeco-Roman name (τὸ) Κιρκήσιον, (τὸ) Κιρκήσιον κάστρον or κιρκίσιον (Κιρκισία in the *Notit. episcop.*, ed. Parthey, p. 87), Circesium, Syriac Kerkusion, Latin = castrum Circense, "the castle with the circus"; cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 3. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī in Yāķūt, iv. 65, 21 sq., still knew the etymology of the place-name (Ķarķīsiyā, arabicised from Kirkīsiyā, from *kirkis* = arab. *ḥalbe*, Hippodrome). The name Circesium for the place at the mouth of the Khābūr in any case first appeared, when a Roman military station was built there. This perhaps may have been even before Diocletian. It was, however, this Emperor who first made the place of great importance by making it a powerful fortress on the extreme frontier of the Roman Empire in Southern Mesopotamia. From this it seems quite impossible that Circesium could have been a latinisation of the Aramaic *Karkā* = town (see the article AL-KARKH), as Moritz, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 37, supposed; see Streck's arguments in the *Z. A.*, xxvii. 259.

A situation so favoured by nature as the mouth of the Khābūr must certainly have been already inhabited in remote antiquity. But the names of the settlements there have — as frequently happens in the East — changed several times in the course of centuries.

The old native name of the place was perhaps the Nabagath mentioned by Isidor of Charax (cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, i. 174). Another name is perhaps preserved in Chabora i. e. the town on the Khābūr; see Streck in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibl.*). In the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings of the ninth century (Tukulti-Ninurta II, Assurnasirpal) we find mention of a place named Sirḳu (Sirḳi) which, according to the itinerary of Tukulti-Ninurta, was the last western stage along the Euphrates on the road to the mouth of the Khābūr. Following Maspero (*De Carchemis oppidi situ*, Paris 1872, p. 13), this Sirḳu has been connected with Circesium and the latter name actually derived from the Assyrian one; see for example Sayce in the *Proceed. of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xviii. 174; S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, p. 20 and 22, and Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i., Heidelberg 1920, p. 344; it is queried by Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip*, ii., Paris 1909, p. 48. This identification is untenable; see against it Streck in the *Z. A.*, xxvii. 259 sq. and Horn in the *Z. A.*, xxxiv. 150 sq. The site of Sirḳu is besides to be sought on the right bank of the Euphrates; on the probable situation cf. Forrer, *Die Provinzialeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 15. According to the above mentioned itinerary of Tukulti-Ninurta, Rummunina (on the reading see Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 151) must probably be located in the region of the junction of the Khābūr with the Euphrates.

Simply on account of the similarity of names, Circesium used to be identified with Carchemish, the great Hittite city, for example in the older Biblical commentaries, by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, also by Ritter, *op. cit.*, x. 15 and by Chesney, *op. cit.* (see the Bibl.), p. 150. The lack of foundation for this identification was shown notably by Maspero in the above mentioned work and by Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 1 sq. Besides, the site of Carchemish has been identified for several decades beyond all doubt in the ruins of Djirbās or Djarābis on the right bank of the middle Euphrates, a few hours' journey below Biredjik.

In the fourth century A. D. Circesium passed into the hands of the Persians by the shameful treaty made by the Emperor Jovian (363). The Arabs next captured it in the conquest of al-Djazīra. The occupation by the Muslims, which took place, apparently without fighting, under the commander Ḥabīb b. Maslama who was sent by 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm, probably happened in the year 19 (640), not 16 (637), as many sources say. Cf. thereon al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (ed. de Goeje), p. 176, 2 (and cf. p. 111, 175, 178, 179); al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), i. 2478; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), ii. 409 sq.; Yāķūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 65 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. des Chalifen*, i. 82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii/iii. 402, iii/ii. 734, 755 sq., 799. Ķarķīsiyā became the capital of the district of Khābūr in the province of Diyār Bakr. On account of its very characteristic situation, Ķarķīsiyā is mentioned by all the Arab geographers in their descriptions of the river-courses and roads, but no detailed account of it is given. The place probably did not attain any great size in the Islāmic period either. The high percentage of Jews (500 families) found by Benjamin of Tudela in the second half of the xiith century there is remarkable; see the Hebrew text of his travels edited and translated by Grünhut and Adler (Jerusalem 1903, Frankfurt a/M. 1904), i. 49, 21 sq. and ii. 47.

In the history of the wars of mediaeval Islām we find Ķarķīsiyā often mentioned. When 'Abd al-Malik was engaged in his campaign against Muṣ'ab, governor of the 'Irāķ and brother of the anti-Caliph 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair, he had to devote his attention to Ķarķīsiyā in 71 (690), where the Ķaisī Zufar b. al-Ḥārith was ruling independently and had successfully resisted the governor of Ḥims, who had been sent against him. After a siege of some length, Zufar had to submit to the Caliph's army (cf. the account in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), iv. 275 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. 431; J. Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 115—116, 119—120, 126. In the wars fought in the ivth (xth) century on Mesopotamian soil in the Ḥamdānid epoch, we find Ķarķīsiyā playing a part along with al-Raḥba, a day's journey down the Euphrates from it; cf. Freytag in the *Z. D. M. G.*, x. 451—2. The rulers of Egypt repeatedly extended their power as far as Ķarķīsiyā, for example the Ṭūlūnid Aḥmad, from

whom, however, the Caliph al-Mu'tamid's vigorous brother al-Muwaffaḳ was able to retake it in 268 (881); see Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Aegypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, *Abh. G. G. W.*, (1876), vol. xxi., part iii. 20. Several centuries later the Egyptian Sulṭān Baibars again advanced his frontier up to the Khābūr, when he took Ḳarḳīsiyā from the Mongols in 663 (1264); cf. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv. 96.

At the present day the site of Ḳarḳīsiyā is marked by a miserable village of 30—40 houses and hovels of clay and an extensive ruined site adjoining it. It is now called Busaira (Beṣīra; wrongly written Başaira by the Turks); older travellers give the form Abū Serai etc. Busaira is probably a corruption of Abū Serai (as, along with other authors, Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 37, thinks); it has been with less probability taken as a derivative from Buṣr, the older name — recorded by Abu 'l-Fidā' for 732 (1331) — of the present Dēr ez-Zōr (see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*). According to Herzfeld, the old name Ḳarḳīsiyā still survives locally in the form Ḳarḳīsa.

Busaira lies on an irregularly shaped tongue of land formed by the Khābūr at its junction with the Euphrates and is about half an hour's journey distant from its mouth. Communication with the hinterland is broken by a ditch so that we have a well-marked peninsula. The plan of the old fortress can still be easily recognised; it forms a rectangle, the longer side of which runs along the Khābūr, while the shorter faces the Euphrates from which it is now about 1000 yards distant. Four more or less well preserved towers and a fort-like building (praetorium, serai) can still be seen, from which Moritz (*op. cit.*) suggests that the modern name Abū Serai (Busaira) may be derived. The fairly extensive town lay to the north-east of the fortress and is still marked by numerous walls of earth. Descriptions of the modern ruins are given by Sachau, Moritz and Herzfeld; plans of them are in Sachau and Herzfeld (see *Bibl.*).

The important part once played by Ḳarḳīsiyā as a trading centre as a result of the important roads which meet here — from Syria to Babylonia, Mōṣul to Syria — has in modern times been to a great extent regained by the town of Dēr ez-Zōr on the Euphrates (see above, i. 936) above mentioned, a few hours' journey above the mouth of the Khābūr.

Bibliography: *B.G.A.*, passim (see the Indices); Ibn Serapion (ed. G. Le Strange), *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 10, 31; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), Indices. p. 754; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 528, 739; Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, transl. by Jaubert, Paris 1836 *sq.*, ii. 138, 142, 145, 150; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 65, 21 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xiii. 782 (Index); al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr* (ed. Mehren), p. 191, 11; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales* (ed. Reiske-Adler), i. 235, iv. 51, 569, v. 17; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane), p. 273, 281 (and transl., ii. 49, 57); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 15, 139, 236, 1129, xi. 266—274, 695; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853, p. 283 *sq.*; Chesney, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, p. 250; Nöldeke in the *Nachr. G. G. W.*, 1876, i. 1 *sq.*; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.*, Leipzig 1883, p. 286—288; Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene* = *Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1889, p. 37—39; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 105; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris 1907, p. 294—297; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i., Berlin 1911, p. 172—174; Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, xi. 505 *sq.* (and cf. also i. 1793, 2627; iii. 2017 and Suppl., i. 280, s. v. Chabora). (M. STRECK)

KARLOWITZ. [See CARLOWITZ].

ḲARLUḲ (ḲARLUGH), in early Arabic sources KHARLUKH, in Persian KHALLUKH, in Chinese KO-LO-LU, name of a Turkish people, who are mentioned in the Turkish Orkhon inscriptions and in the Chinese *T'ang Shu*; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, Index. The Ḳarluḳ attained some political importance after 766, when, after the decline of the empire of the Western Turkish Khāḳāns, they occupied the valley of the Ču [q. v.]. Their princes did not assume the title of Khāḳān (Kaghan) but only that of Yabghu (Arabic Djabghūya) al-Ṭabarī mentions a Djabghūya of the Ḳarluḳs in Ṭokhāristān on the upper Amū Daryā as early as the year 119/737. With the Djabghūya al-Kharlukhī (*op. cit.*, ii. 1612, 10) corresponds the Djabghūya al-Ṭukhārī (ii. 1604, 3 and 1612, 9). At the present day an affluent of the Surkhan is still called Ḳalluḳ or Ḳarluḳ; cf. W. Barthold, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen*, St. Petersburg 1899, with reference to W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, second series, p. 27, note 1. According to al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 479, the Djabghūya of the Ḳarluḳs adopted Islām in the year 162 (778/779); cf. J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 25; it should however be observed that the same fact at the same date is narrated concerning many other rulers, which makes it suspicious. al-Gardīzī (in Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, ii., St. Petersburg 1900, p. 207) mentions an invasion of the Djabghūya in Farghāna in the year 792/3. In the reports of the Arab geographers of the ivth/xth century the Ḳarluḳs are still infidels. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (*B.G.A.*, i. 11, 17 *sq.*) their territory extended 30 days' journey from the frontier of Farghāna. According to the Persian sources, however, their territory was not so extensive (cf. especially the still unpublished *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*; al-Gardīzī in Barthold, *Otčet o poězdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, text, p. 81 *sq.*, transl., p. 104 *sq.* and 'Awfī in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 99 *sq.*; Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien* in the *Abh. G. W. Göttingen*, new series, xiii./i., p. 40 *sq.*). In so far as they were the nearest neighbours of the Muḥammadan territory, the Ḳarluḳs, more than the other Turks, were influenced by Persian civilisation. They even differed in their features from the usual Turkish type. Maḥmūd al-Kashgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1915—1917, comprises the Ḳarluḳs and the Ghuzz under the common name of Turkomans.

It cannot be ascertained with certainty what was the relation between the dynasty of the Ilek Khāns [q. v.] and the Ḳarluḳs. At any rate the Ḳarluḳs are often mentioned in the history of this empire, especially in Samarḳand, as unruly Praetorians just like the Ghuzz in the Saldjūḳ empire. In al-Djuwainī's report (*Ta'rīkh-i Djahān Gushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥ-

al-Kazwīnī, Gibb Memorial Series, 1912—16, ii. 87) concerning the conquest of Central Asia by the Kara Khitāi [q. v.], the latter appear as the allies of the Khān of Balāsāghūn [q. v.] against the Karluks; the Kara Khitāi of Samarkand, on the other hand, are the allies of the Karluks against Sulṭān Sandjar (cf. especially al-Rāwandī, ed. Muḥ. Iḳbāl, Gibb Memorial Series, new series, ii., p. 172). Later the Kara Khitāi induced the Karluks in Samarkand to abandon their warlike life and to take to agriculture. According to Ibn al-Athīr, this took place in 559 (1163/64) (*Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 205), but this date seems to late; cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 358. In the second half of the xiith century the Karluks are mentioned for the last time (by al-Kātib al-Samarkandī; cf. the text as edited by Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 71 *sq.*) as enemies of the Khān of Samarkand; in the history of the xiiith century they no longer appear. A Karluk state N. of the Ili with the capital Kayāligh is however still mentioned; cf. especially *Ta'rīkh-i Djahān Gushā*, i. 56 *sq.*; other reports in Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 433 *sq.*, 477. The son of the Karluk prince Arslān Khān, who had submitted to the Mongols and taken part in the expedition against the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad, was given in fief Ugand in Farghāna by the Great Khān Mangu (1251—1259; cf. *Ta'rīkh-i Djahān Gushā*, i. 58); there is no later mention of this dynasty. To the same division of the Karluks perhaps belonged the dynasty of the princes of Almaligh (cf. the art. KULDJA). The name Karluk seems later to denote an Özbeg family only.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KARMAṬIANS (KARMAṬĪ, plur. KARĀMIṬA: Carmathians). In the strict application of the word, the name was given to the rebel federations of Arabs and "Nabataeans", which were organised in Lower Mesopotamia after the servile war of the Zandj [q.v.] from 264 (877) and based on a system of communism into which initiation was necessary; active propaganda extended this secret society among the masses, peasants and artisans; — in al-Aḥsā, where they founded a state independent of the Caliph of Baghdād; — in Khurāsān, in Syria and in Yemen, where they formed lasting hotbeds of discontent.

In the broader sense, the name Karmaṭian means the great movement for social reform and justice based on equality, which swept through the Muslim world from the ninth to the twelfth centuries of our era; this movement, captured and controlled by an ambitious family, the Ismā'īlī dynasty (cf. ISMĀ'ĪLIYA, SAB'IYA), who founded the Fāṭimid anti-caliphate in 297/910, became abortive and finally succumbed with this dynasty before the counterstroke of the Crusades.

The movement was characterised, from the point of view of knowledge, by the adaptation of the Arabic language to certain technical achievements of foreign origin, especially Hellenistic (Neo-Platonic, pseudo-Hermetic and "Sabaean" writings); from the political point of view, by the exploitation of the 'Alid legitimist tradition on behalf of a conspiracy, carried on in a strict secrecy, in which the name of the supreme leader was never pronounced; from the point of view of worship, by the use of an allegorical and methodical catechism, Kur'ānic in origin, adapted to all creeds, to all races and all castes. The movement was based on reason, tolerance and equality, with a system of graduated initiation and the ritual of a gild which — encouraging the rise of the trade gild movement (see the art. SINF) and universities — seems to have reached the West and to have influenced the formation of European gilds and freemasonry.

I. Etymology and early history.

The etymology of the word *karmaṭ* (not *kirmiṭ*) is disputed. It appears as a descriptive adjective in the name of the first leader of the insurrection, Ḥamdān Karmaṭ (cf. 'Alī b. Karmaṭ, a heretic quoted by the Nuṣairī author Maimūn Ṭabarānī). Vollers has connected it with the Greek γράμματα, but it is more probable that we should see in it a borrowing from the local Aramaic dialect of Wāsiṭ, where *karmaṭū* to this day means *mudallis* (Arabo-Aramaic dialect of the Midān, cf. Anastase, in *Machriq*, x. 18, p. 857). From the year 255 (868) we find mentioned in the same region, along with the *Furātiya*, a corps of Kurmāṭiya among the rebellious troops of the Zandj (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1757; cf. iii. 1749: Rashīd Karmāṭī).

The name *Karmaṭ* in palaeography means a particular kind of *warḳāt*; in addition there is a special secret Karmaṭian alphabet used in the Yemeni texts recently studied by Griffini.

The Karmaṭian insurrection was begun by Ḥamdān in the neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ; in 277/890 he founded a *dār al-hidjra* (an entrenched place of retreat) east of Kūfa for his partisans, whose various voluntary contributions supported the common chest: these contributions were alms at breaking the fast (*zakāt al-fiṭr*), for the right to use the place of refuge, a fifth of all income (*khums*), right of all participation in the agapes (*bulgha*; cf. the art. NUṢAIRI); community of all objects of general utility (*ulfa*) was prescribed. These details, which we know from Sunnī sources, are perhaps accurate; at the agapes they ate "bread of Paradise"; this detail which we find in the contemporary trial of al-Ḥallādj is perhaps simply a transference of the consecrated bread (*pektā*) used among the Mandaeans of Wāsiṭ (*manghūtila* = *nāṣūrāyā*; cf. al-Ṭabarī, year 278 (891), on the Karmaṭian Faradj b. 'Othmān of Naṣrāna; or to be pointed Naṣurāya).

We find along with Ḥamdān his brother-in-law 'Abdān (d. 286/899), author of a manual of initiation for the seven degrees (*balāghāt sab'a*). Both seem to have been dependent on leaders whose identity remained a secret, living outside of Sawād, the *Ṣāḥib al-Ẓuhūr*, who is said to have invested Ḥamdān, and the *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa*, who had dismissed 'Abdān and put in his place Dhikrawaih al-Dindānī. Dhikrawaih in 288/900 gave the signal in the desert of Syria among the Banū 'Ulaiṣ for the general Karmaṭian rising — so long prepared (expected in Khurāsān for the year 290/902) — and proclaimed as leader the *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa*, under the Ismā'īlī regnal name Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, with the dynastic name of "Fāṭimid". He was killed in 289 (901) at the siege of Damascus and his place was taken by his brother the "Ṣāḥib al-Khāl", who as ruler took the name Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad, and who was captured and executed at Baghdād in 291 (903). The Karmaṭian movement in Lower Mesopotamia, drowned in blood, ceased to be an active factor in politics in 294 (906) with the death of Dhikrawaih.

In time the movement regained strength in

al-Aḥsā, where the *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa* had sent as his representative Abū Saʿīd Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Djannābī in 281 (894); with the support of the Rabīʿī tribe of the ʿAbd al-Ḳais, al-Djannābī seized the whole of al-Aḥsā (286 = 899) and made it an independent state, the bulwark of Karmaṭian power and the terror of the Caliphate of Baghdād. His son and successor Abū Ṭāhir Sulaimān (301—332 = 914—943) began to lay waste Lower Mesopotamia, cut the pilgrim routes and finally seized Mekka on the 8th of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 317 = Jan. 12, 930), from which he carried off the Black Stone six days later to take it to al-Aḥsā. Abū Ṭāhir, like his father, was only the emissary of a secret organisation, its "commissary for foreign affairs" for al-Aḥsā; while waiting the opportunity to enthrone the expected Imām there, he appointed a representative council over it, the *ʿIḳdān* (i.e. the elders of the tribe) for the political administration of home affairs. This organisation was still in existence in 422 (1030) after the decline of the military power of the Karmaṭians; it seems to have maintained local autonomy down to the xviiith century, when the revival of propaganda took the form of a new Ismāʿīlī dynasty (Makramis). The capital was al-Muʾminiya (new name given to Hadjar) on the site of the present Hufūf).

In Yemen, Karmaṭian propaganda, directed from 266 (879) by Manṣūr al-Yaman (title of Ibn Hawshab) with the *dār al-hidjra* near ʿAdanlāʿa, failed against the resistance of the local Zaidī chiefs and could only found some little principalities, the Ṣulaiḥīs of Ṣanʿāʾ and the Makramīs of Nadjrān (texts studied by Griffini).

In Khurāsān the movement began in 260 (873) at Raiy with Khalaf; then it spread to Marw al-Rūdh and Ṭālaḳān in Djūzdjān, where the Amīr became a Karmaṭian adept. Dailam which was to become a bulwark of the Ismāʿīlī dynasty (see the art. ALAMŪT, ASSASSINS), was next taken for the cause, finally Muḥammad al-Nasafī al-Bazdhaʿī (d. 331 = 942) undertook the conversion of the Sāmānid rulers. His execution destroyed the political hopes of the party: the small Karmaṭian centres of eastern Khorāsān — if we except the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw — only produced a moderate literary activity (texts studied by Ivanow).

In Syria the centre seems to have been Salamiya; but, except for some biassed Sunnī records, we do not know what happened there after the insurrection of 288 (901), nor the part played in it by the future ʿUbaid Allāh, the first Fāṭimid Caliph. Syrian Karmaṭianism is still dormant, without showing any signs of activity nor of contact with the Druzes, who are its distant brethren.

The small local bodies, among which Karmaṭian manuscripts have survived down to our days (for a list of them see the art. ISMĀʿĪLIYA, ii. 549 *sqq.*), have not been the scene of any serious doctrinal activity apart from the writings of the Syrian Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān (xivth cent.), the *Dasātīr* of the Indian Maḥmūd Fānī (Mobed Shāh) (xviith cent.) and the Turkish and Persian texts of the Ḥurūfīs (xvth—xviith cent.).

II. The position of the Karmaṭians relative to the Fāṭimids.

The general tendency of Karmaṭian doctrine was to consider ʿAlid legitimism as a means rather than an end. The **Imāmate**, the supreme authority, is not a hereditary monopoly transmitted in a dynasty; it is an intellectual characteristic, a divine investiture, an imperative mandate (*ṣūrat al-amr*) conferred (*tafwīḍ*) on the new holder of the title from among the initiates by a sudden illumination of his intellect, which makes him "substituted" or "spiritual son" of his predecessor. Such is the justification, given in the formula of initiation in the Druze books, for these alleged "usurpations" of genealogy, which are the rule in the annals of the Karmaṭians from ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn down to Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihi 'l-salām. And this is the meaning of the definitions of the imāmate given by adepts like Ibn Masarra, Raʾīsī, Ibn Hāni and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ. Indeed, when the *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa* in 288 (900), and ʿUbaid Allāh in 297 (909) had assumed a Fāṭimid dynastic title, neither the one nor the other plainly indicated their genealogical connection with the ʿAlid Ismāʿīlī line (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Bunz, p. 7—11). And if this claim was of importance with respect to the public, in the opinion of their enemies, it seems that it hardly interested those initiated into the true doctrine, who expected above all else a chief, possessing a special divine appointment, of the "intellectual order", whether he was ʿAlid or not.

The official version of the ancestry of the family of ʿUbaid Allāh compiled by his Ḳāḍī, the Mālikī al-Nuʿmān b. Abī Ḥanīfa al-Tamīmī (born 259, d. 363 aged 104), is a laudatory and lying composition specially written in reply to a Buwaihid attack. The versions of two Sunnī anti-Karmaṭian pamphlets by Muḥammad b. Rizām al-Ṭāʾī, president of the "Maẓālim" in Baghdād in 320 A. H., and by Muḥammad Akh Muḥassin Ibn al-ʿĀbid, an ʿAlid of Damascus, who died about 375 A. H., are hardly of any more value. S. de Sacy, Guyard and de Goeje thought they could rely on them as Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Nuwairī and al-Maḳrīzī had done. But a result of a comparison with the statements contained in the biographical collections (*ṭabaḳāt*) of orthodox Imāmī *muḥaddithūn*, in which the early Karmaṭian propagandists have a prominent place, shows that there are serious errors in the exposé by these two opponents. Maimūn Ḳaddāḥ (d. about 180 A. H. at latest) was not a "Bardesanian"; he was a client of the Makhzūmī clan (Kuraish), a native of Mekka, a well-known theologian, the official *rāwī* of the fifth and sixth Imāms, Bāḳir and Ṣādiḳ. His son ʿAbd Allāh, who was official *rāwī* of Ṣādiḳ (which provoked the irony of the poet Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī), did not die in 250 A. H. but in 210 at latest, "in prison in Kūfa under al-Maʾmūn"; Dindān (and not Zaidān) is the *sobriquet* of a known Imāmī author, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Ahwāzī, who died about 250—270 A. H., etc. In these circumstances the statements made in the two Sunnī sources mentioned regarding the assassination of ʿAbdān, the illegitimacy of ʿUbaid Allāh and the usurpation of the soi-disant "son" of Dhikrawaih in 288—291 A. H. have to be received with caution.

After the proclamation of the Fāṭimid Caliphate in the Maghrib the general attitude of the Karmaṭians in al-Aḥsā as in Yemen and in Khurāsān was one of expectancy, which the assassination of the *Ṣāḥib al-badhr* (267 = 909) by ʿUbaid Allāh amply justified. Let us take al-Aḥsā for example: Abū Saʿīd had from the first paid the fifth to the *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa*; after various evasions, which the intrigues of the court of Baghdād do not quite explain, Abū Ṭāhir sent it to al-Ḳāʾim; but with so little conviction of his legitimacy, that he welcomed and enthroned in 319 (931) as the

expected Imām: a madman, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Zāhirī al-Ṭammāmī (a kind of Heliogabalus, soon put to death). The Black Stone was restored to the Meccans in 340 (951) by order of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Manṣūr; but in 360 (970) the Karmatian chief Ḥasan b. Aḥmad thought it no breach of his oath of initiation to give his Buwaihid allies a document, which was solemnly read at Damascus, testifying to usurpation of civil authority by the first Fāṭimid Caliph. In 422 (1030) the Druze writer Muḳtanā' in vain urged the Karmatian *Sāda* of al-Aḥsā to rally to the cult of Fāṭimid Ḥākim.

On the other hand there are abundant proofs of the adoption of Karmatian doctrine by the Fāṭimid dynasty. It was at the *dār al-hidjra* of the Maghrib, Īkdjān (or Guedjol) founded by the Karmatian *Ṣāḥib al-badhr*, that 'Ubaid Allāh took refuge before his proclamation as Caliph. The oraisons of Mu'izz (publ. by Guyard) are pure Karmatian in style as well as the ritual of the lodge of initiation (*madjlis*; the present masonic term is *maḥfil*) which he founded in Cairo. The Druze religion is simply a Karmatian heresy. The introduction by 'Ubaid Allāh of the *Ṣalāt 'ala 'l-Nabī* at the end of the *adhān* (Ibn Ḥammād, in the *J. A.* of 1855, p. 542) is to be traced to the part of *nāṭiḳ*, recognised in the Prophet by the Karmatians.

III. The Karmatian Doctrine.

It is no longer possible to rely, as used to be done, on the accounts of Karmatian doctrine given by the Sunnī anti-Karmatian writers on heresies; al-Mas'ūdī has judiciously said of the latter that they contradict one another and that the Karmatians themselves recognise nothing of their doctrines in them. Except for a few lines that are accurate in the *Tanbīh* of al-Malaṭī (d. 377 = 987) we have to come down to the xiith century of our era to find a conscientious author, al-Shahrastānī, able to give us authentic Karmatian fragments, some quite old (of Maimūn Ḳaddāḥ and Aḥmad Kaiyāl) from original sources, which he does not mention, but which Fakhr Rāzī (*Masā'il 'ashr*) has identified with the *Fuṣūl arba'a* of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ (on Sabaeism: ii. 47—155 of the Cairo edition of 1317) and the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* of Abū Dja'far Sidjzī b. Bāya († 370/980) (on Hellenism: ii. 155—193, of the Cairo edition of 1317).

To deal with the problem more minutely one must search the polemical literature of the Imāmīs and particularly the apologetic treatises in which the various extremist sects endeavour to convert one another, starting from their common technical terms. Lastly the encyclopaedic collection of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, which has not yet been thoroughly studied since Dieterici, is invaluable for the synthetic understanding of Karmatian thought.

According to them, the world is a sum total of phenomena which repeat themselves in cycles, playing and replaying the same drama to us time after time: — this spectacle, presented to intelligences (invariable in number) so that they may be illuminated, is the gradual disappearance of the material veil, perceptible by our senses, a multiform and transitory mirage; then the intelligences are born (*khalḳ thānī*) by gaining consciousness of a pure intellectual evidence of a unique and impersonal thought, which is divinity itself.

The divine essence, in fact, outside of which nothing exists, is only the evidence of a single idea, an authentication of indifferentiated intelligibility and devoid of all content; the *nir eremtismus* (*tawḥīd*) of the Karmatians, still more rigorous than the *ta'ṭīl* of the Djahmiya, denies all divine attributes and postulates an absolute monism of fundamental intellectualism.

True worship consists in knowing how to recognise — as the result of a graduated initiation — what have been the stages of the creative evolution of the universe outside of God; what exactly leads the initiated by a process of inverse gnostic involution to forget these stages and to become absorbed in God.

a) Creative evolution: — the divine essence or supreme light (*nūr 'aḳlī*), alone in the beginning and in the end, gives forth first of all the *nūr sha'sha'ānī*, "glistening" and "victorious (*ḳāhir*) light" which then engenders the universal intelligence (*'aḳl kullī*) and the soul of the world (*nafs*); the latter under various modes produce human intelligences (those of the prophets, imāms and elect; the others are only phantoms of nothingness). The *nūr sha'sha'ānī* in the second degree gives forth the *nūr ẓulāmī* "tenebrous light"; that is matter, passive, "vincible" (*maḳhūr*), destined to disappear; it appears in various modes as stars at the skies (*aflāk*), as perishable bodies on earth.

b) Gnostic involution: — the intelligences of the prophets, imāms and their adepts are sparks of "sparkling light" suddenly illuminated in the midst of the tenebrous light, blind and unreal matter like reflections in mirrors, following the cyclic intermittances of the initiatory illumination; these sparks shine, on becoming conscious of their divine identity, in a liberating intuition, in which, losing all individuation, they find themselves "delivered from the five tyrants": — the sky, which makes day alternate with night, nature, which gives desires and regrets, law, which commands and forbids, the state, which controls and punishes, necessity, which forces one to daily labour.".

c) The immaterial succession of initiatory investitures (*mabda, ta'wīl*). Initiatory illumination makes the separated intelligences cohere, divine sparks individualised for a moment, following two convergent hierarchic series; decreasing, of the initiators (*nāṭiḳ, ṣāmit, bāb*); and increasing, of the initiated (*dā'ī, ḥudjdja, imām*). Historically the list of their titulars was classed in cycles of limited number; the intelligences, in invariable number, "transmigrate" from cycle to cycle (without "finding" again "their" personality, since they have only the appearance of individuality).

d) Planetary denominations of the cycles of transmigration (*adwār, akwār, ḳirānāt*). The cycles just mentioned are named from their material veils, i.e. from the planetary revolutions, periods and conjunctions. This is a very fine point which must be appreciated. The Karmatians are nominalists; they do not believe that the name determines the thing and they unanimously assert that the planetary bodies have no directing influence on the intelligences; but the divine volition (*amr*) which regulates the intermittances of the initiatory illumination makes them coincide inevitably with the astral periods which form the tracing, the shadow cast by these cycles of illumination, and provides the horoscope of intelligences which form part of it (change of cults, *milal*, every 960 years, of empires every 240 years, of sovereigns every 20 years, of epidemics every year, of genethliac subjects every

month and every day). When the moment comes for the final cessation of every action (*ikkār* = *dalāfīr* of the Ḥadīth, *saikār*) cycles and periods will come together.

e) **The degrees of individual initiation.** Initiatory illumination is transmitted to the adept by degrees as in the ancient initiations (Greek, Manichaean) and in modern freemasonries. It emanates from the divine volition following a method of irrefutable and infallible authority (*ta'līm*, whence the name *ta'līmiya* given by al-Ghazālī to the Karmaṭians). The adept submits himself for it (in the fourth degree) by a declaration — a solemn contract with a clause (*ṣilāḥ ma'alīḳ*) of triple repudiation of his favourite wife if he should reveal the secrets (*ifshā' al-sirr*, which constitutes Karmaṭian adultery, *zinā*). Its formula has been studied by Goldziher (cf. the art. NUṢAIRIYA). We find it first used during the revolt of the Zandj (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1750) and Usāma alludes to it in his *Memoirs*. The Sunnī heresiographers record 3, 5, 7 ('Abdān and Ibn Ḥamdān) or 9 degrees; but the names which 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī gives them are doubtful: *tafarrus*, diagnostic of the future adept, described as "fertile" or "sterile" earth, *ta'nīs* (taming), *tashkīk* (apprenticeship to methodic doubt), *ta'līḳ* (taking of the oath), *rabṭ*, *tadlīs*, *ta'sīs*, *khal'* and *salkh*. The programme for the five high grades (secret) is little known. The "letter of 'Ubaid Allāh to Abū Ṭāhir", an apocryphal curiosity (recalling certain modern anti-masonic productions), analysed by al-Baghdādī, puts in various maxims of cynical impiety, among others the mediaeval parable *De Tribus Impostoribus* (the earliest reference to it; cf. *R.H.R.*, 1920). Al-Maḳrīzī's reference to the *maḳrīzī* of Cairo (transl. by de Sacy and Casanova) shows that initiation simply amounted to showing that the exterior rites (*ẓāhir*) of all the revealed cults conceal under equivalent and inadequate allegories the same hidden meaning (*bāṭin* whence the name *Bāṭiniya* of the Karmaṭians), purely negative and without mystery; initiation being reduced to teaching of the use of wholly speculative philosophical reasoning, which propounds without practical differentiation the antithesis, opposite conceptions like "law" and "breach of law", "*tawḥīd*" and *ilḥād*"; cf. DAHRIYA). But this is only, as we have seen, one aspect of the fundamental intellectual monism of the Karmaṭians.

IV. Its Imāmī technical vocabulary; its criticism of the other extremist Shī'i sects (Ghulāt).

Terrified by the wide and rapid spread of Karmaṭian doctrines in the most cultivated centres of the Muslim world the Sunnī heresiographers strove to discover and denounce an anti-Muslim offensive in it, originating in a foreign religion — Mazdeism, Mazdakism (*Khurramiya*), Manichaeism —, in racial hatred, setting Iranian against Arab, the tribe of Rabī'a against that of Muḍar (*Shu'ūbiya*). They quoted parallelisms which are not very convincing.

The hypothesis of the Sabaean origin of the Karmaṭians, which is also found among them, is more attractive. It seems to have been put forward by the Karmaṭians themselves with a view to gaining citizenship in the Sunnī Muslim state, presenting their syncretism as the heritage of Abraham (*khalīliya*) from those mysterious "Sabaeans" mentioned by the Ḳur'ān. Such is probably the leading idea in the Sabaean tale developed among others by al-Shahrastānī in some pages borrowed without acknowledgment from the Karmaṭian Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. The documents hardly permit us to connect effectively the Karmaṭians with the pseudo-"Sabaeans" of Ḥarrān or Wāsiṭ.

In reality an examination of the Karmaṭian technical terms shows that this doctrine was formed before the end of the second century A. H. in the Imāmī circles of Kūfa. The Karmaṭians retained, embedded in their system, various series of Imāmī special terms, which we find again among other extremist sects, Isḥāḳiya, Sharī'iya, Namīriya (Nuṣairiya), Khaṭṭābiya, Ḥallādjiya; e. g.: *mīm'ānī*, *ma'ānī*, *rūḥānī*, *djismānī*, *sha'shānī*, *maḳdānī*, *nāmūs*, *lāhūt*, *nāsūt*, *djabrūt*; *faiḍ*, *ḥulūl*, *maḳām*, *ḳawāla*, *taḥwīn*, *taḳdīr*, *ta'yīd*; the mystic sense of the 28 letters according to the *djafr*. The last orthodox Imāmī Muḥaddithūn received into the Karmaṭian *isnād*'s are Mufaḍḍal b. 'Omar and Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Ẓāhirī (also admitted by the Nuṣairīs).

The first clearly Karmaṭian author is Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab al-Asadī al-Kāhilī (d. 167 = 783 at Kūfa); he substituted in place of the "personifying" Ḳur'ānic exegesis of the early Shī'is an abstract allegorical exegesis; in cosmogony he replaced the use of letters (cf. Mughīra) by their corresponding numerical values (mystic meanings of *djafr*); it was he also who seems to have invented the pledge guaranteeing the secret of initiation: for the Khaṭṭābiya, his adepts, are the only Imāmī sect whom al-Shāfi'ī (*Kitāb al-Shahādāt*) will not allow to take the oath on the ground that they make of the *taḳiya* (negative practice of secrecy) a positive precept justifying false testimony (to keep a secret).

After him, Abū Shākir Maimūn al-Ḳaddāḥ al-Makhzūmī (d. towards 180 = 796) gave definite dogmatic form to the Karmaṭian doctrine of emanation; he substituted the abstract first principles for the five *aitām* (deified historical personages), demiurges of the first Ghulāt. He denies that the divine essence has any attributes and defines the "eternal Ḳur'ān" as a pure divine illumination in intelligences.

If one compares Karmaṭian dogma with the preceding Imāmī systems, their naively "materialising" (*tadjsīm*) and "personifying" (*tashkhīṣ*) notions and their idolatry of 'Alī and his descendants, we see at once after the connection a transposition: here they are intellectualised, objectified in abstractions. Finally the Karmaṭians, considering only rank and the external role played, restore to Muḥammad priority over 'Alī. Not that they in turn deify Muḥammad — it is simply his predestined role of pre-eternally foreseen messenger or herald (*nāṭiḳ*) that they look at. They are (to use the exact term) not *Muḥammadiya* but *Mīmiya* (the letter *mīm* means in *djafr* the name, *ism*; that is to say the mission of onomaturgy, *nāṭiḳ*, devolved on the prophet), in opposition to the *'Ainiya* (the letter *'ain* in *djafr* means the original sense, *ma'nā*, whence: the hidden meaning, the "silent" (*ṣāmit*) role of "tacitly designated" chief, devolved on 'Alī), like Dāwūd and Nakha'ī.

During the polemics that went on in Kūfa between Imāmī writers down to the third century A. H. the Karmaṭian authors, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, Faiyāḍ and Nahīkī, were "Mīmiya"; they place Muḥammad (*nāṭiḳ* = *aṣl* = *ḳā'im* = *mabī*) above 'Alī (*ṣāmit* = *nafs* = *walī* = *waṣī*). The Nuṣairī Kha-

sīlī, modifying the doctrine of the 'Alīya to suit the exigencies of controversy, maintains 'Alī (*ma'nā* = *imām*) above Muḥammad (*ḥidjāb* = *ḥudjdja*) and Salmān (*ism* = *bāb*). To the Nuṣairī arguments that Muḥammad is the "veil" uncovering the divine appearance called 'Alī, the Druzes reply with good Ḳarmaṭian logic that a "veil" only covers and that Muḥammad has given more perfect evidence of God by his words than 'Alī by his silence. Internal sanctity is set aside in favour of the gift of prophecy and sinlessness neglected for infallibility.

It is the same polemical attitude which dictates to Maimūn Ḳaddāḥ the order in which he enunciates his two first principles (followed in that by Kaiyāl, Baradha'ī, the Druzes and Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ): first the intellect (*'aḳl* = *nafs nāṭiḳa* = *awwal* = *sābiḳ*) and secondly the soul (*nafs* = *nafs ḥaiwānī* = *thānī* = *tālī* = *lāḥiḳ*). Then comes the "fiat" (*kun, idjādī*), the central sign of divine intervention, before the second pair of principles, simply reduplication of the first among the Druzes (*'aḳl* and *nafs*) and in Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ (*fatḥ* and *khayāl*). The identification of the five Ḳarmaṭian first principles with those of the Hellenistic philosophers, like the physician Rāzī (intellect, soul, matter, space and time) does not seem to be primitive and represents a later effort at syncretic conciliation.

In psychology the Ḳarmaṭians deprive each human individuality of all definitive reality; his body being removed *a priori* like an unreal veil, there only remains a momentary principle of individuation to which they refuse any name implying internal finality, like *rūḥ*, *nūr*, *ma'nā* (employed by the early Imāmīs); they substitute for it the term *'aḳl* "intelligence", indicating a simple causation on the part of God, "ab extra", a role of an observer who takes no actual part in what he sees.

They criticise the gross materialism of the first Ghulāt (and of the Nuṣairīs) who believe that souls are fallen stellar bodies, fallen from the higher heaven (of which the sun or the moon is the threshold) and destined to return there by that same predestined attraction which caused them to adore the divine apparitions imperfectly seen in the course of the cycles of bodily transmigration (*tanāsukh*). For the Ḳarmaṭians there is no corporeal transmigration even for the damned (they have only been phantoms) in the bodies of animals and we cannot even speak of true spiritual "transmigration" for the elect, since the immortality of the intelligence is only impersonal whether it assumes modes as "sparks" or not.

Contrary to the Nuṣairīs, who refuse initiation (and immortality) to women, the Ḳarmaṭians admit them (*risālat al-nisā'* in the Druze canon).

The Ḳarmaṭians profess an integral nominalism; the letters of the alphabet are only intellectual symbols; the name is the mask of the thing, not its manifestation (Nuṣairī view); each symbol ought to be *destroyed* to permit access (*taḥṣīl*) to the pure Idea. The obligatory duties of religion etc. are only supererogatory counsels leaving free play to all human faculties (*ibāḥa*).

V. Its connections with Hellenistic philosophy.

Ḳarmaṭianism preserved from its place of origin an old stock of primitive Islāmic terms, Ḳur'ānic and others, in which it retained the archaic special meanings they had before the third century A. H. (e.g. *amr*, *ẓill*, *'arḍ*, *kun*, *sam'*, *shāhid*, *balāgh*, *ghāya*, *yaḳīn*, *inshā'*, *iḳlīd*, *rifḳ*, *taṣlīm*). From the same period it retained an ignorance of certain problems, which were only put forward later, among the Imāmīs after Ibn al-Ḥakam, among the Sunnīs after Naẓẓām, such as the perception of sensation, the conceptual process, the modality of a harmony between the movements of the limbs and the intentions of the heart which accompany them. The Ḳarmaṭians on these three points profess a kind of fatalism, a blind occasionalism, something like that of Djahm.

They, however, like the Mu'tazila in another field, marked the very first awakening of Muslim philosophic reflection at its contact with Hellenistic science: by the systematic employment of the word *'aḳl*, intelligence, to designate the principle of individuation which constitutes man. This brought them not only to the abstract allegorical exegesis analysed above, in which dialectic gives place to logic, but also to the direct acceptance of scientific bases, of natural constants — viz. consideration of arithmetical properties (numbers 3, 5, 7, 9, etc.) permitting the calculation of the astronomical calendar (new-moon festivals: against the Sunnīs) —, of the four elements and the "humours" (*ṭabā'i'*), specific remedies (*'aḳāḳīr*), the foundation of medicine.

Without going further or assimilating the whole corpus of Hellenistic philosophy, as the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* attempted to do, Ḳarmaṭianism prepared many minds to understand it; it presented to them as divine prophets the ancient philosophers of Greece: Pythagoras, Empedocles and Plato, the masters of hermetism (Agathodaemon, etc.), stimulating in consequence its adepts to read works coming from these foreigners as freely as the Ḳur'ān.

The same licence was to a less degree allowed for certain Persian sources (books of Djāmāsp; the "amshaspands", being regarded as prophets) and much later for Hindu sources also.

VI. The rôle of Ḳarmaṭianism in the evolution of the Islām.

The influence of Ḳarmaṭian authors, especially of the encyclopaedia of the "Faithful Friends" (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*), on diverse Muslim thinkers belonging to the Sunna or to orthodox Imāmism has been considerable.

In philosophy, it inspired the political theory of idealistic imāmism (*istī'dād lil-nubuwwa*) of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā (Rāzī had polemics on this subject with Kaiyāl), the emanation theory of the ten *'uḳūl* (Ibn Sīnā). The famous parable of the self-taught (Ḥaiy b. Yaḳẓān) would also be of Ḳarmaṭian origin (cf. the art. SHUṬṬĀR).

There were in the same way various infiltrations into dogmatic theology: abstract allegorical exegesis of the Ḳur'ān, *tanāsukh* of Ibn Ḥā'iṭ and Ibn Yanūsh, and the *nūr Muḥammadī*.

In mysticism, it is still clearer from Sahl al-Tustarī [q.v.] to Suhrawardī of Aleppo (*nūr ḳāhir*). The mystics who attack Ḳarmaṭianism use its vocabulary (al-Ḥallādj, al-Tawḥīdī, al-Ghazālī [q.v.]). Ibn Taimīya rightly pointed out the adoption of Ḳarmaṭian theses in works of the Andalusian school of Sunnī mystics, Ibn Barradjān, Ibn Ḳasyī, down to their pupil, the great mystic Ibn al-'Arabī [q.v.]. When he defined the five periods of creative evolution and of gnostic involution (same number in al-Farghānī; three times in 'Abd al-Karīm Djīlī) and when he identified the spirit (*rūḥ*) with in-

telligence (*ʿaḳl*) in his monist descriptions of the fundamental unity of being (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*) in reference to the Ḳorʾānic themes of the covenant (*mīthāḳ*) and the Nocturnal Ascension (*ḳāb ḳawsain*), — Ibn al-ʿArabī only took up Ḳarmaṭian exegesis again in a more moderate form.

The remarkable organization of trades and Muslim gilds goes back to the Ḳarmaṭians (cf. the art. SINF).

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(L. MASSIGNON)

KARMISĪN. [See KIRMĀNSHĀH].

KARNAK. [See AL-UḲṢUR].

KARNĀL. (1). A town of 23,559 inhabitants (1901); situated a few miles W. of the Djamnā R. in 29° 41′ N. 76° 59′ E. The town is the administrative centre of a district of the Pandjāb, but historically and ethnologically it belongs to Hindustān rather than the Pandjāb. The language commonly used by the inhabitants is a dialect of Western Hindī. It is no doubt a place of great antiquity, and the name is traditionally derived from Karna of the *Mahābhārata* (Karnālaya = Abode of Karna). But it was not of great importance in early times, and is not mentioned in the accounts of the invasions of India by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī and Muʿizz al-Dīn. Its prosperity seems to have commenced with the construction of the canal from the Djamnā by Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaḳ (see Shams-i-Sirādj, *Tārīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī*, Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, iii. 300). The country became productive and rich, and being on the direct road to Dihlī from the north became an object of attention to invaders and rebels. Thus in 980 (1573), while Akbar was engaged in Gudjarāt, Karnāl, Pānīpat, and Sōnpat were plundered by Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā. Djahāngīr halted at Karnāl in 1013 during his pursuit of his rebellious son, Khusraw (Elliot and Dowson, *o. c.*, VI, 296, also Beveridge's trans., *Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, Vol. I.). In 1120 (1708) during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, Karnāl was attacked and plundered by the Sikh rebels (Elliot and Dowson, *o. c.*, vii. 419). But the most noteworthy event in its history was the great victory of Nādir Shāh over Muḥammad Shāh 1152 (1739) which was fought just outside the walls of the town. The imperial army was before the battle encamped on the banks of the canal, where it was re-enforced by the 30,000 cavalry of Burhān al-Mulk, Nāẓim of Awadh (Oudh). But Nādir Shāh's army was under better discipline and provided with abundant artillery, and the defeat of Muḥammad Shāh's forces was sudden and complete. After the break-up of the Mughal empire following on this invasion (and those of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and the Mahrāttas), Karnāl and the surrounding district again became a prey to the Sikhs. Gadjpat Singh of Djīnd took possession of it in 1763 after the battle of Sirhind but Nadjaf Khān recovered it in 1775. After this the Sikhs and Mahrattas contended for its possession with varying results. The intrepid adventurer, George Thomas, drove out the Sikhs in 1798, but only held it for a short time. Gurdit Singh, the Sikh chief of Lādwa, then held it for a space until driven out by a British force under Skinner in 1805, after Lake's defeat of the Mahrāttas at Dihlī.

After these events Karnāl became the headquarters of a British district and was for several years the most advanced military post towards the north-west. Partly on account of its unhealthiness and partly owing to the advance of the British frontier to the Satladj it was given up as a military post in 1841, but remained the centre of a civil district. When the mutiny of 1857 broke out, Karnāl was held by the British with the assistance of the Sikh Rādjā of Djīnd and the Musulmān Nawwāb of Karnāl, and remained an important link in the chain of communications between the Pandjāb and Dihlī. Its later history is uneventful. The canal originally constructed by Fīrōz Shāh and afterwards extended by ʿAlī Mardān (whose name it bore) in the reign of Shāh Djahān I, was entirely remodelled by British engineers and now irrigates a very extensive tract. The only building of importance is the tomb of the Saint Bū ʿAlī Ḳalandar, locally said to have been built by Ghiyāth al-Dīn (probably Tughlaḳ), but the architecture shows it to be a much more modern building. Bū ʿAlī Ḳalandar died in 725 (1323) and Ghiyāth al-Dīn died the following year, so the tradition as to the original foundation of the tomb is probably correct. Both Pānīpat and Karnāl claim to have this saint's tomb.

2. A district in the province of the Pandjāb lying between 29° 11′ and 30° 15′ N. and 76° 11′ and 77° 17′ E. Area 3153 sq. m. Population (1901) 883,225 of which 241,412 are Muslims. Its eastern boundary is the R. Djamnā, the District of Dihlī lies to the S., that of Ambāla to the N., and the territory of Paṭiāla and other Sikh States to the W. In addition to the Djamnā, the small rivers called Čitāng and Saraswatī flowing from N. E. to S. W. traverse part of the district. The first named is absorbed in the Western Djamnā canal system. The Saraswatī joins the Ghaghar and the joint stream is lost in the Rādjpūtāna desert although, when the Saraswatī held a greater supply of water, it was a famous river, and the stream probably joined the old course of the Satladj, otherwise called the Hākra. It gave its name to the town of Sarsuti or Sirsa. The territory in the N. of the Karnāl district was the Kurukshētra of the *Mahābhārata* still locally called Kulkhētar. Sthāneśwara (now Thānēsar) was the principal town. Towards the end of the 6th cent. it became the centre of a powerful kingdom to which Harshavardhana succeeded in 606 A. D. He spread his rule over Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Satladj and Gudjarāt and was an enthusiastic supporter of Buddhism. He was visited by Yuan Čwang at his camp at Kanawdj in 635

A. D. who also visited the capital Sthānēśwara before his reception by Harsha. After Harsha's death his empire rapidly broke up and Thānēsar lost its importance. It was sacked by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, and traversed by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām whose defeat and subsequent victory over Prithwī-Rādj took place at Tirāorī, a small town farther to the south near Karnāl in 588 (1192). This place is called Tarāīn and Talāwarī by the chroniclers, but Tirāorī is the actual name in use at the present day. At this place there is a fine serāī of the Mughal period converted into a fort by the Sikhs in the 18th cent. A few miles from Karnāl is also the small town of Kundjpura founded by Nidjābat Khān, an Afghān claiming Ghorghushti descent, in the time of Muḥammad Shāh. It was a fort in a marsh, and was called by its founder Kundj-pura, or the Crane's town; hence the family takes its present name of Kundjpuria. Nidjābat Khān afterwards took the side of Nādir Shāh but fought against Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. All the sovereign powers of the Nawwābs were taken from them in 1849. Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān upheld the authority of the British Government during the mutiny of 1857. The family, though reduced through family feuds, still holds a good position. The Mandal family of Karnāl also has the title of Nawwāb. It claims Afghān origin, but is probably in reality Djaṭ [q. v.]. The Nawwāb Aḥmad 'Alī Khān did good service to the British Government in 1857, and received substantial *djāgīrs*. The family still continues prosperous.

In the South part of the district the principal place is Pānīpat [q. v.].

The Muslim families of Pānīpat are of a good stamp. Among them is a branch of the Sayyids of Bārha. The Nawwāb of Pānīpat is the head of the local Anṣārīs descended from Khwādja 'Abd Allāh of Herāt, whose son settled at Pānīpat in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh 639 (1241). Nawwāb Bakr Allāh Khān in the early part of the 19th cent, and his son N. Amān-Allāh Khān, both did good service to the British Government, and the present Nawwāb holds large estates.

The other principal Muslims of the district of Karnāl are Rādjpūts of the Čawhān, Mandhār, Ghōrēwāha and Juriwar clans. Some of these clans have sections which still retain the Hindū religion. The conversion to Islām is generally asserted to have taken place in the reign of Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaḳ.

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KARNĀTAK. [See CARNATIC].

KARRĀMĪYA, sect, called after Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (or Karām or Kirām; see *Mīzān al-I'tidāl*, iii. 127, and for further ancestors Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vii. 149). Of this person, who is called al-Sidjistānī, a fairly full biography is given by al-Sam'ānī in the *Ansāb*, 476b, 477a. According to this, he was of the Banū Nizār, was born in a village of Zarandj, was brought up in Sidjistān, and afterwards went to Khorāsān, where he attended the courses of Aḥmad b. Ḥarb, the Ascetic (d. 234); at Balkh he heard Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Mākiyānī (d. 257), in Merw 'Alī b. Ḥadjar (d. 244), and in Herāt 'Abdallāh b. Mālik b. Sulaimān, and he recited many traditions on the authority of Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh Djawybārī (d. 247) and Muḥammad b. Tamīm Faryānānī: "had he known these two, he would have left them alone", both being notorious fabricators. After spending five years in Mekka he returned to Sidjistān, where he sold all his possessions. He proceeded to Nīsābūr, where he was imprisoned by the governor Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh (according to the *Tādj al-'Arūs* on two occasions); after his release in 251 he left Nīsābūr and proceeded to Jerusalem, where he ended his days in 255. The sanctuary of his followers there, called Khānḳāh, is mentioned by Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir (*Livre de la Création*, ed. Huart, v. 149) a hundred years later, as also by al-Muḳaddasī.

2. Doctrines. The opinions of this person were set forth in a work called *'Adhāb al-Kabr* "The Torment of the Tomb", of which some citations are given in the *Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ*, pp. 202—214, where there is the fullest account of the sect, with some of whose members the author held debates. His chief theological doctrine, which caused the inclusion of his sect among the Mushabbiha, was that the Divine Being is a Substance (*Djawhar*), for which some of his followers substituted Body (*Djism*), though without human members, and in contact (*mumāssa*, for which the euphemism *mulāḳāt* was substituted) with the Throne, which is located in space. This was apparently a deduction from the Ḳur'ānic *'ala 'l-'arshi 'stawā*, and, indeed, the rest of his theology would seem to have been an endeavour to work the Ḳur'ānic texts into certain parts of the Aristotelian philosophy, notably the distinction between Substance and Accident, and that between *dynamis* and *energeia*. Thus his followers could maintain that God was "speaking" before He spoke, and could be worshipped before there were any worshippers. The doctrine of the eternity of the world was reconciled with the Ḳur'ānic creation by some subtle expedients; God, he held, was subject to certain Accidents, such as willing, perceiving, speaking, coming in contact; over such accidents He has power, but not over the world and the objects therein, which were created not by His will, but by the word *kun*. Thus, it would seem, the tense in *kun fayakūnu* could have its proper meaning.

Another doctrine to which allusion is often made in *kalām* works is that faith (*īmān*) is constituted by a single utterance of the two *shahāda*'s, and involves neither conviction nor works. This view, though similar to the chief thesis of the Murdji'a, is said to have been held by no one before him (Ibn Taimiya, *Kitāb al-Īmān*, Cairo 1325, p. 57, who refutes it at length). The rest of his opinions, as recorded in the *Farḳ*, seem to have been in the direction of moderation. Thus the infallibility of Prophets was confined within certain limits, and a reason was found (somewhat in the style of Ibn Ṭufail) why those

whom no prophetic message had reached ought to believe in prophetic missions; he held that there might be two *Imām*'s simultaneously, and that each would have a right to his followers' allegiance, even when the two were at variance. His innovations in the *furūʿ* were such as to render the law more flexible.

3. **History of the Sect.** It would seem that the Karrāmī doctrine spread chiefly in Khorāsān, and in 370 the author of the *Farḳ* debated with a member of the sect in the presence of the Sāmānid commander Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr. It was favoured by Sabuktakīn of Ghazna out of respect for the asceticism of Abū Bakr Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmashādh (d. 383), the chief of the Karrāmīs in his time, who is said to have converted some 5,000 *dhimmī*s. This person's son Muḥammad encouraged Maḥmūd b. Sabuktakīn in a violent persecution of the Bāṭinīs; of this there seems to be an echo in the Life of the Ṣūfī Abū Saʿīd (357—440; ed. Jhukovski, 1899, i. 84—91), where Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmashādh makes common cause with the ḳāḍī Ṣāʿid (a Ḥanafite) against the saint; the numbers of the Karrāmīs in Nīsābūr at the time are given as 20,000. In 403, however, this ḳāḍī, who had made the pilgrimage, and been favoured by the Caliph Ḳādir, complained of the Karrāmī heresy before Maḥmūd at Ghazna; Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ thereupon repudiated the doctrine, while those who openly adhered to it were penalized. Many, however, continued to hold it at Nīsābūr; Ibn al-Athīr in 488 records a civil war in that city between the Karrāmīs and the joint forces of the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs, the leaders of the first and second of these being descendants of the leaders in Maḥmūd's time. Yāḳūt (s. v. Bādjistān) mentions a Karrāmī preacher who acquired popularity at Nīsābūr in the middle of the sixth century; and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī (d. 561; *Ghunya*, Cairo 1288, i. 81) speaks of them as still numerous in Khorāsān. Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 606; *Asās al-Taḳdīs*, Cairo 1328, pp. 96—98) apparently thinks of them as still existing. It is probable, however, that the sect was practically exterminated when the lieutenants of Čingiz Khān massacred the inhabitants of Khorāsān, and when writers of a later time allude to its doctrines (e.g. Ibn Taimiya and the author of the *Mawāḳif*) they probably derive their knowledge from earlier works.

4. **Literature of the Sect.** In the *Farḳ* it is stated that the sect was subdivided into three minor sects, which, however, were mutually tolerant; these were called Haḳḳāḳiya (?), Ṭarāʾiḳiya (?) and Isḥāḳiya. Shahrastānī mentions twelve minor sects, of which he enumerates six: Isḥāḳiya (as above), ʿĀbidiya, Nūniya, Zarībiya, Wāḥidiya, and Haiṣamiya. Of these the first was doubtless named after that Isḥāḳ who was mentioned above; whereas the last was named after one Muḥammad b. al-Haiṣam, who is called their *Mutakallim* in the *Milal*. The works wherein the founders of these minor sects put forth their views seem to have obtained little notoriety; the author of the *Bayān al-Adyān* (485; Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, i. 152 text), though living at Ghazna, just knows the name of the main sect; and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (*loc. cit.*) in giving the names of Karrāmī authorities is in error in each case. The work of the founder ʿ*Adhāb al-Ḳabr* seems to be known only from the citations in the *Farḳ*.

Bibliography: besides the works quoted above see also the *Taʾrīkh Yamīnī*, Delhi 1847, p. 429 *sqq.*; Cairo 1286, ii. 315 *sqq.*; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 357; van Vloten in *Actes du XII Congrès Int. d. Orientalistes*, Paris 1899, 3rd sect., p. 114; Horten, *Die philos. Systeme*, p. 340 *sqq.*; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 306.

(D. S. Margoliouth)

KARS, a town in Armenia, called Ḳars in Ibn al-Athīr, Ḳarṣ in Yāḳūt and Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī, Ḳārṣ in Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī and later. According to a doubtful etymology, the name comes from the Georgian *kari* "gate"; *karis-kalaki* is said to mean "town at the gate" (from its situation on the frontier between Armenia and Georgia). The town (τὸ Κάρς) is first mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetes (*De administr. imperio*, ch. 44) as the capital of the chief of the Armenian princes (ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων). From 961 Mushegh, a brother of the king of Ānī, Ashot III (cf. above, i. 353ᵃ), ruled in Kars, and his successors. A manuscript of the Gospels found in Jerusalem with miniatures of importance for the history of culture dates from the last of these princes, Gagik (1028—1064). The king, queen and their daughter are represented seated in Oriental fashion and wearing Oriental costume; Kars, although it did not then belong to the Caliph's empire, was apparently under the influence of its culture. Gagik continued to hold his principality even after Ānī had been incorporated in the Byzantine empire (1044). It was only when danger threatened from the Turks that he was induced to renounce his rights voluntarily in favour of the Emperor Constantine X Ducas (1059—1067) and received in return a town in the Cilician Taurus. But even the Byzantines could not avert the danger, for in the very same year Ānī and Kars were both conquered by the Turks. Kars remained a Muḥammadan town till 603 (1206—1207), when it was taken by the Georgians (Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xii. 169). It was besieged in vain by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (cf. above, i. 1004) in 623 (1226) and taken by the Mongols in 1239 and, according to Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 93), it belonged at a later period with Ānī to the province of Georgia (Gurdjistān wa-Abkhaz) in the kingdom of the Īlkhāns (cf. above, ii. 465 *sq.*) and later again apparently to the kingdom of the Djalāïr (cf. above, i. 1003ᵃ). Unlike Ānī, Kars was never a Muslim mint. In 1386 Kars was captured by Tīmūr; it is said to have been levelled to the ground (*Ẓafar-Nāma*, i. 400). The town was then in the possession of a prince named Ḳrāʾ-Bakht, who does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere. It was not till the year 1579 (according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 407, however, 988 = 1580) that Sulṭān Murād III (1574—1595) had Kars rebuilt as an Ottoman fortress by Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha; during the operations a marble slab is said to have been found with an inscription recording an earlier erection of the time of Sulṭān ʿIzz al-Dīn (probably Ḳilidj Arslān II, 1156—1188). Kars was raised to be the capital of an eyālet of six sandjaḳs under Ottoman rule and also became a place of pilgrimage; the tomb of the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kharaḳānī (d. at the beginning of 425 = Nov., 1033) was shown there (cf. Samʿānī, ed. Margoliouth, fol. 194ᵇ), but he can never have been in Kars. The tomb is said to have been revealed by the saint himself in a dream — a story often told of other places. The

first Friday mosque was built by Lālā Pasha over the tomb of the saint.

Kars was conquered by Shāh ʿAbbās in 1604 and in 1616 rebuilt by the Turks, attacked in vain in 1628 and 1744 by the Persians and captured for the first time by the Russians on June 23 (July 5), 1828. On Nov. 16 (28), 1855, Kars had to surrender to the Russians after a long defence under General Williams (later Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars). In the war of 1877—1878 Kars was stormed in the night of 6/18 Nov., 1877, and ceded to Russia by the peace of 1878; in 1918 it was returned to the Turks by the treaty of Brest-Litowsk; this cession remained in force even after the treaty of Brest-Litowsk became void.

The number of inhabitants of Kars about 1860 was 12,300 (*Ritter's Geogr.-statistisches Lexikon* s. v.), in 1878 only 8,672 (according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Under Russian rule the number seems to have fallen considerably at first and then to have risen again rapidly (1889 only 3,041, in 1897 20,805, in 1908 18,397, mostly Armenians). The old Armenian church which had become a mosque (probably the Ḳîzîl Kilīsa monastery mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi; as a mosque called Ḥasan Katghudā Djāmiʿi) now became a Greek Orthodox church. There were, in addition, two Armenian churches and three mosques (two Sunnī and one Shīʿī). No accurate information is available in Russia regarding conditions since the restoration of Turkish rule; this fact is said to have been fatal for the Armenian population.

Bibliography: E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888; J. Saint Martin, *Mémoire historique et géographique sur l'Arménie*, Paris 1818—1819. On the miniature painting see *Khristianskiy Vostok*, i. 38; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 20, 22 and 77; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 181; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* ², Pesth 1834, i., Index; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat Nāma*, ii. (1314), p. 329—333.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KARSHĪ, an Uighur word for "castle, palace", probably borrowed from a native language of Eastern Turkestān and later adopted by the Mongols. The town of Nakhshab or Nasaf [q. v.] has taken its modern name of Karshi from a palace built for the Khān Kabak (1318—1326; see the art. ČAGHATĀI KHĀN), 2 farsakh from the town, all trace of which has long since disappeared. Cf. Sharaf ad-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar Nāma*, ed. Muḥ. Ilāhdād, Calcutta 1887—1888, i. 111; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 470 *sq*.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KARSHŪNĪ is the name, the origin of which has not yet been explained, for the Syriac alphabet adapted to suit the Arabic language. Yūsuf Daryān, Archbishop of Tarsus, wrote recently on the name in the *Mashriḳ*, 1904, vii. 785—790, but his suggested derivation of the name from an unknown Syriac *karkūnā*, diminutive of *karkā*, which would describe the alphabet as the "small", "round", is quite improbable. Just as the Jews used their alphabet to reproduce the language of the countries that afforded them hospitality, not only for the sake of secrecy but also as a sign of nationality, so also the Syrians must have written the language of their conquerors in their own alphabet soon after they had adopted Arabic for everyday use. The letters lacking in the Syriac alphabet were supplied by pointing those already in existence, but in doing this more attention was paid to the sound than the shape of the Arabic letters. *Khā* and *ghain*, for example, are usually reproduced by Syriac *kāf* and *gāmal* with *rukkākhā*, *djīm* by the Jacobites usually by a point inserted in the letter, by the Nestorians by a hook below it. *Ẓā* and *ḍād* are written by the Nestorians after the Arabic fashion with points over *ṭēth* and *ṣādhē*, but among the Jacobites often by a point in the *ṭēth*, because they had come to be identical in pronunciation. The feminine ending is usually represented by *hē* with two points above it in the Arabic fashion. Vowels are placed, sometimes in the Syriac, and sometimes in the Arabic way, but *ū* and *ī* are almost always represented by *ḍamma* and *kasra*. Whether there were different rules in different periods and localities can only be ascertained after an accurate examination of manuscripts but nothing of the kind has so far been attempted.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

KART, the name of a dynasty which ruled Herāt from 1245 to 1389 A. D. It was founded by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad I, Kart, who was descended from the Shansabānī house of Ghūr, the family to which the brothers Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad and Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām belonged. As Herāt recovered from the devastating raids of the armies of Čingiz Khān, Shams al-Dīn gradually gained power, and by 1245 had established himself as ruler of the state, and used the title of Malik, borne by his descendants. In 1251 Mangū, the Great Khān, when reorganising the administration of his empire, confirmed Shams al-Dīn Kart as governor of Herāt, Sīstān, Balkh and the country lying between those provinces and the Indian frontier. During the latter part of Shams al-Dīn's reign his son Rukn al-Dīn acted as his coadjutor, but predeceased him, dying in 1283, and when Shams al-Dīn himself died, in 1285, he was succeeded by Rukn al-Dīn's son, Fakhr al-Dīn. As the power of the Mongol Īl-Khāns of Persia declined, that of the Kart Maliks of Herāt increased, and Fakhr al-Dīn befriended the powerful Amīr Čūbān, who had been regent of Persia during the minority of Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khān, the fourteenth Īl-Khān. When Abū Saʿīd Bahādur, apprehensive of the growing power of this family, attacked it, Amīr Čūbān sought an asylum with Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who received him but in 1327 treacherously put both him and his son Djalaw Khān to death. Ghiyāth al-Dīn himself died in 1328 and his two elder sons, Shams al-Dīn II and Ḥāfiẓ, who succeeded him in turn, died in 1329 and 1331. The historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī attributes their deaths, following one another at such short intervals, to the divine displeasure incurred by Ghiyāth al-Dīn's treachery towards Amīr Čūbān.

Ḥāfiẓ was succeeded by a third brother, Muʿizz al-Dīn, who sent an army to the assistance of Malik Ḳuṭb al-Dīn of Kirmān, driven from his capital by the Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn. This army was defeated and a second army sent to the aid of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was shut up in Kirmān and compelled, at the end of 1340, to capitulate. Muʿizz al-Dīn, who died in 1370, left two sons, Muḥammad, who held the government of Sarakhs, which he retained after his father's death, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī, who succeeded him in Herāt. In 1380 the Amīr Tīmūr sent an envoy to Herāt, to claim the

allegiance of its ruler and his presence, with a contingent, at the forthcoming muster of his army, but Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī detained him on various pretexts while he provisioned the city and completed its defences. The envoy was obliged to return to Samarḳand and report the failure of his mission, and in the spring of 1381 Tīmūr marched to Herāt and captured the city, its ruler and his eldest son, Pīr Muḥammad, after a few days' siege. Some of its leading citizens were deported to Shahr-i Sabz and its defences were dismantled, but the Malik and his two sons, the younger of whom had been induced to surrender the strong fort of Ishkalča, were pardoned, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī was permitted to retain Herāt as a vassal of Tīmūr until 1389, when the dynasty was extinguished.

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KARṬĀS. (See ḲIRṬĀS).

KĀRŪN, the largest river in Southern Persia. It rises in the north-eastern part of the district of ʿArabistān (earlier called Khūzistān), a little above 32° N. Lat. on the Zardeh-Kūh (Kūh-i Zard, mentioned as early as the xivth century by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī; see the *Bibliography*), which belongs to the Bakhtiyārī mountain system, to be more accurate on one of the range named Kūh-i Rang, one of the highest mountains in S. W. Persia (estimated at 13,000 feet). The actual source of the river, according to Sawyer (*Bibl.*; *op. cit.*, p. 486, with a picture), is about 10 miles above the place called Ser-i Česhme-i Kurang "main source of the Kurang (Kārūn)". The Zāʾindeh or Zendeh-Rūd, also called Iṣfahān-Rūd, likewise rises on the Zardeh-Kūh and flows eastwards towards Iṣfahān (on it see Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 22; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 207; cf. also ii. 529ᵃ and the article ZENDE-RŪD). As the source of the Kārūn is only about 100 miles from Iṣfahān, Shāh ʿAbbās I, the Great, thought of leading the Kārūn into the Zendeh-Rūd by a tunnel through the mountains. The work although almost finished at his death, was not continued by his successors, however; the remains of it may still be seen at the present day; cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 50 *sq.*

The valley of the Kārūn is not yet sufficiently known, particularly in its upper course; among those who have explored it are Kinneir, Rawlinson, Selby, Ainsworth, Layard, Chesney, Loftus, Houtum-Schindler, Mackenzie, Lynch, Bateman Champain, Wells, Sawyer and Graadt van Roggen. We may call the upper part its course down to its exit from the mountains at Shuster, the middle course from Shuster to Ahwāz or Nāṣiriye, where it breaks through the spurs of the Djabal Ḥamrīn; its lower course runs through the alluvial plain formed by the Kārūn system. As a result of the great windings, which the river takes in its course, it covers about 500 miles from its source to its mouth in the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, while a straight line between the two points is only about 150 miles. In its upper course the Kārūn makes two great loops in about 32° N. Lat. Shuster which is a little above this line and only a little south of the source of the river is in a straight line only a third of the distance the river has covered from the source. The course of the Kārūn is at first a south-easterly one; it then runs from east to west, while the next section runs north-west to Shum where the second smaller loop is formed towards the south-west and then the river runs north-west again. This direction is maintained till Chamani Yorga (20 miles as the crow flies N. E. of Shuster) is reached. From there to its the mouth the Kārūn runs S. W., although at times it describes very wide curves.

At Shuster, a little above the town, the Kārūn divides into two navigable arms which unite again about thirty miles away at the village of Band-i Ḳīr (near the mediaeval ʿAskar Mukram; see above, i. 488ᵇ) and thus form an island. The western arm is the main stream, the Kārūn proper, it is now called Āb-i Shuṭaiṭ (popular for Shuṭaiṭ = little river; cf. i. 970ᵃ for the same name for a bed of the Tigris) and further down also Āb-i Buzurg Shuster (= great water of Shuster). The east arm is artificial in origin and is now called Āb-i Gerger; the Arab geographers of the middle ages know it by the name of Masruḳān (Mashruḳān, Masruḳān) which is explained as a corruption of the Persian Ardashīr-Kān (= Ardashīr's trench). The form Ardakhshīrgān is noteworthy: it occurs in a Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi in the *Actes du 8ᵉ Congrès des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1891, p. 32, and cf. thereon Nöldeke in the *Sitz.-Ber. Ak. Wien*, 1893, cxxviii., Abh. ix. 42). The first Sāsānian king is said to have been the maker of this water-course. The Persian geographers of the xvith century call the western water-arm, which carries the bulk of the water, Čahār Dānikah (= 4/6), the eastern Dū Dānikah (= 2/6); cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 236. These names are still known locally, according to Layard (*op. cit.*, p. 27). It may further be noted that in the 4ᵗʰ century, according to Arabic sources, the Masruḳān canal did not enter the main stream, the Kārūn proper, at ʿAskar Mukram, but ran parallel to it and reached the Persian Gulf by a course of its own.

The Kārūn delta begins a little above the village of Sābla. Three channels break off from the main arm, which continues its course till its junction with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab at Muḥammara; these all run S.-E. to the Persian Gulf and finally end their course in estuaries (*Khawr*, *khōr*) which are at times swamps. Their names are:

1. The Shaṭṭ (or Rūd) al-Ḳadīmī (= the old stream) which leaves the Kārūn about an hour's journey above Sābla and broadens out into the Khōr Mūsā (also called Khōr Mūī Allāh; *mōī* in ʿIrāḳ Arabic = water). In it we have probably the oldest course of the Kārūn.

2. The Shaṭṭ al-Amaya (as it is usually written on maps) or al-Aʿmā = the blind stream), probably so called because its bed is usually choked with mud. In Ritter (ix. 159, 166, following Rennouard) the name is wrongly explained as "wanderer" (the form *al-Amara* in Ritter, xi. 1028, 1030, is certainly wrong). The same name is also given to an arm of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥai, below Ḳūt al-ʿAmāra (see Ritter, x. 169; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, ii. 259, and the maps). Cf. also the analogous name Didjla al-ʿAwrāʾ for the present lower course of the Tigris; see above, i. 970ᵇ, as well as

Islām, xiv. 22 (a different explanation of ʿAwrā is proposed by Reinaud, *Journal asiatique*, 1861, xviii. 208). It is also called Shaṭṭ Kobān (Gobān) from the district of Kobān (Goban) which lies on its right bank; Portuguese writers of the xviith century reproduced the name as Rio de Galão (cf. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 75 *sq.*). This second arm begins at Sabla and finally expands into the Khōr Silidj (Selege in Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 292); it is perhaps the second oldest arm of the Kārūn.

3. The Shaṭṭ Bamishīr (Bahmishīr, Behemshīr) which leaves the Kārūn 6 miles below Sabla and expands into the Khōr Bamishīr before entering the sea. This third branch from the Kārūn is considerably wider and holds more water than the other two. According to the *Persian Gulf Pilot*, p. 284; see the *Bibl.*) it is 54 miles long (40 as the crow flies). This may now be regarded as the natural mouth of the Kārūn. Bamishīr is a corruption of Bahman-Ardashīr, the name of the first Sāsānian king, to whom is ascribed the making of a whole series of canals in southern ʿIrāḳ. The most southern district of this province, on the coast, was called Bahman-Ardashīr after him, as was a town opposite Ubulla (east of Baṣra) on the left bank of the Didjla al-ʿAwrā (Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab; cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 770, 10, where the arabicised form Bahmanshīr is also given). It appears as if in the middle ages Bahmanshīr was regarded as the Persian equivalent of Didjla al-ʿAwrā. Different scholars (like Rawlinson, Ainsworth, Le Strange) have made the further deduction that the Shaṭṭ Bamishīr is to be identified as the old mouth of the Euphrates or Tigris (before the formation of the modern Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab). But it is very easy to suppose that the name Bahmanshīr (Bamishīr) was at a later date transferred from the Didjla al-ʿAwrā (Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab) to its eastern neighbour, the third branch of the Kārūn. For Bahman-Ardashīr and Didjla al-ʿAwrā cf. especially Reinaud, *op. cit.*, p. 207 *sq.*; Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, ii. 173, 182; G. Le Strange in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 300 and *op. cit.*, p. 43.

The two western branches of the Kārūn, the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā and the Bamishīr, form two long islands with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab which runs parallel to them, the main Kārūn in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south. The eastern one, bordered by the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā (Kobān) and the Bamishīr is called Kobān (Goban, Gubban); the western between the Bamishīr and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab is now usually called Djazīra ʿAbbādān, a name it already had in the middle ages, from the town of ʿAbbādān (see above, i. 7a) which probably lay at the mouth of the delta originally. The latter island is also called *Djazīrat al-Khiḍr* after the prophet al-Khiḍr [q. v.] highly revered in Muslim popular belief especially in the ʿIrāḳ as a patron of water, who had or still has a sanctuary near ʿAbbādān (Chidder Abbadan in Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien* etc., ii., Copenhagen 1778, p. 206) which is mentioned as early as the xiiith and xivth centuries by al-Dimashḳī (*Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 97, 18) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii 19, 3). With ʿAbbādān the most important place in it in the middle ages seems to have been al-Muḥriza (Muḥrizā) and the island seems to be occasionally called after it; in Portuguese sources of the xviith century the island is therefore called "ylha Marzique", cf. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 76; for Muḥriza see Yāḳūt, i. 502, 19; 712, 13; iii. 598, 4; iv. 709, 5; al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 97, 8; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 280, 14. The Persians gave this island the name Miyān Rūdān (= between the rivers, *Mesopotamia*); see e. g. Yāḳūt, iv. 708, 19, and Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

It has already been pointed out that the Kārūn at an earlier period probably entered the sea through the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā — apart from the river-bed represented by the Shaṭṭ al-Ḳadīm, which is perhaps the oldest bed. According to the Arab geographers of the middle ages, the different branches and tributaries of the Dudjail (Kārūn) united at a place called Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī. Whether the Nahr Sidra (= Lotus-river) which also enters there must be considered the main arm of the Kārūn from Ahwāz onwards, is doubtful: cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 306. The reunited Kārūn called Nahr Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī (see Schwarz, *op. cit.*) then enters its estuary (Faiḍ Dudjail) which ends at Sulaimānān on the coast. On Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī and Sulaimānān cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 48, 243, and in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 302; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 306, 329—330, 400). Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī perhaps lay in the neighbourhood of the present Sabla; Sulaimānān is perhaps to be located somewhere in the region of the Khōr Silidj; the end of the course of the Kārūn in the middle ages would thus coincide practically with the modern Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā. In the middle ages there must have been several other separate smaller mouths of the Kārūn. In these topographical investigations it should not be forgotten that southern ʿIrāḳ and Khūzistān, the delta of the great rivers, has undergone far-reaching changes in its hydrographic structure in the course of thousands of years. In ancient times the Persian Gulf extended much farther into the mainland, so that the Kārūn, Kerkha, Euphrates and Tigris had all separate mouths; cf. above, i. 675 *sq.*, and Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, i. 1394, 2811. During the middle ages and in modern times the coastline had been steadily advancing southwards.

The bed of the Kārūn from Sabla to Muḥammara seems to be the work of human hands. In the tenth century the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (see above, i. 143) had a canal made, which was called ʿAḍudī after him, to secure direct communication between the Tigris and Kārūn (= Baṣra and Ahwāz). As in those days apparently the Kārūn flowed into the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā, the ʿAḍudī in its main lines probably corresponded with the present course of the Kārūn between Sabla and Muḥammara. It is very doubtful if the work of the Būyid Sulṭān was something quite new; it is more likely that he undertook the restoration of an older channel which had fallen into neglect and become silted up. A century earlier we have evidence from the Arab geographers of the existence of a canal called Nahr al-Djadīd (= New Canal) which led from Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī (near Sabla?) to the Tigris and may well have coincided with the ʿAḍudī. From a still earlier period we have the Bayān canal (see above, i. 970b); considering its course it may wholly or in part have coincided with the ʿAḍudī or Nahr al-Djadīd. Whether there was in ancient times — about the period of Alexander — an artificial channel connecting the Kārūn and Tigris following the same direction cannot be ascertained with certainty; on this question cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *op.*

cit., i. 1394. In modern times the name Ḥaffār (usually written Ḥafar in books of travel and in maps) has come into use for the stretch of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara, which suggests that here we have a work of human hands, not a natural bed dug out by the river itself. At the present day, however, this name is limited to the short stretch, only about an hour's journey long, from the beginning of the Shaṭṭ Bahmishīr (the mouth proper of the Kārūn at the present day) to Muḥammara. This lower Ḥaffār is (according to Stolze-Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 48) about 600 yards broad and 20—25 feet deep, while the Kārūn above Sābla before the beginning of the delta is a mile broad and 25—30 feet deep. It should also be noted that in the second half of the xviiith century Sulaimān, the powerful Shaikh of the tribe of Kaʿb (on him see below) destroyed the connection between the Kārūn and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab by placing a dam (*band*) across the Ḥaffār at Sābla and led the water into the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā. The district of Ḳobān was thereby soon raised to great prosperity. But at Karīm Khān's [q. v.] second invasion the dam in the Ḥaffār was destroyed (cf. Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 90). On the communication between the Kārūn and Tigris by the ʿAḍudī, Nahr al-Djadīd, Bayān and Ḥaffār canals see Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 293—294; Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 55—56; Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 76—77; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, i. 174, 184; *Persian Gulf Pilot*, p. 296; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 48, and in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 308—309; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 309, 314, 390.

While still in the mountains the Kārūn receives a number of abundant tributaries, for example above Shūsh the Āb-i Bāzuft on the right and the Āb-i Burz (Bors) on the left. A little above Chamani Yorgha the Taīak joins it. But the most important tributary is the river of Dizfūl [q. v., i. 983 *sq.*], the Dizfūl-Rūd or Āb-i Diz. This has no name of its own at the present day; it was the same in the middle ages as it figures in the Arabic sources simply as the "river of Djundai-Sābūr". On Djundai-Sābūr, which must have lain to the S. E. of Dizfūl, see i. 983 *sq.* and more recently Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 346 *sq.* The Dizfūl-Rūd, which, like the Kārūn, has a very winding course, rises out of the confluence of two little streams in the district of Burūdjird in Little Luristān (cf. von Bode, *op. cit.*, ii. 274). It joins the Kārūn at Band-i Ḳīr; in earlier times the confluence seems to have been a little further south (cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 239); it may have at one time flowed into the Kerkha [q. v.], as modern tradition still says (see Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 65). As to the Kerkha, which now loses itself in the marshes below Ḥawīza [q. v., ii. 294b], it must be assumed from the statements of the Arab authors and the ancient river-bed, which can still be traced, that the bulk of its waters joined the Kārūn a few hours' journey below the town of Ahwāz (on this see also Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 30). Another arm of the Kerkha but hardly the main stream (contrary to Rawlinson; cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, i. 1394) may have at one time entered the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab in the region of Kurna.

The Dizfūl-Rūd, the upper course of which still requires more thorough geographical exploration, has as its principal tributary the Bāla-Rūd which enters it about 7 miles S.W. of Dizfūl. Another important tributary of the Dizfūl-Rūd is the Shāwūr (Shāpūr, also written Shaour, Shovor), a narrow but deep water-course which rises a few miles above the ruins of Sūs [q.v.] and falls into the Dizfūl-Rūd about 15 miles (as the crow flies) west of Band-i Ḳīr. In the middle ages the Shāwūr, like the Kerkha, was called the "river of Sūs" because it flowed past this town — which, it may be noted, is at the point where the Kerkha, Dizfūl-Rūd and Kārūn are nearest one another. The Shāwūr and the Dizfūl-Rūd were at one time and in part still are connected with the Kerkha and the Kārūn by canals. On the Dizfūl-Rūd and Shāwūr cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 215, 11; 218, 13, 15; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 233, 239, and in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 312; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 303—305; Ritter, ix. 193 *sq.*; Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 56 *sq.*; v. Bode, *op. cit.*, ii. 193; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 329, 342, 346; J. Dieulafoy, *op. cit.* (see the *Bibliography*), passim; Sawyer, *op. cit.*, p. 490 *sq.*

The Kārūn is not only connected with the Tigris and Kerkha in the west but in the east it is linked up with the Djarrāḥī or Kurdistān-Rūd or Āb-i Kurdistān (the Ṭāb of the Arab geographers; see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 270; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 5 *sq.*; see also the article ARRADJĀN, above, i. 460). At Sābla a canal navigable by boats leaves the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā and runs to Dawraḳ (Dōraḳ)-Fellāḥiye (see the art. DAWRAḲ) on the Djarrāḥī.

The more important towns on the Kārūn in mediaeval as in modern times lay on its central course between Shuster and Ahwāz. At the two termini of this stretch stood the two capitals of the mediaeval province of Khūzistān, Ahwāz and Tustar (Shuster). Ahwāz, formerly the capital proper of this district, has a very important situation. This is at the gateway of the Kārūn where the river breaking through its last barrier, the Djabal Ḥamrīn range, enters the plain and henceforth offers no impediment to navigation to the sea. The later place of this name is built near the ruins of the old city; a mile south is the modern town of Nāṣiriye, which is growing rapidly (cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 77). Cf. on Ahwāz above, i. 208, and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 315 *sq.*, and Graadt van Roggen, *op. cit.*, p. 202 *sq.* (with plans); for Tustar see the article SHUSTER, and on the site (particularly the bifurcation which begins there) Graadt van Roggen, *op. cit.*, p. 174 *sq.*

Places worth mentioning between Shuster and Ahwāz are: the large village of Wais, where a dead arm of the Kārūn runs to the east, and Band-i Ḳīr (usually pronounced Ḳīl), a place of considerable importance owing to its situation at the junction of the two arms of the Kārūn and the mouth of the Dizfūl-Rūd. Band-i Ḳīr is the successor of the mediaeval ʿAskar Mukram, the ruins of which (called Lashkar; Lashkar is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic ʿAskar) lie 3 miles north of it. On ʿAskar Mukram see above i. 488b, and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 377 *sq.*

The lower course of the Kārūn from Ahwāz to Muḥammara has no places of great importance on its banks. Among them are Ismāʿīliya and Sābla, remarkable for its situation at the beginning of the bifurcations of the delta; it has the ruins of a castle which was at one time the favourite resort of Sulaimān, the influential Shaikh of the Kaʿb already mentioned (cf. Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 57). Muḥammara [q.v.] at the junction of the Kārūn and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab is, however, a place of unusual

importance. It is undoubtedly the best harbour in Persia, easily accessible at any time, and is destined to have a still greater future. The fact is noteworthy that all the places of any importance that we have mentioned on the central and lower Kārūn lie on its east bank.

In the mountainous upper course there are no longer any towns of importance. In late antiquity and in the middle ages the most prominent were Sūsan (also called ʿArūdj or ʿArūḥ and Djāталiḳ; see the art. SŪSAN) on the right bank and Īdhadj or Māl-Amīr [q. v.] opposite on the left bank. Both are famous for the very fine remains dating from the Elamites and Sāsānians. Along the upper course in parts runs a road protected by many forts, now mostly in ruins. The Kārūn in general is one of the most historically interesting rivers in Persia owing to the numerous ruins from ancient times which are everywhere found on its banks.

The dwellers on the Kārūn in its upper course and on its middle course to beyond Shuster are the Bakhtiyārīs [q. v., i. 603[a]], one of the three principal tribes of the Great Lurs. In the lower half of its central course and the whole of the lower stretch the powerful Arab tribe of Kaʿb (popularly pronounced Tshaʿb, Shaʿb, Shaʿab) are predominant; their Shaikh lives in Dawraḳ-Fellāḥiye. (On this tribe which has only become important in these regions since the xviiith century see Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 85—87, 91; Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1830, ii. 195 *sq.*; Selby, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 36 *sq.*; v. Bode, *op. cit.*, ii. 110—120; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 285 *sq.*; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, ii. 205—218; Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 159—160, xi. 1038, 1063—1064. From Ahwāz to Muḥammara we find also Bawī and Idrīs tribes who are subject to the Kaʿb (cf. Selby, *op. cit.*).

In the military history of the middle ages the Kārūn basin only occasionally occurs as the scene of fighting; cf. thereon Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 299—300. During the World War of 1914—1918 the possession of this territory became very important on account of its oil-fields; cf. thereon Schweer, *op. cit.*, p. 140—144, and the section relating to the ʿIrāḳ and southern Persian fronts in books on the war.

As early as the Sāsānians powerful dams (*shadhrawān's*) with the necessary sluices had been erected at various places to enable the water thus dammed back to be led by numerous small canals to fields on a higher level, especially on the central stretch of the Kārūn. During the whole of the middle ages this irrigation system was kept in excellent repair and transformed the land it watered into flourishing gardens. Since then, however, most of these works have fallen more and more into ruins as a result of neglect and great stretches of once fertile country have become desert again. The most celebrated was the gigantic dam at Shuster, which was regarded in the east as one of the wonders of the world. Its erection is ascribed to the Sāsānian king Sapor I (241—272 A.D.). It is very probable that the tradition is correct which says that Roman prisoners of war were forced to build it for him; the modern name, Band-i Ḳaiṣar = Caesar-dam, also points to its Roman origin. On this great system of dam and sluices here, which after considerable restoration is still partly in use to-day, see Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 186 *sq.*; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, p. 33; Justi in the *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii., Strassburg 1896 *sq.*, p. 518; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 235; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* etc., p. 296. At Wāʾis, a few hours' journey below Band-i Ḳīr, the ruins of a great dam may still be seen (cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76). In Ahwāz, at the rapids there, considerable remains of a triple ancient system of dams still exist. Band-i Ḳīr (= Bitumen-dam) has got its name from the ancient dam coated with bitumen. At the beginning of this century the Persian government thought of restoring the province of ʿArabistān to its former high degree of prosperity by restoring the old system of canals with dams and sluices. It was intended to begin with the island formed by the Āb-i Shuṭaiṭ-Kārūn and the Āb-i Gerger between Shuster and the Band-i Ḳīr and the Dutch engineer Graadt van Roggen was appointed to make a survey. He published the valuable results of his investigations in an important treatise illustrated with numerous plans and sketch-maps (*Notices sur les anciens travaux hydrauliques en Susiane* in the *Mém. de la Délégation en Perse*, vii., Paris 1905, p. 167—207); he also went fully into the old irrigation systems of Shuster and Ahwāz. Unfortunately political jealousies have prevented the execution of this most useful project of the Persian government.

The Kārūn is the only river of Persia that admits of navigation. Communication is maintained with the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the Shaṭṭ Bamishīr. There is evidence as early as the Umaiyad period that there was regular traffic up the river as far as Ahwāz (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 300). The Kārūn is navigable as far as Shuster. The only obstacle is the rapids caused by the gypsum rocks below Ahwāz (see the very full description by Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 136 *sq.*) which make unloading and reshipment necessary; in 1891 a little railway was put in use for this purpose. The Āb-i Gerger is also navigable; but in it also reshipment is necessary at Shilīlī (6 miles below Shuster). One can sail up the Dizful-Rūd as far as the vicinity of Dizfūl (cf. *Persian Gulf Pilot*, p. 298). The first to show that steamers could ascend the Kārūn as far as Shuster was Selby in 1842, accompanied by Layard, although in 1836 Major Estcourt, accompanied by Ainsworth, had previously reached Ahwāz in a steamer of smaller size. In 1888 the Kārūn was opened to international navigation. At the present day there ply on it boats of the firm of Lynch who have long had a concession, the Persian Nāṣirī company founded in 1889 and a Persian government steamer. If the bed of the river received a certain amount of regulation and the caravan roads from Shuster to Iṣfahān were improved, we should have an important route for traffic, which would shorten by about half the journey from the Persian Gulf to Iṣfahān, the centre of Persian commerce, which now mainly follows the difficult road from Bushīr via Shīrāz. Steamers of an average size can go as far as Ahwāz; from there to Shuster only small boats of shallow draught.

The shipping on the Kārūn has in the last few years become specially important for the transport of the petroleum obtained in Southern Persia. The Kārūn valley possesses a series of oil-wells, e.g. at Ahwāz. The oil-fields of Maidān-i Naftūn (east of Shuster) are particularly productive, perhaps the richest in all Persia. The exploitation and

development of the Persian oil-fields is now in the hands of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The yield of the oil-fields, where the most modern methods are now in use, has grown to such an extent that the transport of oil down the Kārūn in tank-ships is now no longer sufficient and two special pipes have had to be laid in addition. On the oil industry in the Kārūn valley the best authority is Schweer, *op. cit.*, p. 22 *sq.*, 110 *sq.*, 177 *sq.*

We conclude by dealing with the names of the Kārūn: in its upper course it is called Āb-i Kurang = "water of the Kurang". Kurang (cf. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 232) is said to be a corruption of Kūh-i Rang = "variegated hill", the name of the mountain already mentioned in which the river rises. Whether this explanation is correct, need not be discussed here. Kurang, or Karun, seems to have become Kārūn in the mouths of the Arabs. Among the Portuguese historians of the xvi[th] century we find the name as Rio Caron; cf. Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 83. They presumably only refer to the lower course of the river, which alone is called Kārūn at the present day. This name is quite unknown to the Arab and Persian writers of the middle ages. They give the river various names. It is usually called Dudjail (= little Tigris) by the Arabs, apparently because it was near the larger river. As the name Dudjail was also found elsewhere (for example a Tigris canal above Sāmarrā; cf. i. 970[a]; a water-course near Kūfa, see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 299, note 6) it was more accurately specified as Dudjail al-Ahwāz = the Dudjail of Ahwāz (Khūzistān or its capital; see the art. AHWĀZ, i. 208). According to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī in Yāḳūt (ii. 555, 21) Dudjail represents the translation of the Pahlavi *Didla Kūdak*. The Kārūn was also called "river of Khūzistān or of Ahwāz" (Āb-i Ahwāz is still usual for the stretch near the town of Ahwāz; see above, i. 208). It was also called "river of Tustar" (Shuster) after the second principal town of the mediaeval Khūzistān; in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 24, 2) we find the name Nahr al-Azraḳ = "the blue river", from the blue colour of its mountain water which was generally esteemed for its remarkable freshness. We have already discussed above local names for particular parts or arms of the river, for example in the information between Shuster and Band-i Ḳīr and in the delta. Brief reference may be made to the cuneiform names Ulai (also in O. T.), Idide, Ḫudḫud and to the names found in Greek and Roman literature: Aduna, Eulaeus, Hedyphon, Koprates, Pasitigris, which were used not only for the Kārūn itself, but also for its tributaries, like the Dizfūl-Rūd with the Shāwūr. For the cuneiform inscriptions cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, p. cccxxxix., 26, 787, 788, 813; for the classical references cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i. 435—436, 1393; v. 2459, vi. 1661—1663, vii. 2504, xi. 1563.

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(M. STRECK)

ĶĀRŪN occurs in Ḳurʾān xxviii. 76—82; xxix. 38; xl. 25. In the second and third passages he, with Hāmān, is an unbelieving minister of Firʿawn in oppressing the Israelites; he behaves proudly towards Mūsā and says that he is an enchanter and a liar. In Ḳur. xxviii. he is the Biblical Korah (Num. xvi.) and he behaves proudly towards the people of Mūsā but it is because of his immense wealth which he believes to have been given to him on account of his knowledge (*ʿalā ʿilm[in] ʿindī*). He makes a great public display

of his wealth and is swallowed up by the earth with his palace (*dār*). He is thus an example of those who prefer the fleeting wealth of this world to gaining by alms and humility and righteousness the abiding riches given by Allāh in the world to come. This is apparently a moralized echo of a story heard and remembered vaguely by Muḥammad. To this the commentators and the compilers of prophetic *ḳiṣaṣ* have added a long and involved legend derived in whole or in part from rabbinic literature. For this, on the rabbinic side, see the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vii. 556 *sqq.* and, on the Muslim side, the notes in Sale's translation of the Ḳur'ān and al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, Cairo 1314, p. 120 *sqq.* It is plain that Hāmān has become a minister of Pharaoh because he is bracketed with Korah in rabbinic literature for rapacious wealth. The legend of Ḳārūn has had two special developments. 1. From his wealth and knowledge (above and Ḳur. xxviii. 78) he has become one of the founders of alchemy. See the preliminary statement of the *Fihrist* on alchemy (p. 352, l. 1); and al-Masʿūdī alludes to this (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, viii. 177). 2. He is associated in Egypt with lakes. Thus what is left of Lake Moeris in the Faiyūm bears his name (Baedeker, *Ägypten*[6], p. 184; Joanne, *Égypte*, p. 611; Herodotus, ii. 149). Also, beside the Birket al-Fīl to the south of Cairo, near the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, there was formerly a Birket Ḳārūn which had evidently associations of supernatural legend. Al-Maḳrīzī describes it (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. 1325, iii. 261 *sq.*) and tells that Kāfūr who builds beside it was said to have been driven from his house by *djinn*. It figures also in the Story of Djūdar the Fisherman in Zotenberg's (cf. *Not. et Extr.*, xxviii., i. 167 *sqq.*) Egyptian Recension of "The 1001 Nights" (Nights 606—624) as a place where spirits take refuge from magicians. Von Hammer suggested in a note to his transl. of this story (*Der Tausend und Einen Nacht noch nicht übersetzte Märchen*, etc., trans. Zinserling, ii. 32; trans. Trébutien, i. 291) that Ḳārūn had here become combined with the Egyptian Charon.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xx. 62 *sqq.*; *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Cairo, i. 229 *sqq.*; Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Cairo 1308, vi. 421 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Taʾrīkh*, Cairo 1301, i. 87 *sq.*; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1902, p. 155.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

KĀRWĀN (older former *kār-bān*, "He who protects trade") the original of the word caravan, means in Persian a number of merchants who organise themselves into a body to defend themselves against robbers and brigands (Ar. *ḳāfila*). The beasts of burden are camels, horses and mules; the camels are usually arranged in files of seven animals (*ḳaṭār*); the camel-driver rides on an ass at the head of the procession. The caravan drivers are slow and do not hurry, but their work is hard and trying; a man has often ten or twelve camels to watch and guide; sometimes thirty or forty are managed by three men. The men have to unload their beasts on reaching a stage and feed and tend them: it is only when this has been done that they can think of themselves. In the middle ages the signal for departure was given by beating kettledrums (*kūs*).

In desert regions, the caravan camps under the tents that it carries with it; but sovereigns and generous benefactors have had built from stage to stage and at the resting-places, buildings called *kārwānsarāy* "caravan-houses". Their plan is always practically the same; — a square courtyard surrounded by walls with no windows looking outwards, upon which abut a series of rooms each with a door and window or sometimes little huts without a roof, intended to serve as a lodging for the night for the merchant and his goods. The beasts of burden remain hobbled in the courtyard. These caravanserais are as far as possible supplied with running water or at least a well. In Persia the bulk of these buildings still standing date from the Ṣafawid dynasty and are traditionally attributed to Shāh ʿAbbās the Great. There is nothing there but the four bare walls; the travellers carry everything that is necessary with them, beds, carpets, cooking utensils, etc. In the towns especially, however, there is to be found near the caravanserais a caterer who has always ready the dishes loved by Orientals.

The Shīʿīs consider it a work of piety to be interred near the mausoleum of ʿAlī at Nedjef (Meshhed ʿAlī) and of Ḥusain at Kerbela (Meshhed Ḥusain), both places situated in Ottoman territory. For this purpose corpse-caravans have been organised, which carry from the remotest corners of Persia dead bodies by thousands. The bodies placed in wooden coffins or rolled in mats or carpets are tied in twos, threes or fours to the back of a horse. At every stage the corpses are loaded and unloaded like packages. As the journey lasts several weeks, these caravans give out an unbearable stench and never camp at less than three or four miles from the villages they pass.

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(CL. HUART)

ĶARWĀSH b. AL-MUḲALLAD ABU 'L-MANĪʿ, MUʿTAMID AL-DAWLA, an ʿUḳailid. After the murder of al-Muḳallad in 391 (1000/1) he was succeeded as Amīr by his eldest son, Ḳarwāsh. In 392 (1001/2) the latter sent an army against al-Madāʾin, which then owed allegiance to the Būyids. The ʿUḳailids, however, had soon to retreat and when they made an alliance with the Banū Asad under Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mazyad, Bahāʾ al-Dawla's [q. v.] deputy, Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḥadjdjādj, at once took the field against them and summoned the Banū Khafādja to help him. In Ramaḍān of the same year (July–August, 1002) the armies met; Abū Djaʿfar was defeated but gathered his forces together again and soon inflicted a heavy defeat on the ʿUḳailids near Kūfa. In the year 397 (1006/7) Ḳarwāsh undertook an expedition against Kūfa but was defeated. A few years later (401 = 1010/11) he abandoned the ʿAbbāsids and had the *khuṭba* read for the Fāṭimid caliph, al-Ḥākim bi-Amri 'llāh, but on the approach of an army under Bahāʾ al-Dawla's general, Ḥasan b. Ustādh Hurmuz, at once returned to his allegiance. In 411 (1020/1) Ḳarwāsh was attacked and defeated by the Mazyadis and the Caliph's troops and was only allowed to retain his position by the Caliph's grace. But peace did not last long. The Banū Khafādja invaded Ḳarwāsh's lands and when he took the field against them they made an alliance with Dubais b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad (417 = 1026/7). An army from Baghdād also joined the

allies. The vanguards met near Kūfa: Ḳarwāsh took to flight and the allies for the time being occupied the town of al-Anbār. Internal feuds then broke out. Two ʿUḳailids, Nadjdat al-Dawla Kāmil b. Ḳurād and Rāfiʿ b. al-Ḥusain, who were joined by Badrān, a brother of Ḳarwāsh and lord of Naṣībīn, made an alliance, advanced against Ḳarwāsh with a strong army and the two forces soon met. In the midst of a desperate conflict, however, a reconciliation was effected on the battlefield and Badrān was allowed to retain Naṣībīn. In the meanwhile Manīʿ b. Ḥassān, commander of the Banū Khafādja, plundered the town of al-Djāmiʿain, which belonged to the Mazyadīs, whereupon Dubais made peace with Ḳarwāsh. After Manīʿ had twice burned down the town of al-Anbār, he submitted to the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār [q. v.], while Ḳarwāsh assisted the people of al-Anbār to fortify their town. In the struggle between the Turkish prince Barstoghan and the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla [q. v.] Ḳarwāsh was on the side of the latter. In the year 432 (1040/1) they quarrelled for various reasons, but friendship was soon restored after Djalāl al-Dawla had sent an army against al-Anbār and Ḳarwāsh had to pledge himself to obedience. In the years 432 and 433 Mesopotamia was invaded by the Ghuzz [q. v.] (cf. the article MARWĀNIDS); on Ramaḍān 20, 435 (April 21, 1044), however, they were defeated by Ḳarwāsh in combination with the other ʿUḳailids and Dubais at Raʾs al-ʿAyn and had to retire to Diyār Bakr and Ādharbaidjān. Ḳarwāsh had also to wage war on his brother Abū Kāmil Baraka. Their good relations were interrupted by 440 (1048/9); their nephew, Ḳuraish b. Badrān, joined his uncle Ḳarwāsh and put Abū Kāmil to flight. In Muḥarram, 441 (June, 1049) it came to fighting between the two brothers; but as several of the followers of Ḳarwāsh went over to Abū Kāmil, the latter had little difficulty in taking him prisoner and bringing him to al-Mawṣil. Although Ḳarwāsh continued to be nominally recognised as suzerain, he no longer played an active part in politics, and as Abū Kāmil found him too independent, Ḳarwāsh was deprived of his freedom in 442 (1050/1), although he was still treated with respect. After the death of Abū Kāmil in 443 (1052) his nephew Ḳuraish was recognised as Amīr. Ḳarwāsh died on Radjab 1, 444 (Oct. 27, 1052) in the fortress of al-Djarrāḥiyya near al-Mawṣil. According to one story, Ḳuraish had him assassinated.

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ḲARYA, a village or small town (*balad*). It is not now used of a large town or city (*madīna*) unless it is qualified by an epithet denoting greatness; but in the Ḳurʾān, where the word is of frequent occurrence, it is applied without a qualifying epithet to cities of whatever size, including Mekka and Jerusalem. It is now used chiefly of such villages and small towns as are in India styled *mawḍiʿ*, that is to say fiscal units which are not the chief town of any district or local area.

Bibliography: The lexica s. v. (T. W. HAIG)

AL-**ḲAṢĀB**, a town in South Arabia in the Wādī Baiḥān. The town comprises 12 strong castle-like buildings and 400 houses — the Jewish quarter 50 houses — and is surrounded by palm-groves. It has four main streets with shops in which a busy trade is carried on. The goods come mainly from ʿAden and are brought via Bīl-Ḥāt. Cotton, which is much grown here, is used for the manufacture of excellent cloths which are much sought after in South Arabia. Indigo is also much cultivated and a number of dyeworks produce the well-known blue-coloured material which is in great demand throughout the south. There are also seven sesame-mills in the town. In addition to cotton and indigo, the fertile soil yields wheat, barley, millet, the red variety (*pennisetum spicatum Körn.*), and summer-millet, dates, grapes and vegetables. The Jews of al-Ḳaṣāb, the capital of Baiḥān, are, as almost everywhere in South Arabia, mainly silversmiths and leather workers.

Bibliography: C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v., Leiden 1898, p. 30—34. (A. GROHMANN)

ḲAṢABA means primarily the interior part of a country or town and hence a fortified castle, such as is occupied by a commander and his forces, and the town in which such a castle stands, the chief town of a district. It is also applied to a new well. In India, where it is locally pronounced *ḳaṣba*, it is applied to the chief town of a *pargana* or *maḥall*, which is the smallest subdivision of a fiscal district, and is distinct from the *mawḍiʿ*, the village or small town which is a complete fiscal unit, and from the *mazraʿ* or hamlet, which is included in the area and in the fiscal accounts of the *mawḍiʿ* of which it is an off-shoot.

Bibliography. Besides the lexica: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford. (T. W. HAIG)

In the Muslim East, the name is especially applied to the citadel in fortified towns in opposition to the rest of the town. It is the centre of defence and also the governor's residence. Sometimes it is a town beside the town. It is not uncommon to find the two parts of the city taking opposite sides and having violent quarrels. The history of Fez, Taza or Rabaṭ give numerous examples of this. The *ḳaṣba* developed in the Maghrib especially after the Almohad period (twelfth century); the great ornamental gateways (usually single and simply swung, differing from the outer, more complicated of towns), which were built at this time between a town and its *ḳaṣba* (a dialectical form of the word) are among the most beautiful monuments that survive from this brilliant period (e.g. the gate of the Ḳaṣba of the Udaiya at Rabaṭ, Bāb Agnāw at Marrākush).

Under the Sharīfī dynasties of Morocco (from the xvith century) and especially under the ʿAlawīds (xviith century to the present day) the word was commonly used to designate little forts of very simple plan, built here and there in the country where the sovereign maintained small garrisons to watch the country; the name is also given near the towns to the different cantonments supplied by particular tribes liable for military service (Ḳaṣba of the Filāla, Ḳ. of the Sharārda at Fez &c.).

Europeans extend the word more or less legi-

finately in the country to the dwellings of important ḳā'ids or to large fortified towns in the Atlas — and in certain towns (Algiers, for example) in the native quarter. (H. BASSET)

ḲASAM (A.) (verb *aḳsama*), is with *yamīn* the general term for oath. As *ḳasama* means "to divide", we seem to have here the usual transition between the meanings "to cut" and "to decide" so that *ḳasam* would be the deciding, strong word (cf. קָסַם), while *ḥilf* (verb *ḥalafa*), which also means swearing, would be used in special circumstances (see the art. *ḳīla*).

The oath plays a great part in the social life of the Arabs and is mentioned by Zuhair (*Dīwān*, i. 40) as the principal means of ascertaining the truth, along with interrogation by a person in authority and absolute clearness. The oath is the word into which the person taking it puts his whole strength. As the tribe forms a moral unit with joint responsibility, the oath in important matters becomes a tribal oath. This, called *ḳasāma*, consists in 50 men of the tribe swearing to their being right; this may be the oath of an accuser (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 25; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 777 *sq.* etc.) or an oath of purgation (Zaid b. 'Alī, ed. Griffini, p. 230, 9 *sqq.*; al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, bāb 27). Those participating swear not as witnesses — on the contrary, they need not have been present at the deed — but as responsible persons. That the swearer stakes his whole soul on his word is often expressly stated in the wording of the oath. He swears upon his soul or upon his life (*binafsī*, *biḥayātī*, *la-'amrī* or simply *'amrī*), upon his honour and strength or upon particular things with which honour is associated, for example the forelock or the lance (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 441, verse 5); this oath is exactly the same as that by the tribe or by kinship (Sūra iv. 1; Ṭarafa, *Dīwān*, N°. 4, verse 72, in Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the six ancient Arabic Poets*, etc.) or the very common oath by the fathers (*wa-abī*, *wa-djaddika* etc.) and by the god who supports the life of the swearer, in the Ḥidjāz especially by Manāt, al-'Uzzā and al-Lāt (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heid.*², p. 26, 34; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā, Cairo 1332 [1914], p. 14, 16 *sq.*, 19); among Muslims one also swears by the faith. The man taking the oath puts all that he values on his word. It is assumed that falsehood and injustice are negative forces so that a false oath imperils the soul and all that is precious to it. The oath is a pledge to God (*'ahdu 'llāhi*, *mīthāḳu 'llāhi*, *dhimmatu 'llāhi*) and if the person taking it lies or does not keep his promise (*wafā'*) he imperils his own soul and offends the divine being. The oath therefore has often the form of a hypothetical surrender of (*barā'a*) the things the swearer values most, e. g. *anā barī'un min ḥawli 'llāhi wa-ḳuwwatihi in fa'altu hādhā* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii. 618, 10; 622, 2, 9 *sq.*; al-Mas'ūdī, ed. Paris, vi. 296; al-Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 505 *sq.*, 509 *sq.*). Formulae of this kind are common in the official oath taken by different ranks in the Mamlūk kingdom (al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rīf bi 'l-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*, Cairo 1312, p. 146—164; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, xiii., Cairo 1337 [1918], p. 205 *sqq.*). The *barā'a* oath is connected with another kind of oath, invoking a curse upon oneself in certain contingencies. This is a formula like the following: "May Allāh slay me if I do not kill thee"; "I will eat blood if I do not do such and such a thing". Of frequent occurrence is this formula: "May my hand waste away if I do this (or do not do it)" e. g. al-Nābigha, v. 39; Ibn Hishām, p. 830, 18). Ibn al-Fāriḍ, for example, swears with the exclamation *hādhī yadī* "this hand of mine!" (line 264 of his *al-Tā'iyat al-kubrā*, ed. Kairo 1319). The Prophet said on one occasion: "May I be wretched and despised if I am not just" (al-Bukhārī, ii. 306, 2; cf. al-Ḳasṭallānī, vi. 57). This form of oath is used in the *li'ān* ceremony when married people take oaths in giving evidence against one another in cases of alleged adultery (Sūra xxiv. 6—9; cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p. 192). A curse can also have a positive value and be used to strengthen an assertion, as in *ḳātalahu 'llāhu mā ashdja'ahu*, i. e. "May Allāh slay him. How brave he is". The curse is here used *li-'l-ta'adjdjub*, as in Sūra lxxiv. 19, 20 (see al-Baiḍāwī on the passage). The expression already mentioned "May my hand waste away" is often used in this way.

The taking of a vow is connected with the invocation of a curse upon oneself under certain conditions. It is especially common as an oath of vengeance among the Arabs; thus Imru'u 'l-Kais says he will neither eat meat nor drink wine nor anoint himself with oil nor touch a woman nor wash the *djanāba* off his head until he has taken vengeance (*Aghānī*, viii. 68, 15 *sq.*; cf. 68, 2; ix. 149, 2; xiii. 69, 8; Ibn Hishām, p. 980, 3 *sq.*; 543, 5 *sq.* etc.). To take this vow (*nadhr*) is called *nadhara*. The man concerned dedicates himself thereby and takes an increased obligation (*'ahd*) upon himself. Such oaths are as a rule taken before a battle (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 301; 'Antara, xxi. 84 etc.). Vice versa, one may give force to one's word by taking a special obligation upon oneself in case of breaking it. This pledge, of course, must be inviolable in character and usually takes one of three forms: giving of camels to be sacrificed, releasing of slaves (male or female) or divorce from a wife. These pledges may be made more or less severe; thus one can promise to divorce or release present and future wives and slaves (e.g. al-Ya'ḳūbī, p. 505 *sq.*, 509 *sq.*, and in the oaths taken by officials of the Mamlūks), a kind of oath which was banned by al-Shāfi'ī but nevertheless often occurs (cf. "he swore by his wife", Zaid b. 'Alī, ed. Griffini, p. 205, 10 *sq.*). In taking the oath one must endeavour to remember its character as a serious, sacred expression. It is best to swear at sacred places, in ancient times at the holy stone or idol (*Aghānī*, ix. 9 *sq.*). In pre-Islāmic days and later the Ka'ba was a particularly favourite place for taking an oath (Ibn Hishām, p. 317, 18; Ibn al-Kalbī, p. 19; al-Ṭabarī, iii. 861, 4 *sqq.*), especially by *al-Ḥaṭīm* (al-Ṭabarī, i. 3464, 10); this oath is still considered a very strong one (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 306; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥlat al-Ḥidjāziyya*, Cairo 1329, p. 127). One swears by the tombs of saints at the same time laying a hand on the tomb (see e.g. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 311; Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. 338, 342), just as a hand is laid on the northern window of the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, in taking an oath (*Shibbāk al-Tawba*, see e.g. al-Batanūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 246). Oaths are taken in the mosque, for example, especially on the *minbar* (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii. 92, 18 *sq.*). Special seasons make the oath more serious,

notably the period after the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* (see Goldziher in the *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, ix. 297 *sqq.*). There is evidence of oaths in connection with sacrifice from the pre-Islāmic period (Zuhair, i. 50; *Ḥamāsa*, p. 423, 10). Swearing by the sacrificial animals is common, still more frequent by the lord of the sacrificial animals (e.g. *Ḥamāsa*, 715, verse 6). Among the traditional forms of oath is the *hāla*. According to al-Djawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, s. v., it consists in taking the oath by the fire of the tribe into which salt is thrown. This ceremony, referred to by al-Kumait (*al-Hāshimiyyāt*, ed. Horovitz, N°. 4, verse 36), still survives (Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 133 *sq.*).

The magic circle is often used at the present day; this, which is sometimes divided by lines at right angles, often has something put in it, such as dung, ashes or a piece of cloth. One solemn oath consists in sticking a sword in the ground in the centre of the circle and placing ants beside it; this is the *shemle wa-nemle* oath. Sometimes one takes a piece of wood in the hand and swears "by the life of this wood"; this is the *ʿĀn al-ʿūd*. Other popular customs could be mentioned, such as laying a hand on the tent-pole, taking bread and coffee in the hand, turning towards the *ḳibla* etc. (see the works of Musil, Jaussen, Landberg, Burckhardt and Doughty). Increasing the gravity of the oath by various procedures is acknowledged in official Islām and called *taghlīẓ al-yamīn* or *taʿẓīm al-yamīn*; for example, the Ḳurʾān or al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is placed in the bosom while the oath is being taken (cf. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, p. 115; Lane, *Manners and Customs* 5, i. 168, 470). Great oaths are called *Aimān balīgha* (Sūra lxviii. 39; cf. *Djahd aimānihim*, Sūra v. 58; vi. 109; xvi. 40).

The oath formulae give the substance of the oath. Apart from special kinds of oaths such as the curse and the vow, the usual formula is for that by which one swears to be introduced by a particle. The most common particles in this connection are *bi*, *ta* and *wa*, which are all used in solemn oaths (*wallāhi*, *wa-bi'llāhi wa-tallāhi*); the two last mentioned are not so freely used as *bi*. The particle *bi* is the common preposition "in combination with"; *ta* is probably the termination as in *amānata* or *ḥayāta*; *wa* is an intensive particle like *la*, which is used particularly in the formula *laʿamrī*, *laʿamruka* "by my (thy) life", etc.

Other demonstrative particles occur in oaths such as *a*, *hā*, or sometimes the simple accusative is used; abbreviations of *aimunu* like *aimu*, *imu*, *um*, *mu* etc. are also sometimes used as particles in oaths. There are several linguistic peculiarities associated with oath formulae; for example, a negative can be omitted after the oath; vice versa, we find occasionally in the Ḳurʾān a negative *lā* before the oath, which is apparently intended to give it particular emphasis. A further intensification of the oath is expressed by prefixing *la* to the following verb (on the grammatical point cf. *al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch, p. 163 *sqq.*; Ibn Yaʿīsh, ed. Jahn, p. 289 *sqq.*).

Just as an oath is taken at a holy place or at a sacrifice, so we find oaths taken by the place or by the sacrifice (or by its lord). The Kaʿba and all that belongs to it as well as the pilgrimage are used in oaths in continually changing phrases. The old Arabs swore specially by their gods and fathers. The *kāhin*'s often swore by natural phenomena (Ibn Hishām, 11, 4). It is in keeping with the character of the oath that in Islām swearing by Allāh is alone permitted, but that, on the other hand, swearing by fathers, saints and especially by the Prophet (by the tomb of the Prophet, *Aghānī*, vi. 91, 13) is found in everyday life. Swearing by one's father was particularly forbidden by the Prophet (al-Bukhārī, iv. 263) but it is sometimes used by ʿUmar and Abū Bakr (al-Bukhārī, ii. 444, 3) and even by the Prophet himself (Muslim, commentary of al-Nawawī, iv. 99). It is a good Muslim oath to swear "by the Lord of my father" (al-Bukhārī, ii. 203, 13) or "by the Lord of the Kaʿba, of the sacrificial animals" etc.). The Prophet also swears by his honour (Zaid b. ʿAlī, ed. Griffini, p. 104, 4). The formula may call God to witness, as, for example, "God knows that I am not lying", "God is witness that I am saying this", etc. God is often referred to by some descriptive phrase; for example, "by Him Who sent Muḥammad with truth", while a Jew says "Mūsā" for "Muḥammad". The oath can also be adapted to particular situations; many have their favourite oaths; the Prophet, for example: "by Him in Whose hand my soul is", etc. The oath is intensified by repeating the formula three or more times.

One is freed from an oath to fulfil a vow, when one has performed it (*abarra* or *ḥallala yamīnan*). "Discharge from the oath" (*taḥillat al-ḳasam*) may mean a small quantity or a short period of time, literally: sufficient for release from the vow (cf. al-Bukhārī, i. 316, 11; iv. 265, 17, with Sūra xix. 72; Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, ed. Schulthess, xxiii. 14). The man, to whom someone has vowed to do something, may, however, release the latter from his oath. The latter is allowed to disregard his oath if higher considerations demand it. There is evidence from the Muslim as well as the pre-Muslim period that such a solemn promise was accompanied by the taking off or rending of certain articles of clothing (al-Wāḳidī, transl. by Wellhausen, p. 197; al-Ṭabarī, iii. 862, 14 *sq.*). Release from a vow is obtained among the modern Beduins by a sacrifice. One may bind others with an oath if one conjures them. The formula is often of this kind: "I call (*nashadtu*) God to thee" or "I mention (*dhakkartu*) God to thee". But it is an oath of the speaker and it depends upon the relation between the latter and the person adjured whether the latter will fulfil the vow; in such forms of oath appeal is often made to mutual friendship or relationship (e.g. *Lisān*, vi. 428, 7 *sqq.*; *Ḥamāsa*, p. 254 middle). One can also appeal to God. "A servant of God is one whose oath God redeems when he appeals to him" (al-Bukhārī, ii. 168, 19; 204, 4). God is more pressingly conjured, if the appeal is made through one of His favourites, like the Prophet (*tawassul bi'l-Nabī*). Maʿrūf al-Karkhī is said to have advised a disciple to call upon God through him (al-Ḳushairī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1330, p. 9, 21).

Between the popular use of the oath among the ancient Arabs and in Islām there is no essential difference, as is clear from what we have already said. But there are special rules regarding the oath in Islām. In the Ḳurʾān, especially in the older Sūra's, the oaths taken by the kāhins by natural phenomena are usual (Sūra lvi. 74; lxxxi. 15—18; lxxxvi. 1; lxxxix. 1—3; xci. 1—7 etc.); we also have instances of swearing by the Ḳurʾān (xxxvi. 1; xxxviii. 21; xliv. 1; l. 1), by the angels (xxxvii. 1), by the Last Day (lxxvii. 1) etc. Iblis swears by

God's majesty (xxxviii. 23) and we have evidence (Zaid b. ʿAlī, ed. Griffini, p. 286, 7 *sq.*) that God swears by His majesty and grandeur (cf. for the oaths in the Ḳurʾān Ibn al-Ḳaiyim, *Kitāb Aḳsām al-Ḳurʾān*, Mekka 1321). Two passages in the Ḳurʾān are of special importance for the use of the oath. In Sūra v. 91 and ii. 224 *sq.* it is said that inconsidered expressions (*laghw*) in oaths can be (broken and) expiated. The context in both passages makes it probable that the references are to vows of abstention, sometimes from food, sometimes from women. Vows of the last mentioned kind, called *īlāʾ*, are limited to four months (ii. 226), in connection with ii. 224 *sq.*, after which time they must be expiated or the man must divorce the wife. A particular vow of this kind (*ẓihār*) in which the husband says "Thou art henceforth as the back of my mother to me (*ka-ẓahri ummī*)" is especially condemned in Sūra xxxiii. 4; lviii. 2, 4 *sq.* (see Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden and Leipzig 1910, p. 224 *sqq.*; Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, 1897, p. 13, 68 *sqq.*).

The practice of atonement for such oaths after repenting of having taken them seems to be taken from the Jews (cf. *Mishna*, *Nedarim*, and *Lev.*, v. 4 *sq.*). In Sūra lxvi. 2 we read "God hath prescribed you the dissolution of your oaths" and this prescription is applied to a case in which the Prophet had sworn to his wife Ḥafṣa not to touch the slave-girl Māriya, which he later regretted (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxviii. 90 *sqq.*).

Among ḥadīths first place must be given to a saying of the Prophet: "I never take a vow without being prepared to expiate it if I see that another is better and adopting the better". In this and similar sayings, which are collected by al-Bukhārī, Muslim and other traditionists (see *Kitāb al-Aimān wa 'l-Nudhūr*), the expiation of vows is recommended in cases other than vows of abstention. On the other hand it is insisted that one should keep one's oath (Sūra xvi. 93, 96; cf. iii. 71; lviii. 15, 17, 19 etc.) and carrying out what one has sworn to do (*ibrār al-muḳsim*) is mentioned by al-Bukhārī, ii. 99, 5 among the seven principal requirements. It is only in Paradise that there are no such pledges, for there vows are fulfilled and oaths disposed of (Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, ed. Schulthess, xli. 23). But an oath must always give place to a higher consideration. It is therefore recommended not to take an oath without adding the *istithnāʾ* (the formula "if God so will") (al-Bukhārī, iv. 280; Muslim, comment. of al-Nawawī, iv. 106; Zaid b. ʿAlī, ed. Griffini, p. 463).

These statements in the Ḳurʾān and in the *Sunna* form the foundation of the Fiḳh system on the subject. According to this, the person taking the oath must be *mukallaf*, he must be acting deliberately as a free agent and intend the oath. He must not take an oath to commit a sin; views are divided on the question whether such an oath is valid at all. One can only swear by God, either by His existence or by one of His names or attributes. The oath by the Prophet is recognised by some Ḥanbalīs but in general is not considered a binding oath. The *ḳasāma* oath already mentioned is not recognised by the Fiḳh. The breaking of a vow (*ḥinth*) is considered a duty in certain cases, when one has sworn to commit a sin. The *īlāʾ* already referred to must be broken within four months if the man does not divorce his wife; after the *ẓihār* the wife must at once be divorced or the vow must be expiated.

Expiation (*kaffāra*) consists, according to Sūra v. 91, in setting free a slave, feeding ten poor men or clothing the same number; for those who cannot afford this, three days' fasting is equivalent. The things to be done are described in detail in the Fiḳh books. In the *īlāʾ* the expiation is the same as in other oaths while in the *ẓihār* it consists in releasing a slave who is a believer or fasting for two months or feeding 60 poor people (Sūra lviii. 4—5). The Muslim law recognises the oath of affirmation as well as the vow to perform. The former only occurs in lawsuits. A special case is formed by the *ḳasāma* already mentioned which was taken over from the ancient Arabs. It is limited in Islām to trial for murder and consists of 50 oaths which can be sworn by one or more individuals. The oath is imposed on the accuser but only in connection with certain indications (*lawth*) which must be regularly ascertained. If the accuser refuses to take the oath, the 50 oaths are applied to the accused; if he refuses they apply again to the accuser. In other cases the principle in Islām is that the onus of proof is on the accuser and the accused has to take the oath. Witnesses as a rule do not take an oath; witnesses to the will of a testator who has died in a foreign country are an exception (Sūra v. 105). If the plaintiff has only one of the two necessary witnesses, the oath of one of the parties may take the place of the second witness (al-Bukhārī, ii. 158 *sq.*). When the plaintiff has not valid proofs, the oath is put to the defendant; if he declines to take it, it is put to the plaintiff (*yamīn al-radd*). Perjury on account of some crime is called *yamīn al-ghamūs* by Muslim scholars, an expression which originally meant a peculiarly binding oath. Such oaths can be expiated in the above fashion, according to the Shāfiʿī school, if they are false, according to other views they cannot. The latter hold that expiation only applies to vows.

The formalism of the legal system opens the way for all kinds of artifices by which an oath can be broken, yet formally kept. There thus arose a whole literature regarding such subterfuges; the best known work is al-Khaṣṣāf's *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal wa 'l-makhārij* (ed. by Joseph Schacht [autogr.], Hannover 1923; printed Cairo 1314).

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(JOHS. PEDERSEN)

AL-ḲAṢAṢ "the story", title of Sūra xxviii. of the Ḳurʾān, taken from vs. 25. See further ḲIṢṢA.

KASB. The root occurs a large number of times in the Ḳurʾān with the meanings, "seek", "attain", "earn", "work" (good and evil); see C. C. Torrey, *The Commercial Theological Terms in the Koran* (Leiden 1892), p. 27 *sqq.* and Nöldeke's note there. Stems i. and viii. are used synonymously although al-Baiḍāwī on Ḳurʾān ii. 286 (Fleischer's ed., i. 143, 11), following al-

Zamakhsharī on the same passage, tries to show that there is more personal, reflexive force (*Fiʿmāl*) in viii. Hence *kasb* and *iktisāb* mean much the same. There are two technical usages. I. It is equivalent to the *iktisāb* of the Ashʿarites. "The action of a creature is created, originated, produced by Allāh but it is 'acquired' (*maksūb*) by the creature, by which is meant its being brought into connection with his power and will without there resulting any effect from him in it or any introduction to its existence, only that he is a locus (*maḥall*) for it" (al-Djurdjānī on *al-Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī, Bulāḳ 1266, p. 515). Al-Ghazālī, perhaps desiring to emphasize the personal acceptance, apparently preferred *iktisāb*; see his statement in the *Iḥyāʾ* (ed. with comm. of al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, ii. 165 *sqq.*) and the elaborate commentaries thereon. Al-Rāzī on Ḳurʾān ii. 286 (ed. Cairo 1308, ii. 388) states the different views as to the two terms. Al-Sanūsī in his *Muḳaddima* (ed. Luciani, p. 68 *sqq.*, also note p. 237) uses *iktisāb* only twice and evidently in the same sense as *kasb*; his statement is an extension of that of al-Djurdjānī. This is the most subtle question in all Muslim *Kalām* (*adaḳḳ min kasb al-Ashʿarī*) but it may be guessed that al-Ashʿarī wished only to explain our consciousness of freedom to choose and that his explanation was that this consciousness is a separate creation by Allāh in the mind; man for him was an automaton with consciousness as part of the machinery. The later mutakallims, especially under the influence of the more ethical Māturīdite system, turned it otherwise; cf. e. g. al-Taftāzānī in his commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī (a Māturīdite), Cairo 1321, p. 98 *sqq.* II. *Kasbī* and *iktisābī* are applied to that knowledge (*ʿilm*) which belongs to created things and is attained by the voluntary (*ikhtiyārī*) application of secondary causes (*asbāb*), (*a*) like reason and consideration of premises in deduction and (*b*) like listening and turning the eye in sense perception. They are thus wider than *istidlālī* which applies only to reasoning. *Ḍarūrī*, "necessary", is sometimes opposed to *iktisābī* and sometimes to *istidlālī*. Others arrange thus: knowledge in a created being is of two kinds, (*a*) *ḍarūrī* and (*b*) *iktisābī*; in the acquisition of (*b*) the *asbāb* are of three kinds, the healthy senses, reliable narrative, rational consideration (*naẓar*); *naẓar* is of two kinds, immediate intuition (*badīha*) and *istidlāl*, deduction (al-Taftāzānī on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī, p. 39 *sq.*; also al-Djurdjānī on *al-Mawāḳif*, p. 16, 21).

Bibliography: Is given above; add for both *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 1243 *sq.*

(D. B. Macdonald.)

KASF. [See KHUSŪF.]

KASH, the modern Shahr-i Sabz ("green town", on account of the fertility of its surroundings) a town in Bukhārā on what was once the great trade route between Samarḳand and Balkh. According to Chinese authorities, Kash (Chinese transcription K'iu-sha or Kie-shuang-na, also K'ie-sha, as a town Ki'-she) was founded at the beginning of the seventh century A. D.; cf. J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 57; *Ērānšahr etc.*, Berlin 1901, p. 304; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 146. Yāḳūt's statement (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 274) on the authority of Ibn Mākūlā, who died in 475 (1080/1), that in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr the name was everywhere pronounced Kiss is very doubtful; for the later period the pronunciation *Kash* is proved by the frequently recurring expression *Kash-i Dilkash*. The accounts of the Arab conquest are discussed by Marquart in particular (*Ērānšahr*, see Index). The *Kash* of the Sāmānid period is described very fully by the Arab geographers (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, i., al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 324; ii., Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 375 *sq.*, iii., al-Muḳaddasī, p. 282). The town in those days was a third of a *farsakh* (about a mile) in length and breadth; the old city (*madīna*, Persian *shahristān*) as well as the citadel (*ḳuhandiz*) were already deserted, only the outer town (*rabaḍ*) was inhabited; in the vicinity of the earlier Kash a new town was arising. This suggests that the modern town has a site different from that of the Kash which existed before the Muslim conquest. Nothing is known of other transferences of the site. Kash is never mentioned in the history of the Mongol conquest, so that it must have submitted to the Mongols (617 = 1220) without resistance. The name Shahr-i Sabz first appears — on coins also — about the middle of the eighth (fourteenth) century. Many buildings were erected in Kash by Tīmūr, who belonged to the district of Kash, and his contemporaries; thereon cf. W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, xxiii. 1 *sq.* Especially famous is the palace Aḳ Saray built at the end of 782 (beginning of 1380) by builders from Khwārizm; cf. Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar Nāma*, Calcutta 1887—8, i. 301 *sq.*, and the notices by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī in W. Barthold, *Ulugbek i ego vremya*, Petrograd 1918, p. 25; very little survives of this palace; on the inscriptions cf. N. Simyakowskiy in *Protokoli Turk. Kruzhka Lyub. Arkh.*, v. 114 *sq.* As late as the tenth (sixteenth) century Kash or Shahr-i Sabz is described by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanish (*ʿAbd Allāh Nāme*, MS. of the Asiat. Museum, 574 age, f. 85ᵇ) as an important town usually governed by a prince of the ruling house, while the administration of Nasaf or Karshī [q. v.] could be left to a military official (*Darugha*). At the present day the situation is reversed and Shahr-i Sabz is an unimportant town in comparison with Karshī, the result of the political changes in the twelfth (eighteenth) century. The district of Shahr-i Sabz is surrounded by hills on north, south and east, so that it can hardly be expected that this region will be soon linked up with the railway system, while Karshī is already connected by railway with Bukhārā and Termedh: the town of Shahr-i Sabz has therefore little prospect of renewing its prosperity.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 469 *sq.*; W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, ii., St. Petersburg 1900, p. 134 *sq.*, with corrections, p. 524; do., *K istorii orošeniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 125 *sq.*

(W. Barthold.)

KĀSHĀN (in Arab authors often Ḳāshān), a town in ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī (al-Djibāl, Media) three days' journey from Iṣfahān and twelve *farsakh*'s from Ḳumm. It is an ancient town which is said to have been rebuilt by Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The heat there is excessive in summer, but the winter is very mild. Water, which is scarce, is brought by an aqueduct from the spring at the castle of Fīn outside the town, to which

the inhabitants go on pilgrimage once a year. The melons and figs of this locality are esteemed. Large numbers of big, black and very dangerous scorpions are found there. The natives are all Shīʿis and were already noted for their devotion to the twelve Imāms at a time when this part of the world was still Sunnī. In expectation of the return of the hidden Imām, they used to go out every morning with great ceremony to be ready to meet him; after a long wait they returned home disappointed but not discouraged. Almost the same thing was done at Ḥilla (Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, ii. 324—5).

The town was destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of the Wakīl Karīm Khān Zand, who had it rebuilt. Situated in the centre of a fertile plain, it was surrounded by walls flanked with towers, with a deep ditch running all round; it had six gates. Although not very important (15.000 inhabitants of whom 300 were Jews at the beginning of the nineteenth century), it is one of the prettiest towns in Persia; its streets are clean and paved. According to A. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New-York 1906, p. 410, it has now about 20.000 inhabitants. Its manufactures are cauldrons, silks embroidered with gold and silver flowers, plain stuffs with strips of colour and a kind of velours. Gold, silver and steel are worked there. It has become especially famous for the plaques of faience called *Kāshī* [q. v.], of which there was no longer any trace as early as 1808.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i., al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 107, 7, 11—12, 201; ii., Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 259, 16—17, 264; iii., al-Muḳaddasī, p. 390, 392, n. a; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 15; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xxiii. 67—68 (transl. p. 71—2); Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 434—5; Schefer, *Chrest. persane*, ii. 129; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 209; Olivier, *Voyage* etc., Paris 1807, iii. 96—97; J. Morier, *A second Journey through Persia*, London 1818, p. 161—2; W. Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819—23, iii. 86—94; Mme Dieulafoy, *La Perse* etc., Paris 1887, p. 194—212; R. Binning, *Journal of two years travel*, London 1857, ii. 186 *sqq.*; E. Aubin, *Rev. du Monde musulman*, 1907, ii. 461—4; Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii. 461—3, iii. 1—11. (Cl. Huart)

KĀSHĀNĪ. [See ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ].

KĀSHĀNĪ, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Djānī, the Bābī historian, was a merchant of Kāshān who, with two of his three brothers, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ismāʿīl Dhabīḥ and Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Aḥmad, was among the earliest disciples of Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad, the Bāb. When the Bāb, in 1847, was being conducted from Iṣfahān to his prison at Mākū the brothers bribed his escort to allow him to be their guest for two days and two nights at Kāshān. In the following year Kāshānī, with Bahāʾ Allāh, Ṣubḥ-i Azal and other prominent disciples, attempted to join the Bābī insurgents of Shaikh Ṭabarsī near Bārfurūsh in Māzandarān but was captured by the royal troops and imprisoned for some time at Āmul, until ransomed by two merchants of Kāshān. "We find him always impelled, as it would appear, by religious zeal, now at Bārfurūsh, now at Mashhad, now at Ṭihrān." The Bāb was put to death on July 9, 1850, and Kāshānī occupied the next two years in writing his history of the movement, for which task he was qualified by personal acquaintance not only with the Bāb, but with Ṣubḥ-i Azal, Bahāʾ Allāh and almost all the early apostles of the Bābī religion and by detailed and accurate information of every event connected with the movement during the first eight years of its existence. His history (which, for some mystical reason not readily comprehensible he styled *Nuḳṭat al-Kāf* "the Point of Kāf"), is accurate, but is disfigured by fulsome and almost idolatrous adulation of his hero and by coarse abuse of his persecutors. When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh resolved to strike a blow at the adherents of the new religion, Kāshānī was forcibly removed from the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, about six miles south of Ṭihrān, where he had taken sanctuary, and thrown into prison, where he shared the cell of Bahāʾ Allāh. On Sept. 15, 1852, he was put to death at Ṭihrān in company with twenty-seven of his co-religionists. As an act of policy, in order to divert vengeance from himself and his minister, the Shāh handed the heretics over to various communities for execution and Kāshānī was delivered to Āḳā Mahdī, Malik al-Tudjdjār ("chief of the merchants"). According to one account he suffered death by the bowstring, and according to another the merchants and shopkeepers of the city inflicted wounds on him until he perished.

Of his brothers Ismāʿīl died at Ṭihrān and Aḥmad, who, after the death of the Bāb, recognised Ṣubḥ-i Azal as his successor, was slain at Baghdād by some Bahāʾīs, followers of Bahāʾ Allāh.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Djānī, *Nuḳṭat al-Kāf*, ed. E. G. Browne in the Gibb Memorial Series; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Bab*, Cambridge 1891; do., *The Taʾrīkh-i-Jadīd, or New History of Mírzá ʿAlí Muḥammad the Báb*, Cambridge 1893. (T. W. Haig)

KASHF, "uncover", has two technical uses. I. In prosody it is the elision of the seventh vowelled letter in the foot *mafʿūlātu*, changing it to *mafʿūlā* and further to *mafʿūlun* — a combination of *waḳf* and *kaff*. This is often called *kasf*, "cut", which is more probable; but that root has unlucky associations (Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p. 87; De Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*², ii. — *Traité de la Prosodie*, Tab. III.; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie*, p. 241; al-Djurdjānī, *al-Taʿrīfāt*, under *kasf*). — II. In the emotional religious life (*taṣawwuf*) it is the broadest term for the unveiling of the mystic. When this is analyzed more carefully it is commonly divided into three: (i.) *muḥāḍara* in which reason (*ʿaḳl*) is the means by proof (*burhān*); (ii.) *mukāshafa* in which taught knowledge (*ʿilm*) is the means by explanation (*bayān*); (iii.) *mushāhada* by means of immediate, personal experience (*maʿrifa*). By (i.) *ʿilm al-yaḳīn* is reached by the *arbāb al-ʿuḳūl*; this is still in the realm of reason and is not really *kashf*. By (ii.) *ʿain al-yaḳīn* is reached by the *aṣḥāb al-ʿulūm* and by (iii.) *ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* is reached by the *aṣḥāb al-maʿārif*; the last is the immediate Vision of God and is sometimes called *muʿāyana* (al-Ḳushairī, *al-Risāla*, ed. with commentaries of Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and al-ʿArūsī, Būlāḳ 1290, ii. p. 79 *sqq.*; on this cf. R. Hartmann, *al-Kuschairi's Darstellung des Ṣūfītums* (*Türk. Bibl.*,

xviii.), p. 72 *sqq.*; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 373 *sqq.* and by index.

Bibliography: Is given above; add for both uses *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ii. 1254.

(D. B. Macdonald)

KĀSHGHAR, a town in Chinese Turkestān, called Su-le in the oldest Chinese sources; the same name is still used in Chinese official documents. The name Kāshghar first appears in Chinese transcription (K'iu-cha) in the *T'ang-shu*; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 121 *sq.* On the pre-Muḥammadan Kāshghar and the ruins of Buddhist buildings in the vicinity see A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, i. 52 *sq.*; do., *Serindia*, Oxford 1921, p. 86 *sq.* Arab armies did not reach Kāshghar; the story of Ḳutaiba's campaign in 96 (715) is, as H. A. R. Gibb (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, ii. 467 *sq.*) has shown, a mere legend. On the flight of a prince of Farghāna to Kāshghar in the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (755-775) see the article FARGHĀNA. In the Sāmānid period a *Dihḳān* of Kāshghar with the name or title Toghān Tegin is mentioned (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 37), with whom the rebel prince Ilyās b. Isḥāḳ took refuge; whether this *Dihḳān* had already adopted Islām is not mentioned. At a later date Satuḳ Boghrā Khān is mentioned as the first Muslim Khān of Kāshghar; in the oldest reference to him that we have (Djamāl Ḳarshī in Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, i., St. Petersburg 1898, p. 130 *sq.*) the date of his death is given as 344 (955). This story already contains features which are certainly legendary; in the story of the building of the first mosque we have the well-known folklore motif of the cutting of an ox-skin into strips. The later legend, reproduced by F. Grenard (*Journ. As.*, Ser. 9, vol. xv. 1 *sq.*), has not this feature but contains many other legendary traits and absolutely false dates. The year 344 A. H. is perhaps too early as probably the story of the adoption of Islām by a numerous Turkish people (200,000 tents) in 349 (960) must be referred to the Turks of Kāshghar; this story is found not only in Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 396) but also in Ibn Miskawaihi (*The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. Margoliouth and Amedroz, Oxford 1921, text ii. 181, translation v. 196); the original source is probably Thābit b. Sinān al-Ṣābi' (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 476 and 491; *The Eclipse* etc., *Index*). The tomb of Satuḳ Boghrā Khān is in Artūdj (now pronounced Artush) north of Kāshghar, where it is still shown.

Under the rule of the Ilek-Khāns [q. v.] Kāshghar was politically the most important town in what is now Chinese Turkestān; perhaps it was also the most important from the point of view of culture. In the fifth (eleventh) century there was already in existence a work in Arabic on the history of the town, composed by Abu 'l-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ghāfir (or 'Abd al-Ghaffār) b. Ḥusain al-Alma'ī al-Kāshghari (sic!); the author's father, who survived his son (according to al-Sam'ānī by about ten years), died in 486 (1093). On father and son and the works of the latter see al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1912, f. 470a and 472a; Djamāl Ḳarshī in Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 123 *sq.* The rulers were buried in a special mausoleum (Arabic *al-djunbadha al-khāḳāniya*) on the bank of the Tümen; the first prince buried there died in Muḥarram, 424 (Dec. 7, 1032—Jan. 5, 1033) and the last in Radjab, 601 (Feb. 22—March 23, 1205). During Mongol rule a madrasa was built in Kāshghar by Mas'ūd Beg (cf. the art. BUKHĀRĀ); in its library was the copy of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī used by Djamāl Ḳarshī for his translation (E. Sachau and Ethé, *Cat. of the Persian . . . Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, col. 983). Kāshghar was later under the rule of the Dughlāt Amīrs [see the article *Dughlāt*]; the last of them, Abū Bakr, reigned till 920 (1514), according to the statement of his relative Ḥaidar Mīrzā [q. v.] forty-eight years (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, English translation, London 1895, p. 253 and 326); but this is contradicted by the author himself, who says that Kāshghar was not conquered by Abū Bakr till 885 (1480/1). Abū Bakr is the founder of the modern town. He destroyed the old fortress and in the last years of his reign rebuilt it on a new site, on the other side of the Tümen on the tongue of land between this river and the Ḳizil Su (*ibid.*, p. 286 *sq.* and 295).

Under the rule of the "Mongol" Khāns (cf. the *Bibliography* to the art. ČAGHATĀI-KHĀN) and later under that of the Kalmucks and Chinese the capital of the district was no longer Kāshghar but Yārkand; it is only quite recently, since the reconquest of the country by the Chinese in 1877, that Kāshghar has again attained considerable importance as the residence of the Tao-T'ai, who is over the western and southern part of Chinese Turkestān as far as the oasis of Čerčen, and the residence of the Russian and English consuls. On Kāshghar in 1873 see H. W. Bellew in Sir T. D. Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkand in 1873*, London 1875. On modern conditions see especially Kornilow, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903 (review by W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, xv. 131 *sq.*) with plan of Kāshghar on p. 268, and M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle a/S. 1908, especially p. 45 *sq.*, 89 *sq.*, with plan of the town from Kornilow. The most important building in Kāshghar and vicinity is Ḥaḍrat Apāḳ, the tomb of the famous saint of the eleventh (seventeenth century) Kāshghar is now also of greater importance than Yārkand for its intellectual life; Yārkand, "which, down to the conquest of Kaschgarîa by the Chinese, was the political capital and also the principal centre of learning and sanctity, has now fallen behind Kâschgar. Its day is over" (M. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 49). The number of its inhabitants is said to be about 50,000.

(W. Barthold)

KĀSHĪ (in Yāḳūt: KĀSHĀNĪ, KĀSHĪ; in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: KAŠHĀNĪ), the name derived from that of the town of Kāshān [q. v.] in Persia, given to square, sometimes hexagonal, plaques of faience used in the exterior decoration of buildings or of interior walls.

It is one of the most ancient arts of nearer Asia (already known to the Assyrians and then to the Achaemenids) which survived in Persia in the middle ages, and more especially, it appears, in the town of Kāshān. The monuments of modern Persia from the time of the Ṣafawids to our day (those that are older are in ruins) are covered with these plaques of faience decorated with conventional flowers (*kāshī-kārī*), in which the predominant colours are indigo blue, turquoise blue, green, less frequently red and yellow. Those

with figures in relief are the rarest and the most esteemed.

When this industry was brought to the town of Damascus by Persian artisans — perhaps Christians (some plaques bear inscriptions in Syriac) — the Syrians called these plaques *ḳīshānī* (from the Arabic orthography Ḳāshān). The art disappeared perhaps over a century ago; the ruins of the factory which made them are still shown outside the *Bāb Sharḳī*. These faïences were imitated in Turkey at Iznik and Kutāhiya. Recently an attempt has been made to revive this last factory, but the modern work is far from equalling the beauty of the ancient pieces; it is the same in Persia where the beautiful models of past ages are clumsily imitated at the present day.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 15; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, i. 415, ii. 46, 130, 225, 297, iii. 79; Chardin, *Voyage*, Amsterdam 1735, iii. 4; Pétis de la Croix, *Journal*, ed. Langlès, *Relation de Dourry-Efendi*, Paris 1810, p. 154; Morier, *Deuxième voyage*, p. 250; A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damascus*, ii. (*Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Vienna 1855, vi. 9). (Cl. Huart)

al-**KĀSHĪ**, Djamshīd b. Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, a Persian, was the first superintendent of Ulugh-Beg's observatory in Samarḳand and a collaborator with this prince in the preparation of his astronomical tables. Besides his astronomical and mathematical researches he also studied medicine; he must have died about the year 840 (= 1436/7). Of his works there have survived: (1) *Zīdj-i Khāḳānī* (the Khāḳānī tables), in Persian, in a manuscript in Constantinople (Aya Ṣofya), a supplement to the Ilkhānī tables (of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī); (2) *Miftāḥ al-Ḥisāb* (key to arithmetic), in Berlin, Leiden, British Museum, India Office, etc.; the preface to it was translated by F. Woepcke (see *Bibliography*); (3) *al-Risāla al-Kamālīya*, also called *Sullam al-Samāʾ* (the ladder of heaven), on the magnitudes and distances of the heavenly bodies, in Oxford, Leiden, India Office; (4) *Risāla fī Istikhrādj Djaib daradja wāḥida*, etc. (an essay on the calculation of the sine of a degree), in Cairo; in this al-Kāshī solves an equation of the third degree by an interesting process of approximation (cf. below Hankel's work).

Bibliography: Preface to the *Miftāḥ al-Ḥisāb*, MS. Berlin; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, v. 344; H. Hankel, *Zur Gesch. der Mathematik im Altertum u. Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1874, p. 289 *sqq.*; F. Woepcke, *Passages relat. à des sommes de séries de cubes*, Rome 1864; H. Suter in the *Abhandl. z. Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 173. (H. Suter)

KĀSHIF, Muḥammad Sharīf b. Shams al-Dīn, with the *takhalluṣ* Kāshif-i Kumaiī, a Persian man of letters of the xith (xviith) century. What is known of his life comes mainly from the *Khātima* of his *Khazān u Bahār*. The author's father, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, also known as Shamsā-i Shīrāzī, was living at Karbalāʾ when his son Muḥammad was born and left it for Iṣfahān in 1006 (1597/98) to escape persecution from the Sunnīs. Muḥammad, the son, was then three years old so that he was born in 1003 (1594/95). In 1008 (1599—1600) Shams al-Dīn went to Mashhad and returned seven months later to Iṣfahān. These dates are given by the Brit. Mus. MS., according to Rieu's *Catalogue*; from Rosen's description of the St. Petersburg MS. it seems to make the author five years old in 1006 and to put the journey to Mashhad in 1010 (1601/2). After a stay of 23 years in Iṣfahān the family moved to Ray where the father died in 1035 (1625/26). Muḥammad Sharīf himself was Ḳāḍī of Ray for 15 years.

In the *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādī* (synopsis in Sprenger, *Catal. of the ...... manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, i. 88 *sq.*) there is a notice of Kāshif and his two brothers, Ismāʿīl Munshī and Muḳīmā. The date of our author's death is unknown but must be after 1063 (1652/53). This date is given by the chronogram at the end of the *Khazān u Bahār* in the London MS. as the date of completion of the work; he mentions his other works in the *Khātima* as already written so that the *Khazān* is the last.

Works. Kāshif, who, as he himself tells us, had a literary training and devoted a considerable period to study, wrote both prose and poetry. He composed three epics, two of which (the *Lailā Madjnūn* and the *Haft Paikar*), like very many epic poems of the later period, deal with subjects very popular since Niẓāmī's time. The third was called *ʿAbbāsnāma*, probably a panegyric on the Ṣafawid ʿAbbās II (?). Then there are his shorter poems, ḳaṣīda's, rubāʿī's etc. His prose works are: *Sirādj al-Munīr*, a work inspired by Saʿdī's *Gulistān*, composed in an ornate style with verses interspersed. The text is divided into 20 sections (*lamʿa*) and deals with the different virtues and moral qualities which are illustrated by anecdotes. The London MS. gives 1030 (1620/21) as the date of completion of this work, but it is probable that this date refers to the time of copying the MS. and the work itself is a few years older. *Khazān u Bahār*, his last book, is a collection, also in ornate prose, of tales which his young brother Munshī urged him to compile. Most of the stories are taken from the earlier *al-Faradj baʿd al-Shidda* of Ḥusain al-Dihistānī, but he details, for example, also an incident that happened to his father Shams al-Dīn. The work consists of a preface (*muḳaddama*), fourteen sections (*faṣl*) and a conclusion (*khātima*) (lithogr. Tabrīz 1294). Two other prose works from his pen are recorded, namely *Durr-i Maknūn* and *Ḥawādith-i Fitan*.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 861; *Supplement*, p. 250 *sq.*; Rosen, *Les manuscrits persans de l'Institut des langues orientales*, p. 285 *sq.*; Ethé in the *Grundr. der Ir. Phil.*, ii. 246, 248, 330. (V. F. Büchner)

KĀSHIFĪ, Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ, a prolific writer, who flourished in Herāt (during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā [q. v.]) and died in 910 (= 1505). Among the best known of his writings are (i.) a work on ethics, entitled *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī*, dedicated to Abu 'l-Muḥsin, a son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, and completed in 900 (= 1495); it was printed for the first time in Calcutta, 1809, and frequently since; (ii.) a modernised version of Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥamīd's [q. v.] earlier Persian translation of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* [q. v.]; he undertook this task at the suggestion of Niẓām al-Dīn Amīr Shaikh Aḥmad al-Suhailī (ob. 907 or 908 = 1501—1503) and entitled it *Anwār-i Suhailī*; it is written in a very artificial style, overladen with rhetorical ornament, and has on this account been much admired in the East;

MSS. are common, and it has been printed several times, for the first time in Calcutta, 1804. His other works comprise *Djawāhir al-tafsīr li-tuḥfat al-amīr*, a Persian commentary on the Ḳur'ān, compiled at the request of Mīr 'Alī Shīr in 899, but he only completed one out of the four volumes he had planned, and broke off this work to compile for his patron a shorter commentary, entitled *Mawāhib-i-'alīya*, but usually styled *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī*; — *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā*, a history of the martyrdom of 'Alī and his family (abridgments exist under the titles, *Dah Madjlis* and *Muntakhab-i-Rawḍat al-Shuhadā*); — *Badā'i' al-Afkār fī Ṣanā'i' al-Ash'ār*, a treatise on figures of speech and poetic artifices, as well as faults in poetic composition; — *Makhzan al-inshā'* (compiled in 907 and dedicated to Ḥusain Mīrzā) and (later) *Ṣaḥīfa-i-Shāhī*, two works containing models of epistolary composition; — *Ḳiṣaṣ wa-Athār-i-Ḥātim Ṭā'ī* (or, *Risāla-i-Ḥātimīya*), completed in 891, giving the story of Ḥātim Ṭā'ī [*q. v.*]; — *Tuḥfat al-ṣalawāt*; — *Risāla al-'alīya fi 'l-aḥādīth al-nabawīya*; — selections from Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, entitled *Lubb-i-ma'nawī*, from which shorter extracts were made, entitled *Lubb-i-Lubāb*. Several of the above works have been translated into Turkish, and the first two into English.

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KASHĪSH-DAGH (in Turkish "mountain of the priests"), a name given by the Ottomans to Olympus in Mysia, at the foot of which is built on the north the town of Brussa [q. v.]. Its slopes are covered with forests now much diminished; its summit is covered with snow which only melts in summer (height 6,200 feet). Its massif is formed of granite, marble and felspar. At the time of the Ottoman conquest, Olympus was covered with convents and hermits' cells whence its Turkish name. The Christian monks were replaced by dervishes. The poet Lāmi'ī has described the two monasteries Geikli Baba and Doghlu Baba. At the foot of the mountain in a quarter of the town of Brussa is the tomb of Shaikh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī of Bukhārā, better known by the name Sulṭān Amīr Walī; a mosque is built over the tomb.

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ḲASHḲĀI, a Turkish people in Persia. The name is said to be the Turkish *ḳashḳa* "horse with a white spot on its forehead" (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, ii. 395). The Ḳashḳāi are said to be descended from the Turkish Khaladj (cf. also *B.G.A.*, i. 158: Khaldj) mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī (*B.G.A.*, vol. i.) and later writers in the country between India and Sīstān. The Khaladj are said to have migrated first to the Persian 'Irāḳ where a district near Sāwa is still called Khaladjistān; there is still said to be a Turkish speaking people there (private information from V. Minorskiy). The Ḳashḳāi are said to have come from the 'Irāḳ to Fārs where they lead a nomadic life at the present day. Their winter quarters are in the southern part of this province, especially around Fīrūzābād, where the chief of their tribe (Īlkhānī) is regarded *ex officio* as governor; the stronghold of Parwīza was built there by the Īlkhānī Ṣawlat al-Dawla (from 1324/5 = 1906/7). In summer they wander as far as Kumisha and Gandemān in the southern part of the province of Iṣfahān. According to Curzon (*Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii. 112 *sqq.*), the Ḳashḳāi were a numerous people down to about 1870 (60,000 families; in case of war about 120,000 horsemen) but they suffered greatly from the famine of 1871 and 1872; at the time of Curzon's journey (1889) the number of families was said to be 25,000, while he put it at really some 10—12,000. The number 12,000 is also given by Tumanskiy (1894) for the tents of the Ḳashḳāi proper, but he says the number of all the nomads for whom the Īlkhānī of the Ḳashḳāi paid the taxes was double (24,000). Larger figures are given by later travellers: 35,000 (1906) and 55,000 (1914). In 1914 the Ḳashḳāi formed a well armed division of an army of about 20,000 men and took part in the world-war on Germany's side against England. All the Ḳashḳāi are fanatical Shī'is. The men are engaged in horse-breeding (the breed is related to the Arab); the women weave carpets. A few Ḳashḳāi have gone over to a settled life in the south at Dārāb and in the north at Kumisha. According to Curzon, the Ḳashḳāi, in spite of their Turkish descent, were considered to belong to the Lūr family; in their customs also they differ little from the Bakhtiyārī and Kūhgelū (the Turkish tribe of the Aghačeri also belongs to this Lūr tribe); but the language of the Ḳashḳāi, as the songs written down in 1914 by A. Romaskevič show, is a Southern Turki dialect closely related to the Turkoman and Ādharbaidjānī.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

KASHKŪL (P.), an oval bowl of metal, wood or coconut (calabash), worn suspended by a chain from the shoulder, in which the dervishes put the alms they receive and the food which is given them. The etymology of this word is obscure; a popular one is given by the Persians: *kash* "draw" (imperative) and *kūl* "shoulder", "what one draws over the shoulder"; but as we find a form *kachkūl* attested in the older poets (Anwarī, Saif Isfarangī), this explanation can hardly be accepted. The dictionaries give as the first sense "beggar" and then "beggar's bowl". We are not able to say whether they are right.

In literature the word means an album, a collection of different pieces from different sources, and is applied particularly to the *Kitāb al-Kashkūl*

of Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī [cf. above s. v. AL-'ĀMILĪ].

Bibliography: *Farhang-i Rashīdī*, s. v. *Kashkūl*; *Burhān-i Ḳāṭi'*, s. v. *kashkūl*; Rev. R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, p. 217; Ricaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, figure in chapt. xvii . . .; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], i. 337; A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damascus*, ii. 4; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 52. (CL. HUART)

KASHMĪR (1). The name Kashmīr (in Arabic works also Kashmīr) has from early times been employed to denote the valley situated in North-west Himalaya between 33° 50' and 34° 40' N. Lat. and 74° and 75° 30' E. Long. This valley has a length from N. W. to S. E. of about 84 miles and a breath from N. E. to S. W. of 20 to 25 m. The area is about 1900 sq. miles. It is separated from the outer hills of Djammū, Rādjāwarī and Pūnč by the lofty Pīr Pandjāl Range of which several peaks are more than 15,000 feet in height. On the North-west side ranges which come nearest to the valley rise to greater heights, the principal peaks being Gwash-brārī (17.800 ft.), Amarnāth (17.321 ft.) and Haramukh (16.903 ft.). Beyond these is an extensive mountainous district through which the passes connecting the valley with Ladākh, the Upper Indus valley, and Central Asia are few and difficult. The Zōdji Pass (11.300 ft.) is the principal means of communication with Ladākh, and the Burzil Pass (13,500 ft.) with Astōr and Skardū. With the plains of India the most direct pass is via Bhimbar over the Pīr Pandjāl (11.400 ft.), but the easiest and only route open throughout the year is that by Bāramulla where the R. Djehlam or Bēhat leaves the valley. This may be approached now most easily by the good road from Rāwal Pindī via Marrī, which follows the gorge of the Djehlam, but the Abbottābād route which joins the other at Muẓaffarābād (the confluence of the Kishangangā with the Djehlam) has more natural facilities and was most used in early days. The geography and geology of this isolated valley are fully described by Drew, Lydekker and Oestreich, and the historical geography has been elucidated by Cunningham and Stein.

The valley is shown to be a lacustrine basin formed by the Djehlam R. and its tributaries, of which the Sind and Lidar are the principal. The drying up of the lake which filled the valley is due to the removal of the rocky barrier which must have closed the exit at Bāramulla, and no doubt the general progressive dessiccation of this part of Asia contributed to the result. The Wular Lake is the principal remaining sheet of water, and the smaller Mānasbal Lake and the Srinagar Dal also deserve mention.

The surface of the valley lies between 5000 and 6000 ft. above sea level, it is nearly level and of great fertility, and seems to have attained prosperity at an early period, although its remoteness and inaccessibility protected it from many of the storms of invasion which have swept over Northern India. The people of Kashmīr, although of fine physique, have generally been stigmatized by travellers and rulers alike, from Yuan Čwang to Abu 'l-Faḍl [q. v.] and Gulāb Singh, as an unwarlike, cowardly and cunning race, but, as Lawrence has pointed out, these defects have been exaggerated by persistent oppression. It is evident that a race which maintained its independence for so many centuries could not, even though assisted by the great natural difficulties of approaching the country, have been altogether destitute of a manly character.

Although historical information does not go back to a very early period, yet for the last two thousand years Kashmīr is exceptionally well supplied with sources of historical information. The principal of these is Kalhaṇa's *Rādjataranginī*, a metrical chronicle composed in the xiith century, which is almost unique in India, and which as edited, translated, and annotated by Stein is the main source of our knowledge. Other authorities are the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Čwang, who visited Kashmīr in the viith century, the chronicle of al-Bīrūnī [q. v.] in the xith century, the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl, the diary of the Emperor Djahāngīr, and the accounts of many modern travellers, beginning with the French physician Bernier, who accompanied the Emperor Awrangzīb [q. v.] on his visit to the valley. There is also a very complete series of coins illustrating the history of Kashmīr from the 6th century till the present day through the period of the Ephthalites, the Hindu kings, the Musalmān sulṭāns, the Mughal Emperors, the Durrānīs of Afghānistān, the Sikhs and the present rule of the Hindū Dogras of Djammū, under British suzerainty.

The most noticeable point in the history is the immunity of the valley from the great historic conquerors. Alexander did not touch it, and it repelled the attack of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. Čingiz Khān [q. v.] and Tīmūr passed it by as did Bābur [v. BĀBER]. It fell easily into the possession of Akbar after he had consolidated his power over the whole of Northern India, and it was unmolested by Nādir Shāh even when the Mughal power had crumbled away under his attacks. Yet the disorganised country succumbed at once to the attacks of the mountainbred Afghāns of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, and the later Durrānīs, divided among themselves, were easily defeated by the Sikhs. In these cases the people of the valley, regarded simply as subjects for extortion, had no ground for preferring one set of conquerors to another, and they took no part in these later struggles.

No information about Kashmīr can be derived from classical sources before the time of Ptolemy, as the Greek historians of Alexander do not even mention it. Ptolemy (in the middle of the 2nd cent. A. D.) describes it as a very powerful state extending far beyond the limits of the valley, and it is evident that it formed part of the great kingdom of the Kushāns which spread over Northern India at that time. He calls it Kaspeiria, and states that it lies below the sources of the Bidaspes, the Sandabal and the Adris, i. e. the Vitastā (Vēhat, Bēhat or Djehlam), the Čandrabhāga (Čināb) and the Airāwatī (Rāvī), a very accurate description.

Before this time however, although there is no contemporary information, there is good ground for believing that Kashmīr formed part of the dominions of Aśōka about 250 B. C. The defeat of Seleukos by Čandragupta had enabled the Maurya monarchs to extend their power northward, and the spread of Buddhism made it easy for Aśōka to extend his influence into Kashmīr when he adopted that creed. No inscription of his edicts has been found in the valley, but that at Mānsehra was situated close to the most obvious route

to Bārāmūla through the Pakhlī plain forming part of Urasā (Hazara), and Yuan Čwang tells us that he erected four stūpas in the valley.

This is confirmed by the *Rādjataranginī* (i. 104), which shows the tradition still existing in Kalhaṇa's time. It represents Aśōka as a king who built numerous stūpas, and founded the city of Srīnagarī, the name of which is preserved in the modern capital Srīnagar, although its actual site is marked by the temple of Pāndrēṭhan (i. e. Purānādhishṭhāna "ancient capital"), three miles away. The chronicle again embodies an actual tradition when it comes to the kings Kanishka, Djushka, and Hushka, who correspond very closely to the Kushāns Kanishka, Vāsishka, and Huwishka, known from coins and inscriptions. We know from the Chinese and other Buddhist records that Kanishka called together the second great Buddhist counsel in Kashmir, and it seems probable that this took place, if the Buddhist tradition is correct, 400 years after Buddha's death, viz. the last half of the 1st century B. C. Even if the theory identifying Kanishka's date with the Śaka era should prove correct, this council cannot be dated later than the first cent. After the decay of the great Kushān kingdom it is probable that Kashmir remained under the rule of minor chiefs of that race who were overthrown by the Ephthalites or White Huns in the early part of the vith century.

All through this early period the name Kashmir or some similar form seems to have been in use. Stein shows that Ptolemy's Kaspeiria corresponds with a Prākṛit form Kasvīra, which is preserved in the modern Kashmīrī form Kashīr, while the older Sanskṛit form Kaśmīra has survived almost unaltered in India and Persia as the appellation of the country. The derivation from a supposed Kaśyapa-pura advocated by Wilson and Lassen is not now generally accepted, and the Kaspatyros of Herodotos certainly does not refer to Kashmir but to some place bordering on the Indus. He places it in the province of Paktyikē which must have been the later Pakhlī, the hilly district lying between the Indus and the Djehlam which gave its name to a *sarkār* of the Mughal empire under Akbar). Hekataios also mentions Kaspapyros as a city of the Gandarians. In the viith cent. the Chinese pilgrims adopted the name Ki-pin for Kashmir, but Yuan Čwang also uses the form Ka-si-mi-lo.

The Ephthalite occupation of Kashmir does not seem to have formed part of the direct invasion of India, which came from the west. Their king Mihira-gula seems to have been established at Śākala (Siyāl-kōt) in 520 A. D., when the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun found him making war on Kashmir. How far he succeeded is not clear, but after his defeat in Central India in 528 A. D. he appears to have retired into Kashmir, and seems to have gradually obtained possession of the country, whence he attacked his brother who had usurped his throne in Gandhāra. Yaśōdharman, his Indian conqueror, appears to have followed him into Kashmir and struck coins there, but probably Mihira-gula remained in possession, as coins in the Kashmir style are found in the names of his successors, Khingila and Tōramāna. Yuan Čwang, who visited Kashmir early in the next century, states that Mihira-gula was a tyrant and oppressor of Buddhism. He was favourably received by the king then reigning, whose name he does not give, probably Durlabha the founder of the Kārkōṭaka dynasty and found 100 Buddhist monasteries still existing. Shortly afterwards king Harsha of Kanawdj [q. v.] extorted from Kashmir the tooth-relic of Buddha, but did not invade the country. Relations with China were frequent during the viiith century. An embassy from China arrived in 713 A. D. After 720 A. D. the kings of Kashmir were recognized by the Chinese emperors. The last recorded embassy from China was in 759 A. D. The Kārkōṭaka dynasty was then in possession, and the embassy in 713 A. D. seems to have been due to an application by the king Candrāpīḍa for assistance against the Arabs, who now appear for the first time. Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim after the conquest of Sindh had advanced to the foot of the Himalaya, but no further advance was made. The regular coinage of Kashmir reproducing that of the later Kushāns (with gradual degradation of designs) begins with the Kārkōṭakas and continues till the supersession of the Hindū by the Musalmān kings in the xiv.th century. The earlier kings of this race had possessions extending far beyond the limits of Kashmir including Pakhlī, Pūnč, Rādjapurī, Taxila and the Salt Range.

The extension of the Kashmir style of architecture, which is found almost unaltered in the ancient temples of the Salt Range, may probably be referred to this period. Hindūism and Buddhism flourished side by side in Kashmir, as we learn from Yuan Čwang, and even as late as the xii.th century when Kalhaṇa wrote; and the style of architecture used for the Hindū temples was probably identical with that of the Buddhist *vihāra*'s. Foucher (*L'Art Greco-Bouddhique*, p. 136—145) has proved its derivation from the Gandhāra architecture of the i.st and ii.nd centuries. The double pyramidal roof, its distinguishing feature, has been perpetuated in Muḥammadan mosques up to the present day. The mosque of Shāh Hamadān in Srīnagar shows this feature.

It is also in his account of this period that references to the Shāhis of Gandhāra begin to appear in Kalhaṇa's chronicle, and (as was the case with China) the growth of Islām appears to be the cause of the alliance between Gandhāra and Kashmir. In addition to the progress made in Sindh attacks were being made on the Gandhāra border towards Kābul. Al-Ṭabarī tells us that as early as A. H. 23 ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr reached Ḳandahār (Gandhāra) and the Indian frontier, and under al-Manṣūr, 136—158 (754—775), according to al-Balādhurī, Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī, governor of Sind "conquered Kashmir and Multān .... then he came in boats to al-Ḳandahār and conquered it", and al-Yaʿḳūbī confirms this. The territories of Kashmir which were conquered were no doubt outlying portions of the dominions between the Indus and Djehlam, and not the valley. It was no more than a raid without permanent effect on Kashmir, where the Hindū kings continued to rule undisturbed for some centuries. The most remarkable of these kings was Avantivarman (A. D. 855—883), founder of Avantipur, where the ruins of his temples still exist. He also carried out extensive works to regulate the floods of the Djehlam. The alliance with the Shāhis is again met with in his son's time, and becomes closer as time goes on. Gopāla-varman (902—904) helped Tōramāṇa or Kamaluka, the Kamalū of al-Bīrūnī, to recover his capital from a rebel,

and Kshēma-gupta (950—958) married Diddā, grand-daughter on her mother's side of Bhīma, successor of Kamalūka. Diddā exercised great influence in successive reigns, and ultimately became queen herself. She was a member of the ruling family of Lohara in Pūnč, and through her influence the dynasty became rulers of Kashmir. In 404 (1013) Maḥmūd of Ghazna destroyed the Shāhī kingdom. The last king, Triločan-pāl, assisted by a Kashmir force, was defeated and put to flight, but Maḥmūd's attempt to penetrate into Kashmir itself was brought to a stop at the hill-fort of Lōhara, the Lawhūr of al-Bīrūnī which he describes as the strongest place he had ever seen. Even after the destruction of the Shāhī kingdom princes of that family continued to exercise influence in Kashmir. The Lōhara dynasty reigned throughout the Ghaznawī period. The half mad king Harsha (1089—1101), according to Kalhaṇa, was under Musalmān influence, employed Turkish soldiers and destroyed Hindū and Buddhist images. The employment of 'Turushka' or Turkish troops is attributed partly to the incapacity of the Kashmiris. It is evident that the country was distracted at this period by frequent plots and rebellions caused by misgovernment, and it is probable that foreign troops were employed quite as much on this account as for the reason alleged. Kalhaṇa's chronicle comes to an end in 1149, and it is evident from the continuation by Djonarādja that the condition of affairs became worse, and also that a gradual conversion of the people to Islām was in progress. An invasion from the north by Tātārs under Dhu 'l-Ḳadr Khān (Zulču) took place in 706 (1305), and it is stated that after plundering Kashmir, this army perished in the snows while returning northwards. This perhaps made the way easier for the next Musalmān adventurer, Shāh Mīr Swātī (probably an Afghān), who seized the crown and brought in Muḥammadan rule under the title of Shams al-A'ẓam in 735 (1334). The change seems to have been accepted by the bulk of the nation, and the Hindūs, mainly Brahmans, who retained their religion were treated with toleration, still continuing to hold official posts. In the reign of Sikandar Shāh, 788—813 (1386—1410), a change took place, and this fanatical ruler commenced a violent persecution and reduced the ancient temples to the ruined state in which they still remain. His nickname Butshikan (iconoclast) commemorates these deeds. Zain al-'Ābidīn, who reigned 820—872 (1417—1467) reverted to the policy of toleration, and was an excellent ruler in every respect. His reign is looked back upon by Kashmīrīs of every class as a golden age in which justice prevailed. He constructed roads, canals, and bridges and in every way promoted the prosperity of the country. Under his successors misrule again prevailed. The Shī'ah Čaks who, according to Lawrence, probably came from Dardistān, obtained great power, and ultimately displaced the later kings of the legitimate line. Ghāzī Khān Čak was king in all but name, and Ḥusain Shāh, Muḥammad 'Alī, and Yūsuf, as shown by their coins, took the title of Bādshāh in rivalry of the Mughal emperors, and not that of Sulṭān used by the former kings.

After Bābar's conquest of northern India the emperors turned their eyes on Kashmir, which offered great attractions to a race accustomed to a cool climate, running streams, and gardens. Bābar himself sent a small expedition into the country which met with no success. In 947 (1540), the year in which Humāyūn was driven from power by Shēr Shāh's rising, his cousin, Ḥaidar Shāh Dughlāt, a member of the family ruling at Kāshghar [see DUGHLĀT], a man of great ability and famous as a historian [see ḤAIDAR MĪRZĀ] persuaded Humāyūn to attempt the conquest of Kashmir, and thus to obtain a safe refuge from his opponents. Humāyūn, however, found himself unable to carry out the project, but Ḥaidar Mīrzā went on with the expedition, and receiving much local support established himself as ruler in Humāyūn's name. He maintained himself till 958 (1551) when he was killed in an outbreak. This was probably organized by the Sūrī kings as a coin of Islām Shāh struck in Kashmir in 957 is known. The Čaks continued to rule until Akbar invaded the valley. In spite of the determined opposition of Ya'ḳūb Khān, son of Yūsuf Shāh, all resistance was overcome in 995 (1586) when Kashmir became part of the Mughal empire. It became one of the favourite resorts of the Emperors.

Akbar's first personal visit was in 997 (1589) by the Pīr Pandjāl Pass, the next in 1000-1001 (1592) when he was accompanied by Niẓām al-Dīn, author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*. On his third visit he had a land-settlement carried out by his financier, Todar Mal, and fortified the hill at Srinagar on which now stands the fort of Hari Parbat. A full description of Kashmir under Akbar is given by Abū 'l-Faḍl in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. Djahāngīr as a prince accompanied his father to Kashmir, and indulged his fondness for the country to the full after he became emperor. He erected numerous summer palaces and laid out gardens, of which the Nishāṭ Bāgh on the shores of the Dal, Achibal where the springs of one branch of the Djehlam gush from the rocks, and Vērnāg are the best known. To please his consort, Nūr Djahān, he is said to have introduced the *chinār* or plane-tree from Persia, her native country, and the fine groves and avenues of this tree are still one of the beauties of Kashmir.

His successor Shāh Djahān also laid out many gardens, and under his reign 'Alī Mardān Khān built serais along the Pīr Pandjāl road. His son, Dārā Shikōh (q. v.), built the Parī-Maḥall or Fairy Palace of which the ruins still stand on the mountain side above the Dal. Here as elsewhere the intolerant policy of Awrangzēb brought in trouble. He only visited the valley once, and some mosques erected by him still exist. The outward splendour of the empire was still undiminished, and the condition of Kashmir is vividly described by Bernier who accompanied the emperor on his visit.

Under the later emperors the administration became very bad. Nādir Shāh's invasion, although he did not touch the valley, brought in anarchy. Its *ṣūbadār*'s became practically independent. About 1752 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.] took possession and in 1756 he appointed Buland Khān Sadōzai to be *ṣūbadār* of Kashmir. Coinage however continued in the name of the emperor 'Ālamgīr II till 1174 (1760) and Aḥmad Shāh's first Kashmir coinage is dated 1176. (The coin of 1162 mentioned by Rodgers is shown by Whitehead to belong to the Mughal Emperor Aḥmad Shāh and not to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī).

The condition of Kas̲h̲mīr under the Durrānīs was thoroughly bad. They were barbarous and uncivilized rulers, and their governors looked on Kas̲h̲mīr simply as a field for plunder and extortion. The internal wars between claimants to the throne, especially between Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh and S̲h̲udjā' al-Mulk, are faithfully reflected in the coinage. From the time 1227 (1814) when Fatḥ Khān Bārakzai obtained possession of Kas̲h̲mīr by the help of Randjīt Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb, the nominal rulers were Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh and afterwards Aiyūb S̲h̲āh, but the real power was in the hands of the Bārakzai chiefs, especially Muḥammad A'ẓam S̲h̲āh, by whom the coins in the name of Muḥammad (1227—32) were probably struck. In 1223—1225 the anarchy prevailing is shown by the issue of coins in the name of the popular local saint, Nūr al-Dīn, instead of any nominal king. This state of affairs was brought to a close by the invasion of Randjīt Singh in 1234 (1819), who annexed Kas̲h̲mīr to the Sikh kingdom. The Sikh rule also was harsh and oppressive but firmer and better than that of the Durrānīs. Hari Singh was a governor noted for his severity, and Miyān Singh was the most just and efficient. Moorcroft, the traveller, visited Kas̲h̲mīr during this period and gives an unfavourable account of the condition of the people under Sikh rule.

Under Randjīt Singh a Dogra family of Djammū consisting of three brothers, Dhyān Singh, Gulāb Singh, and Suchet Singh, had risen into notice. They were not Sikhs but orthodox Hindūs. The Dogras are a Rādjpūt race of the outer hills, but not of the Kas̲h̲mīr Valley. Dhyān Singh became one of the chief officials of the Sikh state, while Gulāb Singh was invested with the Djammū Rādj, which had been confiscated by Randjīt Singh about 1820. In Randjīt Singh's name he annexed one hill-state after another, increasing thereby his own power, and his influence in Kas̲h̲mīr itself. In this way he added Kis̲h̲twār and Ladākh to the Sikh dominions. After Randjīt Singh's death in 1839 and the dissensions which followed it, Dhyān Singh's position was for a time a very powerful one, and through his help Gulāb Singh was able to consolidate his power in the mountain country. After the murder of Dhyān Singh with Mahārādjā S̲h̲ēr Singh, by the Sindhānwālia's (1844), Gulāb Singh after a time withdrew to his mountain possessions, but previous to this he had been sent into Kas̲h̲mīr to put down a mutiny in which Miyān Singh, the governor, had been killed (1842). This he did successfully, but the country had again fallen into anarchy, and the rebellious Bomba tribe defied the Sikh army. In 1845, when the Khālsa army plunged into war with the British government, Gulāb Singh took no part in it, and after the war he acted as representative of the young Mahārādjā Dalīp Singh in the negotiations which followed. Ultimately, on the advice of Major H. Lawrence (Sir Henry Lawrence), Kas̲h̲mīr and the adjoining territories between the Indus and the Rāvī were separated from the Pandjāb and formed into a separate state of which Gulāb Singh became Mahārādjā on payment of a subsidy and recognition of British suzerainty. The treaty in which these terms were embodied was signed in 1846. From this date begins the modern state of Djammū and Kas̲h̲mīr.

Gulāb Singh did not obtain peaceful possession of his new dominions. The governor Imām al-Dīn allied himself with the turbulent Bombas. Gulāb Singh's troops were defeated, and he was able to assert his authority only after a British force had entered Djammū. The Bombas continued to resist for several years. Ultimately all the rebellious tribes submitted. These movements had not had any hold on the agricultural population whose only desire is to live quietly and escape excessive demands from officials. Gulāb Singh's rule was on the whole firm and just, and the condition of the country gradually improved. He died in 1857 and was succeeded by his third son Ranbīr Singh, a good and well meaning ruler, but lacking the strong character of Gulāb Singh. The famine of 1877—79 caused great misery in the country and the earthquake of 1885 enormous losses. Ranbīr Singh was succeeded in 1885 by his eldest son, the present Mahārādjā Partāb Singh, who is a pious and conservative ruler. In 1893 the famine and earthquake were followed by one of the most disastrous floods in record. In spite of these catastrophes the preservation of peace and an orderly administration has caused an enormous increase in prosperity. One of the principal contributory causes has been the establishment of a regular system of land revenue administration under the settlement made by Mr. Wingate and Mr. W. Lawrence in 1887—92, after the model of the settlements in British India. These have been since improved and developed by Mr. W. S. Talbot, settlement commissioner. The development of communications by the construction of a good road through the Djhlam Valley to Bāramulla and more recently the cart road from Bāramulla to the capital has been a great benefit to the country.

Kas̲h̲mīr is divided for administrative purposes into the districts of South Kas̲h̲mīr, North Kas̲h̲mīr and Muẓaffarābād. The first two comprise the valley with the smaller river valleys and mountain slopes immediately adjoining it. The third consists of the narrow valley of the Djhlam below Bāramulla and that of the Kis̲h̲n-gangā which joins it at Muẓaffarābād. This tract has from time immemorial been treated as part of Kas̲h̲mīr. North Kas̲h̲mīr was formerly known by the name of Kāmrādj, and South Kas̲h̲mīr as Marādj. The Kas̲h̲mīrī language extends down the Djhlam some distance below Bāramulla, but not to Muẓaffarābād or the Kis̲h̲n-gangā valley where the dialect spoken is a form of Lahndā or Western Pandjābī.

The population was 1,295,201 in 1911. It consists of about 94 per cent of Musalmāns and 6 per cent of Hindūs, including a small number of Sikhs. The Hindūs are mainly Brahmans, commonly called Paṇḍits, whatever their occupation may be. The aboriginal agricultural population has become Musalmān, there has been little or no admixture of foreign races, and the original castes survive among them, but intermarriage between them is permitted, and family names (*krām*), often nicknames in their origin, have to a considerable extent superseded caste-names.

There is a great deal of artistic talent, and a natural gift for craftsmanship among the Kas̲h̲mīrīs. The old established industry of shawl-weaving for which Kas̲h̲mīr was once famous, has died down to very small dimensions, plain *pas̲h̲mīna* woven from the *pas̲h̲m* or wool of the Tibetan goat has to some extent taken the place of

the shawls of the same material. Other industries have however sprung up, carpets, embroidered felts and tablecloths are made in considerable quantities, while the products of the wood carving, lacquered and painted wood and papier-maché, silverwork, and copperwork all find a good market in Europe and among tourists.

A considerable class, the Hāndjīs or boatmen, live entirely on boats on the rivers and lakes, and form a very distinct element in the population.

Kashmīr has always had an attraction for visitors, and the improvement of communications has increased the number of visitors. It has become one of the principal summer resorts for European residents in India as well as for tourists from all parts of the world, who travel about the country in camps or house boats on the rivers or settle in the upland valley of Gulmarg, 8000 ft. above sea-level. Game large and small in the mountain valleys formerly attracted many sportsmen, but it is no longer abundant, and seekers after trophies now seldom visit Kashmīr.

The language of Kashmīr known as Kashmīrī or Kāshur is a Prakritic tongue differing much from the dialects of the Pandjāb, and showing so much affinity in some respects with the Shīnā language of Dardistān that it is classed by Grierson with the Pishāča group of languages.

The principal travels in Kashmīr which may be consulted in addition to the earlier authorities prior to the 17th century which have been mentioned above are those of Francisco Xavier (who accompanied Akbar to Kashmīr), François Bernier (who accompanied Awrangzīb in 1664), George Forster in 1783 (during the reign of Tīmūr Shāh, Durrānī), William Moorcroft and George Trebeck (through Ladākh and thence into Kashmīr in Randjīt Singh's time 1819—25), Victor Jacquemont (1831), Von Hügel (1835), and Vigne (1835). For more modern time the best general descriptions are those of Drew and Lawrence and for ancient history the works of Stein.

(2). A name frequently given to Srīnagar, the capital of the country of Kashmīr. It was the name applied to the mint-town under the Muḥammadan Sulṭāns, the Mughal emperors, the Durrānī Shāh's; and even so late as 1835 von Hügel speaks of the City of Kashmīr. The ancient name of Srīnagar which, according to Kalhaṇa, was given by Aśoka, has been revived by the Hindū rulers in modern times and is now in general use.

(3). The extensive dominions of the Mahārādjās of Djammū and Kashmīr are now frequently included under the name Kashmīr in atlases and official publications such as the *Census of India*. These include vast tracts not only in the outer hills, south-west of the Pīr Pandjāl Mts., including Djammū and Rādjawarī, but in the inner Himalayas comprising the conquests made in the name of Randjīt Singh and those made by the Mahārādjās of Kashmīr in more recent times. This region extends 32° to 37° 30' N. Lat. and from 73° to 80° E. Long. and has an area of 84,432 sq. miles and a population of 3,158,126 in 1911. Of this population however 2,895,061 is comprised within the narrow limits of Kashmīr and Djammū, while the outer enormous area, the greater part of which consists of mountains, contains only 265,060. The countries of Ladākh, Skardū (Baltistān [q. v.], Čilās, Gilgit [q. v.], Hunza-Nagar [q. v.], and Yāsīn are comprised in this region and will be found described under their own names, the connection with Kashmīr being purely modern.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES)

ĶAṢĪDA, not infrequently also *Ḳaṣīd*, is the name given to a form of Arabic (also Persian, Turkish etc.) poem of some length. The name is derived from the Arabic root *ḳaṣada* with the meaning "to aim", because in the earlier times it contained the praise of the poet's tribe and attacks upon its adversaries; later the praise of a person or family by a poet who expects and openly asks for presents for his eulogies. From the earliest times the elegy (*marthiya*) does not appear to be included under the same designation, but poems of insult (*hidjā'*) are frequently by older poets called a ḳaṣīda, though the latter probably had frequently not the characteristics which come into the scheme of a proper ḳaṣīda. We can form the best opinion by taking as the basis for investigation the poems of the authors who lived in the first century of the Hidjra, instead of beginning with the poems preserved from the time of Paganism, though the latter formed the model of the former. A perfect ḳaṣīda should contain three essential parts. First the *nasīb* or erotic introduction in which the poet describes his visit to the erstwhile abode of his lady and his yearnings at finding the place forsaken. Secondly follows a description of his ride to the person whom he intends to praise. This gives him ample scope for describing the terrors of the desert and the comparison of his camel with various animals of the desert. At last comes the chief portion of the poem containing praise, or abuse of the person or tribe aimed at. Some poets, when so inclined, finish up with some moral reflection.

An Arabic (or Persian etc.) ḳaṣīda is a very artificial composition; the same rhyme has to run through the whole of the verses, however long the poem may be. In addition the composition is bound by a metre which the poet has to to guard most scrupulously through the whole course of the poem. The result is that we cannot expect very much beautiful poetry; the description of the desert and its animals and terrors may have a certain charm at first, but when the same descriptions recur in endless poems expressed in the same manner, only with different words, the monotony becomes nauseous. The difficulty was keenly realised by the poets themselves and accounts for the fragmentary character of most poems, which required much time in their composition. The poet Dhu 'l-Rumma stated that for a long time he could get no further than the first verse of his now celebrated poem (Nº. 1 of his *Dīwān*) and that it was only when he visited Iṣfahān that the remaining verses (128 in the edition) came to him with ease (*Asās al-Balāgha*, s. v. *ḥṣl*). The poet Djarīr, though stirred to his soul by the attacks of Djandal, the son of al-Rā'ī, composed at first only about 80 lines of his reply, though rhyme and metre are the easiest possible in the Arabic language, and completed the remainder at a later time (*Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, p. 430). We can likewise be sure that al-Ṭirimmāḥ composed only a portion of his renowned poem against the tribe Tamīm and al-Farazdaḳ and that the additional verses sometimes included in the poem are by the poet himself and not interpolations by others. When a poet had composed a ḳaṣīda he would recite it whenever an occasion offered and it is quite natural that he should add or cancel verses himself, especially if a reply to his poem opened fresh avenues of attack. Many poets certainly never rose to composition of a poem containing all the essential portions of a ḳaṣīda, and it is foolishness to assume in each case that part of a poem has been lost if only a certain part is recorded. Such a poem was sent into the world before the poet had time to complete it and it is equally certain that lampoons in particular did not lend themselves easily to the complete scheme. Very early poets also composed poems which, though called ḳaṣīda, did not contain the essential portion, the praise or insult. As such we must take e. g. the poems of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a and some poems of al-Ṭirimmāḥ. Some of the latter's compositions were made to display the art of description and were never intended to be ḳaṣā'id in the proper sense of the word. The Arabic ḳaṣīda was naturally imitated by poets who wrote in other languages and the Persian poets Anwarī and Khāḳānī are celebrated as masters of this style. The form of the ḳaṣīda has survived to modern times and I have specimens by poets still living where we find the absurdity of a description of a desert-ride by persons who live in Cairo and travel by railway and steamer.

The ḳaṣīda by its references to persons and events is also a source of historical information. This, however, must be handled with the utmost care, as false statements, by design or through ignorance, are frequent and the mention of a battle-day does not necessarily imply that the poet was present. As an example I mention only that the Asadī poets 'Abīd and Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, probably a century distant from one another, both boast that their tribe was victorious at al-Nisār and al-Djifār.

(F. KRENKOW)

ĶĀSIM, the name given by the Ottoman Turks to St. Demetrius whose festival falls on Oct. 26 of the Julian calendar. It was formerly the beginning of the winter semester, during which the fleet took up its winter-quarters at the Golden Horn.

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(CL. HUART)

AL-ĶĀSIM B. 'ĪSĀ AL-'IDJLĪ, usually called Abū Dulaf, a Muslim general. When in 195 (811) the Caliph al-Amīn sent an army under 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān against al-Ma'mūn's general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, Abū Dulaf went with him. When Ibn Māhān had fallen, Abū Dulaf came back to the neighbourhood of Hamadhān and, although he declined to pay homage to al-Ma'mūn, Ṭāhir left him in peace in al-Karadj. In 214 (829/830), when al-Ma'mūn came to Raiy, he sent for him. His friends advised him not to go, but he went and the Caliph received him with the greatest goodwill. In al-Mu'taṣim's reign, Abū Dulaf was arrested by al-Afshīn [q. v.] who was jealous of his bravery and eloquence. Al-Afshīn accused him of murder

and treason and on the evidence of false witnesses he was condemned to death but reprieved at the last minute by the intervention of the chief ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād (q. v.). As soon as the latter heard of the danger threatening Abū Dulaf he hurried to al-Afshīn and said the Caliph had ordered him to spare Abū Dulaf. When the latter had been released, Aḥmad went to the Caliph and told him that he made up the story to save the life of the innocent accused, whereupon al-Mu'taṣim forgave him and pardoned Abū Dulaf. The latter died in 225 (839/840) or 226 (840/841) in Baghdād. He left several works. He was also famed as an exceedingly ardent devotee of the Caliph 'Alī. On his descendants see the article DULAFIDS.

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AL-ḲAṢĪM, a district in Central Arabia, on the high plateau of the Arabian desert. It owes its fertility to the Wādī Rumma', which runs to the north-east and whose course is barred by a series of parallel sand-dunes and hills from 1600—2000 feet high, which run from north-west to south-east. The water, richly provided by the spring and summer rains, sinks into the valleys and even in dry periods is preserved for years at a little depth under the red or yellow sandy soil and this supplies the essential requisite for a rich vegetation. The plateau is therefore covered in spring and summer with a rich crop of grass and affords excellent pasture for the great herds of camels and cattle and the numerous smaller animals. The sand-hills are covered with tamarisks (*athl*, *tamarix nilotica Ehrbg.*) and varieties of acacia indigenous to Arabia (*ḳaraẓ*, *acacia Arabica W.*, *ṭalḥ*, *acacia Seyal W.*). Millet, maize, wheat, vetches, etc. grow in the fields. Fruit-trees of all kinds yield plentiful crops. So early a writer as Yāḳūt makes special mention of the figs, peaches, grapes and pomegranates. The most important and most cultivated fruit-tree is, as elsewhere, the date-palm, which is represented in al-Ḳaṣīm by a particularly fine variety.

Among plants of economic importance may be mentioned the cotton-tree, which supplies local requirements. In the western part of al-Ḳaṣīm rock-salt is found. This mineral, so important for the cattle-breeders, is sold in the towns, especially in Boreida and 'Aneiza.

Al-Ḳaṣīm plays an important part in the caravan traffic of Arabia on account of its wealth in camels and its enterprising population. Of the population, estimated by Palgrave at 25—30,000 souls, at least a third devote themselves to caravan traffic either hiring out animals or acting as attendants or as small merchants. The caravan business takes them through the Wādī Dawāsir and Wādī Nadjrān to the Yemen, from which the best coffee is exported, to Kuwait, al-Baṣra, Baghdād and Djebel Shammar, to Makka and Syria via Khaibar. It is in the nature of things that many natives of al-Ḳaṣīm settle in the frontier districts or in one of the towns just mentioned and many have attained prosperity and wealth. Al-Ḳaṣīm also plays an important part in the trade in race-horses. Al-Djarad, also called Djarad al-Ḳaṣīm, in olden times the chief town of al-Ḳaṣīm, a day's march from 'Aneiza on the road to al-Baṣra, has been identified by A. Sprenger with the Φάλα of Ptolemy. The ancient settlements of this area which al-Hamdānī includes in al-Yamāma are all in ruins; the modern larger towns date from the late middle ages.

The district which lies in the centre of Arabia has had a lively history. One of the battle-"days" of the Arabs is called after it. Zuhair, Akhṭal, 'Aws b. Hadjar and other poets know and mention al-Ḳaṣīm. The young faith of Islām found al-Ḳaṣīm at first on the side of the anti-prophet Musailima, but in the decisive encounter between the Muslims and the followers of the Prophet of al-Yamāma we find al-Ḳaṣīm on the side of Khālid, the "Sword of Allāh"; in the struggle for the Caliphate, Nadjd and al-Ḳaṣīm were on the side of 'Alī but the victory of the Umaiyads brought the whole of Central Arabia under their sway and there was no change with the 'Abbāsids. It was not until the revolutionary movement led by the Karmatians that Nadjd was lost to the 'Abbāsids. In the eleventh century, Dārim, a native of al-Rass in al-Ḳaṣīm, was able to conquer a large part of Nadjd and Yemen and unite it with al-Ḳaṣīm. His kingdom was inherited by his sons and successors but the increasing power of the chiefs of al-Yamāma and 'Āriḍ conquered Dārim's kingdom bit by bit, till finally it was again reduced to al-Ḳaṣīm. Al-Ḳaṣīm was from the first somewhat hostile to the Wahhābī movement; but 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd of al-Dar'iya succeeded in gaining possession of Boreida, al-Rass and Tenaiie. The other villages then rose and in 1772 slew all the Wahhābīs they could capture. In 1780 a new rising broke out against Ibn Sa'ūd, which he was only able to put down after much fighting with varied fortunes. Ibn Sa'ūd's kingdom soon found itself faced with an extremely dangerous opponent: Meḥmed 'Alī of Egypt had been commissioned by the Sublime Porte to take measures against the Wahhābīs and sent his son Ṭūsūn to Arabia, where in a rapid succession of victories he conquered the whole of the west coast (1811—1815).

After the death of Ibn Sa'ūd (1814) the Egyptians extended their intrigues against Ibn Sa'ūd's kingdom to the interior of Arabia, and in 1815 Ṭūsūn marched into Central Arabia and captured the fortress of al-Rass in al-Ḳaṣīm after gaining over the greater part of the country by bribery. The peace concluded between Ṭūsūn and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd was, however, not confirmed by Meḥmed 'Alī, who ordered Ibrāhīm to conquer Arabia; in 1817 he took al-Rass, Boreida and 'Aneiza and thus became master of al-Ḳaṣīm. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd had to retire to Dar'iya, was taken prisoner and in 1818 beheaded in Constantinople. Al-Ḳaṣīm was now under Egyptian suzerainty and formed a strong base for Meḥmed 'Alī. But by 1822 the Arabs of Central Arabia had begun their war of liberation from the Egyptian occupation which ended in 1841 in the Egyptian-Turkish troops being driven out. Al-Ḳaṣīm was now for a time under the protection of the Grand Sharīf of Makka; in 1855 Zāmil Āl Salīm, who resided at 'Aneiza, was recognised by Ibn Sa'ūd as independent ruler of al-Ḳaṣīm, but in 1861 the district was again paying tribute to Ibn Sa'ūd. After six years al-Ḳaṣīm was again able to attain its independence and in 1879 Ibn Sa'ūd surrendered his claim to suzerainty over al-Ḳaṣīm in favour of Ibn Rashīd.

lord of Ḥā'il. A rising against Muḥammad b. Rashīd in 1891 ended in disaster and Zāmal Āl Salīm lost his life in battle. The Turks then took advantage of the fierce feud between Ibn Sa'ūd and Ibn Rashīd to gain a firm footing in al-Ḳaṣīm again, all the more easily as the people of al-Ḳaṣīm were weary of the long struggle and anxious for peace, and even Ibn Rashīd would rather have the Turks in al-Ḳaṣīm than the governors of his enemy Ibn Sa'ūd. Aḥmad Faiẓī Pasha therefore invaded Central Arabia in 1905 and occupied al-Ḳaṣīm also. Soon the position of the Turks became untenable, especially as Ibn Rashīd now sided against them; the Turkish troops had to evacuate al-Ḳaṣīm and Aḥmad Faiẓī Pasha's successor, Sāmī Pasha, was no more able to restore Turkish authority. In 1906 al-Ḳaṣīm belonged to Ibn Sa'ūd; in 1911/12 there were again attacks on Ibn Sa'ūd, especially by the Grand Sharīf of Mekka, but since 1913 al-Ḳaṣīm has formed a province in the wide kingdom of Ibn Sa'ūd.

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ḲĀSIM AGHA, called ḲOḎJA (the old), an Ottoman court architect. He was appointed court architect in 1032 (began Nov. 5, 1622) in succession to the distinguished architect Meḥmed Agha, who built the Aḥmad mosque in Stambul (on him cf. the *Risāle-i mi'māriyye* [in MS.] of Dja'far Agha), relieved of his duties in 1053 (began March 22, 1643; cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 335) and his office given to Muṣṭafā Agha, known as *Merammetdji*, lit. "mender", but after a few months only he was restored to the office as the result of a low estimate (cf. Na'īmā, *Ta'rīkh*, ii. 46; J. von Hammer, *op. cit.*, v. 338 *sq.*). His manly intervention on behalf of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, afterwards Grand Vizier, cost him his office and dignities very soon after the Sulṭāna-mother Māh-Peiker (Kösem Wālide, q. v.) had appointed him to manage her affairs (*kethüda*) in October, 1651, on account of his honesty. He was imprisoned in the Seven Towers and soon afterwards banished to Cyprus (Na'īmā, *op. cit.*, ii. 333 *sq.*). He was later released and after being unsuccessful several times finally succeeded in the summer of 1655 (Na'īmā, *op. cit.*, ii. 531) in getting for Meḥmed Pasha the Grand Vizierate. He died, apparently at a great age, in 1070 (began Nov. 18, 1660). None of his buildings seem to have been of great importance. His work did not apparently extend to public buildings. It is only known that he was engaged in 1651 in building the Yeñi Wālide Djāmi' but hardly as the chief architect. The part which he played as a politician in Ottoman history is more important and the historian of the empire, Na'īmā, in particular, deals very fully with it.

Bibliography: Na'īmā, *Tārīkh*, Stambul 1147, ii., passim; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 49 (following Na'īmā); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v. 335, 338 *sq.*, 556, 576, 636, 655; F. Babinger, *Quellen zur Osmanischen Künstlergeschichte* in the *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, Leipzig 1924, p. 37. (F. BABINGER)

ḲĀSIM-I ANWĀR, MU'ĪN AL-DĪN 'ALĪ, called ḲĀSIM-I ANWĀR, a Persian mystic and man of letters, born in 757 (1356) in Sarāb near Tabrīz. For Sarāb (in Yāḳūt Sarāw) Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, p. 340, gives Surkhāb; this name is not found in Yāḳūt, but Dawlatshāh has three times the phrase *Surkhāb-i Tabrīz*; the name is once found in a play on words (in a *rubā'ī* of Kamāl-i Khodjandī) in Dawlatshāh, *op. cit.*, p. 326). According to the Persian lexicographers, Surkhāb is a hill near Tabrīz (Vullers, *Lexicon Pers.-Lat.*, s. v., N°. 7). Ḳāsim's family came from Adharbaidjān. His religious teachers were Ṣadr al-Dīn-i Ardabīlī (an ancestor of the Ṣafawids) and Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī-i Yamānī, who was a pupil of Awḥad al-Dīn-i Kirmānī. As Djāmī (*Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, p. 690) tells us, mention was made of Yamānī but not of Ardabīlī in a work on Ḳāsim's *irādat*, which came from the circle of his intimates. This circumstance might suggest that Ḳāsim did not think so highly of Ardabīlī's instruction. The facts given in Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 473, contradict this, however. Among Ḳāsim's own *murīd*'s there must have been several free-thinkers, as Djāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 690, mentions that the teacher himself was, however, free from this imputation. The truth is that he — although it cannot absolutely be proved that he was a Ḥurūfī — strongly sympathised with this sect (Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 479). He travelled a great deal; he first of all lived in Gīlān: Gīlānī expressions are several times found in his poetry. From Gīlān he migrated to Khurāsān where he lived first in Nīshāpūr and later in Herāt. He was expelled from the latter town when the king, Shāh-Rukh, was murdered by a Ḥurūfī in 830 (1426/27). It was assumed that Ḳāsim was connected with the murderer, had harboured him and knew of the attempt beforehand. A singular story is given by Dawlatshāh, *op. cit.*, p. 346 *sq.*, according to which he had already been expelled from Herāt once previously: some individuals had complained to the king that the *murshid* was gathering many young pupils around him, which aroused misgivings among them on moral grounds. Shāh-Rukh, according to the story, then intervened and banished Ḳāsim. The latter then travelled to Balkh and Samarḳand but returned later to Herāt. This story is not very probable but it is evidence at any rate of the great popularity of the teacher in Herāt. Whether the libellous reason given for his expulsion is true cannot be proved either, but it must be confessed that at that time also there were great rascals among the Ṣūfīs. It seems to be certain that Ḳāsim found a protector after the banishment in 830 in Ulugh Beg in Samarḳand. As we also find Samarḳand mentioned in the story in Dawlatshāh, it may be suggested that the story in Dawlatshāh is an invention duplicating the story of his actual banishment.

Ḳāsim later returned to Khurāsān again and settled in Khardjird in the district of Djām. There through the support of well-to-do friends he was able to lead a life of freedom from care down to his death in 837 (1433/34). Dawlatshāh, *op. cit.*, p. 348, makes him die in 835, differing from the other authorities. In addition to what Rieu says (*Catalogue*, p. 636) on the date of Ḳāsim's death see also Rosen, *Les Manuscrits persans de l'Institut*, p. 121, where a chronogram on his death is quoted from a St. Petersburg MS.

Ḳāsim was buried in Khardjird; Dawlatshāh says that in his time 'Alī Shīr began to embellish the site of the tomb with buildings. The same authority tells us that Ḳāsim in his youth practised asceticism to such an extent that he injured his health. But in later years he altered his views — for example he said to someone who could not help expressing surprise at his prosperous appearance that he was no longer *'āshiḳ* but *ma'shūḳ*; he had once been a beggar but now he was a king.

Works. The author, who, according to Dawlatshāh, *op. cit.*, p. 303, was a great admirer of the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ, left a *Dīwān* behind him containing ghazal's, ḳiṭ'a's, rubā'ī's, elegies on mystics and mathnawīs. Some pieces are composed in Gīlānī and Turkish. His other works, *Anīs al-'Ārifīn* and *Anīs al-'Āshiḳīn* (also called *Risālat al-Amīna*) are treatises on mysticism in prose and verse. Finally we may mention his extracts from Sa'dī's *Bustān* entitled *Khulāṣa-i Bustān*.

These writings are unpublished; judging from the not very extensive specimens in Browne and the few pieces in Dawlatshāh (Bland's *Century* where ten of Ḳāsim's ghazal's are published I have not seen) we can agree with Browne when he says "the poetry of Qásimu 'l-Anwár, so far as a foreigner may venture to judge it, is only of average merit". One cannot deny his ability to write pleasing Persian verse but we look in vain for anything out of the way which would give him a claim to a place among the great names of Persian literature. A just verdict on his literary activity, however, will only be possible when his works have been published.

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ḲĀSIM PASHA, usually called Güzeldje Ḳāsim Pasha, an Ottoman statesman. The son of Christian parents (*Ils* [i.e. Ayās Pasha and Ḳāsim Pasha] *sont tous venus de chrestiens*, in C. D. Schepper, *Tagebuch*, in *Missions diplomatiques de Corn. Dpl. de Schepper, dit Scepperus, de 1523 à 1555*, par le Brn. de St.-Génois et G. A. Yssel de Schepper, in vol. xxx. of the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique*, Brussels 1861, p. 169 infra), he was born in the reign of Bāyazīd II and brought up in the Imperial Serāi (Ewliyā, i. 169). He attained the rank of a *rikāb aghasi* ("stirrup-agha"), accompanied Selīm I on his campaign to Egypt, was appointed governor of Ḥamā on its capture in August, 1516 (sandjaḳbeyi) (cf. L. Forrer, *Die osm. Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, Leipzig 1923, p. 55; not in Halil Edhem, *Tagebuch der ägypt. Expedition des Sultans Selim I, aus Feriduns Sammlung der Staatsschriften*, Weimar 1916, p. 15), and soon afterwards governor of Adana. A few years afterwards, he became Beylerbeyi of Anatolia and Rumelia, probably as early as the first year of Sulṭān Sulaimān. Appointed second vizier in 927 (began December 12, 1520) Ḳāsim Pasha held a command in the expedition against Rhodes (*Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, p. 62 at the top). When on Radjab 12, 929 (May 27, 1523) the Egyptian governor Muṣṭafā Pasha was dismissed, Ḳāsim succeeded him but lost the office with 34 days (on Sha'bān 16, 929 = June 30, 1523) (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 35). A few months later, when in Rabī' II (February, 1525) the traitor (*khā'in*) Aḥmed Pasha, his successor, was slain in a rising, he went to Cairo as governor for a second time but was again dismissed by March, 1525. Down to 935 (beginning September 15, 1528), when he once more became second vizier, he seems to have held a governorship ("Budin", i.e. Ofen [?], according to some sources, but which could only have been a temporary appointment). In May, 1533, the Fleming C. D. Schepper, envoy of the Hungarian royal widow Maria, saw him in Stambul as vizier along with the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.] and Ayās Pasha (d. July 13, 1539): *Cassim Bassa a la face plus grande et rouge et n'est si grand que le dict Ayas* (*op. cit.*, p. 169). In 1537 he was governing the Morea and sandjaḳbey) at Modon: in the summer of this year he attacked unsuccessfully the two last bulwarks of Venetian rule in the Morea, Napoli di Romania and Malvasia (cf. Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, ii. 771, 783). He may have then fallen into disgrace and lived in exile. The date of his death is uncertain. In 959 (began December 29, 1551), however, he seems to have lived in the Morea in non-activity; cf. 'Aṭā'ī, *Dhail* on the *Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniyya*, p. 23. In 944 (began June 10, 1537) he had a madrasa built for the poet Surūrī [q.v.] in the garden of the *türbe* of Maḥmūd Yazidji Oghlu [q.v.] which is now burnt down (cf. 'Aṭā'ī, *op. cit.*, p. 27): he cannot have, therefore, died in 939 (1532). It is certain, however, that he was buried in Gallipoli.

Ḳāsim Pasha earned lasting fame from a series of pious foundations and by building a mosque, a madrasa and a bath in Stambul. To this day one of the most important quarters in Constantinople, the Byzantine "Suburb of the Spring" (*kransdes* or *pegai*) is called after him *Ḳāsim Pasha maḥallesi* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, Pest 1822, p. 55 *sqq.*; Ewliyā, *Siyāḥet-nāme*, i. 169, 416 *sqq.*; *The Travels of Evliya*, transl. by J. v. Hammer, London 1834, i.; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, ii. 2 *sqq.*; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, ix. 106 *sqq.*). His daughter Nefise Khatun also endowed a school and is buried in it; cf. *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, ii. 4, 2.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted above: *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 46 *sqq.* (defective and inaccurate); Geoffroy, *L'Estat de la Court du grand Turc*, Paris 1542, fol. 10ᵛ; Guil. Postel, *La tierce Partie des orientales Histoires*, Poitiers 1560, p. 61 *sq.* (*Cassum Bassa au temps qu'il estoit Bassa avoit 20 mille ducats, il en peut avoir autant, est Sangiacly de Morée. Maintenant en son lieu est Moustapha Bassa*). (FRANZ BABINGER)

KASIMOV, in Russian originally GORODEC or GORODOK MEŠČERSKIY, in Tatar KHĀN KARMAN, formerly the capital of the Tatar princes subordinate to the Czar of Moscow and now a district capital in the gouvernement of Ryazan. It took its name from Ḳāsim, son of the founder of the kingdom of Ḳazān, Ulū Muḥammad. In the war between the brothers that followed the assassination of Ulū Muḥammad (1446), Ḳāsim was induced to enter the service of the Russian Grand Duke. The town, which bears his name, was granted him about 1452 (not later than 1456); there he built a mosque (of which only the minaret still exists) and a palace of stone (no longer standing; it was seen as late as 1768 by Pallas). After his death about 1469, his son Dāniyāl reigned till about 1486. Kasimov was next under the rule of prince Nūr Dawlat of the Girāy dynasty and his sons Satilghan and Djanay. About 1512 Shaikh Awliyār (grandson of Khān Küčük Muḥammad), descended from another branch of the descendants of Djūčī, is mentioned as prince of Kasimov. In 1516 his minor son Shāh 'Alī (he is so called in his epitaph, but is usually known as Shaikh 'Alī, Russian Shigaley Shigawliyarović) was reigning (nominally). After a life of vicissitudes (he was repeatedly appointed Khān of Ḳazān by the Czar and then deprived of all his dignities and condemned to the severest imprisonment, then pardoned and again restored to his principality), Shāh 'Alī died childless, aged sixty-one, on Monday, Shawwāl 10, 974 (April 21, 1567). The *tekye* built by him in Ramaḍān, 962 (July–August, 1555), in which are his tomb and the tombs of several of his relatives, has been several times described, first by Pallas in the year 1768, most recently by Welyaminov Zernov in 1863. During his rule in Ḳazān, his brother Djān 'Alī represented him in Kasimov and later ruled for a short time (1532—35) in Ḳazān also until he was murdered during a rising there.

The "Czar" Shāh 'Alī was succeeded in Kasimov by his distant relative Sāyin Bulāt, great-grandson of the Khān of the Golden Horde Aḥmad. In 1573 he adopted Christianity, received the name of Simeon, moved to Moscow and was there given by Ivan the Terrible the title of "Czar of all the Russians". He died in 1616 as the monk Stephen. It was not till 1585 that a successor to him was appointed in Kasimov, Muṣṭafā 'Alī, whose father, 'Abd Allāh b. Aḳ-Kubak, also a great-grandson of Khān Aḥmad, died in 1570 and was buried in Kasimov. About 1600 we find mentioned as prince of Kasimov Uraz Muḥammad of the family of Khāns of the Kirgiz Kazak, who afterwards took part in the fighting during the civil war in Russia and was killed in 1610. The last rulers of Kasimov were Arslān (grandson of the last Siberian Khān Kučum) and his son Saiyid Burhān, descended from the house of Siberian rulers; the latter, first mentioned as ruler in 1627, was baptised between 1653 and 1655 (he received the name Wasiliy) and yet remained prince of Kasimov till his death soon after 1678. To this period belongs the forcible conversion of a part of the Tatars by Misayil, Archbishop of Ryazan (1651—56); in one of these attempts at conversion the Archbishop was killed by the enraged populace. The verse from the Ḳur'ān (iii. 52), constantly quoted in epitaphs in Kasimov, seems to have been placed there in antagonism to the zeal of the Christian missionaries.

Even under Wasiliy the administration of Kasimov was in the hands of a Russian woyewoda; the Tatar prince exercised only nominal rule. The mother of Wasiliy, Fāṭima Sulṭān, was recognised as ruler in the years following Wasiliy's death on these terms; she is last mentioned in 1681. After this there was no "Czar" or "Czarevitch" (sometimes one, sometimes the other title is used) of Kasimov any longer. In the modern district capital of Kasimov the Tatars only form a comparatively small part of the population, according to the census of 1897, 13,545 souls (according to Reclus, as many as 14,100 in 1870), including 1,539 Tatars, in 1909, 17,075, including 2,000 Tatars. The Bulghar industries (tanning and shoemaking; cf. above, i. 789a), introduced to the Russians through Tatar intermediary, are especially followed in Kasimov.

Bibliography: The most thorough and still indispensable, although several new documents have since been made available, is Welyaminov Zernov's great work "*Izsledovanie o Kasimovskikh Tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*" (4 vols., *Trudi Vost. Otd. Imp. R. Arch. Obshč.*, ix.—xii.), on which is based almost all that has been written about the princes of Kasimov elsewhere, especially Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 429 *sqq.* Cf. more recently N. Likeyew, *Simeon Bekbulatović*, Tver 1891, review by D. K(obeko) in the *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, viii. 335 *sq.*; N. Shishkin, *Istoriya goroda Kasimowa*, 1880; review by V. R(osen), *ibid.*, v. 122 *sq.* (W. BARTHOLD)

ḲĀSIYŪN, a bare and rocky massif — the summit is over 4,000 feet high — commanding in the north-east the Ghūṭa [q. v.] and dominating Ṣāliḥiya, the suburb of Damascus. It lies between the valley of the Baradā [q. v.] and that of the Halbūn. The Nahr Yazīd which flows out of the Baradā runs along the foot of Ḳāsiyūn. "There they venerate the birthplace of Abraham on the slope adjoining the village of Barza. This mountain has been famous since remote antiquity as a place of ascension and retreat of prophets" (Ibn Djubair). Adam is said to have stayed there. Cain killed Abel there, whose body was buried on this "sacred and most venerated mountain" (Yāḳūt), which is covered with sanctuaries. The encyclopaedists and the historians of Damascus associate with it several thousands of martyrs and prophets buried between the Bāb al-Farādīs and the slopes of Ḳāsiyūn.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 557, ii. 588, iii. 363, iv. 13—15; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḳādir Badrān, i., Damascus 1329, p. 231—237; Ibn Djubair, ed. Wright—de Goeje, p. 273—274.

(H. LAMMENS)

KASKAR, the name of a town in the 'Irāḳ. When al-Ḥadjdjādj [q. v.], the governor of the 'Irāḳ appointed by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, had put down the rebellion there, he began in 83—86 (702—705) to build a new town which was called Wāsiṭ ("centre") because it was midway between the two older Arab capitals of this province, Kūfa in the north and Baṣra in the south. For the site of the town he chose the vicinity of the town of Kaskar on the Tigris, which had played a not unimportant part in the Sāsānian period. The new Muslim town was built on the east bank of the Tigris, while Kaskar lay opposite it on the west side; a bridge of boats linked the two halves of the city. Neither Wāsiṭ nor Kaskar

exist at the present day and until quite recently their exact situation was uncertain. In looking for the site we must not think of the modern course of the Tigris in Central and Southern Babylonia: in the days of the Caliphs this river ran much farther to the west; its course in those days probably corresponded for a good part to that of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥaiy (cf. i. 677ᵃ, 970ᵃ). Kaskar-Wāsiṭ certainly lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of the modern Kūt al-Ḥaiy (cf. i. 677ᵃ, 970ᵃ). According to the results of an archaeological journey by Count Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort (see *Babyloniaca*, vii., Paris 1922, p. 115) the now insignificant ruins of Wāsiṭ lie almost 25 miles west of Ḥaiy on the dry Tigris bed of Shaṭṭ al-Khorder. On the other hand the map of Mesopotamia (Sheet Baghdād, 5 d) published by the General Staff in Berlin in 1917, puts Wāsiṭ about 15 miles N. E., as the crow flies, of Kūt al-Ḥaiy. On the modern ruins of Wāsiṭ see also the notes by Massignon based on information given by a native of the district in his *al-Hallaj, Martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922, p. 23. For further information on Wāsiṭ, see the article.

As to Kaskar, it probably dates back into the Assyrian period. It may be recalled that we seem to have a Babylonian town Ka-as-ka-ri mentioned in a fragment of an inscription probably of the time of Assur-banipal, in the British Museum ([18] 82. 5—23: 128; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1824); cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, p. lxxxviii. and 790. The place is perhaps also mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (*Yōmā*, fol. 10ᵃ, where Bashkar has probably to be corrected into Kashkar)]; see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, New Series, iii., Nº 2, Berlin 1901, p. 164. In any case Kaskar called Kashkar in Syriac and Christian Arabic sources, is one of the oldest Christian towns in Babylonia. It frequently appears in the ecclesiastical history of this region. The episcopal diocese of this name was considered second in importance within the Nestorian church. Its occupant was the right arm of the patriarch of Seleucia — Ktesiphon (see MADĀ'IN) and his representative when the office was vacant.

Among the signatories to the acts of the Syriac councils we find bishops of Kashkar from the period 410—790 (Guidi in *Z. D. M. G.*, xliii. 411 and Chabot in the *N. E.*, xxxvii., Paris 1902, p. 675). According to the Syriac "chronicle of Arbela" there was a bishop in Kashkar as early as the first half of the third century A. D. The Christian Arabic "Chronicle of Seert" also mentions an occupant of the episcopal see there of the period before 410 A. D. On the bishopric of Kashkar and a list of its occupants see J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris 1904, passim (v. the index s. v.); Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1915, Nº. 6), p. 21; Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1919, Nº. 1), p. 30—31.

The town of Kashkar, like the bishopric which bore its name, was the home of many founders of monasteries, as may be seen from the work compiled in the eighth century by Ishō'denaḥ, entitled *Ktābā de Nakhpūthā* (ed. Chabot in *Mélang. d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, xvi., Paris 1896), p. 225 *sq.*; the Great Abraham (d. 588) was especially famous, s. Ishō'denaḥ Nº. 14; Labourt, *op. cit.*, p. 315;

A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Litteratur*, Bonn 1922, p. 130. One of the most influential personalities at the court of the Sāsānian King Khusraw II Parwīz (590—628) was Ābā of Kashkar; on him see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 123. On other Syriac writers who belonged to Kashkar ('Abdīshō', Gīwargīs, Elīyā) see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 30, 128, 420. For the Syriac sources on Kashkar see also the indices in Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1870) and Wright, *Catal. of the Syriac manuscr. in Cambridge* (Cambridge 1901), p. 1284, also in Sachau, *Katalog der syrisch. Handschr. in Berlin* (Berlin 1899), p. 923.

In the Arsakid period there seems to have been a little kingdom of Kaskar, which was destroyed by the first Sāsānian Ardashīr I; cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Arab. und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, (Leiden 1879) p. 13 note 5. In the Sāsānian division of the 'Irāḳ, Kaskar is mentioned as one of the 72 administrative districts; see Streck, *op. cit.*, (see *Bibl.*) p. 15, 18. It probably — as later under the Muslims — comprised roughly the district east of the Tigris, from the modern Kūt al-Amāra in the north to the region of the mouth of the Tigris. Sometimes it is mentioned as equivalent to the district of Maisān [q. v.]. On this cf. Schaeder in *Islam*, xiv. (1924) p. 17 *sq.* The bishopric of Kashkar must have coincided pretty much with the Sāsānian district of the same name; cf. the map in Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, p. 16.

Kaskar is also given as the name of the capital of Dailam, which was usually called Dūlāb; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Cal.*, p. 174; de Morgan, *Miss. scientif. en Perse*, i. (Paris 1894), p. 276.

Bibliography: *B. G. A.*, passim; al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 582; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv. 274; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. 299; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii./i. p. 162, 6; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 39, 43, 80 and do. in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 44 *sqq.*; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, ii. (Leiden 1902), p. 318 *sqq.*, 321 *sq.*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 191.

(M. STRECK)

KASR. [See KAWA].

KASR, fraction, a mathematical term which is used in Arab mathematics for the relation of two indefinite numbers as well as for that of distances, surfaces etc. In geometry, however, the term *al-kasr* is very rarely used; usually one says *nisbat a ilā b ka-nisbat c ilā d* $\left(\frac{a}{b}=\frac{c}{d}\right)$.

While in the Arab astronomers the sine of the angle is referred to the radii of the circle which contain 12 or 60 parts, al-Bīrūnī gives the radius the value 1 and the values of the sine thus appear as actual fractions in his work. In his *Ḳānūn Mas'ūdī* we read: "…… *wa-yusammūna maḳāṭi' al-kusūr allatī mukhraj[u]hā min al-ithnaini ilā al-'ashara wa-yusammūna tilka 'l-awtār ru'ūsahā ka-mā yusammūna hādhihi 'l-kusūr ru'ūsan*" (and the fractions follow in regular series which start with the [numbers] 2 to 10 and therefore they [the mathematicians] call these chords "heads thereof" just as they call these fractions "heads" (see Berl. Arab. MS., Oct. 275, p. 63ᵇ).

Kasr is more frequent in Algebra. The so called "expressible" fractions are the fractions with

the denominators 3 to 10, i.e. *thulth* ($\frac{1}{3}$), *rubʿ* ($\frac{1}{4}$), *khums* ($\frac{1}{5}$), *suds* ($\frac{1}{6}$) etc. In other cases, e.g. instead of $\frac{5}{11}$, one writes "five out of eleven parts". If the denominators can be broken up into factors, the following formula is used: $\frac{1}{48}$ = one sixth of one eighth. The fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ is expressed by *niṣf* (half).

Bibliography: J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra*, Heidelberg 1917, p. 20 and 34.

(C. Schoy)

ḲAṢR, a palace, castle, mansion or pavilion, in which sense it is synonymous with the Turkish *köshk*. The word occurs in the Ḳurʾān three times, once in the singular and twice in the plural (*ḳuṣūr*), and is applied twice to castles on earth and once to the abodes of the faithful in Paradise. It is the common word for the palace of a king in his capital or of a governor in the chief city of a province, e.g. *Ḳaṣr-i Ḳādjār*, the Palace of the Ḳādjārs, near Ṭihrān. The word, with the article, has been naturalized in Spanish as *alcazar* and is applied to old Moorish castles, such as the alcazar of Segovia and the alcazar of Sevilla.

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, London 1887.

(T. W. Haig)

ḲAṢR FIRʿAWN is the name given by the Moors to the ruins of the Roman city of Volubilis, which lie in a little valley of the Djabal Zarhūn about 20 miles N. of the present Meknès. Volubilis, at the entrance to the fertile plain of the Wādī Rdom in a district where the olive-tree flourishes, was the principal Roman centre of the interior, although it lay almost on the southern edge of the zone effectively occupied by the Romans. It was still a flourishing town in the fourth century A.D. In the fifth the Vandals, without establishing themselves there, put an end to Roman power in Morocco. The Byzantines, when they reconquered the country in the seventh century, had no effective authority outside of the north coast. There is reason to believe, however, that Volubilis left to itself was not depopulated but there grew up there, as in other parts of North Africa, a kind of state, comprising the remnants of the urban population, romanised Berbers for the most part, and the surrounding tribes under the authority of a native chief. Little by little, in the course of these two centuries this region became the centre of the great Berber confederation of the Branes, the dominant tribe of which at that time was the Awrāba (Warba) and the chief, at the time of the Muslim conquest, Kosaila (whose capital some authors have tried to locate in the Awrās, which is untenable). When the Berbers, who under the leadership of this chief, had overcome ʿOḳba b. Nāfiʿ and succeeded in driving the Arabs out of the whole of Africa Minor (63 = 683), had to abandon Ḳairawān again five years later, the Warba contingents having lost their chief and having been severely punished, returned to Walīlī (Ulīlī = Volubilis (68 = 688). These events much diminished the power of the Warba. Henceforth they lived quietly, taking no part in the great Khāridjī risings which began in 122/740, but recuperating their strength, until the day when, after the battle of Fakhkh, Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (cf. the art. idrīs i, above, ii. 450) settled in Ulīlī, where he was received by Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad, chief of the Warba (172 = 788/9). He was soon recognised as sovereign by the Warba and ultimately by all the surrounding tribes either voluntarily or under compulsion. Ulīlī became the capital of a state stretching from the Atlantic to the region of Tlemcen, the first Muslim empire in Morocco and the centre of intense missionary activity among the heretical tribes and those which had remained Jews, Christians or pagans. It was there that Idrīs died in 177 (793), poisoned, it is said, at the instigation of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His son Idrīs II [q.v.] continued his policy of conquest and conversion, but in 192 (808) abandoned Ulīlī for Fās which he had just founded, no doubt in order to escape from the tutelage of the Warba, whose chief Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad he had killed. When he himself died in 213 (828) he was buried beside his father in Ulīlī, according to most of the early authorities. But in 841 (1437) his tomb or at least a tomb reputed to be his was discovered, conveniently for political reasons, in the Djāmiʿ al-Shurafāʾ in Fās; and this tomb has become the most popular sanctuary in the town founded by him.

After the building of Fās, Ulīlī lost all political importance. The Zarhūn remained a much visited place of pilgrimage. Around the sanctuary of Idrīs rebuilt two centuries ago by Sulṭān Mūlāy Ismāʿīl, two miles from the ruins of Volubilis in a very picturesque situation on two mounds commanded by higher hills, stands the town of Mūlāy Idrīs of the Zarhūn with about 9,000 inhabitants, the majority Idrisid sharīf's.

The Idrisid town of Ulīlī, of which no remains seem to survive, probably lay on the site of the present town, a remarkable natural fortress. Excavations systematically conducted since 1915 in the Roman town have already yielded interesting results, bringing to light inscriptions very important for the history of the settlements of the Romans in this region and works of art of the first rank.

Bibliography: Tissot, *Recherches sur la géographie comparée de la Maurétanie tingitane*, Paris 1878; the Muslim historians of the Idrisids and the geographers down to the xiith century (see the bibliography to the art. idrīs, idrīsids), especially al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik*, Index; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1885, vol. i.

(Henri Basset)

AL-**ḲAṢR** AL-**KABĪR** (ḳṣar al-kebīr), a town in Northern Morocco, about 50 miles south of Tangier on the right bank of the Wādī Lukkos, which at one time ran through it, but the course of the stream was diverted to prevent inundations. Lying in a vast plain commanded on the east by heights it is divided into two parts, al-Sharīʿa in the north and Bāb al-Wād on the south, between which lies the *sūḳ* or market-place. The only buildings of any importance are the great mosque which is pre-Almohad, the mosque of Sīdī al-Azmīrī and the Djāmiʿ al-Saida, finished in 1689. Within and around the town are many *ḳubba*'s dedicated to local saints. The most venerated marabouts are Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kuraiṣhī (Ḳuraṣhī), a native of Spain who came towards the end of his life to teach in al-Ḳaṣr where he died in 568 or 573 (1172—73 or 1177—78), Sīdī Ben Aḥmed, Sīdī ʿAlī b. Khlef b. Ghālib, usually called Mūlāy ʿAlī Bū Ghālem and regarded as the patron saint of the town, and lastly Sīdī Bel-ʿAbbās, who is really a Jewish rabbi, [illegible] Vālā Yahalaș.

The population numbers about 9,000 belonging for the most part to the Khlot, Ṭlīḳ and Djalala. It also includes Rīfans, a few families originally from Tetwan and Fās as well as Algerians who left Tlemcen and Oran as a result of the French occupation. The Jews number 2,000. Many of them have settled in the town quite recently in such numbers that the *Mellāḥ* was too small for them and they had to live among the other inhabitants. They speak Arabic and Spanish but Muslims use only the former language. Industry at one time flourishing is now limited to the manufacture of cloths for local needs. Agriculture, on the other hand, is prosperous in the country around as a result of the system of combination between townsmen and tribesmen. Al-Ḳaṣr is thus a busy market for corn, barley, beans and flax.

History. The site of al-Ḳaṣr perhaps corresponds to that of a Roman town (Oppidum novum?) which had already disappeared by the time of the first Muslim invasions. In the second century A.H. a fortress was built in these regions by the Danhādja, a branch of the Ketāma. According to al-Ziyānī, it was built in 102 (720—721) by the Amīr ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ketāmī whence the name Ḳaṣr ʿAbd al-Karīm (al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text p. 78; transl. p. 89; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 78; transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, p. 140; as well as Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 401; transl. ii. 123) or Ḳaṣr Ketāma which the town kept for several centuries. Al-Bakrī, however, makes a distinction between Sūḳ Ketāma "a large and magnificent town situated on the river Lukkos with a *djāmiʿ* and a very busy market" and Ḳaṣr Danhādja "a castle built on a hill and commanding a large river". Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, text i. 188, transl. ii. 291), connects Ḳaṣr Ketāma with the Danhādja (cf. also *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*). Sūḳ Ketāma was the capital of the state governed by Idrīs b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Muḳaddasī (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 219, 7) mentions Sūḳ al-Ketāmī among the towns dependent on Fās. Although eclipsed by the rapid development of Fās, al-Ḳaṣr seems to have retained a certain amount of commercial importance. Al-Idrīsī (*loc. cit.*) mentions its very busy bazaars. But it was only under the Almohads that the town rose out of the semi-obscurity in which it was vegetating. Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr surrounded it with a fortified wall and made a hunting-ground and a hospital called Ḥārat al-Mudjārin. This is perhaps why he was regarded by Leo Africanus and Marmol as the actual founder of al-Ḳaṣr. Under the Marīnid dynasty, the town was given a madrasa by Abū ʿInān which attracted many students and was still frequented in the 12th (xviith) century. Al-Ḳaṣr recognised the authority of the Marīnids from 620 (1223—1224). In 687 (1288—1289) the latter appointed as its governor the Raʾīs Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ashḳīlūla, whose descendants for long remained lords of the town. The memory of this local dynasty, whose members, in alliance with the Banū 'l-Aḥmar of Granada, distinguished themselves in the holy war, is still alive to-day.

The period following the disappearance of the Banū Ashḳīlūla was one of calamities. The Portuguese, established on the coast, threatened the town. The inhabitants did not dare to cultivate the soil more than six miles from the walls. In 1503 the governor of Acila, Don Juan de Meneces, attempted to take it but without success. In the century following, al-Ḳaṣr became the most advanced post of the "volunteers of faith" (Mudjāhidīn) who harassed the Christians settled on the coast. During the period of anarchy that preceded the establishment of the Filālī dynasty, the town became the residence of the Ḳāʾid Ghīlān, who had gained possession of all Gharb. Driven from his capital by Mūlāy al-Rashīd in 1078 (1668) Ghīlān was able to return to it on the death of this prince. He held out there till 1084 (1673) when he was defeated and killed by Mūlāy Ismāʿīl. Al-Ḳaṣr fell again, this time finally, into the hands of the Sharīf, who dismantled its walls.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, text p. 110, transl. p. 250; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, book iii., ed. Schefer, ii. 217; *Description of Africa*, Hackluyt Society, London 1896, p. 496; Marmol, *Africa*, ii.; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. 358 *sqq.*; De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, p. 14 *sqq.*; de Cuevas, *Estudio general sobre geografía del bajalato de Larache*, s. l. 1883; J. Costa, *El-Ksar el-Acabir*, Tangier 1887; G. Le Châtelier, *Notes sur les villes et tribus du Maroc en 1890*, Paris 1902; Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, p. 333 *sqq.*; Frances MacNab, *A Ride in Morocco*, London 1902, p. 83—110; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, *El-Qçar el-Kebir. Une ville de province au Maroc septentrional*, in the *Arch. marocaines*, 1904; A. Peretié, *Le raïs el-Khadir Ghaïlan* in the *Arch. marocaines*, 1911. (G. Yver)

AL-ḲAṢR AL-ṢAGHĪR, a town in Morocco, now in ruins. It lay on the south bank of the Straits of Gibraltar, 14 miles W. of Ceuta, 23 miles E. of Tangier, at the head of a bay sheltered by a spur of the Djebel Ghomāsī at the mouth of a navigable river.

In ancient times this site was perhaps occupied by a Phoenician factory and then by a Roman town (Lissa or Exilissa of Ptolemy). A fortress was erected there quite early in the period of Muslim occupation, in 90 (708/9), according to al-Ziyānī, *Archives Marocaines*, vi. 494, on the territory of the Maṣmūda whence the name of Ḳaṣr Maṣmūda (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 280, 13, transl. ii. 134) which is given it by the author of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* and by al-Idrīsī. Al-Bakrī calls it al-Ḳaṣr al-Awwal to distinguish it from al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [q. v.]. According to him, it was inhabited by the Banū Ṭarīf and surrounded by great plantations. Under the Almohads it took the place of Marsā Mūsā as the port of embarkation for Spain. Many authors call it therefore Ḳaṣr al-Madjāz (*Geogr. d'Aboulféda*, transl. Reinaud, ii/i. 185; Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*), or Ḳaṣr al-Djawāz "Castle of the crossing" (Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Tornberg, p. 138, 143, 146). The Almohads erected important buildings in it and established naval dockyards there. But the prosperity of the town declined in proportion as the rulers of the Maghrib lost their hold on Spain. Deprived of the income which the transport of the armies had assured them, the inhabitants turned to piracy. Al-Ḳaṣr therefore became one of the first towns that the Portuguese sought to capture. In 1458 King Alfonso V attacked it with a fleet of 30 ships and an army of 17,000 men; after repelling

two assaults, the Muslims, overwhelmed by the Christian artillery, capitulated. They were, however, granted permission to retreat with their arms and baggage. Alfonso V entered the town on Oct. 19, 1458. The great mosque was turned into a church, the fortifications were strengthened and a garrison installed under the command of Don E. de Meneces. Two attempts made by the Sulṭān of Fās in 1458 and 1459 to recapture the town did not succeed. In 1463 the tribes of Andjera recognised the suzerainty of Portugal and in 1471 Sulṭān Mūlāy Saʿīd signed a treaty by which he ceded al-Ḳaṣr to the king of Portugal.

Al-Ḳaṣr remained in Christian hands till 1540 but during this period it was continually being attacked by the Moors. John III therefore decided to evacuate it after previously dismantling it. Some years later (1550) a French prince, Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, obtained al-Ḳaṣr in exchange for the men-at-arms that he was to supply to the Sharīf of Fās but the intrigues of the king of Spain, Philip II, prevented the treaty from being carried out. Since that date no attempt has been made to rebuild the town. The inhabitants abandoned it and the harbour became silted up and no longer used except by smugglers. The site is marked by the ruins, still imposing, of the Portuguese fortress, by ditches, the remains of the wall and the ruins of the gate through which the citadel communicated with the town proper.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 104—105, transl. p. 243; al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique etc.*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text p. 166, 167, 168; transl. p. 199, 200, 201; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 24; transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, p. 48; Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*, Chap. lxxxviii.; *Collecção de livros ineditos de historia portugueza*, i. 454—467, Lisbon 1790; Pienot Desseilligny, *Traité d'Antoine de Bourbon avec le chérif de Fez*, Maroc 1891; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, book iii., ed. Schefer, ii. 247; *Description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society, London 1896, p. 508, 514, 629; E. de La Primaudaye, *Villes maritimes du Maroc* in the *Revue africaine*, 1872; Michaux-Bellaire and Pernlié, *El-Qçar eṣ-Ṣeghir*, in the *Revue du Monde musulman*, 1916, p. 329 *sqq.*

(G. YVER)

ḲAṢR-I SHĪRĪN, a town in the south-western part of the district of Ardilān or Persian Kurdistan (cf. ARDILĀN) in 34° 30′ N. Lat. and 45° 30′ E. Long. (Greenwich) on the right bank of the Ḥulwān-rūd or, as the Kurds call it, the Alwān or Alwand. This river alters its course, hitherto east to west, at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn to a southerly one and enters the Diyāla [q. v.] at Zengābādh. To the west and south-west of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn lies the great range of Agh-Dagh, to the S. E. also on the left bank of the river run imposing mountain chains. Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn was an important caravan station from the earliest times. The most important route through it is the very old road from Baghdād to the Īrānian highlands — the *Ṭarīḳ Khurāsān* of the Arabs of the middle ages (cf. above, i. 928a). Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn lies about halfway between the two stations of Khāniḳīn [q. v.] in the south-west and Sar-i-pul (in mediaeval times Ḥulwān, S. of Sar-i-pul; see SARPUL-I ZOHĀB) in the east. Less important roads also branch off here to north, north-west and south-east.

The modern Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn (1600 feet above sea-level) is an insignificant town surrounded by a wall of earth and stone. Outside the walls on the east is a commodious caravanserai; to the west is a fort of modern style which, according to Aubin (*op. cit.*; see the *Bibl.*), Djowān Mīr built at the beginning of the xixth century and plundered passing pilgrims to Kerbelā and merchants from it until he was captured and killed. The population of the town, which de Morgan estimated at 3,000—6,000, is Kurdish. Shāh ʿAbbās I (1587—1628) transplanted to the region of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn to guard the Turco-Persian frontier 900 families of the Kurdish tribe of Sandjābī (on which see Rawlinson in the *J. R. G. S.*, ix. 33; for a Lur branch of this tribe cf. Rabino, *Les Tribus du Louristan*, Paris 1916, p. 17). A Kurd chief acts as Persian governor of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. Since the beginning of the xxth century there has been a small customs house here. Opposite the town on the left bank of the river lies the Bāgh-i Shāh = "King's Gardens", a park laid out with date palms, orange and pomegranate trees by Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Kerbelā.

The most remarkable feature at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, which makes it one of the most interesting places in Persia to the historian or archaeologist, is the extensive system of ruins dating from the Sāsānian period in its vicinity. The name Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, "Shīrīn's Palace", dates from the later period of the Sāsānian empire. Shīrīn, a Christian, was the favourite wife of Khusraw II Parwēz (560—628) who called the great palace built by him as a summer residence after her. Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and the neighbourhood was the scene of the unhappy love-story of Shīrīn and the royal architect Farhād, which plays a great part in the romantic poetry of Persia; cf. above, ii. 67, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 102b. A rock tomb south of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, for example, is popularly known as Uṭāḳ-i Farhād = "Farhād's chamber"; see Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, p. 10. The famous lute-player, Bārbad (on him see Vullers, *Lexic. Persico-Lat.*, i. 168, and Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 63) also spent some time at the imperial court at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn; he also plays an important part in the cycle of legends which centre round Khusraw Parwēz. Among the 30 melodies or songs which he composed for the king (see the list of them in Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii. 369) there is one (No. 4 in Vullers) entitled *Bāgh-i Shīrīn* = "Shīrīn's Garden"; another (No. 30 and cf. also Vullers, ii. 1299b) is entitled *Nakhchīrgānī* = "Hunting Song", probably the *Bāgh Nakhchīrgān* in Yāḳūt, iv. 113, 14. Both songs obviously refer to Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, the summer-residence and hunting-palace of the Sasanian ruler.

The period of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn's glory was only a brief one. Ten years after the death of Khusraw II the Sāsānian empire collapsed before the onrush of the Arabs and in the Muslim period the palaces of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn seem to have been no longer inhabited. They fell quickly into ruins, mainly as the result of the poor quality of the building-material used. Al-Yaʿḳūbī (*B. G. A.*, vii. 270) as early as 278 (891) talks of the ruins. Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, viii. 388) mentions

that as a result of an earthquake in 345 (956) the walls of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn cracked. The Arab and Persian authors, like Ibn Rosteh, Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, emphasize the great scale of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn with its halls, hermitages, treasure houses etc. and the splendid gardens containing very rare animals roaming at large in them, but give no detailed descriptions. Yāḳūt and al-Ḳazwīnī give especially the story of the origin of the palace, which the former (*Muʿdjam*, iv. 115) actually regarded as one of the wonders of the world.

We owe the most accurate description of the modern ruins to the French expedition of J. de Morgan. The main ruins lie on a broad plateau N. E. of the modern town. Near the latter is the quadrangular citadel of Khusraw flanked by 6 round towers (called Ḳalʿe or Ḳaṣr-i Khusraw, also Ḳalʿa-i Khusrawī) surrounded by a ditch. Built as barracks for the ruler's troops, we have preserved in it one of the rare perfect examples of the military architecture of the Sāsānians. North of the Ḳalʿe are further mounds of ruins the object of which we do not know. About 500 yards to the N. E. we reach the wall of a gigantic park in shape a not quite regular oblong, enclosing the summer-residence proper of the king, measuring, according to de Morgan, 300 acres. The wall round it which also served as an aqueduct, the highest part of which reaches 20 feet, is about 6,000 paces in extent. Another aqueduct-wall divides the park into two parts. The requisite water for the irrigation of the gardens was brought from the Ḥulwān-Rūd and, as already observed, led farther along the top of the miles' long surrounding wall; the aqueduct can still be traced in the Ḥulwān-Rūd valley until it is lost in the maze of ruins of Ḥawsh Kurī. In the centre of the whole scheme is the main palace, now called ʿAmārat-i Khusraw (= house of Khusraw) or Ḥādjdjī Ḳalʿe-sy (= pilgrim palace). It is a vast building lying east to west (1080 feet long, 625 feet broad) with vaulted rooms and a long terrace in front which is still most imposing with its huge dimensions and colonnades. Before the palace still exists a 600 yards long stretch of the aqueduct flanked by two kiosks. West of the ʿAmārat-i Khusraw stands a smaller similar vaulted building with 4 doors and a square principal chamber. It is now called *Čahār Ḳapu* or (pure Persian) *Čār Darwāza* = "Four Doors", or *Ḳalʿa-i Čahār Ḳapu* = "Palace of the 4 Gates". The object of this building (perhaps for audiences?) is obscure.

About 3 miles E. of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn is another late Sāsānian ruined palace, called *Ḥawsh Kurī* = "House of the Horses" (so the name is explained: *kur* = probably Pers. *kurrah*, *kurāh* = colt; Rich gives the name *Ḥawsh Kerek*), because it is popularly believed to contain the stables of the horses belonging to the palace of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. These ruins which consist of a palace 600 feet long with annexes and another mound of ruins are the latest of all the palaces of Parwēz so far known.

Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn is, of course, a town of much greater antiquity than the time of this Sāsānian king. A site so favoured by nature must always have invited settlement. So far it has not been ascertained what ancient city — which must have practically occupied the site of the present town — stood here. It was still thought — *e.g.* by Malcolm, Kinneir, Ker Porter — that Dastadjird was here, but this is certainly to be located in the ruins of Eski Baghdād (cf. above, i. 926). This erroneous identification was previously attacked by Buckingham, Rich (see *Bibl.*) and Ritter, ix. 484, 509. The ancient Artemita, a town of Appoloniatis, has also been suggested — *e.g.* by Kinneir (see *Bibl.*) —; but this is much better located in the region of the later Dastadjird [q. v.]; and Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigrisgebiet*, ii., Berlin 1919, p. 78. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 329, suggests with all reserve an identification of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn with the station Danas of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*; but see against this view my article DANAS in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, Suppl., i. 337. Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn has not the slightest connection with Kinkiwar or Ḳaṣr al-Luṣūṣ, although there was a great palace built by Khusraw Parwēz there also (cf. on this G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 494 *sq.*): the latter place lay much farther east between Kirmānshāh and Hamadhān. This corrects Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, v. 17, vi. 144 (where Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and Kinkiwar are regarded as one and the same).

There is a village 12 miles north of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn called Kend-i Shīrīn. A short hour's journey above it are some oil-wells, not, however, very rich, which form part of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's concession. On them see de Morgan, *op. cit.*, ii. 81 *sq.*, and Schweer, *Das türkisch-persische Erdölvorkommen*, Hamburg 1919, p. 21, 40, 110, 112, 143—144.

Down to the Great War the Turco-Persian frontier, which was not minutely defined, ran about two hours' journey S. W. of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. On the Persian side the frontier was guarded by the fort of Ḳalʿe-i Sebz where a detachment of Sandjābī cavalry was stationed (cf. Aubin, *op. cit.*). On the place see also Rich, *op. cit.*, ii. 263 (where it is wrongly called Kalai Sebz; Buckingham calls it Khallet el-Subzy). An hour's journey beyond it is the Turkish frontier-station Ḳalʿe Keldiyya.

Bibliography: *B.G.A.*, passim, especially vii. 164 (Ibn Rosteh); Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 112 *sqq.*; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 295—297; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii. 45 *sqq.*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 63; Pietro della Valle, *Reise-Beschreibung*, Geneva 1674, ii. 4 (passed Kasri-Schirin in 1617); Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, v., Paris 1807, p. 8; Kinneir, *A geographical Memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, p. 305—306; Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1830, i. 64—78; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii. 212—219; G. Keppel, *Personal Narrative of Travels in Babylonia, Assyria*, London 1827, i. 297 *sq.*, ii. 308 *sq.*; Cl. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, ii. 263—272; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 438—488, 509; J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia*, etc., London 1840, ii. 175 *sqq.*; J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, ii. 81 *sq.*, 111; iv., 341—359 (with a general plan of the ruins on Pl. xl. and plans of the three palaces of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn on Pl. xliii., xlvi., xlix. and

that of Ḥawīli Kurī on Pl. II., and also excellent pictures). Justi in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 540; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 351 sq.; E. Herzfeld in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, 1907, liii. 52—53; E. Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910, p. 131, 236—240; E. Herzfeld, *Die Aufnahme des sasanidischen Denkmals von Paikūli* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1914, Nº. 1), p. 6—8; Mrs. Bishop, *Journey in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, i. 79. (M. STRECK)

KASRA, lit. "break"; name of the sign of the vowel i; the vowel itself is called *kasr*.

AL-ḲASṬALLĀNĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR AL-KHAṬĪB SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-SHĀFI'Ī, an authority on tradition and theologian, born on Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 12, 851 (January 20, 1448) in Cairo where he spent his life as a preacher — apart from two stays of some duration in Mekka — and died on Friday, Muḥarram 7, 923 (January 31, 1517). He owes his literary fame mainly to his exhaustive commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī entitled *Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, which exists in numerous MSS. and printed copies; of these latter the earliest may be that of Būlāḳ of 1267 and next the Lucknow edition of 1869 (others in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i. 159). The Cairo edition in 1325/6 gives the glosses of Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī and the Cairo edition of 1279 those of Ḥasan al-'Idwī (d. 1303 = 1887). In the field of Ḥadīth he wrote a *Muḳaddima* which was printed at Cairo (n. d.) with the commentary of 'Abd al-Hādī al-Abyārī (d. 1305 = 1883). Great popularity is enjoyed in the Muslim world by his history of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawāhib al-ladunīya fi 'l-Minaḥ al-Muḥammadīya*, which he completed on Sha'bān 15, 899 (May 22, 1494) and which caused him to be accused of plagiarism by al-Suyūṭī. It exists in numerous MSS. and has also been printed several times, e.g. Cairo 1281, several times commented on, e.g. by al-Zurḳānī (d. 1122 = 1710), printed in 8 vols. Būlāḳ 1278, 1291, and translated by 'Abd al-Bāḳī into Turkish, printed Stambul 1261. Not long ago al-Nabhānī, the President of the Court of Justice in Bairūt, prepared a synopsis of it entitled *Al-Anwār al-Muḥammadīya min al-Mawāhib al-Ladunīya*, Bairūt 1310—1312. Finally in the same field he prepared a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Shamā'il* of al-Tirmidhī (*Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i. 162). Besides studying the science of tradition he worked also at the readings of the Ḳur'ān. His principal work on the subject is entitled *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt li-Funūn al-Ḳirā'āt*. He also wrote a biography of the teacher of Ḳur'ān reading, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shāṭibī (*G. A. L.*, i. 409), and a commentary on the *Muḳaddima* of al-Djazarī on *Tadjwīd* (*op. cit.*, ii. 202). Finally he also wrote on mysticism and personal piety; among his works in this sphere are his *Maḳāmāt al-'Ārifīn*, *Masālik al-Ḥunafā' ilā Mashārī' al-Ṣalāt 'alā 'l-Nabī al-muṣṭafā*, and his commentary on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī (*G. A. L.*, i. 265).

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ḲASṬALLĀNĪ (KESTELI), MUṢLIḤ AL-DĪN MUṢṬAFĀ, Ottoman theologian and Ḥanafī jurist. Mewlānā Muṣliḥ al-Dīn was a native of Kestel (from Latin *Castellum*), a village not far from Brussa, where in after life he built a mosque. From his native place he took the name of Kesteli or, more impressive, Ḳasṭallānī. In his youth he attended in Brussa the lectures of the celebrated theologian Khiḍr Beg and on the conclusion of his theological and legal studies was appointed teacher in various medreses, for example in Maḍurna, Demotica (medrese of Urudj Pasha), and finally "guardian". Next he was for some time ḳāḍī of Brussa, Adrianople and in 886 (began March 2, 1481) of Stambul, but in the same year was appointed military judge of Rumelia with the rank of a fourth vizier. He was the first to hold this office separately: it had previously been combined with that of military judge of Anatolia (cf. the art. ḲĀḌĪ-'ASKER). At the same time Ḥādjdjī Ḥasanzāde Meḥmed Efendi was appointed the first independent military judge of Anatolia (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 246). In 891 (1486) he was deprived of his office. He died in 901 (1495—1496) in Stambul where he was buried in the cemetery of Eyyūb. — The Ḥanafī Ḳasṭallānī composed a number of legal works in Arabic including highly esteemed marginal glosses on the commentary of al-Taftāzānī on the *'Aḳā'id* of al-Nasafī (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, iv. 226, as well as Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 427, which, however, belongs to ii. 196; MSS. in Berlin, Nº. 1973, and Leiden, Nº. 1998) as well as an essay on seven doubtful matters (*Ashyā'*) in al-Djurdjānī's commentary on al-Īdjī's *Kitāb al-Mawāḳif fī 'Ilm al-Kalām* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi. 240), also a work *Taufīḳ al-Ma'ālim* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 442), an essay on the orientation of the Ḳibla (*Risāla fī Djihat al-Ḳibla*; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii. 387) and lastly a work called *Yaḳẓān Dhawī 'l-I'tibār* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi. 512).

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ḲASṬAMŪNI (in the Arab geographers — Abu 'l-Fidā', al-Dimashḳī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa —, Ibn Bībī and on the coins Ḳasṭamūnīya with variants; al-Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert, ii. 312: Ḳasṭamūnī; ibid., p. 393: Tāmūnī; the Κασταμών of the Byzantines, in Chalcocondylas, corresponding to the oriental form, Κασταμόνα, Κασταμονή; corrupted in various ways by Western writers: Albertus Aquensis: *civitas Constamnes*; Clavijo: *Cestamea*; Benedetto Dei: *Chattarmine*, *Castimunu*; Menavino: *Castemol*; with modern Greeks and Europeans: *Kastamboli*; cf. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 313, 40), a town in N. W. Asia Minor, capital of the wilāyet of the same name, which corresponds to the ancient Paphlagonia. The town is not mentioned in classical literature although the rock tombs there show that the place was settled in historical times. In the middle ages Ḳasṭamūnī was famous as the family stronghold of the Comnenoi, who waged a desperate warfare with the Dānishmand-oghlu and the Saldjūḳs for its possession until it was finally lost to the Byzantines about the middle of the xiith century A. D. The town then passed, along with the other possessions of the Dānishmand-oghlu, under the sway of the Saldjūḳs of Ḳonya and formed a beylerbeylik, which was hereditary in the family of Ḥusām al-Dīn Čobān. On the break-up of the Saldjūḳ

empire, the Turkoman Isfandiyār-oghlu of Adani seized the region of Ķastamūnī and made the town their capital. It was taken from them by Bāyazīd I in 795 = 1392/3 but restored to them by Tīmūr after the battle of Angora (804 = 1401/2) and remained in their possession till they were ousted by Meḥemmed II (864 = 1459/60). Henceforth Ķastamūnī formed a sandjak of the eyālet of Anadolu, in more recent times a wilāyet, which besides the so-called merkez sandjaķ included the sandjak's of Bolī, Kianghrī and Sināb (Sinope). The Ķastamūnī of the early Isfandiyār-oghlu is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris, ii. 341 sqq.); Chalcocondyles (xvth century) calls it a "flourishing and strongly fortified town" (p. 260, Bonn edition); the description in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's *Djihān-numā* (p. 648 of the first edition) dates from the beginning of the xviith century. Ķastamūnī was first visited by European travellers in the beginning of the xixth century, first of all by Kinneir in 1814.

The erstwhile family stronghold of the Comneni with its Byzantine and Saldjūķ fortifications was abandoned and left to fall into ruins after the Turks had maintained a garrison and artillery in it down to a century ago. There are no antiquities in existence that date from the classical period but numerous buildings survive from the times of the Saldjūķs and Isfandiyār-oghlu. The town contains no less than 62 large or small mosques (*djāmi'* and *mesdjid*), 16 medreses, 12 dervish monasteries, 4 libraries and 30 tombs of saints. The oldest dated building is the tekiye of the Rifā'ī (called Yilanli Tekiye) of the year 671 = 1272/73; from the same period dates a mosque built in 672. The following are also worthy of special mention: — the Djāmi''s of Ghāzī Atābeg with medrese, of Ḥādjdjī Naṣr (of the year 754 = 1353/54), that of Khwādja Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (of the year 806 = 1403/1404), and of the last Isfandiyār-oghlu, Ismā'īl Beg, dated 855 = 1451/52, but these monuments have not yet been scientifically examined. They bear witness to the way in which the former lords of the land fostered Muslim culture; Ismā'īl Beg himself, after his dispossession, composed a much esteemed theological work, the *Ḥulwiyyāt-i Sulṭānī* (cf. Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, p. 12 sqq.). Laṭīfī [q. v.], the biographer of poets, belonged to Ķastamūnī. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa calls Ķastamūnī the "lofty citadel" (*ḳal'a*) of the Turkomans and the dialect of Turkish spoken there still survives. The population of the town was estimated at about 30,000 including 1500 Turkish speaking Greeks and 500 Armenians but the latter may have emigrated since the war.

Bibliography: C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 414—419; Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, London 1819, p. 281 sqq.; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1843, i. 80—84; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hanover 1925, p. 228 sqq.; Leonhard, *Paphlagonia*, Berlin 1915, p. 72 sqq., 130 sqq. (with pictures); Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv. 462; *Sālnāme* of the wilāyet Ķastamūnī for the year 1297; *Revue hist. Ottom.*, Series i., Part 5 and 6 (articles by Aḥmad Tawḥīd); *Doghū* (Ķastamūnī 1340 A.H.), Nº. 3 and 5 (articles by Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī Beg); on the dialect of Ķastamūnī see Josef Thury in the *Értekezések* of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1885, vol. xii., part 1.

(J. H. Mordtmann)

ĶASTĪLIYA, the name given by Arab writers to the district of Tunisia adjoining the Shaṭṭ's and to Tawzer, the most important area in Tunisia. Its boundaries are rather difficult to determine. The descriptions by Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Idrīsī refer only to the town of Ķasṭīliya. Al-Bakrī, on the other hand, distinctly distinguishes between the town and the district. "The land of Ķasṭīliya", he says, "contains several towns, such as Tawzer, al-Ḥamma and Nefṭa. Tawzer, which is its metropolis, is a large town". In another passage he refers to Tawzer as marking the eastern limit of the land of Ķasṭīliya. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī opposes the land of Ķasṭīliya, "formed by Tawzer and the cantons attached to it" to the "Zāb, which includes Biskra and its dependencies". Ibn Khaldūn (*Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 646; transl., iii. 156) includes among the dependencies of Tawzer the "cantons" of Ķasṭīliya, to the south of the Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd and Nefzāwa. The same indications are given by al-Zarkashī. Ibn Khaldūn (*op. cit.*, i. 122; transl., i. 192), on the other hand, seems to identify the Bilād al-Djarīd with the land of Ķasṭīliya. After enumerating among the towns of the Bilād al-Djarīd, Nefṭa, Tawzer, Gafsa (Ḳafṣa) and the places in Nefzāwa, he adds: "All this country is called the land of Ķasṭīliya." The Shaikh al-Tidjānī, in his turn, applies to Tawzer the description "capital of al-Djarīd". From the fifteenth century onwards, we no longer find the terms Ķasṭīliya and land of Ķasṭīliya as the name of a district or of a town, but only those of Tawzer and Djarīd, still in use at the present day. The enumeration of the towns of Africa given by al-Ḳairawānī (*Kitāb al-Mu'nis*, transl. Pellissier and Rémusat, p. 28) in which Ķasṭīliya is mentioned is probably taken from an earlier writer. In brief, the land of Ķasṭīliya seems to correspond very well with the present Djarīd, i. e. to the group of oases (Nefṭa, Tawzer, al-Udyān and al-Ḥamma) occupying the isthmus which separates the Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd from the Shaṭṭ al-Gharsa and perhaps to al-Nefzāwa.

The Arab authors are unanimous in praising the wealth of the land of Ķasṭīliya. The cultivation of dates and other fruit-trees, watered with great care, was very flourishing there. Flax, indigo and *ḥinnā'* were also grown. The fields of sugar-cane, noticed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, were beginning to disappear by the time of al-Bakrī and soon afterwards vanished. Commerce was active and prosperity general. In the time of al-Bakrī the taxes of this area amounted to 200,000 dīnārs a year.

The population was composed for the most part of Berbers, many of whom professed Khāridjī doctrines or, as at Nefṭa, Shī'a doctrines. Al-Muḳaddasī (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, iii. 243, 11 sqq.) and al-Bakrī mention that cynophagy was practised among them. According to al-Tidjānī, there lived alongside of the Berbers the descendants of the Rūm, who occupied this region at the Muslim conquest. When this Shaikh visited Tawzer the remains of Christian churches were still to be seen. Ibn Khaldūn (*op. cit.*, i. 646—647; transl., iii. 156) says that there were in al-Nefzāwa and the land of Ķasṭīliya people of Frankish origin, whose ancestors had come from Sardinia and settled in the country as tributaries of the Muslims to whom they paid poll-tax.

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Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique septentr.*, ed. de Slane, text p. 49, 71, 75, transl. p. 117, 151, 175; al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 104, transl. p. 150; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 41—44; transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, p. 76 *sqq.*; al-Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, transl. Rousseau, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1852, fourth series, vol. 22, 190 *sqq.*; al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides*, transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1895, p. 64; 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'djib*, ed. Dozy, p. 258; transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1893, p. 304. (G. YVER)

ḲĀT, ḲĀT (A.), ČAT, (Amharic, Galla), ČATO (Kaffa), is the name of a smooth-stemmed shrub, of the family of Celastraceae (represented in Central Europe by the spindle-tree: *Catha edulis, Forskål* [or *methyscophyllum glaucum, Ecklon et Zeyher*]), reaching a height of 12 feet, which is found in East Africa from Cape Colony to north of Lake Tānā (Ṣānā) and in the Yemen. The leaves are called *kafta* in Arabic. These and the skins of the young shoots contain an alkaloid, *katin*, which accounts for the stimulating or intoxicating effect of these parts of the plant (or a decoction made from them) and the widely spread use of *ḳāt* in the Muslim lands of Abyssinia and South-West Arabia.

In Abyssinia, as well as in S.-W. Arabia, the leaves and young shoots of the *ḳāt* are chewed; more rarely a decoction is used, which is either taken as "tea" or added to the Abyssinian honey-wine (Amharic *madjar*). The most esteemed are the tender shoots and young leaves which have a pleasant, sweetly aromatic flavour and are merely stimulating and anti-soporific and slightly intoxicating only in large doses, while the older tough leaves are unpleasantly astringent and have a much stronger effect. All accounts agree that the use of *ḳāt*, as ordinarily taken, which has become regular in all classes of society in the Yemen, undermines the physical and moral health of the people and also does the greatest damage from the economic point of view.

As a result of the enormous consumption of *ḳāt* leaves (about 30,000 tons are exported annually from Abyssinia and the adjoining countries) the cultivation of the shrub, which is propagated from cuttings, is very important. In the Yemen, Djabal Ṣabir, Djabal Raima and 'Udēn are mentioned as the centres of its cultivation. The *ḳāt* twigs, which are not plucked till the plant is in its fourth year, are tied in bundles for transport (Arabic *ḥalwat*, pl. *ḥalāwit*) and, in order to keep them fresh as long as possible, are bound up in moist, leafy branches and banana leaves.

Ḳāt is first mentioned in "The Military Exploits of the Ethiopian King 'Amda Ṣeyōn against the Muslims" of the year 1332/33, which puts the following words into the mouth of 'Amda Ṣeyōn's opponent, King Ṣabr al-Dīn: "I will make ..... his royal palace Mar'ādē (Arabic Mar'ada) my residence and plant *ḳāt* there." Al-Maḳrīzī († 846 = 1442) mentions the *djāt* as a plant found in Awfāt (Ethiopic Ifāt, in Eastern Shoa [Shawa]), the leaves of which are eaten. The Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djazīrī, who wrote in 996 (1587), says that 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhilī (al-Mukhā'ī, † 827 = 1424), as is still said in West and South Arabia, introduced coffee into the Yemen, which took the place of *kafta*, i. e. the *ḳāt* leaves, previously in use. Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī († 974 = 1567) wrote at the instigation of people from San'ā' and Zabīd a treatise in which he, without taking up a definite attitude to the contradictory opinions of reputable scholars regarding the effects of the *ḳāt*, includes the enjoyment among the *shubuhāt*, from which one should refrain. Among European travellers Niebuhr and his botanist collaborator Forskål give the earliest accounts of our plant and its use.

Bibliography: al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Ilmām bi-akhbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabash min mulūk al-Islām (Hist. regum islamiticorum in Abyssinia)*, ed. Rinck, Lugd. Bat. 1790, p. 11; De Sacy, *Chrestom. arabe*², i. 145 *sq.*, 419, 462 *sq.*; A. Dillmann, *Die Kriegsthaten des Königs 'Amda Ṣion etc.*, in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1884, p. 1012 *sq.*; Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī, *Taḥdhīr al-thiḳāt min akl al-kafta wa'l-ḳāt* in *Al-fatāwī al-kubrā al-fiḳhiya*, Cairo 1308, iv. 223—234; E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic Vocabulary*, London 1893, p. 62, 206; Reinisch, *Kafa-Sprache*, ii. 45; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, p. 145; Botta in the *Arch. du Mus. d'histoire naturelle*, ii., Paris 1841, p. 71 *sq.*; do., *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Yémen*, Paris 1841, p. 45 *sq.*, 83, 90, 98 *sq.*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii. 795—798; Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, p. 215, 347, 400; Barbier de Meynard in the *Publ. de l'École des Lang. orient. viv.*, Paris 1883, p. 108 *sq.*; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, p. 90, 122 *sq.*; do. in the *Journ. de Pharm. et de Chimie*, 1890, xxii. 174 *sq.*; Beitter, *Pharmacogn.-chem. Untersuchung der Catha edulis*, Strassburg 1900 (with coloured plate); G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915, p. 115 *sq.*, 152—154; Fr. J. Bieber, *Kaffa*, i., Münster i/W. 1920, p. 368; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, p. 253—256. — Further references are given in Ritter, Dillmann and Beitter. (J. J. HESS)

ḲAT' (A.), a cut. The Arabic verb *ḳaṭa'a* has, as the dictionaries show, undergone a remarkably varied development of meaning both in its original and metaphorical senses. Here we only deal with cases which are of importance for the history of religion, etc.

The infinitive form *ḳaṭ'* is not found in the Ḳur'ān but the verb occurs in the literal meaning (Sūra v. 42: "cut off the hands of a thief, male or female" — the well-known law adopted in the Fiḳh, sometimes briefly known as *Ḳaṭ' al-Liṣṣ* —) and in a more metaphorical sense (Sūra ii. 25 and xiii. 25: "cut asunder what God hath ordered to be bound together").

The old reciters of the Ḳur'ān (*ḳurrā'*) gave the name *ḳaṭ'* or *waḳf* to a pause in reciting whether required by the sense or for another reason. Later reciters distinguished between the brief pause necessary to take breath and other pauses required by the sense: *ḳaṭ'* was only applied to the first (according to others only to the last).

The grammarians give the name *alif al-ḳaṭ'* to the strong hamza which cannot be elided in contrast to the *hamzat al-waṣl* (cf. the article ALIF). *Ḳaṭ'* is also the deliberate division of a syntactical combination in a sentence for special reasons, e. g. for *al-ḥamdu li'llāhi 'l-ḥamīdi*: *al-ḥamdu li'llāhi 'l-ḥamīdu* (= *wa-huwa 'l-ḥamīdu*) or *'l-ḥamīda* (= *a'nī 'l-ḥamīda*).

In prosody *ḳaṭʿ* means the elision of the end of certain feet, e.g. the abbreviation of *fāʿilun* to *fāʿil* = *faʿlun* or of *mustafʿilun* to *mustafʿil* = *mafʿūlun*. This shortened form is then called *maḳṭūʿ*.

The conic section *ḳaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ* is of importance in mathematics and the varieties are *ḳaṭʿ zāʾid*, the hyperbola, *ḳaṭʿ nāḳiṣ*, the ellipse, *ḳaṭʿ mukāfī*, the parabola and *ḳaṭʿ mukāfī mudjassam*, the paraboloid.

In astrology *ḳaṭʿ* = alcochoden = *ἀναίρεσις* or concisio, *κίνδυνος*, the great danger.

Ḳaṭʿ al-waraḳ, meaning a format of paper, has acquired some importance in the history of administration. According to the Arab accounts, *ḳirṭās* (papyrus-paper was probably not used before the third or fourth century: cf. above, i. 385ᵃ) was used from Muʿāwiya's time for documents in the chancellery of the Caliph and at quite an early date we find five different formats used: (*ḳaṭʿ*) *thulthain* (*al-ṭūmār*, "sheet", called *farkha* at a late date in Mamlūk Egypt), *niṣf*, *thuluth*, *rubʿ* and *sudus*. The chancellery of the Caliphs in Baghdād had its own formats different from those used in Syria and even after Cairo had become the capital of the Caliphs and the chancellery there had adopted the Baghdād formats, forms peculiar to Syria continued to be distinguished. For the Mamlūk period we are most minutely informed by al-Ḳalḳashandī regarding the formats usual in the chancellery of the Mamlūk court in Cairo and those used in the province of Syria. He distinguishes, giving exact particulars regarding the size and particular uses, of nine formats in use in Cairo: *ḳaṭʿ al-baghdādī al-kāmil*, *ḳaṭʿ al-baghdādī al-nāḳiṣ*, *ḳaṭʿ al-thulthain min al-waraḳ al-miṣrī*, *ḳaṭʿ al-niṣf*, *ḳaṭʿ al-thuluth*, *al-ḳaṭʿ al-maʿrūf bi 'l-manṣūrī* (*rubʿ*), *al-ḳaṭʿ al-ṣaghīr* or *ḳaṭʿ al-ʿāda* (*sudus*), *ḳaṭʿ al-shāmī al-kāmil*, *al-ḳaṭʿ al-ṣaghīr* (*min waraḳ al-ṭair*); also four Syrian formats: *ḳaṭʿ al-shāmī al-kāmil*, *ḳaṭʿ niṣf al-ḥamawī*, *ḳaṭʿ al-ʿāda min al-shāmī*, *ḳaṭʿ waraḳ al-ṭair*. The smallest formats were used for the pigeon post. Al-Ḳalḳashandī only gives quite general observations for other countries.

In the history of religion the expression *ḳaṭaʿa yamīnan* meaning "to take an oath", which Pedersen (*Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p. 46; cf. also p. 12, note 3) compares with the Hebrew *kārat berīt*, is interesting. It is perhaps through the influence of this expression that *ḳ-ṭ-ʿ* comes to mean "to settle, to decide", as do verbs meaning "to cut" in other Semitic languages. In logic we find it meaning "to assert something with confidence, to refute someone completely", etc., as e.g. *ʿalima ḳaṭʿan* or *ʿala 'l-ḳaṭʿi* "to be absolutely sure of something", *dalīl ḳaṭʿī* "a decisive proof".

A small Shīʿī sect is called *Ḳaṭʿīya* because it "cuts short" the list of Imāms at the death of Mūsā 'l-Kāẓim.

Bibliography: Besides the usual dictionaries see Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.; M. Aʿla, *Dict. of Technical Terms*, s.v. — Mathematics: Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī, *Fī Ḳaṭʿ al-Makhrūṭ alladhī yusammā 'l-mukāfī* (on the measurement of the parabola), transl. and annot. by H. Suter in the *S.B.P.M.S.*, 1916—1917, xlviii. and xlix. 65—86; Ibrāhīm b. Sinān b. Thābit, *Fī Misāḥat Ḳaṭʿ al-Makhrūṭ al-mukāfī* (on the measurement of the parabola), transl. and annot. by H. Suter in the *Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, 1918, lxiii. 214—228. — Astrology: C. A. Nallino, *Del Vocabolo qaṭʿ nell' astrologia araba*, in the *R.S.O.*, 1921, vol. viii., part 4, p. 739—743. — Administration: al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, vi. 189—193; do., *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣubḥ*, p. 412—415. — Ḳaṭʿīya: al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton, p. 127. (WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

ḲAʿṬABA, a town in South Arabia. This town, the capital of the district of the same name in Yemen, lies in the Wādī 'l-Djahabān, in the plain between the Djabal Djiḥāf and the Djabal Mirais, in a very fertile area which produces all kinds of cereals, including a particularly noted wheat, and also coffee, ḳāt, tobacco, fruit, including peaches, apricots and winegrapes. The town, the population of which may be estimated at about 1,500, consists of about 100 not particularly well built houses and huts, two mosques, a bath and a bazaar. The Jewish quarter is not important. Its inhabitants are mainly engaged in the manufacture of cloth from the cotton brought from ʿAdan.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

ḲATABĀN, the name of a country or kingdom and people in S. W. Arabia of whose existence we have evidence from about 500 B.C. to 200 A.D. in the ancient South Arabian inscriptions and in Greek and Roman literature. The oldest records, which at the same time give us the first accurate information regarding Katabānian economic conditions, constitution and laws, have only become known in quite recent years from the hitherto published Katabānian inscriptions in the wealth of material left by E. Glaser. Along with those not exactly numerous epigraphical documents which only give us a few further isolated details of the history of the country and a geographical name or two, the scanty references in Greek and Roman literature, the only source for our knowledge before the South Arabian inscriptions were known, still retain their value for the matter they contain. On a basis of the inscriptional evidence alone one could not obtain an idea of the geographical boundaries of the land, certainly not of the configuration of the ancient kingdoms of South Arabia.

The first known mention of Katabān by the Greeks is found in Theophrastus (about 300 B.C.), *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 2 — the earliest Greek source for South Arabian history —. This passage, however, as the Greek botanist, who was able to use the reports of the various journeys of exploration sent to the Arabian coast by Alexander, was only concerned with districts of Arabia that yielded aromatic plants, tells us nothing more than that Kitibaina (Katabān) and the lands of Saba, Hadramyta (Hadramūt) and a certain Mamali are the South Arabian localities for frankincense, myrrh, cassia and cinnamon. The manuscripts of Theophrastus also give the form Kattabana alongside of Kitibaina. D. H. Müller's suggestion in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie d. klass. Altert.*

s. v. Catabanes and Chatramis, to read Κιτίβαινα in Theophrastus need not be accepted. Glaser wrongly supposed (*Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 6, 8) that Κιτίβαινα (or, as he incorrectly writes, "Kitibaina") lay on the Persian Gulf.

Later and fuller is the reference to Ḳatabān in the synopsis in Strabo, xvi. 768, of Eratosthenes (end of the third century B. C.), who, in addition to the sources available to Theophrastus, had at his disposal itineraries of seafarers and travellers by caravan in Egypt and Petra. According to this, the Καταβανεῖς, who are given after the Minaeans and Sabaeans in order from north to south of the four principal Arabian peoples and before the Chatramotites (inhabitants of Ḥaḍramōt), whose lands stretched furthest east, dwelled down to the straits and entrance to the Arabian Gulf (πρὸς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου); their capital was Τάμνα. From Strabo's information it may be assumed that the Katabānians in the time of Eratosthenes lived in the part of the west coast south of Saba' and in the western parts of the south coast of Arabia, being the western neighbours of the Sabaeans. From Strabo's account of their lands which refers to the straits of Bāb al-Mandab, it is clear that the boundary for the kingdom in Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 19), who sought to locate the Ḳatabānians "mainly east of the Djabal Ṣabir" with the Gebanites west of them and the Ḥimyars south of the Ḳatabānians and Gebanites, was not correct. This could have been deduced from the fact that in the time of Eratosthenes the Ḥimyars did not form an independent kingdom (cf. the art. SABA') but belonged to Ḳatabān, which Glaser, who later modified his views considerably, had to confess in his book *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p. 112. The Γαβαῖοι of Strabo (xvi. 768), the Gebanitae of Pliny (vi. 153), were presumably at this date still a part of the kingdom of Ḳatabān (see the article ΓΑΒΑΙΟΙ in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencykl.*) and only became independent about Pliny's time and at that time were, it is true, the neighbours of the Ḳatabānians but not on the west, as Glaser supposed, but on the south-east between Ḳatabān and Saba'. The statements in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 65, are also in agreement with Eratosthenes, according to which the Katabānians lived in the S. W. of Arabia Felix. From the idea we get of the geography of their lands from Eratosthenes, which is nowhere contradicted, we see the impossibility of the mixture of right and wrong in the location of the four principal kingdoms in Glaser, *Punt und die südarabischen Reiche*, *M.V.A.G.*, 1899, iv/ii., 21, according to which Ḳatabān in the old period was the land south and S. W. of Saba', bounded by N. W. Ḥaḍramōt and later stretching to the straits of Bāb al-Mandab so that it originally included the land of the Ḥimyars and would appear as early as Theophrastus as the immediate neighbour of Ḥaḍramōt on the west. Glaser at the same time also assumed in the passage in Theophrastus the alteration Σαυή in the text (said to be = Shehrīt, Sheḥr, "frankincense coast") for Σαβά, which, however, is wrong (cf. the art. SABA'), and further altered his early views on the frontiers of Ḳatabān (cf. below). That Eratosthenes mentions the Katabānians between Saba' and Ḥaḍramōt and that the Katabānian inscriptions found by Glaser, according to his own words (*Abessinier*, p. 111), "all came from the region between Mārib and Shabwat" (M. Hartmann's [*Die Arabische Frage* in *Der islamische Orient*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1909, p. 169, 1] observation on this statement, that the description of the find-spot of Glaser's inscription Nº. 1693, "which is of Ru'aini provenance", is not in keeping with it, can now be more easily estimated at its true value; cf. the topographical data in N. Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft*, Series 2 [*S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1922, cxcviii/ii., p. 57 *sqq.*]) is, as the expression quoted πρὸς τὰ στενὰ .... κάτω in Strabo shows, not sufficient evidence for the conclusion that the land of the Katabānians was limited to the territory between Saba' and Ḥaḍramōt and does not prevent — neither does another circumstance — the assumption that the kingdom of Ḳatabān surrounded in north and east by Saba', the gradually increasing bulk of which came to include the S. W. corner of Arabia, in the time of Eratosthenes stretched to the N. E. as far as between the Wādī Ḥarīb (S. E. of Mārib) and the Wādī Baiḥān al-Ḳaṣāb. The expression in Strabo καθήκοντες πρὸς τὰ στενὰ etc. ("stretch up to the straits") is quite reconcilable with the assumption that Ḳatabān was not only the land directly on the coast but also stretched into the interior, towards the upper Yāfi'a. — A. Sprenger's view (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 64, 254 *sq.*, 264, 273 *sq.* etc.) that the Ḳatabānians were the Arabian tribe of Ḳuḍā'a was absurd. Obsessed with this view, he recognised the definition of the land of Ḳatabān in Eratosthenes as only correct "in a limited sense". When J. Halévy and J. H. Mordtmann established the identity of the land named Ḳatabān in the South Arabian inscriptions with the similar name of a land and people mentioned by the Greeks and Romans, any linguistic connection of Ḳatabān with Ḳuḍā'a and the localisation of the original nucleus of the Ḳatabān kingdom far to the east (near the Kawr range) were ruled out (see also D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, vol. ii. [*S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1881, xcvii/iii.], p. 1028 *sq.*). Nevertheless Sprenger again at a later date in his *Bemerkungen zu Mordtmanns Anzeige von Glasers Skizze* in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xliv. 505, 1, maintained a connection between the names Ḳatabān and Ḳuḍā'a. Relying on the similarity in sound of the Ḳatabān of the inscriptions to the name of the plain of Ḳatāb in the vicinity of Ẓafār (near Yarīm), the later capital of the Ḥimyars, D. H. Müller endeavoured to locate the Ḳatabānians there, assuming that "they exercised their power in the place where traces of their existence have survived in the name of the place and where those who followed them in power had their capital" (*op. cit.*, p. 1029); cf. for this view so early a writer as Ch. Forster, *Historical Geography of Arabia*, London 1844, vol. i., p. lxxx. and 84; K. Müller in the index to his edition of Strabo, p. 769, and Sprenger, *Bemerkungen*, *loc. cit.*

In support of the form of the name Καταβανεῖς against Κατταβανεῖς of most MSS. of the passage in Strabo is the form Καταβανία of the name of the land, a few lines below in the majority of manuscripts in the passage from Theophrastus quoted above, the form quoted below from Pliny, the *varia lectio* in Ptolemy with single *t*, finally also the Arabic original form. The form Καταβανεῖς has influenced the error Κατάβανοι in the MSS.,

an error in copying the equally erroneous Καβά-ναν (and Καβάτανον) of the other MSS. in the note immediately following in Strabo on the capital of the Chatramotitae, the name of which was first restored by Groskurd as Σάββαθα (= Shabwat of the inscriptions) (following him Kramer, Meineke, K. Müller, etc.) On the etymology of the name nothing definite can be asserted. Forster's [(*op. cit.*, vol. i., p. lxxvi., 35, 83 *sq.*, 87, 89, 91 *sq.*, 105, 115; vol. ii. 154) also quoted by K. Müller (*op. cit.*)] connection of the name with the Banī Kaḥṭān and his derivation (i. 83) from *kataba* in the sense of *scribae* or *notarii*, according to Bochart, is simply one of the curiosities with which his book is filled. Even C. Landberg's (*Arabica*, Leiden 1898, v. 62) derivation from *katab* (pack-saddle) in reference to the wealth of the region of Baiḥān al-Kaṣāb in camels, is not exactly probable.

Eratosthenes calls the capital of Katabān Tamna. That the Katabānians had a monarchical constitution like the Minaeans, Sabaeans and Chatramotitae is known from the South Arabian inscriptions. Sprenger, who (*Geographie*, p. 160) identified Τάμνα with Θούμνα in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 37, and (p. 268, 300) consequently sought it between the Sabaean capital Mariaba and Sabatha, the capital of Hadramūt, had, as a result of his preconceived notions regarding the Katabānians, as he himself said (p. 268) "some difficulty in finding the bulk of the kingdom". Of the earlier writers Glaser came nearest to settling the question of the situation of the capital. While, according to his opinion expressed in the *Skizze*, ii. 18 *sq.* (in correction of *Skizze*, i. 48), Tamna was identical "either with Dumnat Ḥaḍā or more probably with Dumnat Khadir.... not very far E. S. E. of (the highest part of) the Djabal Ṣabir on the road from the Turkish frontier-customs-station of Surra (Kaida) to Ta'izz", he later (*Abessinier*, p. 112, 115) said that Tamna' (Timna') of the Katabānian inscriptions was Tamna' in the Wādī Baiḥān al-Kaṣāb and this was not only the Τάμνα of Eratosthenes but the Thomna and Thomala of Pliny and also the Θούμνα of Ptolemy, thus abandoning his idea that the massif of the Djabal Ṣabir was the frontier of the Katabānian kingdom. Of these attempts at identification Landberg (*Arabica*, v. 81 *sq.* [on the land of Ḥarib], especially p. 100) said that Glaser, after looking for Tamna here and there almost found it when in his paper *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib* (*M. V. A. G.*, 1897, ii/vi. 58) he wrote à propos of the name Temna' mentioned in the Sirwāḥ inscription (Glaser 1000) "Temna', the former capital Tamna or Thumna of the Katabānians, is in the Wādī Baiḥān". This identification of Glaser's, who (*Abessinier*, p. 112) expressly stated his conviction of the correctness of his location of the Tamna' of the inscriptions, was corrected by Landberg (p. 107 *sq.*) when he fixed the position of the present Timna', the site of the ancient capital of the Katabānians, in the land of Ḥarib in a plain by the Wādī Ablaḥ, a tributary on the left of the Wādī 'Ain, which is bounded in the S. S. E. by the hills of Rokhama, in the S. E. by the Kawīn Al Djenāḥ, in the midst of which rises the hill of Haid Wadjī; the Wādī Wadjī waters the part of the plain called Ṭīn Timna'. Following this, Hommel (*Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, Munich 1904, p. 137 [656]) identified Τάμνα and the town of the inscriptions as Timna', "in a tributary Wādī of Baiḥān al-Asfal S. E. of Mārib". M. Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 168) was wrong in objecting to the location S. E. of Mārib "in spite of the view expressed by Hommel with absolute conviction", he sought Tamna' east of Yarīm, on a hypothesis which is quite without foundation. Rhodokanakis (*Die Inschriften an der Mauer von Koḥlān-Timna'* in the *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1924, cc/ii. 8), identifies Timna', the capital of Katabān, with Koḥlān, by combining mentions in the inscriptions with a study of photographs taken by G. W. Bury, who in 1900 visited Koḥlān (Kaḥlān) on the left bank of the Wādī Baiḥān and took impressions and photographs of inscriptions there for the South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Academy and also gave an account of the ruins. Sprenger, relying simply on the Ptolemaic location for Thomna (between Mariama and Sabatha) had come very near to the identification proposed by Landberg. It may safely be concluded that not only the royal residence but also the original home of the Katabānians lay not far from the frontier of Saba' and the gradual expansion of the tribe of Katabān — now also known from inscriptions — into the kingdom took place towards the S. W. The equation of Τάμνα with Thomna, which Pliny (vi. 153; vii. 63) calls a town of the Gebanitae, proposed by D. H. Müller (*op. cit.*, p. 1028), Mordtmann (review of Glaser, *Skizze*, vol. i., in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xliv. 184), Glaser (*loc. cit.* and *Punt*, p. 57) and Landberg (*op. cit.*, p. 109 *sq.*), has a certain probability in spite of the phonetic difference in the initial dentals of the two names, which we also have between Θούμνα and Τάμνα, which had already been equated by K. Müller (*op. cit.*). But it should be remembered that Ptolemy may have referred two names of similar sound to one place. In favour of the identification of Θούμνα and Thomna we can quote — in addition to the form of the name — Pliny's remark (xii. 63) on the frankincense route. Of the town-names of similar sound in Pliny, it may here be remarked that neither can Thomna, the capital of the Gebanitae, be identical, as Glaser suggests, with Thomala, which Pliny (vi. 154) expressly calls a town of the Sabaeans, nor can Thomala be altered to Thomna, as Mordtmann (review, p. 186) proposed. The latter (*ibid.*) and Hommel (*Die altisraelitische Überlieferung*, Munich 1897, p. 274) assumed that the name of the Katabānian capital and that of the Edomite tribe of Timna' (*Gen.*, xxxvi. 40) were connected.

Strabo's further remark that Καταβανία (var. Κατταβανία, the same form as in Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v.) produced frankincense, has recently been wrongly taken to mean that, according to his authority, frankincense was not found in other parts of South Arabia (cf. the art. ẒAFĀR, below, iv. 6a). Glaser's suggestion (*Skizze*, ii. 26) that there is "obviously some confusion" in Strabo may be met by the statement in Pliny (xii. 69), which is based on authentic information, as well as the corroborative statements of modern travellers, like C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 283, and Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 77, 91, 254. Glaser himself acknowledges the possibility "that even by the time of Eratosthenes individual Katabānians owned lands in the frankincense areas" (similarly in *Abessinier*, p. 111 *sq.*; previously Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 264; cf. K. Müller, *op. cit.*); in *Punt*, p. 46 (cf. 50 *sq.*, 57) Glaser speaks of Katabānian suzerainty over the frankincense

country. His deductions (*Abessinier*, p. 112 *sq.*) that Ḳatabān perhaps also had possessions in the African frankincense area and that the whole of Azania belonged to it may be emphatically rejected.

Pliny twice mentions the Ḳatabānians; v. 65: Catabanes (this is the better reading, not Catabanes) Arabes and, in another form, vi. 153: Catapani, a divergence which is probably explained by the use of different sources. According to the first passage (also Solin, ed. Mommsen, Berlin 1895, § 797), they are to be regarded as the possessors of the south-west of Arabia Felix. Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 291) wrongly says that by Pliny's time there was no longer a Ḳatabānian tribe. He is possibly correct in saying that they and the Ḥaḍramōtites had inherited the southern Minaean territory and could only hold out by continually fighting the Sabaeans. Whether there still was a kingdom of Ḳatabān, as known to Eratosthenes, in Juba's time is doubtful. Glaser (*Abessinier*, p. 114) denied that the Ḳatabānian kingdom was still in existence at the time of Gallus and thought (*Punt*, p. 56) that it no longer existed by 81 A. D. and that the Ḳatabānians "disappear completely from the scene as an independent people" in the first half of the first century B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 48; cf. *Abessinier*, p. 77; for the time of Gallus see D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, ii. 1030). This view must be considerably modified, if only on account of the mention of the Ḳatabānians in Pliny and Ptolemy (see Glaser's own limitation, *Punt*, p. 48, 1). Against Hommel, who (*Grundriss*, p. 139, 142) placed the end of the kingdom of Ḳatabān in the second century B. C. (on this chronology see Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 115), Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 164, cf. 168) said that Ḳatabān does not disappear before 80 B. C. That the references in Ptolemy from the time of Juba refer only to the people of the Ḳatabānians and no longer to the now weakened kingdom, cannot be asserted with certainty. But it may have been included in the Ḥimyar kingdom at the beginning of our era (on the supposed beginning of the Ḥimyar epoch see the art. SABA', below, iv. 8).

This question is bound up with that of the connection between Ḳatabān and the Geb(b)anitae of Pliny (vi. 153, xii. 63, 68 *sq.*, 87 *sq.*, 93), the Gabān of the inscriptions, into the details of which, as they would require a special article, we cannot go here. Sprenger's view (*Geographie*, p. 256, 268, 282) that the Ḳatabānians lived in S. W. Arabia before the Gebanitae and were driven out by them in Juba's time was supported by D. H. Müller (*Burgen*, ii. 1028 *sq.*) (also Glaser, *Punt*, p. 36, 48, 50). In my articles *Gabaioi*, and *Gebbanitae* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, it has been suggested that the Gebanitae, called Γεβανῖται by Eratosthenes (Strabo, xvi. 768) and therefore known to him alongside of the Ḳatabānians, were settled in Ḳatabān or close to its frontier (for other errors of Sprenger see *ibidem*). Glaser, *Punt*, p. 35, 60, regarded the Gebanitae as a subdivision of the Ḳatabānian people. But it is not quite clear even for the time of Juba whether the Gebanitae are not still to be regarded as neighbours of the Ḳatabānians. D. H. Müller's other considerations are discussed in another connection (see the *Bibliography*). The Gebanitae, like the Ḳatabānians, also became a part of the Ḥimyar kingdom, probably not before Pliny's time. Hartmann's proposal (*op. cit.*, p. 410; cf. 22) to alter *Gebanitae* in Pliny, xii. 63, to *Catabanitae* cannot be accepted. This unobjectionable reading is amply supported against emendation by vi. 153; and besides Pliny never uses the form of the name which Hartmann's conjecture would introduce.

That the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (cf. the art. SABA', iv. 9), presumably composed between 40 and 45 A. D., does not mention the Ḳatabānians — a fact on which Glaser (*Abessinier*, p. 113) laid stress in support of his view that their kingdom came to an end at an early date — like the non-mention of the Minaeans, means nothing, especially as the much later Ptolemy — and Pliny also — mentions the Ḳatabānians along with the Sabaeans, Minaeans and Chatramotites (vi. 7, 24, Κοτταβανοί [var. Κοταβανοί, vulg. Κοτταβανοί]), i.e. all the four main peoples of South Arabia known to Eratosthenes. This is at any rate an argument against those who hold that the Ḳatabānian people had entirely disappeared from history by the time of Gallus and was therefore a view at first challenged by Glaser. That the Ptolemaic map placed them between the frankincense region and the modern 'Omān is explained to mean they had also lands in the former. The Κιδαβανῖται mentioned in the same passage by Ptolemy were originally considered by Glaser — who wrote their name erroneously "Kittibaner" — (*Skizze*, ii. 4, 6, 8, 268 *sq.*) to be the inhabitants of the Κιτίβαινα of Theophrastus, said to be situated on the Persian Gulf, and regarded them as well as the Κοταβανοί as different from the Ḳatabānians. This was only intended to serve as a basis for his assertion that even by Pliny's time there was no longer a Ḳatabānian tribe (see above). Later (*Abessinier*, p. 111) he abandoned his view that the Ḳatabānians are not mentioned in Ptolemy and (p. 115) conceded the possibility at least that they are the Κιδαβανῖται so that he now took up an intermediate position. On the question of the relation of the two peoples with similar names to one another no definite answer can be given. According to Mordtmann (review, p. 187), they were identical, and it is in fact not improbable that Ptolemy refers to the Ḳatabānians under two different forms of the name, just as in one passage (vi. 7. 10) he calls the people of Ḥaḍramōt Ἀτραμῖται (var. Ἀδραμῖται) and in another (vi. 7, 25, 26), Χατραμωτῖται. The capital of the Ḳatabānians can be recognised in his Θόμνα (Thomna in Pliny). Mordtmann was wrong in his view that Ptolemy erroneously — as a result of different estimates of the distance — had given Thumna twice (31 and 37) in his map.

The mentions of Ḳatabān in the later literature of the Greeks are of no value, such as Dionysius Periegetes, ed. K. Müller, verse 959, who — perhaps from the geographical didactic poem of Alexander Lychnus of Ephesus — in the phrase ἀγχίγυοι Κλεταβηνοί rightly describes the Ḳatabānians as neighbours of the Sabaeans mentioned just before. This mutated form is a misreading of ΚΑΤΑΒΗΝΟΙ of the original source; it appears also in the Latin paraphrasers of Dion. Periegetes and as Cletabis in the Geographer of Ravenna, ed. Pinder-Parthey, Berlin 1860, ii. 7.

The references to Ḳatabān in South Arabian inscriptions were down to the last decade of the xixth century very limited, e. g. the Minaean inscription Halévy 504 (= Glaser 1087) in which a Ḳatabānian king is mentioned as a contemporary of Minaean kings, and Fresnel 56 (= Glaser 481)

in which there is mention of a peace between Saba' and Katabān. A deeper knowledge of the past of Katabān was first obtained from the rich finds of inscriptions made by Glaser, who, in his fourth journey to South Arabia (1892—1894) before which no Katabānian inscription had been known, brought back squeezes of about 100 Katabānian inscriptions, one particularly remarkable result of his journey of exploration. Hommel's conjectural dating of these inscriptions "from about 1000 B.C. to the end of the Katabānian kingdom (2nd century B.C.)" (*Grundriss*, p. 139) is too early in both its limits. The beginning is not earlier than that of the Minaean kingdom (see the art. SABA'); on the latter see above. Hommel (*ibid.*) was only able to say further that there were about 18 Katabānian kings' names in these as yet unpublished texts, out of which Glaser had, however, already gathered much valuable information, and that, apart from a few passages in inscriptions which Glaser himself published (e.g. *Punt*, p. 58 [beginning of Glaser 1392]; *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch*, p. 105 [contents of Glaser 1693]) or Hommel utilised for his researches in the history of religions (from Glaser 1599, 1600 and 1604), some of his inscriptions were again squeezed by Arabs, one for the Greek Kallisperis (published by Hommel, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1899, liii. 98 *sqq.*, the first Katabānian inscription made generally accessible), three others for 'Aden, whence they were sent to Paris (publ. by H. Derenbourg, *Nouveaux textes yéménites inédits*, *R.A.*, 1902, v/iv. 117 *sqq.* [N°. ii., iii., iv.; new edition with emendations in the *Répertoire d'Épigr. sém.*, 1903, i., N°. 310 *sqq.*]). Ditlef Nielsen in the *M.V.A.G.*, 1906, xi/iv., published in his *Neue katabanische Inschriften*, a German version of his *Studier over oldarabiske Indskrifter*, Copenhagen 1906, 5 Katabānian texts (Glaser 1600, 1402, 1119, 1581 and one fragment) (which he had received from Glaser) with notes (critically reviewed by O. Weber, *Studien zur südarabischen Altertumskunde*, in *M.V.A.G.*, 1907, xii/ii. 1—22); at the same time Glaser in his *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, Munich 1906, p. 60 *sqq.* and 162 *sqq.*, published the first of these inscriptions and Glaser 1606, of which Nielsen N°. 5 was a fragment. The article following the above mentioned one by Weber was his *Neue südarabische Inschriften* (p. 23 *sqq.*) (Landberg 1—5) (N°. 1 already published by H. Derenbourg in *Nouveaux textes du Yémen* [despatched in 1903] under N°. 3; Landberg 3 is identical with the first third of Glaser 1230 [in Glaser, *Altjem. Nachr.*, p. 147 *sq.*]).

On the basis of the earliest publications from Glaser's papers, research was at once begun on individual problems of Katabānian antiquity. Hommel, for example (*Grundriss*, p. 85 *sq.*, 140 *sq.*), first proposed hypotheses regarding the religious system of the Katabānians. Hartmann gave his views on the constitution, from the important inscription Glaser 1606, and on historical questions (from Glaser 1359/60, 1693 etc.; *op. cit.*, p. 430 *sqq.*; cf. also 184 *sqq.*). It is a noteworthy fact that the kingdom of Katabān appears also in the inscriptions as existing contemporaneously with those of Ma'īn, Saba' and Ḥaḍramūt, just as we find it in Eratosthenes. As regards language, Katabānian is nearer Minaean than Sabaean; Hommel said the Katabānian dialect was practically Minaean. The traces of Sabaean in it are due to contact with the neighbouring people. Weber had already pointed out (*Studien*, p. 2, 63 *sq.*) in the epigraphy certain peculiarities from the few reproductions available to him. It is unnecessary to go further into the details of this earlier literature, especially in view of the comprehensive edition of Glaser's Katabānian inscriptions which is being undertaken by Rhodokanakis (see the art. SABA', iv. 12). The latter had already published in his *Der Grundsatz der Öffentlichkeit in den südarabischen Urkunden* (*S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1915, CLXXVII/ii 33 *sq.*) the Katabānian inscription Glaser 1606, already discussed by Glaser (see above) and Hartmann, (*op. cit.*, p. 431), with very thorough notes; he then published some hitherto unknown inscriptions in *Katabānische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft* in the *S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1909, CXCIV/ii., namely Glaser 1601, 1602, 1395 = 1604 = N°. 84 of the inscriptions collected by the South Arabian expedition (S.A.E.), Glaser 1412 = 1612 = S.A.E. 81, Glaser 1413 = 1613 = S. A. E. 82; in the already mentioned second series of *Katab. Texte* the three inscriptions Glaser 1396 = 1610 = S. A. E. 83, S. A. E. 48, of which the Kallisperis inscription (see above) forms one part, and Glaser 1693; lastly in the already mentioned treatise *Die Inschriften an der Mauer von Kohlān Timna* the inscription S.A.E. 77 = Glaser 1404 = 1614, S.A.E. 80, 80A = Glaser 1397 *sqq.* and, in elucidation of the title of Mukarrib among the Katabānians, S.A.E. 94 = Glaser 1405, S.A.E. 85 + S.A.E. 60, Glaser 1410, and in the appendix S. A. E. 86; a new edition of S.A.E. 78 *sq.* = Glaser 1605 *sq.* has appeared in *W.Z.K.M.*, xxxi. 22 *sqq.* These publications mark an extraordinary advance not only for the accurate reproduction of the texts of the inscriptions and the very full commentary but also for the systematic investigation here attempted for the first time of problems of law, constitution and economy (see the art. SABA', iv. 12), as well as, for example à propos of the discussion of inscriptions Glaser 1601 and 1693, of details of the earlier history of Katabān; for example, in *Katab. Texte*, i. 26 *sq.*, 34 *sq.* (supplement in *Katab. Texte*, ii. 98 *sq.*) a chronological order is proposed for some groups of Katabānian kings (cf. A. Grohmann, *Katabānische Herrscherreihen* (cf. A. Grohmann, *Katabānische Herrscherreihen* in the *Anz. Wien*, x., 1910, p. 42 *sqq.*; older attempts in Nielsen, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Weber, *Studien*, *op. cit.*, p. 9 *sq.*; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 165 *sqq.*, 601). Our knowledge of the history of ancient South Arabia is for the first time enlarged on many points by a combination of these newly published inscriptions with those already known. We see that certain smaller countries were dependent on Katabān, with which they for some time formed a great power. In Glaser 1396 there is mention of the dependence of the Ma'īn tribe on the leading tribe Katabān. The inscription Halévy 504 (quoted above) shows that Ma'īn was dependent on Katabān. On the other hand, from the Minaean inscription Glaser 485 Ma'īn appears as the vassal of Saba'. Katabān was for some time one of the enemies of Saba'. But in the period after the Sabaean inscription Glaser 418/419, in which Katabān is mentioned along with Ma'īn among the enemies conquered by Saba', it was weakened by Saba'. At the time of the Ṣirwāḥ inscription, Glaser 1000, which mentions a campaign of Saba' in which Katabān was on its side, it had lost political control over considerable territory (cf. Glaser 1600 and

1620). A war lasting many years between Ḳatabān and Saba' (Glaser 481 = Fresnel 56 [see above], Glaser 1693) in the course of which (according to Rhodokanakis' supposition) there was a rupture of the alliance between the two powers ended in a peace. References to Ḳatabān being included in the kingdom of the Ḥimyars may also be gleaned from inscriptions. None of the inscriptions concerned can be definitely dated in a known era, but it is possible to bring some of them into a chronological series relative to one another.

The publication of new material alone will show whether the unsettled problems will be cleared up or remain unsettled.

Bibliography: the books and articles of Glaser, Rhodokanakis, Hommel, Derenbourg, Hartmann, Landberg, Weber, D. H. Müller, J. H. Mordtmann, Sprenger etc. are already cited in the text; reference need only be made here to my article *Saba* (*Realencyklopädie* s. v., esp. coll. 1425 *sqq.*, 1448 *sqq.*, 1457 *sqq.*, 1492 *sq.*).

(J. TKATSCH)

ḲATĀDA B. IDRĪS, ancestor of the Sharīfs of Mekka from the beginning of the 13th century A. D. onwards. In 1201, 1202 or 1203 A. D. he overpowered the then ruling family of the Hawāshim and established his authority in the Holy City. The last Sharīfs of the Banū Hāshim had lived in continual family strife and quarrels. Meanwhile Ḳatāda (for his pedigree cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i., Stammtafel I between p. 24 and 25 and Stammtafel II between p. 74 and 75) had enlarged his estates from Yanbu' southward in the direction of Mekka, thus preparing his attack on this city. When the Mekkans were out of the town in order to assume the *iḥrām* [q. v.] for the *'umra* on the 27th of Radjab, the commemoration day of Muḥammad's Ascension, he made use of this occasion to establish his power in the town. According to another story, however, his son Ḥanzala captured the town and prepared his father's entry.

Ḳatāda, in contradistinction to the Banū Hāshim, his predecessors in the Ḥidjāz, was a man of political genius, who pursued the idea of founding the independent principality of the Holy Land of Islām. He repaired the walls of the town which had fallen to ruins, captured Ṭā'if and brought the Thaḳīf-tribes under his dominion. He continued the war with the Sharīfs of Medina, built a fortress at Yanbu' and organised his army with peculiar care.

His attitude towards the Aiyūbids, the caliph and the Zaidites of Yaman is to be viewed in the light of his central political idea. He did not suffer manifest signs of any foreign power in his territory, so that relations often became strained and sometimes even ended in open hostility. Nevertheless the caliph once invited him to visit Baghdād. It is said that Ḳatāda started on his journey to the capital, but returned to his own country when he was met by an embassy of the caliph which had in its train fettered lions. Be this legend or fact, this much is certain, that Ḳatāda embodied his idea of the "splendid isolation of Ḥidjāz" in verses which are a typical illustration of his negative attitude towards foreign powers. Probably his encouragement of the Zaidite occupation of Yaman is to be viewed in the same light.

In his last days he undertook an expedition against Medina. Illness, however, induced him to return to Mekka, where he was killed in 1221 by his son Ḥasan, who suspected him of favouring one of his relatives as a candidate for the throne. His descendants were ruling Sharīfs at Mekka, until in 1916 Ḥusain converted the sharīfate into a kingdom.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ii. 60, 214, 260 *sqq.*; iii. 14, 85; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 134, 169, 261 *sqq.*; al-Sindjārī, *Manā'iḥ al-Karam*, fol. 121 *sqq.*, in Prof. Snouck Hurgronje's MS.; Aḥmad Zēnī Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-Kalām*, Cairo 1305, p. 23; do., *'Umdat al-Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318, p. 121 *sq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, Būlāḳ 1284, iv. 104 *sqq.*; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 137; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 73 *sqq.*; do., *Qatadah's policy of splendid isolation of the Hijaz* in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 439—444, where Ḳatāda's poem is discussed (= *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, iii. 355 *sqq.*).

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KATAK (CUTTACK), a district in Orissa [q. v.].

KATANGA, a province in the Belgian Congo.

Geography and History. Katanga is the most southern, richest and least populated of the four provinces of the Belgian Congo. It lies between 5° and 13° 30' S. Lat. and 21° 30' and 30° 30' E. Long. It is bounded on the north by the eastern province and the province of Congo Kasaï, on the east by Lake Tanganika which separates it from the former German East Africa (now under British mandate) and by Northern Rhodesia; in the south by Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese Angola; in the west by Angola and the province of Congo Kasaï. The area is 200,000 square miles, about a quarter of that of the Belgian Congo. Its native population is about a million and a half of Southern Bantus (Balubas, Lundas, Basonge, Bango-Bango, Warua, Watumbwe, Babui, Baholoholo, Kanioka and Batschok), while its white population is about 4,500, of whom the great majority are Belgians, about fifty Dutch, a few English, Americans, French, Italians, Portuguese, Greeks and Scandinavians. In 1922 there were forty-nine Hindus, eight Turks and fifteen Arabs and Zanzibaris. These figures have since been considerably increased.

The province of Katanga is divided into four districts — Upper Luapula, Lomami, Lulua and Tanganika Moero. A number of towns — Elisabethville, Likasi, Albertville, Kongolo, Kabinda, Sandoa and Kambove — have arisen in it as a result of the economic conditions of which we will give a general account below.

We may add that Katanga enjoys a fairly temperate climate, especially south of the tenth parallel, in which the altitude varies from 3,500 to 5,500 feet and that it is well watered by rivers and streams, such as the majestic Lualaba (upper reaches of the Congo river) which runs through it from south to north and is fed by many tributaries of which the most important are the Lubudi, Lufira, Luapula, Luvua, Luvoi and Lukuga, which flow from Lake Tanganika. If the soil of Katanga, which is covered with a forest of more or less dense brushwood, is far from having the great fertility of the immense central depression which constitutes the most extensive part of the Belgian

Congo, and if it does not offer to the fascinated eye of the traveller the imposing beauty of gigantic forests, its soil, on the other hand, possesses wealth immeasurable. It is to the exploitation of this that the economic policy of the Belgian colonisers has been primarily directed.

Deposits of tin are abundantly distributed between Lualaba and Lake Tanganika; two important coal-mines are worked at Albertville and Lucna; aurifeross dykes, pipes of kimberlite and alluvial diamond-bearing deposits have been discovered in various places. Since 1922 the Mining Union has been working an extremely rich deposit of uranium which was found at Shinkolobwe. In 1923, 450 tons were exported which enabled Belgium to produce several grammes of bromure of radium.

But the principal source of the wealth of Katanga is certainly the copper found in profusion in immense deposits worked by the natives before the Belgians came, which the earlier travellers simply could not help discovering. The richness of the ore, the density of which is 14 %, and the intelligent organisation of the industry have enabled 80,000 tons of raw copper to be exported in 1924. This production, like economic development in general, will certainly make new strides ahead when "white coal", the reservoir of hydraulic energy of enormous power abundantly distributed through the province, has been controlled and put at the disposal of industry.

The first **methodical exploration** of Katanga dates from 1890. Famous explorers — Burton, Speke, David Livingstone, H. M. Stanley in the Cameroun, Böhn and Reichard and certain Belgian expeditions of the Association Internationale Africaine, representatives of which — Popelin, Ramaekers, Storms and Becker — founded the stations of M'Toa, Karema and M'Pala on Lake Tanganika — had, of course, visited it previously. But it was only at the end of the nineteenth century, just when Cecil Rhodes was pushing his railway and British influence northwards, that the Congo Free State began to take notice of the urgent necessity of recognising and organising the most southern part of its vast territory. King Leopold II, sovereign of the new state, whose colonial plans did not meet with very great approval in Belgium, to realise this scheme had to have recourse to a private society, the Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce et l'Industrie, with which he founded the Compagnie du Katanga.

This society was essentially a body for exploration and occupation, whose duties and rights were defined by the convention of March, 1891, which imposed on it the following obligations:

The placing of a certain number of craft on the Upper Congo — the building of stations — giving assistance in the suppression of the slave-trade and the trade in spirits and prohibited arms — the organization of a sufficient police service — the eventual exercise by its agents of the functions of the different branches of government service.

In return it received:

1) Full possession of a third of the lands belonging to the domain of the State, in the part of the valley of the Upper Congo lying to the south of the fifth parallel.

2) The right of exploitation of the soil of the ceded lands for a space of ninety-nine years.

But the division of the lands between State and Company raised serious difficulties and the necessity soon appeared of putting the properties of the contracting parties under joint ownership. There was therefore created in 1900 the special Committee of Katanga to which the State and the Company entrusted the management of their affairs. The resulting agreement provided that "all the advantages or benefits to be gained from the exploitation and all expense, charges and losses would be divided by the Committee in proportion of two-thirds for the State and one-third for the Company; the Committee would further have the most extended powers of administration and alienation without exception or reserve".

A decree of 1910 deprived the special Committee of the delegation of the functions of the executive powers, but made no essential modification in its functions as regards the administration of the patrimonial rights of the State and of the Katanga company.

This is the regime that is still in control; our reason for giving at length the circumstances that brought it into being is that it is at bottom extremely original and that — contrary to what is often thought — the position of the Katanga Committee is totally different from that of great companies like the Chartered Company of Rhodesia, or the British East Africa Company, and of other distant possessions. Nowadays Katanga has made great progress, thanks to the policy of the Belgian government and the activity of private initiative. The railway, which runs from Bukama to Sakania and connects the mining region with Lualaba and with the railways of Rhodesia, has been equipped in a very up-to-date fashion and soon a new line will link it up by the Kasai river with the port of Matadi and the Atlantic Ocean.

Muhammadan penetration, the slave trade and the anti-slavery campaign.

History tells us that even before the Hidjra Arab barques were traversing the ocean between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. But it was only when the great Muslim movement had made its immense advance into North Africa and caused the migration on a huge scale of the disciples of the Prophet, that we find the Arabs devoting themselves to the methodical conquest of the lands round the Indian Ocean and building up important sultanates there, of which those of Sofala and Zanzibar have from time to time had bursts of splendour and passed through periods of power and brilliance.

But this power soon began to degenerate and assume a new character. It passed into the hands of traders and exploiters for whom, as Privelle said, "the normal state of society was the choice by them of the most convenient and most remunerative method of exploitation".

It is then that we find chiefs penetrating into the very heart of East Africa where the weak and poorly armed natives offered them no resistance and where they found vast riches, from ivory to human cattle, for whom the American planters and the Asiatic Muslims offered handsome prices.

Setting out from Zanzibar and the coast of Mozambique, the movement reached Lake Tanganika at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It reached Katanga by the bay of M'Toa and spread through the whole of the eastern province by the road from M'Toa to Kabambare and

Kasongo. A regular Arab power extending from the banks of Tanganika to Stanleyville was established by the chief Tippo-Tip and his nephew Rashid.

We know (Stanley and Livingstone have given terrible pictures of it in their works) the horrors which accompanied this invasion and the rapid disintegration of native communities which was produced by the constant wars, flights, endless migrations and continual rupture of the most sacred links of family life. Europe was moved. Cardinal de Lavigerie preached a holy war and on the initiative of Leopold II the civilized nations met in an anti-slavery conference in 1889. War was declared on the chiefs Rashid, Sefu and Kumalisa. While Dhanis was fighting them in the south of the Congo, Commandant Jacques and his lieutenants fought fierce battles with them on the banks of Lake Tanganika, at Katabi, Albertville and M'Tala, which were to liberate for ever the native population from the scourge which had fallen upon them. What influence did this activity of the Muslim world leave upon the Bantu peoples of Katanga?

From the shores of Lake Tanganika to Stanley Falls, we find at the present day negroes who profess Islām. They are called arabicised "wangwana". There is no reason to doubt that the Arabs used to make and still make serious efforts at conversion to Islām; nor is there any reason to doubt that a religion which, like Islām, preaches hatred of the *kāfir* and recommends polygamy is specially suited to attract the natives of Africa.

We must say, however, that if we consider this influence serious in the eastern province, where we have important groups of arabicised natives at Kasongo, Nyangwe, Kirundu and Stanleyville, and if it is revealed as fairly considerable in the residencies of Ruanda and of Urundi (former German districts, now under Belgian mandate) it is perhaps not quite the same in Katanga. For if there are still a few arabicised negroes on the shores of Lake Tanganika and along the old Arab roads, they are really very few in number and their religious education is of the most rudimentary nature. They like to wear a white dress to show their superiority over the other negroes and sometimes perform their *ṣalāt* turned towards Mekka and fast in Ramaḍān, but for the rest they are ignorant and still believe, like their pagan kinsmen, in spirits, witchcraft, superstitions and in the power of malevolent magic.

Is an influence of this kind worthy of the attention of colonising nations? We think so, for one thing is certain, that the arabicisation of the negro very quickly gives him a contempt for the *kāfir* and for European authority and the Muslims do not hesitate to encourage these sentiments.

Alongside of the arabicised negroes there remain in Katanga a certain number of Arabs who have been joined by Muslim Indians. They devote themselves to trading with untiring industry and some of them possess substantial shops, doing a big business and have prospered exceedingly. Indeed, we are at the commencement of a powerful economic offensive, the strength and meaning of which we must try to estimate.

Economic penetration from the East. Dār al-Salām [q. v.] and Zanzibar lying at the crossing of the routes from Europe, Africa and Asia, have become by force of circumstance depots for Asiatic merchandise of all kinds which eastern commerce intends for East Africa, into which they penetrate as a result of the activity and business skill of the immigrant Arabs and Hindus. To give an idea of the importance of this trade, it will be sufficient to consider that in 1922 Bombay and Zanzibar sold in Tanganika Territory (under British mandate) goods worth £ 674,000, the total imports being at most £ 1,386,300 and Great Britain herself participated to the extent of £ 292,000. The goods which reach Katanga by this route are mainly cloths, articles of clothing, blankets and a certain amount of foodstuffs, soap and miscellaneous articles.

As regards textiles, the Hindu and Arab merchants import the most varied kinds, but especially the white cottons called "Americani" and "chader", which sell very well in the markets of Katanga. Not only do the importers attach a great importance to the quality and variety of their goods, but they pay special attention to the measurements of their cloths and pay careful attention to the caprices and changing tastes of a clientèle so fickle as the native population. As a result they were able to import in 1922 at the port of Albertville alone, 18,000 kilograms of chader, 27,000 kilograms of Americani and 8,000 kilograms of cotton printed and dyed, as well as a considerable quantity of blankets and other goods.

Their activity is not confined to imports alone. They also export and it will give an idea of the magnitude of this branch of their trade if we say that a single Arab house in Albertville in 1923 exported almost millions of francs worth of ivory. Several of these firms extend their activity from Zanzibar or Dār al-Salām to Albertville and from Albertville to the Stanley Falls. They have branches in the more important stations and have agents in their service and petty traders who are of great value to them, sober and active, living almost like natives, carrying on business at insignificant expense and thoroughly acquainted with the soul of the negro with its vices and weaknesses, which they can flatter when necessary even — and particularly — to the detriment of the prestige of the European; they carry into the remotest corners eastern influence with their wares.

In Katanga we can see an attempt at economic penetration which will have great developments and the figures which we have given ought in our opinion only to be regarded as stages in an increasing progression which, if European commerce does not take care, will assume considerable importance.

Is this economic influence susceptible of having a serious repercussion in other spheres? I should be premature to try to answer this question definitely. But we know that the demands raised by Orientals in the Kenya Colony in 1923 created profound uneasiness there and that the commercial strike begun at the beginning of the same year by Hindu and Arab merchants in Tanganika Territory seriously disturbed the economic and political atmosphere of this colony. And then — and this is a thing which no colonising nation can afford to neglect — we are at the present watching the evolution of a phenomenon which an American author has styled "the rising tide of colour" and which may perhaps be a subject for grave anxiety for humanity to-morrow.

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(E. VAN DER STRAETEN)

AL-ḲAṬAR, a peninsula on the east coast of Arabia on the Persian Gulf. It has an area of about 2,000 square miles and 2,600 inhabitants. The cape at the end of the peninsula, which runs northwards, is called Rās Rikken and forms a fairly steep tongue of land surrounded by rocks; it is an obstacle not without danger to navigation. The summit is crowned by an old fortress which belongs to a village situated in an adjoining ravine. The coast of the peninsula is steep everywhere, but not high, and is dotted with fishing villages. Its appearance is rather depressing. The soil is poor, nothing but gravel and marl with sand. A few springs provide water for the wells, which have been dug with difficulty in the heavy soil. The climate is remarkably dry and the air unhealthy as a result of the stagnant sea-water along the coast. The few gardens are small and yield but little. There are no extensive cornfields or date palm groves; only here and there do we find a few palms and bare crops. For miles low, bare hills parched by the sun rise from the muddy strand covered with driftsand and seaweed. Inland beyond these eminences stretch barren dunes which are scantily covered with vegetation; behind them lie groups of low miserable huts made of earth and palm leaves. These villages are surrounded by walls to protect them from the raids of robber Beduins of the tribes of Menāṣir and Āl Murra; the dunes have towers on them and here and there is a building of some size that has been fortified.

In contrast to this poverty is the almost inexhaustible wealth yielded by the bay on the Persian Gulf surrounded by al-Ḳaṭar, in which lie the islands of al-Baḥrain celebrated for its pearl-beds. Food and sustenance is amply supplied by the sea, on which the inhabitants of the bay spend half the year seeking for pearls, while the other half is devoted to fishing and trading. Zabāra is the largest place on the peninsula and al-Bidaʿ is regarded as the capital. The latter, like all the places on the peninsula, is chiefly inhabited by fishermen, but in the long narrow, dirty market place there are also a few merchants and artisans from al-Baḥrain.

The houses of the town are huddled together in narrow, dirty, irregular streets; two mosques and the ancient castle are the only buildings of any importance in al-Bidaʿ, which may have about 6,000 inhabitants. Dawḥa, which lies north of al-Bidaʿ, is but half as large; it lies in a deep little bay which affords a rather picturesque view through the cliffs 60—80 feet high in the background. The houses of Dawḥa are still more unprepossessing and poorer than in al-Bidaʿ and the market place even smaller and filthier. Two forts command the town — one on a rock beside it and the other in the town itself. Al-Wakra is more pleasing and stands higher. It also shelters a number of merchants and artisans from al-Baḥrain. The town has, on the whole, a prosperous appearance.

The peninsula was of some importance even in ancient times on account of its important situation commanding the Gulf of al-Baḥrain. A. Sprenger has sought to identify the Cataraei of Pliny (*Natural History*, vi. 28, § 147) with the inhabitants of al-Ḳaṭar. The peninsula used to belong to the Sulṭānate of ʿOmān. From 1872 till 1914 it was under the suzerainty of the Turks, who had a garrison in al-Bidaʿ down to October, 1914, and belonged to the province of al-Aḥsāʾ, forming the ḳaḍāʾ of the same name in the sandjaḳ of Nadjd. Since 1913 ʿAbd Allāh al-Thānī has been lord of the peninsula. But parts of it became independent earlier. For example, in 1882 Dawḥa made a treaty with England accepting her protectorate; in 1891 and in 1914 other places followed this example. Al-Ḳaṭar is now under the control of the ruler of Central Arabia, Ibn Saʿūd, who has thus regained the position once held by the Wahhābī kingdom in the peninsula, which the Turks had for a time usurped.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

ḲAṬARĪ b. al-**FUDJĀʾA**, the last chief of the Azraḳī Khāridjīs (cf. above, i. 542). He belonged to a clan of the Tamīm (the tribe which furnished one of the most noteworthy contingents to these rebels), the Banū Kābiya b. Ḥurḳūṣ b. Māzin (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, L 14). The name of his father, al-Fudjāʾa, is said to have been a surname and his real name was Djaʿwana. Like other Arab chiefs, al-Ḳaṭarī had a double *kunya* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 267): Abū Muḥammad in peace and Abū Naʿāma in war (Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*², i. 131, ii. 126). Of his youth we only know that he took part under the command of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, along with several other chiefs among whom was al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī, destined later to become his bitter enemy, at the submission of Sidjistān in 42 A. H. (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 396; Khalīfa b. Khaiyāṭ in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, Haiderābād 1318, p. 405; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1323, ii. 161). He must have reached a fairly mature age when, 27 years later, he was acclaimed "Caliph" of the Azraḳīs when the latter, defeated by al-Muhallab and his lieutenants, were passing through a very serious crisis. Ḳaṭarī, endowed with tremendous energy and indifferent to danger, was able to arouse the enthusiasm of his partisans, and after leading back the remnants of the army into the mountains of Kirmān, reorganised them; he then went down again into the ʿIrāḳ, occupied Ahwāz and threatened Baṣra. Kept for a long time in check by Muhallab, he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining his position on the left bank of the Dudjail even after the ʿIrāḳ, as a result of the defeat of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair at Maskin (72 A. H.), had fallen into the hands of ʿAbd al-Malik. Finally al-Ḥadjdjādj b.

Yūsuf, appointed governor of the 'Irāḳ, decided to reappoint Muhallab to the command against the Azraḳis, in which he had been replaced without success by other chiefs. Muhallab soon drove the rebels across the Dudjail and assuming the offensive, pursued them into the very centre of their power, Kirmān. Ḳaṭarī nevertheless was able to hold out for a long time in his lines (it is to this period that a silver coin with a legend in Pahlavi and Arabic of the year 75 struck in the name of Ḳaṭarī as *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, refers [*Z. D. M. G.*, 1858, xii. 32, N°. 303]). The dissensions that broke out within the Azraḳī army between Arabs and Mawālī resulted in a split: Ḳaṭarī had to leave the town of Djīraft which was the Azraḳī head-quarters and take refuge along with the Arabs in Ṭabaristān, while the Mawālī continued to hold Djīraft under the command of their chief, 'Abd Rabb or 'Abd Rabbihi (there are two individuals of this name among the Mawālī distinguished by the epithets *al-Kabīr* and *al-Ṣaghīr* and the sources give the rank of commander sometimes to one and sometimes to the other or even distinguish two groups of the Mawālī which separated successively from al-Ḳaṭarī and were led by 'Abd Rabbihi the Great and the Less respectively). This division proved fatal, for Muhallab had no difficulty in routing the Mawālī and killing their chief; al-Ḥadjdjādj sent the Kalbī warrior Sufyān b. al-Abrad against Ḳaṭarī: or rather the latter (according to a tradition recorded by al-Ya'ḳūbī) as governor of Raiy received the appeal which the *iṣpahbadh* (local chief; cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die Pers. Fremdwörter im klass. Arabischen*, p. 78⁴) addressed to him on behalf of the people of Ṭabaristān who were exasperated by the rigid application of the *djizya* tax by Ḳaṭarī. The Azraḳis surprised by Sufyān's troops in a defile in the mountains suffered a decisive defeat. Ḳaṭarī who fell under his horse and was abandoned by his followers was discovered and killed by a native. His head was cut off and borne in triumph to Kūfa and then to Damascus to be presented to the Caliph. The remnants of the Azraḳis under 'Abīda b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī fled to Sudhawwar, a stronghold near Ḳūmis (Yāḳūt, iii. 62) where they sustained a long siege from Sufyān; having exhausted their supplies, they made a desperate sortie and were wiped out. The chronology of these events is far from certain: the sources which say that Ḳaṭarī was in command for 13 or even 20 years are of no value. According to Wellhausen (cf. *Bibl.*), the election of Ḳaṭarī as Caliph probably took place at the end of 69 A.H. and his death in 78 or 79.

Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a represents in striking fashion the type of Khāridjī intransigeant and also that of Arab *Saiyid*, half cavalier and half brigand. Like the other Azraḳis, as a result of his fanatical zeal, he preached and practised *isti'rāḍ* (massacre of anyone who did not accept the Khāridjī creed) and declared the *ḳa'ad* (singular *ḳā'id*) infidels, that is to say those who, while professing the Khāridjī doctrine, refrained from taking part in the war against their adversaries. On the other hand, he was proud of his Arab blood and of his Bedouin character; like several other illustrious Khāridjīs, he had a real talent as orator and poet. One of his speeches is recorded by Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i. 196, 197; *'Iḳd*, ii. 195—196 (cf. also *Fihrist*, p. 125, 15); the fragments of his poetry that have survived to us, of which the most celebrated is the fragment *Ḥamāsa*, p. 44 (frequently quoted, with numerous variations), are remarkable for the elevated style and a heroic contempt for death and place their author in the first rank of Khāridjī poets.

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(Levi Della Vida)

KĀTH, the ancient capital of Khwārizm, the modern Khiva; according to Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 222, the name meant a wall (*ḥā'iṭ*) in the desert in the language of the Khwārizmis, even if there were no buildings within this. The fullest accounts of the old town and citadel of Fīl or Fīr, which was gradually washed away by the Āmū-Daryā (the last traces of it are said to have disappeared in 384 = 994), are given in al-Bīrūnī's [q.v.] *Kitāb al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, p. 35, on which E. Sachau based his *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārizm* (*Sitzungsber. der phil.-hist. Cl. d. K.K. Akad. der Wiss.*, lxxiii., Vienna 1873, esp. p. 489 *sq.*). On the description of the town by the geographers of the ivth (xth) century cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 446 *sq.*; W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya* ii., St. Petersburg 1900, p. 143 *sq.*; the fullest information is given by al-Muḳaddasī², ed. de Goeje, 1906, p. 287 *sq.* The town lost its political importance when the dynasty of the first Khwārizmshāh was destroyed by the prince of Gurgāndj, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, in 385 (995); cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, etc., ii. 275 *sq.* Kāth is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (called al-Kāt by him; cf. ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 20) as the only inhabited place between Khwārizm and Urgenč (the ancient Gurgāndj). In the viiith (xivth) century Kāth along with Khiwa before the rise of the native dynasty in Khwārizm, belonged to the kingdom of the Čaghatāi (*Ẓafar-Nāma*, Calcutta 1887, i. 232); this is shown for example also on the Chinese map of 1331 (in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1888, ii. 63). On the storming of Kāth by Tīmūr in 1372 cf. *Ẓafar-Nāma*, i. 237 *sq.*; for the assertion of P. Lerch, *Khiwa oder Khwārizm*, St. Petersburg 1873, p. 21) that the army crossed the Āmū-Daryā between Se-Pāya and Kāth, which would mean that Kāth even then was on the left bank of the river, there is no authority in the text. In the xith (xviith) century Kāth was on the bank of a dry canal; Anūsha, Khān of Khiwa (1663—1687), therefore built a new Kāth west of the main stream on the bank of the Yarmish canal which he

himself had dug (W. Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 95, from the MS. of the Asiatic Museum 590 ob., History of Khiva, fol. 33ᵇ). The ruins of the old Kāth east of the Āmū-Daryā are now called after the alleged tomb of a saint of the earliest period of Islām, Shaikh ʿAbbās Walī; they were visited in 1873 and described by A. Kuhn (*Materiali dlya statistiki Turk. Kraya*, iv. 252). Besides the tomb of the saint, the only building adorned with glazed bricks, there are mentioned here a half destroyed minaret and the remains of the city wall, all of baked bricks. The modern village (200 houses, 15 shops, 2 mosques with schools) occupies only a small part of the ancient site and the modern fort only a quarter of the old citadel. According to V. Masalskiy (*Turkestanskiy Kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 749), the ruins are 31 versts from Petroalexandrovsk (called Turtkul since the revolution) and 7 versts from the present right bank of the Āmū-Daryā. (W. BARTHOLD)

KATHAI, KHITAI [See CHINA].

KAṬĪʿA [See ḲIṬʿA].

KĀTIB, writer or scribe, is probably derived from the word *kitāb* (book) and from both was later formed the verb *kataba* (he wrote). The word was perhaps imported with the art from the Northern Aramaic neighbours of the Arabs. We not only find the word in the earliest poetry preserved, applied to those who wrote the Arabic script but also ancient poets speak of Ḥimyarī kātibs. In the time before Islām the art of writing, though apparently practised in all parts of Arabia, was the accomplishment of the few, and Ibn Saʿd in his *Ṭabaḳāt* makes a point of mentioning each time when he states that a certain Ṣaḥābī could write, that the art of writing was little known at that time. Among the Companions at Medina some ten are stated to have been kātibs, and Kaʿb b. Mālik in a tradition preserved by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (iii. 458) mentions that he is a kātib as a particular accomplishment. It is further recorded that several prominent men in Mekka also were kātibs and we may assume that the kātibs of the court of al-Ḥīra (like ʿAdī b. Zaid) were employed in drawing up the safe-conducts (mentioned by Ṭufail al-Ghanawī) or *ḥilf*-contracts referred to in the *Naḳāʾiḍ* and in the *Muʿallaḳa* of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza and written in Arabic. Of far greater importance from an Islāmic point of view were the men who wrote down the revelations of the Prophet; they are named *Kātib al-Waḥy*. Such men were Ubaiy b. Kaʿb, Ibn Masʿūd and Zaid b. Thābit. These same men were also employed for writing the various letters sent by the Prophet to prominent men in Arabia inviting them to embrace Islām. The office of kātib was one of great honour and the rank, which was later occupied by the wazīr, was filled during the whole time of the first four Caliphs and the Umaiyads by men who had the simple title of kātib, and it was only under Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās that the title of wazīr was first employed. By this time, on the model of the Persian chancellery, a complicated system of government offices had developed. The chief secretary had the title of *Kātib al-Sirr* "Private secretary", others were employed to make the first drafts of official documents; these were called *Kātib al-Inshāʾ*. The control of the army with the payment of the troops was regulated by the *Kātib al-Djaish*, which we might equate with the "Secretary for War". Other secretaries were employed for the supervision of the landed property of the ruler. The whole system of kātibs was the *Dīwān* [q.v.]. This class of men became all-powerful and it was from them that the highest officers of state were recruited. They appear to have kept themselves apart from the other men of education, for only rarely find we any of them mentioned among the innumerable traditionists and theologians, though many are found among the men who made a mark as poets or authors in other branches of learning. As they were required to have a general knowledge of all manner of subjects, authors early began to compose books for the benefit of this class and as this office maintained its importance the works for their benefit have come down to us in many copies. The chief works on the education of the kātib are the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Ḳutaiba [q.v.], the *Kitāb al-Kuttāb* of Ibn Durustawaihi, the *Adab al-Kātib* of al-Ṣūlī and especially the voluminous work of al-Ḳalḳashandī. While the first three works give us an insight into the requirements of a competent kātib in the earlier centuries, the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* of al-Ḳalḳashandī contains practically all that it is necessary to know on the subject. We can trace step by step how the kātib influenced the whole of Arabic prose literature; from the simple and clear letters of the earlier periods we come gradually to the bombastic composition of later times in which it is frequently difficult to discover the purpose of a document in the volume of sounding words. The disease was due to the zeal of the kātib to outdo his colleagues or predecessors in the imagined elegance of his diction. We may owe many useful works to their authors' desire to supply the kātib with the material for his compositions, but the whole striving for grandiose language has been the cause for making so much Oriental literature so indigestible to our taste. This is perhaps aggravated by Persian, Turkish and Indian kātibs. They were proud too when they could solve the meaning of the tangle of words and we get a glimpse at that mentality when a renowned kātib like the Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād objected to a letter being sent to him, because the words were properly pointed and vocalised, as he considered it an insult to his intellect. Though the kātibs rose to high positions, they appear as a class to have been of a cowardly disposition, and could only intrigue; and I believe no one ever rose to become a ruler, which so many bold spirits succeeded in doing during the last twelve centuries.

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KĀTIB ČELEBI. [See ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA].

KĀTIB-I RŪMĪ. [See ʿALĪ B. ḤUSAIN].

KĀTIBĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a Persian poet, born at Turshīz or in Ṭāḳ, a village of Turshīz in Khurāsān, studied at Nīshāpūr, went to Herāt to the court of the Tīmūrids, where he did not receive the welcome he expected, and lived for a long time in Shirwān where the prince Mīrzā Shaikh Ibrāhīm (d. 820 = 1417) had taken him under his patronage. He then lived in Ādharbaidjān, where he was not appreciated by Iskandar b. Ḳara Yūsuf, and in Iṣfahān, where

he immersed himself in the study of mysticism, and died of the plague at Astarābād between 838 and 839 (1434—1436). It was in the last-named town that he undertook to compose a *khamsa* "a group of five poems" in imitation of Niẓāmī and Amīr Khusraw but he only finished the *Gulshan-i Abrār* "Rosebush of Pious Men" and his *Lailā u-Madjnūn* of which the only known manuscript is in St. Petersburg. In the field of ethical and didactic poetry he wrote a book entitled *Dih Bāb* "The ten Chapters" or *Tadjnīsāt* "Puns"; he also left a *Dīwān* of which ten ghazels were published and translated by Bland in his *Century*, p. 18—21, the *Sī-Nāma* "Thirty Letters", devoted to mystic love, and among the *Mathnawī* of allegorical and epic matter the *Madjma' al-Baḥrain* "Confluence of the two Seas", which has a double rhyme, and can be read in two different metres and represents the mystic love of two personages named Nāṣir and Manṣūr, and the *Dilrubāī* "Ravishing of Hearts", an allegorical history of Kobād, king of the Yemen, and of his minister, fertile in ruses. His poetical surname of Kātibī probably comes from the fact that he was a calligrapher, having received lessons in Nīshāpūr from Mawlānā Sīmī, who later quarrelled with him. He spent the whole of his life in poverty as a result of the foolish prodigality which made him spend in a few days the sums he received from the munificence of his patrons.

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(Cl. Huart)

AL-ḲAṬĪF, a seaport on the coast of the Persian Gulf in the bay of the same name. The latter, which faces due east, is about four miles broad at the entrance, and enclosed on the north by a narrow promontory, shaped like a mussel-shell, on which lies the fortress of Dārīn. Its point is called Rās Tannūra. The south side of the bay is confined by a jutting horn of land, called Ẓahrān, from a hill on it shaped like a sugar-loaf, which forms an excellent landmark for ships entering the bay. On this side of the bay lie the fortifications of Dammān. Towards the mouth of the bay lies the island of Tārūt, four hours' journey in length from north to south, well provided with water and thickly planted with palm groves. This island lies exactly opposite al-Ḳaṭīf. The best and safest passage to the harbour of al-Ḳaṭīf is through the deep channel on the north between the island of Tārūt and Rās Tannūra; the channel south of the island is shallow and difficult to navigate. The waters of the Gulf are shallow almost everywhere in the bay, and only show a level surface of water at high tide; when the ebb sets in sandbanks appear, and little islands, shallows and lumbers of sea-plants, among which wind narrow channels filled with mud. The coast is very flat; except at a few places it is almost level with the sea.

It is significant of the change in the coast-line that Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 1331) tells us that in his time Tārūt was still part of the continent and was only surrounded by the sea and became an island at high tide. As soon as the sea went back a part of the land between Tārūt and al-Ḳaṭīf appeared, so that people could pass along it to the mainland. According to him, Tārūt was half a day's journey from al-Ḳaṭīf and rich in vineyards with excellent grapes. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956) puts the distance between Tārūt and al-Ḳaṭīf at a mile. As Tārūt is now an island, the sea has swallowed up part of the coast here. On the land side al-Ḳaṭīf is surrounded by a broad girdle of gardens and orchards. The flourishing crops in the gardens far surpass those of the best watered places in the interior, e.g. at Hufhūf. The date-palm does exceedingly well here in a soil richly irrigated, partly by salt water, which the flood-tide carries far into the interior, and partly from the fresh water springs of the adjacent hills. Cereals, wheat, barley, rice, and all kinds of vegetables, figs, apricots, mangoes, pomegranates, grapes, citrons and lemons also flourish here. Through an uninterrupted succession of palm-groves, which it takes several hours to traverse in either direction, wind snake-like lines, the arches and canals of an old irrigation system, which date from the Ḳarmaṭian period, and formerly supplied al-Ḳaṭīf with better water than could be had in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. The whole length of the system, now in ruins, must have been about five miles. Al-Ḳaṭīf has walls and towers. The western gate has a high stone arch of delicate work and is flanked by towers and walls which are now in ruins. Just outside the gate are two cemeteries. The town, which is about a quarter of a mile long, is damp and filthy, and with its suburbs has about 6,000 inhabitants; the whole district, according to Sadlier, had nine walled and seven open villages, the population of which including al-Ḳaṭīf he put at 25,000. The continual fighting, of which the town has been the scene, has much affected its appearance. It now has a dismal, broken-down look. The market-place, on which the products of the country are to be amply had, is large. At the inner bend of the small bay already mentioned, stands the powerful citadel said to have been built by the Ḳarmaṭian Abū Sa'īd al-Djannābī, later used by the Portuguese, the high massive walls of brick and stone of which come down almost to the water's edge, so that only a narrow path along the shore is left, on to which opens the main gate defended by an outwork. Close to the shore there is now also the customs-house. The outer court of the citadel forms a quadrangle and is surrounded by high walls with towers at the corners, and protected on the land-side by a ditch. At the south-west corner stands the old palace of the Ḳarmaṭians, of which part has fallen in and been taken away and part has been very clumsily restored. The entrance is through a great archway in the Moorish style, supported by slender pillars, three arches deep and five long with fine cross-vaulting with arabesques in stucco, which have now for the most part fallen down. This archway leads into a long gallery, formerly covered, of which the side walls and pillars and a few arches remain. One next enters the inner court, which is surrounded by a series of chambers still fairly well preserved. A lofty room, long and

tread, served as reception room, with fine pillars in the centre and windows in the Persian style, divided into sections by little pillars. At the back of the room a raised throne still stands. Behind it follows a regular labyrinth of rooms, galleries, corridors and chambers, in three successive stories. The rich architecture of the windows, which are filled with pretty lattice work in stone in varying patterns, shows much taste. Behind the reception room is a court with large round pillars and remains of decoration.

The climate of al-Ḳaṭīf is very unhealthy; fever and other diseases have given the coast a bad reputation. The harbour, which was once accessible to heavily laden ships, is now for the most part silted up, and accessible only to small vessels at high tide. The sand-banks which run out on either side make entrance difficult, nay even dangerous. To the west and south the bay is well sheltered by the promontories and the islands of Tārūt and Sawaiḳ. It is also favourably situated for trade with the islands of al-Baḥrain, Būshehr and other places. Al-Ḳaṭīf might again attain some importance as a harbour, if it were dredged and kept in order and given better communications with the interior. The inhabitants of al-Ḳaṭīf are mainly engaged in pearl-fishing and in trading. Their type shows the strong Persian stamp, which dates from the pre-Muḥammadan period.

History. A. Sprenger has identified the bay with the *Sinus Capeus* of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 28, § 147. Before the days of Islām, al-Ḳaṭīf, like the whole of al-Baḥrain, was under Persian suzerainty. Shāpūr II about 320 A.D. conquered the whole Arabian coast beginning at al-Ḳaṭīf. In the early days of Islām there were still many Persians (Magians), Jews and Christians in al-Ḳaṭīf, as well as in the other towns of al-Baḥrain. In al-Ḳaṭīf, however, the 'Abd al-Ḳais were predominant in those days. The whole country of al-Baḥrain including al-Ḳaṭīf then submitted to the Prophet in al-Medina and came under the administration of al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī. But when the general rising broke out against the Muslims after Muḥammad's death, al-Baḥrain was one of the first districts to proclaim its independence from the lord of al-Medina. In 11 A.H. the rebels under al-Ḥuṭam b. Ḍubai'a occupied al-Ḳaṭīf, but the rebellion soon collapsed. In 67 A.H. there was an encounter at al-Ḳaṭīf between the 'Abd al-Ḳais and Nadjda b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī, in which the former were decisively beaten. Nadjda took prisoner the people of al-Ḳaṭīf, who had risen against him, and took up his headquarters there. Much more momentous for the town than this transitory feud was the invasion by the Ḳarmaṭian Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Djannābī in 286 A.H. Many inhabitants perished. Abū Sa'īd had pitched his camp in the town and then undertook a bold campaign against al-Baṣra. The governor of al-Baḥrain, Ibn Bānū, gave battle to the Ḳarmaṭians at al-Ḳaṭīf in 290 A.H.; the latter were defeated and suffered heavy losses, including Abū Sa'īd's successor designate. The town was taken by Ibn Bānū and Abū Sa'īd had to abandon his campaign against al-Baṣra and hurriedly return. Al-Ḳaṭīf fell again into the hands of the Ḳarmaṭians, who were now masters of almost all al-Baḥrain with Hadjar, al-Aḥsā', al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Ṭā'if. When at the period of decline of Ḳarmaṭian power in 378 A.H., al-Aṣfar with a section of the Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ made war on the Ḳarmaṭians, he plundered al-Ḳaṭīf and carried off great booty in slaves, goods and cattle to al-Baṣra. Al-Idrīsī and Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the east between 1169 and 1172, describe al-Ḳaṭīf as a fine, large town. The latter's estimate that there were 5,000 Jews in al-Ḳaṭīf must be considered an exaggeration. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also calls it a fine, large town. Alfonso d'Albuquerque who captured Hormuz in 1507 mentions Catifa as the harbour of Lahaçah (al-Aḥsā') and says that the best horses are exported from here. He obtained a large quantity of provisions and supplies in al-Ḳaṭīf and there were many merchants there. In 1521 the lord of al-Aḥsā' (Lasah) refused to pay the Portuguese tribute for the lands of Catifa and Baharem (al-Baḥrain). Antonio Corrêa thereupon conquered al-Baḥrain at the end of July, 1521, and al-Ḳaṭīf also fell into the hands of the Portuguese. In 1550 the citadel was taken by the Turks, whereupon Dom Antão de Noronha conducted a bold campaign against the Turks of al-Baṣra and al-Ḳaṭīf. Not till 1622 were the Portuguese driven out of al-Baḥrain by Shāh 'Abbās I of Persia, and the Dutch were now able as a result to establish their factories in the Persian Gulf. At the end of the xviiith century the Wahhābīs succeeded in entering upon the heritage of the Ḳarmaṭians. Sa'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in 1792 defeated the ruler of al-Ḥasa (al-Aḥsā') and thus obtained al-Ḳaṭīf, but the Turkish governor, Sulaimān Pasha, obtained the assistance of the head chief of the Muntafiḳ, Thwēnī b. 'Abd Allāh Āl Sa'dūn; the latter advanced against al-Ḥasa in 1796 with an army of Turkish soldiers and volunteers and transformed al-Ḳaṭīf into a fortress. But the campaign took an unexpected favourable turn for Sa'ūd when Thwēnī was murdered in 1708. After the overthrow of the Wahhābīs in Central Arabia by Ibrāhīm, al-Ḳaṭīf also was again occupied by the Turks in 1810, but had to be abandoned again in 1823. In 1838 the Turks once more invaded the coast of the Persian Gulf; the governor of Djidda, Khurshīd Pasha, occupied al-Hufhūf and was threatening al-Ḳaṭīf, when a protest from England postponed the Turkish conquest of al-Baḥrain. The increased power of the Wahhābīs enabled Faiṣal as early as 1844 to conquer the whole district of al-Ḥasa including al-Ḳaṭīf, which now remained in the hands of the Wahhābīs. It was only when hostilities broke out in 1871 between 'Abd Allāh b. Faiṣal and Sa'ūd b. Faiṣal that Midḥat Pasha, governor of Baghdād, obtained an opportunity to assert the old claims of Turkey. He occupied al-Ḳaṭīf, which now became a ḳaḍā of the sandjaḳ of Nadjd and received a garrison. Turkey occupied this territory down to May, 1913, when 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd at the head of his warriors occupied al-Ḥasa and drove the Turkish garrison out of al-Ḳaṭīf also.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KATĪN, Katīn (T.), [see KHATUN]

ĶATL (A.), killing, putting to death, used in the two principal meanings of the word — the crime of murder and the punishment of execution.

I. Ķatl as a crime.

1) In the Ķurʾān unlawful slaying is forbidden in a series of verses, which date from the second Mekkan period to nearly the end of the Medina period. The passages may be arranged chronologically as follows (cf. Th. Nöldeke-Fr. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, vol. i., and H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. ii.; when the exact order in the particular periods cannot be ascertained, the passages are here arranged in the order of the Sūras and verses): — xvii. 33, 35 (second Mekkan period; according to O. Procksch, *Über die Blutrache*, p. 74, note 4, later than vi. 152): "Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want; We will provide for them and for you; verily the killing them is a great sin.... Neither slay the soul which God hath forbidden you to slay unless for a just cause; but whosoever shall be slain unjustly, We have given his next of kin (*walī*) power (to demand satisfaction) but let him not exceed the bounds of moderation in the killing; indeed he is protected"; xxv. 68 *sqq.* (second Mekkan period): — (and the servants of the Merciful are those) "who slay not the soul, which God hath forbidden to be slain unless for a just cause.... for he who does this commits sins (or: will bring retribution upon himself); his punishment will be doubled on the day of the Resurrection and he shall remain in it covered with ignominy for ever; except him who repents and believes and performs good works; for them God will change their evil deeds into good".... (here killing and unbelief are considered together so that the question, what happens to a believer who kills unlawfully, is left quite out of the question); vi. 152 (third Mekkan period; similar to xvii. 33, 35); iv. 94 *sq.* (about the years 3—5; according to Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 80, to be dated between the treaty of al-Ḥudaibiya and the capture of Mekka): "it is not lawful for a believer to kill a believer unless by mistake (by *khaṭaʾ*); but if anyone kill a believer by mistake he shall set free a slave who is a believer and pay a *diya* to the next of kin of the dead man, unless they waive it....; but if the person slain belong to a people hostile to you, but a believer, a slave who is a believer shall be released; but if he belong to a people with whom ye have a treaty, a *diya* must be paid to his relatives and a slave who is a believer set free; if anyone cannot afford to do this, he must fast for two successive months so that Allāh may look upon him again....; but if anyone kill a believer deliberately (with *ʿamd*) his reward is hell in which he shall remain for ever and Allāh wrathful against him and curse him and shall prepare a great punishment for him" (the true interpretation is undoubtedly this, that every Muslim who kills another Muslim with *ʿamd* is condemned to eternal hell-fire and that Allāh will not accept his repentance, a view which is ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd, Zaid b. Thābit and al-Ḍaḥḥāk; the view held by ʿIkrima and others that the verse refers to the particular case of a *murtadd* who has killed a believer is not to be accepted; this is already a transition to the view that has finally prevailed, which tones down the literal wording of the passage, either by adding with Mudjāhid "unless he repents" or by holding, as has become usual, that Allāh will not leave a Muslim eternally in hell, and can even remit entirely the threatened punishment of hell-fire; but this is only the result of speculation and combination with other passages in the Ķurʾān [e.g. xl. 108—110; xxxix. 54] and is therefore to be rejected; iv. 33 *sq.* (from about the same time; similar to iv. 95); lx. 12 (probably dates from soon after the treaty of al-Ḥudaibiya: similar to xvii. 33).

There are further two passages, in which it is asserted that Allāh forbade the Jews to kill: ii. 78 *sqq.* (from about the first half of the year 2 A.H.) and v. 35 (probably of the year 6 or 7; according to Grimme, to be dated before the battle of Badr).

There are also a number of verses in which killing is not exactly forbidden but is more or less strongly deprecated and represented as a mark of the unbeliever, just as committing no murder is a sign of the believer, e.g. lxxxi. 8 *sq.* (first Mekkan period); li. 28 (probably third Mekkan period; according to Grimme, Medinese, before the battle of Badr); vi. 138, 141; xvi. 61; xl. 26 (same time); viii. 30 (after the battle of Badr); v. 33 (shortly before the capture of Khaibar). In numerous passages in this connection the unbelievers are reproached with the slaying of prophets, e.g. ii. 58, 81, 85 (from the first half of the year 2); iv. 154 (after the outbreak of open war with the Jews of Medina); iii. 177, 180 (probably soon after the battle of Uḥud); xx. 108 (shortly before the war with the Banu 'l-Naḍīr); v. 74 (later Medina period).

2) Supplements to the Ķurʾān passages from the *Sīra*, accounts of the life of Muḥammad.

In the so-called ordinance of the community, which dates from the first Medina period, it is laid down that no believer may kill a believer on account of an unbeliever. In another passage it is said: "If anyone kill a believer and is convicted, then vengeance for bloodshed must be done, unless the *walī* of the man slain waive it". In all probability Muḥammad had in mind in the murderer a non-Muslim member of the community (Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 71): this agrees with the development given above. In the *baiʿa*, the initiation into the community, the initiate had to pledge himself, among other things, not to commit an unlawful act of slaying (cf. Ḳurʾān, lx. 12). Once Muḥammad cursed a murderer (cf. the art. ḲIṢĀṢ). In the so-called first temple-speech (of the year 630), the genuineness of which is not absolutely certain, however, on every point and seems doubtful on this particular point, there appears the by no means exactly defined conception of *ḳatl s̲h̲ibh ʿamd* (see below, sub 5c); Muḥammad is also said to have declared there that all blood-guilt attached to a Muslim dating from the period of paganism was to be cast off, which extends the corresponding passage of the ordinance of the community. Finally it is to be mentioned that the *Sīra* knows of several cases of deliberate and of unpremeditated slaying; so far as they are liable to be punished, they are dealt with in the article ḲIṢĀṢ.

3) Comparison of the views of authoritative circles in the Muslim community in the older period as preserved in Ḥadīth (tradition). It is obvious that in the Ḥadīth also the slaying of a Muslim is strictly forbidden; by the adoption of Islām (and of monotheism at all) life and property are protected. The life and property of a Muslim are as inviolable (*ḥarām*) as the day of sacrifice in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja in the sacred territory of Mekka (al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, bāb 8, etc.). All blood-guilt, which has weighed a man down from an earlier period, is thus wiped out by the adoption of Islām, even if the crime was committed just before conversion to Islām. Only if a Muslim kills another, or, to be more exact, if he commits a crime worthy of death, can he be slain. Everyone is perfectly agreed that killing with *ʿamd* is one of the deadliest sins (*kabāʾir*); it is usually considered the gravest sin, along with the *s̲h̲irk* (polytheism; e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, bāb 1, 2), whether it is asserted of killing with *ʿamd* in general or of the killing of new-born girls usual among the heathens. Therefore many Ḥadīth's express disgust at killing: e.g. "the slaying of a Muslim is to Allāh like the cessation of the world", or "the cessation of the world is even less to Allāh than this"; "if someone is killed in the east and another in the west approves of it, he is guilty of the person's blood"; "man is a work of Allāh; cursed be he who destroys Allāh's work". The first murder which introduced killing into the world is the subject of special condemnation: Cain is accessory to every later murder. Murder is punished in the next world as well as on earth; on the Day of Judgment cases of the shedding of innocent blood will be judged first. As to the punishment itself, a whole stratum of ḥadīths reflects the already mentioned view of Ibn ʿAbbās and others regarding the eternalness of punishment in hell for slaying with *ʿamd*; e.g. "whosoever sheds blood in an unlawful way, for him there exists no way of escape"; "whosoever contributes though only by a word to the slaying of a Muslim must despair of the mercy of Allāh". In several passages the deliberate murder of a Muslim is considered equivalent to unbelief (ḥadīths in which a warning is simply uttered against murder being a sign of the unbeliever are, of course, not dealt with here). It is even said: "If two Muslims attack one another with swords and one kills the other, both go to hell (unless it was a case of legitimate self-defence), the slayer for his deed and the slain because he wished to kill the other" (cf. e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, bāb 2); and: "if all the inhabitants of heaven and earth together had killed someone they would all go to hell". In these two passages it is not exactly demonstrable that eternal punishment in hell is meant, but it is very probable. In several of the traditions mentioned, Ibn ʿAbbās appears as the authority. Such ḥadīths were naturally rendered harmless by "interpretation" by the representatives of the other view, if they were not entirely suppressed, which did happen to not a few. Thus the description of deliberate murder as unbelief is sometimes interpreted to mean that it is a very grievous sin and sometimes taken as a reference to the refusal of the protection of Islāmic law, which occurs in both cases, to the life of the slayer or of the unbeliever. This was not found sufficient, however, but traditions were put into currency to prove the contrary, namely that Allāh would accept the repentance of a murderer, even if he had committed several murders; one of these traditions is provided with a grotesque story, the object of which is quite apparent, as corroboration. In one tradition the *kaffāra*, especially the liberation of a slave, is represented as a means to save the murderer from the merited punishment of hell, obviously by someone who demanded it even in case of *ḳatl* with *ʿamd* (see below sub 6a). It is even asserted in public controversy against the views of the other side that after the Day of Judgment no Muslim will go to hell and that, on the contrary, all sins will be forgiven them. — The killing of a *muʿāhad*, a non-Muslim under the protection of the Islāmic state, is threatened with punishment in the next world (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, bāb 30; al-Dārimī, *Siyar*, bāb 60; the Ḳurʾān is silent on the question); but, as might be expected, the view is very rarely expressed that this punishment is eternal. — The prohibition of suicide, which we do not find laid down in the Ḳurʾān, is given in the Ḥadīth and the suicide is threatened with eternal punishment in the next world.

As an appendix to the above we may briefly mention the connection of several kinds of animals with *ḳatl*, which is also dealt with in tradition. Muḥammad had, as is related, recommended the slaughter of dogs but later withdrew the order, although the dog always remained subject to certain exceptional regulations (cf. the art. KALB); the *sunna* further orders the killing of the *wazagh*, a kind of lizard, but if possible it should be done with one blow: on the other hand the killing of ants and of cats is forbidden (among the authorities for this last tradition is Abū Huraira); on the killing of snakes cf. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 116 *sq.*

As regards the value of the traditions just quoted, the genuineness of none of them can be proved: while the falsity of those, which seek to save the murderer of a Muslim from hell, is

apparent, it is also probable of those which hold the contrary view.

4) The controversy regarding the punishment of the murderer of a Muslim centres round a passage in the Ḳur'ān, which in itself could and must form a foundation for it, and is in part at least independent and original. This controversy and the conception of *Ḳatl* in general are, however, very closely connected with the disputes aroused by the Khāridjis, Ḳadarīs and Mu'tazilīs; for details see these articles; here it is sufficient to recall the following questions: — "Is the committing of deadly sins — and killing with *'amd* is certainly one of them — unbelief?" "Does man create his own actions, including sins, himself, or do they happen through *ḳadar*?" "Can man by his intervention interfere with Allāh's decision, for example by killing another shorten the period predestined for the latter's life?" We have more than one example of these questions being applied to *ḳatl*, and they have been cited in discussing *ḳatl* (cf. e.g. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*[1], p. 98 *sq.*; sec. ed., p. 92 *sq.*). But the Mu'tazilī view of the eternalness of hell-punishment for him who commits a deadly sin and does not repent, is specially important in this connection; al-Zamakhsharī gives an explanation of the verse of the Ḳur'ān in question from this point of view. Finally the concensus of orthodox opinion agreed that the deliberate killing of a Muslim is certainly a deadly sin, but the slayer, on the other hand, if he repents and voluntarily submits to the punishment prescribed, will not be further punished in the next world and, even if he does not repent, will in no case remain in hell eternally (agreement was reached on this point even before the rise of the *Fiḳh*-schools; therefore there is no *ikhtilāf* of the *madhāhib* on this question); this view has found its way into all text-books of *Fiḳh* and of doctrine.

5) A statement of the prevailing Ḥanafī views on killing. *Ḳatl* in the *Fiḳh* is the act of a man whereby the life of a fellow-man is brought to a close (the death need not immediately follow the act). It may be qualified by any of the five "legal categories": — duty or necessity (*wādjib*), e.g. the killing of the *murtadd*; recommended (*mandūb*), e.g. when the *ghāzī* kills his unbelieving kinsmen if they insult Allāh or his Prophet; permitted (*mubāḥ*), e.g. when the Imām kills the unbelieving prisoner of war, in the case when the reasons for killing him exactly balance those for granting his life; killing in self-defence is also allowed i.e. in defending oneself against an illegal attack on one's life, person or property, in defending oneself or some one who comes to help, if the attack cannot otherwise be averted (on further questions there is *ikhtilāf*, also on the question whether a man who surprises another in adultery with his wife or endeavouring to see into his harem, and kills or mutilates him, is acting legitimately or not; one tradition on the subject is interpreted in different ways); disapproved (*makrūh*), e.g. when the *ghāzī* kills his unbelieving kinsmen without their having insulted Allāh or his Prophet; illegal and therefore forbidden (*ḥarām*).

Illegal killing as the result of actions in themselves legal may take place in five ways:

a) as *'amd*, i.e. someone wilfully makes another the direct object of an action in general fatal so that the other dies as a result; according to one view, the intention of killing is necessary for the conception of *'amd*, which, however, is always presumed in the case of any act generally fatal in its result, which is illegally inflicted on another; so that, for example, any one, who strikes a blow at the hand of another with an instrument adapted in general for killing, but inadvertently hits his neck and kills him, *ceteris paribus* is unanimously regarded as equally guilty with the man who strikes another in the neck with the same instrument, wilfully intending to kill him and slays him: this killing is a sin (*ma'thum*) and in general is punished by *ḳiṣāṣ*, or else the slayer is bound to pay the heavier *diya* and to lose any possible legacy from the deceased to himself;

b) as *khaṭa'* (or *khaṭā'*), i.e. there is no intention of committing an act illegally on the other as is the case of *a*), while the action itself is premeditated: two kinds are distinguished, according as the *khaṭa'* (mistake or misadventure) which shows that the killing is not wilful, is in the intention of the doer (*fi 'l-ḳaṣd*) or in the carrying out of the action (*fi 'l-fi'l*). The former is the case when someone treats another as a wild beast or a *ḥarbī*, (an infidel not enjoying the protection of the Islāmic state, against whom the *djihād* is to be waged) the killing of whom is not illegal, and kills him; the latter when someone unluckily hits another, while shooting at a target or at a *ḥarbī*, so that he dies, or strikes at the hand of another person but inadvertently hits the neck of a third person and kills him; this killing is not sin but brings with it (without *ḳiṣāṣ*) the obligation upon the *'āḳila* of the killer to pay the smaller *diya* and to lose any claims to any inheritance from the deceased as in *a*); besides the obligation of the killer to perform the *kaffāra*;

c) as *shabah* (or *shibh*) *'amd* = similar to *'amd*, i.e. someone intentionally makes another the direct object of some action, not always but sometimes fatal, and death results. Actions which experience has shown not to be fatal at all are thus quite excluded, such as striking the hand with a reed pen; if anyone dies as a result of such an action as this, it is an unfortunate accident, which is not followed by any penal consequences. This killing is a sin and brings with it (without *ḳiṣāṣ*) the obligation upon the *'āḳila* of the slayer to pay the heavier *diya* and to lose any possible inheritance from the deceased as in *a*), and in addition the slayer is bound to perform the *kaffāra*. This category only exists in cases where death actually results; in cases of bodily injury, which, by the way, are similarly classified, the action is regarded as *'amd*;

d) as *djārī madjrā 'l-khaṭa'* (or *mudjrā madjrā 'l-khaṭa'* or *ḳā'im maḳām al-khaṭa'*) "equivalent to *khaṭa'*," i.e. the factor of deliberation is lacking in the action (and also the intention of directing the action illegally against another) in the circumstances of *b*) and *c*), for example: someone falls upon another in his sleep or falls from a roof upon him and kills him; the legal results are the same as in *b*);

e) as *ḳatl bi-sabab* "indirect killing", i.e. someone brings about the death of another without doing anything directly against him; e.g. he digs a well and someone falls into it and dies as the result; sometimes this category is treated as a subdivision

ʿd); but it is a matter of indifference, whether the act, which indirectly results in the death of another, is deliberate or not, intentional or unintentional; even if the action has been planned in some very cunning way such as setting a savage beast on another person with the intention of causing his death, it does not alter the situation. The legal consequences are in any case limited to the obligation upon the *ʿāḳila* of the doer to pay the lighter *diya*; larger works on *Fiḳh* usually discuss very fully the question what acts are to be considered direct causes of death and which are *ḳatl bi-sabab* and in which there can be no question of a causing of death so that no legal consequences result.

Two cases are especially dealt with in the *Fiḳh* books: a) The causing of a premature birth or abortion and β) killing through giving false evidence.

α) If in causing an abortion or premature birth, the embryo — which must be sufficiently developed to be of human form — is brought into the world dead or dies after the birth or the mother dies, it is not a case for the application of *ḳiṣāṣ*; there is in any case no *ḳatl ʿamd* in the mother whose killing is dealt with under the above rules and the embryo before completion of birth is legally not in full possession of its powers but is usually regarded as a limb of the mother. [Hence we have the following law: if the head of a child appears out of the mother's womb at birth and the child cries (and is therefore certainly alive) and then someone cuts off its head, it is not a case for *ḳiṣāṣ* and only the punishment prescribed for producing an abortion is to be inflicted]. Different amounts are to be paid for the embryo according to the different cases and if it comes alive into the world and then dies the person who causes its death is liable to *kaffāra*; he also loses any inheritance that might have come to him.

β) If anyone is killed on evidence which shows that a crime deserving death has been committed and then the witnesses recall their evidence or in other ways it is proved that their testimony was false, *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot be executed on the witness; the *diya* must be paid, the heavier if the false evidence was deliberately given, the lighter if otherwise.

6) We may add the following — taking only the most important points — to the above exposition of the Ḥanafī system, with reference to *ikhtilāf* (difference of opinion among the schools).

a) On *ʿamd*: the difference of opinion within the Ḥanafī school already mentioned, regarding the part of the intention to kill in *ʿamd* is also found outside the Ḥanafī school; among the Shāfiʿīs the view which does not demand the existence of the intention to kill has become predominant, and the evidence for the other views is sometimes interpreted as meaning a presumption of intention. Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī, in agreement with Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, assume *ʿamd* if the action is as a rule fatal; Abū Ḥanīfa, on the other hand, limits it to the use of a weapon or of a thing which can be used like a weapon to cut off limbs; among such he includes fire; deliberate killing, for example with a large unsharpened stone, or a big stick, which in the ordinary way would kill, or by drowning in water, which would be generally regarded as of sufficient depth to do so, is therefore considered by the former as *ʿamd*, but by Abū Ḥanīfa as *shabah ʿamd*, relying on a passage in the so-called first temple speech of Muḥammad, which the champions of the other view naturally interpret otherwise, and this view was later considered the better by the Ḥanafīs. The qualification of the various actions generally differs sometimes considerably and the Ḥanafīs often make use of *istiḥsān*, exercise of discretion. In the Mālikī and Ḥanafī view no *kaffāra* is to be performed for *ʿamd*; al-Shāfiʿī, on the other hand, demands it if the *ḳiṣāṣ* is not executed and both views are given on the authority of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal.

b) On *Khaṭaʾ*: that *khaṭaʾ* is not a sin is more exactly explained to mean that it is neither permitted nor forbidden but that this killing is rather *fiʿl al-ghāfil*, "action of a thoughtless person", and is to be judged in the same way as the act of a mentally defective person or of an animal. Except in the Ḥanafī madhhab, categories *d*) and *e*) (sub 5) are not distinguished from *khaṭaʾ*, which also was the earliest Ḥanafī view (*Z.D.M.G.*, lviii. 338) and *ḳatl bi-sabab* has generally the same legal consequences as *khaṭaʾ*; we thus have three kinds of *ḳatl*: *ʿamd*, *shabah ʿamd* and *khaṭaʾ*, of which *shabah ʿamd* is considered to be composed of *ʿamd* and *khaṭaʾ*.

c) On *shabah ʿamd*: this category is also called *ʿamd khaṭaʾ*, *khaṭaʾ ʿamd* or *khaṭaʾ shabah ʿamd*; in contrast to it, *ʿamd* is also called *ʿamd maḥḍ* and *khaṭaʾ* also *khaṭaʾ maḥḍ* (pure *ʿamd* or *khaṭaʾ*); the application of *ḳiṣāṣ* is said to be permissible by al-Shāfiʿī if the killer, for example, repeats the blow with an instrument not normally adapted for killing so frequently that the person attacked dies; the act is then considered *ʿamd*; one of the two opinions handed down on the authority of Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī is to the same effect while the view that became predominant in the school was to the contrary. Mālik allows *ḳiṣāṣ* in *shabah ʿamd* in general.

d) On *ḳatl bi-sabab*: Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal demand *kaffāra* in addition, if the placing of the cause of the death was illegal.

e) Different views also prevail as to the amount to be paid for the killing of an embryo.

f) On causing death through false witness: if the false evidence was deliberately given, according to al-Shāfiʿī and the better known opinion of Mālik, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be executed on the witnesses.

7) Notes on the question of permission, request, compulsion and assistance in illegal killing. a) If someone kills another by his request or with his permission there is neither *ḳiṣāṣ* nor obligation to pay *diya*.

b) No definite punishment is laid down for the case of a request to kill someone; such a request does not mean the exemption of the slayer; only if the person requested is a minor or a slave claims may be made from the *ʿāḳila* of the minor, or from the proprietor of the slave.

c) A forces B to kill C; then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the *ḳiṣāṣ* is executed on A, according to Mālik and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal on B; as to al-Shāfiʿī's view, there is no doubt that A is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*; as regards B both possible views are transmitted, of which the one that ultimately became predominant in the school makes him also liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*. Mālik further makes A also liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* if the compulsion comes from a person having authority, or from a master to a slave.

d) A holds B and C kills him while he is held; in this case Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī make C liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* and A to *taʿzīr*, which is more definitely defined as imprisonment. According to Mālik, both are to be regarded as culprits and therefore liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* if the holding was necessary to facilitate the slaying and B was not able to escape after being held. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's opinion is given in two versions; according to the one, *ḳiṣāṣ* is executed on C and A is punished with imprisonment for life, according to the second opinion, A and C are both liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*.

II. Ḳatl as punishment.

The punishment of death may be described quite generally as *ḳatl*; in the following account cases in which it is applied are given seriatim; in contrast to *radjm* and *ṣalb* (cf. below) *ḳatl* is also used in the narrower sense of execution with the sword.

1) In the cases of illegal killing described in detail above, the nearest relative of the dead man, who in this capacity is called *walī al-dam*, is entitled to kill the culprit in retribution if certain definite conditions are fulfilled. This punishment is called *ḳiṣāṣ* or *ḳawad*, names which also cover retribution exacted for wounds which are not fatal; for further information see the article ḲIṢĀṢ.

2) There are special regulations regarding sorcerers (*sāḥir*), about whom there are also various traditions. Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal recognise sorcery (*siḥr*) as an actual force. Abū Ḥanīfa disputes this, but there is a consensus of opinion that it is forbidden to study it; it is even described as unbelief (*kufr*) almost as a general rule. Mālik and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal say that the sorcerer is to be killed with the sword simply for studying, teaching and practising magic; al-Shāfiʿī limits this punishment to the case in which someone has been killed by sorcery (i.e. he makes it a case for *ḳiṣāṣ*, which in practice is only justified by the confession (*iḳrār*) of the guilty person; while the punishment in Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is regarded as *ḥadd*); two different, more lenient views are credited to Abū Ḥanīfa. Opinions differ on particular questions, such as whether the conversion of the sorcerer effects a remission of the punishment, whether a woman is to be punished equally with a man, how sorcerers of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* are to be treated, how far soothsaying is to be considered sorcery.

3) The punishment of death by stoning (*radjm*) — in certain circumstances also by the sword (*ḳatl*) — occurs as *ḥadd* in certain cases of immorality; on this see the article ZINĀ.

4) Highway robbery (*ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ*) may also in certain circumstances be punished with death. The authority for this is Ḳurʾān, v. 37 *sq.* (from about the year 6 or 7, before the capture of Khaibar; Grimme puts the verse before the battle of Badr): "The punishment of those who fight against Allāh and His prophet and create ruin upon the earth is that they shall be slain or crucified or have their hands and feet cut off on the opposite sides or be banished from the country. This is their humiliation in this world and in the next world they shall be severely punished — unless they repent before ye have them in your power . . . ." It can be asserted with certainty that this refers to the unbelievers, very probably to the Jews; ruthless war is ordered to be waged on them and their repentance is the adoption of Islām. There are still traces of this interpretation in the commentaries. But in general this passage is connected with Muḥammad's attitude to certain *murtadd*'s which will be dealt with in section 5); this cannot be correct, if only because the procedure there practised does not entirely conform to those rules, so that they were forced to restore harmony in a different fashion. These *murtadd*'s were considered as highway robbers, from the point of view of the later definition rightly and only in this way could a law for the punishment of highway robbers be found in the Ḳurʾān.

The more important laws of the Sharīʿa are the following. Only such persons as are adults in full possession of their faculties and who are able to be dangerous to travellers are to be considered highway robbers. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, highway robbery can only take place in the open country, according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal in the town also. Mālik gives the Imām — and this is certainly the correct interpretation of the passage in the Ḳurʾān, which is also found in the commentaries — absolute freedom in the choice of punishment, even in the contingency of a cumulative application, whatever form the robbery may have taken; but if the person concerned has killed someone (in this connection killing implies a murder to which *ḳiṣāṣ* might be applied), he must at least be executed with the sword. The three other Imāms grade the punishment to fit the different forms of robbery on the highway; according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the criminal is put to death if he has caused the death of his victim; if he has also robbed him (and in such a way, it must always be understood, that the *ḥadd* for theft can be carried out; cf. the art. SARIḲ), he may be further punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides and with crucifixion (*ṣalb*) which in that case takes the place of killing with the sword; if he has only committed a robbery, we have only the cutting off of hands and feet on alternate sides; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is killed, if he has killed his victim; if he has also committed a robbery, he is crucified after being put to death; if he has only committed a murder, he is punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides; if he has only made the neighbourhood unsafe, then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is put in prison; whether this must be done in another place is a debated point. In Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik (also in some Shāfiʿī's but their view is rejected by the school) crucifixion consists in the criminal being tied alive to a cross or a tree and his body ripped up with a spear so that he dies, and this is certainly the more original form; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is first killed with a sword and then his corpse is ignominiously exposed on a tree or cross. All these punishments are *ḥadd* and a right of Allāh; therefore any renunciation by the *walī al-dam* of the *ḳiṣāṣ* is of no avail even though it is he who has the right to carry out the *ḳatl*. If the criminal repents before he falls into the hands of the authorities (what exactly is meant by repentance is disputed) these *ḥadd* punishments are dropped; but claims by individuals to *ḳiṣāṣ* etc. can still be enforced against him.

5) The *murtadd*, that is the renegade from Islām, is liable to the death-penalty if his apostasy is proved. If we leave out the passages dealing with the *munāfiḳ*'s [q. v.] who are separately dealt with — their execution is, however, described under

certain conditions in Ḳurʾān, iv. 91 — there is no such law in the Ḳurʾān referring specially to the *murtadd*, although xvi. 108 (third Mekkan period), ii. 214 (of the year 2), iii. 80—84 (Medina; placed by Grimme shortly before or after the battle of Uḥud), 102 (soon after the battle of Uḥud), iv. 136 (of the same period) threaten the eternal punishment of hell for all those who apostasise from Islām and do not repent, as well as for all unbelievers, and in iii. 95 *sq.*, 142, and ix. 67, a warning against apostacy is uttered. Among the traditions we find in various forms the story that Muḥammad, contrary to the rules of the Sharīʿa, cruelly mutilated and killed some *murtadd*'s, who had killed one or more of his herdsmen and driven away the camels, but the tradition is probably correct just for this reason. This contradiction was felt and an endeavour was made in the ḥadīth's to justify the cruelty of the punishment, and even the text was altered. Of ʿAlī also a cruel act, of another kind, however, is recorded in a similar case, but Ibn ʿAbbās is said to have protested against it. Two *murtadd*'s, each of whom had killed a Muslim, were executed by Muḥammad's orders after the capture of Mekka; a third man, against whom there was nothing but his apostacy, was also placed on the list of the proscribed; his foster-brother ʿUthmān, however, obtained security (*amān*) for him although Muḥammad would gladly have seen someone kill him before immunity was granted; he later became a Muslim again. There is also a saying of Muḥammad's: "Slay anyone, who changes his religion" or "He who secedes from you shall die", and others similar, e. g. that the blood of a Muslim could only be shed for apostasy, *zinā* and *ḳatl ʿamd*; there is also a story that Muʿādh b. Djabal killed a *murtadd* because Allāh and His Prophet had so ordained; Muḥammad is also said to have ordered that conversion should first of all be attempted and a period of three days allowed for this; but all this can hardly be genuine. There are also the traditions regarding the *Ahl al-Ridda* (cf. the art. RIDDA) who refused the *zakāt* and were treated as apostates by Abū Bakr. The tradition "He who is a good Muslim will not be punished for his sins from the pagan period but he who is a bad Muslim will have them counted against him" does not refer to the *murtadd*, as it is usually said to do.

The punishment of death laid down by the *sharīʿa* for the *murtadd* is sometimes described as *ḥadd*, sometimes not; in the latter view he is simply killed as an unbeliever (*kāfir*) and the punishment need not be carried out in every individual case. Only an adult in full possession of his faculties and not acting under compulsion can become an apostate from Islām; opinions are divided regarding a man who apostacises while intoxicated or a minor (on the verge of his majority) capable of discernment (*murāhiḳ*, *mumaiyiz*). There is also difference of opinion regarding the attempt at conversion and the granting of a period, usually fixed at three days, for reflection. If the *murtadd* does not repent, he is to be beheaded with the sword; torture and cruel methods of execution are forbidden. According to al-Shāfiʿī, his punishment is left to his owner, if he is a slave. Abū Ḥanīfa and his school limit the punishment of death to male apostates and the consensus of opinion excludes the minor; a woman (and also a minor) is imprisoned and beaten every three days till she repents; according to Abū Ḥanīfa (contrary to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaibānī) she may also be made a slave and this is recognised as right by the school. Anyone who puts to death a *murtadd* of whatever kind without powers granted by the authority, is generally liable not to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but only to *taʿzīr*. The same rules generally hold for repeated apostacy.

Similar to the punishment of the *murtadd* is that of the *zindīḳ*, i. e. anyone who, professing to be a Muslim, is really an unbeliever or any who belongs to no religion (cf. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, i. 186 *sqq.*). The conversion of a non-Muslim to another non-Muslim religion is similarly dealt with, although such an one is not called *murtadd*. He can only escape punishment by adopting Islām; on the whole of this cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 215 *sq.*

How exactly one becomes an unbeliever and therefore a *murtadd* is disputed in particulars, especially the question how far this is the case with irreverent utterances regarding Allāh or one of His prophets; there are various special enactments regarding the latter, which threaten the death penalty to non-Muslims and in part allow a Muslim no remission of punishment if he recalls the words.

For further information see the article MURTADD.

(6) There is no law in the Ḳurʾān for dealing with a man who omits the *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer) (*tārik al-ṣalāt*), where its performance is, on the other hand, often strictly enjoined, and not a single unequivocal ḥadīth on the subject can be found — quite apart from any question of genuineness. The *Sharīʿa* lays down the law as follows: — Anyone who does not perform the *ṣalāt*, as in duty bound, without denying its obligatoriness (anyone who does this is *murtadd*) and has no — even invalid — excuse for this, according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and the more popular of the two views credited to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, if he does not atone, i. e. makes good his omission and says he will never commit the fault again, is to be executed with the sword. This punishment is also sometimes described as *ḥadd*. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the culprit is imprisoned till he again performs the *ṣalāt*. In all these views he is considered a Muslim, while the other view attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal deals with him entirely as an unbeliever, i. e. a *murtadd*, but these regulations are modelled on those for apostacy (cf. the remarks on the *Ahl al-Ridda* above).

There are two more cases in which the suppression (*ḳitāl*) of the enemies of orthodox Islām is prescribed; killing, of course, plays the main part and therefore we must discuss this aspect of the process here.

(7) Firstly, the fighting of the *bughāt* is prescribed. It is said in Ḳurʾān, xlix. 9 (late Medina period): "If two parties of the believers contend with one another, make peace between them, but if one oppresses the other (*baghat* — from which *bughāt* is the plural of the participle), fight against the party which oppresses until they again obey Allāh's command; and if they do this, make peace between them with equity and act with justice" (this refers to a quarrel among the *anṣār*). Oppression is often forbidden and disapproved of elsewhere. But Muḥammad at any rate did not know the later conception of *bughāt*, although

its development begins at a point closely connected with this. Some traditions on the *bughāt* are in agreement with the legal enactments.

The *Sharīʿa* understands by *bughāt* sectarianising Muslims who reject the authority of the Imām, are able-bodied, so that they might offer resistance, and justify their attitude, although erroneously, with their dogmatic conviction (they are to be distinguished from highway robbers, for example — individual *bughāt*, who are guilty of breaches of the law are punished like them —, on the one hand, and unbelievers on the other). If they do not attack the orthodox community, they need not be attacked; otherwise their suppression is a duty of the Imām (the head of the Islāmic community) and a *farḍ al-kifāya* for the Muslims (cf. the art. FARḌ). This punishment is also sometimes called *ḳatl*. In general the rule is that only participants in the actual battle can be killed during the fighting. Fugitives, wounded, those who surrender and prisoners, as well as women and children, cannot be put to death. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the Imām may kill a prisoner if he knows that he would again join the *bughāt* if spared; according to him, a captured slave who has been fighting by the side of his master can also be killed.

(8) Regarding the *Djihād* see that article; there are also traditions regarding the following regulations. If the unbelievers with whom war is being waged are not among those from whom the *djizya* can be taken — who exactly those are is a matter in dispute — the men are killed, if they do not adopt Islām and the women and children enslaved. If, on the other hand, they refuse Islām and will not pay the *djizya*, they are to be fought. All able-bodied men can be killed as long as they are not taken prisoners; men incapable of bearing arms, as well as women and children, cannot in general be so dealt with unless they take part in the fighting or assist in it in some way; they are to be taken prisoners and enslaved. The free, able-bodied prisoners may be (*a*) executed with the sword if they will not now adopt Islām; (*b*) made slaves; (*c*) exchanged for Muslim prisoners; (*d*) ransomed; (*e*) or set free without a ransom being paid (in all these cases by the Imām). Anyone who kills a prisoner without authority is only punished with *taʿzīr*.

Every unbeliever who does not pay the *djizya* or does not belong to a people which has a treaty with the Muslim community or is not a *mustaʾmin* (on these cf. the art. *aman*) is *ḥalāl al-dam* (to be killed with impunity) and may at any time be killed by any Muslim without his being liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* or to pay any *diya* or perform *kaffāra*. This enactment is only the natural consequence of the *djihād* law and Muḥammad himself not infrequently made use of it.

(9) The views of the Shīʿis on all the points dealt with above agree almost entirely with one or other of the Sunnī views. It would take up too much space to deal with them in a similar fashion.

(10) The infliction and execution of the death penalty was in practice very often in strong contradiction to the regulations laid down in the *Sharīʿa* (cf. the art. ʿADHĀB; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 200, etc.). The historians afford many examples for the actual practice and so do accounts of European travellers; on the conditions in the empire of the caliphs in the tenth century see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 347 *sqq.*, also Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, i., especially p. 220 *sqq.*, 292 *sqq.*; on those in Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century see Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, end of the chapter on *Religion and Law*; on those in Persia in the same period see Polak, *Persien*, i. 328 *sq.*; on those in the Ottoman empire of the eighteenth century see Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, especially vol. vi. (1824), p. 244 *sqq.*; for Turkey the *Ḳānūnnāme's* are also useful (cf. *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, i. 13 *sqq.*); among the published sources quoted there are of special importance: Digeon, ii. 245, 262; v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 125, 133, 143—150; *T. O. E. M.*, iii. (1328), Appendix i. 27 *sq.*, ii. 1—4, 7, 9; *M. T. M.*, i./iii. 341 *sq.*) and from the *Ḳānūnnāme* itself (edited there; p. 19—21, 32—34.

Bibliography: The *Fiḳh*-books, the works given in the article ʿADHĀB, especially Juynboll, *Handbuch des islâmischen Gesetzes*, p. 284—309, and the literature there given; the articles MURDER and EXECUTION in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*. Besides the articles already referred to, the article ʿADHĀB and those dealing with the Arabic expressions not explained above should be consulted.

(J. SCHACHT)

ḲAṬRĀN B. MANṢŪR, a Persian poet. ʿAwfī calls him Ḳaṭrān al-ʿAḍudī al-Tabrīzī; according to Dawlatshāh, he was born in Tirmidh. Others say he was born in Djabal-i Dailam; Djabalī is also found as his *nisba*. Dawlatshāh says that he spent some time in Balkh and later lived in the ʿIrāḳ. The period of his literary activity lies about the middle of the eleventh century A. D. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions in the *Safarnāma* that he met Ḳaṭrān in Tabrīz in 438 (1046); a well-known poem by Ḳaṭrān commemorates the earthquake in Tabrīz in 434 (1042/43). According to a *tadhkira* quoted in Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 140, our poet died in 465 (1072). He was the panegyrist of the rulers of Dailam and of Ādharbaidjān; among his patrons are mentioned the Amīrs Faḍlūn, Wahsūdān, Abū Naṣr Mamlān b. Wahsūdān, who was appointed over a part of Ādharbaidjān by the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān in 450, and Muḥammad b. Kamādj (according to Dawlatshāh, governor of Balkh and Sandjar; if this is correct he long survived the poet) and further the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, as is indicated by the epithet ʿAḍudī given by ʿAwfī.

Works. Ḳaṭrān left a *Dīwān* (manuscripts of which are found in European collections) and a *mathnawī* called *Ḳaws-nāma*. The poems of Ḳaṭrān are sometimes wrongly attributed to Rūdagī in manuscripts; the confusion is caused by the similarity of names of their respective patrons (Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sāmānid in the case of Rūdagī and Abū Naṣr Mamlān in the case of Ḳaṭrān). On this question cf. Rūdagī and Pseudo-Rūdagī by E. Denison Ross in *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, p. 609 *sqq.* Criticisms on the poetry of Ḳaṭrān are given by Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Waṭwāṭ. The former says, curiously enough, that Ḳaṭrān did not know Persian well but otherwise was a good poet; Waṭwāṭ (in Dawlatshāh) places him very high and allots him a special position with regard to the other poets. ʿAwfī's verdict on Ḳaṭrān means very little for us, as this author regularly introduces each of his biographies of poets (if we may so call his inflated empty prose) with a rhetorical eulogy of the person

in question. But he is at least to the point when he says that Ḳaṭrān was fond of rhetorical artifices and particularly of the kind called *tadjnīs* (cf. Ibn Ḳais al-Rāzī (*Mu'djam*, Gibb Mem. Ser., x. 309 *sqq.*). The only quotation from Ḳaṭrān given in Ibn Ḳais's manual of poetics (p. 312) is quoted to illustrate one of the varieties of *tadjnīs* (*tadjnīs-i nāḳiṣ*). On Ḳaṭrān's skill in managing the more difficult poetic forms cf. also Dawlatshāh, p. 67, 14 *sq.*

Although the *Dīwān* is not yet published one can form a fair opinion of the skill of the poet from what is in print. A few *ḳaṣīda*'s and fragments of *ḳaṣīda*'s are given in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, ii. 240 *sqq.*, others in Browne's edition of 'Awfī's *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ii. 214 *sqq.*). All that is given in Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 67 *sq.*) is also found in 'Awfī, only Dawlatshāh gives much less and has a few unimportant variants. The oft occurring substitution of Arabic terms for the rarer Persian words is also found in him; thus the less well known *shamar* (= pond; 'Awfī, ii. 215, 10) becomes in Dawlatshāh (p. 68, 1) *thamar* and the verse is, of course, nonsense (or it may be that we have simply a copyist's mistake). It may be assumed that Dawlatshāh, as far as the poems are concerned, simply copied 'Awfī.

In the poems printed in Schefer, rhetorical artifices are not more used than in the other panegyrists, for example Minūčihrī or Azraḳī; we find among other figures *Tashbīh wa-Tafsīr*, p. 245 paenult., p. 246, 1 *sq.*, *murāʿāt*, p. 246, 1. These poems have something in common with the old panegyrics; the three fragments of *ḳaṣīda*'s describing spring, autumn and winter, contain themes already known from Minūčihrī, such as the comparison of wine-grapes with persons, namely negroes and Rūmī's, while Minūčihrī compares them with little girls.

Ḳaṭrān gives more prominence to the epic element in his panegyrics than do his predecessors. The first poem in Schefer (ii. 240) is noteworthy in this respect; its *madḥ* commemorates a victory of the Amīrs Wahsūdān and Mamlān, and the often quoted song (p. 243) to Mamlān, the *tashbīb* of which contains the description of the earthquake which demolished the town of Tabrīz in 434 (1042), is equally noteworthy; this description is in this case the main thing. The fragments in 'Awfī are obviously chosen to illustrate the use of *tadjnīs* by the poet, which is discussed in the prose notice of Ḳaṭrān by this author. The *tadjnīs* found here is almost exclusively the *tadjnīs-i muzdawidj* (Ibn Ḳais, p. 313); the *tadjnīs-i nāḳiṣ* (cf. Ibn Ḳais, p. 312) is also found (p. 214, 14: *gilāb-gulāb*) and *takrīr* (cf. Ibn Ḳais, p. 315) in the second part of the distich ('Awfī, ii. 214, 16). The rhetorical effect achieved by means of homonyms (*tadjnīs-i tāmm*; cf. Ibn Ḳais, p. 309), of course, occurs, e. g. 'Awfī, ii. 216, 9—11, where the word *tīr* is repeated four times each time with a different meaning. In contents these fragments offer nothing new or noteworthy.

The prominence deliberately given to the narrative element in the court-lyric may be an innovation of Ḳaṭrān's own. That his lead was followed is shown by Dawlatshāh, who not only calls Anwarī a pupil of Ḳaṭrān's but also mentions others (Rashīdī, Rūḥī, etc.) and "most poets of Balkh and Transoxiana".

Bibliography: Ethé in the *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 220, 255—256, 258; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from the earliest times until Firdawsī* (1902), p. 86, 462; do., *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsī to Sa'dī* (1906), p. 222, 271, 399; Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 72, 76, 82, 138, 232; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii., French text, p. 240—242.

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-**KATTĀNĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. DJA'FAR B. IDRĪS, a member of the important family of the Kattāniyīn and Sharīf in origin, a contemporary Moroccan writer (he was still writing in 1314 A.H.). He is the author of a number of works including a book in honour of his ancestor Idrīs (*al-Azhār al-'Āṭira al-Anfās bi-dhikr ba'ḍ Maḥāsin Ḳuṭb al-Maghrib*, Fās 1314 A.H.). The most important is his *Salwat al-Anfās wa-Muḥādathat al-Akyās bi-man uḳbira min al-'Ulamā' wa-'l-Ṣulaḥā' bi-Fās* (3 vols., Fās 1316 = 1898—99). The first part of this book is devoted to showing the merit which is acquired by visiting *zāwiya*'s and tombs of saints. He then proceeds to give, quarter by quarter, the illustrious men who have lived in Fās or are buried there and this part of the book contains valuable information on the historical topography of the town. He consulted a considerable number of books a list of which he gives at the end of the third volume. We know no details of his life, not even the date of his birth.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salwat al-Anfās*, Algiers 1905; Codera y Zaidin, *Considerable numero de libros antiguos y modernos existentes in Marruecos*, *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des Orientalistes* (Algiers), iii/ii., Paris 1908, p. 587—590.

(RENÉ BASSET)

ḲAWĀLA (also Cavalla), a seaport on the Aegean Sea, opposite the island of Thasos on the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace. In ancient times Neapolis lay here, the port of the town of Philippi, just as Ḳawāla is now the harbour for the district of Drama. The town is partly built on a promontory which is still surrounded by walls which date from the middle ages; there is a harbour on both sides. An aqueduct has also survived from the middle ages. Ḳawāla was captured by the Turks from the Byzantines in the reign of Murād I, who conquered Thrace. Murād had sent the sandjak-bey Deli Balban to besiege Seres; soon afterwards he sent Lala Shāhin to assist him; the latter then captured Ḳawāla, Drama and Seres. This event is usually placed in the year 775 (1373/74) (Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Constantinople 1279, i. 91, and von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 181, whose statements are inaccurate in other respects); the anonymous chronicler, ed. Giese, p. 26, on the other hand, gives the date 787 (1385/86). He adds that nomads from Sarukhān were then settled here and in the Vardar plain. Not much more is heard of Ḳawāla in Turkish history; Sulaimān I fortified it before beginning his campaign against Rhodes. The population probably always remained predominantly Greek. Muḥammad 'Alī, the Egyptian Khedive, was probably born here; at any rate he lived here in his youth (born about 1769; Dj. Zaidān, *Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, Cairo 1910, i. 1). Muḥammad 'Alī later endowed the town with a school (Mühendis-khāne) and other foundations, for the upkeep of which he set aside the revenues of the island of Thasos.

In the xix[th] century Kawāla attained great importance as an exporting harbour and the main depot for the tobacco grown in the neighbourhood and in the whole hinterland (Drama, Seres and Xanthi). In the years before 1912 this brought the Turkish Tobacco Regie an annual profit of over 10 million francs; the tobacco is for the most part manufactured in Kawāla and every year 5,000—6,000 people from the surrounding country come into the town for five months for this work. This is probably why the figures given for the population differ so much (cf. e. g. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3704). According to an accurate calculation, before the Balkan war there were 17,000 Greeks, 13,000 Turks, 1800 Jews and 800 Bulgarians in Kawāla (Nicolaides, *Griechenlands Anteil an den Balkankriegen*, Vienna and Leipzig 1914, p. 222). The town at that time was the capital of a ḳaḍā of the same name in the sandjaḳ of Drama in the wilāyet of Salonika.

The treaty of San Stefano (March 13, 1878) had already given Kawāla to Bulgaria. In the first Balkan war the town fell into the hands of the Bulgarians (Nov., 1912) but in the second Balkan war it was taken by the Greek fleet (July, 1913) and finally incorporated in Greece by the peace of Bucharest (Aug. 10, 1913) in spite of Bulgaria's protests (Nicolaides, *op. cit.*, p. 367 *sqq.*). Since then many Greeks have migrated thither from Xanthi and the number of Turks in the population must have been considerably reduced.

(J. H. Kramers)

KAWĀR, a group of oases situated in the Sahara (Bilma, the most southern oasis, is in 18° 41′ N. Lat. and 13° E. Long.), to the west of the massif of Tibesti on the caravan route from Tripoli to the country round Tchad via Fezzān [q.v.]. On this route Kawār is nearly halfway between Fezzān and Kānem, separated from the former by a ḥammāda and from the latter by a region of sand-dunes. It owes its formation to a continuous chain of cliffs running from north to south, which bounding it on the east shelters it from the dreaded winds from the north-east. It is a couloir of oases, about 50 miles long from north to south and never more than 2 to 3 miles broad. The water is at no depth and fairly abundant but usually brackish. In all the oases together there are about 100,000 palm-trees; the inhabitants, whose number does not exceed 3 or 4,000, are Tubu by race, considerably mixed with Kanūrī blood (the common language is Kanūrī); they are sedentary and peace-loving, unlike their kinsmen who live in Tibesti. They are scattered up and down in a dozen villages of which the chief are Anai, Ashnuma, Dirku and Bilma; these villages consist of wretched huts but beside each one on a cliff inaccessible except by ladders a place of refuge is prepared, a precaution which until quite recently was far from being unnecessary. The inhabitants live on the produce of their palm-trees, the poor crops which they raise and particularly by trading. The caravan route from Tripoli to Tchad via Fezzān, although hard, is the shortest of those that cross the Sahara; it was at one time very busy and Kawār was the place where it was joined by the roads from Zinder and Agadès; its inhabitants were destined to become caravan-men. But their principal revenue came from their salt-pans. Those of Bilma are especially famous. The salt which the waters bring to the surface of the soil is treated by evaporation and pressed into cakes of great purity. Some is sold to the Tuaregs who come to buy it on the spot along with dates; the remainder is exported to all quarters of the Sūdān from the Niger to Dārfūr. The salt-pans of Kawār are of the same importance for the country as those of Taodeni for the region of Timbuktu and the western Sahara.

The history of Kawār is very obscure. The caravan route on which it lies was already in use in ancient times although we have no formal evidence of this. In any case this group of oases was already in existence at the time of the conquest of North Africa, if we may rely on the stories of the Arab historians who attribute its conquest to the legendary hero of the conquest, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. He is said to have taken the castles of Kawār one after the other. Al-Idrīsī, in the twelfth century, several times mentions the importance of the trade through these regions. He mentions inexhaustible mines of alum; there must be some confusion with the salt-deposits. It seems that at this time Kawār was under independent local chiefs. Later when the kings of Kānem extended their authority over Fezzān, they certainly held Kawār; this is the situation described by Ibn Khaldūn following Ibn Saʿīd; for the rest, local traditions seem to preserve the memory of migrations from the south. It is certain that a strong power at one or other extremity of the caravan route would try to control the whole route.

In the xixth century, Kawār was visited by several European travellers: first in January, 1823, by the Denham, Clapperton and Oudney expedition and then by Vogel, Barth, Rohlfs and Nachtigal and lastly by Monteil. In the closing years of last century Kawār was in a somewhat wretched condition. It was under the nominal authority of a chief (*mai*) elected by the notables; in reality each village ruled itself. Kawār had been seriously affected by the general decline of trade in the Sahara; it was still more affected when the French occupation of the Tchad region put an end to the slave-trade, the principal source of business. The inhabitants paid tribute, apparently to the Tuaregs; they were nevertheless plundered and blackmailed by them and raided by the Tubu and Awlād Slīmān. The Kawār then became the centre of political aspirations. The Sanūsiya had had a zāwiya there for quite a long time; it was a necessary station for them when they were endeavouring to extend their influence in the countries of Central Africa and when the Sanūsī Shaikh dreamed of creating a regular principality bounded by the two sides of the Sahara. The Turks also tried to make their authority recognised in the Kawār as they tried to do at Djanet and in Tibesti. The occupation of the Kawār by French troops from the Tchad region in July, 1906, and the establishment of a permanent post there put an end to these efforts, at the same time giving the inhabitants of this group of oases effective protection from the exactions of their turbulent neighbours.

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(Henri Basset)

KĀWĪN (P.), marriage, dowry, see MAHR, NIKĀH.

KAWKAB, star, in Arabic astronomy the general term for a luminous heavenly body. The five planets known to the Arabs (Mercury to Saturn) were called *al-kawākib al-khamsa (al-mutaḥayyira)*. The general term for the sun, moon and the five planets is *al-kawākib al-djāriya* or *al-kawākib al-saiyāra* (i.e. the moving stars), in contrast to the fixed stars *(al-kawākib al-thābita)*. The name *kawkab shamālī* is applied to the star α of the Little Bear, which is nearest the north pole of the heavens. In al-Bīrūnī it is called *ṭarf al-dhanab wa-huwa djady al-ḳibla* (= tip of the tail, i.e. the little goat [for ascertaining] the ḳibla). This presupposes that from a knowledge of the north pole (direction of north) one can ascertain the diametrically opposite south, which is identical with the direction of the *ḳibla (samt al-ḳibla)*. This method of ascertaining the *ḳibla* is only correct in regions which lie approximately north of Mekka (cf. Reinaud's note in his introduction to *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, p. cxcv: „Or, la Mecque est au midi de la Syrie ainsi que d'une partie de la Mesopotamie et de l'Egypte (?), le mot Ḳiblah est devenu pour les musulmans de ces contrées, le synonyme de midi et il a été employé ailleurs avec la même acception"). Finally it may be mentioned that the stars α, β and η of Cepheus were, according to Ulugh Beg, also called *kawākib al-firḳ*, i.e. stars of the flock (of sheep).

A catalogue of fixed stars, of which the Arab astronomers had several, is called *Djadwal al-kawākib*.

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(C. Schoy)

KAWKABĀN, the name of several places in South Arabia.

1) The name of a sanctum mentioned in the inscription Halévy N⁰. 686, copied from a building in 'Amrān by J. Halévy (*mikrāhān Kawkabān*). Cf. also F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, ii., Leipzig 1925, p. 707.

2) The name of a castle near Ẓafār north of Nā'iṭ. It was called Kawkabān, the two stars, i.e. star-castle, because it was adorned with silver stripes outside, the roof was covered with white slabs of stone, the interior panelled with cypress wood and paved with mosaic, different gems, onyx and corundum, which shone like stars at night. This marvellous building was naturally ascribed to the Djinn. This castle is perhaps also mentioned in the inscription Glaser N⁰. 238, 3 (*Bait wa-Kawkabān*), which comes from Bait Ghufr in the vicinity. The castle is said to be still standing.

3) A little village on a great cliff on the right side of the Wādī Balāma, N. E. of Ḥadja and called Kawkabān-Ḥadja to distinguish it from other places of the same name.

4) Capital of the province of the same name, N.W. of Ṣan'ā'. The town of Kawkabān lies at a height of 8,750 feet above sea-level in 15° 31′ 42″ N.Lat. on the southern part of the ridge which begins about half a mile S. E. of the town of Kawkabān at the left towards Ṭawīla and runs S.E. to N.W. for several hours' journey. It is part of the great Maṣāna'a plateau and is called Djabal Ḍulā'. The south-eastern part of the range, the especially precipitous part, is separated from the main massif by an almost straight ravine, the Wādī Nabhān, which runs from Shibām past the one gate of the town of Kawkabān (Bāb al-Ḥadīd) to the Wādī Na'im west of the Djabal Kawkabān. Two roads run over this mountain, cut off only by the ravine of the Wādī Nabhān, the one through the town of Shibām, following the very deep ravine of Nabhān which is bridged over, an old winding narrow path of steps hewn out of the rock, and the second, an easier one, running in the Ḳā'a Ḍulā' and crossing a bridge over the Wādī Nabhān just before reaching the Bāb al-Ḥadīd. The town of Kawkabān stretches from the Bāb al-Ḥadīd to the S.E. and runs quite close to the eastern slope of the cliff all along that side. This part seems to be the oldest. Not very far from the gate on the great open square in the centre of the town (in the northern part) is a double wall for the most part now in ruins. Between the two walls a great number of skilfully walled pits have been cut out of the ground, which served as granaries for the old inhabitants. Similar granaries, but of more recent date, are to be found in the southern part and outside the town. The town itself consists of a large number of excellently built houses of red stone the architectural effect of which is often striking; the doors of the houses are often ornamented with fine iron work. The houses of the former Imāms now for the most part decayed or shot to pieces are particularly striking with their splendid façades. Besides the principal mosque with minaret, the only one in the town, there are seven small mosques. The water supply is provided from two large and finely built reservoirs; the one, called Muṣallā, lies in the south, exceedingly deep and enclosed on the west side by a wall 60 to 80 feet high. The second, to the east of it, begun but not quite finished by Saiyid 'Abd al-Karīm about 1840, is called Birka al-Ziyādi. There are also four smaller cisterns. This water-supply would suffice for a town three times the size of Kawkabān. The Jewish quarter lies E.S.E. outside the town but consists almost entirely of low mean houses with little windows and doors.

A stone bridge with huge arches led across the Wādī Nabhān to the Bāb al-Ḥadīd but it was blown up by the Arabs in 1872.

Kawkabān is an ancient city dating from the Ḥimyar period, as inscriptions found there show. Al-Hamdānī mentions a stronghold of Kawkabān on the summit of the Djabal Dhukhār which is certainly identical with the old town of the modern Kawkabān. In troubled times its strength made it a desirable place of refuge — in 1569 the Turks besieged the stronghold in vain — and for centuries Kawkabān has been important as a capital and residence of the Imāms of the principality of the same name. The latter comprised in addition to Kawkabān the towns of Shibām, Ḥadjja, Ṭawīla, the Khabt Mirwāḥ (between Kawkabān and Ḥarrāz), the lands of Mīswar, Sārī', Ḥafāṣ, Milḥān, Aḥdjir, 'Arīn, Banū Khaiyāṭ, al-Shahdhiya Lā'a, a part of the Banū Ḥubaish, the Banū Nāshir and of al-Aḥmar. The old dynasty of the country, which traced its descent from the Imām Hādī of Ṣa'da, was able to retain its imāmate even during Turkish rule and to maintain its independence from the imāms of Ṣan'ā' after the Turks were driven out in 1630. C. Niebuhr (*op. cit.*, p. 256; see the *Bibliography*) has given a genealogical survey of the princes of Kawkabān. When the Turks again invaded Yaman in 1872 and subjected the country, Kawkabān after a seven months' severe siege also passed to the Turks but only after capitulation. The last ruler of Kawkabān, Saiyid Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who had bravely defended the town against the Turks, afterwards lived in Ṣan'ā' on a pension given to him by the Sublime Porte. At Glaser's visit in 1883 his brother Saiyid Yaḥyā still lived in the old ancestral home in Kawkabān, which is remarkable for the splendid stucco-work of the interior and the rich ornamentation of its façade. The windows and doors had all sorts of varied shapes, colours and ornaments.

Kawkabān is now almost depopulated; although the houses, which in spite of much destruction are still imposing, afford accommodation for some 30,000 people, there are barely 100 now in the town; from the town one gets a splendid view over the fertile fields and valleys of the country around, especially the plain of Shibām, a part of the plain of Ṣan'ā' and the surrounding hills.

5) Kawkabān al-Sha'a is in Maḥwīt, west of the town of Kawkabān 4), but belongs to Ṭawīla, a small place of no special importance.

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3): C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 232; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 85ᵇ (manuscript).

4): al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—1891, p. 107, 195; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, i. 352, note 2, 353, 355, 356; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 437; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 190, 191, 196, 197, 254, 255; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii/i., Part xii., Book 3, Berlin 1846, p. 711, 728, 734; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii/iii., Leipzig 1864, p. 138, 153; do., *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 73; Ch. Millingen, *Notes of a Journey in Yemen*, *J.R.G.S.*, 1874, xliv. 123; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 8ᵃ, 51ᵃ—55ᵇ, 124ᵇ (manuscript); do., *Meine Reise durch Arhab und Hâschid* in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1884, xxx. 173; do., *Von Hodeida nach Ṣan'ā vom 24. April bis 1. Mai 1885*, *ibid.*, 1886, xxxii. 43; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, p. 68—72; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii., Berlin 1890, p. 151; W. B. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, Edinburgh 1893, p. 20, 21; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen* in the *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1902, p. 603; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, *Berichte und Forschungen*, ii., *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 545; H. Krumpholz, *Eduard Glaser's astronomische Beobachtungen im Yemen im Jahre 1883* in the *S.B. Ak. Wien* (math.-naturw. Klasse), 1911, cxx., Part iiᵃ, p. 1921, 1922; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England*, *Hamburgische Forschungen*, i., Brunswick 1916, p. 71; Aḥmad Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh-i Yaman wa-Ṣan'ā'*, Constantinople 1291.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

ḲAWM (A.), plural *aḳwām*, *aḳāwim*, *aḳāyim*, people. The word occurs also in Nabataean, Palmyrene and Ṣafāitic inscriptions in the name of the deity Shī' al-Ḳawm "support of the people", see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i., Index s. v. — According to some lexicographers the word applies in the first place to men; evidence for this opinion is afforded by passages from literature where Ḳ. is used in opposition to *nisā'* (women). The term does not primarily suggest the meaning of nation. A man's Ḳ. are his *shī'a* and his *'ashīra* (*Lisān*). In this limited sense the word occurs also in the well known tradition: "Who clings to a Ḳ. without the permission of his *mawālī* (*patrons*), is cursed by Allāh, the angels and the prophets" (Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Madīna*, bāb 1). — Used without article it has the same meaning as English "people", French "gens" and German "Leute", e. g. sūra 5, 63: "People who do not understand"; cf. S. 10; 9, 6 (also with the article 12, 37). The plural has the same meaning. In a tradition it is said: "There will be people (*aḳwām*) in my community, who will proclaim licentiousness regarding women and wine" (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 6).

In the Ḳur'ān the term is chiefly used in connection with the prophets, Muḥammad's predecessors: the people of Ibrāhīm, Lūṭ, Nūḥ (e. g. 7, 136; 11, 91; 22, 43; 26, 105, 160; 38, 11), i. e. their unbelieving contemporaries. In this sense it

is also used in connection with Muḥammad himself: "Thy people declare Him a lie, though He is the Truth" (sūra 6, 66). The same use of the term is to be found in Ḥadīth, e. g. Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 19, 31, 54 etc.

Ḳ. is, however, also used in a sense that comes nearer to the modern conception of "people", e. g. in the tradition referring to one of the festivals: "Every Ḳ. has its festival, and this is ours" (Bukhārī, *ʿĪdain*, bāb 3). Al-Kawm with the article has sometimes an emphatic meaning, e. g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 72, where Ṭufail, one of ʿĀʾisha's brothers, relates a dream which he had. He dreamt that he passed by some Jews and said to them: "Verily, ye would be the people, were it not that ye pretend that ʿUzair (Ezra) is the son of Allāh". They answered: "And ye would be the people, were it not that ye say: *Mā shāʾ Allāh wa-mā shāʾ Muḥammad*", etc.

In Atchin (Atjèh) the term has acquired a peculiar form and use: *kawōm* has here the genealogical meaning of "all those who descend from one man in the male line", see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Index s. v. *kawōm*.

For special meanings of the word see Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v. (A. J. Wensinck)

al-ḲAWS = the bow; in Arabic geometry the arc of the circle; in astronomy the constellation of Sagittarius, the ninth sign of the Zodiac (Greek τοξότης, Latin *Arcitenens* or *Sagittarius*). (H. Suter)

ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ (a.), the rainbow. The ancient Arabian deity Ḳuzaḥ [q.v.] who is described as shaiṭān (devil) was a thundergod who shot hail-arrows from his bow and then hung the latter on the clouds. He is found in the combination *Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ*, rainbow. *Ḳuzaḥ* is also in popular belief the angel who looks after the clouds. Other names of the rainbow are: Allāh's bow, the bow of the prophet of God, bow of the heavens, bow of the clouds (*ghamām, muzn*), signs of heaven (*ʿalāʾim al-samāʾ*). It is also called *ḳaws ḳazaʿ* (*ḳazaʿ* are the separated parts of a cloud). Quite different in origin are the names *ḳusṭān* (dust), *ḳusṭānī*, *ḳusṭalānī* and *ḳusṭalāniyya*. Muslim scholars include the rainbow among the *āthār al-ʿulwiyya*, the upper phenomena. The rainbow is usually opposite the spectator, while the sun is at his back and there is a dark cloud or wall behind drops of water; the drops may be in a cloud or formed at springs, water-wheels, in turbulent rivers where spray is formed, in the steam of baths or in water which is ejected from the mouth in a spray (see *Beitr. V.*, *loc. cit.*). Frequent reference is made to a description by Ibn Sīnā (see E. Wiedemann and M. Horten, *loc. cit.*, among others) who was on the top of a very high hill at the foot of which lay a vast bank of mist. The sun was above the hill and Ibn Sīnā saw a rainbow on the mist below him.

Numerous descriptions of rainbows occur in literature e. g. in the *Ḥamāsa* (F. Tuch, *Z. D. M. G.*, iii. 200 *sqq.*), also by the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla (333—356 = 944—967) and by the poet Waʾwāʾ († 390 = 999; see F. Dieterici, *Mutanabbi und Saif ad-Daula aus der Edelperle des Thaʿālibi dargestellt*, Leipzig 1847, p. 129 and 175).

The more or less strictly scientific studies of the rainbow are also numerous. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, iv., Nº. 9,640) quotes a special *ʿIlm Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ* (science of the rainbow) he deals with all questions that can arise. According to him, "it investigates how the rainbow is formed, the reason why it is formed and why it is circular; further the reason for the difference in its colours, why it appears after rain at the end of a day and why it is often seen by day but only rarely at night by moonlight. It further investigates the astrological significance (*al-aḥkām*) of its appearance". Descriptions on similar lines are found, for example, in the works of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 98; *Kosmographie*, transl. Ethé, p. 201), in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1305, ii. 52 *sqq.* (cf. F. Dieterici, *Die Naturanschauung der Araber*, Berlin 1861, p. 87); also by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ḳarāfī († 684 = 1285/1286) in his *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fīmā tudrikuhu 'l-Abṣār*; and in the *Risāla fī Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ* of Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Taḥṣīlī (about 850 = 1446; see Berlin Catalogue by Ahlwardt, Nº. 5691); two anonymous works are published by Cheikho (*al-Machriq*, 1912, xv. 736—744). A considerable section in a meteorological work (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, Nº. 6054) and no doubt many other passages deal with our phenomenon. The most important and most comprehensive work, however, is from the pen of Ibn Sīnā in his *Shifāʾ* (see the *Beitr.*).

The descriptions of the rainbow are in general very accurate. Not only the simple rainbow but also the double and even triple are described. The first is said to be produced by the sun's rays themselves, the second by the rays shining through the rays from the first and the third by the rays from the first two; the bows therefore are successively weaker. It is emphasised that the rainbow is not always composed of the same colours, a phenomenon which has recently been fully investigated by M. Pernter. It is also mentioned that the rainbow is particularly beautiful when the sun is on the horizon.

The older treatment of the theory of the rainbow goes back to Aristotle, with whose meteorological works the Arabs were acquainted. Thābit b. Ḳurra is said to have translated a commentary by Athūrūdīṭus = Epaphroditus(?) on Aristotle's essay on the rainbow (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, p. 59). Aristotle is followed by Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Haitham, al-Ḳarāfī etc., although in many details they make additions and corrections to his views. It is always assumed that the rainbow is produced by beams of light or visual rays which are regularly reflected on the raindrops, on very minute reflecting surfaces. Later Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [q. v.] gave a brilliant exposition of the correct explanation, as far as was possible in the general state of knowledge in his day, when the dispersion of light was unknown. Like us he says that the light is once or twice reflected in the interior of the globule of water and then radiates out from it; thus we have the main and secondary rainbow. He also endeavours to investigate the cause of the colours although, of course, not satisfactorily. By experiments he proves the correctness of his results, which are on a much higher level than those of Theodoricus of Freiberg (about 1300).

From *ḳuzaḥ* comes a word *taḳzīḥ* (the word is not *taḳzīgh*, as I said in the *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturw. und Technik*, 1902, iii. 9). It means "showing the colours of the rainbow" or briefly "the colours of the rainbow". It is defined by Kamāl al-Dīn as "different graduated

colours in the region between blue, green, yellow, red, smoke-coloured white, that is, as regards normal perception".

The rainbow is also given an astrological significance according to the zodiacal sign in which it appears. In the ram it means plague and death (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, Nº. 5906, *al-Ḳawl ʿalā Ṭūl Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ*). In another MS. (Nº. 5915, 2) it is said that in September a rainbow indicates great tyranny and oppression.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabischen Philologie*, 1896, i. 115; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. V., Auszüge aus arabischen Encyclopaedien*, in the *Sitz. Ber. P. Med. Soc. Erl.*, 1905, xxxvii. 423—434; do., *Beitr. XIX., Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln nach Ibn al-Haitham und Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, ibid., 1910, xlii. 15—58; do., *Theorie des Regenbogens von Ibn al-Haitham*, ibid., 1914, xlv. 39—56; do., *Zur Optik von Kamāl al-Dīn*, in the *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Technik*, 1912, iii. 161—177; do., *Arabische Studien über den Regenbogen*, ibid., 1912, iv. 453—460 (further references are given here); M. Horten and E. Wiedemann, *Avicenna's Lehre vom Regenbogen nach seinem Werk al-Shifāʾ*, in the *Meteorol. Zeitschr.*, 1913, p. 533—544; I. Würschmidt, *Die Brennkugel*, in the *Monatshefte für den naturwissenschaftl. Unterricht*, 1914, iv. 93—113; do., *Dietrich von Freiberg über den Regenbogen und die durch seine Strahlen erzeugten Eindrücke*, in the *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 1914, xii., part 5—6; G. Hellmann, *Neudrucke von Schriften über Meteorologie*, etc., Nº. 15; the passages mentioned from the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, from Dieterici, p. 23—41, and from al-Ḳazwīnī from Ribā, p. 127—142; Mallon, *Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ*, in *al-Machriq*, 1900, iii. 241 note; O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1901, p. 600 *sqq.* (for a comparison of the Arab views with those of the Greeks).

(E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲAWṢARA, a small volcanic island in the Mediterranean Sea between Sicily and Tunis (60 miles south of Cape Granitola and 45 miles east of Cape Bon [Ras Addar]; area 40 sq. miles), now called Pantellaria. The name Ḳawṣara (variously written in the MSS.) goes back to the classical Cossyra (cf. Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie der klass. Altertumswiss.*, xi. 1503). The island, famous for its antiquities (cf. Orsi, *Pantellaria* in *Monumenti dei Lincei*, 1899, ix. 450—539), was already important in ancient times for intercourse between Sicily and the African coast and played an important part during the conquest and rule of the Arabs in Sicily, which was always attacked from Africa. The first conquest of Ḳawṣara by the Arabs as well as their expedition to Sicily under Muʿāwiya b. Khudaidj in the time of the Caliph Muʿāwiya (Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, i. 211; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 200, according to the Aghlabid Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ; al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 235, does not mention the island) was only transitory; the Byzantines soon recaptured it (al-Bakrī, *K. al-Masālik*, *Bibl. Arabo-Sicula*, p. 13). According to Ibn Taghribirdī (ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1885, i. 136) ʿAlī's murderer, Ibn Muldjam, was banished to Ḳawṣara. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan, the general of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, recaptured the island from the Rūm (al-Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, *Bibl. Ar.-Sic.*, p. 375) but Muslim rule was only firmly established under the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh whose representative, Asad b. al-Furāt, captured Sicily (210—213 = 825—828) and Ḳawṣara (Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*). In 220 (835) an expedition against the island was once again necessary (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vi. 239). In the two following centuries Ḳawṣara was partly converted to Islām. Its harbour was a naval base for the Arabs. Their ships were often wrecked in its vicinity. When the power of the Muslims began to decline, Ḳawṣara was again exposed to raids by Christian states (e.g. 481 = 1088 by the Pisans and Genoese; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x. 110). When Sicily had entirely passed out of Muslim hands, the island was taken in 516 (1122/23) by George of Antioch, Roger II of Sicily's admiral, on his first campaign against the Zīrid al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [q. v.] in Mahdiya; the island served him as a base for the capture of this town in 543 (1148) (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xi. 82).

The Arab geographers tell us very little about Ḳawṣara. The distance from Sicily and the African coast is usually given as a day's journey; the harbour is celebrated (al-Idrīsī). The production of figs, cotton and mastic is often mentioned (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ). The Muslim inhabitants remained there after the Norman conquest as *dhimmī*'s of the Franks (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*; al-Andalusī). Down to the xviiith century the Arabic language was spoken on the island of Pantellaria; it has exercised a considerable influence on the local Italian dialect (above, i. 419; Gregorio and Seybold in *Studi glottologici italiani*, ii. [1901], 225—238). Amari has published a tomb inscription from Pantellaria (*Le epigrafi Arabiche di Sicilia*, Palermo 1879, p. 118 *sqq.*).

Bibliography: M. Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, Leipzig 1857, and the Italian translation, Turin and Rome 1880—1889; cf. Index, s. v. Pantellaria; do., *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KAWTHAR, a word used in Sūra cviii. 1 after which this Sūra is called *Sūrat al-Kawthar*. *Kawthar* is a *fawʿal* form from *kathara*, of which other examples occur in Arabic (e.g. *nawfal*; further examples in Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, i. 344). The word, which also occurs in the old poetry (e.g. the examples in Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 261, and Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i. 92), means "abundance" and a whole series of Muslim authorities therefore explain al-Kawthar in Sūra cviii. 1 as *al-khair al-kathīr* (see Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 180 *sq.*). But this quite correct explanation has not been able to prevail in the *Tafsīr*. It has been thrust into the background by traditions according to which the Prophet himself explained Kawthar to be a river in Paradise (see so early as Ibn Hishām, p. 261 below, and notably al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 179) or Muḥammad says that it was a water-basin intended for him personally and shown to him on his ascension to Paradise (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 180), which latter view al-Ṭabarī considers the most authentic. Even the earliest Sūra's (lxxvii. 41; lxxxviii. 12 etc.) know of rivers that flow through Paradise, but it is not till the Medina period that they are more minutely described, notably in Sūra xlvii. 11: "there are rivers of water which does not smell foul; rivers of milk the taste whereof does not change;

and rivers of wine, a pleasure for those that drink, and rivers of clarified honey." These rivers correspond to the rivers of oil, milk, wine and honey, which had already been placed in Paradise by Jewish and Christian eschatology; the only difference is that Muḥammad replaced oil by water; in Arabia pure water was not to be taken for granted and besides it was necessary to mix with the wine of Paradise (see Horovitz, *Das koranische Paradies*, p. 9). When, after the Prophet's death, eschatological explanations of the "abundance" of Sūra cviii. 1 began to be made, al-Kawthar was identified as one of the rivers of Paradise and when we find in one of the versions quoted in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* that "its water is whiter than snow and sweeter than honey" or "and its water is wine", etc. we have obviously an echo of Sūra xlvii. 11. But they did not stop at simply transferring these Ḳurʾānic descriptions to the Kawthar but the imagination of later writers gave the river of Paradise a bed of pearls and rubies and golden banks and all sorts of similar embellishments. According to a later view (see *Aḥwāl al-Ḳiyāma*, ed. Wolff, p. 107), all the rivers of Paradise flow into the *Ḥawḍ al-Kawthar* which is also called *Nahr Muḥammad*, because, as we have seen above, it is the Prophet's own.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(J. HOROVITZ)

ḲAWUḲLU, "the man with the *ḳawuḳ*", a character in the Orta Oyunu.

The Turkish word *ḳawuḳ* means the inner cap-shaped part of a certain kind of headgear, a rather high cap around which the headdress proper, the *ṣarīḳ*, is wound; a cap like this could be of different shapes; it either culminated in a rounded top or in a flat surface; sometimes also it was wider at the top than on the bottom. It was usually made of wadded felt in perpendicular strips narrowing towards the top. These *ḳawuḳ*'s were worn by officers of different ranks in the Janissaries. They varied in form, colour and name according to rank. For further details see Maḥmūd Shawket, *Osmanlî Teshkîlât we-Ḳiyāfet-i ʿaskeriyesi*, Stambul 1325, i. 29 *sqq.* Other professions also had particular *ḳawuḳ*'s; thus there were *molla*, *kātib* and *pashalîḳ ḳawughu* or, from the shape, one talked of *tepeli ḳawuḳ*, while *dal ḳawuḳ* acquired the special meaning of parasite. The word *ḳāwuḳ* (plur. *ḳawāwiḳ*) has even penetrated into Arabic.

Ḳawuḳlu, "the man with the *ḳawuḳ*", has acquired a special significance as one of the two principal characters in the Turkish folkplay of Orta Oyun. It is not till last century that we are at all minutely acquainted with the Orta-play and the names Orta and Ḳawuḳlu do not seem to be any older. According to a tradition, the character of the Ḳawuḳlu was first introduced by a certain otherwise unknown Shakri, in place of a character called Nekre whose main feature is said to have been a fondness for opium. Ḳawuḳlu is the real comic figure in the Orta-play and plays a part like that of Ḳaragöz [q. v.] in the shadow-play. Pishekār, the other principal character in the Orta Oyun, is, on the other hand, the real director of the piece, a kind of stage manager, who always appears first on the stage and corresponds roughly to the Hadjiwad of the shadow-play.

The costume of the Ḳawuḳlu is sometimes described in the pieces themselves. Its chief feature is a high *ḳawuḳ* on his head. This is usually flattened above, red in colour and made of strips (*dilimli*) sewn together, almost like a top-hat without the lower brim. The *ḳawuḳ* is jokingly compared to a *tandîr*, the Turkish stove of similar shape. A shawl called *aghabani*, made of wool and silk, is wound round the *ḳawuḳ*. The kaftan (*djubbe*) of the Ḳawuḳlu and his trousers are also of red cloth while his under-garment (*entari*) is of striped woollen cloth or silk (*sham ḳutnisi* or *alti parmaḳ*). An ordinary shawl is used as girdle. The Ḳawuḳlu wears yellow Turkish saffron leather slippers (*ṣofik papush*) usually with heels, over the leather stockings called *mest*. He usually carries an umbrella made of different coloured parts. In modern times more and more of the old dress has been lost and even the *ḳawuḳ* has had to give place to a fez with a long tassel.

In the play the Ḳawuḳlu is usually a shopkeeper, artisan or a servant. Like Ḳaragöz he is responsible for the grotesque and comic element. He misunderstands the remarks of the other players, especially the Pishekār, in substance as well as language, carries out orders in a stupid fashion, confuses sentiments or twists them into the obscene. He is tactless and stupid, especially when he has to be on good behaviour among high class people, but in his turn demands exaggerated respect even from his friend, whom he treats badly, and is very capricious. If he describes his experiences, he exaggerates tremendously but unmercifully disparages any presents that have been given to him etc. If he is caught in a trick he usually succeeds in escaping by some of his thousand shifts. A further favourite source of humour is the imitation of foreign voices and dialects, *taḳlīd* (Ewliyā, i. 645 *sqq.*, gives the name to Orta-like plays of his time), sometimes with the addition of disguises. It seems that the players were originally foreigners and non-Muslims and in the older period the business was still considered unseemly and it is regretted when a Muslim earns his livelihood in this way.

All his pranks have to be improvised by the player, only a rough outline of the piece being given. The part of the Ḳawuḳlu makes the greatest demand upon the player and only a few really great actors have succeeded in playing the part to the general satisfaction. The most famous was a certain Hamdi at the end of last century and in most of the texts known to us from that period the Ḳawuḳlu is often addressed simply as Hamdi.

Bibliography: Jacob, *Türkische Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1901, p. 38 *sqq.*; Kúnos, *Orta-oyunum*, Budapest 1888; do., *Anatoliai képek*, Budapest 1891, p. 104; do., *Das türkische Volksschauspiel Orta ojunu*, Leipzig 1908, with pictures; Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient*, Berlin 1905, p. 32 *sq.*

(WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

ḲĀWURD B. DĀʾŪD ČAGHRIBEG, sometimes also called Ḳarā Arslānbeg, the founder of the line of Saldjūḳs of Kirmān. The first year of his reign is usually given as 433 (1041). Perhaps it was he and not Ibrāhīm Īnāl (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 349) who led the Ghuzz, who came to Kirmān in 434, but he did not succeed in establishing himself there then, for the lord of this province, the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār [q. v.], was informed of the raid and sent troops who put the Ghuzz to

flight. It was not till some years later (440 = 1048) after the death of Abū Kālīdjār, that the capital of the country, Bardasīr, where Bahrām b. Lashkarsitān commanded for the Būyids, was taken and henceforth the land belonged to Ḳāwurd. By a stratagem he was able to subjugate the rude tribes of the Kufṣ and Kufadj, who dwelled in the Garmsīr (the hot region). He also waged war in Sīstān and in Fārs, in the latter country with the chief of the Shabānkāra Faḍlōya — on him cf. Ibn al-Balkhī, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, p. 166 — and with the assistance of the Amīr of Hormuz even sent troops across the Gulf to the coast of Arabia who conquered 'Omān so that his successors ruled there till 537 (1142—43). He was an energetic ruler in every respect and maintained order in the land and acquired merit by making wells and building towers to serve as landmarks in the desert. One of these towers still stands between Gurg and Fahradj (cf. P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia or Eight Years in Irān*, p. 418). But in the end his ambition proved his downfall. Even during the reign of his brother Alp Arslān, he could scarcely bring himself to acknowledge his suzerainty but when the latter came twice to Kirmān (456 = 1064 and 459 = 1067) he did not dare throw down the gauntlet but showed himself submissive. But as soon as he heard that his brother had fallen (1072) and that his son Malik-shāh had succeeded him he collected his forces and marched against him. The two armies met near Hamadhān. Ḳāwurd's troops were put to flight, he was taken prisoner and strangled. The best account of this battle, which was fought on Djumādā I 26, 466 = Jan. 27, 1074 (according to Ibn al-Athīr, x. 53, in Sha'bān = April), is contained in the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, B. M. MS., fol. 33. The victor, however, left the sons of Ḳāwurd in possession of Kirmān.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources quoted in the article: *Recueil de textes rel. à l'histoire des Seldj.*, i. 2 *sqq.*; cf. in addition Houtsma in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxix. 367 *sqq.*

ḲAWWĀS, an Arabic word meaning originally archer, then arquebusier, finally, like the French *archer*, came to mean military police. The form *ḳawwāṣ* (with *ṣād*) is found in the *1001 Nights* (Dozy, *Suppl.*). The word is applied in the Levant specially to the military police, called in French *cavas* or sometimes *janissaires* (because before the abolition of the latter, they were chosen from their ranks), detached to act as guards to embassies and consulates. They go in front of the head of the embassy or consulate when he goes into the town, whether officially or not, and make way for him in the crowded streets and bazaars. In Turkish they are called *yasaḳ-čï*. In terms of articles 45 and 50 of the renewal in 1740 of the treaty between France and the Ottoman Empire, known as the capitulations, the ambassadors and consuls may employ such janissaries as they please without their being forced to use any who do not suit them (T. X. Bianchi, *Nouveau Guide de la Conversation*, Paris 1852, p. 273—274). The regulations of Ṣafar 23, 1280, fixed the number of natives that the consulates could employ, on account of their privileges, at 4 *yasaḳ-čï* for consulates general and consulates in the chief towns of provinces, 3 for ordinary consulates and 2 for vice-consulates or consulate agencies. Their appointment is notified to the governor-general of the province who keeps a register of the names of those employed (Aristarchi-bey, *Législation Ottomane*, Constantinople 1873—1888, iv. 15 *sqq.*).

Bibliography: *Descr. de l'Egypte*, Paris 1822, xviii. 1, 326—327. (Cl. HUART)

ḲAYA. [See KHUZISTAN].

ḲĀYĪ, the name of one of the 24 tribes of the Ghuzz [q. v.] or Oghuz from which the Ottoman ruling house is descended. Cf. the pertinent text of the *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i Seldjūḳ* and the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳud* in the *Zap.*, xix. 077. Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (*Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, i. 56) still has the old form Ḳayigh, which refutes the identification proposed by J. Marquart (*Abh. Ges. W. Göttingen, Neue Folge*, xiii /i. 39 *sqq.*) with the Ḳāi mentioned by al-Bīrūnī and al-'Awfī in the extreme east. The Ḳāi are regarded by Marquart as turkicised Mongols (*op. cit.*, p. 88) which also (he says, *op. cit.*, p. 191) explains "the rôle which the blood-stained and fratricidal race of Osman and Ottoman people have played in history". That the Ḳāi were Mongols is very probable. They are cited by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (*op. cit.*, i. 30) with the Tātār and others among the peoples who speak a language of their own, although they also knew Turkish; but the Oghuz tribe of Ḳayigh or Ḳāyï had certainly nothing to do with the Ḳāi.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲĀZ (t.), goose, occurs also in geographical names such as Ḳāz Dagh, the Caucasus [see KABḲ].

ḲAZA. [See ḲAḌĀ'].

ḲAZAḲ (t.), robber, disturber of the peace, adventurer; on these and other meanings see W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, ii. 364. The existence of the word in Turkish can be first shown in the ninth (xvth) century. During the civil turmoils under the Tīmūrids the pretenders, in contrast to the actual rulers, were called *ḳazaḳ*: those who would not accept the verdict of fortune but led the life of an adventurer at the head of their men; cf., for example, the mention of the *ḳazaḳ* years (*ḳazaḳlïḳ*) of Sulṭān Ḥusain, afterwards ruler of Khurāsān, in the *Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, p. 173 b, infra. The name *ḳazaḳ* is also applied to whole bodies of people, who had separated from their princes and kinsmen; in the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* (transl. E. D. Ross, especially p. 82 and 272) the Özbeg, who had abandoned their Khān Abu 'l-Khair (cf. the article), are called Özbeg-Ḳazaḳ or simply Ḳazaḳ; the latter name has been retained by their descendants as an ethnic to the present day (cf. the art. KIRGHIZ). In Russia the word *ḳazaḳ* first appears about the same time as in Central Asia (in the second half of the xvth century) and is probably borrowed from Turkish although it appears in Russian in a larger number of meanings; thus individuals without kinsmen or possessions were called *ḳazaḳ* even although they did not lead a wandering or marauding life; the word, therefore, had not yet the exclusively military meaning which it had afterwards. The word Cossack, used in Western Europe, is the result of the Little Russian and Polish pronunciation. No certain etymological explanation of the word *ḳazaḳ* has yet been given. The last suggestion by N. Marr (*Žurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1915, June, p. 286), according to which the old Caucasian ethnic *Kasog* mentioned in the Russian annals under 6473 = 965 is preserved in Ḳazaḳ, is a hypothesis which can hardly be accepted by the historian. (W. BARTHOLD)

ḲAZĀN, also written Ḳazān, in the xvth and xvith centuries the capital of a Tatar principality, in the xixth century a Russian university town, now capital of the Tatar Soviet Republic. According to legend, the town was built by Batū. In 1391 Ḳazān was destroyed by Russian freebooters from Novgorod, and again in 1399 by the Prince Ywriy Dmitriyewič. About 1445 a powerful kingdom was founded here by Ulu-Muḥammad and his son Maḥmūdek (in Russian works Makhmutek) who had been banished from the Golden Horde; in the same year (1445), in which Ulu Muḥammad captured the Russian Grand Duke Wasiliy, Ḳazān, where a prince called ʿAlī Beg was ruling, was captured by Maḥmūdek. In 1446 Ulu Muḥammad was killed by Maḥmūdek; two other sons of Ulu Muḥammad, Ḳāsim and Yaʿḳūb, had to flee to Russia from their brother, where Ḳāsim founded a local dynasty in Kasimov [q. v.] which is called after him. Like many later pretenders who sought refuge in Russia, Ḳāsim took part on the Russian side in the wars against Ḳazān. Maḥmūdek died about 1464 and was succeeded by his sons, first Khalīl, then Ibrāhīm. In 1468 even Wiatka had to submit to Khān Ibrāhīm but in the following year the campaign took a more favourable turn for Russia; Ibrāhīm had to make peace and restore their freedom to all the Russian prisoners in Ḳazān. Ibrāhīm's successor was his son Ilhām; in 1487 his brother Muḥammad Amīn appeared before Ḳazān with a Russian army; after a siege of three weeks Ilhām had to surrender and was sent with his wife to Wologda; Muḥammad Amīn was installed as Khān in his place. In 1496 the Khān and with him the Russian party was driven out by an invasion of Siberian Tatars under Mamuk; after the victory of the Russians — at the request of the people of Ḳazān — it was not Muḥammad Amīn but his brother ʿAbd al-Laṭīf that was installed as Khān but by 1502 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was brought back to Russia and the throne restored to Khān Muḥammad Amīn. In 1505 the Khān rebelled against Russian suzerainty and killed or robbed the Russian merchants who came to the annual fair in Ḳazān; the Tatars advanced as far as Nijni-Novgorod. In 1506 a Russian army was defeated; while a second campaign was being prepared the old relations were restored by a treaty of peace in 1507. Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had died the previous year; with them the dynasty founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct.

The following decades were a period of almost uninterrupted fighting between the pretenders supported by Russia, the brothers Shāh ʿAlī (so on his tomb in Kasimov, not Shaikh ʿAlī) and Djān ʿAlī, who had come from Astrakhan to Russia, and the national party supported by the Crimean Tatars and the Noghai. The latter won their biggest victories in 1521; Shāh ʿAlī was driven out by prince Ṣāḥib Girāi who came from the Crimea; the brothers Muḥammad Girāi from the Crimea and Ṣāḥib Girāi from Ḳazān advanced up to Moscow; the Grand Duke Wasiliy abandoned his capital; a peace was concluded in his name by the Tatar prince Peter, a convert to Christianity, by which the Russian government bound itself to pay tribute to the Khān of the Crimea. The Russian prisoners were sold as slaves by the Crimean Tatars in Kafa and by the people of Ḳazān in Astrakhan. In 1524 Ṣāḥib Girāi went to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son Ṣafā Girāi in Ḳazān. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of Ḳazān dates from the brief reign of Ṣāḥib Girāi: it is a decree dated Ṣafar 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarkhān*'s, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, Ṣafā Girāi was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not Shāh ʿAlī but Djān ʿAlī that was elected Khān; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, Ṣafā Girāi recalled and supported by his father Ṣāḥib Girāi, then Khān of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that Ṣafā Girāi was driven out and Shāh ʿAlī put in his place; but Ṣafā Girāi returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son Ötemish, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of Shāh ʿAlī ended with his banishment. Yādiyār Muḥammad, a prince born in Astrakhan, was summoned from the land of the Noghai to Ḳazān as Khān. The Grand Duke Iwan who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against Ḳazān now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting Ḳazān was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at Ḳazān. Christianity was industriously preached. Ḳazān was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess Süyünbigi, wife of Ṣafā Girāi (she was previously married to Djān ʿAlī and later to Shāh ʿAlī). Under the influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green: in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviiith century Ḳazān had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by Pugačev in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date Ḳazān was of much greater importance than Nijni-Novgorod as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

of history and philology). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental faculty in the University of St. Petersburg, instruction in Oriental languages in the university of Ḳazān was stopped and the library and other accessories for the most part brought to St. Petersburg.

Instruction in Muḥammadan languages was resumed in the university of Ḳazān in 1861. According to the census of 1897, Ḳazān had 131,508 inhabitants, in 1911 182,477, of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

Bibliography: Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 363—429; K. Tuks, *Kratkaya istoriya goroda Kazani*, Kazan 1817, reprinted in Kazan 1899; W. Welyaminow-Zernow, *Izsledowaniya o kasimowskikh tsar'akh i tsarewičakh*, i., 1863, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, vol. ix., German transl. by J. Th. Zenker, Leipzig 1867; G. Kuntsevič, *Istoriya o Kazanskom tsarstve i Kazanskiy letopisets*, St. Petersburg 1905, with survey of the literature; Hādī Aṭlāsof, *Ḳāzān Khānlighi*, Kazan 1914, mainly from Russian sources; on p. 133 text of the edict of Ṣāḥib Girāī (review in *Zap.*, xxiii. 421 *sq.*); P. Zarinskiy, *Očerki drewnei Kazani*, Kazan 1877; M. Khudiakow, *Očerki po istorii Kazanskago khanstva*, Kazan 1923. On the university see especially N. P. Zagoskin, *Istoriya Imp. Kazanskago universiteta*, Kazan 1902; W. Barthold, *Materiali dlya istorii fakul'teta vost. yazïkov*, iv., St. Petersburg 1909.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲĀZBEGĪ, a Persian copper coin worth, according to Chardin, the tenth part of a *shāhī*. It is now obsolete. Chardin says, iv. 279 (Rouen, 1723), the name means "the King's money", but see the titles *Gasbeck* and *Casbeague* in *Hobson-Jobson* (revised ed.). Another form of the word seems to be Ḳazbīnī from Ḳazwīn where they were coined.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KĀZERŪN, a town in Persia in the province of Fārs, between the sea and Shīrāz and 55 miles from the latter at a height of 3,000 feet. It is supplied with water from wells and pipes as the district has no river. Its industries used to be flourishing; it manufactured a kind of cotton called *shaṭawī* (Yāḳūt, iii. 288); it had a rich trade carried on by merchants for whom ʿAḍud al-Dawla the Būyid had built a bourse and who had luxurious dwellings and pleasure-houses in the town and vicinity. A kind of date called *djīlān* was gathered there. At the present day it is surrounded by tobacco-fields; there is a horse-market there frequented by the nomad tribes. The principal mosque was built on a hill commanding the bāzār. Among the tombs of saints venerated there, mention is made of that of Shaikh Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār Kāzarūnī, patron of the sailors in Indian and Chinese seas, their protector from storms and pirates, a capacity which brought his *zāwiya* abundance of *ex-voto's* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, ii. 89). Twenty miles to the north are the ruins of Sābūr; Kāzerūn began to rise in importance from the time Sābūr fell into ruins. The district was called Shūl, a name that survives in the modern name Shūlistān. In the vicinity there is a very salt lake full of fish which in the fourth (tenth) century was called Buḥairat Mūr (or Mūrak).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 225; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 472 and note 1; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 266; J. P. Morier, *Second Journey*, London 1818; E. S. Waring, *A tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, p. 22.

(CL. HUART)

ḲĀḌĪ-ʿASKER (A. T.), military judge, one of the highest offices in the judicial system of the Ottoman empire; its holders took precedence immediately after the Shaikh al-Islām, the chief of the *ʿulamāʾ*; they are entitled Ṣadr [q. v., iv. 30]; they are equal in rank to the vizier and *mushīr*. They are entitled in written petitions to be addressed as *ʿinâyetli* "your benevolence". There are two Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker, one of Rūm-ili and the other of Anatolia. Before the reforms, the first was inspector-general of all the dedicated properties (*waḳf*) except those of the two holy cities, when they become vacant (*maḥlūl*) by the decease of their administrators (*mutawallī*); since the *tanẓīmāt* this duty has fallen upon the Minister of the Awḳāf.

The title Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker was created in 763 (1362) by Sulṭān Murād I in favour of the Ḳāḍī Ḳara Khalīl Djendere-li; this judge followed the Sulṭān in the army and exercised his functions in camp. After the capture of Constantinople, Meḥmed II in 885 (1480) duplicated the post on the advice of the Grand Vizier Ḳaramānī Meḥmed Pasha [q. v., ii. 745], jealous of the credit enjoyed by Mānīsa Čelebesi; Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Ḳasṭallānī and Ḥādjdjī Ḥasanzāde were the first holders of these new offices. The Shaikh al-Islām or Grand Muftī did not have precedence over them until the reign of Sulṭān Sulaimān al-Ḳānūnī. They had the right to appoint all the ḳāḍī's and *mudarris's* (professors of theology) except those of Constantinople, Brusa and Adrianople, the three successive capitals of the empire; these nominations were reserved for the Grand Vizier.

The Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker of Rūm-ili dealt with the cases of Muslims in questions belonging to the capital while those of non-Muslims were left to the Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker of Anatolia. The importance of the first of these posts put the second in the background. His competence extended to cases relating to estates, to debts of the state and interests of the treasury; down to the reign of Maḥmūd I his sphere of jurisdiction included the three Barbary regencies; his authority over the ḳāḍī's of the Crimea was recognised by the treaty of Ḳainardje (1775) and the convention of Ainali-Ḳawaḳ (March 21, 1779).

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, ii. 545; iv. 531; J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'emp. ottoman*, iii. 309.

(CL. HUART)

ḲAZI KUMUKH. [See KUMUK].

KĀẒIMAIN, a town next Baghdād, one of the most celebrated of Shīʿa places of pilgrimage. It is a little over a thousand yards from the right bank of the Tigris, which there describes a loop. It is separated from the river by a girdle of gardens. Kāẓimain itself is prettily situated among palm-groves; there are also gardens almost without interruption in the direction of Baghdād. It is connected by a horse-tramway with the west side of Baghdād (Karkhiyaḳā; see the art. AL-KARKH) about three miles away, which was laid down by the governor Midḥat Pasha, who did a great deal for Baghdād (1869—72; cf. i. 568a). Quite recently Kāẓimain has also become a station on the Baghdād-Sāmarrā railway, which runs along the right bank of the Tigris. Down to the World

War Kāẓimain was the seat of a ḳā'im-maḳām and the capital of a ḳaḍā of the sandjaḳ of Baghdād with a population of 25,000 (of whom 5,000 are Shī'is); see Cuinet, *op. cit.* The number of inhabitants of the town itself Cuinet estimated at 6,000, Aubin (1907) at 7—8,000, of whom two-thirds were Persians. They are very fanatical; access to the sanctuaries is strictly forbidden to Christians. The Arab Beduin tribe of al-Madjama' encamps along the Tigris as far as Kāẓimain (see M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 71).

The name Kāẓimain, a so-called *dualis a potiori* (cf. Wright, *Grammar of the Arabic Language*[3], i. 190), means "the two Kāẓim's". The reference is to the two 'Alids buried here, Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 186 = 802) and Muḥammad al-Djawād (d. 219 = 834), the seventh and ninth Imāms of the Shī'a sect of the "Twelvers"; [cf. ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYA, ii. p. 563]. The place is often briefly called Kāẓim (also Ghadim in books of travel) or Kāẓimiye (Kāẓmiye); the name Imām Mūsā is also found. There is evidence of pilgrimage to these 'Alid tombs as early as the seventh (thirteenth) century (in Ibn Khallikān). At the present day Kāẓimain is one of the four greatest sanctuaries of the Shī'a. Its favourable position at the junction of the roads to the three other Shī'a places of pilgrimage, Sāmarrā in the north and Kerbelā and Nadjaf in the south, accounts for the fact that many thousands of pilgrims pass through it annually. Frequently 25—30,000 believers assemble here on one day. The throng is greatest during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram, which are specially dedicated to the memory of Ḥusain and the 'Alids generally. One of the four Mudjtahids, the principal spiritual leaders of the Shī'a, lives in Kāẓimain.

The sanctuary of Kāẓimain is one of those exceedingly splendid and rich temples which the 'Irāḳ owes to the Shī'a and for which Persia and Shī'a India supplied the necessary millions. With its domes covered with gold, the drums and the spires of its minarets it is visible to the traveller a long way off. Its present form faïence covered, is due to the Ṣafawid Ismā'īl I (908—930 = 1502—1524), whose family claimed descent from the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim (cf. above, ii. 544[b]). The inscription published by Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 99, of the year 926 (1519) refers to the complete transformation of the old building by the Shāh. The restoration not quite completed by Ismā'īl was finished by the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaimān I, who visited Baghdād in 941 (1534). The covering of the domes with golden tiles was done — according to the inscription in 1211 (1796) — by command and at the expense of Shāh Agha Muḥammad Khān [q. v.], the founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty. On the occasion of his pilgrimage (1870) Shāh Naṣr al-Dīn had the gold plating on the principal dome and on the roofs of the minarets renewed; cf. Cuinet, *op. cit.* The double cupola flanked by four minarets shows that two saints are buried beneath it. Close to this mausoleum stands an isolated pavilion under which are shown the graves of Dja'far (formerly supposed to be that of Ismā'īl) and Ibrāhīm, sons of the Imām Mūsā. The cupola of this building is modern and a gift of the general of division Salīm Pasha; cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 100. It may be noted here that there is also at Ḥadītha on the Euphrates (between 'Āna and Hīt) a small sanctuary which is said to contain the tomb of Muḥammad, son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim; see Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 321. On the tomb of a certain Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Karyat al-Bāshiya (in the 'Irāḳ) cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 60. In the vicinity of Astarābādh [q. v.] there is also an Imām-zāde (tomb-chapel) where a descendant of the Imām Mūsā called Imām Kāẓim is said to be buried; cf. Melgunof in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xxi. 235, and in *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, p. 119—120.

Like the sepulchral mosques of other great places of pilgrimage that of Kāẓimain also is surrounded by a very broad court-yard (*ṣaḥn*) enclosed by a wall. This latter was rebuilt in 1298 (1880), with the permission of the Turkish government, by a wealthy Persian named Farhād Mīrzā and adorned with ceramic work and inscriptions containing whole sūras; cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 110. In the great court, in course of time, extensive buildings for the housing of numerous pilgrims have grown up, especially along the enclosing wall. In 1907 Aubin estimated the number of bazaars and caravanserais within the area of the sanctuary at forty-five. There are also a number of pretty coffee-houses.

Adjoining the wall of the court-yard is a Sunnī mosque with the tomb of the famous Ḥanafī lawyer Abū Yūsuf (q. v., d. 182 = 798); cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 57, 100. It is a mistake, as Le Strange (*Baghdad*, p. 161 *sq.*, 350 *sq.*) does, to locate the grave of Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in or near this Kāẓimain; cf. against this Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 110 *sq.*, and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 111, and also the article AL-KARKH.

In the time of the Caliphs, extensive cemeteries lay on the west side of Baghdād above the Ḥarbiya quarter. The two 'Alid graves were in the cemetery of the Ḳuraish (*Maḳābir al-Ḳuraish*); the names Shūnīziya and cemetery of the Bāb al-Tibn are also found for it. When Yāḳūt wrote (623 = 1226), Maḳābir al-Ḳuraish was a fairly populous suburb surrounded by a wall. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī about a century later found that this place, formerly reckoned a suburb of Baghdād, was now an independent little town. Who first built the 'Alid sanctuary at Kāẓimain is unknown. We know that princes of Shī'a tendencies, like the Būyids, frequently bestowed gifts upon it. But in the course of time, especially during the frequent fighting in the capital between Shī'is and Sunnis, it was repeatedly burned and plundered, notably in the years 443 (1051) and 622 (1225). At the conquest of Baghdād by Hūlāgū in 656 (1258) it was again laid in ashes. It may be mentioned that in 1801 on the occasion of the Wahhābī invasion the treasures of the sanctuary were removed from Kerbelā to Kāẓimain; see Jacob in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 48, note 1.

Opposite Kāẓimain, on the left bank of the Tigris, connected with it by a bridge of boats, is the suburb of al-Mu'aẓẓam (see above, i. 568[b]—569[a]), a stronghold of the Sunnis and a kind of national sanctuary of the Turks. In this place of about two thousand inhabitants is the highly venerated sepulchral mosque of Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of one of the four orthodox schools of Muḥammadan law (q. v., d. 150 = 767). On this tomb cf. M. von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 241; Streck, *op. cit.*, i. 162; Le Strange, *Baghdad*,

p. 190—192; Langenegger, *op. cit.*, p. 61—62; Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 78—79. It is from the epithet of Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Imām al-Aʿẓam or al-Muʿaẓẓam (= the highly venerated Imām) that this suburb of Baghdād takes its name.

Bibliography: *B. G. A.*, passim; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 443 (Bāb al-Tibn), iv. 79, 12 (al-Kuraish), and 587 (Maḳābir al-Ḳuraish); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, ii. 108; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii. 35; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, i., Leiden 1900, p. 156—157, 160; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, p. 158—165, 350—352; [Rousseau], *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, p. 17—18; Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep* (1808), ed. L. Poinssot, Paris 1899, p. 7—9; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii. 280—281; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 773, 777, 795; O. de Rivoyre, *Les vrais Arabes et leur pays*, Paris 1884, p. 85—91; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, p. 587—591; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii., Paris 1894, p. 142—145; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 239, 241—242, 263, 281; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 29—31 (the picture on p. 30 is not the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa, but Kāẓimain!); Chiha, *La province de Bagdad*, Cairo 1908, p. 169, 174—175, 177, 179; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 361—365; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbela*, Berlin 1909, *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi. 28, 33, 48, 58; F. Langenegger, *Durch verlorene Lande. Von Bagdad nach Damaskus*, Berlin 1911, p. 4, 61—62, 70—71; do., *Die Baukunst des Irâq*, Dresden 1911, p. 93, 106, 109, 114, 121 (and title-page!); L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, ii., Paris 1912, p. 57, 67, 99—100; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii., Berlin 1919, p. 102—103, 145—146 (see also Index in vol. iv. 42); above, i. 568. (M. STRECK)

KĀẒIMĪ, the name given by Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore (1197—1213 = 1782—1799) to the $^1/_{16}$ rupee (1 anna) in silver; it commemorates Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh Imām. (J. ALLAN)

KAZIMOF. [See KASIMOW].

ḲAZWĪN (formerly Kash-wīn), a town in Persia in the province of ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī 100 miles from Ṭehrān at the foot, on the south, of Mount Alburz [q. v.] at a height of 4,000 feet above sea-level; present population about 25,000.

The etymology of the name is uncertain. Al-Balādhurī (p. 321; cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh and Ḳudāma) says that *Kash-wīn* means "the boundary which one watches", i. e. "well guarded"; it may also be explained as "the one who watches the corner", but this seems to be a popular etymology. It has been connected with *Caspius* (Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, i. 74, note 1).

Founded by Shāpūr I (Ibn al-Faḳīh) and called Shād Shāpūr by him, it was besieged by al-Barāʾ b. ʿAzib in 24 (644) and surrendered to him. The people adopted Islām to escape the imposition of the *djizya* (poll-tax). This strong place, which in Persian times had served as a barrier against the inroads of the mountaineers of Dailam, was used by the Muslims as the starting point for their campaigns against the latter. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf built a mosque there called Masdjid al-Thawr "mosque of the bull". The Caliph Mūsā al-Hādī built a new town opposite the old one, called Madīna Mūsā. Mubārak al-Turkī, a freedman of al-Maʾmūn or al-Muʿtaṣim, built a fortress there called Mubārakiya in which he put a garrison. When Hārūn al-Rashīd passed through the town on his way to Hamadhān the inhabitants of Ḳazwīn asked and obtained a relief from their tithes, alleging that, living on the frontier, they had to fight for the faith. Hārūn built a mosque there and began to restore the ramparts which work was continued by the Amīr Abū ʿAlī al-Djaʿfarī in 411 and finished by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Marāghī, minister of Sulṭān Arslān, in 572. Ruined by the Mongol invasion at the beginning of the viith (xiiith) century Ḳazwīn revived again under the Ṣafawīs. Tahmāsp I lived there for long and ʿAbbās I adorned it with fine buildings. In 1723 its inhabitants drove back the Afghāns. Ḳazwīn has retained a certain importance as the roads from Tabrīz and from Reshṭ to Ṭehrān meet there; the latter is fit for carriage traffic and is used by motors. Ḳazwīn is a depot for the silks of Gīlān and Shīrwān and manufactures carpets.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. 196, 197, 200—201, 211, 214; ii. 258, 265, 269, 274; iii. 392²; v. 254, 279—284; vi. 244, 250, 261; vii. 169, 271; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 321—323; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, ix. 8 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 88 *sqq.*, 454, 455; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xxiii. 56—59 (transl. p. 62—64); do., *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xiv./i. 829 *sqq.*, ii. 227 *sqq.*; transl. Barbier de Meynard, *Journ. As.*, 1857, Series 5, vol. x. 257 *sqq.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 218 *sqq.*; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, Paris 1811, ii. 387—401; J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia*, London 1818, p. 203—204; Mrs. J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, Paris 1887, p. 100 *sqq.*; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New-York 1906, p. 443—444. (CL. HUART)

AL-**ḲAZWĪNĪ**, ABŪ ḤĀTIM MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤASAN AL-ṬABARĪ, a Shāfiʿī jurist, teacher of al-Shīrāzī. He belonged to Āmul in Ṭabaristān where he began his studies. In Baghdād he studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāʾīnī († 406), the law of inheritance under Ibn al-Labbān († 402) and the *Uṣūl* under Ibn al-Bāḳillānī († 403). He taught in Baghdād and Āmul in 440 (1048/49). Al-Shīrāzī describes him as his best teacher. Of his works the following are mentioned: 1) *Kitāb Tadjrīd al-Tadjrīd*, a synopsis of the legal work of the same name by al-Maḥāmilī († 415); 2) *Rawnaḳ*, a synopsis of the *Lubāb al-Fiḳh* of al-Maḥāmilī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, N°. 5702); 3) the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fi ʾl-Fiḳh* (ed. Jos. Schacht, Hanover 1924), the only one that has survived and one of the oldest works of the scanty Shāfiʿī literature on legal quibbles (*ḥiyal*). The book, unlike the Ḥanafī works of the same name by al-Shaibānī, al-Khaṣṣāf etc., was very little used for the practical purpose of getting round the Sharīʿa, but was rather primarily intended to point out legal quibbles which were forbidden or disapproved of, in keeping with the stricter Shāfiʿī standpoint, which regards the *ḥiyal* used by the Ḥanafīs as contemptible.

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(HEFFENING)

al-ḲAZWĪNĪ, ZAKARIYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD ABŪ YAḤYĀ. For his genealogy, praenomina, etc., regarding which tradition varies (e.g. as early as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, iv. 189), cf. S. de Sacy, *Chrestom. Arabe*[2], iii. 445 *sq.*, Reinaud, *Géographie d'Abulféda*, i., Paris 1848, p. cxlviii. *sq.*; Wüstenfeld in the *G. G. A.*, 1848, i. 347, and in his edition of al-Ḳazwīnī, vol. ii., p. iii.; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn. d. arab. Hss. d. kgl. Biblioth. zu Berlin*, v. 453.

We learn very little about his life from the Arabic biographical works and the brief references in his two main works. Al-Ḳazwīnī was born about 600 (1203) at Ḳazwīn [q.v.]. He belonged to a pure Arab family which had, however, been long settled in the east. He left his native town at some date not exactly known, apparently not entirely of his own free will. In 630 (1233) he was living in Damascus where he made the acquaintance of the celebrated mystic Ibn al-'Arabī [q.v.]. In the reign of the last 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Musta'ṣim (640—656 = 1241—1258) al-Ḳazwīnī was living in the 'Irāḳ where he filled the office of ḳāḍī of Wāsiṭ and Ḥilla. He died in 682 (1283). On the biography of al-Ḳazwīnī cf. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, p. 448 *sq.*; Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i. p. cxliii. *sq.*, and Wüstenfeld, *G. G. A.*, 1848, i. 349 *sq.*

We possess two works by al-Ḳazwīnī of approximately the same size, a cosmography and a geography which are two quite independent books. They both have something of the character of compilations but nevertheless reveal a very varied training not only in the various branches of natural science but also in political and literary history. Al-Ḳazwīnī's essential merit lies in the fidelity with which he reproduces the results of his reading while his own observations and researches are not nearly so valuable. In spite of much that is fabulous that is contained in it, his Cosmography must be deemed a work of fundamental importance and is quite the most valuable book that the Arab middle ages have given us on this field. Of all the Arab geographers, al-Ḳazwīnī best deserves the name of the mediaeval Herodotus or of the Arab Pliny, whom, however, he does not surpass in method or critical powers. The great prestige enjoyed especially by the Cosmography in the East down to modern times is shown not only by the large number of manuscripts in existence, but also by the Persian and Turkish translations and the very numerous quotations in al-Damīrī's [q.v.] *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*.

Al-Ḳazwīnī's style differs considerably from the classical language; it is swarming with solecisms. This style is perhaps to be explained from the fact that Arabic was not al-Ḳazwīnī's mother-tongue.

1. The Cosmography. It bears the title *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt wa-Gharā'ib al-Mawdjūdāt*. *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt* was the name of a cosmographical work in Persian used by al-Ḳazwīnī compiled a hundred years earlier by Aḥmad of Ṭūs. There are a number of other books with this title in Arabic literature; but the most famous of all and at the same time the only one whose title has the addition *wa-Gharā'ib al-Mawdjūdāt* is that of al-Ḳazwīnī; cf. Pertsch, *Verzeichn. d. türk. Hss. in Berlin*, 1889, p. 197, note 2.

The Cosmography consists of two parts the first of which deals with heavenly things and the second with terrestrial. After a very full introduction the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, stars etc.) are described; next the inhabitants of heaven (the angels) are dealt with; the first part concludes with a chapter on chronology. The second section discusses sublunar phenomena and the elements in general, especially the sphere of fire, air and water, natural history in the three kingdoms (minerals, vegetable and animal) and lastly man. The Cosmography also contains a great deal that is purely geographical as it describes the more important mountains, islands, seas, rivers and springs; in the Geography to some extent the same things are again dealt with, usually in the same words.

The manuscripts of the Cosmography differ very much from one another. There are longer and shorter versions and further abbreviated editions or more or less modified versions, sometimes published under another title. References to the manuscripts of the Cosmography are given by Pertsch, *Die arab. Hss. der Bibl. zu Gotha*, iii. 126—127; supplementary information in the *Cat. codd. Arab. Bibl. Lugdun. Batav.*, ii. 14. The oldest copy of the text is Cod. Monac. 464, which, according to Seybold, was written in 678 (1280) i. e. three years before the death of al-Ḳazwīnī (cf. *Isl.*, iv. 260). Almost identical with it is the Cod. Sarre prepared about 1420 (see Taeschner, *Die Psychologie des Ḳazwīnī*, 1912, p. 6; Saal in *Isl.*, iii. 152).

Wüstenfeld (see his edition of al-Ḳazwīnī, vol. i., p. iii. *sq.*) distinguishes three different editions of the Cosmography all of which he believes to have been prepared by al-Ḳazwīnī himself: the first of the year 661 (1263), the second of 674 (1276), much enlarged and considerably rewritten, and a third which is represented only by a single codex the latter part of which is incomplete (Gotha, Nº. 1508). The third edition on which Wüstenfeld based his edition of the text has two titles, an earlier, *Tuḥfat al-Kā'ināt*, and a later, *Mir'āt al-Kā'ināt*. In it, apart from other minor additions, we have two entirely new sections (on the different races of mankind and the various arts).

This idea of Wüstenfeld's is, however, untenable, as Ruska has shown in his important *Ḳazwīnī-Studien* in *Islam*, 1913, iv. 14—66, 236—262 (a summary of his researches was given in his article *Über den falschen und echten Ḳazwīnī* in the *Mitteil. zur Gesch. der Medizin und Naturwissensch.*, 1914, xiii. 183—188). As a result of his analysis of the structure of the text of the anthropological and mineralogical chapters (especially of the section on the rain-stone) of the Cosmography based on a number of Arabic MSS. and Persian translations of the text Ruska comes to the conclusion that we must distinguish not three but four recensions of the Cosmography. Of these I (= Wüstenfeld's II) is so far known only from two Gotha MSS.; II (Wüstenfeld's I) is represented in many — some very old — MSS. and in the text of the Cosmography given on the margin of the printed edition of al-Damīrī. To this second recension also belongs the already mentioned oldest MS. of al-Ḳazwīnī (Monac. 464) and the Codex Sarre. The Arabic original of Rec. III is lost; it is not certain what its relation was to the two preceding.

Its characteristic feature is the addition of chapters 7 and 8 on the races of men and on the arts. The Arabic original of Rec. III — of which the date and compiler are unknown — must also have been the original of the Persian translations as well as the basis for the version preserved in Rec. IV. The idea of a Persian version without an Arabic basis, i. e. of a retranslation of Rec. IV from the Persian, may be set aside as quite improbable. Rec. V, which is only represented in the already mentioned Cod. Gothanus 1508 defective at the end, represents a version of Rec. III. It is quite different from the text of the Persian translations in contrast to which it has marked interpolations; many chapters are amplified by considerable additions. It alone contains the extracts regarding the Turkish hordes of the tenth century from the journal of Miʿsar b. al-Muhalhil [q. v.] and Ibn Faḍlān's [q. v.] notes on the Slavs, Khazars, Russians, etc., as well as the excerpts on jewels from al-Khāzinī's book. This Rec. IV (= Wüstenfeld's III) cannot be from the pen of al-Ḳazwīnī himself. Gotha 1508, besides, as has already been mentioned, has a different title from the other three recensions and, indeed, expressly describes itself as a commentary (*sharḥ*) on al-Ḳazwīnī. Gotha 1508 is perhaps original; at any rate it was compiled by someone with a thorough knowledge of the old literature.

Wüstenfeld's edition of the text of the Cosmography therefore does not contain the genuine text of al-Ḳazwīnī but a much later recension of the xviiith century. Almost the whole of Wüstenfeld's volume (p. 73—368) follows the text of the recension o. Cod. Goth. 1508. But portions are omitted from this and replaced by portions from other manuscripts, which have also been used to fill up other gaps. Wüstenfeld's procedure has therefore given us an entirely arbitrary edition of the text. To obtain the true text of al-Ḳazwīnī's Cosmography it would be best to choose the older, shorter Rec. II (= Wüstenfeld's I) which also seems to have been the most widely disseminated. Among the numerous manuscripts of this recension the oldest Cod. Monac. 464 should be taken as a basis.

Extracts from the Cosmography also exist. One with the title *Kitāb al-Durar muntaḳāt min ʿAdjāʾib al-Buldān* is in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale; cf. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, iii. 449 *sq.*, and de Slane, *Cat. des Mss. arabes de la Bibl. Nat.*, Nº. 2183. A similar abbreviation *ibid.*, Nº. 2419(3). The anonymous work *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt al-Ṣughrā*, i.e. "the little Cosmography" (also in Paris, de Slane, Nº. 2181) has much in common with the Cosmography.

On account of its relatively succinct form yet containing all essential information generally popular at the close of the middle ages, al-Ḳazwīnī's Cosmography was translated into various foreign languages, notably Persian and Turkish. As to the Persian translations their relation to the Arabic original has already been briefly discussed. But two or more recensions or paraphrases have to be distinguished among the Persian versions, the relation of which to each other and to the Arabic original requires still to be more closely investigated. One of them is called *Tuḥfat al-Gharāʾib* (Vienna MS., Nº. 1438; see Flügel, ii. 506 *sq.*, and cf. thereon Pertsch, *Verz. der pers. Hss. . . . . zu Berlin*, p. 367). On the Persian translations cf. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, iii. 436; Wüstenfeld's edition of al-Ḳazwīnī, vol. i., p. xi., and Ruska in *Isl.*, Nº. 17, 260. There are also abbreviations e.g. London, British Mus. (Rieu, 1883, p. 463, Nº. 7). In Cambridge is a manuscript which also contains excerpts from the Geography of al-Ḳazwīnī; see Browne, *Catal. of the Persian Mss.*, 1896, p. 208 *sq.*, Nº. 126. Ḥamza Ādharī Asfarāʾinī Djalāl al-Dīn (d. 866 = 1461) composed a poetical synopsis of the second part of the Cosmography entitled *Gharāʾib al-Dunyā*. Of this the Bodleian in Oxford (Catalogue by Sachau-Ethé, col. 401—403) and the India Office in London (Ethé, *Cat.*, 79 and 191) have each 2 MSS. This synopsis forms the second part of a much more comprehensive poetical cosmology in four chapters which Ādharī published under the title *Mirʾāt*.

There are also various Turkish translations; on them cf. Taeschner in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvii. 35. There is one by Aiyūb b. Khalīl finished in 977 (1570) in MS. in Vienna (Flügel, *Katal. der Hofbibl.*, ii. 508); it is entitled *Tadhkira al-ʿAdjāʾib wa-Tardjamat al-Gharāʾib*. Another translation was made by the famous theologian al-Surūrī (d. 969 = 1561); there are manuscripts of it in London, British Mus. (Rieu, p. 107—109: Add. 7894 and Add. 24,954). The anonymous Turkish translation in the Berlin Library Nº. 177 (see Pertsch's Catalogue, p. 197—198) is probably different; its author has dealt very freely and arbitrarily with the Arabic original, has omitted many articles and added others in their place. The original work has been much abbreviated throughout and the arrangement of the matter is different. Another Turkish translation made by Ismāʿīl Pasha and dating from the year 1109 (1697) is only known from Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel), vii. 154, Nº. 14,608. The Berlin and London translations (Brit. Mus., Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 206—209) also differ from the Arabic original and from almost all the Persian translations in that they include a book of countries, a synopsis of the Geography, as in the Cambridge Persian Codex mentioned above. Aḥmad Bīdjān Yāzidji-Oghlu's work, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, is probably only a free version of al-Ḳazwīnī's Cosmography; cf. Pertsch, *Katal. der arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 127, and Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der türk. Hss. . . . . zu Berlin*, p. 199.

There is apparently a Čaghatāi version of the Cosmography in the St. Petersburg Library (Chanykow, Nº. 108); see Pertsch, *Katal. d. arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 127.

2. The Geography. The Geography exists in two editions with different titles; the older is called *ʿAdjāʾib al-Buldān* and the later *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-ʿIbād*. The first recension represented by MSS. in Berlin (see Ahlwardt's Catalogue, v. 370) and Paris (de Slane, p. 392) dates from the year 661 (1263). The second, much enlarged and on some points completely altered edition dates from the year 674 (1275). On the two recensions and their relationship to each other see Wüstenfeld in his edition of the Geography, p. viii. *sq.*; he based his edition on the second recension which exists in numerous manuscripts. On the MSS. see the references in Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. iv. *sq.*, and Pertsch, *Katal. d. arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 152 *sq.*

In this work al-Ḳazwīnī gives a description of the earth following the Ptolemaic division into

seven climes or longitudinal zones (see the art. IKLĪM and cf. also Taeschner in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxvii. 51 *sq.*). Within the seven climes the separate countries, towns, mountains, islands, lakes, rivers etc. are arranged in alphabetical order. Their remarkable features are described and many historical events connected with them are given. Considerable space is taken up by the sections on the life and work of famous men born in the various places. The book is therefore, like Yāķūt's Geographical Dictionary, loaded with historical and biographical material. In arrangement it is a geographical lexicon, like Yāķūt; only, as a result of the division into seven sections, it is less easy to consult. Many articles such as those on various mountains, lakes, rivers etc., are also found in the Cosmography usually with identical text.

There are also Persian translations of the Geography; manuscripts of them exist, for example, in St. Petersburg (Chanykow, N⁰. 107; see Pertsch, *Katal. d. arab. Hss. zu Gotha*, iii. 153) and in Oxford (Sachau-Ethé, *Catalogue of Pers. MSS.*, col. 401, N⁰. 401). It has already been mentioned that a synopsis of the Geography of al-Kazwīnī exists in a Persian translation (MS. in Cambridge) and seems to have been inserted in several MSS. of a Turkish version of the Cosmography.

A synopsis of the Geography of al-Kazwīnī was made about 806 (1403) by al-Bākuwī ʿAbd al-Rashīd b. Ṣāliḥ b. Nūrī, entitled *Talkhīṣ al-Āthār wa-ʿAdjāʾib al-Malik al-Kahhār*. The inconvenient alphabetical arrangement of the names within the seven climes is retained; on al-Bākuwī and his book see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii. 399, N⁰. 3529; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i., p. clxi.—ii.; Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Erdkunde*, i., 1841, p. 59, and in his edition of al-Kazwīnī, ii., p. viii.; Aumer, *Katal. der arab. Hss. . . . zu München*, p. 402; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 481, ii. 213. A translation of this book based on a Paris MS. was given by de Guignes in the *N.E.*, ii. 386—545. On the relationship of al-Bākuwī's synopsis to al-Kazwīnī's original see especially Juynboll, *Lexic. Geograph. Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, vol. iv., p. lxxvii.—xcii. Al-Bākuwī usually adds the latitude and longitude to the places mentioned, which are lacking in al-Kazwīnī. He is also of use in correcting wrong readings in al-Kazwīnī and coming to a correct opinion on doubtful ones.

We may here say a little about the illustrations found in many MSS. of al-Kazwīnī's works, astronomical figures and tables, etc. Painted pictures are, it appears, only found in MSS. of the Cosmography. We may assume with certainty that the originals of al-Kazwīnī were full of such pictorial embellishments and of tables. Indeed, almost all the larger MSS. of the Cosmography are embellished in this way. Manuscripts which show gaps deliberately left for the insertion of pictures must also have been copied from illustrated originals; such are Gotha N⁰. 1508 (cf. Ruska in *Isl.*, iv. 261) and London, India Office (*Catal.* by Roth, p. 209 *sq.*, N⁰. 725). Rude pictures are contained e. g. in Gotha 1507, Munich 463 and Vienna 1436; better Gotha 1506 and Vienna 1437; numerous fine illustrations in Munich 464 and Cod. Sarre (see supra); cf. thereon the Catalogue of Aumer (Munich), p. 102 *sq.*; Flügel (Vienna), ii. 505 *sq.*, and Pertsch (Gotha), iii. 128 *sq.* The Persian versions of the Cosmography also are usually adorned with miniatures e. g. the two Berlin Codd. 345 and 346 (see Catal. by Pertsch, p. 367 *sq.*) and London, Brit. Mus., N⁰. 8 (Catal. by Rieu, col. 464), the latter with illustrations in the Indian style. Although these pictures with their illustrations of plants, animals, marvels of the sea etc. are very often quite fantastic in character and not infrequently pure invention, they ought not to be simply ignored in any future new edition of the Cosmography, as Wüstenfeld did, who has only reproduced the astronomical and other figures and tables in his editions of the Cosmography and Geography (cf. thereon Wüstenfeld, *Kosmographie*, p. iv. *sq.*). So far only a few facsimiles have been published by Möller in the old Gotha Catalogue, vol. i., from Gotha N⁰. 1507. The miniatures in al-Kazwīnī's Cosmography have, however, been used in the discussion of important problems, e. g. by Saxl in his investigations into the history of the representation of the planets (in *Islam*, iii. 151 *sq.*). There he discusses the seven pictures of planets of Codex Monac. 464, which he also reproduces (Pl. 4, fig. 1—4 and 5, 6—8). Sarre in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, i. 18 *sq.*, discusses the somewhat different figures of the Cod. Sarre.

In criticising al-Kazwīnī's two works, it is also important to know what sources were used for them. A list of the authorities quoted in the Cosmography was compiled by Möller and there are two MS. copies of it in the Gotha Library; see Pertsch, *Katal. d. arab. Hss. . . . zu Gotha*, iii. 131, N⁰. 1509—1510). Wüstenfeld in the *G. G. A.*, 1848, i. 351—353, briefly discusses the sources known to have been used for the Geography (practically the same as for the Cosmography). According to him, about 50 authors are quoted in the Geography, including the more important geographers and historians. The following are specially cited for the geography of Spain: al-Gharnāṭī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 563=1168; on him see Wüstenfeld in Lüdde, *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Erdk.*, i. 43) and al-ʿUdhrī Aḥmad b. ʿUmar (d. between 476 and 478 = 1083—1085; on him see Jacob, *op. cit.*, i. ³ 3 *sq.*). Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, d. 565 (1169), the author of a Cosmography entitled *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* (on it see Jacob, *op. cit.*, iii. 69—94), is often quoted. The already mentioned Persian Cosmography of Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī (on it see Reinaud, *Géogr. d'Aboulféda*, vol. i., p. xlvi., and Pertsch, *Die pers. Hss. . . . zu Berlin*, p. 366) is also found among the sources. Further may be mentioned the works of Avicenna, the so called *Theology of Aristotle* wrongly ascribed to Aristotle (cf. the two works by Ruska; see *Bibl.*) and the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ. Ibn Faḍlān and Misʿar al-Muhalhil have already been mentioned. Many of al-Kazwīnī's sources e.g. the African travels of al-Iṣfahānī are now lost to us. Al-Kazwīnī also utilised oral information from foreigners e. g. al-Mulṭānī Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaimān who had travelled in the interior of Africa. The remarkable information regarding various French and German towns which al-Kazwīnī owed to the Spaniard Ibrāhīm al-Ṭarṭūshī (d. 477 = 1085) was also probably communicated orally and not taken from a book; on this cf. Jacob, *op. cit.*, i. (third edition entitled *Ein arabischer Berichterstatter aus dem 10. Jahrh. über Fulda* etc., Berlin 1896) iv. 137 *sq.*

As to the printed editions of the two works of al-Ḳazwīnī, the first and only complete European edition is that of Wüstenfeld. The Geography (published as the second part of al-Ḳazwīnī) appeared in Göttingen in 1849 and the Cosmography (= Part i.) in 1848. The value of the latter has already been discussed above. In the east the Cosmography has been repeatedly printed on the margin of al-Damīrī's *Kitāb al-Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, e.g. in Cairo 1305, 1309 and 1330. An edition of al-Ḳazwīnī printed in 1331 in Cairo (only the Cosmography) is mentioned in Harrassowitz, *Bericht über neue Erwerbung*, Nº. 2337. On earlier editions and translations of parts of the two works of al-Ḳazwīnī cf. the references in de Sacy, *op. cit.*, iii. 431, 435, 450; Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Erdk.*, i., 1842, p. 49, and in his edition of the Cosmography, i. p. vi.; Pertsch, *Katal. der arab. Hss. . . . zu Gotha*, iii., 1881, p. 426. Of earlier editions of parts of the Cosmography we may mention: de Sacy, *op. cit.*, iii. 385—516, with Arabic text, p. 168—207 (sections on minerals, plants, men, with translation and full notes); L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p. 373—409 (the text of the description of the stars with annotations); Volck, *Calendarium Syriacum Arabice Latinumque edidit et notis instruxit*, Leipzig 1859 (dealing with the chapter on the Syriac months).

Of translations alone we may also note: Ethé's translations of the Cosmography, part i., Leipzig 1868; this only covers about the first half of the Cosmography (Wüstenfeld, i. 1—208); of especial value is the very full appendix of notes (with many textual emendations by Fleischer); J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmogr. des Ḳazwīnī*, Heidelberg (*Progr. der Oberrealschule*), 1896 (translation of Wüstenfeld, i. 208—245); cf. with this also J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, p. 81 *sq.*; J. Ansbacher, *Der Abschnitt über die Geister und wunderbaren Geschöpfe . . .*, transl. and annot., Erlangen (dissert.), 1905 (transl. of Wüstenfeld, i. 368—374, 448—451); Taeschner, *Die Psychologie Ḳazwīnī's*, Tübinger dissert., Kiel 1912 (transl. of Wüstenfeld, i. 301—322).

Valuable material for a commentary on al-Ḳazwīnī is further given by the works of G. Jacob and E. Wiedemann, who have translated and elucidated various shorter articles from the works of al-Ḳazwīnī. Special mention should be made of Jacob's *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, part 1—4, Berlin 1891—1892 (of which part 1 appeared in a third enlarged edition in 1896); E. Wiedemann has made many contributions on the subject to the *Mitteil. zur Gesch. der Medizin und Naturw.*, *S.B.P.M.S. Erl.*, and to other periodicals; cf., for example, the references by Ruska in *Isl.*, iv. 336 (Nº. 303), vii. 270 (Nº. 76) and 277 (Nº. 129).

In conclusion, attention should be drawn to the fact that in preparing a new edition of al-Ḳazwīnī's works Fleischer's own copy of Wüstenfeld's edition of the text, containing numerous emendations, which is preserved in the MSS. Dept. of the Berlin Library, should be utilised.

Bibliography: Besides works already quoted above: Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, i. 154, Nº. 72; 188, Nº. 8072; iv., Nº. 8061; vii. 1259, Nº. 9340; Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. für vergl. Erdk.*, 1842, i. 49; Wüstenfeld in the *G. G. A.*, 1848, i. 345—353; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i., Paris 1848, p. cxlii.—ix.; Rieu, *Catal. Codd. . . . in Museo Britannico*, ii., London 1871, p. 463, and *Supplem.*, London 1894, p. 471; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i. 481—482.

(M. Streck)

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, Ḥamd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, a Persian geographer and historian. He belonged to an old family of Ḳazwīn of which he himself (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 839—842, 848) gives a full account. It was a Shīʿī family, which traced its descent from Ḥurr b. Yazīd al-Riyāḥī who fought at Karbalāʾ and had held the governorship of Ḳazwīn since the time of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim with only a brief interruption under the Sāmānids. In the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna this office was taken from them. Ḥamd Allāh's great-grandfather was accountant (*mustawfī*) of the ʿIrāḳ, hence the family name. The author himself was appointed financial supervisor of the districts of Ḳazwīn, Abhar, Zandjān and Ṭārimain (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, p. 598; cf. *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 27, Engl. transl., p. 33) by the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn. In 677 (1278/79) another Mustawfī, Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad, was once more governor of Ḳazwīn, but jointly with a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.

The year of al-Ḳazwīnī's death is not given. The date of his birth can be easily calculated from the following data. We know that he finished his *Ẓafarnāma* in 735 (1334/35), worked at it for 15 years and began the book when he was 40 years of age (Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 173). This work was interrupted by the composition of the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 173; *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, p. 5); the time spent on this is probably included in the 15 years. He was therefore 55 years of age in 735 and was born in 680 (1281/82).

Works. His intercourse with the celebrated vizier and historian Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh († 718 = 1318), to whose entourage he belonged (his brother Zain al-Dīn was *Nāʾib-i Dīwān-i Wizārat* under the same vizier: see Rieu, *Cat.*, i. 81), aroused in al-Ḳazwīnī a desire for historical studies (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, p. 4). About 720 therefore he began a great historical epic, the *Ẓafarnāma*, finished in 735, which was intended as a continuation of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*. Further details are given in the description of the unique MS. of the work in the Brit. Mus. in Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 172 *sqq.* The poem contains 75,000 *bait*'s and deals in three sections with the life of Muḥammad and the history of the Caliphate, the history of the Persian dynasties, and the history of the Mongols. The author gives no literary sources; according to Rieu, his statements regarding historical facts are very accurate and the Mongol part gives valuable information, which the author owes in part to his great-grandfather Amīn Naṣr al-Mustawfī. The last event which is mentioned is of the year 734 (1333/34). From the few specimens in Rieu it is not possible to pass judgment on the language and style. We are therefore grateful to Browne for giving in his *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 96 *sq.*, a passage in 24 distichs dealing with the devastation of Ḳazwīn by the Mongols. We can see the slavish copying of Firdawsī's style (a rhyme like *bushud* *shud-bargashta shud* is not without its parallel in Firdawsī's text as we

have it). Mention must also be made of the critical work which al-Ḳazwīnī (probably before he began work on the *Ẓafarnāma*) did on Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*. The London MS. of the *Ẓafarnāma* has the text of Firdawsī edited by our author on the margin (Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 172). Work on the *Ẓafarnāma* was interrupted by the compilation of a compendium of universal history, the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (finished 730 = 1330). This work comprises the history of the Muhammadan world from the creation to 729 (1329) and is written in a very simple, indeed arid style, except for the preface which contains a dedication to Ghiyāth al-Dīn, son of the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn. The preface is followed by an introduction (*fātiḥa*) dealing with the creation of the world and then come six sections (*bāb*) dealing 1) with the prophets, 2) the old Persian kings, 3) Muḥammad and the Caliphs, 4) the dynasties of the Muslim period in Persia and adjoining lands, 5) scholars and poets, and 6) history and topography of Ḳazwīn. A *khātima* follows containing genealogical data and genealogies, which latter, however, are wanting in most MSS., according to Browne. Some of these manuscripts, like Brit. Mus. Add. 22,693 and that published by Browne in facsimile, have between *bāb* 4 and 5 a synopsis of the history of the Muẓaffarid dynasty which is not by al-Ḳazwīnī (Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 82; Browne, Gibb Mem. Ser., xiv/ii. 151 *sqq.*). The compendium must have enjoyed great popularity on account of its wealth of matter, for it has often been copied in the East and is therefore of frequent occurrence in European collections also. Browne, *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 725, gives a list of the most important manuscripts; the one published in facsimile by him is not included; it was written in 875 (1455) and comes from a private Persian collection (Gibb Mem. Ser., xiv/i. p. xv.). The sources on which the book is based are given by the author (ed. Browne, p. 8). On this cf. Browne in the Gibb Mem. Ser., xiv/ii. 1 *sq.*, and *Hist. of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 87 *sqq.* They include the celebrated historians al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī etc., also Persian authors of a later period, like Djuwainī, Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, also the *Shāhnāma* and a *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, which, according to Browne, is the well-known work of the same name by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. The main source seems to have been Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, with the second part of which the *Guzīda* agrees in arrangement (ed. Browne, p. xiii. *sq.*). Another work now lost, the *Saldjūḳnāma* of Ẓahīrī of Nīshāpūr was used by al-Ḳazwīnī and by Rāwandī also in his *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*; on the relation of the *Rāḥat* to the *Guzīda* cf. Muḥammad Iḳbāl in his introduction to the edition of the first mentioned work (Gibb Mem. Ser., New Ser., ii. 30 *sq.*). The *Guzīda* itself is five times quoted in Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, among other things for the well-known story of the Sāmānid vizier Naṣr and Rūdagī (Dawlatshāh, ed. Browne, p. 31, = *Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 382). Dawlatshāh once (p. 105) expressly quotes as his authority the *tadhkira* of poets preserved in the *Guzīda*. On the relation between Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkira* and the *Guzīda* see also Browne in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 39 *sq.* Lastly it may be mentioned that the *Guzīda* itself is one of the sources of Mīrkhwānd's *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā'*.

Al-Ḳazwīnī's last work, the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, completed in 740 (Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 419), is mainly geographical. It is divided into an introduction (*fātiḥa*), which deals with cosmography, and three sections (*maḳāla*), which deal with natural history, anthropology and geography. Then follows a concluding section (*khātima* or *kitāb al-ʿadjā'ib*) on wonderful things and curiosities in Īrān and other lands. As in the case of the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* there is a large number of MSS. of this work (a survey of them is given in Le Strange's preface to his edition in the Gibb Mem. Series, xxiii/i., p. xiv. and xx.). On the sources of the *Nuzhat* cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 418; Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 99. They include, as might be expected, the famous geographer Yāḳūt, the older Ḳazwīnī, Ibn Khurdādhbih and others not so well known. The statements regarding Fārs are taken from Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārsnāma*. That he, as Le Strange supposes, made use of official documents, taxation lists, as is to be expected from his position as finance officer, is very probable.

Bibliography: On his life see *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 3 *sqq.*; Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 80 *sq.*; *Supplement*, p. 172—174; the prefaces by Browne and Le Strange to their editions of the *Guzīda* and the *Nuzhat*; Browne, *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 87 *sqq.*

Tārīkh-i Guzīda: edition by Browne, Gibb Mem. Ser., xiv/i (facsimile of a manuscript), xiv/ii. (very full synopsis of contents in English and Index by R. A. Nicholson). Separate parts had been previously published: the greater part of the description of Ḳazwīn by Barbier de Meynard in the *J. A.*, 1857 (Ser. 5, vol. x. 257 *sqq.*); the section on the poets of Persia by Browne, *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 721 *sqq.*, and *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 1 *sqq.*; the history of the Islāmic dynasties of Īrān and the adjoining lands in J. Gantin, *Târîkhè Guzîdè*, i. (1903; no more publ.), text and French transl. Two portions from a St. Petersburg MS. (Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and sayings of Buzurdjmihr) in Salemann-Žukowski, *Persische Grammatik*, p. 5 *sqq.*, 41 *sqq.*

Nuzhat-i Ḳulūb: editions: Bombay 1311 (1894; I have not seen this, an edition of the whole work); *The geographical part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb* . . . . , ed. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii/i. (text), ii. (Engl. transl.) 1915 and 1919. A part of the text had been previously published by Schefer, *Siassetnameh*, Supplément, 1897, p. 141—235 (not accessible to me).

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-KEF (الكاف), a town in Tunisia, 110 miles S. W. of Tunis and about 20 from the Algerian frontier, situated in 36° 11' N. Lat. and 8° 30' E. Long. The population in 1911 was 6,322, including 1,200 Europeans and 800 Jews. Many of the latter are descended from the Jews who used to live among the Beduins, whose customs and dress they had adopted.

The word *kef* means "rock". It is given on account of the situation of the town on a spur of the Djabal Dyr at a height varying from 2,486 feet in the S.W. to 2,853 in the N.E. Before the establishment of the French protectorate, it was surrounded by a wall now in part destroyed. The area circumscribed by the wall contains many

buildings now in ruins and empty spaces; in compensation a European town is in process of formation on the plain near the station on the railway now connecting al-Kef with Tunis. At the foot of the wall rises an abundant spring, the ʿAin al-Kef, an object of veneration to the inhabitants and regarded by them as "marabout". Commanding the principal roads from Algeria to Tunisia, al-Kef was for long one of the busiest markets of the Regency; in economic importance the town ranked next to Tunis and Sfax. This is no longer the case since the building of the Tunis-Constantine railway to the towns in the valley of the Medjerda. Nevertheless the mineral resources of the adjoining country assure to al-Kef the elements of its future prosperity. The town was, and still is, a religious centre. The two most popular brotherhoods in the Regency, the Ḳādiriya and the Raḥmāniya, have each a much frequented *zāwiya* there.

Al-Kef is the ancient Sicca Veneria, a Punic town which became a Roman colony under Augustus. Very prosperous during the early centuries of the Christian era, it was in the Byzantine period one of the strongest places in Africa. There still survive many ruins, columns, capitals, fragments of statues, inscriptions, remains of temples, baths and Christian basilicas. The cult of Tanit, identified with Venus, whose name is found in that of the ancient town, may even have left some traces in local superstitions.

Sicca survived the Arab invasion of the seventh century A. D. The ancient name of the town continued in existence in the form Shikka Benāriya. This is the name used by al-Bakrī (ed. de Slane, p. 55; transl. p. 82) in the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* and even in Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 220, 256, ii. 20; transl. ii. 42, 98, iii. 209). We know very little of the history of the town till the seventeenth century. Ibn Khaldūn, however, tells us that it was governed at the beginning of the sixth (twelfth) century by a certain ʿIyāḍ b. Naṣr Allāh, who succeeded in protecting it against the incursions of the Hilālīs and whose son submitted to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in 554 (1159—1160). In the following century the Sulaim settled in this region and incorporated the Howāra Berbers, who had been settled there since the beginning of the second century A. H. In the beginning of the sixteenth century A. D., al-Kef and the surrounding country were occupied by the Ulād Sīda, a section of the Banū Shennūf, who attached themselves to the Mahalhil, one of the two great families into which the Sulaimī Kaʿūb were divided.

Under Turkish domination, the region of al-Kef played an important part in the fighting between Algerians and Tunisians, especially in 1628, 1685, 1694, 1705, 1746 and 1756. The rulers of Tunis during this period tried to make al-Kef strong enough to bar the invader's road to the capital. Muḥammad Bey scattered the Banū Shennūf, put in their place a *makhzen* formed by the Ulād Yaʿḳūb, and stationed a *smala* of spahis near the town. The Bey ʿAlī built a *ḳaṣba* in 1675, so strong that the place was able to repulse an Algerian attack four years later. In 1739—1740 ʿAlī Pasha built a wall round the town and placed forts on the cliff which commanded the *ḳaṣba*. In spite of these precautions, al-Kef, which had been unsuccessfully attacked by the Algerians in 1746, was taken by the Dey's troops in 1756 after a siege of thirteen days. In the beginning of the nineteenth century a new *ḳaṣba* was built (1813) by Ḥammūda Pasha, who said that "if his body was at Tunis, his head was at al-Kef". The garrison was put under the command of an *agha* independent of the *ḳāʾid* or civil governor. The taking of Constantine in 1837 by the French, by ridding the Regency of the dangerous proximity of the Turks, lessened the military importance of al-Kef, the fortifications of which were now only used to protect the town against Beduin raids. During the Tunisian expedition, the French troops entered the town without striking a blow on April 25, 1881.

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(G. YVER)

KELĀT. [See KALĀT].

KELEK (*t.*), a raft consisting of beams bound together with rope and placed upon inflated sheepskins. These rafts are chiefly used on the Tigris where this river is not navigable for ships. They are described as early as Herodotus (i. 194) and Xenophon (*Anabasis*, i. 5, 10; iii. 5, 9 *sqq.*). They are still used at the present day and are mentioned by nearly all travellers in Mesopotamia.

Bibliography: Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de Levant*, Paris 1674, ii. 103 *sq.*; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, ii. 87; Ker Porter, *Travels*, London 1821—1822, ii. 259; v. Moltke, *Gesammelte Schriften*, viii., Berlin 1893, Index; H. Ritter in *Isl.*, ix. 14 *sqq.*

KEMĀKH (KAMAKH, KAMKH, Greek Κάμαχα), a fortress situated on the southern bank of the Euphrates (Kara Ṣū) in its course North-East to South-West, before it takes a sharp turn to the South. The river is here confined between high rocks to such a degree that there is no longer room for the highway that has hitherto accompanied its course. The town, which till late in the sixth century was one of the fortified places of Asia Minor, is situated on the mountain-slope and surrounded by gardens and orchards. In spring the many mulberry trees attract myriads of quails, a phenomenon which is looked upon as something miraculous. The river is still utilized by the natives for floating down-stream timber which is cut in the forests in the neighbourhood. The salt, cheese and linen manufactured at Kamakh had a high reputation.

Higher up the mountain is situated the fortress which, chiefly on account of its natural position, was considered to be impregnable. It is said to have borne the name of Ani and to have been one of the chief places of the Armenian kings as well as of the Arsacids who had here their temples, treasury, state-prison and who were also buried in

this place. The descriptions of Ani as a royal residence have some resemblance to those of the other place of the same name (see the art. ANI) situated on the Arpa Čai.

Kemākh was taken by 'Umair b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in the year 59 A. H. It has, however, from that time onwards often changed its master. In 133 (751/52) it was besieged by the Emperor Constantine. The 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr tried to strengthen his hold on it by a restoration of the citadel; it is said that he intended to use it chiefly as a bulwark against the invasions of the Khazars. In 177 (793/94) it was besieged by the Byzantines. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (born 680 = 1281/1282) mentions it as a small town. The Ottoman Emperors Bāyazīd and Selīm took it after a siege, the former, at the hands of his general Timurtash, in 1396, the latter in 1515. Tīmūr beleaguered it for seven months, without being able to take it. According to J. Brant, who visited the town about 1830, its population consisted at that time of 400 Turkish and 30 Armenian families; it was the residence of one of the last Dereheys [q. v.] Kemākh is the chief place of the Ḳaḍā of the same name, Sandjaḳ Erzindjān, wilāyet Erzerūm. It is the residence of a ḳā'im maḳām. In the vicinity are numerous turba's. At the present day it is still an important centre of commerce and industry.

The population of the Ḳaḍā consist of 14.547 Muḥammadans, 3.503 Greek Armenians, 189 Protestant Armenians and 633 orth. Greeks (Cuinet).

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KEMĀL AL-DĪN ISMĀ'ĪL, a Persian poet of Iṣfahān, son of Djamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāḳ, was one of a group which devoted its eulogies to the family of the Ṣā'idīs (also called Āl-i Khudjandī) which kept political and judicial power in its control in Iṣfahān. Surnamed *Khallāḳ al-Ma'ānī* "creator of thoughts", he dedicated his odes mainly to the judge Rukn al-Dīn Ṣā'id b. Mas'ūd, but also to the Khwārizmshāhs ('Alā' al-Dīn Takash, Muḥammad, his son, Djalāl al-Dīn and Ghiyāth al-Dīn, his grand-sons) who ruled in 'Irāḳ-'Adjamī, as well as to the Atābeks of Fārs who ruled at Shīrāz (Sa'd b. Zangī and his son Abū Bakr). In the end he retired from the world and devoted himself to the mystic life under the guidance of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī. He was tortured and put to death on Djumādā I 2, 635 (Dec. 21, 1237), at the capture of Iṣfahān by the Mongol soldiers of the army of Ogotāi, son of Čingiz Khān, who hoped to find hidden treasure in his house. His *Dīwān* has been printed at Bombay (n. d.); there are partial translations by Louis H. Gray, put into English verse by Ethel Watts Mumford (*Hundred Love Songs*, New-York 1904) and by Theodosia Garrison (*Lippincott's Mag.*, lxv. 783), of the 15 quatrains published by Salemann-Shukovski, *Persische Grammatik*.

Bibliography: Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 148—154; Luṭf 'Alī Beg, *Ātashkede*, ed. Bombay, p. 176; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣaḥā'*, ed. Ṭehrān, i. 489—494; J. v. Hammer, *Schöne Redekünste Persiens*, p. 159; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, Gibb Mem. Series, xiv/1. 824; H. Ethé in the *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii. 269; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 540 *sqq.*

(CL. HUART)

KEMĀL KHODJANDĪ (KAMĀL AL-DĪN MAS'ŪD), a Persian lyric poet, born in Khudjand in Transoxania. He followed the mystic path, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return settled in Tibrīz the climate of which had pleased him. On the capture of this town by Toḳtamish-Khān, he was taken to the town of Sarāi at the request of this prince's wife. He remained there four years. Having returned to Tibrīz the Djalā'irid Sulṭān Ḥusain, son of Sulṭān Uwais, had a house built for him. He likewise received favours from Mīrān Shāh, son of Tīmūr and governor of Ādharbaidjān, who paid his debts. He died there in 792 (1390) according to Dawlat Shāh, or 803 (1400) according to Khondemīr. He was buried in the Farah-bakhsh quarter where his tomb became an object of pious visits. Ten of his ghazals have been published by Bland, *Century*, p. 9—12. There is, in the national library of Vienna, a very beautiful manuscript of his poems illuminated with miniatures (Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Handschr. ... zu Wien*, i. Nº. 581).

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(CL. HUART)

KEMĀL MEḤMED NĀMIḲ, one of the most important of Turkish poets, stylists and authors, the principal leader of the Turkish moderns, creator of the modern Turkish prose language and the most notable Turkish patriot of modern times. Kemāl, born on Dec. 21, 1840 (Shawwāl 26, 1256), in Rhodosto on the Sea of Marmara, belonged to an old aristocratic family which could be traced back through his father, the astronomer Muṣṭafā 'Āṣim Bey, his father Shams al-Dīn Bey, the first Chamberlain of Sulṭān Selīm III, and his father, the admiral Ḳapudan Aḥmad Rātib Pasha, to the Grand Vizier Topal 'Othmān Pasha, the conqueror of Nādir Shāh of Persia. His father belonged to Yeni Shehir in Anatolia and his mother to Kanica in Albania. The Albanian strain in him was of the highest importance and explains much in his

indomitable character and his strong passionate nature. In appearance he was quite like a European. He was liberal, open-hearted and attractive.

Kemāl had a rather irregular, unsystematic education at home; he had only nine months' regular schooling in Constantinople at the Bāyazīd-Rüshdiye and the Wālide-Mektebi. He was trained in Arabic, Persian and French by private tuition. In 1852 he was with his grandfather Shams al-Dīn Bey in Kars and later in Sofia where he began to write poems although only 14 years of age, quite in the style of Sünbül-Zāde, whose *Dīwān* had to serve him as a model for lack of other patterns. Returning to Constantinople in 1857/8 he entered the translation bureau of the Sublime Porte and soon became a member of the then flourishing group of poets of the old school: Nā'ili, Muslim Pasha-Zāde Memdūḥ Fā'iḳ, Hālet, Hersegli 'Ārif Ḥikmet, Ghālib and Kāzim, who imitated Nef'ī and Fehīm chiefly. Kemāl quickly won an honoured place among them. He put together a slim *Dīwān-i Mürettēb* of not very original poems. In his poems he took the pen-name of Nāmiḳ. It is remarkable that the last incomplete *ghazal* of the *dīwān* is the first of his patriotic poems.

He only entered upon the field he was to make his own through Shināsī Efendi, who had studied in Europe and was now in Constantinople endeavouring to attract men of intellect to western culture and ideas, mainly in his capacity as editor of the influential newspaper *Taṣwīr-i Efkār*. Kemāl became friendly with him and soon fell completely under his influence, which directed him from the imitation of classical models to the spirit of the west. Kemāl grasped with ardour the new ideas, the importance of which he at once realised. He made it his aim in life to bring about a literary, political and scientific renaissance in old fossilised Turkey and to secure her a place among the nations of the West. He began his troubled career by writing for Shināsī's paper. Henceforth he wrote under the name Kemāl, which soon gained the greatest popularity.

When Shināsī [q.v.] fled to Paris in 1864 he left the editorship of his paper entirely in the hands of the young Kemāl, who at first found it a very difficult task. For a year he published almost nothing but translations from the French. Then important political questions (the Polish rising and the American Civil War) helped him to raise the standard of the paper which had gone down very much. He now took the field with political articles of his own which aroused the greatest interest on all sides and made the *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* the most influential newspaper. It was in its pages that the expression "Young Turk" first appeared.

Kemāl became more and more embarrassing to the government. Although only 25 years of age, he had already been given the mütesarriflik of Ḳal'e-i Sulṭāniye (Gallipoli) for a short time and next they wished him to become ambassador to Persia in order to get him away from Constantinople. But he did not accept this post. It was only with difficulty that he escaped being sent to Erzerūm. Kemāl had joined the Young Turk committee founded by Ziyā among the elements in favour of reform, the main object of which was to raise Turkey from her backward state and obtain a constitution. When the members were threatened with arrest, Ziyā, Kemāl, Nūri, Rif'at and 'Ali Su'āwī fled from Turkey in 1866 to London where they settled down. At the time of this his first voluntary exile Kemāl was expecting the birth of his first child, who afterwards became the poet 'Ali Ekrem. In London Kemāl published the paper *Mukhbir* ("The Correspondent") on behalf of the party; it was later transferred to Paris and then replaced by the *Ḥürriyet* ("Liberty"). In Paris he studied law and economics and translated important French works into Turkish.

His stay in Europe was of overwhelming influence on his political and literary development. Henceforth he came back again and again to the subject of civilisation. When, after the death of the Grand Vizier 'Alī Pasha, it became possible for the Young Turks to return home, Kemāl undertook the editorship in Constantinople of the Young Turkish paper *'Ibret*. He succeeded by his articles, which are of permanent value, in making the paper one of the most important in Turkey. At the same time he contributed to a number of other papers and periodicals and thereby completely influenced and revolutionised public opinion.

When Kemāl became inconvenient to the government by his political activity, especially through his patriotic drama *Waṭan*, which aroused unbounded enthusiasm, he was banished to the fortress of Famagusta in Cyprus. At first he was in the closest solitary confinement, where he planned in his subterranean cell his drama *'Ākif Bey*, which he wrote out and printed as soon as the rigour of his imprisonment was slackened. He was detained in Famagusta for 38 months until the accession of Murād gave him his liberty and permission to return to Constantinople. But Murād only reigned 93 days. With the accession of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd a limit was soon put once more to Kemāl's activity. Kemāl took part in the preparation of the constitution and shared in the deliberations with Midḥat Pasha and Ziyā Pasha.

His liberal activities aroused the deepest mistrust in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. He was arrested and spent $5^1/_2$ months in the common prison in Constantinople where he spent most of his time in historical study in preparation for a history of the Turkish army. In spite of his acquittal after a trial, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd sent him to detention in Mytilene (Chios). This enforced inactivity was a great trial to him after the disastrous conclusion of the war with Russia and he expressed his feeling in songs like the touching Muhādjir song *Allāh ilün öldür beni*.

After two years' detention during which he wrote the *Djelāl* and the *Djezmī*, he was appointed *Mütesarrif* of Chios. There the disease of the lungs, which was to cause his premature death, first broke out. When Chios became the capital of a wilāyet, he was moved to Rhodes, where the more favourable climate restored his health and revived his creative powers which had somewhat abated. With the assistance of a splendid library, for the enlargement of which at great personal expense he had agents in India, Persia, Egypt and Europe, he set about the preparation of a history of the Turkish empire.

From Rhodes he went to Chios, as *mütesarrif* again. He worked at his history with a feverish activity and, in spite of the fact that his health was much affected, displayed considerable literary activity in all other directions. The order forbidding the printing or continuation of

his history which came from Constantinople as the result of a treacherous denunciation of him was therefore a frightful blow and he died during the night after receiving the order, Dec. 2, 1888, in Mytilene.

His body was first of all interred in Mytilene in front of the mosque and then solemnly removed by his son ʿAlī Ekrem to Bulair, 8 miles north of Gallipoli and there buried with military honours in the *türbe* of Sülaimān Pas̲h̲a, a worthy honour for the great patriot. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd built a splendid *türbe* for Kemāl. While Sülaimān Pas̲h̲a's *türbe* was already a place of pilgrimage, Kemāl's *türbe* became to a still greater extent the goal of many Ottomans, who saw in him the incarnation of their ideals. The first thing done after the revolution of 1908 by the "Committee of Union and Progress" was to go solemnly from Salonica to his tomb at Bulair as to the grave of the "founder of the building of liberty" and pay homage to his manes. The unexampled moderation with which the victorious party proceeded was also a tribute to the influence of Kemāl.

The supreme and unique position occupied by Kemāl in Ottoman literature can hardly be too highly appraised. His influence on his own and the following generation was tremendous. He was perfectly aware of the difficulty of his task but always believed in a successful result, which was quite in keeping with his sanguine temperament. His personality — he was a born agitator and thoroughly revolutionary in spite of his aristocratic birth — with his unusual energy and inflexible and undaunted strength of will exercised an overwhelming attraction on the masses. He was filled with a deep, almost fanatical religious, spirit, thoroughly Islāmic in its attitude and he believed in his people, his country and their future. Basing himself on the idea of the true Islāmic culture with a strong leaning to pan-Islāmic ideas which he endeavoured to realise by going back to primitive Islām and rejecting the Islām of the past which did not satisfy him, he evolved the idea of the Ottoman fatherland and was able to impose it on his "lethargic" people. It was Kemāl who first awakened his countrymen to the conception of *Waṭan* (fatherland), which was later replaced by the Turkish *Yurt*, and to the conception of *Millet* (nation) and *Ḥürriyet* (liberty) which the Young Turks took as their watchwords.

Kemāl remained faithful to his task which he regarded as a kind of apostolic office, in spite of the most difficult conditions. His talent as an author was certainly not small but this does not completely explain the almost magical influence which he has exerted down to our own day. The most recent Ottoman literary criticism is rather inclined not to estimate him so highly. But what no critic can deny him, what places him high above all others is his thirst for freedom, his patriotism, and the fearlessness with which he expresses his ideas and above all his masterly command of language. When he began writing, he found the language in a chaotic condition, at his early death he left it a wonderfully modelled instrument. The creation of the modern Turkish prose language is undeniably Kemāl's work.

In his political and literary essays Kemāl is vigorous and convincing when he wants to defend any view. No one has surpassed Kemāl in his essays. His longer works have a tendency to resemble a series of collected articles rather than a consecutive whole.

The admiration in which he was held found expression in his many imitators.

Works. Kemāl was not primarily a poet. Besides his *Dīwān* written in the old style, although already showing traces of new features (love of country and people) and adopting modern ideas (theatre, steamer), in the *g̲h̲azal* he composed a not very large number of powerful poems which passed from mouth to mouth like revelations. He was readily followed simply because he still paid part tribute to old ideas in his poems. Many poems are scattered through his works and many went unprinted from hand to hand. They all show his deep patriotism.

In his *Wawaila* ("groaning, wail", reprinted 1326 = 1908) Kemāl laments his fatherland which is wrapped in a winding sheet. His *Bāriḳa-i Ẓafar* ("Flash of Victory", 1872) written in an elaborate style is a panegyric on the conquest of Constantinople. His enthusiastic *Waṭan Manẓūmesi* did not appear till 1326 (1908).

Kemāl's main success as an author was won by his dramas of which he wrote six. He might be regarded as the creator of the Turkish drama. In the play by Abu 'l-Ẓiyā Tewfīḳ, his most devoted friend and follower, *Eg̲h̲el-i Ḳaḍā* ("The Threatened Fate", 1288 = 1871/72), the first national Turkish drama, he was a silent collaborator although his name was never mentioned. He then tried his skill independently and wrote:

1. *Waṭan yak̲h̲od Silistra* ("Fatherland or Silistria"), a play in 4 acts first printed in 1872 and often since (transl. into Russian by W. D. Smirnow in the *Westnik Ewropi*, 1876, ix. 151; German by L. Pekotsch, Vienna 1887). The play, which is important from the sociological and psychological points of view, depicts heroic scenes in the defence of Silistria in 1854. The piece aroused tremendous enthusiasm and was the main cause of his banishment to Famagusta.

2. *Zawallî Čodjuḳ* ("The Poor Child"), a drama in 3 acts (1873). It describes the consequences of the abuse of parental authority over the child and is an attack on the traditional manner of arranging marriages. Kemāl deals with the new idea of the freedom of women to feel and to love. The influence of "La Dame aux Camelias" is unmistakable.

3. *ʿĀkif Bey*, a drama in 3 acts (1874). In this the patriotism of the Turkish naval officer is emphasised and contrasted with the faithlessness and inconstancy of his wife who abuses the absence of her husband.

4. *Gül-nihāl*, a drama in 5 acts (1875), probably based on Hamlet, extolling the motive of vengeance, especially woman's vengeance and rebellion against despotism.

5. *Djelāl al-Dīn K̲h̲wārezm-s̲h̲āh*, a tragedy in 5 acts (1875), with a long literary introduction (*muḳaddime*) on the defects of Ottoman literature and the technique of the drama, first published by Rodosī Ṣāliḥ Djemāl, then printed in Cairo without the introduction in 1292 (1875); the *muḳaddime* alone is printed in *Medjmūʿa-i Abu 'l-Ẓiyā*, Nº. 41 (1885), and *Kitābk̲h̲āne-i Abu 'l-Ẓiyā*, Nº. 69. It is a romantic tragedy from Persian history in the style of Hugo's "Cromwell" and "Hernani". *Djelāl* is thought to mark the zenith of Turkish romanticism. It is a drama intended to be read

only, a passionate protest against the government system of the Ottoman Sulṭāns. On account of its obvious bias the piece was always suppressed by the censor.

6. *Ḳara Belā* "Black Misfortune", first published in the *Külliyāt* in 1908; written in Famagusta in 1875, describes the violation of an Indian Emperor's daughter by a negro who has smuggled himself into the harem as a eunuch and takes the place of her lover. The dishonoured lady commits suicide by poisoning herself on the eve of her marriage after killing the black monster.

Smirnow seems to be wrong in ascribing a drama *Anadolu Köyleri* to Kemāl, for which the Sulṭān is said to have granted him a special reward.

Kemāl's dramas suffer from a lack of naturalness, a want of lucidity in the inner motives, from sentimentality, too much patriotic pathos and from tirades. But he knows how to grip the attention of his audience and carry them with him. A certain psychological depth cannot be denied him. The Turkish theatre was then something quite new. The plays are great achievements for their time and circumstances, in spite of all their dramatic and technical defects, especially as Kemāl was mainly concerned with using the drama as a medium to carry his ideas to the masses and to arouse the feelings dormant in the people. For him the theatre is "an amusement useful to influence the people".

He followed similar lines in his two novels, which have the same defects. But in them we have the typical features of Turkish life and thought vividly and realistically portrayed. From the point of view of style they reveal great beauty. The influence of his novels was great; they became the model for a whole school whose most ardent representative was Wedjihi. The two novels are:

1. *Intibāh yakhod ʿAlī Beyiñ Sergüzeshti* "The Awakening or 'Alī Bey's experiences" (1874; the original title is said to have been *Soñ Peshimānlïḳ*). It is the description of the adventures of a rich spoiled mother's darling, who falls into the clutches of a harlot, deluded by her intrigues heartlessly sacrifices his innocent sweetheart and is completely ruined, until finally he kills his mistress, after the sweetheart whom he has abandoned has saved him at the cost of her own life, and ends in prison.

2. *Djezmi*, a historical novel (1297 = 1880, printed 1303 = 1887/1888), the romantic love story of ʿĀdil Girai of the Crimea and the sister of the Shāh of Persia during ʿĀdil Girai's captivity in Persia in the xvith century. The main facts are taken from history; *Djezmi* marks an important technical advance on *ʿAlī Bey* in the compactness of its style and its wealth of colour. Panislāmic ideas are very evident in it.

The most noteworthy of Kemāl's historical works are: 1) his biographies *Evrāḳ-i Perīshān* "Scattered Leaves" (1301) in 4 parts in which he gives accounts of the lives of four remarkable Muhammadan men, writing in a learned style in the European manner, in the farther development of his Islāmic tendencies; the four are: the Aiyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the Ottoman Sulṭān Maḥmūd II, Selīm I Yawuz and the Emīr Newrūz Bey. The collection is considered a classic among the Turks, both in language and learning although it is only a good compilation, mainly taken from European sources. In vividness of description and vigour of style they take almost the first place among his works; 2) *Dewr-i Istīlā* "The Period of the Invasion"; 3) *Kanīja*, the story of the capture of the fortress of Kanisza in Hungary, written in 1290 (1873) in Famagusta and printed anonymously the same year.

4) Kemāl was a passionate believer in the vitality of Islām. There is, however, in his views a certain lack of coherence between the Muslim ideas and the Rousseauian formulae which he has adopted. He endeavours to prove the equal worth of Islām with the ideals of modern civilisation, which are in the end ideals of Islām also; Islām was in no wise backward down to the xvith century, and had only to give way to the superiority of Europe with the rise of experimental science. In reply to Ernest Renan's attempt to prove the hostility of Islām to education, Kemāl wrote a defence *Renān Müdāfaʿa-nāmesi* published in the *Külliyāt*, which is based on much sounder foundations than the other Muḥammadan pamphlets combatting Renan's views.

5) *Medkhal*, the history of ancient Rome and the history of Islām which comes down to 438 (1046), were intended as an introduction and a foundation for his Ottoman history. The latter runs from the beginning of the empire to the death of Sulṭān Selīm I Yawuz in 926 (1520).

6) *Rüyā* "The Dream", the most vigorous and inspired of his writings, which every Turk must have read at the time of the reaction, dreams of the days when the chains will fall in the fatherland. It has been often reprinted, for example twice in Cairo (*Idjtihād*) in 1907 and 1909.

7) *Sergüzesht* (1326 = 1908) also describes a dream.

Kemāl was above all a publicist (see above). He raised the *ʿIbret* to be an ideal newspaper. His articles which appeared in it are still reprinted again and again and put into collections. The separate numbers of the newspaper are still carefully preserved.

As a critic he also displayed a comprehensive activity, an appreciation of which has been given by Gibb. He mercilessly shattered the old Parnassus and helped the new school to victory. There is much criticism in his essays and in his *Muḳaddeme*. When Ziyā Pasha, his old comrade in arms, made a rather unfortunate selection in an anthology of Turkish literature in his three volumes *Kharābāt*, Kemāl wrote two vigorous criticisms of the first two volumes, *Taḫrīb-i Kharābāt*, 1298 = 1881, and *Taʿḳīb-i Kharābāt*, reprinted in 1303, which Gibb considers among the best essays in Turkish.

Kemāl's letters are of great importance, as he corresponded with almost all the leading personalities in Turkey, political as well as literary. Unfortunately they are only in part published so far, for example the letters to Midḥat Efendi, ʿIrfān Pasha, a part of those to Abu 'l-Ziyā Tewfīḳ, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid and others. He wrote naturally and vigorously and was the first to teach his people the epistolary style.

We must not omit his official papers. However conventional and crabbed Ottoman official style is, he nevertheless succeeded in giving it lucidity and clearness. The number of official documents which he composed in his different official positions is legion. They are essays on the

creation of the state and its reforms, the rights of the people, its intellectual and ideal requirements, on law, history, political economy, social philosophy, schemes, protocols, semi-official documents, etc.

Finally we may mention his numerous translations: *Behār-i Dānish* ("Springtime of Knowledge"), translated with a literary introduction from the work of the Indian Shaikh 'Ināyat Allāh. He also translated from the French of Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Montesquieu, J. J. Rousseau, Condorcet, Volney, etc.

A complete edition of his works was begun by his son 'Alī Ekrem. But his scheme was too ambitious and he broke down in the middle of it. The biography of Kemāl promised by 'Alī Ekrem has, so far as I know, not yet appeared. It is unfortunate that the essay on Kemāl's place in literary history by Dr. Riḍā Tewfīḳ has not yet been published.

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(TH. MENZEL.)

KEMĀL-PASHA-ZĀDE, the usual name of the Ottoman historian, lawyer and stylist SHAMS AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. SULAIMĀN B. KEMĀL PASHA, often also called Ibn Kemāl-pasha.

Kemāl-pasha-zāde belonged to a distinguished family of Adrianople where he was born as the son of the wealthy Suleimān Pasha. His grandfather was Kemāl-pasha who, like his father, had taken part in repeated campaigns against the infidels and attained great prestige (on him see *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 78). Kemāl-pasha-zāde served at first in Bāyazīd's army but was induced to take up a legal career by an experience which is minutely reported by Tashköprüzāde. He was one day in the Grand Vizier's Dīwān when Aḥmad, the son of Ewrenos [q. v.], entered and was received with great respect. Soon afterwards there appeared a man with shabby clothes and no headdress, to whom the vizier, to Kemāl-pasha-zāde's surprise, showed even greater respect and even gave him the seat before the son of Ewrenos. He was the celebrated jurist Luṭfī of Ṭoḳat (d. 904 = 1498). The ambitious youth, surprised at the preference shown to a *müderris* with 30 aspers over a nobleman of the empire, at once made up his mind to abandon the army and became Luṭfī's pupil. The latter lectured at the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Adrianople together with other celebrated professors, like Ḳasṭallānī [q. v.], Khaṭīb-zāde, Mu'arrif-zāde, on Muslim law subjects. After completing his studies, Kemāl-pasha-zāde was appointed teacher in the far famed medrese of 'Alī Beg in Adrianople but was soon afterwards summoned to Üsküb as *müderris*, finally to return to Adrianople to the Ḥalabiya medrese. After a great deal of hostility from the Chief Justice Ḥādjdjī Ḥasan-zāde, who was jealous of all rising talent and put every obstacle in his way, he was appointed by the Sulṭān, on the advice of the poet Mu'aiyad-zāde (*takhalluṣ* Ḥātimī, d. 922 = 1516), teacher in the Ṭāshlıḳ High School (= 'Alī Beg Medrese) at

Adrianople on a salary of 30,000 aspers. The influential patronage of Mu'aiyad-zāde procured him all sorts of liberties, so that he was able to spend some time in Sofia and some time in Dupnitsa (Bulgaria), to carry out with the greatest leisure the composition of the Ottoman history entrusted to him by the Sulṭān and at the same time to write the most varied works, sometimes on law, sometimes on history, sometimes on poetry and sometimes on rhetoric. Over 300 treatises etc. are said to have come from his pen in this period.

In the reign of Sulṭān Selim I, Kemāl-pasha-zāde in 1516 finally attained the rank of military judge of Anatolia and in this office accompanied the Pādishāh on his Egyptian campaign. On the march he was commissioned to translate into Turkish, among other things, two works of the Arab historian Abu 'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghribirdi [q. v.] on the lands of the Caliphs. Every morning he handed his master an instalment of the translation, which, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Nº. 5,878 and 13,916), was called *al-Kawākib al-Bāhira min al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira* (on this cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 42), and took the opportunity to enlighten the Sulṭān regarding the feeling in the army through a soldier-song, made up by him, expressing the desire for a speedy return home. Although Selīm saw through the plan, he pardoned the poet and even gave him a present of 500 gold pieces as a mark of honour (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, ii. 519; H. F. v. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien*, i. 283; also the *Defterdār* Abu 'l-Faḍl's supplement [*Dhail*, part 4] to *Hesht Behisht* of his father Idrīs Bitlīsī, MS. of the Vienna National Library H.O. 16 d., fol. 126). After the return home, Kemāl-pasha-zāde resumed his old position as teacher in the Dār al-Ḥadīth, then at the Bāyazīdīya in Adrianople and at the same time resumed his scholarly and poetical activities. On the lines of Sa'dī's *Bustān* and *Gulistān* he wrote in Persian the *Nigāristān* (i. e. "picture-gallery") (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vi. 381, and *Der Islam*, vii. 118; extracts in German are given by Count v. Harrach in the *Fundgr. des Orients*, i. 401 *sqq.*, ii. 107 *sqq.*, iii. 47 *sqq.*). Kemāl-pasha-zāde is the author of an Ottoman history which begins in the year 886 (accession of Bāyazīd II) and goes down to the first Hungarian campaign of Sulaimān the Great in 933. Manuscripts of the complete work seem to be exceedingly rare. The Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden seems to have most parts of it (cf. J. H. Mordtmann's collation in *Der Islam*, xiii. 153 *sq.*), while in Vienna, for example, there are only fragments of the whole work which was perhaps written and issued in separate parts dealing with particular periods from time to time (part at least as early as the reign of Bāyazīd II) (cf. G. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 220; on the work cf. H. Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ii. 121, Nº. 2153). An edition would be very desirable and of considerable value in solving the problems of the old Ottoman chronicles. That Kemāl-pasha-zāde prepared a translation of the *Hesht Bihisht* of Idrīs, as is stated in the *'Ilmīye Sālnāmesi*, p. 347, is probably a mistake. Kemāl-pasha-zāde subjected the campaign of Mohacs to a very full review, which was published for the first time with a French translation by Pavet de Courteille (*Hist. de la Campagne de Mohacz*, Paris 1859). There is a very good manuscript of it in the Dresden Public Library.

His poetical masterpiece is the story of Yūsuf and Zulaikha often dealt with before (e. g. by Ḥamdī, q. v.) and after him, but his treatment of the subject is peculiarly felicitous; his other poems, in which his sharp wit much admired in his lifetime and his intellectual nimbleness are revealed, are collected in a separate *Dīwān* which appeared in 1313 in Stambul (cf. Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 347—363, where a full appreciation of his literary activity is given). He further wrote a number of philological works of which we may mention here a dictionary to elucidate difficult Persian phrases, called *Daḳā'iḳ al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ* (cf. G. Flügel, *op. cit.*, i. 130). Of legal works special mention must be made of his *Risāla fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Mudjtahidīn* which deals with the various classes of jurists (cf. G. Flügel, *Die Klassen der hanef. Rechtsgel.*, in the *Abh. der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss.*, 1861, viii. 279, 280, 281, 346; MSS. of it in Vienna; cf. G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Handschr. . . . zu Wien*, ii. 612).

He left a vast number of commentaries on the *Hidāya*, *Tadjrīd*, *Miftāḥ*, *Tahāfut*, notes on the Ḳur'ān, marginal notes on the *Kashshāf* etc. which are represented in most eastern collections of Oriental MSS. (cf. e. g. G. Flügel, *op. cit.*, i. 130, 132, 133, 251, 291, 524, 710, 714, 722, 723; ii. 220, 221, 612; iii. 179, 215 *sqq.*; list of several treatises in Ahlwardt, *Berliner Kat.*, i. 12, Nº. 19; collection of 39 treatises in the *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'Arabīya al-maḥfūẓa bi'l-Kutubkhāne al-khedīwīya al-Miṣrīya*, vol. vii., Cairo 1309, p. 435—444; also *Defter-i Kutubkhāne-i Aya Ṣōfya*, Stambul 1304, Nº. 4794, 4797, 4820; *Defter-i Kutubkhāne-i Laleli Djāmi'*, Stambul 1300, Nº. 2433, 3645, 3647. A collection of 36 treatises entitled *Rasā'il* appeared in two parts at Stambul in 1316 (Iḳdām-press); cf. *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, lxxi. 525.

He even wrote on the subject of *bāh*, as his *Kitāb Rudjū' al-Shaikh ilā Ṣibāh fi 'l-Kuwwa 'alā 'l-Bāh* shows (printed Cairo 1316 and 1335; Turkish version: lithogr., n. d., 90 pp. in 8°).

Kemāl-pasha-zāde died on Shawwāl 2, 941 (April 6, 1535), at Stambul and was interred outside the Adrianople Gate in the monastery of Maḥmūd Čelebi, where one of his pupils, Maḥmūd Bey, who died as Ḳāḍī of Cairo, erected a stone monument to his memory. Three chronogrammatic verses (*ta'rīkh*) in Arabic were inscribed on his coffin, his shroud and his tombstone, the numerical value of which was each 941 (cf. *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, i. 180, 181, and Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, i. 345, esp. 359; cf., on the other hand, J. v. Hammer-Purgstall in the *Z.D.M.G.*, vi. 282, and *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak. der Wiss.*, 1851, vi. 326—328, according to which the date is 940, which is certainly an error).

Bibliography. In addition to the sources quoted above see the life of Kemāl-pasha-zāde in Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'mānīya*, Stambul 1269, p. 381—385; Th. Chabert, *Laṭīfī*, Zürich 1800, p. 70; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, iii. 635; do., *Gesch. der osm. Dichtk.*, ii. 205 *sqq.*; Brusalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlı Mü'ellifleri*, i. 223; *'Ilmīye Sālnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 346 *sq.*; Meḥmed 'Ārif Bey in the *Revue Historique Ottomane*, p. 1411 *sqq.*; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, ii. 449—453 (where most of his works are given under their titles).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KEMĀL REʾĪS, Turkish corsair and sea-captain during the reign of Bāyazīd II. In his youth he had been given as a present to the Sulṭān by the Ḳapudan Pasha Sinān, after which he was brought up as a page at the court. He began his career as a chief of *ʿazabs*, then took to the Mediterranean and captured in 892/1487 a Maltese Prince (*Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv., 78). In 896/1490, by order of Bāyazīd, he raided the Spanish coast in order to support the last Naṣrid of Granada Mulay Ḥasan, who, in his critical situation had invoked the Sulṭān's aid. This expedition is only recorded by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa in his *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīk̲h̲* but not in his Story of the Naval Wars (*Tuḥfat al-Kibār*) and it seems to be unknown to the other historians; in any case it cannot have been of much importance in view of the great difficulties of the Ottoman Empire occasioned at the time by the wars against Egypt and Austria. In 903 = 1497/1498 we find Kemāl Reʾīs marauding in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean with other corsairs; he took several Christian ships and brought his booty to the bey of Alexandria (ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde, p. 250); at this time therefore he probably was not serving the Sulṭān. But in the war of the Turks against Venice (905/1499) he was one of the admirals of the fleet. The Turkish fleet had three newly equipped unusually large battleships (turkish: *kükē*) of which one was commanded by the Kapudan Pasha Dāʾūd, and the two others by Kemāl Reʾīs and Burāḳ Reʾīs (Münedd̲j̲im Bashī writes Budāḳ, so also Leunclavius: Budacus). In the naval battle of Sapienza (28 July 1499) the Venetians took the latter's ship for that of Kemāl Reʾīs on whom they particularly wanted to take revenge. Burāḳ Reʾīs was boarded by two big and some smaller Venetian ships; he defended himself with burning naphtha, until he, and his enemies, were blown up together: the island of Sapienza was called after him Burāḳ Reʾīs Adasī. After this battle the Turkish fleet took Lepanto (Ine-Bakhtī). In the next year, after the towns of Ḳoron and Modon had been taken by Turkish sea-power, Kemāl Reʾīs was sent with 40 ships to Navarino (Turkish Awārin) of which town he captured the citadel from the Venetian commander Contarini. He died, according to Sāmī (*Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3886), in the beginning of the xth century, perishing by a ship-wreck (*Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*).

Bibliography: Münedd̲j̲im Bashī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār*, Constantinople 1285, iii. 424, 427; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār fī Asfār al-Biḥār*, Stambul 1141, fol. 8, 9; ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, Stambul 1332, p. 250; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tād̲j̲ al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, Constantinople 1279, ii. 90; von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, Pest 1828, ii. p. 295, 316, 318, 327, 601; Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, Frankfort 1596, p. 196.

(J. H. Kramers)

KEMĀNKESH (i. e. "Archer") ʿALĪ PASHA, an Ottoman Grand Vizier. He was born in the Anatolian district of Ḥamīd-eli [q. v.], came early to Stambul, where he was brought up in the imperial palace. In 1030 (1620/1621) he was appointed governor of Diyār-bakr and soon afterwards of Baghdād. Next year he was given the rank of third vizier of the dome (*ḳubbe wezīri*). In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, 1032, he was given the imperial seal in place of the dismissed Grand Vizier Mere Ḥusain Pasha, mainly through the efforts of the S̲h̲aik̲h̲ al-Islām Yaḥyā Efendi, but also as a reward for his readiness in assisting in deposing the incapable and imbecile Sulṭān Muṣṭafā I. Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha, weak, timid and common in character, began by getting rid of his enemies and rivals by throwing the viziers Gurd̲j̲ī Meḥmed Pasha and K̲h̲alīl Pasha into prison and dismissing the Mufti Yaḥyā. His greed and avarice prompted him to the most contemptible embezzlements and frauds on the Treasury; he had coins minted with a slight proportion (barely one-fifth) of silver, put the pay of the Janissaries into his own pocket and in other ways let the state go to ruin. Within six months he had made a huge fortune by depreciating the currency and selling offices. Sir Thomas Roe who describes the Grand Vizier at his accession to office in a despatch of August 23, 1623, as "a man quietly honest, but of untryed and therefore suspected abilytye for so great a charge" (cf. *The Negotiations of Sir Th. Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the year 1621 to 1628*, London 1740, p. 173) talks on April 5, 1624, of "his owne sordid covetousnesse, who in six moneths had heaped up infinite treasure, by portsale of all justice and offices, which hath weighed him to the ground" (*op. cit.*, p. 230) and a Venetian report of August, 1624, puts his wealth at a "somma di 700,000 scudi in contanti, molto opportuna" (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 21).

The terrible state to which the empire was reduced (rebellions in Asia Minor and Egypt, the threat from Persia, the fall of Baghdād on November 28, 1623, concealed from the Sulṭān, Stambul without food, the currency depreciated, the treasury exhausted, the Janissaries out of hand) aroused to the highest pitch the wrath of the youthful Murād IV against the Grand Vizier responsible. Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha was summoned to the palace on D̲j̲umādā II 14, 1033 (March 24, 1624), and summarily beheaded. His body was buried in the forecourt of the mosque of ... (cf. *Ḥadīḳat al-D̲j̲awāmiʿ*, i. 150; ʿĀtiḳ ʿAlī Pasha (cf. *Ḥadīḳat al-D̲j̲awāmiʿ*, i. 150; J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 75, N°. 312). His successor was Čerkes Meḥmed Pasha. Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha was married to a daughter of the celebrated Ḳāḍī-ʿasker and S̲h̲aik̲h̲ al-Islām, Bostānzāde Meḥmed Efendi.

Bibliography: ʿOt̲h̲mān-zāde Aḥmad Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, Stambul 1271, p. 72; *Ḥadīḳat al-D̲j̲awāmiʿ*, i. 150 *sq.* (with short sketch of his career); J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, and J. W. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, under Kemankesh Ali Pascha; Naʿīmā, *Tārīk̲h̲*, Stambul 1280, ii. 294 *sq.*; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Fed̲h̲leke*, ii. 52 (execution); *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iii. 510.

(Franz Babinger)

ḲENĀ, a town in Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile (23,357 inhabitants in 1917 against 17,485 in 1875, 15,402 in 1884 or 27,500 in 1897). It is the capital of the province (*mudīriya*) of the same name which is divided into seven districts (*markaz*), namely: 1. Dishnā, 2. Isnā, 3. Ḳenā, 4. Ḳuṣair, 5. Ḳūṣ, 6. Luḳsur, 7. Nadj' Ḥammādī. In 1897 the population of the province was 711,457 of whom 120,330 are in the province of Ḳenā. — The region produces cotton and cereals; in the town, cloth and sweet-stuffs are manufactured. But Ḳenā is especially noted for its porous pottery; the jars (*ḳulla*) which are made there are called

balīḳ from the name of a place a few miles to the south.

The Arabic name, written Iḳnā by some geographers and *ḳūnā* in the Copto-Arab *scalae*, comes from the Coptic ⲔⲀⲒⲚⲎ which give rise to a play on the Greek καινή πόλις "new town", a name which did not last long as it is never found in the Byzantine period. The identity of this town with the Neapolis of Herodotus has been seriously urged; it is rather the modern Mingha'a, the ancient Ptolemais. On the other hand it has been conjectured with much probability that at the end of the third century it received the name Maximianopolis.

In the first Arab period, the *kūra* of Ḳenā extended to the east of the Nile between that of Fāw on the north and Ḳifṭ in the south, in front of that of Dandara from which it was separated by the river. The first author to mention it, Ya'ḳūbī, gives a very unflattering description of the district: he says it is a little town rapidly going to ruin, deserted by its inhabitants who feared the raids of the Beduin robbers and brigands. Therefore when the new provincial divisions were made under Mustanṣir it was Ḳūṣ which gave its name to the district (*'amal*) and became its capital. Ḳenā remained unimportant for some time as Yāḳūt only gives it a brief note and Abu 'l-Fidā' does not mention it.

Its prosperity was not long in beginning owing to the tomb of the saint 'Abd al-Raḥīm which became an object of pilgrimage while pious Muslims settled in its vicinity. Some years previously Ibn Djubair had mentioned Ḳenā as a pretty little town with houses of a dazzling whiteness; he makes special mention of the virtue of the women who never appeared in the streets. After Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Adfuwī gives us an account of the merits of 'Abd al-Raḥīm; he describes the houses of the town as spacious and very high and mentions two *madrasa*'s in Ḳenā and a number of hospices (*ribāṭ*). Ibn Duḳmāḳ only copies Adfuwī. In the Turkish period Ḳenā was the residence of a *Kāshif* but it is only in modern times that it has assumed the administrative position which it owes to its present steadily increasing prosperity.

The town situated at the point where the Nile comes nearest to the Red Sea had become the point of departure for caravans in the direction of Ḳuṣair. This route took the place of the one used in the middle ages between Ḳūṣ and 'Aidhāb which in turn succeeded the ancient Copto-Berenice road. The continual intercourse between Egypt and Arabia and India gave these roads great value; it is by this route that many of the Muslims of North Africa go to Mekka and even during the Crusades it was the only pilgrim road. In 1831—1833 Muḥammad 'Alī had the wells inspected on the Ḳenā-Ḳuṣair road; some were deepened so that they would provide water at all seasons (cf. *L'Égypte Moderne*, collection *L'Univers*, p. 164—166; Barron and Hume, *Top. and Geology of the East Desert of Egypt, Central Portion*, Cairo 1902).

The saint who is the object of Muslim veneration, 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad b. Ḥadjdjūn, twelfth descendant of Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ, was born in the environs of Ceuta in Morocco. After a journey to Mekka where he spent seven years he settled in Ḳenā and died there on Ṣafar 9, 592 (Jan. 13, 1196). Honoured during his life for his reputation for sanctity and asceticism he has become one of the principal saints of Egypt along with Aḥmad Badawī, Ibrāhīm Dasūḳī and Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Aḳṣurī. At one time a pious formula used to be handed down which if recited beside the tomb hastened the realisation of a desire or brought about cures. According to some travellers, the pilgrims who came to Ḳenā made circuits (*ṭawāf*) of the tomb of 'Abd al-Raḥīm similar to those made by the pilgrims at the Ka'ba (Adfuwī, *Ṭāli' Sa'īd*, N⁰. 231; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 315; *R.H.R.*, ii. 284; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, p. 224). — There were descendants of 'Abd al-Raḥīm living in Egypt for two centuries; they were particularly jurists and professors (Adfuwī, N⁰ˢ 29, 117, 129, 308, 402, 405, 476, 553; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 423).

Bibliography: Ibn Djubair, ed. Wright-de Goeje, p. 67; Yāḳūt, iv. 178; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 106; Adfuwī, *Ṭāli' Sa'īd*, p. 7—8, 19; 'Alī Pasha, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, xiv. 120—125; Sourdille, *Durée du voy. d'Hérodote*, p. 153—159; Baedeker, *Égypte*, p. 237, 243; Massignon, *Sommaire sur l'état d'avancement des tr. archéol. ar.*, from the *B.I.F.A.O.*, ix. 6; Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 1923, p. 120; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, p. 130, 147—149, 153, 173, 175, 177—182, 184, 185—191; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*, p. 31—32.

(G. WIET)

KEN'ĀN PASHA, also called ṢARI K. PASHA, an Ottoman Grand Admiral. He was a Russian (? Circassian) by birth and came as a slave into the service of Baḳirdji Aḥmad Pasha, Ottoman governor of Egypt. On the latter's execution he was taken by Sulṭān Murād IV into the Serai and educated there. He was promoted to be Agha of the stirrup-holders (*Rikābdār aghasi*) (Chronicle of Wedjihī, fol. 91ᵇ of the Vienna MS.), became a favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm after his accession (Febr., 1640) and married his daughter 'Ātike Sulṭāne. He was at the same time appointed third vizier but banished soon after Ibrāhīm's death (Aug. 18, 1648) to Crete. In Sept., 1652, he returned to Stambul and was appointed to the charge of the defences of the Dardanelles. On Sept. 9, 1653, he was given the governorship of Ofen, but deprived of it on Sept. 22, 1655, and on Febr. 9, 1656, appointed governor of Silistria. On May 3 of the same year he was appointed Grand Admiral (*Ḳapudān Pasha*, q.v.). On June 26, 1656, while in command of the Ottoman fleet sent out against the Venetians, he suffered a severe defeat in the Dardanelles, the greatest naval reverse inflicted on Turkey since the battle of Lepanto (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, v. 649 *seq.*). The whole weight of the Sulṭān's wrath fell upon Ken'ān Pasha who was immediately thrown into prison. He was finally released on the intercession of his Russian countrywoman, the Sulṭāna-mother (Kösem Wālide; q.v.) but was dismissed from the office of Grand Admiral almost immediately, on July 18, 1656. Two years later, on June 23, 1658, he was appointed Ḳā'immaḳām [q.v.] but the very next month, on July 16, 1658, dismissed again and sent to Brusa as commander of the garrison (*Muḥāfiẓ*) (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 37; Na'īmā, *Ta'rīkh*, first ed., ii. 660). He set out from here by arrangement with the Anatolian rebel 'Abāza Ḥasan with whom

he closely allied himself, only to share his fate, treacherous assassination, on Febr. 17, 1659, in Aleppo (cf. Na'īmā, *Tārīkh*, ii. 685). His head was brought to the *Dīwān* in Stambul on March 9, 1659.

If this is the Ken'ān Pasha mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāma*, iii. 366 (and he certainly never was governor of Oczakov any more than was Ḳodja Ken'ān Pasha [d. 1062 = 1651/52] who is also often confused with the Grand Admiral e.g. in the *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 83), he was also an author and composed a *Ṣalīḳ-nāma* in honour of Ṣarī Ṣalṭīḳ Baba [q. v.]. His own warlike exploits, especially his military operations in the years 1036—1038 (1626—1628), were celebrated in a rhymed *Pasha-nāma* by the poet and judge Ṭālī'ī Ibrāhīm Efendi (of Ḳalkandelen) of which there is a copy in the Brit. Mus. (Sloane MS. 3584); cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turk. MSS.*, p. 191 *sq.*, with detailed summary of contents. The possibility that it celebrates the above mentioned Ḳodja Ken'ān Pasha who had a very similar career to his namesake and contemporary (both were, for example, governors of Ofen) has always to be remembered. The biographical data regarding Ṣarī Ken'ān Pasha are much confused, as the article on p. 65 *sq.* in Rāmiz Pasha-zāde Meḥmed, *Kharīṭa-i Ḳapudānān-i Deryā* (Stambul 1285) and Sāmī Bey Frashëri, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, p. 3900, who follows it, show. According to this authority, Ken'ān Pasha was buried beside the school not far from Ḳirḳ Česhme.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): A. v. Gévai in Jos. v. Chmel, *Österreich. Geschichtsforscher*, Vienna 1841, ii. 82, N°. 76; do., *A'Budai pasák*, Bées 1841, p. 41, N°. 76; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 83; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, v. 497, under *Kenaanpascha*.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KENEZ. [See KNEZ].

AL-**KERAK**, a fortress east of the Dead Sea in the ancient Moab. The name goes back to the Aramaic *karkhā*, "town", which the Targum gives for *ḳir* in the Moabite place-names Ḳir Mō'āb (Is., xv. 1) and Ḳir Ḥārās (Ḥarēset: Is., xvi. 7, 11; Jer., xlviii. 31, 36). It is found as Χαρακμωβα in Ptolemy (v. 16, 4) on the mosaic map of Mādaba, in Stephanus Byzantinus, etc. Its situation on a steeply sloping spur only connected by an (artificially deepened) saddleback with the main ridge makes al-Kerak an unusually strong fortress. It is remarkable that it is not mentioned in connection with the Muslim conquest of the East Jordan country or in the following centuries; only with the Crusading period, after it had been fortified by King Fulco's former cupbearer, Payen, does it begin to play a part, and that a prominent one. The Christians of that time, who were not well read in geography, sought the ancient Petra here and called it Petra deserti. As it commanded the pilgrim road from Damascus and all traffic between Syria and Egypt, it caused the Muslims much trouble and was therefore repeatedly but vainly besieged from 565 (1170) onwards by Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn until finally it was so starved out that the garrison surrendered in 584 (1188) to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-'Ādil, to whom it was allotted after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death. In the years that followed it belonged to various Aiyūbids and even after the rule of most kings of this family was over, al-Mughīth 'Umar still held out in al-Kerak until Baibars captured it by treachery and put him to death (661 = 1263).

Behind the strong walls of the fortress the Mamlūk Sulṭān Nāṣir found shelter in 708 (1309) when he escaped from Cairo to found a real power. At this time al-Kerak was capital of one of the *mamlakāt* into which Syria and Palestine were divided; its territory lay chiefly to the south of it. How powerful the fortress, the majority of whose inhabitants were still Christian, then was, is seen from the descriptions by al-Dimashḳī, Yāḳūt, al-'Umarī and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī. Under Turkish rule it lost its importance until quite modern times when the Ottoman government put a strong garrison into it and made al-Kerak capital of a separate administrative district. The walls date mainly from the middle ages, while the lower strata go back to an older period.

Bibliography: P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, p. 114; al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 213; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 262; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 247; R. Hartmann, *Die geogr. Nachrichten in Ḥalīl al-Ẓāhirī's Zubdat Kašf al-Mamālik*, Kirchhain 1907, p. 44 *sq.*; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxx. 18; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xi. 232 and passim, xii. 12, 62 *sq.*, 214, 230, 316; Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, ii. 616, iii. 2, 150, 207, 245, 298; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 70 *sqq.*, 105 *sqq.*; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer morte*, i. 99 *sqq.*, ii. 106 *sqq.*; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i. 45—62 (with pictures and extracts from the literature); R. Hartmann, *Ztschr. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, xxxvi. 194; *Mitt. u. Nachr. des Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, 1895, p. 68 *sq.*; 1896, p. 45.

(FR. BUHL)

KERBELĀ'. [See MESHHED ḤUSAIN].

KERČ (KERTCH), a town and fortress on the Crimean peninsula; according to the census of 1897, it had 28,982 inhabitants. In ancient times it was the site of the Greek colony of Pantikapaion, later called Bosporus as the capital of the Bosporan kingdom, from the end of the seventh century the residence of the Khazar governor (with the title Tudun) of the eastern part of the Crimea (the western with the capital Khersonesus still belonged to the Byzantine empire). The name Kerč first appears in Muslim sources and is variously written; to the references to the texts (for the forms Karš and al-Karsh) in J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 506, may be added Rukn al-Dīn Baibars in W. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik Materialov, otnosyashčikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordi*, St. Petersburg 1884, p. 89, 5 (there Kardj). In Marquart, *op. cit.*, the derivation of the name from the Greek Κέρζες or Κερζος, "as a monastery near Kerč is called", proposed by Russian scholars (Wassilyewski, Bruun, Kunik, Harkavy), is also given. In old Russian sources the town is called Korčew; for example in the well known inscription of the year 6576 (1068) quoted by Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskago*, ii., note 120).

After the final destruction of the Khazar empire by the combined forces of the Byzantines and Russians about 1016 the eastern part of the Crimea with Kerč belonged to the Russian principality of T'mutarakan, the capital of which of the same name lay on the peninsula of Taman opposite

Kerč. About a century later the possession of the steppe territory passed to the Ḳipčaḳ or Komans and that of the seaports to the Byzantines. As Yu. Kulakowski (*Prošloye Tawridi*[2], Kiev 1912, p. 93. on the authority of Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et dipl. gr. medii aevi*, iii. 25, suggests, the town of 'Ρωσία mentioned in the treaty of 1169 between the Emperor Manuel Komnenos and the republic of Genoa is to be identified with the Russian Korčew. From the xiiith century the Crimean peninsula belonged to the Tatar kingdom of the Golden Horde; in the year 698 (Oct., 1298—Sept., 1299) Kerč with some other towns of the Crimea was destroyed by Noghai to avenge his grandson who was killed in Kafa (Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*). In the xvth century Kerč came into the hands of the Ottoman Turks. After the conquest of Azov, Peter the Great, during his stay in Vienna in 1698, asked that Kerč should be ceded to Russia by the Turks in the peace negotiations then about to begin. But this demand was not granted. After the peace of Carlowitz concluded in the same year, Kerč remained in the hands of the Turks (J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*[2], iii. 909; S. Solowyew, *Istoriya Rossii, izd. towar. Obšč. polz.*, iii. 1171). On account of the danger threatening from the Russians, Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II in 1702 had a new fortress built not far from Kerč (now Yeni-Ḳale) (v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, iv. 47). In 1771 Kerč and Yeni-Ḳale were occupied by the Russians without resistance; Abaza Pasha, who was sent to defend Yeni-Ḳale, did not even dare to expose his troops and returned to Sinope (*op. cit.*, iv. 622; Solowyew, *op. cit.*, vi. 738). The cession of Kerč demanded by the Russians during the peace negotiations in Bukharest (1773) was steadily refused by the Turks (v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, iv. 638) but had, however, to be granted after the treaty of Küčük Kainardje (1774). Henceforth Kerč was a Russian fortress of the second class; during the Crimean war it was occupied by the Allies in May, 1855.

The town, which is world-renowned for its monuments of the Greek, Roman and early Christian periods, had no longer the same importance in the Muḥammadan period and has therefore no Muslim buildings of importance.

(W. Barthold)

KERESŪN (ancient Κέρασος, Cerasus), on the maps Kerassounde, a town and harbour in Asia Minor, on the Black Sea. It is the chief town of a ḳaḍā of the wilāyat and the sandjaḳ of Trebizond, 70 miles west of this last town. The population is 8,440 (3,588 Muslims; 3,906 Greek orthodox and 946 Armenians). It is built at the end of a rocky cape. The botanist Tournefort found still there the forest of cherry-trees which gave their name to the town, for it was from there that Lucullus imported them to Europe. This source of revenue is now replaced by the export of nuts (5,000,000 lbs. produced annually) and of beans (2 million okes = 2,825,000 lbs. annually). There are ruins of the ancient walls, of a citadel and of a city-gate. The remains of an amphitheatre may be seen some distance off. The ruins of a mole to the north of the town could be cleared away at small expense and the area made into a harbour which would facilitate the export of the produce of the provinces of the interior. The town contains 11 mosques, 1 tekke, 9 Greek churches, 2 Armenian churches; it has also barracks and an arsenal. — The Kerasos of Xenophon lay in the valley of the Keresūn-dere; the present town is built on the site of the one founded by Pharnaces I, grandfather of Mithradates VII, King of Pontus, who called it Pharnacia after himself.

The ḳaḍā of Keresūn includes 138 villages and 4 nāḥiya's; it has a temperate maritime climate; mountains of volcanic origin, covered with forests, cover about half the area of the district. The inhabitants are fishermen on the coast and miners in the interior (mines yielding argentiferous lead, iron, copper and antimony). The total population is 64,526 (51,704 Muslims and 11,884 Greek Orthodox).

Bibliography: 'Alī Djawād, *Djoghrāfyā lughāti*, p. 658; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 73 *sqq.*; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 619, col. 1.

(Cl. Huart)

KERKHA, a river in Khūzistān, whose sources lie to the east and south of Nihāwend in 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī. The Čashm-i Kāsim is regarded as the source proper and rises in the Kūh Čihil Nabilighun. The map shows a little stream called Sura Kunī here, which receives the Kar Sara from the east, then near Nihāwend the Āb-i Kulan from the east which rises in the Kūh-i Fertaun and next the Sirwān Rūd from Dawlatābād. In this district the river is known as the Gamasāb, more accurately Gamasiāb (corrupted to Garasiāb).

The direction of the river, at first N. W., gradually changes to the west. Before it reaches Bīsutūn it is joined by the Shādjū Rūd reinforced by the Kangarshāh. It then turns to the south and is joined by the Ḳara Ṣū, the river of Kirmānshāhān and later by the Āb-i Karind, which itself has a number of important tributaries. While the tributaries so far mentioned are all on the right side, on the left it has the Kashgan Rūd which has as tributaries the Madian Rud on the right and the Rūd Khorramābād with the Rūd Kulkū on the left. Next come, also on the right, the Lailum Rūd and the Āb-i Zāl. The direction of its course now changes from southern to westerly for a short stretch and then to south-west. On this latter stretch the river is called the Kerkha (Karkha), a name which it temporarily exchanges between Lailum Rūd and Āb-i Zāl for the name Āb-i Ṣaimere. This name preserves the name of the town Ṣaimara [q.v.] which lay west from the river and some distance from it. After the confluence with the Āb-i Zāl the river again turns southwards; as soon as the region of Pā-i pul is reached we have canals linking it with the Āb-i Diz and its tributaries, the Nahr Talal Khān and the Nahr Daghdari. The ruins of Sūs lie on one of the eastern watercourses which is later called R. Shawr. The Kerkha ends its course in the region south of Nahr Hāshim, where it receives the water of the Shaṭṭ al-Djamūr. At an earlier period the river ran north-west from here to Ḥawīza (Ḥuwaiza).

Among the roads which follow the course of the river from time to time, we may mention the great highway connecting Hamadhān and Mesopotamia in the region of Bīsutūn, and also the road from Ḥulwān to Ṣaimara.

The ancient geographers called this river the Choaspes. The name Kerkha is not found in the Arab geographers; according to Rawlinson, it first appears in a xivth century Persian text. It is, however, probably older. Ibn al-Athīr mentions a

Karkhānā under the year 553 (1158). If the reference is to this river the name must go back to the xiith century. Ibn al-Athīr, who usually avoids geographical details as much as possible, must have taken the name from an older contemporary source. Karkhānā must be Aramaic and mean "the [river] of Karkhā" i.e. Karkhā de Lēdān.

The river is certainly twice mentioned in the Arab geographers although not by name. According to Ibn al-Faḳīh, a particularly esteemed kind of black sealing-clay was obtained on its bank near Nihāwend. The "large river" near Bīsutūn mentioned by Ibn Rosteh must also be the Gamasiāb. The bridge between Ṣaimara and Ṭarhān, considered a marvel of architectural skill, may also correspond to the Pul-i Khusraw over the Kerkha. The Kerkha is usually called the "river of Sūs", e.g. as early as Ibn Khordādhbih. The geographers have no reliable information regarding its sources; Ibn Khordādhbih says it rises in Dīnawar and Ibn Wāḍiḥ at Hamadhān, which is true, at least for the tributaries of the Gamasiāb, if we take these names to refer to provinces. The river, according to the Arab geographers, flows into the Dudjail of Ahwāz. Mention is made of the fact that at high tide the river is about two *mīl* broad at Sūs. According to Ibn Wāḍiḥ, the river was called Hinduwān. Probably the "river of Baṣinnā" or "Didjla of Baṣinnā" which drove 7 water-mills and ran a bowshot from the town of Baṣinnā, mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī and Yāḳūt, is identical with the Kerkha.

Bibliography: Rawlinson in the *J.R.G.S.*, ix. 89; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vol. ix.; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géograph. Univ.*, ix. 290, 406; Graadt van Roggen (in Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, vol. vii.), p. 168, 190; Herzfeld in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, liii. 49, 60, 73; Guy le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 233, 240; Schwarz, *Iran im M. A.*, iv. 304 *sq.*, 364 *sq.*, 393, v. 453, 472, 488, 501.

(P. Schwarz)

ḲERḲINA (Kerkenna), a group of islands off the eastern coast of Tunisia on a level with Sfax in 34° 35'—34° 50' N. Lat. An arm of the sea about 25 miles broad and full of shallows which make navigation impossible for ships of large tonnage separates them from the coast. The islands are two in number — Sharḳī (Charki; the Cercina of the ancients) to the N. E. and Gharbī (Cercinitis) to the S. E. The first is 15 miles long and 4½ miles broad on an average. The coast is much indented and fringed on the north with small islands. The second, more massive in form, is 10 miles by 4½. The strait which separates them is only 1000 yards across so that in ancient times it was possible to join them by a bridge. Barley, wheat, lentils, the vine and large areas of *ḥalfa* (*lygeum spartum*) are grown on the islands. The population, which consists of Berbers mixed with foreign elements and has never been organised into a tribe, amounts to 8,000 people. The natives live in numerous villages especially on Charki or scattered in isolated dwellings. They follow agriculture and stock-breeding, make ropes, mats, basket-work, etc., but the main industry is fishing. The shallows adjoining the islands are very rich in fish and sponges are gathered in abundance.

Traces of ancient buildings have been found in Charki; the episcopal register of Byzacene mentions an *episcopus Circitanus*. In the middle ages the possession of the Kerkenna islands was on several occasions disputed between Christians and Muslims. The Normans of Sicily seized them in 540 (1145—1146) — according to al-Idrīsī in 548 (1153—1154) — but held them for only a short time. In 1289 they were ceded by the Pope to Roger Doria who built a castle there. The descendants of Doria ceded them to the King of Sicily who entrusted their government to Ramon Muntaner (1311 A.D.). They were finally abandoned by the Christians in 1335. The Sicilians, however, once more made a descent on them in 1424 and carried off 3,000 prisoners.

Bibliography: *Descr. de l'Afrique ... par Edrisi*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text p. 126—127, transl. p. 150; M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Firenze 1864—1872, vol. iii.; V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique en Tunisie*, Paris 1862, vol. i., chap. xvi.; Von Maltzan, *Reise in den Regentschaften Tunis und Tripolis*, Leipzig 1870, ii. 349—389; de Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, Paris 1868, historical Introduction; Lafitte and Servonnet, *Le golfe de Gabès en 1888*, Tunis 1888, p. 87—142.

See also the bibliography to the art. DJERBA.

(G. Yver)

KERKŪK. [See Kirkūk].

KERKŪR, a heap of stones, especially a sacred heap of stones. The cult of heaps of stones is extremely ancient and distributed all over the world. It seems to come not from an act of litholatry in the strict sense but from a rite of transference or expulsion of evil; the individual, picking up a stone, causes the evil of whatever kind that afflicts him to pass into it — as the case may be, fatigue, physical or moral suffering, sin, the dangerous power that attaches itself to a man in certain sacred neighbourhoods, or all these things together — and gets rid of it by throwing it or depositing it with the stone on a place suitable for absorbing it; the accumulation of these expiatory pebbles forms the sacred piles of stones which rise all along the roads, at difficult passes and at the entrances to sanctuaries. Alongside of these, the throwing or placing of a pebble or the building of a little pyramid of stone often becomes one of the obligatory rites of the pilgrimage and the rite losing its primitive character has been sometimes taken for a true offering-rite (cf. R. Dussaud's view, *Le Matérialisation de la prière en Orient*, in the *Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthr. de Paris*, 1906, p. 213—220). The kerkūr are often built at the place where a man has been killed and buried; this has been explained from the desire to bury more deeply a dead man whose spirit might be tempted to come out and avenge itself or, less plausibly, as a kind of homage to the dead; but this casting of stones can also be explained rather as a rite for the expulsion of evil (a dangerous place, the infection of death, proximity of disturbing magical forces). It appears therefore that we always find rites of purification in the origin of the kerkūr.

Pre-Islāmic Arabia knew the rite of casting stones and sacred heaps of stones. The rites of the ḥadjdj have preserved evidence of this. It may be asked if there is not a rite of this kind in the origin of the lapidations at Minā (for other explanations see the art. ḤADJDJ, ii. 201), and in any case, as G. Demombynes (*Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Ch. I.) has recently shown, the mixed

stones or *rudjam* which stand at the *mawāķit* marking the *ḥaram* of Mekka are exactly comparable to the kerkūr which are found from Central Asia to North Africa along the roads at points where one begins to approach the great sanctuaries; there are also examples of this practice to be found equally in Christian countries.

Islām found the cult of piles of stones in all or almost all the lands that it conquered and although orthodoxy looked askance at it, it had to accommodate itself, as to so many other popular practices, which owed their origin to paganism in the remote past. The kerkūr are especially numerous in certain regions, Syria for example, but nowhere has their cult been so developed and is so vigorous as in North Africa, especially in the south of Morocco, where it has been especially studied by E. Doutté. There, one may say, there is not a pass, or ravine or cross-roads which has not its little pyramids of stones or its great kerkūr to which every passer-by adds his pebble, not a rustic sanctuary but has its sacred piles of stones.

Sometimes the kerkūr itself, as in other cases a spring, a tree or a rock, has given rise to a sanctuary which has become islamised in a marabout fashion. It is also very common to find under the aegis of a saint several of these cults combined, — strange sanctuaries which perpetuate the ancient rites of paganism, still vigorous after twelve centuries of Islām.

Bibliography: The bibliography of the subject is very extensive. What is essential from the general point of view is given in Frazer, *Golden Bough*, third ed., part vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 8—30, where also are given a certain number of references to Muslim countries; from the Muslim standpoint in Doutté, *Merrakech*, Paris 1905, p. 58—108; do., *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, ch. x. Since the publication of this last work, E. Westermarck, *The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, Helsingfors 1916, p. 26 *sqq.* (on Morocco). (HENRI BASSET)

KERMĀN. [See KIRMĀN].

KERMĀNSHĀH. [KIRMĀNSHĀH].

KERMES. [See KIRMIZ].

KERMIYĀN. [See GERMIYĀN].

ĶERRĪ, a village and district on the right bank of the Nile, fifty miles north of Kharṭūm. In the xvith century the governorship of the surrounding territory was conferred by the Fundj ruler, ʿUmāra Dunķas, on ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ (d. 1554—1562) of the Arab tribe of Rufāʿa. His descendants, the ʿAbdallāb, maintained their position as a semi-independent dynasty with the title of Māndjil or Māndjilak until the Egyptian conquest, but transferred their seat from Ķerrī to Halfāyat al-Mulūk after the rise of Shendi in the latter part of the xviiith century.

Bibliography: H. A. Macmichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922; C. J. Poncet, *Voyage d'Ethiopie*, Paris 1713, p. 23; *Travels* of James Bruce of Kinnaird, Edinburgh 1790, iv. 517. (H. A. R. GIBB)

KERSH. [See KARSH].

KETĀMA (or KOTĀMA), one of the great Berber families; when Islām was introduced into North Africa, they occupied all the northern part of the modern department of Constantine, between the Awrās [q. v.] and the sea, that is the region containing the towns of Iķdjān, Sețif, Ilighāya, Ngaus (Niķāwus), Tiguist (Tikist), Mila, Constantine, Skikda (Philippeville), al-Ķoll (Collo), Djidjelli [q. v.], Bellezma, and the part of Kabylia in the department of Algiers, i. e. the region between Wed Sahel and the Seban. One legend flattering the national pride makes them descended from the Ḥimyarites brought there by Ifrīķos. Katām, the eponymous ancestor of their race, was said be the son of Bernes. He had two sons, Gharsen and Isūda, from whom are descended all the tribes of the Ketāma. They do not seem to have played a part in the civil and religious wars which desolated North Africa from the time of ʿUķba to the days of the Aghlabids; we do not find them among the Khāridjīs. When ʿUbaid Allāh gave himself out to be the Mahdī, his emissaries met some Ketāma pilgrims in Arabia and converted them to Ismāʿīlī doctrines. The principal convert was Mūsā, chief of the Sakyān, a branch of the Djemila whose name survives in the town of this name. The missionary (*dāʿī*) Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [q. v.] settled in Iķdjān and succeeded in maintaining his position there in spite of the efforts of the Aghlabids. From there he was able to extend his conquests and to deliver the Mahdī who was a prisoner at Sidjilmāsa. The empire of the Fāṭimids was then founded with the help of the Ketāma. It was they who furnished its main strength and supplied the means of conquering Egypt. But these continual efforts exhausted them. Those who remained in the Maghrib after the exodus of al-Muʿizz were forced to submit to local rulers, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us. In our day the principal representatives of the Ketāma are the Zawāwa of the Djurdjura and the population around Djidjelli and in Little Kabylia. We do not know at what date Ismāʿīlī doctrines disappeared from among them but long afterwards their attachment to this teaching was regarded as a subject of obloquy and for this reason the powerful tribe of Sedwīkish of Ketāma origin renounced all connection with this family. At the present day all the Berbers of this region are Sunnīs.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, iv. 32 *sqq.*, vi. 148—152; *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 291—299, ii. Append., p. 510 *sqq.*; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, ii. 51 *sqq.*, and the authors quoted. (RENÉ BASSET)

KETKHUDĀ (P. *ked* "house", *khudā* "master, lord"), originally meant the master of the house or head of a family; the name came to be given in Persia in the villages to the headman or bailiff and in the towns to the "dixenier de quartier" (Chardin, *Voyages*, 1811, iv. 77) or "district tithe-man", a kind of police officer whose duty it was to inspect his district and who was responsible to the *kalāntar* [q. v.]. The administrative reforms recently introduced into Persia have aimed at making the *ketkhudā* the representative of public authority (*mayor*) in the *ķarya* (village), the smallest territorial division. Unfortunately these officials, whose duties were formerly confined to the levying of dues, are powerless in face of the great landed proprietors (*R. M. M.*, June 1914, xxvii. 194) whose stewards they are and who appoint them; there are, however, some villages where this agent is appointed by the governor or even elected by the inhabitants.

The word has passed into Ottoman Turkish where it has been corrupted to *kehaya*, *kāya* and means the "steward of a house". *Kiāhya-i*

is the chief or syndic of a workmen's guild. The *kiaya kadin* is the first lady of the palace, the housekeeper who has charge of the domestic arrangements and the servants. The *kapu kiaya* is the representative, the agent of the governors of provinces at the Ottoman Porte. The name *dewlet kiaya-si* used to be given to an official whose function corresponded to the minister for home affairs in modern constitutions; *kul kiaya-si* was the inspector of the Janissaries, lieutenant of the Agha and his chief of staff, who could only be dismissed with the consent of the whole odjaḳ; he himself had an agent with the Agha who had to transmit the chief's orders to the commanders of fortresses and was called *kiaya-yeri*, "the inspector's lieutenant".

Bibliography: Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, ii. 612; G. Demorgny, *Essai sur l'administration de la Perse*, Paris 1913, p. 50, 55. (CL. HUART)

KHĀ', the seventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, representing the harshest of the gutturals, with the numerical value 600. It belongs to the sounds peculiar to the Arabic alphabet (in which it is distinguished from *ḥā'* by a diacritical point), in so far as the Hebrew and Aramaic scripts do not distinguish it from *ḥā'*. In Aethiopian, on the other hand, *Kharm* in contra-distinction to *Ḥawt* is denoted by a sign of its own; it is, however, to be observed that in the MSS. the two signs are often interchanged and that in the modern languages of Abyssinia there is little or no difference in the pronunciation of the gutturals. In Minaean and Sabaean *khā'* is denoted by a sign which slightly deviates from *ḥā'*. In the Assyrian script the sound corresponding to *khā'* is usually distinguished from the softer gutturals.

Bibliography: Comparative grammars of Semitic languages (Wright, Zimmern, Brockelman, Cohen etc.); A. Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre*, Leiden 1911, p. 19 and note 48.

KHABAR (A.), plural *akhbār*, *akhābīr*, report, news. The word is not used in any special context in the Ḳur'ān. In the Ḥadīth it occurs among other passages in the tradition which describes how the djinn by eavesdropping obtain information from heaven (*khabar min al-samā'*) and how they are pelted with fiery meteors to prevent them from doing so (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 105; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 149); al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lxxii., trad. 1).

In his collection al-Bukhārī has a chapter entitled *Akhbār al-Āḥād*, which, as the *tardjama* indicates, deals with the validity of traditions regarding *adhān*, *ṣalāt*, fasting, the law of inheritance, and judicial procedure, which are only given on the authority of one man.

Al-Ghazālī gives the name *akhbār* to the traditions that go back to Muḥammad. He distinguishes the sayings of the Companions by the term *āthār* (see his *Iḥyā'*, passim). On such and similar technical distinctions see Lane's *Lexicon* s.v., and *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger and Nassau Lees, s.v.

Akhbār is further often found in the titles of historical works; see Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, Index II.

Ṣāḥib al-Khabar was the title of one of a sulṭān's officers in provincial capitals whose duty it was to report to his master all new happenings, the arrival of strangers etc. The postmaster was often given this office; see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v., and the literature there given. — As a technical term in grammar *khabar* is predicate.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHABN, a term in prosody, indicating the suppression of the second letter when quiescent of a foot beginning with a *sabab khafīf* (see the art. 'ARŪḌ). It affects: 1°. *fā'ilun* (> *fa'ilun*), 2°. *mustaf'ilun* and *mustaf'i lun* (*mutaf'ilun* = *mafā'ilun*), 3°. *maf'ūlātu* (*ma'ūlātu* = *fa'ūlātu*), 4°. *fā'ilātun* (*fa'ilātun*). It is found in the metres *madīd*, *basīṭ*, *radjaz*, *ramal*, *sarī'*, *munsariḥ*, *khafīf*, *muḳtaḍab*, *mudjtathth* and *mutadārak*.

Bibliography: cf. the article 'ARŪḌ.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KHĀBŪR, the name of two rivers.

1. The larger Khābūr is one of the chief affluents of the Euphrates, which it joins at Ḳarḳīsiyā [q. v.]. In classical literature the name is written in various ways: Ἀβόρρας, Χαβώρας, Ἀβώρας, Ἄβουρας, Ἀββόρα, Βώρρας, Chaboras. Xenophon calls it Ἀράξης.

It takes its origin in the Northern Mesopotamian mountains (the Izala M. and Masius M. of the classical authors), flows through the plain of Mesopotamia, passes between Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz and the Sindjār mountains, where it takes a southern direction which it changes in the last part of its course into a south-western one.

Its springs, as well as those of its numerous affluents, are chiefly connected with three important towns, Ra's al-'Ain (Resh'aina of the Syrians) in the Northwest, Mārdīn in the North and Naṣībīn in the Northeast. The springs at Ra's al-'Ain are said to be three hundred in number; they were shut off by iron grills, in order to prevent people from being drowned in them.

Downstream from Ra's al-'Ain the Khābūr is joined by the river of Mārdīn, which by the Arab geographers is called Ṣawr; on Sachau's map it bears the name of Nahr Zrgān. Just before passing between Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz and the Sindjār mountains it is joined by the river of Naṣībīn, which in classical literature is called Mygdonius; the Arab geographers apparently mean this river when speaking of the Hirmās; on Sachau's map it is called Djaghdjagha. The course and the nomenclature of this and other affluents are still uncertain.

The Arab geographers mention several more or less important places situated on the Khābūr between Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz (classical Gauzanitis) and Ḳarḳīsiyā, such as Shā'ā, Tunainīr (upper and lower T.), Ṭābān (also on Sachau's map), 'Arbān or 'Arabān (also on Sachau's map), Sukair, al-Shamsāniya (probably Sachau's Shemisan), Mākisīn ("the custom-house"), al-Ghudair ("the pool"), and Ṣuwar (Sachau's eṣ-Ṣawar). At Mākisīn there was a bridge of boats. "Much cotton was grown here and by it lay the small lake of deep blue water called al-Munkharik, said to be unfathomable" (Le Strange).

The whole region through which the Khābūr flows, chiefly in its lower course, was renowned for its fertility. Its trees are mentioned in Arabic poetry, its fruits were exported to the towns of the 'Irāḳ. But al-Idrīsī already speaks of the plundering raids of the Beduins which cast a shadow over these natural riches. Sachau calls the tribes residing in the plain near Sheddādīya Djabūr. When he travelled there (1899), the large fertile

valley was devoid of towns, villages and human beings in general.

Bibliography: *B.G.A.*, i. 74; ii. 155; v. 133 *sq.*; al-Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, ii. 150; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 52; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 383; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. and transl. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., xxiii., index; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 253 *sqq.*; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, ix. 448 *sq.*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 94 *sqq.*; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, index and map; do., *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 134 *sq.*; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, index; do., *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, p. 250; Ainsworth, *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii., London 1842, p. 118; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, register.

II. The lesser Khābūr, one of the affluents of the Tigris which takes its rise on the mountains of Southern Armenia, south of Lake Wan and west of Lake Urmiya. It passes between the mountain ranges which are now called Djabal Haftal (North) and Zākhō Dagh (South). The latter mountains derive their name from the town of Zākhō (classical Azochis). The Khābūr joins the Tigris between Maghāra and Marra. The Arab geographers often call it Khābūr al-Ḥasaniya, after the town of this name. Here the river was spanned by a magnificent stone bridge which was looked upon as a miraculous piece of masonwork. Al-Ḥasaniya probably survives in the hamlet of Ḥasan Agha.

Bibliography: al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 190 *sq.*; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 384; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 93; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 168; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, index.

KHADHLĀN (KHIDHLĀN, A.), nomen actionis from the root *kh-dh-l* "to leave in the lurch", a technical term in Muḥammadan theology, applied exclusively to Allāh when He withdraws His grace or help from man. The disputes regarding it first appear in connection with the quarrel over *ḳadar* [q. v.]. A starting point is found in Sūra iii. 154: "but if He abandon you to yourselves (*yakhdhulkum*), who will help you after Him? Let the faithful therefore trust in God". On this al-Rāzī observes: "The Companions deduce from this verse that belief is exclusively a result of Allāh's help (cf. John, vi. 65), while unbelief is a result of His *khadhlān*. This is obvious as the verse points out that the matter is entirely in God's hands".

A more detailed exposition is given by Ibn Ḥazm: "Right guidance and assistance consist in God's preparing (*taisīr*) the believer for the good for which He has created him; while *khadhlān* consists in His preparing the *fāsiḳ* for the evil for which He has created him. Linguistic usage, the Ḳur'ān, the force of logic, and the attitude of the fuḳahā and those in the past who handed down traditions and of the companions and successors as well as of those who came after them and of the whole body of Muslims with the exception of those whom God has led astray as regards their intelligence, namely such as belong to the followers of slanderers and nullifiers, like al-Naẓẓām, Thumāma, al-'Allāf and al-Djāḥiẓ, are all unanimous". Then follows this reasoning: Allāh has given man two forces, hostile and opposed to one another, *tamyīz* (power of discrimination) and *hawā* (passion, desire). When Allāh protects the soul, *tamyīz* prevails by His help and power. But when He leaves the soul to itself (*khadhala*), He strengthens the *hawā* with a strength which amounts to leading astray (*iḍlāl*).

Khadhlān is therefore, according to Ibn Ḥazm, the opposite of *hudā* and *tawfīḳ* and the conception approaches that of *iḍlāl*. The Mu'tazila (as already indicated by Ibn Ḥazm's words) see in it a contradiction to Allāh's justness: according to them, Allāh does not urge a man to evil. In their terminology *khadhlān* therefore means the refusal of divine grace (*man' al-luṭf*), while, according to the Ash'arīs, *khadhlān* is "the creation of the ability to disobey".

Bibliography: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, ii. 296; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Ahwā' wa 'l-Niḥal*, Cairo 1317—1321, iii. 50 *sq.*; *Dictionary of the technical Terms*, ed. Sprenger and Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1862, p. 449; M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam*, Leiden 1875, p. 58. (A. J. WENSINCK)

KHADĪDJA, Muḥammad's first wife, was a daughter of Khuwailid of the Ḳuraish family of 'Abd al-'Uzzā. The authorities are unanimous in saying that when she made Muḥammad's acquaintance and took him into her service she was a well-to-do merchant's widow who was carrying on business independently. She had been twice married previously and had children of both marriages. The one husband was a Makhzūmī, the other a Tamīmī, Abū Hāla, whose real name is variously given; but this Abū Hāla is also mentioned by others among the followers of Muḥammad, which — if both stories are true — would make Khadīdja a divorced woman. When she discovered the brilliant qualities of her young employee — the story of this is adorned with all sorts of legendary features — she proposed marriage to him according to the generally accepted story, her father was dead by this time, according to another, still alive and opposed to the marriage, so that she only obtained his consent after making him intoxicated — a favourite motif in fiction (cf. the art. DJAḤDHAMA). Most authorities make Muḥammad twenty-five at this time and Khadīdja forty, which, in view of the fact that Arab women age early and that she bore him at least five children (see the art. MUḤAMMAD), is not even probable, although in later times extraordinary capabilities in this direction were ascribed to the Ḳuraish women (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tria Opuscula*, ed. van Vloten, p. 78). Otherwise we do not need to doubt the essential accuracy of the tradition, for the alteration in Muḥammad's circumstances has witness borne to it in the Ḳur'ān (xciii. 6 *sq.*) and the fact that in spite of his later so marked sensuality he was content with one wife so long as Khadīdja lived is best explained by her superior social position which she perhaps used to insist on this condition. Her wealth must have been a great help to him during his struggle and her death (which is said to have taken place three years before the Hidjra) after she had probably suffered

considerable losses through the hostility of the great merchants, contributed to make his position still less endurable. But her personality seems to have been of even greater weight with her husband: in any case tradition draws a very attractive picture of the moral support which she afforded him during the excitement and agitation of the first revelation. That Waraḳa b. Nawfal [q. v.] was her cousin must have helped to make her sympathetic to Muḥammad's aims.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, viii. 7—11, i. i. 84 *sq.*, 130, 141; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 119—122, 153—156, 232—277, 1001; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1127—1130, 1151, 1156 *sq.*, 1159, 1166, 1199, 1766; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. Sprenger, iii. 1130; al-Azraḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 463; Sprenger, *Das Leben .... des Moḥammad*, i. 194 *sqq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 138—144, 166—172, 221, 225, 227; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, p. 273 *sqq.*; Lammens, *Fāṭima*, p. 12 *sqq.*

(FR. BUHL)

KHĀDIM (A.), servant; in Turkish often used with the secondary meaning of "eunuch". The word is applied to male and female, freemen or slaves alike; as to the latter see the art. ʿABD. The collective is *khadam* and the plural *khuddām*. *Khādim al-Ḥaramain al-sharīfain* (servant of the two sacred areas i. e. Mekka and Medina) was one of the titles of the Sulṭān of Turkey (see Barthold, *Isl.* vi. 1916, p. 379, *sqq.*).

There have always been free servants alongside of slaves in Islām. Anas b. Mālik [q. v.] entered Muḥammad's service as a youth (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, bāb 74 etc.) and he records it to his master's credit that the latter had never said a harsh word to him nor even ever asked him for an explanation of his doings (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 25). Servants were used on journeys especially, and put up the tents, etc. These servants are called *farrāsh* (lit. spreaders of the carpets), a name which is, however, given to servants who look after the beds and the house generally (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London 1859, ii. 202, note 16).

In Egypt in Lane's time there was an organisation of servants. They were under special shaikhs to whom anyone who required a servant had to apply; these shaikhs were responsible for any dishonesty or breach of trust by their people (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, p. 139). There were also free female servants who performed the lowest household duties (*op. cit.*, p. 147, 197) for a very small wage (p. 168). Some of the male servants used to shave their beards (p. 573).

In Turkish houses of the upper classes these people, who are usually addressed by their name followed by Agha, work as cooks, gardeners, janitors, etc., and they have to avoid the women's apartments in the house with which they communicate by the swivel-box (*dolab*). If they are married they do not live in their master's house.

The women servants in the konaks live in the women's apartments and have very little personal freedom. They sometimes belong to impoverished Turkish families or are the children of former servants and slaves. They are called *kalfa* (from *khalīfa*) or *kalāʾiḳ* (from *khalāʾiḳ*) and the men *ushak*, *deftiyer*, *khizmetkiar* (*khidmetkār*). The servant girls (*khidmetdji* = *khidmetdji*) are usually Greeks or Armenians.

Uniformed officials in the imperial and official services were divided into various corporations (chamberlains, janitors, musicians) and were included under the general name *kadama* = *khidama* (information supplied by Dr. Kramers). On such corporations see also v. Hammer, *Constantinople und der Bosporus*, Pest 1822, ii. 395 *sqq.*

In North Africa, especially in Algeria, conditions have become considerably influenced by European customs. In place of *khādim*, *ṣaḥab*, plur. *aṣḥāb*, is commonly used; this honourable designation is applied to the clients of prominent Moroccan families who are employed in various duties from the lowest to the most confidential missions. They usually receive no regular salary but live on the bounty of their master. They accompany him on the road, look after his mount, and order illumination for trips at night, etc. If their master is a great ḳāʾid or the head of a brotherhood he appoints one of his *aṣḥāb* to accompany travellers who are passing through the areas over which his authority extends. This is a sign that they are under his protection.

In the zāwiyas servants of this type form a guild to which is entrusted the care of pilgrims and of the buildings; cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; Doutté, *l'Islam algérien en l'an 1900* (information supplied by Prof. H. Basset).

The Ḥadīth has handed down various sayings of Muḥammad which endeavour to secure good treatment for servants; in these it is not always possible to distinguish whether the reference is to freemen or slaves. The *khādim* is responsible for his master's possessions (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 9); on the other hand alms which he bestows out of his master's property bring him a heavenly reward (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, bāb 25). One should be ready to forgive one's servant (al-Tirmidhī, *Birr*, bāb 32); he should neither be beaten nor cursed (al-Tirmidhī, bāb 30, 31, 85); and the servant who has prepared a meal has a right to partake of it (al-Bukhārī, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 55; al-Tirmidhī, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 44, etc.)

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-**KHAḌIR** (AL-KHIḌR), the name of a popular figure, who plays a prominent part in legend and story. Al-Khaḍir is properly an epithet ("the green man"); this was in time forgotten and this explains the secondary form Khiḍr (about "the green"), which in many places has displaced the primary form.

Legends and stories regarding al-Khaḍir are primarily associated with the Ḳurʾānic story in Sūra xviii. 59—81, the outline of which is as follows. Mūsā goes on a journey with his servant (*fatā*), the goal of which is the *Madjmaʿ al-Baḥrain*. But when they reach this place, they find that as a result of the influence of Satan they have forgotten the fish which they were taking with them. The fish had found its way into the water and had swum away. While looking for the fish the two travellers meet a servant of God. Mūsā says that he will follow him if he will teach him the right path (*rushd*). They come to an arrangement but the servant of God tells Mūsā at the beginning that he will not understand his doings, that he must not ask for explanations and as a result will not be able to bear with him. They set out on the journey, however,

during which the servant of God does a number of apparently outrageous things, which causes Mūsā to lose patience so that he cannot refrain from asking for an explanation, whereupon the servant of God replies: "Did I not tell you that you would be lacking in patience with me?" He finally leaves Mūsā and on departing gives him the explanation of his actions, which had their good reasons.

This servant of God is called al-Khaḍir by the majority of the commentators. Others, however, identify him with Mūsā's servant (see below). Both interpretations have their roots in Oriental legends. The Ḳur'ānic story may be traced back to three main sources: the Gilgamesh epic, the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi. The two first are, of course, again closely related to one another; at the same time it should be noted that the fish episode is lacking in the epic and is only found in the romance (cf. R. Hartmann in the *Z. A.*, xxiv. 307 *sqq.*).

The main features which the three sources have in common with the story in the Ḳur'ān are the following:

The Gilgamesh epic. Overcome with melancholy at the death of his friend Engidu, the hero Gilgamesh sets out on a series of travels to look for his ancestor Utnapishtim (Khasisatra, Xisuthros) who lives at the mouth of the rivers and who has been given eternal life. Gilgamesh wants to ask him about the plant of life which will save man from the power of death.

The Alexander romance. The fish episode (with which we are here concerned) which shows Alexander on the search for the spring of life is found in greatest detail in Syriac literature, in the Lay of Alexander (cf. C. Hunnius, *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lx. 169 *sqq.*, line 158 *sq.*). Alexander is accompanied by his cook Andreas (cf. the article ILYĀS). During the laborious journey through the land of darkness Andreas on one occasion was washing a salted fish in a spring; the contact with the water made the fish live again and it swims away. Andreas jumped in after it and thus gained immortality. When he told Alexander his adventure the latter at once realised that this was the well of life. All attempts to find it again failed: Alexander is denied the immortality which becomes the lot of the unfortunate cook, who does not know what to do with it.

The Jewish legend (printed in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, v. 133—135) tells how Rabbi Joshua ben Levi goes on a journey with Elijah under conditions laid down by Elijah, like those above of the servant of God in the Ḳur'ān. Like the latter, Elijah does a number of apparently outrageous things which affects Joshua as it did Mūsā. Zunz, *Gesammelte Vorträge*, x. 130 (not accessible to me) first pointed out the similarity of this story to the Ḳur'ānic legend. A comparison of the main features of these three sources with Sūra xviii. 59 *sqq.* suggests the following conclusions, questions and hypotheses.

The chief figure in the Ḳur'ānic story is called Mūsā. Some commentators doubt his identity with the great prophet (see below). There is not, however, the slightest hint of another Mūsā anywhere in the Ḳur'ān. On the other hand, we have no legends of Moses, which make him, like Gilgamesh and Alexander, go on the great journey. We might suggest the following explanation of the difficulty. The figure of Joshua ben Levi, with which Muḥammad first became acquainted through the Jews and which does not again appear in Muslim legend, was identified, as we shall see, with Joshua b. Nūn. This identification may have resulted in a confusion of his master Elijah with Joshua b. Nūn's master Moses. Mūsā thus represents Gilgamesh and Alexander in the first part of the Ḳur'ānic story and Elijah in the second.

The figure of the travelling-companion is not connected with the Gilgamesh epic where it is not found, but with the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend. It probably comes in the first place from the romance. This is suggested by the fact that the companion is called *fatā* (here practically "servant"), a term that points to Alexander's cook rather than to Rabbi Joshua; the fish episode, which also is only found in the Alexander romance, points in the same direction.

The Madjma' al-Baḥrain is given as the goal of the journey. The expression has no direct original either in the epic or the romance, although there are points of contact in both. Utnapishtim lives *ina pî narâti*, i. e. at the mouth of the rivers. It is not quite certain what this expression means, but it is probable that the place in the extreme west is meant where the sources of all running water are. This, however, still leaves the dual in the Ḳur'ānic expression unexplained. This is still the case, if we attempt to trace it to the Alexander romance where (i. e. in the Syriac Alexander legend; see Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 259) Alexander with his army crosses a strip of land between the eleven bright seas and the ocean. It is also possible that the expression goes back to none of these but to another story unknown to us, which perhaps never found its way into literature, in which there was mention of the meeting-place of two seas. According to western Semitic cosmology, this is the end of the world where the oceans of earth and heaven meet.

We can likewise only guess at the origin of the rock (verse 62). It also belongs to cosmology (see A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, xix., Nº. 2, p. 26 *sqq.*). It is found neither in the epic nor in the romance, again an indication that the Ḳur'ānic story borrowed from other sources also.

The servant of God at the Madjma' recalls Utnapishtim-Khasisatra. He is called (verse 64) one to whom God's mercy had been shown, to whom divine wisdom had been granted. This sounds almost like a translation of the name Khasisatra and the granting of divine favour is perhaps an echo of Utnapishtim's immortality.

The test of patience to which he subjects the newcomer comes from the Jewish legend only; the servant of God in this respect thus represents Elijah.

II

The commentators, Ḥadīth, and historians have collected a mass of statements around the Ḳur'ānic story, additions which, like the story itself, come for the most part from the three sources already mentioned.

The first question discussed is whether the principal character is Mūsā b. 'Imrān or

Mūsā b. Mīshā (= Manasseh) b. Yūsuf b. Ya'ḳūb, i. e. a descendant of the patriarch Jacob (al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, iv. 333; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, on verse 59). Commentators are almost unanimous in favour of the former alternative and base their opinion on the following legend which is transmitted in several forms. When Mūsā, the famous prophet, was one day preaching to the children of Israel he was asked if there was any man wiser than he. When he replied in the negative, Allāh revealed to him that his pious servant al-Khaḍir, was wiser than he. He thereupon decided to visit this wise man. The story comes from Jewish legend; it is found in a considerable number of Arabic sources (al-Bukhārī, *'Ilm*, bāb 16, 19, 44; *Anbiyā'*, bāb 27; *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 2—4; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, trad. 170—174; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 1; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 417; *Tafsīr*, xv., 165 *sq.*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iv. 333).

The (salted) fish serves as a guide to the route; the place where it is lost or revived by contact with water is the spring of life where al-Khaḍir lives (al-Ṭabarī, i. 417). A further indication of the spring of life is that it is marked by the rock, for it rises at its foot (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 167; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 4). The rock is also located before the river of oil or the river of the wolf (al-Baiḍāwī and al-Zamakhsharī on Sūra xviii. 61; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 164). Some connection between a river of oil and the spring of life is in itself not impossible. According to many statements, oil is a feature of Paradise rivers. Then ذئب would be an error in writing زيت which could easily arise. Vollers considers the reverse probable; he thinks that "river of the wolf" is a translation of the name Lukos, which is not uncommon in classical literature as a river-name. If this hypothesis is correct, one might think of the Lukkos in Morocco or the Lycus on the Syrian coast, two regions with which the idea of extreme west is associated, as we shall see directly.

The Madjma' al-Baḥrain is explained in various ways. Some regard it as "the place where the Persian Ocean unites with the Roman Sea, to the east" (al-Baiḍāwī on Sūra xviii. 59; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 163). This points to the Isthmus of Suez and is an echo of the idea that the coast of Syria was the extreme west (see A. J. Wensinck, *Bird and Tree as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1921, p. 17 *sqq.*). Others say that it is the junction of the Roman Sea with the Ocean (Tandja, Ifrīkiya; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 163, and al-Zamakhsharī on the passage). This view reflects a later cosmological standpoint which regarded the Straits of Gibraltar as the extreme west. A far-fetched explanation is that the union of the two seas means the meeting of Mūsā and al-Khaḍir, the two seas of wisdom (e. g. al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, i. 318).

When Mūsā first sees Khaḍir he is wrapped up in his cloak, as the Ḳur'ān says, "because he was sleeping", says al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, i. 418). When he sees a bird drinking out of the sea he says to Mūsā: "Your wisdom is as insignificant compared with that of God as the amount the bird drinks is compared with the sea" (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 418; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 3; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, iv. 333 *sq.*). Al-Khaḍir lives on an island (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 422), or on a green carpet (*ṭinfisa*) in the heart of the sea (*'alā kabid al-baḥr*; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xviii., bāb 3).

The test of patience is embellished by the commentators with a wealth of detail. It would take up too much space to go into them here; cf. the commentaries on Sūra xviii. 59 *sqq.*, and the works on history and tradition mentioned in the *Bibliography*.

As may be expected from what we have said above, another branch of tradition lays particular emphasis on the connection between al-Khaḍir and Alexander's search for the spring of life. Friedländer, however, goes much too far when he says (*Die Chadhirlegende*, p. 108 *sq.*) "that originally Chadhir had nothing at all to do with the puzzling servant in verse 64 — who belongs to quite a different cycle of stories — but with the servant of Moses (Alexander) who has charge of the fish in verse 59 *sqq.*, in other words he is identical with Alexander's cook whom we know so well from Pseudokallisthenes and the Syriac homily". For Khaḍir is, as we have seen and will see further, connected with Utnapishtim as well as with Alexander's companion.

There is no translation of the Alexander romance in the Arabic literature known to us (cf. Weymann, see *Bibliography*). On the other hand, there are a number of, in part unedited, versions of the Alexander saga, which have been examined by Friedländer. It would take us too far to go into the differences between these versions with regard to our subject. These sources show their independence of the Ḳur'ān not only by the fact that they make Khaḍir the companion of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain, but also by the complete absence of any reference to the *fatā* of the Ḳur'ān. Al-Khaḍir usually appears as the commander of Alexander's vanguard on his march to the spring of life. In al-Sūrī's version he is called the king's vizier and has become the principal character, throwing the king himself into the background; in 'Umāra he is Alexander's cousin, conceived and born in similar circumstances to him and at the same time. The usual account of the journey to the spring of life makes Alexander and al-Khaḍir go their ways separately; in some versions, the latter has the fish with him and discovers the miraculous well through the fish's becoming alive when it touches the water; in other stories, on the other hand, there is no mention of the fish and al-Khaḍir recognises the spring by other signs; in others again he dives into it without knowing its virtues (e. g. al-Ṭabarī, i. 414). In one version in Niẓāmī, al-Khaḍir does not go with Alexander but with Elijah to the spring, out of which both drink and both become immortal.

III

The descriptive character of the name al-Khaḍir is so obvious from its meaning that tradition could not but give the hero's real name, as well as his genealogy and date. We find him most frequently called Balyā b. Malkān. In al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii. 144) the latter is called a brother of Ḳaḥṭān and thus given a place in the South Arabian genealogy. This makes it probable that Malkān is identical with Malkam (I Chronicles, viii. 9), who is also included among the

South Arabian patriarchs. This genealogy is next traced back to Shem through Fālagh (Phaleg) and ʿĀbir (Eber) (e. g. al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 415; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 92; al-Nawawī, on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v. 135). Is this Balyā (بليا) perhaps not a corruption of Elia (ايليا), which is identical with a Syriac form of the name Elijah. On the other hand, Elijah is also given in the Muslim form Ilyās as al-Khaḍir's proper name and also Elisha, Jeremiah (cf. God's words in *Iṣāba*, p. 887), Khaḍrūn (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 415; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, i. 106, and Friedländer's *Chadhirlegende*, p. 335, under Chadhir).

Ibn Ḥadjar also gives the following genealogies (*Iṣāba*, p. 883 *sq.*): (1) He is a son of Adam (weak *isnād*); with this is connected the story (*Iṣāba*, p. 887 *sq.*: Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, p. 1) that al-Khaḍir took care of Adam's body and finally buried it after the flood; (2) He is a son of Ḳābīl called Khaḍrūn; (3) He is al-Muʿammar (the Long-lived) b. Mālik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr b. al-Azd; (4) He is Ibn ʿAmāʾīl b. al-Nūr b. al-ʿĪṣ b. Isḥāk; (5) He is the son of Pharaoh's daughter; (6) He is a Persian, as his father was a Persian, his mother a Greek or vice versa; it is also said that he was born in a cave, fed there on the milk of wild beasts and finally entered the service of a king (al-Damīrī, i. 318; Ibn Ḥadjar, p. 891 *sq.*); cf. also his meeting "on the market-place of the Banū Isrāʾīl" with the man who asks him for alms *li-wadjh Allāh* (*Iṣāba*, p. 894 *sq.*).

This does not, however, exhaust the traditions about his names and genealogy. We shall only quote here the following from Maracci, *Prodromi* to Sūra xviii. 57: Alchedrus, quem fabulantur Moslemi eundem fuisse, ac Phinees filium Eleazari, filii Aaron; cujus anima per metempsychosin emigravit primo in Eliam, deinde ex Elia in S. Gregorium, quem propterea Mahumetani omnes summo honore prosequuntur. — The latter identification is probably due to a confusion with St. George, with whom al-Khaḍir has certain points of resemblance; cf. thereon Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue archéologique*, vol. xxxii. *sq.*, and Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 275. Clermont-Ganneau further pointed out the relationship between the consonants *kh-ḍ-r* and the North Semitic group *ḥ-ṣ-r*. The name has also been taken as a corruption of Khasîsatra (Guyard in the *R. H. R.*, i. 344 *sq.*) or connected with Ahasuerus, the wandering Jew (Lidzbarski in the *Z. A.*, vii. 116).

Very varying dates are given for al-Khaḍir's period. Sometimes he is called a contemporary of Abraham, who left Babel with him (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 415); sometimes he is put in the period of Afrīdūn; he is a contemporary of Alexander and lived down to the time of Mūsā (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, p. 886); according to others, he was born in the period of Nāshiyā b. Amūṣ (i. e. Isaiah b. Amos) (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 415 *sq.*). The divergence in these statements is partly connected with his immortality (see below).

More important are the explanations of the name given in the Oriental sources. He is said to have become green through diving into the spring of life and thus got his name (Ethiopic Alexander romance; cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 235 *sq.*). As already mentioned, he lives on an island (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, p. 317); he is also said to worship God on the islands (al-Ṣūrī, see Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 183; al-Thaʿlabī, p. 197). This may point to al-Khaḍir's having originally been a marine being. The following circumstances point in the same direction: he is frequently called the patron of seafaring people (e.g. *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, i. 107); he is said to be appealed to on the Syrian coast by sailors in stormy weather. In India he has become a regular river-god under the name Khwādja Khiḍr [q.v.], who is represented sitting on a fish. Clermont-Ganneau and Friedländer sought the origin of the figure mainly in this direction, the latter on the assumption that the Greek Glaukos legend reached the Muslims through a Syriac intermediary (*op. cit.*, p. 107 *sqq.*). But apart from the fact that we know nothing of any such intermediary, a connection between al-Khaḍir and Glaukos would only explain one aspect of the former; nor would it tell us anything about the origin of the figure, indeed one may doubt whether it is right to seek for the origin of a figure so complicated as al-Khaḍir, who has characteristics in common with Utnapishtim, with Alexander's cook and other figures.

There are other things to be considered. In a number of Arabic explanations of the name, al-Khaḍir is conceived not as belonging to the sea but to the vegetable kingdom. "He sat on a white skin and it became green" (e.g. al-Nawawī on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v. 135; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 168). "The skin", adds al-Nawawī, "is the earth." Al-Diyārbakrī (i. 106) is still more definite: "The skin is the earth when it puts forth shoots and becomes green after having been bare". According to ʿUmāra, al-Khaḍir is told at the spring of life: "Thou art Chadhir and where thy feet touch it, the earth will become green" (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Wherever he stands or performs the *ṣalāt*, it will become green (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, iv. 336). These are statements (especially the last) which remind us of a Messianic passage in the Old Testament: "Behold the man whose name is the branch and he shall grow up out of his place" (Zachariah, vi. 12). Al-Khaḍir is really connected with two Messianic figures — with Elijah (cf. the art. ILYĀS) and with Jesus; these three form with Idrīs [q. v.] the quartette of those who have not tasted death (*Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, i. 107).

The variations in the character of al-Khaḍir result in different views regarding his nature. If he is a prophet (see *Iṣāba*, p. 882 *sqq.*) it remains doubtful whether he is to be included among the Apostles (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 135). He is, however, also human, angelic, mundane and celestial (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 544, 798). Popular piety as well as Ṣūfī circles readily regard him as a saint (*walī*). According to one Ṣūfī view, every age has its Khaḍir, in so far as the *Naḳīb al-awliyāʾ* for the time being is al-Khaḍir (*Iṣāba*, p. 891). As *walī*, if three times appealed to, he protects men against theft, drowning, burning, kings and devils, snakes and scorpions (*Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, i. 107; *Iṣāba*, p. 903). Sky and sea and all quarters of the earth obey his sway; he is God's *khalīfa* on the sea and his *wakīl* on land; he can make himself invisible at will (ʿUmāra in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 145). He flies through the air, meets Elijah on the dam of Alexander and makes the pilgrimage to Mekka with him every year (cf. *Iṣāba*, p. 904 *sq.*).

Every Friday he drinks from the *Zamzam* well, and Solomon's pond and washes in the well of Silon (*Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, i. 107; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 148 *sq.*, 151); he can find water below the ground and talks the languages of all peoples (al-Sūrī in Friedländer, p. 184).

His immortality is particularly emphasised (cf. Rückert's poem "Chidher"; ʿUmāra in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, p. 1; *Iṣāba*, p. 887 *sqq.*, 892, 895). According to the *Iṣāba*, p. 882, he was given immortality after a conversation with his friend, the angel Rafāʾīl, in order to establish the true worship of God on the earth and maintain it. Ibn Ḥadjar describes a meeting between al-Khadir and Muḥammad in various versions (*Iṣāba*, p. 899 *sqq.*). On meetings with individuals who lived at a later date see *ibid.*, p. 908 *sqq.*; on the table which was let down to him from heaven see *ibid.*, p. 919; on his presence at the battle of Ḳādisiya see *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iv. 216.

He lives in Jerusalem and performs his *ṣalāt* every Friday in the mosques of Mekka, Medina, Jerusalem, Ḳubāʾ and on the Mount of Olives; his food is *kamʾa* and water-parsley (*Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, i. 107; *Iṣāba*, p. 889 *sq.*, 904).

On his marriages we have as early as classical Ḥadīth (Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, bāb 23) a legend also mentioned by al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, p. 193 *sqq.*, which in its main features must have come from Christian sources. It is the motif of the pious youth who married by his parents against his will persuades his young wife to preserve her virginity (cf. the Syriac Acts of Thomas, 2nd Praxis). The story links up with that of Pharaoh's daughter's handmaid.

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(A. J. Wensinck)

KHWĀDJA, a Persian word of uncertain etymology, an honorific title applied to personages of a town, not of military rank, bourgeois. It was generally borne by ministers of sovereigns who were chosen from among the learned. It was later used to designate eunuchs. It is found as early as the beginning of the vith (xiith) century in a verse by the poet Anwarī. The derivative substantive *khwādjagī* in the sense of "merchant", "tradesman" is found in Meninski and the Sicilian documents published by Michele Amari (p. 212, 2).

It passed into Arabic in the forms *khawādja* and *khawādja*, the modern *khawādja* (eastern dialects) and means "Sir, Mr., Monsieur". It has been borrowed by Ottoman Turkish in the form *khodja* [q.v.] and here means "scribe, clerk, copyist, literate, private tutor"; it is found again in the western dialects of Arabic which have borrowed it with the same pronunciation and the same meanings. It is found in the *1001 Nights* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*). The title of Khodja, like that of Shaikh, is in Turkestān only given to descendants of the Caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and to those of ʿAlī through his wives other than Fāṭima (Defrémery, *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, ii. 407, Nº. 1; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, Lahore 1888, p. 86).

(Cl. Huart)

KHWĀDJA KHIDR (or Khizr in India), is in many parts of India identified with a river-god or spirit of wells and streams. He is mentioned in the *Sikandar-nāma* as the saint who presided over the well of immortality. The name was naturalized in India, and Hindū as well as Muslims reverence him, it is sometimes converted by Hindūs into Rādja Kidār. On the Indus the saint is often identified with the river, and he is sometimes to be seen as an old man clothed in green. A man who escapes drowning is spoken of as evading Khwādja Khizr (Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i. 221). In a poem by a Balōč regarding a fight on the Indus a boat is unloosed "to float on the Khwādja's waves", and it is asserted "the Khwādja himself will remember that battle". (*Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, i. 74), and by one poet his name is substituted for that of Mīkāʾīl as one of the archangels. His principal shrine is on an island of the Indus near Bakhar, which is resorted to by devotees of both creeds (*Sind Revisited*, ii. 226). Manucci who was present at the siege of Bakhar in 1069 (1658) alludes to this shrine under the name of Cois Quitan. Burnes also mentions it in his "*Bokhara*".

The saint is believed to ride upon a fish, which was adopted as a crest by the Kings of Oudh, and appears on their coins. Possibly in this case there is also a survival of the fish-avatār of Vishnu. Muslims offer prayers to Khwādja Khidr at the first shaving of a boy, and a little boat is launched at the same time; also at the close of the rainy season. — See further khadir.

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KHWĀDJŪ KIRMĀNĪ. [See kirmānī].

KHĀF, a town in Khurāsān, more accurately Khwāf, is first mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī in the form Khawāf as a district of Nīsābūr; he describes it as small, rich in pomegranates and grapes which were made into raisins, and he calls the capital Sᵉlūmak. According to Yāḳūt, the district was bounded by Būshendj of Herāt and Zūzen of Nīsābūr; it included 200 villages and three towns: Sandjān, Sīrāwand, Khardjird. Al-Ḳazwīnī says that Khawāf was near Nasā. According to him, it was large with many inhabitants, and had many villages, gardens and streams. It is perhaps to the same locality that Saiyid al-Murtaḍā refers as Khāf (without w), "a village in the land of the Persians (*'adjam*)".

The modern Khāf lies on the southern road, which does not touch Nīsābūr, from the Caspian Sea to Herāt, between Turshīz and Kelāt Nādir on a tributary of the Hari-Rūd. Prellberg, following Macgregor, gives the total population as 15,000. According to Clerk, he describes the chief town Khāf as a town of 500 houses with several forts surrounded by pretty gardens; fields and villages stretch along the river for four miles from Khāf, of which latter the largest were Nāṣirābād with 300 houses and Salama and Sangun with 400 houses. Sangun must correspond to the Sandjān of Yāḳūt; Salama may be the modern form of al-Muḳaddasī's Sᵉlūmak and would have been the capital of the district in older times. According to Yāḳūt, Khardjird lay near Būshendj and must therefore have been in the eastern part of the district of Khāf, where in modern times there is no longer any settlement except the fort of Kalaï Nādir. The total number of villages in the district of Khāf was given by Bunge as 26.

Bibliography: *B. G. A.*, iii. 300, 319; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 479; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 244; *Tādj al-'Arūs*, vi. 106; Prellberg, *Persien, eine historische Landschaft*, p. 33 *sq.*; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 218; Blochmann, *Āīn-i Akbarī*, i. 445. (P. Schwarz)

KHAFĀDJA, a subdivision of the Hawāzin tribe of 'Uḳail which remained as powerful Bedouins longer than most of the other tribes which inhabited the Arabian peninsula at the dawn of Islām. The genealogists give their affiliation to their kindred clans as Khafādja b. 'Amr b. 'Uḳail, and they were subdivided into eleven branches: Mu'āwiya Dhu 'l-Karḥ, Ka'b Dhu 'l-Nawaira, al-Akra', Ka'b al-Aṣghar, 'Āmir, Mālik, al-Haitham, al-Wāzi', 'Amr, Ḥazn and Khālid. They had their territory in the time before Islām to the south-east of al-Madīna and owned one or two villages, among which Sarw Luba and Sharā'-in are mentioned. A hundred years later we find them mentioned much further east and at war with the tribe Ḥanīfa in the Yamāma (*Agh.*, vii. 122). Probably the Ḳarmaṭian movement in the Yamāma in the early part of the fourth century of the Hidjra caused them to move farther north towards the borders of the 'Irāḳ. Here we find them towards the end of the fourth century established as masters of al-Kūfa under their amīr Thumāl and his sons. They may have been at first allies of their cousins the Banū Yazīd (not Bozid as in Wüstenfeld's *Tabellen*, or Yazīd as otherwise stated) who established themselves as rulers of al-Mawṣil and the surrounding country. They were rather in opposition to them. In the year 391 (1000) Ḳarwāsh attacked them in al-Kūfa and they were compelled to leave the country and move along the Euphrates towards Syria, where they remained only till the following year, when the 'Abbāsid general Abū Dja'far al-Ḥadjdjādj called them to his aid when the 'Uḳailis besieged al-Madā'in. This brought them again back to their ancient dwelling-places and as the Baghdād government had probably supplied them with arms they utilised these a few years later, in 402 (1011), in an attack upon the caravan of pilgrims. They had seized the wells at Wāḳiṣa to the south-west of al-Kūfa a short distance into the desert, and prevented the pilgrims from approaching to the water and then fell upon them, slaughtering and plundering, making many of the survivors prisoners. Emboldened by this success they demanded the lands to the right of the Euphrates which had been in the hands of the 'Uḳailis, and marched under the command of Sulṭān, 'Ulwān and Radjab, sons of Thumāl to al-Anbār, laying the whole neighbourhood waste and besieging the town. An army sent against them from Baghdād and supported by the 'Uḳailis drove them out and Sulṭān was actually captured, but released upon the intercession of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Mazyad al-Asadī. No sooner had he been released than in the following year 403, news was received at Baghdād that they were plundering the country round al-Kūfa under Sulṭān. An army was sent against them which was aided by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Mazyad and they were surprised at the river al-Rummān. Sulṭān escaped but his brother Muḥammad was made a prisoner, but this defeat had the result that many of the pilgrims who had been captured in the year 403 were liberated and reached Baghdād, where they had been believed to have been killed. Meanwhile the 'Uḳailī Amīr Ḳarwāsh had been captured and released and he now tried to make common cause with the Khafādja, trying to join Sulṭān ibn Thumāl, but after they had joined they were attacked by troops sent from Baghdād and routed. They both asked for pardon which, strangely, was readily granted. This gave a few years of comparative peace but in 417 (1026) Dubais b. 'Alī b. Mazyad al-Asadī and Abu 'l-Fityān Manī' b. Ḥassān, now chief of the Khafādja, made a plundering expedition against the lands which belonged to Ḳarwāsh in the Sawād [q. v.], assisted by troops from Baghdād, and they encountered him near al-Kūfa of which he had made himself master. Karwāsh fled towards the North and was pursued by the combined tribes of Asad and Khafādja, who actually took possession of al-Anbār, but after this success the two tribes dispersed again to the pasturing quarters. Manī' b. Ḥassān then marched, with his followers to al-Djāmi'ain a place between Baghdād and al-Kūfa, which belonged to Dubais b. Ṣadaḳa b. Mazyad and plundered the land round it; when pursued by Dubais they turned North and attacked al-Anbār. The inhabitants defended themselves for a while but

as the town was not protected by walls the Khafādja entered plundering and burning. When they learned that Ḳarwāsh was coming to drive them out assisted by troops from Baghdād they left the town, but soon returned and looted the town for the second time. When finally Ḳarwāsh was able to drive them out he spent the winter in the town and instructed walls to be built to protect the town from further surprise attacks. Now Manī' swore allegiance to the Būyid ruler Abū Kālīdjār and marched south to al-Kūfa where he had the *Khuṭba* said in the name of Abū Kālīdjār, for which he received jurisdiction over the waters of the Euphrates. This had the result that in 420 Dubais severed his allegiance to Abū Kālīdjār as he was afraid of the depredations of the Khafādja. In the following years the Khafādja held sometimes with one party and again with another and when in 425 (1033) Dubais had a quarrel with his brother Thābit they sided with the former but quarrels also arose among the Khafādja chiefs during which 'Alī b. Thumāl was killed and his nephew al-Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Barakāt became chief of the tribe. When in 428 (1036) the ḥādjib Bāris Tughān rebelled in Baghdād, the general of the Caliph, al-Basāsīrī employed among others the tribe of Khafādja to quell the revolt, as a result of which Bāris Tughān was executed. We do not hear much about the Khafādja for some years, but in 446 (1054) they again made an inroad upon al-Djāmi'ain, belonging to Dubais, which they plundered; al-Basāsīrī came to his assistance and the Khafādja retreated into the desert. They were pursued and their stronghold Khaffān was besieged and raised to the ground, except the citadel which was a strong building of cement. When al-Basāsīrī rebelled against the Caliph in the same year he took al-Anbār after a prolonged siege and we find that among the prisoners he took there were 100 men of the tribe of Khafādja. Again followed a period of comparative peace, but when in 485 (1092) the pilgrims from Baghdād had passed al-Kūfa they were attacked by the Khafādja. The news having been received at Baghdād, troops were sent who caused great slaughter among them and this was the cause that in future they were no longer powerful enough to do serious damage. A few years later, in 499 (1105) the Khafādja came into conflict with the Ṭaiyi' tribe 'Ubāda over some stolen camels and while the latter could muster about 500 warriors, the Khafādja were unable to place a similar number into the field, but they were assisted by Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr [q.v.], the chief of Asad, and were victorous. This success was however of short duration as in the following year the tribe of 'Ubāda, now assisted by Badrān, son of Ṣadaḳa, utterly routed Khafādja who were compelled to forsake their pasture grounds and wander north towards Syria, while 'Ubāda in future occupied the lands adjoining the Sawād. Again in 536 we hear of Khafādja making an inroad into the 'Irāḳ, but the troops sent against them easily drove them off, killing large numbers. How weak the Khafādja had become is evident from the fact that in 556 (1161) they assembled in the neighbourhood of al-Ḥilla and al-Kūfa, asking for the relief-food and dates which had apparently been granted them. The governors of the two towns refused to grant their request and Ḳaiṣar, the governor of al-Ḥilla sent 250 soldiers to drive them off, a similar corps being sent by the governor of al-Kūfa. They pursued the fleeing Khafādja along the river Euphrates as far as Raḥbat al-Shām where the Khafādja made a stand as they could not retreat any farther and in the fight which ensued Ḳaiṣar, the governor of al-Ḥilla, was slain while Arghash, the governor of al-Kūfa, took refuge with the governor of Raḥba. Khafādja then pleaded for forgiveness stating that they were constrained to fight by being driven to extremes. Their excuse was accepted as the wazīr Ibn Hubaira who had marched out against them saw the futility of pursuing them into the desert. The last time we hear of the Khafādja is in the year 588 (1192) when they came to the assistance of the town of al-Baṣra when the latter was threatened by the tribe of 'Āmir. In addition to the events narrated we find that Khafādja were among the Arab tribes who assisted in the siege of Tiberias in 507 (1113) when Baldwin had taken refuge there after an unsuccessful raid upon Ḥalab.

According to al-Ḳalḳashandī a branch of the tribe of Khafādja was settled in lower Egypt. Among the poets of this tribe in ancient time was Tawba b. al-Ḥumaiyir, celebrated on account of his love for Lailā al-Akhyaliya and the elegies which the latter composed upon his death when he was killed in a raid.

Bibliography: Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ed. Cairo 1342, ii. 340; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Baghdād 1322, p. 207; Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* and *Register*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, passim; Hilāl al-Ṣābi', ed. Amadroz, Leiden 1904, passim; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, ed. Cairo, principally in vol. 4; and all historians of the fifth century of the Hidjra.

(F. Krenkow)

AL-KHAFĀDJĪ, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Khafādjī, called Shihāb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī, was born near Cairo about the year 979/1571 and received his earliest education from an uncle on his mother's side, Abū Bakr al-Shanawānī, whom he calls himself the Sībawaih of his age, and under him he studied both Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī law; the biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Shifā'* by the Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ [q.v.] he read under Ibrāhīm al-'Alḳamī and he even studied medicine under Dā'ūd al-Baṣīr. Later he made the pilgrimage in the company of his father and took the opportunity to hear the lectures of the learned men in the two holy cities. After his return from the pilgrimage he made his first journey to Constantinople, where he found several teachers of outstanding merit, among whom he mentions Ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī, Muṣṭafā ibn 'Arabī and the Jewish Rabbi Dā'ūd under whom he studied mathematics and the books of Euclid. His principal master, however, was Sa'd al-Dīn b. Ḥasan, and when the latter died and his other teacher soon followed him in death, Constantinople became devoid of men of learning. He had meanwhile gained favour and received the post of Ḳāḍī of the province of Rūmeli and rising in rank he became Ḳāḍī of Usküb under Sulṭān Murād, who finally appointed him to the same office in Salonika. These offices enriched him considerably and he was ultimately sent as Ḳāḍī 'Asker to Egypt. This post, however, he did not hold for long as through intrigues at Constantinople he was dismissed. This decided him to make another journey to Constantinople and on travelling there he passed through Damascus and Ḥalab, in

both of which cities he was entertained by the men of learning. His expectations in Constantinople were not fulfilled and he gave vent to his anger in the literary outburst which he entitled *al-Maḳāmāt al-Rūmiya*. Instead of making matters easier for himself he incurred the hatred of the Muftī Yaḥyā b. Zakāriyā and was ordered to leave the city immediately. As an acknowledgment of his worth as a scholar he received the appointment of an ordinary Ḳāḍī at Cairo, but he seems to have devoted his remaining years to study and the composition of his works. He died in Cairo on Tuesday the 12th of Ramaḍān 1069 (3 June 1659). Al-Khafādjī enumerates most of his works in his autobiography, many of them of considerable size, while he himself tells us that many of his treatises were never collected in book-form. His most extensive work is a commentary upon the *Tafsīr* of al-Baiḍāwī which he entitled *ʿInāyat al-Ḳāḍī*, and which has been printed in Cairo in four large volumes. The work follows the usual tedious method of explaining almost every word, and for traditions and explanations he adduces the statements of a large number of other authors who have treated upon the same subject. The same is the case with his second largest work, a commentary upon the *Shifāʾ* of the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, entitled *Nasīm al-Riyāḍ*, which we have seen, he studied under Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlḳamī. Here again he quotes all accessible literature dealing with the biography of the Prophet, giving the various authorities who have recorded the same traditions. Neither of these works contain anything original, because the subject did not call for anything new. All that was required of the author was to bring together every detail on his subject he could find in the works on hand. This work has also been printed in Constantinople 1267 A.H. in four volumes. Of an entirely different nature are his two biographical works: *Khabāyā ʾl-Zawāyā fī mā fī ʾl-Ridjāl min al-Baḳāyā* and *Raiḥānat al-Alibbā wa-Nuzhat al-Ḥayāt al-Dunyā*. The titles prepare us for the style in which these two books are composed, the evil influence of the *Yatīma* of Thaʿālibī and the *Kharīda* of ʿImād al-Dīn is in both works apparent; we get instead of biographies an exuberance of verbosity without any noteworthy information and in most cases we can only infer that the persons named lived during, or shortly before, the time of the author, but the arrangement according to countries gives us the information where the persons lived. For biographical details both works are useless. We get however a fair amount of contemporary poetry to enable us to judge to what miserable depth the art of rhyming had sunk. While the first named work exists only in manuscript, the *Raiḥāna* has been printed three times in Cairo (1273, 1294 and 1306), which shows us that the work is appreciated in Egypt. The most valuable portion of this work is an autobiography of the author (in which he has omitted to state when and where he was born) and the *Maḳāmāt al-Rūmiya* which is directed against the learned men of Constantinople. The autobiography has furnished the material for the account of his life above and in the work of al-Muḥibbī. Of more value are his *Ṭirāz al-Madjālis* and his *Shifāʾ al-ʿAlīl*. The former is a work of the class called *amālī* in 50 sessions (*madjālis*), and he tells us in the introduction that Ibn al-Shadjarī, Ibn al-Ḥādjib, al-Ḳālī or even Thaʿlab would acknowledge its excellence if they were able to see the book. Its value consists in having preserved extracts of older works now apparently lost or undiscovered. It is interesting to find him quote from the *Kitāb al-Maʿānī* of al-Ushnāndānī (printed in Damascus 1340), the *Milal* of Ibn Ḥazm, the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm or the *Ansāb* of al-Zubair Ibn Bakkār, considering how rare manuscripts of these books are. The book is in fact a curious collection of odd information from all kinds of sources. Apparently there are two editions of this book, one Cairo 1284 and a second without date printed in Tunis. The *Shifāʾ al-ʿAlīl fī mā fī Kalām al-ʿArab min al-Dakhīl* is, as indicated by the title, a work dealing with words of foreign origin in the Arabic language. The author has used for this purpose the *Muʿarrab* of al-Djawālīḳī [q.v.] and similar works, but is not content with explaining, or simply mentioning, words of foreign origin, as he also gives ample specimens of vulgar errors in correct Arabic speech. Closely resembling this book is a commentary on the *Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī, which has been printed together with the *Durra* at Constantinople, in 1299. In this work he not seldom corrects al-Ḥarīrī and frequently gives useful additional information and this work together with his *Ṭirāz* are probably the best of his compositions. His *Dīwān* is mentioned by al-Muḥibbī and has actually been preserved in manuscript in Copenhagen, but my knowledge of his poetry is confined to what al-Muḥibbī quotes or he himself cites in his own work. It is not of a high standard, but his whole works are typical of his period and vividly reflect what we may expect from his contemporaries.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, i. 331—343; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 285.

(F. KRENKOW)

KHWĀFĪ KHĀN (MUḤAMMAD HĀSHIM NIẒĀM AL-MULKĪ), historian; his title of Khwāfī Khān was given him by Muḥammad Shāh and is derived from a family connection with Khwāf, a district of eastern Persia, famous for its distinguished men. He was a son of Khwādja Mīr a confidential servant of Murād Bakhsh, youngest son of Shāh Djahān. The place and date of his birth are not known, but it seems probable that he was born in India, and a statement in his history (i. 739) implies that his birth took place about 1664. The statement is that 74 years after the death of Shāh Djahān's minister, Saʿd Allāh, he was 52 plus the age of discretion (14?). In other words he was 66 Muḥammadan years old in 1728 (1066 + 74 = 1140 A. H.). His father was Khwādja Mīr, a confidential servant of Shāh Djahān's youngest son, Murād Bakhsh, and was severely wounded at the battle Samūgarh. Khwāfī Khān possibly, like Bernier's friend Dānishmand, began life as a merchant, or as an official's clerk, and it was in one of these capacities that he visited Bombay in 1693—94 and had an interview with an English official (ii. 424, and Elliot-Dowson, vii. 350). He served under Awrangzēb, Bahādur Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh in the Deccan and in Gudjarāt, and was long stationed at Surat. He also lived at Aḥmadābād, which he defends against the strictures of Djahāngīr, and at Rahīrī, in Sīwādjī's country, and in the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was governor of Čampānīr (i. 77). Probably he ended his days at Ḥaidarābād in the service of Āṣaf Djāh Niẓām al-Mulk (hence our author's title of

Niẓām al-Mulki) about 1732—33. He was an intimate friend of Shāh Nawāz, the author of *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* (who was also a Ḥaidarābādī officer) (v. iii. 680 of the Bibl. Ind. ed. of that work, and Khwāfī Khān, ii. 678).

Khwāfī Khān wrote a history of the Indian branch of Tīmūrid dynasties, and called it *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* (the Choice Compendium). It is a standard work and is much admired, especially by Orientals, for its style, and its accuracy and impartiality, though it is often too grandiloquent for western taste. Still, it is by far the most human and interesting of native histories of India, with the doubtful exception of Badā'ūnī, and ought to have been translated long ago. After an introduction beginning with Turk b. Yaphet, and describing the origins, etc., of the Tartars and Mongols, it gives short biographies of Tīmūr, his third son, Mīrān Shāh, and the descendants of the latter, who were the emperor Bābur's ancestors. These are followed by a history of the emperors of Āgra and Dihlī, beginning with Bābur, of whom there is a tolerably full account, and ending with the beginning of the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh. Bābur conquered India in 1526, and the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh was 1732, so that the history covers a period of over 200 years. The last ten years of the history are given in a very abridged form. The most valuable parts of the work are the accounts of Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb, for both of whom the author had a high admiration. The history has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (2 vols), but the edition is not complete, for it wants the first part or volume. This last, however, is very rare, and perhaps does not exist in its entirety. There is only a portion of it in the British Museum. The author refers to it in vol. i. p. 49 of the printed edition. Khwāfī Khān also wrote a history of the minor Muhammadan dynasties of India, but this too has disappeared, though a small portion is preserved in MS. in the India Office Library (Ethé, *Cat.*, No. 407). It was apparently of little value, being mainly an abridgment of Farishta.

The charm of Khwāfī Khān's history consists in his digressions and his frequent use of his own observations, and of information derived from his father and brother. He is a somewhat bigoted Muḥammadan, and he is too favourable to Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb. Thus he slurs over Awrangzēb's treacherous capture and subsequent execution of his younger brother, Murād Bakhsh. The capture he represents as a clever manoeuvre (it certainly was to the public advantage), but he is evidently half-ashamed of it, for he declines to give the particulars. In his account of Murād Bakhsh's attempt at escape, and his trial and execution, which he got from his father, he does not plainly set down Awrangzēb's responsibility, and continues to pay him a compliment for his generosity in rewarding the man who declined to prosecute Murād for the murder of his father. He also deals lightly with Shāh Djahān's conduct to Khusraw, and to his competitors for the throne, and says nothing about his debaucheries. Still he is far more honest than Abu 'l-Faḍl. His accounts of Shēr Shāh and Djahāngīr are very fair, and in the latter of them he has a very interesting account of Nūr Djahān. He says he got it at Sūrat in 1695—96 from a very old man, who as a child had accompanied Nūr Djahān's father on his journey from Persia to Afghānistān and India. Khwāfī Khān too, though, like Tacitus, he may tell us too much about emperors and their wars, does not omit the more interesting subject of plague, and famine, and of internal administration.

Bibliography: Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. (which contains a very full abstract, by Prof. Dowson, of the 2nd volume of Khwāfī Khān); Colonel Lees, *Materials for the History of India* (Hertford 1868), p. 57 *sq.*; there is a manuscript translation of vol. i. by Major Gordon in the British Museum (Add. 26, 617).

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KHAFĪF, the eleventh metre in Arabic prosody, containing three *'arūḍ* and five *ḍarb*:

I	*Fā'ilātun*	*mustaf'ilun*	*fā'ilātun*	∴	„	„	*fā'ilātun*
	„	„	„	∴	„	„	*fā'ilā*
II	„	„	*fā'ilā*	∴	„	„	*fā'ilā*
III	„		*mustaf'ilun*	∴	„		*mustaf'ilun*
	„	„		∴	„		*mustaf'il*

All the feet lose their second quiescent letter when the last quiescent letter of the preceding foot is retained and vice versa. The foot *fā'ilātun* used as first *ḍarb* is often changed to *fālātun* (= *maf'ūlun*) by *tashʿīth*. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KHAIBAR, an oasis on the road from al-Medina to Syria, 100 miles from al-Medina. Doughty, who stayed in Khaibar from November, 1877, to March, 1878, describes Khaibar as a group of wide, well-watered valleys, which lie together like a palm leaf on the edge of the lava region (Ḥarra) and all run into one main valley. These valleys are gashes in the lava-field, beneath which lies sandstone which, wherever it crops out, has a burned and discoloured appearance. The oasis lies 2,800 feet above sea level and Doughty puts its population at about 1,000 souls. The bottoms of the valleys are covered with rushes, the springs have a slightly sulphurous taste and are surrounded by incrustations of salt. In spite of its many palm trees, the land has an uninviting aspect and great stretches of ground lie untilled. The commanding height of al-Ḥiṣn, illustrated by Doughty on p. 104, consists of a great basalt rock, which rises out of the Wādī Zaidiya, like an erratic block. The modern settlement is built on its south side. The length of the walled platform of the citadel is 200 paces and the breadth 90. The floor is deep mould, which may be partly of the old clay buildings that have melted away upon the uneven rock. In digging, potsherds, broken glass, eggshells and horse-dung are brought to light. Two ancient pyramids of clay bricks, the lower parts of which are cased with stone, enclose an ancient covered well, which was used to supply the garrison.

The name Khaibar is said by Yāḳūt to have meant "castle" in the language of the Jews who lived there; according to Salīl b. Muḥammad al-Kātib, it took its name from Khaibar b. Kāniya b. Mahlā'īl, who was the first to settle there. The ancient Khaibar, according to the old Arab geographers, lay in a very fertile district which was rich in palms and luxurious cornfields, and consisted of seven castles: Ḥiṣn Nā'im, Ḥiṣn Abī 'l-Ḥuḳaiḳ, Ḥiṣn al-Shiḳḳ, Ḥiṣn al-Naṭāh, Ḥiṣn al-Sulālim, Ḥiṣn Waṭīḥ and Ḥiṣn al-Katība. Al-Bakrī further mentions Ḥiṣn Wādjida, in which there were palms and other trees and which later belonged to the Prophet Muḥammad, and the greatest stronghold

of Khaibar, Ḥiṣn al-Ḳamūṣ, which ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, afterwards Caliph, captured, the lower part of which was occupied by the mosque of the Prophet (also called al-Manzila), built after the conquest by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. The spring in the fort of al-Shiḳḳ was called al-Ḥamma. The Prophet called it *Ḳismat al-Malāʾika* ("the angels' share"). It was much admired for the remarkable properties of its water. Two-thirds of its water flowed away in one channel and the other third in another. Both had the same direction. If three pieces of wood or three dates were thrown into the well, two went into the channel containing two-thirds and one into the other. No one could take more than a third of the spring water out of this channel and if anyone stood in the channel which took two-thirds in order to send more water into the smaller channel, the water overwhelmed him and flowed past him so that none went back into the second channel to increase its share.

The oldest mention of Khaibar in inscriptions is in the bilingual inscription of 568 A.D. of Ḥarrān in al-Ledja, of which E. Littmann has given the correct interpretation in *Osservazioni sulle iscrizioni di Ḥarrān e di Zebed*, in *R.S.O.*, 1911/12, iv. 193 *sqq.* The inscription bears the date "in the year 463 [viz. of the era of Boṣra], a year after the expedition of Khaibar". According to Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 313, this expedition took place under King al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir (al-Ḥārith b. Djabala), who reigned from 528 to 569/570 A.D.; the inscription now gives as the exact date for this event the year 567 A.D. Much more serious for the history of Khaibar and its Jewish population was Muḥammad's campaign; he set out in the beginning of the year 7 A.H. (628 A.D.) with about 1600 men against Khaibar, presumably with the object of obliterating the unfavourable impression made by the treaty of Ḥudaibiya and of offering his followers a rich substitute for the booty they had lost. The Jews of Khaibar had apparently prepared for Muḥammad's attack, but they were not united among themselves. The population was not a solid body living together within one area, but was scattered among the surrounding valleys, where they occupied in little groups fortified houses in the midst of rich palm groves and cornfields. Every settlement had its own particular name. The valley was divided into three territories, called al-Naṭāh, al-Shiḳḳ and al-Katība. This strategically unfavourable mode of settlement was from the first a disadvantage, and the position of the Khaibarīs became still more precarious when their allies, the Ghaṭafān, left them in the lurch, and their 4,000 auxiliaries left Khaibar for their homes. Muḥammad thus had a free hand. The advance was carried out by night and in the morning the Khaibarīs found the Muslim troops confronting them; they had taken up their quarters behind the Ḥarra on the edge of the desert. It took Muḥammad about six weeks to conquer the whole district of Khaibar. Every strong house, every fortified place had to be besieged and stormed, frequently after heavy fighting. The castle of al-Naṭāh was the first to be attacked; it resisted for over a week. In revenge for the stubborn defence, Muḥammad had the splendid palm-trees around it cut down. 400 were destroyed before the politic Abū Bakr put a stop to further devastation. Al-Shiḳḳ was next stormed. The successes of the Muslims had already much weakened the strength of the defence. Treachery had placed al-Naṭāh in the hands of the Prophet, and as engines of war had also been captured, in the use of which a Jewish traitor instructed the Muslims, the resistance of the Jews diminished considerably so that the other strongholds fell more quickly. The last bulwark of the defence, al-Katība, fell almost without resistance. The Jews were sentenced to lose all their property and were left with their wives and children and allowed to till the soil which they had previously owned. Half of the harvest had to be handed over to Muḥammad. This tribute continued to be paid until the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb drove the Jews out of Arabia. Later, however, the Jews returned in certain numbers to Khaibar. Benjamin of Tudela says that in 1173 A.D. a Jewish colony, 1150 strong, which must have formed a closed community, lived in Khaibar. Not too much stress need be laid on his statement. Burckhardt, who saw Khaibar at the beginning of the xixth century, mentions that the Jewish community once settled here had entirely disappeared.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHAIBAR PASS, the northern route between Afghānistān and India, leading from Kābul to Peshāwar. The pass runs from Dakka to Djamrūd and is about thirty-three miles long, its centre lying in 34° 6′ N. and 71° 5′ E. Its highest point, Landī Kotal, is 3,378 feet above sea-level.

Alexander the Great probably sent the division of his army under Hephaestion and Perdiccas through the Khaibar, while he himself followed the northern bank of the Kābul river and crossed the Kūnar valley into Badjawr and Sawād. Maḥmūd of Ghazna used the pass only once, when he marched to meet Djaipāl in the Peshāwar valley. The Amīr Tīmūr used it when invading India in 1398 and when retiring in 1399.

Bābur invaded India by the pass in 1525 and Humāyūn, after capturing Kābul, on his return from exile, traversed it. It was the route regularly used by Akbar and his successors between the Pandjāb and Kābul, and Djalālābād, first fortified by Humāyūn, was named after Akbar. The pass was held in Mughal times, as now, by the Afrīdīs, a turbulent tribe extremely jealous of foreign encroachment, and in the reign of Akbar their hostility was accentuated by the establishment in this region of a heretical and fanatical sect, the Rawshaniyas [q.v.], who commanded the adherence of the Afrīdīs, Yūsufzais, and other tribes. In 1586, on the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīn, ruler of Kābul and younger brother of Akbar, Rādjā Mān Singh, marching to take possession of Kābul in the name of the emperor, was obliged to force the pass, an operation which was performed with

difficulty, and the suppression of the Rawshaniyas cost much blood and treasure. In 1672 the tribes attacked Muhammad Amīn Khān Awrangzīb, governor of Kābul, in the pass, annihilated his army of 40,000 men and captured the women and children and the imperial treasure and elephants.

Nādir Shāh, advancing by it to attack Nāṣir Khān *ṣūbadār* of Kābul under the Mughal government, was opposed by the tribesmen, but led his cavalry through Bārār, took Nāṣir Khān by surprise, and overthrew him near Djamrūd. Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and Shāh Zamān used the pass on several occasions when invading the Pandjāb.

The British first used the Khaibar Pass in 1839 in the attempt to establish Shāh Shudjā' in Afghānistān, and have since used it on several occasions, more than once suffering disasters in traversing it.

By the treaty of Gandamak (1879) between the British and the Amīr Ya'kūb Khān, the control of the pass was left to the former, who have exercised it latterly by maintaining an experienced political officer for the pass, at whose disposal are the Khaibar Rifles, a corps of militia composed of Afrīdīs under British officers. The arrangement has not been entirely satisfactory, but was probably the best that could be made with so turbulent and treacherous a tribe.

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KHAIR AL-DĪN, an important Turkish architect of the time of Sulṭān Walī Bāyazīd II (1481—1512). As a result of the habit of Turkish historians of mentioning favourably every pious founder, writer of chronograms, and calligrapher, but only exceptionally giving the name of the creator of a masterpiece of architecture, or even giving any biographical notice of him, Khair al-Dīn's activities are veiled in obscurity. It is certain, however, that he is a historical personality. He is said to have been the son of the architect Ustād Murād. His masterpiece is the Bāyazīd Mosque, a vigorous piece of architecture, in Constantinople (built between 1501 and 1507) (on which see Ewliyā, *Siyāḥat-nāma*, Stambul 1314, i. 142; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Stambul 1279, ii. 211; von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, Pest 1822, i. 402; Skarlatos Byzantios, *Konstantinupolis*, Athens 1890, i. 421).

The popular Turkish view of the importance of Khair al-Dīn, who is considered the real founder of Ottoman architecture and is approached by none of his predecessors (Elyās b. 'Alī, Meḥmed al-Madjnūn, Mūsā, etc.) or his successors (M. Ḳāsim, Kamāl al-Dīn) down to Sinān [q. v.], the greatest of Ottoman architects and one of the greatest of the world's architects, is confirmed by his masterpiece, the Bāyazīd Mosque.

The scheme of two half-domes supporting the principal dome is modelled, it is true, on the Aya Sofia, but dominated by another conception and deliberately developed further. Pious legends are associated with the building.

There is also a little mosque by him which bears his name, not far from the *türbe* of the Grand Vizier Sinān Pasha at Parmaḳ Ḳapusu. His tomb is in front of this *türbe*.

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(TH. MENZEL)

KHAIR AL-DĪN (BARBAROSSA), the famous Turkish corsair and Beylerbey of Algiers and brother of 'Arūdj [q. v.]. In spite of the statement to the contrary by Haëdo, it is he who is referred to by the epithet Barberousse (Barbarossa, Aenobarbus) in the diplomatic correspondence of the French court. Born at Metellin about 888 (1483) he was at first a pirate under the command of his brother and acquired a great reputation for skill and bravery. When 'Arūdj set out on his expedition against Tlemcen he gave his brother the governorship of Algiers, which he had just taken. When the news of the death of 'Arūdj arrived, Khair al-Dīn was unanimously chosen by his companions to succeed him. But he soon found himself in a very critical position. The towns of Cherchell and Tenès had rebelled; the Kabyls of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, king of Kūko, deserted him; Abū Ḥammū, king of Tlemcen, had invaded the Chelif valley; finally the Algerians, tired of the cruelty of the Turks, were only waiting an opportunity to throw off the yoke. Thus feeling unable to cope with all his opponents with the forces at his command, Barbarossa sought the help of Selīm, Sulṭān of Constantinople. He paid homage to him for the lands conquered by his brother and promised to pay him tribute. The Sulṭān, who had just conquered Egypt (1517), eagerly seized this opportunity of placing the shores of the Western Mediterranean under his sway. He accepted the homage of Khair al-Dīn and gave him the ranks of Pasha and Beylerbey (cf. the article BEG). At the same time he sent 2,000 men with artillery to Algiers and authorised the enrolment of volunteers, to whom he granted the rights and privileges of the Janissaries [q. v.]. 4,000 Turks or Levantines thus came to serve under Barbarossa and formed the *odjaḳ* or militia of Algiers.

The arrival of these reinforcements enabled Khair al-Dīn to meet the dangers which threatened him. A conspiracy of the Algerians who had agreed with the tribesmen to set fire to the fort and massacre the Turks was put down and the heads of the ringleaders fixed on the gates of the Pasha's palace. A Spanish force under Ugo de Moncade was repulsed. The Christians landing at the mouth of the Harrash (al-Ḥarrāsh) had taken up their position on the heights of Kudyat al-Ṣābūn and began to bombard the town. Barbarossa succeeded in drawing them out of their entrenchments by attacking their ships drawn up on the shore and forced them to re-embark (1519). In the east, on the other hand, he was less fortunate. A Tunisian

army was advancing on Algiers. He set out against that and met the enemy in Kabylia on the territory of the Flissat Umelil. In the middle of the battle, the Sulṭān of Kūko, secretly won over by the Ḥafṣid Sulṭān, deserted and turned against the Turks. The latter were cut to pieces and Barbarossa, with his road to Algiers barred, had to take refuge in Djidjelli [q. v.]. During this time the Kabyls laid waste Mitidja and occupied Algiers, while Cherchell and Tenès again revolted (1520).

Taking refuge in Djidjelli, Khair al-Dīn began to reconstitute his army and to gather reinforcements. He resumed his old trade of pirate and from 1520 to 1525 he ravaged the coasts of the western Mediterranean, amassing considerable booty and gathering numerous adventurers around him. He was soon strong enough to seize Collo (1521), Bône (1522) and Constantine. He also secured the help of the natives of Little Kabylia by making an alliance with 'Abd al-'Azīz, chief of the Banū 'Abbās, rival of the Sulṭān of Kūko. Thus he was able in 1525 to resume the offensive against Ibn al-Ḳāḍī. Defeated at the Wādī Bugdūra and again at the pass of the Banū 'Āisha, the latter was killed by his own soldiers. Mitidja and Algiers were reoccupied by the Turks, the rebel chiefs of Tenès and Cherchell were put to death and the inhabitants of Constantine, who had in 1527 expelled their ḳā'id and massacred the Turkish garrison, severely punished. Finally, Ḥusain, who had succeeded Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, tendered his submission and agreed to pay an annual tribute (1528).

The capture of Peñon, a Spanish stronghold built on an islet within cannon-shot of Algiers, completed the restoration of Turkish power. In the beginning of May, 1529, Barbarossa began the bombardment of this fortress, the garrison of which the Spaniards had neglected to strengthen; it was taken by storm on May 27 when there were only 25 unwounded defenders left. Khair al-Dīn had the governor, Don Martin de Vargas, put to death and ordered the outer walls of Peñon to be razed to the ground. The debris were used to build a mole joining the island to the mainland. This jetty protected the roadstead from the west winds and enabled the corsairs to leave their ships in shelter which they had previously been obliged to draw up on shore during bad weather. This created the harbour of Algiers, a refuge and base for operations for the Barbary fleets. Disturbed by this new success of Khair al-Dīn, the Spaniards tried to secure a landing place on the coast by taking Cherchell, but the expedition led against this town by Andreas Doria ended in failure (1531).

Now definitely installed in Algiers, Barbarossa set himself to increase still further his military forces by organising, alongside of the Janissaries, whose insolence and insubordination rendered them dangerous, bodies of troops personally devoted to him. He formed a guard of 500 renegades, for the most part Spaniards, raised 7,000 to 8,000 Greeks and Albanians, enrolled Kabyls, and entrusted the command of this new force and of his artillery to *ra'īs*, his old companions. He thus found himself able to undertake an expedition against Tunis, with the inhabitants of which he had long had secret negotiations. By taking this town he wished to anticipate the designs of the Spaniards and secure himself the control of all the eastern shore of Africa. The Sulṭān, to whom he had communicated his plans, gave him the required authorisation and sent him auxiliaries. Leaving the government of Algiers to his *khalīfa*, Ḥasan Agha, Barbarossa entered Tunisia, seized La Goulette (Aug. 16, 1534) and from there advanced on Tunis. Mūlāy Ḥasan, who tried to stop him, was defeated in a battle fought near the gate of al-Djazīra, and had to flee (Aug. 18). The Turks entered Tunis and plundered the town. The rest of the kingdom submitted without resistance.

Barbarossa's success was, however, of short duration. In the month of June, 1535, Charles V appeared on the coast of Tunis. On July 14th the Spaniards captured La Goulette and on the 20th became masters of Tunis. The Christian slaves, whom Khair al-Dīn had refused to massacre, burst their chains and joined the attackers. Fearing he might be surrounded by the enemy, the Beylerbey fell back on Bône, where he found his fleet, which he had sent there on receiving news of the preparation of the Spanish expedition. From there he sailed for the Balearic Islands, sacked Mahon and brought back to Algiers 6,000 captives and considerable booty.

A little later, Khair al-Dīn went to Constantinople by order of Sulṭān Sulaimān, who in 1533 had appointed him *Ḳapudan pasha* and wished to entrust him with the direction of the naval campaign against Charles V and his allies. He had not to return to Algiers, where authority was exercised in his name by a *khalīfa*. At Constantinople Barbarossa devoted himself entirely to his new office. He reorganised and increased the Turkish fleet and took an active part personally in the naval war. In 1537 he ravaged the coasts of Apulia, tried unsuccessfully to take Brindisi by surprise and took part in the siege of Corfu. Not having been able to capture the latter place, he turned his attention to the Venetian possessions in the Aegean Sea and occupied the islands of the Dodecanese. The following year he completed the conquest of the Archipelago by taking Sciatos, Scyros and Carpathos; he then made a descent on the island of Crete where he burned two towns and 80 villages. In the Ionian Sea he gained two victories over Andreas Doria, at Prevesa and St. Maura. In 1539, with the help of his lieutenants, Ḥasan Corso and Dragut, he recaptured Castelnuovo in the Gulf of Cattaro and Malvasia and Nauplia in the Morea. The Venetians were forced to submit to concluding a truce with the Porte.

These successes secured Barbarossa a position of preponderating influence in Constantinople. Honoured by the friendship of the Sulṭān, he persuaded Sulaimān to continue the war in the Western Mediterranean. He was also decidedly in favour of the French alliance. From 1534 he had been in correspondence with Francis I; after the conclusion of the treaty of Baghdād, he was the confidant of the ambassadors of the most "Christian King" and leader of the French party in the Grand Dīwān. Charles V endeavoured to win him over to his cause by secretly offering to recognise him as sovereign of the whole of North Africa on payment of a small tribute. Barbarossa, while pretending to lend himself to the Emperor's plans, at once revealed them to the Sulṭān. The disastrous end of Charles V's expedition to Algiers (1541) still further increased Khair al-Dīn's prestige, although he had taken no share at all in the defence of the town.

Hostilities, suspended since the truce of Nice (1538), began again between Francis I and Charles

V (1541). Barbarossa was given command of the Turkish fleet, which was to co-operate with the French forces. In 1543 he operated along the Italian coasts, took Reggio, ravaged the coasts of Calabria, then, after joining the Duc d'Enghien at Marseilles, laid siege to Nice. The town of Villefranche, where the Turks landed, was taken and destroyed. Nice was occupied but the castle could not be taken. The arrival of Doria's fleet and the Marquis del Vasto's army forced the Turks to withdraw. A portion of their fleet wintered at Toulon while the rest went along the Catalonian coast and sacked Palamos and Rosas. The peace of Crespy (1544) ending the war, Khair al-Dīn returned to the Levant, pillaging the islands and shores of Tuscany and the Kingdom of Naples.

After this campaign, Barbarossa retired to Constantinople. He had great wealth in this town, including several palaces on the Bosporus.

He died on July 4, 1546, at the age of 63, and was buried in the mosque which he had built at Büyük Dere (see the art. DERE). By his will he ordered all his slaves under 15 years old to be liberated and left the others, 800 in number, to the Sulṭān as well as 30 armed galleys. The rest of his wealth was divided between his nephew and his son Ḥasan, whose mother was a Moresco, and who on three different occasions filled the office of governor of Algiers (see the art. ḤASAN PASHA, above, ii. 281).

Barbarossa was not only a successful corsair and a remarkable soldier; he also possessed certain of the qualities of a statesman, an indomitable resolution which enabled him to surmount the greatest difficulties, and a very accurate sense of the conditions on which the establishment of a permanent state in Barbary depended. He understood that Turkish rule, being restricted to the coast, naturally tended to be precarious; he therefore tried to make himself master of the interior. His ambition was to unite in one vast state, of which he would be the sovereign, the whole of North Africa. If circumstances did not permit him to realise this plan, at least he finished the work begun by 'Arūdj, and he may be regarded as the real founder of the Regency of Algiers.

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(G. YVER)

KHAIR AL-DĪN PASHA. [See ČENDERELI].

KHAIR AL-DĪN PASHA, a statesman of the time of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. He was of Circassian origin, but spent his early years in Tunis, where he rose to important offices as a result of his brilliant abilities. He ultimately became *bash mudīr*. His great aim was to achieve a closer relationship with Turkey, which was recognised in a firmān of Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz. As a result of a quarrel with Ṣādiḳ Pasha, then Walī of Tunis, he left the Tunisian service and retired to Paris. In 1294 (1877) 'Abd al-Ḥamīd summoned him to Constantinople and appointed him president of the commission on financial reforms and later of the Council of State. In the difficult period after the loss of the Russo-Turkish war he was appointed Grand Vizier in 1295 (1878), the eighth in the short period 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had been reigning.

Khair al-Dīn was very liberal in his views and endeavoured to further the reform movement now beginning by introducing improvements, especially in the administration of justice, and tried to strengthen the Grand Vizier's power as much as possible in opposition to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's wish to make the Grand Vizier a mere instrument for the execution of instructions given by the Yildiz Kiosk. He brought upon himself the opposition of the 'ulamā', who would only allow the Grand Vizier the right of presiding at the council of ministers. After only eight months of office he was dismissed. He died in Constantinople in 1307 (1889) at the age of nearly 70 and was buried in Aiyūb. He bore the reputation of being reliable, fearless, steadfast and liberal. He wrote an Arabic work entitled *Aḳwam al-Masālik fī Ma'rifat Aḥwāl al-Mamālik*, said to have also been translated into Turkish and French.

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(TH. MENZEL)

KHAIRĀBĀD is a town in the District of Sītāpur, United Provinces, India. Population (1901), 13,774. It was formerly a place of importance, and is said to have been founded by one Khaira, a Pāsī, in the xith century. It is, however, more probable that the name was given by Muhammadans to an older town on the same site; and it has been identified with Masachhatra, an ancient holy place. A number of temples and mosques are situated here, some of them dating from the reign of Akbar, but none is of much

interest. It has been a municipality since 1869. Trade has suffered owing to the rise in importance of Sītāpūr, but there is a daily market, and a small industry in cotton printing survives.

At the time of Akbar the *Sarkar* of Khairābād consisted of 22 mahals or parganas, but many of these lay in the present districts of Kherī and Hardoi. This pargana consisted of the Southern portion of the country lying between the Gond and Zarayan rivers. It was bounded on the North by Hargram, on the east by Lahārpūr and Biswan, on the west by Sītāpūr and Ramkot, on the South-east by Machhrehta, and on the South-east by Pirnagar. The whole of the Southern half of the pargana is a high lying tract with a high soil and good natural drainage producing in favourable seasons fine crops of wheat. North of the road from Sītāpūr to Khairābād and from the latter to Biswan, the land lies low, the soil being stiffer and liable to flooding from numerous jhils and water-courses. However the cultivation is generally poor, the majority of the tenants belong to the inferior cultivating classes, the holdings are large, the cattle are wretched; many of the landlords are heavily in debt and means of irrigation are deficient.

Bibliography: H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, xl. 125, 126; Hunter *Imperial Gazetteer*, xv. 207.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

KHAIRPŪR, a state in Sind, laying between 26° 10′ and 27° 46′ N. and 68° 20′ and 70° 14′ E. The state has no separate history until the fall of the Kalhora dynasty of Sind in 1785, when Mīr Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Tālpur, a Balūčī chief, established himself as ruler of Sind. Subsequently his nephew, Mīr Suhrāb Khān Tālpur founded the Khairpūr branch of the family. His dominions at first consisted of the town of Khairpūr and its environs, but he enlarged them by conquest and intrigue until they extended to Sabzalkot and Kashmor on the North, to the Djaisalmer desert on the East, and to the borders of Kačč̣h Gandāva on the West. About 1813, during the troubles attending the establishment of the Bārakzai dynasty in Kābul, the Mīrs withheld the tribute which they had hitherto paid to the rulers of Afghānistān and became virtually independent, but jealousy between Rustam, who had succeeded his father Suhrāb in 1811, and his brother ʿAlī Murād, contributed to the crisis which led to British intervention. In 1832 the individuality of the state as a political entity was recognised by the British government, which secured for itself the use of the Indus and the roads of Sind. The Mīrs of Sind were loth to permit the passage of British troops through their dominions during the first Afghān war, but ʿAlī Murād of Khairpūr supported the British policy, and after the battles of Miānī and Daba, his state retained its political existence.

Bibliography: E. A. Langley, *Narrative of a Residence at the Court of Meer Ali Moorad*, London 1860; *Sind Gazetteer*, 1876; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1904—1909.

(T. W. HAIG)

KHAIRULLĀH EFENDI, an important Turkish historian. Born in Constantinople, of a family which had over 160 years unbroken service with the Sulṭān, the son of the famous ʿAbd al-Ḥakk Efendi (d. 1270 = 1853/1854, a theologian and physician, who was thrice *Ser-i Aṭibbā* and from 1269 bore the honorary title *Ra'īs al-ʿUlamā*), he began by following in his father's footsteps and adopted a theological career, his first office being Mollā of Smyrna (1258=1842). Later he turned to science, medicine and education. In 1265 he became a member of the Board of Education, the Agricultural Council and second president of the Academy of Sciences (*Endjümen-i Dānish*), president of various learned bodies, and filled high offices in the newly formed Ministry of Education, was for long head of the School of Medicine, till in 1281 (1864) he was sent as ambassador to Ṭeherān, where he died suddenly in 1283 (1866).

His sons are ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid, the most important poet and dramatist of the new Turkey, and ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Naṣūḥī, who have both served their country as ambassadors and envoys.

Khairullāh left a large number of historical, geographical, medical, scientific and agricultural works, the latter of which are mainly translations; some of them have been printed, like the *Mesā'il-i Ḥikmet*, *Bait-i Dihḳānī*, his journey to Europe (*Awrepa seyāḥat-nāmesi*). But his importance rests on his work as a historian. Besides the *Waḳāyi'-i Miṣriye*, he wrote a history, planned on a grand scale, of the Ottoman empire entitled *Dewlet-i ʿAliye-i ʿOthmānīye Tārīkhi*, which began to appear almost at the same time as the excellent 12 volume history by the historian of the empire, Aḥmed Djewdet [q.v.], which covers the period 1774—1826.

Khairullāh Efendi aims at giving the whole of Turkish history in one continuous work. He is the first Turkish historian to attempt to deal with Turkish history in its place in the world's history, in contrast to the method hitherto in vogue among Ottoman annalists of limiting themselves entirely to Turkish sources and affairs; he was actually the first to succeed to some degree in producing a *Tārīkh-i ʿUmūmī*, a world history. With the exception of von Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, it is almost entirely French sources that he uses, as is obvious from the fact that he always writes foreign names as they are pronounced in French. At the same time he not infrequently draws upon hitherto not fully utilised Turkish sources.

A special volume is devoted to the introduction and to the early history of the Ottoman empire, the period before the reign of ʿOthmān I. The further work is planned to have a volume to the period of each Sulṭān. At the same time a survey of contemporary Muslim and Christian rulers is always given. The treatment of the material is no longer annalistic but pragmatic. In comparison to the inflated style of early historians, his language is simple, clear and intelligible. His history is also meritoriously distinguished from those of his predecessors by the absence of bias and the lack of any fanatical hatred of non-Muslim culture and conditions.

Of his history, 15 volumes in all appeared (1271—1281 = 1853—1864), from ʿOthmān I to the time of Aḥmed I (1603—1617), when death put a stop to his work. ʿAlī Showḳī, inspector in the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliye*, then tried to finish the book, of which Khairullāh had written barely half; but only three further volumes, 16—18, appeared (1289—1292 = 1872—1875) bringing the work to the time of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (1639—1648).

Bibliography: Khairullāh's history itself, i. 2; xvi. 3; Aḥmed Rif'at, *Rawḍat al-'asāiye*, lithogr., Constantinople 1282, p. 181 and 205; Djemāl al-Dīn, *'Othmānlī Tārīkh we-Müwerrikh-leri*, Constantinople 1314, p. 125; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, iii. 2274; Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 319; v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Bericht über die zu Konstantinopel im Druck erschienende Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches von Chairullah Efendi*, in the *S.B. Ak. Wien*, phil.-hist. Klasse, xii. 533; O. von Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Ausführl. Bericht über die in Konstantinopel erschienenen orientalischen Werke, S.B. Ak. Wien*, xiv. 77, Nº. 299; xvii 169, Nº. 308; xx. 461, Nº. 309; xxvi. 344, Nº. 319. (TH. MENZEL)

AL-KHAIYĀṬ, YAḤYĀ B. GHĀLIB ABŪ 'ALĪ, an Arab astrologer, pupil of Māshāllāh, often mentioned in Christian writers of the middle ages under the name of ALBOHALI. The exact dates of his birth and death are unknown but the latter may be put with some certainty between 210 and 230 (825—844). Of his works there still survive: *Kitāb Sirr al-'Amal* ("the book of the secret of action") dealing mainly with the formulation of astrological questions etc. (in Berlin); *Kitāb al-Mawālīd* ("book of births") (in Oxford and Cairo(?)). The book on births was translated into Latin by Plato of Tivoli (1136) and later again (1153) by Joh. Hispalensis; the latter translation was printed in Nürnberg in 1546 with the title: *Albohali Arabis astrologi antiquissimi ac clarissimi de iudiciis nativitatum liber unus antehac non editus. Cum privilegio D. Ioanni Shonero concesso.* In place of Albohali simply we find in MSS. also Albohali Alghikac, Alboali Alchait, Albonahait, etc.

Bibliography: *al-Fihrist*, p. 276; Steinschneider, in the *Biblioth. Mathem.*, 1890, 2nd Series, vol. iv. 69—70; Wüstenfeld, *Die Übersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Latein. seit dem 11. Jahrh.*, 1877, p. 41—42; H. Suter, in the *Abhandl. z. Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch.*, x. 9—10. (H. SUTER)

KHĀḲĀN, Arabic transcription of the Turkish regal title ḲAGHAN. We find this title already borne by the rulers of the earliest people who called themselves "Turk" (vith cent. A.D.) and it had been taken by them from their predecessors, the "genuine Awars" or the Žoan-Žoan of the Chinese (Kiessling in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, viii. 2587, s. v. HUNNI; also among the so-called Pseudo-Awars, cf. e. g. *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv. 233). In one of the oldest inscriptions, that of Tonyukuk (W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 2nd Series, St. Petersburg 1899), we find *Ḳan* alongside of *Ḳaghan* with the same meaning, perhaps only the result of a contraction of *Ḳaghan*. Later a distinction was made between *Ḳan* or *Khān* and *Ḳaghan* or *Khāḳān* and *Ḳāḳān* used in the meaning of "Khān of Khāns", like the Persian *Shāhānshāh*; this we find as early as the fourth (xth) century in Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, p. 120; the word *Ḳā'ān* which appears in the Mongol period and was not used later has the same significance. *Khāḳān* is still regarded as the Turkish national title κατ' ἐξοχήν and has been used quite recently by champions of the nationalist idea in Turkey in preference to *Sulṭān* and *Khalīfa*.

(W. BARTHOLD)

KHĀḲĀN. [See FATḤ 'ALĪ SHĀH].

KHĀḲĀNĪ (AFḌAL AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM ḤAḲĀ'IḲĪ, surnamed Khāḳānī), a Persian poet, born at Gandja (Elisavetpol) in 500 (1106—1107), the son of a carpenter, 'Alī, and a Nestorian wife whom he had purchased from a slave-dealer. His grandfather was a weaver. His uncle Kāfī b. 'Uthmān, who was his benefactor, was a physician and druggist. He was taken charge of by him when his father, sunk in poverty, abandoned him. Trained in the school of Abu 'l-'Ulā, the latter accepted him as his son-in-law and obtained from the Khāḳān Manūčihr permission to give him the *takhalluṣ* of Khāḳānī. Later they quarrelled most bitterly and exchanged scathing epigrams (between 538 and 540). It was then that the poet quitted his native town to go to Bākū where the Shirwān-shāh Akhsatān, son of Manūčihr, was settled. Obtaining, not without difficulty, permission to perform the pilgrimage to Mekka he was well received on his return by the governor of Mosul, Djamāl al-Dīn, which earned him the disfavour of his patron and imprisonment in the fortress of Shābirān. Retiring to Tibrīz after the death of his wife, he died there probably in 595 (1200) and was buried in the cemetery of Surkh Āb. Although the majority of his biographers say that his name was Ibrāhīm, it should be noted that his father called him Badīl "the substitute" because he had come to replace the great mystic Ḥakīm Sanā'ī.

The *Tuḥfat al-'Irāḳain* = "Gift to the two 'Irāḳs", a poetical description of his journey to Mekka and back, was autographed at Agra by Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḥasan (1855). His *Dīwān* entitled *Khulliyyāt-i Khāḳānī* was lithographed at Lucknow in 1293—1295 (2 vols.); it is arranged in the order of subjects: — religious and moral poems, panegyrics, poems with refrains, funeral elegies, short mystical pieces, epigrams, satires; 44 *ḳaṣīda*'s were annotated at the beginning of the xth (xvith) century by Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd of Shādī-Ābād (= Mandū, capital of Malwa in India).

Bibliography: N. von Khanikof, *Mémoire sur Khâcâni*, in the *J. A.*, 1864, Series 6, vol. iv. 137 and v. (1865), p. 296; Muḥammad 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ii. 221; Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, p. 78; J. von Hammer, *Gesch. der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, p. 125; Riḍā Ḳulī-khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣaḥā'*, i. 200—213; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, p. 707; Sprenger, *Cat. of the MSS. of the King of Oudh*, p. 461; *Mélanges asiatiques*, iii. 114; Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue As. Soc. Bengal*, Calcutta 1924, p. 201.

(CL. HUART)

KHĀḲĀNĪ, a Turkish poet of the second half of the xvith century. His proper name was Muḥammad Bey and he was a descendant of Āyās Pasha [q. v.] who was Grand Wazīr under Sulaimān I. His life was not eventful; according to *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī* he was *mutafarriḳa* and *mudjāb-ārş*. Khāḳānī owes his fame to a not very long *mathnawī* called *Ḥilya-i Sharīfa*, written in a tripodic *ramal*-metre. This poem is a paraphrase of an Arabic text known as *al-Ḥilya al-Nabawiyya* containing a traditional account of the prophet's personal appearance; each of the enumerated features is commented on by the poet in twelve to twenty *bait*'s. According to Nādjī the poem has acquired the same degree of popularity as the *Mawlid-i Sharīf* of Sulaiman Čelebi. It was printed in Constantinople in 1264 and almost the whole

of it is incorporated in vol. iii. of Ḍiyā Pasha's *Kharābāt* (Constantinople 1291). As Khāḳānī states at the end of his poem, it was completed in 1007 (1598—1599); at that time he had already attained a great age. The poet Djewrī (d. 1065) wrote a *naẓīra* to the *Ḥilya*. Of other poems by Khāḳānī — he is said to have composed a Dīwān — are only known a mathnawī called *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥāt* an a ghazal, both in a Gotha MS. (Cat., p. 171). He died in 1015 (1606—1607) and is buried in the cemetery of the mosque of Edirne Ḳapī.

Khāḳānī is a striking figure in the transition period of Ottoman poetry after Bāḳī, which is characterised by a growing taste for religious subjects.

Bibliography: Mu'allim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Istambol 1308, p. 130; do., *Lughat-i Nādjī*, p. 396; Bursalī Meḥmmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlī mü'ellifleri*, Istambol 1338, ii. 163; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, 1311, ii. 264; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1904, iii. 193—198.

(J. H. Kramers)

KHĀL (a.), maternal uncle. The *khāl*, although, according to the traditional patriarchal family law in Arabia, not actually considered a relative of his sister's son, was in popular regard equal to the latter's father and his father's relatives. It usually took a good deal of effort to fight on the side of one's paternal relatives against those of one's mother, and to avenge the death of paternal relatives also on one's *khāl*'s. Special stress was generally laid on the noble blood of one's *khāl*'s because the sister's children in particular were considered to inherit all noble or ignoble traits of character of their *khāl*'s.

The Muslim law, which, following the old Arab family law, paid most attention to paternal relationship, however forbids (on the authority of Sūra iv. 27) the *khāl* to marry his sister's daughter because the blood-relationship is too close.

The word *khāl*, which often has the more general meaning of "maternal ancestor", does not seem to go back to one of the original Semitic names of relationship.

Bibliography: J. G. Wetzstein, in the *Z. f. Ethnologie*, xii. 244 *sqq.*; G. A. Wilken, *Het matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren*, Amsterdam 1884, p. 31 *sqq.* (*Ind. Gids*, 1884, i. 116 *sqq.*; *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 1 *sqq.*); W. Rob. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885, p. 42, 58, 158, 165, 290; cf. Th. Nöldeke's review in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1886, xl. 172; J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in the *Nachrichten d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, 1893 (N°. 11), p. 476—478.

(Th. W. Juynboll)

KHAL'A. [See khil'a].

KHALADJ, a Turkish tribe; the Turkish name was probably Ḳalač (see below). As early as the fourth (tenth) century we find the Khaladj living much farther south than the other Turks, in the southern part of the modern Afghānistān between Seistān and India. They are said even then to have come thither "in ancient times" (*fī ḳadīm al-aiyām*) (al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, i. 254). The word is variously vocalised in Arabic manuscripts, e. g. al-Khaldj in al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 281 infra; Khaldj also in M. Longworth Dames (see the art. afghānistān). J. Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 253) connects the Khaladj with the Χαλάται of the Byzantine sources and the *K'ōlas* of the anonymous Syriac narrative of the year 554—555 and proceeds to deduce an original pronunciation *Khalač*. In favour of Khalač we have two later Turkish popular etymologies, given in the legend of Oghuz Khān (cf. the art. ghuzz): *ḳal ač* "remain hungry!" in Rashīd al-Dīn, text and translation in W. Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik*, vol. i., St. Petersburg 1891, Introduction, p. xxi., and *ḳal aċ* "remain open!" (imperative) in the anonymous legend preserved in the Uighur character (*ibid.*, text p. 240, translation p. xii.). The Khaladj are never mentioned as an independent political unit but always as mercenaries or guards of foreign rulers; their leaders, like those of other Turkish guards, sometimes succeeded in founding independent dynasties, especially in India, where the pronunciation Khildjī for Khaladjī prevails (see the articles following). It is usually assumed that the Afghān speaking Ghalzai of the present day in the upper valleys of the Tarnak, Arghandāb and Afghasān are Afghanised descendants of the Turkish Khaladj. This assumption is disputed by M. Longworth Dames (cf. the art. afghānistān and ghalzai), although he grants that the Ghalzai have a good deal of Turkish blood.

(W. Barthold)

KHALAF b. 'Abd al-Malik [q. v.]. [See ibn bashkuwāl].

KHALDJĪ, the adjectival form of Khaladj, the name of a Turkish tribe which migrated from Turkistān at a period which cannot be precisely ascertained and settled in Western Afghānistān. From long residence in this country they were regarded, even as early as the end of the thirteenth century, when Fīrūz Khaldjī ascended the throne of Dihlī, as Afghāns. They bore a high reputation as statesmen and soldiers, many served the early kings of Ghaznī and Ghūr, and many afterwards attained to the highest rank in India, as, for instance, Muḥammad b. Bakhtyār, the conqueror of Bengal, Fīrūz, just mentioned, who founded the the dynasty which reigned at Dihlī from 1290 to 1320, and Maḥmūd, founder of the Khaldjī dynasty of Mālwa (1436 to 1531), who was descended from Nāṣir al-Dīn, the eldest brother of Fīrūz. The Lodīs, the dynasty founded by Bahlūl, which reigned at Dihlī from 1451 to 1526, were a clan of the Khaldjīs.

The late Major H. G. Raverty objected strongly, but with little apparent reason, to the identification of the Ghilzais with the Khaldjīs. Their identity cannot be conclusively established, but the Ghilzais claim a Turkish descent and are found in the region where we should expect to find the Khaldjīs; the corruption of the name is not unnatural among Afghāns, and if the Ghilzais are not Khaldjīs it is difficult to say where the latter are to be sought, for no trace of them is found elsewhere, and there is no record of their extermination.

Bibliography: Minhādj-i Sirādj *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, and translation by H. G. Raverty, London, 1873—1881; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, and translation by B. Dhé (Bibl. Ind. Series, A. S. B.); Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832.

(T. W. Haig)

KHALDJĪ or Khildjī, the dynasty of Dihlī, was founded by Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz (see fīrūz shāh khildjī) of the Ghilzai or Ghildjī tribe of Afghānistān. A Turkī descent has been claimed for this tribe but they had long been domiciled in Afghānistān and were regarded as Afghāns.

Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz ascended the throne in Kilokhrī on June 13, 1290, and was murdered at Karra by his nephew and son-in-law, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, on July 19, 1296. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ascended the throne in Dihlī on Oct. 3, 1296, and captured the two sons of Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz, Arkalī Khān, governor of Multān, and Ḳadr Khān, who had been proclaimed emperor in Dihlī under the title of Rukn al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. Having blinded his two cousins and imprisoned their mother, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn punished with death and confiscation those *amīrs* who had deserted his uncle for himself. He annexed Gudjarāt, Ranthambhor, and Čitor and in a series of expeditions to the Dakhan commanded by his favourite eunuch Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī, entitled Malik Nāʾib, the Kingdoms of Warangal and Dvāravatīpūra were added to the empire. Five rebellions which occurred early in his reign were crushed with merciless severity and vigorous laws were issued with the object of suppressing disaffection. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was dissuaded from a design of declaring himself a prophet and promulgating a new religion. The most famous decrees of his reign were those by which he regulated the price of all the commodities of life and its most disgraceful act was the massacre of between twenty and thirty thousand Mughul converts to Islām, suspected of disaffection. After ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's death on Jan. 2, 1316, the eunuch Malik Nāʾib, having set aside Khiḍr Khān, the heir apparent, raised to the throne Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's youngest son, a boy of five or six years of age, and attempted to blind Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak, the second son, but the prince corrupted the eunuch's emissaries and persuaded them to murder their master. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak then assumed the regency, and, on April 1, 1316, blinded and imprisoned his young brother and ascended the throne. The new emperor gained a fleeting popularity by the reversal of all his father's harsher measures but his debauchery soon converted the love of his people into contempt. Like his father he was addicted to unnatural vice and was entirely ruled by Khusraw Khān, a vile favourite belonging to one of the scavenger castes of western India. A rebellion in Gudjarāt was suppressed and in 1318 Ḳuṭb al-Dīn marched to Dewagiri, where he put to death Harpāl Dewa, son-in-law of Rāmačandra and appointed a Muḥammadan governor to Devagiri. On his return the emperor caused his three brothers, Khiḍr Khān, Shādī Khān, and Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar, to be put to death, and, after scandalising his court by indecent debauchery, proclaimed himself supreme pontiff and vicegerent of God under the title of al-Wāthiḳ bi-'llāh.

Khusraw Khān, who had been recalled from the Dakhan under a just suspicion of treasonable designs soon regained his master's confidence and on April 14, 1320, caused him to be murdered in the palace and ascended the throne under the title of Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw. His brief reign was marked by the advancement of his profligate caste-fellows and an attempt to restore the predominance of Hinduism in Dihlī, but Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Djawnā fled from the capital to Multān and persuaded his father, Ghāzī Malik, governor of that province, to march to Dihlī for the purpose of restoring the supremacy of Islām. Khusraw marched out to meet him but was defeated at Indarpat and captured and beheaded. On the following day, Sept. 6, 1320, Ghāzī Malik was proclaimed emperor under the title of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh.

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KHALDJĪ (Khildjī), the dynasty of Mālwa, was founded in A.D. 1436 by Maḥmūd Khildjī, of the same tribe as the Khaldjīs of Dihlī [q. v.]. Dilāwar Khān, founder of the Ghorī dynasty [q. v.], had been accompanied to Mālwa by his cousin, Malik Mughīth, and on the deposition of Dilāwar Khān's grandson, Ghaznīn Khān (Muḥammad Shāh), Maḥmūd offered the crown to his own father, Malik Mughīth, who declined it in favour of his son. Maḥmūd's long reign was at first disturbed by rebellions on behalf of the late dynasty, fomented and supported by Aḥmad I of Gudjarāt and the rānā of Čitor. After the suppression of these he was engaged in almost continuous warfare with Gudjarāt, Čitor, Khāndesh, Kherla, the Dakhan, Dihlī and Djawnpūr, and was usually successful, except against the Dakhan. He died on May 30, 1469, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, a mean-spirited monarch who occupied himself chiefly with the administration of his harem, for the management of which he drew up elaborate regulations, leaving the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of his advisers and, latterly, of his elder son, Nāṣir al-Dīn, whom he made his prime minister. The later years of his reign were troubled by quarrels between Nāṣir al-Dīn and his younger brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who was supported by Rānī Khurshīd, the mother of both princes. The King, too feeble to keep the peace, fell alternately under the influence of either faction until, in the autumn of 1500, Nāṣir al-Dīn captured Māndū, put his brother to death, imprisoned his mother, and seized the crown. A few months later Ghiyāth al-Dīn died, poisoned, it was suspected, at the instigation of his son. Nāṣir al-Dīn's warlike qualities found employment in the suppression of rebellions among his *amīrs*, due to his harshness and in war with the rānā Rāyamal Simha of Čitor. His later years were disgraced by debauchery and cruelty, his victims being chiefly his most faithful servants. He nominated his second son, Shihāb al-Dīn, his heir, passing over Ṣāḥib Khān, the eldest, but Shihāb al-Dīn rebelled and fled from his father's wrath and Nāṣir al-Dīn was succeeded on his death (May 2, 1511) by his third son, who ascended the throne as Maḥmūd II. Maḥmūd was brave to rashness, but possessed no other virtue and was entirely devoid of political wisdom and administrative ability. He first forfeited the allegiance of his *amīrs* by the elevation of unworthy favourites, one of whom avenged his dismissal by proclaiming Maḥmūd's eldest brother, Ṣāḥib Khān, king, under the title of Muḥammad Shāh. Muḥammad, the creature of a faction, reigned nominally and intermittently from 1510 to 1515, and issued coins. The adherents of Shihāb al-Dīn, Maḥmūd's next elder brother, also rebelled and proclaimed their leader king, and on his death professed allegiance to his son, whom they styled Hūshang II. After the removal of these pretenders Maḥmūd II became a mere instrument in the hands of Medinī Rāya, a Rādjpūt whom he raised to the position of prime minister of the kingdom and who could command a force of 40,000 horse. He made spasmodic attempts to free himself from his ignominious

position but the result of these was to throw the Rādjpūts into the arms of Sangrama Simha, rānā of Čitor, and Mālva would have become a Rādjpūt state but for the first apprehensions of a coalition of the neighbouring Muḥammadan states. In 1517 Maḥmūd II was compelled to implore the aid of Muẓaffar II of Gudjarāt against the Rādjpūts and, having been restored to his throne, reigned as a vassal of Gudjarāt. After his restoration Maḥmūd II, aided by a contingent from Gudjarāt, made war against Čitor but was totally defeated and made prisoner by the rānā Sangrama Simha, Bābur's Rānā Sangā, who, from motives of policy and generosity, restored him to his throne. His ingratitude to Sangrama's son Ratan Singh and his foolish encouragement of a pretender to the throne of Gudjarāt, where Muẓaffar II had been succeeded by his son Bahādur II, drew on him the wrath of Bahādur Shāh, who invaded Mālwa, captured Māndū, and imprisoned Maḥmūd, who was slain on April 12, 1531, by his guards, who suspected an attempt at a rescue. The Khaldjī dynasty ended with Maḥmūd II, and Mālwa became for a time a province of Gudjarāt.

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(T. W. HAIG)

KHĀLID B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḲASRĪ, governor of the ʿIrāḳ. The Ḳasr family to which Khālid belonged was a branch of the tribe of Badjīla [q. v.]; his mother was a Christian. In the year 89 (707/708) or 91 (709/710) he was appointed governor of Mekka by the Caliph al-Walīd. Here he remained during the life time of al-Walīd; after the accession of Sulaimān in 96 (715), however, he was dismissed and lived in retirement until in Shawwāl, 105 (March, 724), Hishām appointed him successor of the governor ʿUmar b. Hubaira and gave him the administration of the whole of the ʿIrāḳ. He made his headquarters in Wāsiṭ. Khālid had been brought up in the school of al-Ḥadjdjādj, and if he was not the latter's equal in ruthlessness he was not lacking in vigour or tenacity. He did not hesitate to express his opinions freely to the Caliph, and, when Hishām was planning to exclude his nephew al-Walīd from the succession in favour of his son Maslama, Khālid vigorously resisted this scheme. In place of winning military glory he preferred to devote himself to peaceful activities and to the economic development of his province, and during his long tenure of office peace and quiet prevailed generally in the ʿIrāḳ. He paid special attention to the improvement of agriculture. The marshes were drained and great stretches of virgin soil made arable. With this fertile activity for the welfare of the state he was at the same time very successful in furthering his personal interests, and in time acquired immense riches, which, however, aroused the envy and dissatisfaction of the people. Other circumstances also contributed to make the doughty Khālid unpopular. His predecessor in office, ʿUmar b. Hubaira, had been a prominent champion of Ḳaisī opinion. Khālid's appointment as ʿUmar's successor made the Ḳaisīs regard him as an intruder who had driven ʿUmar from the position to which he was entitled, and from the first created an unsympathetic feeling against him, which in spite of his impartiality estranged him from the Ḳaisīs and threw him closer to the Yamanīs. His tolerance of members of other creeds brought upon him the charge of religious indifference. To please his mother he built a church in Kūfa and granted Christians and Jews generally the privilege of building churches and synagogues, and did not hesitate to give Zoroastrians posts in the government. Khālid was very little troubled by rebels. In 119 (737) there was a conspiracy of a few Shīʿīs led by al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd in Kūfa, but it was promptly discovered and the culprits were publicly burned. In the same year a Khāridjī named Bahlūl b. Bishr preached a rebellion against Khālid in the neighbourhood of al-Mawṣil and twice defeated the troops sent against him, but was finally overcome. About the same time a certain Wazīr al-Sakhtiyānī was active around Kūfa, where he was responsible for assassinations and incendiarism. When he fell into the hands of Khālid he succeeded by his eloquence and his knowledge of the Ḳurʾān in so moving the governor that the latter wished to spare him, but the Caliph was inexorable and had him executed forthwith. In the same year the Khāridjī al-Saḥārī b. Shabīb collected a force and rendered the region of Djabbul on the Tigris unsafe, but was soon overcome and put to death with his followers.

Hishām could not in the long run resist the pressure of Khālid's enemies. In 120 (738) he dismissed him and appointed as his successor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī, who had been for long governor of the province of Yaman. In Djumādā I (April-May, 738) the latter arrived in Kūfa. Khālid was arrested and taken from Wāsiṭ to al-Ḥīra, where he was kept in prison with his family for eighteen months, and had to defend himself against charges of embezzlement. After his release in Shawwāl, 121 (Sept.-Oct., 739), he wanted to go to the Caliph but was not allowed. In the following year he settled down in Damascus. Here also he was followed by the hatred of Yūsuf but was able to live in freedom during the last years of Hishām's reign. He was again thrown into prison by Hishām's successor al-Walīd, and sold for a vast sum to his mortal enemy, Yūsuf, who had him brought to Kūfa and there tortured to death. Khālid died in Muḥarram, 126 (Oct.-Nov., 743), and was buried in al-Ḥīra. According to another statement, he was dead by Dhu 'l-Kaʿda, 125.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD B. AL-MUGHĪRA AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, a contemporary of Muḥammad and a Muslim general. In the battle of Uḥud,

where Khālid commanded the right wing of the Mekkan forces, and by his intervention at the right moment decided the battle in favour of the enemies of the Prophet he first displayed that brilliant talent for leadership to which in later days Islām owed so many successes. After Khālid had gone over to Islām with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ at the beginning of the year 8 (629) he took part in the unsuccessful campaign against the Byzantines, and after the defeat at Muʾta it was with difficulty that he succeeded in bringing back the defeated army to Medina. As a reward the Prophet gave him the title of honour "Sword of God", and in the same year he took part in the entry of the Muslims into Mekka. After the capitulation of the town he is said to have destroyed the sanctuary of the heathen goddess al-ʿUzzā by order of Muḥammad. He was soon afterwards sent as ambassador to the Banū Djadhīma [q. v.] and in Radjab of the next year (Oct./Nov., 630) he undertook an expedition against Ukaidir, the Christian king of Dūmat al-Djandal (see the art. DJAWF AL-SIRḤĀN). At the beginning of the year 10 (summer of 631) Muḥammad sent him to Nadjrān to convert the Banu ʾl-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb to Islām, which was also done without bloodshed. In the following year he was sent by Abū Bakr against Ṭulaiḥa b. Khuwailid and defeated him at Buzākha (see the art. ASAD) and next turned his attention to the Banū Tamīm who dwelled in the vicinity. One clan, which was under Mālik b. Nuwaira, was at feud with the others. When the latter submitted, Mālik also laid down his arms but was nevertheless taken prisoner and put to death and Khālid then married his widow. When an accusation was laid before the Caliph against Khālid he is said to have excused himself by saying that the incident was due to a misunderstanding. He said he had ordered warm clothing to be given to the prisoners and had therefore said to the soldiers: "*adfiʾū asrākum*" which was interpreted by the Beduins to mean "kill your prisoners". In any case Abū Bakr was satisfied with administering a reprimand to him and kept him in office in spite of vigorous protests from ʿUmar. Soon afterwards Khālid took the field against the false prophet Musailima. At ʿAḳrabāʾ, on the frontier of al-Yamāma, the latter was defeated and killed, whereupon his followers submitted (beginning of 12 = beginning of 633). Khālid was then sent against the Persians. In Rabīʿ I, 12 (May—June, 633), or perhaps some months later he conquered al-Ḥīra and soon afterwards occupied the whole Euphrates area. The Byzantines are said to have finally crossed the Euphrates and to have been defeated at al-Firāḍ (Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda, 12 = Jan., 634) and in Muḥarram of the following year (March/April, 634) or, according to others, not till Rabīʿ II (June) Khālid set out on his campaign against Syria. In Djumādā I or II (= summer of 634) the Byzantines were completely defeated at Adjnādain and retired to Damascus. Defeated again by Khālid, they were surrounded and besieged and in Radjab, 14 (Aug./Sept., 635), Damascus had finally to surrender. About the same time Khālid was deprived of the supreme command and replaced by Abū ʿUbaida b. al-Djarrāḥ [q. v.] but continued to take part in the military operations in Syria. In the battle of the Yarmūk on Radjab 12, 15 (Aug. 20, 636), he commanded the cavalry and contributed largely to the victory of the Muslims. Ḥimṣ was recaptured soon afterwards. Khālid then advanced against Ḳinnasrīn and after he defeated a Byzantine army under Mīnās the town had to surrender and Khālid took up his quarters here for the time. He was for a time governor of a part of Syria but was later dismissed. He died in Ḥimṣ or Medina in the year 21 (641—642). A. Müller (*Der Islam*, i. 257) has admirably described him as follows: "He was one of those characters whose military genius is the whole of their intellectual life; like Napoleon, he cared for nothing but war and did not want to learn anything else."

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KHĀLID ZIYĀ, ʿUSHAḲĪ-ZĀDE, the leading writer of prose and fiction in modern Turkish literature. Born in 1282 (1866) in Constantinople of a prominent family which came originally from the carpet town of ʿUshaḳ — hence the epithet ʿUshaḳī-zāde — he spent his youth in Constantinople and Smyrna. He received his education from the Mechitarists in Smyrna. This laid the foundations of his love for and knowledge of the west. He translated industriously from the French and made literary attempts of his own. The collection called *Nāḳil* in 6 volumes contains stories of his own alongside of translations from the most important French writers of fiction. In Constantinople he founded the paper called *Newrūz* and published the introduction (*Medkhal*) to his never finished *Gharbden Sharḳa Seyyāle-i Edebiye* (Literary Current from West to East) in Constantinople in 1305 (1888). In Smyrna he continued his literary activity with the foundation of the periodical *Khidmet* in which his novel *Sefile* and his *Menthūr Shiʿrler* ("Poems in Prose") appeared in 1307 (1887); their unusual form aroused a storm of indignation until Ekrem defended them (specimens in Bikerman, *Tureckiy sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1909).

In Smyrna he published in five series his *Küčük Kitābler* which contain various literary productions, e. g. *Bir Mudhekkirenin son Yapraḳlarï* ("The last Leaves of a Notebook"); *Bir Izdiwādjïn Tārīkh-i Muʿāshaḳasï* ("The Love-story of a Marriage"); *Ḥikāye, Temāshā* (his *Menthūr Shiʿrler* re-appeared in it) and *Mezārdan Sesler* ("Voices from the Grave"), Smyrna 1307 (1889). At the same time he published a whole series of popularly written scientific treatises, with which he endeavoured to spread European learning, for example: *Ḥaml we-Waḍʿ-i Ḥaml*; *Ḳānūn we-Fenn-i Wilāde*; *Mebāḥith al-Kihl*; *Mebāḥith al-Kiyāse*; *ʿIlm-i Simā*; *ʿIlm-i Nudjūm*; *Ḥisāb Oyunlarï*; *Ḥikmet Oyunlarï*;

Būḳalamūn-i Kīmiyā; *Sīmiyā-i Kīmiyā*), and the anecdotal *Tuḥfe-i Leṭāʾif* (1308). It is characteristic of his versatility that he even studied Sanskrit which, however, involved him in difficulties with the ever suspicious government.

Next came the novels *Nemīde* ("The Hopeless Woman"), Constantinople 1311 (1893); *Bir Ölünün Defteri* ("The Diary of a dead Man", Constantinople 1311), still bearing the imprimatur of the Aidin censor, which has been translated into German by Ḥabīb Edīb in 1918 (*Romane des neuen Orients*, Berlin), and *Ferdī we-Shürekāsi* ("Ferdi & Co.", Constantinople 1312; dramatised by Meḥmed Reʾūf, Constantinople 1325).

A new period began with his taking over the editorship in 1896 of the periodical *Therwet-i Funūn* to which he with the poet Tewfīḳ Fikret [q.v.] gave an entirely new form. He opened the new period, which is known as the Tewfīḳ Fikret and Khālid Ziyā period, with his masterly novel *Mā'ī we-Siyāh* ("Blue and Black") (1317 second ed.; 1338 eighth ed.). In the *Edebiyāt-i Djedīde Kutub-khānesi*, a new foundation important for modern literature, appeared his next works, the novels *Bir Yazyñ Tārīkhi* ("The Story of a Summer") as Nº. 3 (Constantinople 1316) and *ʿAshḳ-i Memnūʿ* ("Forbidden Love"), Nº. 4 (1316; with *Mā'ī we-Siyāh* his best novel), and the collection of short stories *Solghun Demet* ("The Withered Wreath"), Nº. 8 (Constantinople 1317), from which a whole series of stories has been translated into French and German (Kaufmann, *Türkische Erzählungen*, Munich 1916; *Die Neue Türkei*, Constantinople 1908, etc.). The series ended with his *Ḳyryḳ Ḥayātlar* ("Broken Lives").

When, as a result of an article by H. Djāhid, the paper was suppressed, Khālid wrote absolutely nothing till the revolution and confined himself to his official work as first secretary to the Tobacco Regie. After the revolution he displayed a feverish literary activity and lent his collaboration to every possible periodical. The Novel *Nesl-i Akhīr* ("The last Family") in the *Ṣabāḥ* and many contributions to the *Iḳdām*, *Therwet-i Funūn*, *Resimli, Kitāb*, *Meḥāsin* etc. are evidence of this. At the same time for a certain period he lectured at the University of Constantinople on aesthetics and foreign literatures and wrote letters from Germany describing his travels there. His activities in this direction were interrupted by his appointment as first secretary to the palace of Sulṭān Meḥmed V in 1909.

It came as a surprise when in 1918 he suddenly entered the ranks of dramatists with his *Kübār* (1334), in which he demanded the same rights of divorce for women as for men. The play Furṭūn (1334) is one of the adaptations of the "Francillon" of Dumas fils now so popular in Turkish literature.

A third drama, *Fāre*, is now announced as well as new collections of stories: *Bir Ḥikāye-i Sewdā* (1338); *Bir Shīʿr-i Khayāl* and *Onu beklerken*, and works on literary history: *Kenārde Ḳalmyshlar* and *Eski Shāʿirler*.

With the poets Tewfīḳ Fikret and Djenāb Shehāb ed-Dīn, Khālid Ziyā is the principal founder of the modern occidentalising literature. Deliberately turning from the East, rejecting the eastern spirit and the Turkish Muslim attitude to life, they sought to create a modern literature with European affinities with the motto "art for art's sake", after the compulsion to write in Persian and Arabic forms had first been cast off by their predecessors.

With Seraÿ, Khālid is the founder of the modern literary novel. He worked especially at the short story, of which he seems to be the greatest master. He is an artist and a poet. He is marked by great sentimentality and a pessimistic outlook, which only later gave place to a more reconciled attitude. He is an acute psychological observer. But he is an absolute Westerner, a Frenchman in Turkish dress. He has not unjustly been called the Turkish Alphonse Daudet. His writings contribute little to our knowledge of the Turks. In spite of the Levantine milieu he is strictly moral. He tells a story, vividly and attractively; his style is clear. But his language is still markedly laden with Persian and Arabic words. He paid most attention to style, which owes much to him, for it is he who created the language of modern Turkish fiction.

He has taken no part in the recent nationalist development in Turkey. He has remained the old cosmopolitan.

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(TH. MENZEL)

AL-**KHĀLIDĀT**, full form AL-DJAZĀʾIR AL-KHĀLIDĀT, probably with allusion to the Arabic *Khuld*, the Eternal Islands, are usually called Djazāʾir al-Saʿāda "Isles of Bliss" by the astronomers, a translation of the Greek Μακάρων Νῆσοι which probably came to the Arabs through the translation of Ptolemy. Al-Bakrī also knows the Latin name Fortunatae Insulae in the form *Furṭunātash*. They are the Canary Islands. Al-Bīrūnī and al-Idrīsī speak of six islands, al-Maḳḳarī of seven, and al-Idrīsī mentions two by name: Masfahān and Laghūs; according to Dozy and de Goeje, the former corresponds to the modern Teneriffe, the latter probably to Gran Canaria. According to al-Bīrūnī, they are nearly 200 parasangs (600 miles) from the mainland, while al-Maḳḳarī says that on a clear day they are visible from Salā.

The meaning of the name given by al-Bakrī points to the flourishing vegetation of the islands. "Trees and shrubs bring forth all kinds of pleasant fruits without it being necessary to plant or tend them, and the soil yields grain instead of weeds

and valuable fragrant herbs instead of thorns". On Masfahān as well as on Laghūs there was a high pillarlike building (*ṣanam*) of hewn stone, a hundred ells high and crowned by a figure of brass pointing backwards with his hand to the high seas. In Masfahān this red column stood on a round hill; the column on Laghūs could not be climbed. These were regarded as warnings to shipping to sail farther to the west (al-Maḳḳarī says that each of the seven islands had a similar column; according to him, they were idols [*aṣnām*] in the form of men. He distinguishes the Djazā'ir al-Sa'āda from the Djazā'ir al-Khālidāt and says that the former were north of the latter and the first of them is Britain).

Among legendary features of the Arab descriptions of the islands we may mention the following. Since in Ptolemy and the Arab geographers who follow him the longitudes are calculated from the meridian of one of these islands (cf. the older European calculation from the meridian of Ferro), it was thought that there was a race of astronomers living on the island; according to al-Maḳḳarī the "Christian Magicians" came from the Djazā'ir al-Sa'ādat, but, as he includes Britain among them, he is apparently thinking of the Druids of the Celts. Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain [q. v.], i. e. Alexander the Great, is said to have reached the Khālidāt. The Ḥimyaritic As'ad Abū Karib is said to have built the column in Masfahān and he also is given the epithet Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain. The column of Laghūs is said to have been built by another South Arabian of the legendary past, Tubba' Dhu 'l-Marāthid; his tomb is said to exist there in a temple of marble and brilliantly coloured glass. The stories regarding "terrible wild beasts" on the island of Laghūs given by the author of the "Book of Marvels", which al-Idrīsī hesitates to repeat, are probably the same as those given by al-Ḳazwīnī on the authority of Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī in his description of the Western Sea. There is also a description of a column on an island called Madjma' al-Ṭuru'.

We may assume that there was trade (indirect) between the Canary Islands and Arabia even in the days of the ancient Arabs, if *'andam* "dragon's blood" came from *Dracaena Draco*; probably, however, it came from another (Indian) plant.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 2, 28; al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, p. 109; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 69 *sq.*; al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 124; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, ed. Dozy and others, i. 104; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, i. 184; P. Schwarz, *Ezrastudien*, i. 69; A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites* (*Verh. Ak. Amst.*, xix., N°. 2), p. 27 *sq.* (P. SCHWARZ)

KHALĪFA, "successor, vicegerent", title of the supreme head of the Muslim community, the *Imām* [q. v.], as successor or vicegerent of the Prophet (*khalīfat rasūl Allāh*).

I. The word appears, frequently both in the singular and the plural (*khalā'if*, *khulafā'*) in the Ḳur'ān; in the latter case, the persons referred to are called "successors" as entering into the blessings enjoyed by their forefathers (e.g. vi. 165; xxiv. 54; xxvii. 63, used of the righteous; vii. 67, 72, of the idolatrous tribes of 'Ād and Thamūd); the singular is used of Adam (ii. 28), either as successor of the angels who lived on earth before him, or as representative of God, and of David (xxxviii. 25). "We have made thee a khalīfa in the land; then judge between men with the truth, and follow not thy desires, lest they cause thee to err from the path of God." In none of these verses is there any clear indication that the word was intended to serve as the title of the successor of Muḥammad. Muslim historians commonly assert that it was first so used by Abū Bakr; it is doubtful, however, whether he ever assumed it as a title (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām* 11 A. H., § 63 n. 1). But from the reign of 'Umar, it has been the common designation of the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* [q. v.]. The designation *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*, "successor of the apostle of God", implies assumption of the activities and privileges exercised by Muḥammad, — with the exception of the prophetic function, which was believed to have ceased with him; the later phrase, *khalīfat Allāh*, "vicegerent of God", implies a bolder claim, and is said to have excited the indignation of Abū Bakr, but it was used as early as 35 A.H. by Ḥassān b. Thābit in an elegy he wrote on the Khalīfa 'Uthmān (ed. H. Hirschfeld, xx. l. 9), and it became quite common under the 'Abbāsids and later princes (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 61).

In the course of Muslim history, however, the term khalīfa has not been confined to such exalted reference. As early as the first century of the Hidjra, it was used in the Aphrodito papyri for the ἀπεραιτήτης or agent at the capital through whom the local official of the finance department made payments of taxes (*Greek Papyri of the British Museum*, vol. iv., pp. xxv. 55; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. p. 257). It has frequently been used as a personal name (see Index to Ṭabarī, etc.). In the religious orders, especially among the Ḳādiriya, the Khalīfa is the delegate of the Shaikh of the order and is invested with a certain amount of his powers and represents him in countries remote from the parent zāwiya. Among the Tidjāniya, the Khalīfa is the inheritor of the spiritual power (*baraka*) of the founder of the order, to whom alone the title Shaikh is applied (O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, pp. 104—195, Alger 1897; L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 78, Alger 1884).

In the Mahdist movements, the Khalīfa is the successor of the Mahdī; Mīr Dilāwar was thus Khalīfa of Saiyid Muḥammad Mahdī (ob. 910 A.H.) the founder of the Mahdawīs [q.v.]; 'Abd Allāh was the Khalīfa of Muḥammad Aḥmad the Mahdī of the Sūdān; and the son and successor of Ghulām Aḥmad Ḳādiyānī (s. i. p. 206) is so described by his followers at the present day. Humbler persons have also received this designation, e.g. in the household of the Emperor Bābur, khalīfa denoted a woman who exercised surveillance over other women-servants (Gul-badan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, translated by A. S. Beveridge, p. 136). In more modern times, the word khalīfa was commonly applied in Turkey to any junior clerk in a public office (C. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman* [2], vii. 271), and is still a title of respect for an assistant teacher in a school. In Morocco it indicates the deputy of the governor of a city (B. Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 224). In modern India it is used even of such insignificant persons as a working tailor, a barber, a fencing master or a cook (H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the*

Tribes and Castes of the Panjab, ii. p. 490. Lahore 1911). In Togo and neighbouring parts of W. Africa, alfa (= khalīfa) denotes a Muslim teacher or even Muhammadans generally (*Die Welt des Islams*, ii. p. 200).

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted, see Goldziher, *Du sens propre des expressions Ombre de Dieu, pour désigner les chefs dans l'Islam* (*R. H. R.*, xxxv., 1897); D. S. Margoliouth, *The sense of the title Khalīfah* (*A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, p. 322—328).

II. As a distinction can be drawn between the history of the Khilāfa, or of the political institution of which the Khalīfa was the head, and the theories connected with it, and as the former was chronologically prior, it is proposed here to deal with it first.

1. **History**. The immense wealth and power acquired by the early successors of Muḥammad, through the conquest of such provinces of the Roman Empire as Syria and Egypt, together with the dominions of the Persian king, raised them to a status and a dignity which gave to the humble title they bore a new significance; so even before the Arab conquests had reached their limit, the Khalīfa had become one of the most powerful and wealthy monarchs in the world. As *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* [q.v.] he was commander of these conquering armies and as he described himself on his coins; as *Imām* [q.v.], he took the foremost place in public worship and delivered the *Khuṭba* [q.v.] in the mosque; as Khalīfa he claimed from his Muslim subjects some of the reverence that had previously been paid to the founder of their faith. The civil war that broke out in the reign of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib laid the foundation for those rival theories as to the qualifications of the Khalīfa, which took definite shape in political and sectarian doctrines. Under the Umaiyads [q.v.] the religious associations of the office of the Khalīfa were not emphasised, though many of them kept up the practice of leading the public worship, for (with the exception of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q.v.]) religious considerations appear to have had little weight with them, and it was mainly in Medina that the foundations of Muslim dogma and the systematisation of the *Sharīʿa* [q.v.] were laid, with little encouragement from the Khalīfa in Damascus. The claim of the descendants of ʿAlī to the leadership of the Muslim world found expression in the formation of the Shīʿa party [q.v.], but for some generations their efforts met with no political success. The ʿAbbāsids [q.v.] came into power largely through their pretended support of ʿAlid claims, and largely too through their professions of religious zeal. In Baghdād the Khilāfa took on a new character; the Khalīfa became a generous patron of the ʿulamāʾ and laid emphasis upon his function as protector of the religion of Islām, and under his fostering care the capital took the place of Medina as the chief centre of theological activity, and the great schools of law (see the art. FIḲH) received definite shape. The Khalīfa was no longer regarded as a mere secular monarch, as many of the Umaiyads had appeared to be in the eyes of devout Muslims, and the awe with which he was regarded was enhanced by the elaboration of court etiquette and ceremonial. The Umaiyads, especially in their early days, had generally been readily accessible to their subjects; Muʿāwiya [q.v.] had preserved in a great measure the frank, familiar manners of an Arab chief of pre-Islāmic times, and moved among other Arab chiefs as *primus inter pares*. But in the new capital, the traditions of the Persian monarchy reasserted themselves, the ʿAbbāsid sat on his throne in solemn majesty, surrounded by his guards, the executioner with drawn sword by his side. At the same time he emphasised the religious aspect of his office by wearing the mantle of the Prophet, and his relationship to the Prophet was reiterated in official documents and in the lucubrations of eulogists and court flatterers.

From the 9th century onwards, the direct control of the Khalīfa over the administration weakened in consequence of the increasing delegation of power to the Wazīr [q.v.] and the growing elaboration and efficiency of the government offices (v. art. DĪWĀN). About the same period began the decline of the temporal power of the Khalīfa, in consequence of the break-up of the empire and the rise of independent principalities in the various provinces, until at last his authority hardly extended beyond the precincts of the city of Baghdād. Concurrently with this decline of his temporal power, increasing stress was laid on his position in the religious order, as *Imām* [q.v.] and as the defender of religion, and the persecution of heretics and of the adherents of non-Muslim faiths increased. By the year 946 all effective power had passed out of the hands of the Khalīfa, and there were to be seen in Baghdād three personages who had held this high office, but now deposed and blinded were dependent for their livelihood upon charity. From this period until 1055 the Khalīfa for the time being was but a puppet in the hands of the Būyids [q.v.] and the Seldjūḳs [q.v.] successively. But in spite of his entire lack of administrative authority, men could not forget the great position once held by his ancestors, and the impotent Khalīfa was still regarded by theorists as the source of all authority and power in the Muslim world. Accordingly, there were to be found independent rulers who sought from him titles and diplomas of appointment, e.g. Maḥmūd of Ghazna [q.v.], when he renounced his allegiance to the Sāmānid prince in 997, received from the Khalīfa recognition of his independent position, together with the titles Yamīn al-dawla, Amīn al-milla; and about a century later, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, the founder of the Almoravid dynasty of Spain, received the title of *Amīr al-Muslimīn* from the Khalīfa Muḳtadī. When in 1175 Saladin [q.v.] assumed the sovereignty of Egypt and Syria, he was confirmed in this rank by the Khalīfa Mustaḍī, who sent him a diploma of investiture and robes of honour. The founder of the Rasūlid [q.v.] dynasty in the Yaman, Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar, likewise asked the Khalīfa for the title of Sulṭān and a diploma of investiture as his lieutenant, and Mustanṣir in 1235 sent a special envoy with the required document. This same Khalīfa had in 1229 responded to the request of Iltutmish [q.v.], the Turkish ruler of Northern India, for the title of Sulṭān and for confirmation in the possession of his dominions; and succeeding kings of Dihlī continued to put the name of Mustaʿṣim, the last Khalīfa of Baghdād, upon their coins for more than thirty years after this unfortunate prince had been put to death by the Mongols.

In contrast to this recognition of the Khalīfa in Baghdād as the legitimate source of authority,

is the establishment of two rival Khilāfats; in 928 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III of Spain assumed the title of Khalīfa, which continued to be borne by his descendants: these Umaiyads of Spain, like their predecessors in Damascus, were Sunnīs; but the Fāṭimids of Egypt, whose founder styled himself Khalīfa first in Mahdiya in 909, were Shīʿīs, and were serious rivals to the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād until the destruction of their dynasty by Saladin in 1171.

In 1258 Hulagū [q. v.] captured Baghdād and put to death the Khalīfa Mustaʿṣim, who perished leaving behind him no heir. The catastrophe was without parallel in the history of Islām, and for the first time the Muslim world found itself without a theoretical head whose name could be mentioned in the *Khuṭba* in the mosques on Fridays. Two members of the ʿAbbāsid family, who had escaped the massacre in Baghdād, took refuge one after the other with the Mamlūk Sulṭān of Egypt; the first, an uncle of Mustaʿṣim, was invited by Baibars [q. v.] to Cairo, and was there installed with great pomp as Khalīfa in 1261. Baibars is said to have conceived the idea of re-establishing the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in Baghdād and left Cairo with a large army, but after he had reached Damascus he provided the Khalīfa with only a small body of troops, which was destroyed by the Mongols on its way through the desert, and nothing more was ever heard of the Khalīfa. The second claimant arrived in Cairo in 1262 and was similarly installed as Khalīfa, but no attempt was made to repeat the rash experiment of regaining Baghdād, and the Khalīfa was kept a virtual prisoner in Cairo, though treated with outward marks of respect. For more than two centuries and a half, his descendants one after another continued to hold this shadowy office in Cairo, dependent on the bounty of the Mamlūk Sulṭān, who found the Khalīfa useful as lending a show of legitimacy to his rule. Each new Sulṭān was ceremoniously installed by the Khalīfa, to whom he in his turn paid allegiance. But not a single one of them (with the exception of Mustaʿīn, who was made the plaything of rival political factions in 1412 and for six months was styled Sulṭān) ever exercised any function of government or enjoyed any political power. Maḳrīzī [q. v.] describes the Khalīfa as spending his time among the nobles and officials, paying them visits to thank them for the dinners and entertainments to which they had invited him (*Histoire d'Egypte*, ed. E. Blochet, p. 76).

The rest of the Muslim world outside Egypt for the most part ignored the existence of the ʿAbbāsid Khalīfa in Cairo. From the 13th century there had been Sunnī Khalīfa in the Maghrib, and from time to time various princes in the eastern lands of the Muhammadan world assumed this title, Saldjūḳs, Tīmūrids, Turkomans, Uzbegs and Ottomans.

But a small number of independent princes, desiring to legitimize their claim to the obedience of their subjects, asked for formal recognition of their position and a grant of titles from the Khalīfa, e. g. the first two princes of the Muẓaffarid dynasty in southern Persia (1313—1384); Muḥammad ibn Tughlaḳ (1325—1351) and his successor on the throne of Dihlī, Fīrūz Shāh (1351—1388); even Bayazīd I [q. v.] is said to have applied in 1394 to the ʿAbbāsid Khalīfa in Cairo for a formal grant of the title of Sulṭān (v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*², i. 195), but doubt has been cast upon the accuracy of this report. For, from the latter part of the 14th century, when after the conquest of Adrianople, Philippopolis etc. his father, Murād I, was styled "the chosen Khalīfa of God" (Firīdūn, i. 93, l. 22), it became common for the Ottoman Sulṭāns, as for other contemporary Muhammadan potentates, to claim for themselves the Khilāfa and to find this claim recognised by their subjects and their correspondents in other lands. The qualification of belonging to the tribe of Ḳuraish was ignored and sanction was sought for the usage in such verses of the Ḳurʾān as xxxviii. 25: "We have made thee a Khalīfa on the earth", and this and similar verses (e.g. vi. 165; xxv. 37) are constantly quoted in the diplomatic correspondence of the period. So when Selīm [q. v.] made his victorious entry into Cairo in January, 1517, and made an end of the ʿAbbāsid Khilāfa, by transporting the last representative of it, Mutawakkil, to Constantinople, he had already been accustomed to the use of the title Khalīfa as applied to himself, and to his ancestors for a century and a half. The legend that Mutawakkil made a formal transfer of his dignity to Selīm was first published by Constantine Mouradgea d'Ohsson in 1788 (*Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, i. 269—270, ed. 8vo., Paris, 1788—1824). None of the contemporary authorities who record the conquest of Egypt make any mention of such a transference of the office, and after the death of Selīm, Mutawakkil was allowed to return to Egypt and was Khalīfa there until his death in 1543. For the next two centuries, there were only two Muhammadan potentates whose extent of territory and power could add dignity to the title of Khalīfa (in contrast to the indiscriminate use of it by insignificant princes) namely, the Ottoman Sulṭān and the Mughal Emperor in India. With the fall of the Mughal empire in the 18th century, the Ottoman Sulṭān became manifestly the greatest figure in the Muslim world; but even his power was being threatened by his aggressive neighbour on the north, and after the war with Russia (1768—1774) he was obliged to surrender territories on the north shore of the Black Sea and recognise the independence of the Tartars of the Crimea. Catherine II claimed to be the patroness of the Christians of the Orthodox Church dwelling in Ottoman territories, and the Ottoman plenipotentiaries who negotiated the treaty of Kučuk Kainardji in 1774, took advantage of the title of Khalīfa, to make a similar claim for the Sulṭān, and got inserted in the treaty a clause asserting the religious authority of the Khalīfa over the Tartars who had ceased to owe him allegiance as a temporal sovereign. From this period onwards, it became a common error in Christian Europe to regard the Khalīfa as the spiritual head of all Muslims (just as the Pope is the spiritual head of all Catholics), and to credit him with the possession of spiritual authority over his co-religionists, though they might not owe him civil obedience as Sulṭān of Turkey. There is reason to believe that this widespread error in Christian Europe reacted upon opinion in Turkey itself. Particularly in the reign of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876—1909), emphasis was laid on his position as Khalīfa, and in the Constitution promulgated at the beginning of his reign it was affirmed that „H.M. the Sulṭān, as Khalīfa, is the protector of the Muslim religion." He appears to have sent emissaries

to different parts of the Muhammadan world to encourage reverence for his own person as Khalīfa, and his efforts met with a certain response, since thoughtful Muhammadans (and especially those whose minds were disturbed by the growing control of European Powers over the affairs of the Muhammadan world) recognised that Turkey was the only independent Muslim power left, which was of any account in the civilised world. But the despotic and reactionary character of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's government, his cruel suppression of all liberal movements and all efforts for constitutional reform, alienated the more enlightened sections of his own subjects, and when he was deposed in 1909, the affairs of Turkey passed under the control of a body of men who had little sympathy with the Islāmic spirit and realised the impossibility of reconciling an autocracy that claimed to be based on divine revelation with modern constitutional methods of government. In November, 1922, Turkey became a republic and abolished the Sultanate, leaving the Khalīfa shorn of all temporal power; but it had not become clear what were to be the functions of the new Khalīfa before, in March, 1924, his office was abolished altogether.

In the above account, attention has been confined to the historic Sunnī Khilāfa which has played the most important part in Muhammadan history. The two other Sunnī Khilāfas, that of Spain and that of the Maghrib, have been only of local importance, and did not inspire loyalty in any other parts of the Muhammadan world; nor has the assumption of the title Khalīfa by some of the princes of Java been recognised except by their own subjects.

Among the Shīʿa, the attempts made from time to time to secure for the ʿAlīds a position of power and independence, met with but scant success, and the Fāṭimids [q. v.] of Egypt represent the only Shīʿī Khilāfa of any importance. In Persia the establishment of the Ṣafawid [q. v.] dynasty in 1502 did not succeed in making Shīʿism the State religion in Persia until long after the doctrine of the hidden *Imām* had become a cardinal doctrine of the Shīʿa faith in that country.

Bibliography: An enumeration of the sources for the history of the Khilāfa would comprise the major part of the historical literature of the whole of the Muhammadan era. For the Arabic sources F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, and C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* may be consulted. Among the more important sources may be mentioned: Ṭabarī, *Annales*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*; al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ* and *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (partly translated by Quatremère in *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*); al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*; *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*; Aḥmad Ferīdūn Bey, *Munshaʾāt al-Salāṭīn*; Muṣṭafā Ṣabrī al-Tūḳādī, *al-Nakīr ʿalā munkiri ʾl-niʿma min al-dīn wa ʾl-khilāfa wa ʾl-umma*, Bairut, 1924. Among European writers, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām* (Milano, 1905 *sqq.*); G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, 5 vols. (1846—1862); A. Müller, *Der Islām im Morgen- und Abendland* (1885, 1887); W. Muir, *The Caliphate*; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*; A. de la Jonquière, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, 2nd ed. Paris 1914; *Oriente Moderno* (Rome 1921 *sqq.*); C. A. Nallino, *La fine del così detto Califfato ottomano* (*Oriente Moderno*, iv. 137 *sqq.*); R. Hartmann, *Wesen u. Ende des osm. Chalifats*, Leipzig 1924; H. Ritter, *Die Abschaffung des Kalifats* (*Arch. f. Politik und Geschichte*, ii. 343 *sqq.*, Berlin 1924).

2. Political Theory. As stated above, the theory of the Khilāfa was largely an outgrowth from the political circumstances of early Muhammadan history, but speculation has elaborated many forms of the doctrine that have failed to secure for themselves expression in actual historical facts. Al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton, p. 12) says that no article of faith has given rise to such bloodshed and contention in every period of Muslim history as this. (*a*) The orthodox Sunnī doctrine first found expression in the Ḥadīth, which emphasised preeminently two essential characteristics of the Khalīfa; one, that he must be of the tribe of the Ḳuraish (*Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, iii., Nº. 2983; vi., Nº. 3457, 3499), and the other, that he must receive unhesitating obedience, for whosoever rebels against the Khalīfa, rebels against God (id. iii., 2580, 2999, 3008). This claim on obedience to the despotic power of the Khalīfa as a religious duty was impressed upon the faithful by the designations that were applied to him from an early date, — Khalīfa of God, and Shadow of God upon earth. The first systematic exposition of the generally accepted doctrine is found in Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* (ed. R. Enger, Bonn 1853; Cairo 1298, 1327; trans. E. Fagnan, Alger 1915). Māwardī insists upon the following qualifications in a Khalīfa: — membership of the tribe of Ḳuraish, male sex, full age, good character, freedom from physical or mental defects, competency in legal knowledge, administrative ability, and courage and energy in the defence of Muslim territory. In spite of the fact that the office became hereditary in two families successively, the Umaiyad and the ʿAbbāsid, Māwardī maintained that it was elective, and was at pains to reconcile the doctrine of election with the historic fact that from the reign of Muʿāwiya (661—680) [q. v.] almost every Khalīfa had nominated his successor. The fiction of election was preserved in the practice of *baiʿa* [q. v.], the taking of the oath of allegiance, first by the nobles of the court and then by the general assembly before whom the new Khalīfa was proclaimed. The functions of the Khalīfa were defined by Māwardī as follows: the defence and maintenance of religion, the decision of legal disputes, the protection of the territory of Islām, the punishment of wrongdoers, the provision of troops for guarding the frontiers, the waging of *djihād* [q. v.] against those who refused to accept Islām or submit to Muslim rule, the organisation and collection of taxes, the payment of salaries and the administration of public funds, the appointment of competent officials, and lastly, personal attention to the details of government. About three centuries later Ibn Khaldūn [q. v.] approached the subject in a more critical spirit and discussed the institution of the Khilāfa in his *Muḳaddima* (chap. 25—8), written between 1375 and 1379; he faced the facts of history and recognised that with the disappearance of the Arab supremacy there was nothing left of the Khilāfa but the name. His account of the origin and purpose of the institution agrees with that given by

Māwardī; the Khalīfa is the representative (*nā'ib*) of the Prophet, the exponent of the divinely-inspired law (*sharī'a*), and his functions are the protection of religion and the government of the world; he must belong to the tribe of the Ḳuraish, and possess the other personal qualifications laid down by Māwardī. But there were other legists who frankly faced the fact that force had taken the place of theory in the Muslim world, and worked out a constitutional theory accordingly; of such writers Badr al-Dīn Ibn Djamā'a (ob. 733 = 1333) is a typical example; in his *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Millat al-Islām* (K. K. Hofbibl., Wien 1830), he lays it down that the *Imām* may obtain his office either by election or by force; in the latter case allegiance must be paid to an *Imām* who by force of arms seizes the office, and such usurpation is justified in consideration of the general advantage and unity of the Muslim community gained thereby (foll. 7—8). Another school of legists abandoned all such attempts to justify the fluctuating course of Muslim history and based their doctrine on the Ḥadīth that the Khilāfa endured for only thirty years, i. e. up to the death of 'Alī (*Kanz*, iii., N⁰. 3152); this was the view of al-Nasafī [q. v.] (ob. 537 = 1142) (see *al-'Aḳā'id*, ed. Cureton, London 1843, p. 4), and it was adopted by the great Turkish jurist, Ibrāhīm Ḥalabī (ob. 1549), whose *Multaḳa 'l-Abḥur* became the authoritative code of Ottoman law. (*b*) The Shī'ī theologians made the doctrine of the Imamate a cardinal principle of faith; they laid stress on legitimacy, and confined the office of the Khalīfa not merely to the Ḳuraish but still further to the family of 'Alī; with the exception of the Zaidīya [q. v.], they rejected the doctrine of election, and held that 'Alī was directly nominated by Muḥammad as his successor and that 'Alī's qualifications were inherited by his descendants, who were pre-ordained by God for this high office. Muḥammad is said to have communicated to 'Alī certain secret knowledge, which was in turn handed on to his son and was thus carried on from generation to generation; each *Imām* possesses superhuman qualities which raise him above the level of the rest of mankind, and he guides the faithful with infallible wisdom, and his decisions are absolute and final. According to some, 'Alī owed this superiority to a difference in his substance, for from the creation of Adam a divine light passed into the substance of one chosen descendant in each generation and has been present in 'Alī and in each one of the *Imām*'s that succeeded him. The sectarian development of Shī'a doctrine was considerable, see art. ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYA, ISMĀ'ĪLIYA, RĀFIḌA, ZAIDIYA. (*Bibliography*: al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, p. 108 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, i. p. 400 *sqq.*). (*c*) The antithesis of Shī'ī doctrine was taught by the Khawāridj [see KHĀRIDJITES], who so far from confining the office of Khalīfa or *Imām* to any one tribe or family, held that any believer was eligible, even though he were a non-Arab or even a slave; they further separated themselves from other Muslims in maintaining that the existence of an *Imām* is not a matter of religious obligation and that at any particular time the community can fulfil all the obligations imposed upon them by their religion, and have an entirely legitimate form of civil administration, without any *Imām* being in existence at all; when, under special circumstances, it may be found convenient or necessary to have an *Imām*, then one may be elected, and if he is found to be in any way unsatisfactory, he may be deposed or put to death (al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, i. p. 85 *sqq.*).

All the above classes of political theory found expression in some form or other of actual political organisation, but there were also statements of the doctrine of the Khilāfa that never emerged out of the sphere of speculation, especially those elaborated by thinkers of the Mu'tazila school, e. g. that the office of Imām should not be filled during periods of civil war but only in times of peace; that no one could be Imām except with the unanimous consensus of the whole Muslim community (al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Goldziher, *Hellenistischer Einfluss auf mu'tazilitische Chalifats-Theorien*, in *Der Islam*, vi. 173—7).

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(T. W. ARNOLD)

KHALĪFA SHĀH MUḤAMMAD, author of a collection of letters in Persian, entitled *Djāmiʿ al-Ḳawānīn* or *Inshā'-i Khalīfa*, written while he was a student at Ḳannawdj and collected by him at the request of his friends in 1085 (= 1674/5). It is much appreciated in India, and has been printed several times.

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AL-KHALĪL, the ancient Hebron, so called after the "friend of God" (*khalīl*), Abraham (see the art. IBRĀHĪM), a town in South Palestine (also called Ḥabrūn, Ḥabrā or Masdjid Ibrāhīm). It lay in an exceedingly fertile valley between the heights of the Djabal Naṣra (? reading uncertain) noted especially for its richness in fruits. According to a widely disseminated legend, Muḥammad is said to have granted the four districts Ḥabrūn, al-Marṭūm (so Yāḳūt, ii. 194; in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Kawiani 1923, p. 40, 14: Matlūn, var. Martūn, Martūm; in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, ed. Cairo, xiii. 120, 4: al-Ruṭūm), Bait ʿAinūn (i. e. *Ainon*, St. John's Gosp., iii. 23 etc., Khirbet Bet ʿEnūn) and Bait Ibrāhīm as a fief to the oil and lamp-dealer Tamīm b. Aws al-Dārī, a convert to Islām, and to his descendants. To Tamīm al-Dārī is traced the custom of having lamps continuously lighted in the mosque (Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.*, viii. 216—220). Al-Khalīl is still regarded as the *waḳf* of the Tamīmīs. There is no doubt, however, that the alleged letter of the Prophet to Nuʿaim b. Aws al-Dārī, the brother of Tamīm, is a later forgery intended to confirm the claims of the Tamīmīs (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii/1. 298, 9 a. H., § 69).

Our only information regarding the history of the town in the early centuries A. H. comes from a few scanty Frankish sources of which the most important is the full account of the examination of the sepulchral caves by Christian monks in the year 1119/1120 (publ. by Riant in the *Recueil des Hist. des Croisades*, *hist. occid.*, v. 302—316). According to this (p. 309), the Jews showed the Arab invaders the entrance to the sanctuary, which had been walled up by the Byzantines, and in return they received permission to live on in peace in al-Khalīl and to build a synagogue before the entrance to the "Abrahamium". When the Byzantine church was turned into the *Masdjid Ibrāhīm* cannot be exactly ascertained; the first information regarding the mosque is given by al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal in the tenth century (not the eighth, as wrongly stated by Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 309, and Vincent, *Hébron*, p. 160). According to al-Muḳaddasī, who is the first to give us a more detailed description of al-Khalīl, Abraham's tomb was covered over by a dome built in Muslim times (according to Mudjīr al-Dīn, translated by Sauvaire, p. 12, it was already done under the Umaiyads). The tomb of Isaac was in a part covered over (*mughaṭṭā*) and Jacob's was on the opposite side. This writer is also the first to mention the rich endowments which were given to the sanctuary by pious princes from remote lands, and the hospitable reception and provision of oil and lentils which the Tamīmīs in the hospice gave to pilgrims, but he thought for purely religious reasons it better to abstain from them. The Maghribī theologian al-ʿAbdarī of Fās (d. 737 = 1336) later denounced the eating of these lentils (which were known as *ʿadas Khalīlī*) and issued a warning against praying inside the mosque (instead of in front of it), as the exact site of Abraham's grave was not known; he is particularly rigorous against the dances associated with the "parade-music of Khalīl" (from which comes the name *Khalīlīya* for a band intended for parades), which one could see every day in the sanctuary (Goldziher, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1894, xvii. 115—120; cf. also Schreiner, *Z.D.M.G.*, liii. 51 *sqq.*).

Half a century before the beginning of the Crusades Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited the town (1047), which in those days lay on the north side of the Ḥaram only; in his journal he gives a minute description of the sanctuary. According to him, a gate was first made in the middle of the north-(east) wall by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mahdī (918 A.D.); the Ḥaram had previously been inaccessible. The covered part of the sanctuary (*maḳṣūra*), which contained the graves (cenotaphs) of the patriarchs, was richly decorated and provided with numerous niches (*miḥrāb*).

After the capture of al-Khalīl by the Crusaders, Godfrey de Bouillon granted the seigneurie of Hebron in 1100 to Gérard d'Avesnes (d. 1102). He was followed by Hugo de Rebèque, Robardus (Rorgius), Galterius Mahomet and lastly Baldwin, in whose time (in 1119) the graves of the patriarchs were discovered (see above). He and his successors were apparently simply governors of Hebron and were at first under the King of Jerusalem, and later, from about 1155, under the Lord of al-Karak. In 1168 Hebron was made a bishopric.

ʿAlī of Herāt, who visited Jerusalem and al-Khalīl in 567 (1171/1172), says that he made the acquaintance of a Christian knight in Bait Laḥm, who had once visited the sepulchral caves of the patriarchs, when a boy of thirteen, with his father; these, he said, were afterwards restored by command of King Bardawīl (Baldwin II) by a knight named Djufrī b. Djurdj (Godfrey, son of George). It was perhaps at King Baldwin II's instigation that the buildings around the Ḥaram arose, in which the formerly flat roof of the *maḳṣūra* was replaced by a system of arches with sloping roofs (Vincent, *Hébron*, p. 166).

After the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, al-Khalīl again passed into the hands of the Arabs. According to a supposition of Mudjīr al-Dīn (ed. Būlāḳ, p. 56 below, transl. Sauvaire, p. 16), which is not quite improbable (cf. Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 242—250), the *minbar* which stands beside the niche (*miḥrāb*) in the Ḥaram and, according to a still extant Kūfic inscription, was originally donated by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir in 484 (1091/1092) for the martyrion (*Mashhad*) of al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī in ʿAsḳalān, was brought to al-Khalīl by order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (apparently in 588 = 1192 after the razing of the walls of ʿAsḳalān) and put up in the Ḥaram (van Berchem in the *Festschrift Eduard Sachau gewidmet*, Berlin 1915, p. 298—310; Vincent, *Hébron*, p. 219—250). After the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, al-Khalīl passed to al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd of al-Karak; it was, it is true, taken from him with other towns in 1244 by the armies of the Sulṭān al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb but he recaptured it next year with the help of the Khwārizmīs.

To this period belong two full descriptions of the Ḥaram, that of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ Isḥāḳ al-Khalīlī, whose account written in 1351 was copied by al-Suyūṭī (1470) and Mudjīr al-Dīn (1496), and

that of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited al-Khalīl in 1355. The latter defends (as al-Idrīsī had done previously [*Z.D.P.V.*, viii. 127]) the correctness of the location of the tombs of the patriarchs (which others doubted, like his countryman al-ʿAbdarī; see above). Isḥāḳ of Hebron quotes, giving a number of intermediate sources, the story handed down by an attendant of the mosque of Abraham, Muḥammad b. Bakrān al-Khaṭīb (c. 320 = 932), which is already found in shorter form in ʿAlī Harawī. In it a benefactor of the sanctuary, Abū Bakr al-Iskāfī, relates how by his own request he was taken down into the sepulchral cave, to reach which he had to descend 72 steps. The details of the story, however, are obviously invented; the same Muḥammad b. Bakrān is responsible for the fantastic "translation" by a learned Shaikh of Ḥalab of a still extant Greek inscription (Mader, *Altchristl. Basiliken*, p. 135, note 3; Vincent, *Hébron*, p. 160 *sq.*).

The Mongols took the town in 1260 but were driven out by Baibars the same year. When Sulṭān, the latter visited al-Khalīl in May, 1266. Jews and Christians were then strictly forbidden access to the Ḥaram (Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, p. 929). In 1267, by command of Baibars, the mosque was rebuilt and in 1268 the town (al-Maḳrīzī, transl. Quatremère, ii. 48, 51); this can only refer to quite unimportant structural alterations at the Ḥaram (Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 190). Ḳalāʾūn (1279—1290), as we learn from his inscriptions in al-Khalīl, also had decorations and facings for the walls made at different parts of the Ḥaram.

Mudjīr al-Dīn gives us some further information regarding the embellishment and structural alterations in the sanctuary. The viceroy (*nāʾib*) of Syria, Tenkiz, Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ's contemporary, had the four inner façades of the masdjid covered with marble in 732 (1331/32) (van Berchem, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1896, xix. 111 *sq.*). Considerable alterations took place under Sulṭān Barḳūḳ at the instigation of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī, governor of Jerusalem and al-Khalīl and guardian of the two sanctuaries. In 796 (1394), besides the erection of a new *miḥrāb* for Mālikīs in the Women's Mosque, a new door was put on the west side of the former Byzantine church immediately behind the tomb of Abraham and another in the west wall of the Ḥaram (in the so-called "Wall of Solomon"), the latter near the Maḳām of Joseph. This sanctuary had been built by Sulṭān Nāṣir Ḥasan (1347—61) beside the mediaeval Ḳalʿa (the later Madrasa). Its entrance lay opposite the "well of the eunuchs" (*ʿAin al-Ṭawāshī*). Al-Yaghmūrī had a dome built over the Maḳām which was similar to those over the tombs within the Ḥaram. In the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (1293—1341), the Amīr Sandjar al-Djāwulī had already built the mosque against the north-east wall of the Ḥaram in 718—720 (1318—1320), which is called Djāwuliya after him, into the rocky sides of the Djabal Djaʿbīra. The Mamlūk Sulṭāns al-Malik al-Ashraf, Īnāl (859 = 1454) and al-Ẓāhir Khoshḳadam (867 = 1462/63) were also benefactors of the Ḥaram and of the Djāwuliya Mosque.

We know nothing further of the history of al-Khalīl and the architectural history of its Ḥaram after 901 (1496) when Mudjīr al-Dīn wrote his book; probably building in the Ḥaram had finished about this time. From the 400 years of Turkish rule (1517—1917) we only possess a few inscriptions of the years 1008 (1599/1600) to 1313 (1895/1896, of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, in Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 206, fig. 79), apart from the notices by western travellers.

The modern al-Khalīl consists of the seven quarters Ḥāret el-Shēkh (scil. Shēkh ʿAlī Bakkā), Ḥ. Bāb el-Zāwiye, Ḥ. el-Ḳazzāzīn, Ḥ. el-ʿAḳḳābīn, Ḥ. el-Ḥaram, Ḥ. el-Mashāriḳa and Ḥ. el-Ḳiṭūn. It lies in the Wādī ʾl-Khalīl between the hills of el-Rumaide, on which lay the ancient town, and Ḍahr Abu ʾl-Rummān in the south-west and the Djebel Djaʿbīre in the north-east.

The number of its inhabitants was 17,000 in 1922, of whom 1,500 were Jews. Of the buildings in al-Khalīl, the Ḥaram is by far the most important. As a result of the fanatical suspicions of the people so far only a very few Europeans have managed to make a brief visit to its interior. It was not till the week from Jan. 26 to Feb. 2, 1920, that, after some preliminary work by Major Richmond, the French archaeologist L. H. Vincent and Capt. E. J. H. Mackay were able to make a more detailed archaeological investigation and to survey the system of buildings. The tombs of the patriarchs, said, according to old tradition, to exist under the Ḥaram, have so far not been explored.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

al-KHALĪL b. AḤMAD b. ʿAMR b. TAMĪM AL-FARĀHĪDĪ AL-AZDĪ, Arab grammarian and philologist, a native of ʿUmān, died at al-Baṣra, aged 75, between 170 and 175 (786 and 791).

He studied Islāmic traditions and philology with Aiyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, al-ʿAwwām b. Ḥawshab, etc. On the advice of his master Aiyūb he abandoned the Abāḍī doctrine for Sunnī orthodoxy; he was very pious and lived in poverty. Among his pupils may be mentioned Sībawaih, al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Naḍr b. Shumail, al-Laith b.

al-Muʾarridj b. Naṣr, etc. All the biographers agree in attributing to him the discovery of Arabic prosody and its rules; and in spite of several other attempts made, it is his system that still holds sway to-day. However, there has only survived to us of his works on the subject the specimen verses reproduced in various treatises.

Al-Khalīl was also the first to compile an Arabic dictionary: *Kitāb al-ʿAin*. He seems to have followed the alphabetical order of the Sanskrit grammarians which begins with the gutturals and goes on to the labials: ʿain, ḥāʾ, hāʾ, khāʾ, ghain, ḳāf, kāf, djīm, shīn, ḍād, ṣād, sīn, zāʾ, ṭāʾ, dāl, tāʾ, ẓāʾ, dhāl, thāʾ, rāʾ, lām, nūn, fāʾ, bāʾ, mīm, wāw, alif (hamza), yāʾ. It has been asserted that al-Khalīl is not the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿAin* but his pupil al-Laith; others say that al-Naḍr compiled it on lines drawn up by his master or that he finished it. We may believe that these are only attempts to minimise the fame of al-Khalīl. In any case all that survives of this dictionary is the synopsis *Mukhtaṣar* made by the learned Spanish lexicologist, Abū Bakr al-Zubaidī (Berlin, *Verz.*, Nº. 6930—6932; Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Nº. 5; *Bibl. de la Junta*, Nos. 35 and 49; Constantinople, Köprülü, Nº. 1574; *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, Derenbourg, Nº. 569, 570, 571).

Other works attributed to al-Khalīl have survived but their authenticity, at least in their present form, is suspect: 1. *Kit. fī Maʿnā 'l-Ḥurūf*, Cat. *Cod. Arab.*, i. 81; Berlin, Nº. 7023/7016; 2. *Kit. Sharḥ Ṣarf al-Khalīl*, fragment Berlin, Nº. 6909; 3. *Kit. fīhi Djumlat Ālāt al-Iʿrāb*, Aya Ṣofya, Nº. 4456; 4. Fragment on the conjugation of the verb, Bodl., i., Nº. 1067, 4.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i. 42; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Maʿārif*, Cairo 1300, p. 183; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 172; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, Leiden 1912, fº. 421b; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 230; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1325, iii. Nº. 312; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 243; do., *al-Muzhir*, Būlāḳ 1282, i. 38; al-Khazradjī, *Khulāṣat Tadhhīb al-Kamāl*, Cairo 1322, p. 91; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ*, Cairo 1294, p. 54; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *al-Falāka wa-'l-Maflūkūn*, Cairo 1322, p. 69; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, transl. de Slane, iii. 314; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, see Index; Freytag, *Darstellung d. arab. Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, p. 17, 31, 34; Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, p. 37 *sqq.*; Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab. Philologie*, Leiden 1896, i. 139; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 100; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 138.

(Moh. Ben Cheneb)

KHALĪL B. Isḥāḳ B. Mūsā B. Shuʿaib, Abu 'l-Mawadda Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, known as (Ibn) al-Djundī, commonly called Sīdī Khalīl in Algeria, a great Mālikī jurist of Egypt, died in Cairo on Rabīʿ I 13, 776 (= Aug. 22, 1374), according to others in 767 or 769.

He studied under Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, al-Rashīdī and notably ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī. Born of a Ḥanafī father, he adopted the Mālikī school at the instance of al-Manūfī. On the latter's death in 749 (1348) Khalīl devoted himself to teaching and lectured at the al-Shaikhūniya school.

He also saw service in the victorious guard and in this capacity took part in the capture of Alexandria from the Christians in 767 (1365—1366). He later lived retired from the world and devoted himself to study and works of piety. He made the pilgrimage to Mekka and spent some time in Medina.

From the legal point of view Khalīl, like his model Ibn al-Ḥādjib, represents the school of law a little affected by Shāfiʿism formed by the fusion of Egyptian and Maghribī tendencies in the Mālikī school. His *Mukhtaṣar*, in spite of its conciseness which verges on obscurity, is the manual of law which has been and still is most studied in Algeria. It was printed in Paris in 1855 and again and again till 1883; in 1900 a new edition was brought out in Paris by G. Delphin. E. Fagnan has published *Concordances du Manuel de droit*, Algiers 1889, based on the edition of 1883. Dr. Perron has given a substantial translation in which he has combined the text and the commentary: *Précis de jurispr. musulm. ou Principes de législ. musulm. civile et relig. selon le rite malékite*, Paris 1848—1854. Several partial translations have appeared since: Sautayra and Cherbonneau, *Du Statut personnel et des successions*, Paris 1873—1874; Seignette, *Code musulman par Khalil, rite malékite. — Statut réel*, Constantine 1878; Fagnan, *Le Djihād ou Guerre Sainte*, Algiers 1908; do., *Mariage et répudiation, trad. avec comment.*, Algiers 1909. — Among other works by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ are mentioned: 1º. *al-Tawḍīḥ*, commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, Algiers, Bibl. Nat., Nos. 1077—1084; 2º. *Kit. al-Manāsik*, Brit. Mus., *Cat.*, Nº. 259, ii., Bibl. Khéd., *Fihrist*, iii. 184; 3º. *Manāḳib al-Shaikh ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī*, biography of his teacher, Bibl. Khéd., *Fihrist*, v. 159; 4º. *Ḍabṭ al-Muwadjdjahāt wa-Taʿrīfuhā*, Bibl. Khéd., *Fihrist*, vii. 278.

Bibliography: al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321, i. 217; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii. 120; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, Fās 1316, p. 117; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj*, Fās 1317, p. 95 (reprod. 1. at the beginning of the Paris ed. of the *Mukhtaṣar*, transl. into French by Fagnan at the beginning of his *Mariage et répudiation*; 2. by Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān*, Algiers 1325, p. 96, and Provenzali, transl. of *al-Bustān*, Algiers 1910, p. 104; 3. transl. by Vincent in *Études sur la loi musulm.*, Paris 1842, p. 46); do., *Kifāya* (MS. of the Madrasa of Algiers), i. 44b; Morand, *Le droit musulm. algér. (rite malékite)*: *Ses Origines*, Algiers 1913; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. 83; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 340; Moh. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les pers. ment. dans l'Idjāza du Cheikh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī*, Paris 1907, Nº. 293.

(Moh. Ben Cheneb)

KHALĪL, al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, was the second son of Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn; his eldest brother is said to have been poisoned by him. As he lay under this suspicion and was also of an immoral and irreligious life (he was accused of pederasty and of drinking wine in Ramaḍān), Ḳalāʾūn could not bring himself to sign Khalīl's appointment as heir-apparent. Nevertheless he was regarded as successor to the throne and acclaimed Sulṭān on Ḳalāʾūn's death in 689 (1290). His first official act was to dismiss the high officials of his father's court with whom he was on bad terms and to prosecute them and appoint his favourites to important posts. But he continued his father's foreign policy, the goal of which was the destruction of the Crusaders in Syria, and again took up the plan of besieging ʿAkkā. After

careful preparations he advanced with such superiority against the town that, in spite of a brave defence and help from Cyprus by sea, it could not hold out for long. The town itself was first taken, then the strongly fortified towers of the Knights which formed a kind of donjons within the town. The male inhabitants were put to death and the women and children deported to Egypt; but the women were later permitted to go to Cyprus. The other towns still in possession of the Crusaders offered no resistance worth mentioning. Ṣaidā (Sidon), Tyre, ʿAthlīth, Haifā and Bairūt fell. The last named alone had surrendered so that it was not destroyed like the others. The Christian inhabitants who did not migrate had to pay poll-tax. Rejoicings were held for a month in Damascus and the Sulṭān's name became celebrated as that of the final liberator of Syria for all time. Khalīl afterwards planned a campaign against the Tatars in the ʿIrāḳ, but he contented himself with the occupation of their fortress Ḳalʿat al-Rūm. The king of Armenia, who felt himself threatened, ceded him several towns to secure peace. Khalīl also carried out his father's plans for the fortification and development of the Syrian cities; in the citadels of Aleppo, Baʿalbek, Damascus and the great mosque of Tripoli we find him named as the builder.

He was after his fashion fanatical; for example he demanded that the Christian officials in Damascus should adopt Islām; those who refused were fined up to 1,000 dīnārs. He was personally hated by those around him for his evil life and his cruelty. He treated contemptuously even the highest officials, like his Atabek Baidarā. The high dignitaries therefore could stand him no longer and conspired against his life in 693 (1293) and took advantage of a hunting expedition in Upper Egypt to murder him. This able and energetic prince thus only ruled four years. As he left only two daughters, the throne passed to his younger brother Muḥammad [q. v.].

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KHALĪL EFENDI ZĀDE, MEḤEMMED SAʿĪD EFENDI, one of the ʿulamāʾ of the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I (1730—1754). He was the son of Birgili Khalīl Efendi who was twice Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Anatolia. He studied under his father, then passed through the usual Madrasa course and beginning as mollā of Yeni-shehir in 1135 (1722—1723) ascended the various steps of the ʿulamāʾ hierarchy to the highest office. He was appointed Shaikh al-Islām in 1162 (1749) but was dismissed within ten months in 1750 on account of his stern and unyielding disposition and banished to Brusa where he died in 1168 (1754/55) and was buried near Amīr Sulṭān.

He was regarded as a learned man, ready with his pen, and well fitted for all the claims of his office. Besides a commentary, he left the Turkish translation of a part of the history of ʿAinī († 762). Of his sons and grandsons several were notable theologians.

Bibliography: A. Rifʿat Efendi, *Devhat el-Meshāʾikh*, Constantinople n. d., lithographed, p. 97; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, Constantinople 1308, iii. 2056; Thüreiya, *Sijill-i ʿOthmānī*, Constantinople 1311, iii. 28. (TH. MENZEL)

KHALĪL PASHA, name of three Turkish Grand Viziers:

1) ČENDERELI KHALĪL PASHA in the reign of Murād II, vide ČENDERELI.

2) KAIṢARIYELI KHALĪL PASHA, Grand Vizier under Aḥmad I and Murād IV. He was an Armenian by birth, born in a village called Ruswān in the neighbourhood of Kaiṣariya (Munedjdjim Bashi; the statement of the *Sijill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii. 286, that he came from Marʿash is incorrect). The date of his birth is not given but must be about 1560. Having been educated at court as *Iċ Oghlan*, he entered the corps of the falconers and became *doghandji bashi*, in which capacity he was in Sulṭān Muḥammad's III immediate entourage during the Hungarian campaign of 1596. In 1016/1607 he became Agha of the Janissaries and fought bravely under the Grand Vizier Murād in the campaign against the rebels in Anatolia. Next year Khalīl was appointed *Kapudan Pasha* as a successor of Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pasha [q. v.]. In this office he was very successful and captured many Maltese and Florentine ships, especially in 1018/1609, when he took, in a battle with the Maltese near Cyprus, a big and famous galleon, called by the Turk *Kara Ḏjehennem* (in Europe known as "the red Galleon"). This success procured him the rank of *wezīr*. From the end of 1020/1611 to 1022/1613 he was replaced as *Kapudan* by Öküz Muḥammad Pasha, who had become a *dāmād*, but the latter, having been defeated by the Spanish when convoying Egyptian ships to Constantinople, Khalīl was made Grand Admiral a second time. In 1023/1614 he went on an important expedition, first raided Malta, and then went to Tripoli in Africa, where he captured and killed a usurper called Ṣafar Dāʾī. During his admiralship Khalīl displayed much diplomatic activity in trying to form a confederation against Spain with Holland and Morocco. Therefore he encouraged the Dutch to enter into relations with the Porte and became a powerful protector to the first Dutch ambassador Haga who arrived in 1612. Ever afterwards he showed himself a friend of the Dutch interests, although the planned confederation did not materialise.

In Muḥarram 1026/January 1617 he was appointed Grand Vizier in succession to Öküz Muḥammad Pasha, who had been unsuccessful in the war against Persia and to the disappointment of the latter's *ḳāʾim maḳām* Aimadji Zāde. In February of that year he showed his liberal-mindedness by protecting the Christian ambassadors in the capital against an attempt of the ʿulamāʾ to impose the *ḵharādj* on them. In the same year the Austrian envoy Count Czernin after the failure of his negotiations left Constantinople and in Ramaḍān [September] preliminaries were signed with Poland at Busa. Khalīl, however, seems to have been more interested in entertaining good relations with Venice, Holland, France and England and pacifying the Algerian corsairs. He did not play a prominent part in the course of events, when after Aḥmad's I death (23 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1026/22 Nov. 1617), Muṣṭafā I was placed on the throne and three months afterwards replaced by ʿOthmān II (1 Rab. I 1027/26 Febr. 1618). In the beginning of 1618 he took command of the army sent against Persia. The vanguard of the Turkish army was defeated in the plain of Sarāw, but Khalīl, marching against Ardebīl, induced the Shāh to

negotiate a peace treaty, which was signed on the same plain (6 Shawwāl 1027/26 Sept. 1618) on the same conditions as the former treaty. On his return to the capital he was dismissed from the office of Grand Vizier and had even to take refuge with the great Shaikh Maḥmūd of Skutari, one of whose adepts he was (1 Ṣafar 1028/18 Jan. 1619). Sulṭān ʿOthmān reproached Khalīl, that he had not helped him to succeed to the throne immediately after Aḥmad's death, but, on the intercession of Shaikh Maḥmūd the ex-Grand Vizier was appointed *Ḳapudan Pasha* a third time. With an interruption of six months in 1621 he occupied this position successfully. In May 1622 ʿOthmān II was murdered by the Janissaries and Muṣṭafā restored. During the reign of terror of the Janissaries and their chiefs that followed, Khalīl did not sympathise with them and even refused three times the Grand Vizierate offered to him by al-Wālide Sulṭān (5 Febr. 1623). Two months before, he had been the object of a hostile demonstration by the Janissaries who accused him of protecting their enemy Abāza Pasha [q. v.]. Still he had great influence and protected in December 1622 the Polish ambassador against anti-Polish demonstration. But after Mere Ḥusain Pasha had become Grand Vizier, he was dismissed from the office of Ḳapudan Pasha and banished to Malghara, where he went in April 1623, not without opposition, especially from the Sipāhīs, for he was the most popular of the then living viziers. Abāza Pasha, who in Erzerūm had rebelled against the Government claiming revenge for ʿOthmān's death, was a former protégé of Khalīl's, who, as Ḳapudan, had given him the command of a galley and, as Grand Vizier, had appointed him governor of Marʿash; his rebellion, however, was contrary to Khalīl's advice. Three years after the removal of Muṣṭafā (4 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1032/30 Augustus 1623) and the succession of Murād IV, when Abāza's rebellion continued, it was due to this fact, that Khalīl was appointed a second time Grand Vizier — in succession to Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pasha [q. v.] — in a large assembly in presence of the highest *ʿulamāʾ*, as it was hoped that he would succeed in pacifying his former client (Dec. 1626). Three days afterwards he crossed the Bosporus, visited his old friend Shaikh Maḥmūd, and reached Aleppo in March 1627. In July the army went to Diyār Bekr. At first an expedition was sent against Akhiskha, threatened by the Persians, while Khalīl tried to obtain Abāza's submission and collaboration in this enterprise. But Abāza, fearing an ambush, declined and, having at first adopted a conciliatory attitude, he massacred the Janissaries at Erzerum. Khalīl was obliged to march against him and began in September the siege of Erzurum. After 70 days, however, in November, an extremely severe winter began. The army was obliged to retreat to Toḳat with heavy losses occasioned by snow and cold. This campaign was the cause of Khalīl's dismissal; he returned to Constantinople, where he kept his position as vizier (1 Shaʿbān 1037/6 April 1628). In the next year (1039/1629) he died.

Khalīl Pasha is praised by European as well as by the Turkish authors for his moderation and love of justice. His personality contrasts favourably with the other Turkish statesmen of his time, nearly all of whom died a violent death. He is described as a religious man which accounts for his friendship with Maḥmūd of Skutari; he also built in Constantinople a mosque in the neighbourhood of the mosque of Muḥammad Fātiḥ. There exists an anonymous biography of Khalīl Pasha, the *Tārīkh-i Khalīl Pasha* or *Ghazawāt-i Khalīl Pasha*. The MS. used by von Hammer is now in the National Library at Vienna (Flügel, *Die Arab. Pers. u. Türk. Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, ii. 253, 254).

Bibliography: *Tārīkh-i Naʿīma*, Constantinople 1147, i. 278, 313 *sq.*, 324 *sqq.*, 333, 364, 367, 444, 453; *Pečewī Tārīkhi*, Constantinople 1283, ii. 343, 368 *sq.*, 408 *sq.*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār*, Constantinople 1141, fol. 46 *sq.*, 49; Manadjdjim Bashi, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār*, Constantinople 1275, iii. 677; ʿOthmān Zāde, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, Constantinople 1271, p. 62; von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1829, iv. and v. (see index); *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, verzameld door Dr. K. Heeringa, 's-Gravenhage 1910 (see index).

3) Arnāwud Khalīl Pasha, Grand Vizier under Aḥmad III. He was an Albanian from Elbaṣān, born about 1655, and had entered the Bostāndji corps where his elder brother Sinān Agha was Bostāndji Bashi. Having served some time in Baghdād, he returned to Constantinople as *Khāṣṣeki* and became *Bostāndji Bashi* in 1123/1711. In Muḥarram 1128/January 1716, when the war against Austria was in preparation, he was appointed Beylerbey of Erzerūm and sent to Nish to fortify this place. Six months later Khalīl became Beylerbey of Diyār Bekr and in Shaʿbān (1st July 1716), when the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [q. v.] had entered Belgrade for the Austrian campaign, he became commander of that town. Dāmād ʿAlī having been killed in the battle of Peterwardein (Aug. 5, 1716), the Sulṭān appointed Khalīl Grand Vizier, while the Sulṭān's favourite and future Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm [q. v.] became his *Kāʾim Maḳām*. The latter, however, was by far the more influential. After Temesvār was lost (13 October) a mutiny was feared and the army returned to Adrianople. In the next year the campaign was reopened and Khalīl marched to Belgrad, where the Austrian army under Eugen of Savoy was already awaiting the Turks. In the battle of Belgrade (16 Aug. 1717) Khalīl was completely beaten, which was due for the greater part to his own incapacity and his bad advisers. Belgrade was occupied by the Austrians and the Turks retired to Nish. Khalīl was dismissed in October 1717 and had to hide himself for two years, after which he was restored in the Sulṭān's favour. From 1133–1140 (1721—1727) he was banished to Mytilene; then he was given successively the command of several towns in Greece and Crete and died in 1136/1733. He is described as a mild, pious man, but seems to have had so little reputation, that the European historians writing on the battle of Belgrade were not aware of his existence.

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KHALĪL SULṬĀN, a ruler of the Tīmūrid dynasty, grandson of Tīmūr, son of Mīrān-shāh and Sayūn-beg Khānzāda, grand-daughter of the Khān of the Golden Horde, Özbeg; born in 786

(1384), died Wednesday, Radjab 16, 814 (Nov. 4, 1411), reigned in Samarkand 807—812 (1405—1409). His education was entrusted to Tîmûr's eldest wife, Sarâi Mulk Khânum. He is said to have distinguished himself on Tîmûr's India campaign (1399) when only 15 years of age; he also took part in the so-called "Seven Years" (actually only 802—807 = 1399—1404) war in the west; in 1402 Tîmûr gave him supreme command in the east "on the frontier of Turkestân". In 1404 he aroused the wrath of his grandfather by his runaway marriage with a woman of low rank, Shâd Mulk, but was pardoned and in the same year during the preparations for the campaign to China appointed leader of the right wing mobilised in Tâshkent and the surrounding country. After the death of Tîmûr on Feb. 18, 1405, the army acclaimed him as sovereign and he entered Samarkand on Ramaḍân 16, 807 (March 18, 1405). The title of Khân was given to Tîmûr's minor great-grandson Muḥammad Djahângîr, son of prince Muḥammad Sulṭân who had been designated Tîmûr's successor but had died before him. Khalîl Sulṭân held out in Samarkand till 1409 but his rule was nowhere recognised outside of Mâ-warâ'-al-Nahr; to the north of this region, on the Sir Daryâ, he had to fight continuously against rebellious generals. The Tatars of the Golden Horde who had conquered Khwârizm in Radjab, 808 (Dec., 1405—Jan., 1406), extended their raids up to Bukhârâ. Khalîl Sulṭân was generally victorious in open battle against his enemies; even Shâh Rukh's final triumph was not so much won by military successes as by intrigues and skilful diplomacy (including negotiations with the 'ulamâ' in Bukhârâ, at the head of whom was Muḥammad Pârsâ). In the spring of 1409, when Shâh Rukh's army was ready for battle in Bâdghîs and Khalîl Sulṭân's in Shahr-i Sabz (Kash), a rising again broke out in the north under the leadership of the Amîr Khudâydâd; Khalîl Sulṭân was forced to leave his army and attack Khudâydâd but could only take 4000 men with him. On Dhu 'l-Ka'da 13, 811 (March 30, 1409), he was taken prisoner north of Samarkand by Khudâydâd and taken to Samarkand; later he was taken to Farghâna and his wife, who was left behind, was cruelly treated by Shâh Rukh; in the end he went to Otrâr and through the intermediary of the Amîr Shaikh Nûr al-Dîn concluded a treaty with Shâh Rukh by which he renounced his sovereignty over Mâ-warâ'-al-Nahr and received the town of Rayy in exchange where he lived till his death. His wife was also restored to him and on her husband's death put an end to her own existence. On account of this happening, which was embellished with all kinds of romantic touches by his contemporaries, Khalîl Sulṭân is called a "sentimental shepherd" by A. Müller (*Der Islâm im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1887, ii. 315; Khalîl Sulṭân is wrongly described there as the son of 'Umar Shaikh), a description which hardly fits the able young prince whose military skill was undoubted; his devotion to his wife and the magnanimity which he showed to all his enemies, even to traitors, were, as a matter of fact, in complete contrast to the characters of the other members of his dynasty and the manners of his time.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Ulugh-bek i ego wremya*, Petrograd 1918, Index (with references to the sources, for the most part still in manuscript).

(W. BARTHOLD)

KHALÎLÎ, Ottoman poet and mystic of the time of Sulṭân Meḥmed II, belonged to the neighbourhood of Diyârbakr and came to Iznik to study theology where he formed an attachment for a youth and so succumbed to this homosexual passion then so prevalent particularly in the most cultured circles that he entirely abandoned his studies and gave expression to his woes in a book which is known as the *Firkat-nâme* ("book of separation"). The title *Firâk-nâme* is equally well known, which Sehi gives first and which is also the title of a book by Kâḍî Ḥasan b. 'Alî of Monastir. The poem, which reminds one of the *Heves-nâme* of Dja'far Čelebi (d. 1514) with its sincere unaffected verses, bears witness to Khalîlî's deep passion faithfully described. The book was finished in the year 866 (1461/62). It is written in epic and lyric metres, a varied alternation of *mathnawî* and *ghazal*. Many biographers of poets interpret the poem as purely Ṣûfî, which does not seem to be correct.

Khalîlî died in 890 (1485) as superior of a monastery in Iznik. His *Dîwân* has not yet been printed. A number of his poems are contained in the *Djâmi' al-Naẓâ'ir* compiled by Ḥâdjdjî Kamâl in 918, according to Brussali Ṭâhir.

Bibliography: Laṭîfî, *Tedhkere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 147; Sehi, *Tedhkire*, Constantinople 1325, p. 64; Brussali M. Ṭâhir, *'Othmânlî Mü'ellifleri*, Constantinople 1333, ii. 159; Sâmî, *Ḳâmûs al-A'lâm*, Constantinople 1306, iii. 2060; v. Hammer, *Geschichte d. osm. Dichtkunst*, i. 225; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 379; Pertsch, *Katalog der türkischen Handschriften in Gotha*, p. 370, N°. 377. (The Berlin manuscript of the year 1485 is contemporary with the poet).

(TH. MENZEL)

KHALK (A.) is the term applied in the Kur'ân (Sûra ii. 159; xi. 59; lxvii. 3) to God's creative activity, which includes not only the original creation *ex nihilo* but also the making of the world and of man and all that is and happens. The verbal forms *khalaḳa* and *khalaḳnâ* are of the most frequent occurrence.

Among the most beautiful names of Allâh in the Kur'ân (cf. Sûra lix. 24) are *al-Khâliḳ* (Sûra vi. 102, et passim), *al-Khallâḳ* (Sûra xv. 86; xxxvi. 81), *al-Bâri'* (besides Sûra lix. 24 only ii. 51) and *al-Muṣawwir*. Epithets like the Almighty, the All-knowing etc. are also applied to the Creator. Their meaning is as a rule clear. The only obscure expressions are (cf. H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii. 44, 47) "Allâh created *bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*" (Sûra xvi. 3; xxxix. 2—7; xliv. 39; xlvi. 2) or as "*al-Ḥaḳḳ*" (Sûra xxii. 5 sq.). If we are justified in supposing gnostic speculations in the Kur'ân it may be recalled that in the Gnosis objectified or personified truth coalesces with higher reality (cf. St. John's Gospel, xiv. 6; also S. v. d. Bergh, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, p. 218 sq.).

Allâh is the Creator of all things (Sûra vi. 101 sq., et passim). He creates what He will (Sûra xxxvi. 82, et passim) but the Kur'ân describes at greatest length the creation of man from dust, earth or clay, drops of semen and congealed blood (Sûra xv. 15 sqq.; xxii. 5; xxiii. 12 sq., et passim) and the resurrection of the dead on the day of judgment, a new creation not more wonderful than the first creation (Sûra ii. 26, et passim). How important the creation of man is, is evident from Muḥammad's coming forward (in Sûra xcvi. 1,

generally regarded as the earliest revelation) in the name of his Lord "Who created, created man from congealed blood". Everything on earth was created for man (Sūra ii. 27, et passim), especially the animals (Sūra xvi. 5). The same thing is shown in the stages of the creation; it is regarded as taking place from the lowest upwards. In six days the world was completed, the earth first in two days, all that is in it in two more days and in the last two days the world of the seven heavens. Allāh is only formally called the Creator of heaven and earth (Sūra vi. 101, et passim) and it is announced as a secret (Sūra xl. 59) that the creation of heaven and earth is greater than the creation of man, i. e., according to the usual explanation, heaven and earth were created out of absolutely nothing but man was made from dust.

There is no creator but God. He is the One (Sūra xiii. 7, et passim; Sūra xxiii. 14 is no exception). He has begotten no children, only created things and beings, none of whom are like Him (Sūra cxii.). But passages like Sūra xv. 29, xxxviii. 72, where it is said that Allāh, after forming man, breathed of His spirit (*rūḥ*) into him, make the difference between the Creator and creature appear less rigidly marked.

The creation of man is above all a mark of divine power or, in so far as that which has been created is useful to man, of divine goodness. Reference to the harmony of the heavens (Sūra lxvii. 3) and the beauty of the human form (Sūra lxiv. 3) are rare. Finally we may mention that God created all things after one *ḳadar* (Sūra liv. 49 *sq.*; *ḳadar* is here perhaps a synonym for *amr*?) and heaven and earth "for a definite period" (Sūra xlvi. 2) i. e. probably to the last day.

The earlier traditions added very little to this (as Prof. Wensinck kindly informs me). Before the creation Allāh was in the clouds (al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xi., bāb 1) and He created in darkness (do., *Īmān*, bāb 18; cf. Sūra xxxix. 8). He wrote a *kitāb* before the creation (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 55). The *ḳalam* was the first thing created (al-Tirmidhī, *Ḳadar*, bāb 17). Allāh created man after his own image (Muslim, *Birr*, Tr. 115; cf. Sūra lxiv. 3; lxxxii. 8).

In the later traditions the process of creation is elaborated with speculations regarding God's throne, primeval water etc. and influenced by ideas of Hellenistic and Oriental origin regarding the manifestation or emanation of God in the world. The Neoplatonic expression put in Allāh's mouth is often quoted: "I was a hidden treasure but wished to be known and therefore I created the world". Knowledge (*ʿilm*) or intelligence (*ʿaḳl*) is therefore said to have been the first creation.

Just as God's superiority over man and the world is particularly apparent from the Ḳurʾān, so we find throughout the theology of Sunnī Islām the distance between the Creator and the creature emphasised. In general it is concluded from the transitory character of this world that its Creator is eternal. In favour of God's omnipotence causality in Nature (cf. *Atomic Theory* in Hasting's *Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics*) and freedom of action on the part of man, if not absolutely denied, are suppressed as much as possible. Djahm [q. v.], one of the first Djahaṃis, wished to define God simply as the omnipotent Creator. Ibn Ḥazm (*Kitāb al-Faṣl*, i. 39; ii. 161 *sq.*) asserts that one can only show with regard to God that He is the Eternal, the Unique, the True, the Creator (*al-Awwal, al-Wāḥid, al-Ḥaḳḳ, al-Khāliḳ*) for only by these qualities is He absolutely distinguished from this world.

But misgivings against this sharp distinction were raised, particularly under the influence of Christian dogmatics and philosophical speculation, from three sides i. e. by the Muʿtazila, the mystics and the philosophers. The Muʿtazilīs emphasised the wisdom of God in His creation much more than His omnipotence and His will. According to their teaching, God only creates what is good and man is the creator of his own actions. Naẓẓām said that God could only create what is good and His creating is thought i.e. not an act of volition in the proper sense. According to others, like Abu 'l-Hudhail and Muʿammar, God's will is a kind of intermediary between the Creator and the created world. Al-Djāḥiẓ teaches that God cannot destroy the created world (arguing on Platonic lines, like Philo etc.).

In contrast to this estimation of the world and of human activity, mysticism appears as a depreciation of all that is worldly — but only of the material world. While the mystics regarded this world simply as a ladder to God, they could intensify their spiritual life of the soul up to the feeling of godlike creative activity (cf. L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallāj*, p. 513 *sq.*).

Two schools may be distinguished among the philosophers: one older, more neo-Platonic (e.g. the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*), according to which the emanation of a series of spirits precedes the creation of a temporal material world, and a second more Aristotelian school (notably Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd) which makes the development of the intellectual and material world proceed by stages, but without beginning and parallel, after the first *ʿaḳl* has emanated from the divine being. Both schools regard God only as the first cause between Whose activity and this world there are many intermediaries.

The attitude of orthodox Islām to these tendencies developed in very different ways in course of time. The Muʿtazilī doctrine of the *khalḳ al-afʿāl* could only be accepted in a modified form; a *kasb* (Ashʿarīs) or an *ikhtiyār* (according to al-Māturīdī) was ascribed to man instead of *khalḳ*. The philosophic assumption of a world without beginning was decisively rejected, but the theory of the spheres connected with it was adopted while the spirits of the stars were interpreted as angels of heaven. It was very easy to make common cause with mysticism, which, of course, always insisted that there was no creator except Allāh. The creation of man in God's image and the breathing of the divine spirit into him were of more importance to the mystic than the creation of the physical world and of human activities (see the art. ṢALĀT and ḲADAR) (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 599 *sqq.*).

In the struggle then against the Muʿtaziliya and philosophy, the Sunnī doctrine developed — in part in alliance with mysticism — and with the greatest success in the Ashʿarī school. According to the latter, Allāh is the Omnipotent from eternity, Who can create if and when and what He will but does not need to create, Who with the creation of the material world at the same time places limits of time and space to it and every moment creates the world anew. Allāh is

also the eternally Speaking as regards the word of creation, especially the word of creation in the Ḳor'ān. If the eternalness of the word is taught contrary to the Muʿtazilī view, there is hesitation, as regards the activity of creation in calling God the eternally creating, and therefore, the so-called *ṣifāt al-fiʿl* (*khalḳ*, *rizḳ*, etc.), which are regarded as temporal relations, are distinguished from the eternal qualities of His nature. In this respect the system of al-Māturīdī differs from the teaching of the Ashʿarī school: he assumes as an eternal quality in the divine being *takwīn*, creative production. This means an approximation to the teaching of the philosophers that, because there is no cause without effect, God as the first cause created the world from eternity, and thus is really an eternal Creator, Whose being and actions are alike unalterable. Some philosophers and certainly many mystics got over the difficulty of this doctrine by the assumption that before the manifestation of His creation "the eternal Creator" was concealed in God (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 657).

We find the bond between orthodox Ashʿarī beliefs and gnostic-mystic speculation in al-Ghazālī. On the one hand he teaches quite definitely the temporal creation of the world as an act of divine freedom. After eternal but free deliberation out of pure goodness He created this world and He is creating it down to the last day. He is also the originator of human activities; man has only a *kasb*. On the other hand, however, al-Ghazālī is fond of adopting mystic theories of intermediation. God and man are not simply to one another in the relation of Creator and creature. The world is divided (e.g. in *al-Maḍnūn al-Ṣaghīr*, on Sūra xvii. 87; cf. Sūra vii. 72) into the *ʿālam al-khalḳ*, i.e. the material spatial world, and the *ʿālam al-amr*, the non-spatial world of the angels and the human spirits (the former in the *Iḥyāʾ*, iv. 20 *sqq.*, is also called *ʿālam al-mulk wa 'l-shahāda*, the latter *ʿālam al-ghaib wa 'l-malakūt*). As a member of the world of spirits (*al-Maḍnūn al-Ṣaghīr*, on the tradition that Allāh or *al-Raḥmān* created Adam in his own image), man in his being, qualities and actions shows similarity to God. The human will acts in his body (microcosm) like the Creator in the macrocosm. Besides the above-mentioned division into sensible and supersensual world, al-Ghazālī also gives the threefold division (*al-Durra al-fākhira*, p. 2 *sqq.*; cf. Sūra v. 20 etc., where there is mention of the "kingdom of the heavens and of the earth and what is between"): *ʿālam dunyawī* (= *al-mulk*), *ʿālam malakūtī* and *ʿālam djabarūtī* (cf. the art. DJABARĪYA). Man thus appears as a citizen of three worlds, corresponding to the old triad: body, soul, spirit, as it was developed by gnosticism in the system of the heavenly hierarchy. On *mulk*, *malakūt* and *djabarūt* cf. Κυριότητες, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι in St. Paul, Ep. to Col., i. 16. According to al-Ghazālī, the human spirit, related to God, will survive not only this material world and the spiritual world of the angels and *djinn* but also the spiritual world of the highest angels.

In spite of the authority of this "father of the church in Islām", the development of the idea was not yet finished. Ibn Rushd then advanced against him (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*) the doctrine that the world had no beginning; many theologians (from al-Rāzī, d. 605 = 1209, onwards) followed more closely the conceptions of the so-called Aristotelians, and extreme mystics, like Ibn al-ʿArabī, let the distinction between *al-Ḥaḳḳ* (the Creator) and *al-khalḳ* (the creature) disappear in the absolute primeval being (cf. the art. AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL).

Bibliography: There is no comprehensive work on the subject. Besides books mentioned in the text we may mention: M. Worms, *Die Lehre von der Anfangslosigkeit der Welt bei den mittelalterlichen arabischen Philosophen des Orients und ihre Bekämpfung durch die arabischen Theologen* (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. des M.A.*, ed. by Baeumker and v. Hertling, iii. 4, Münster 1900); A. Rohner, *Das Schöpfungsproblem bei Moses Maimonides, Albertus Magnus und Thomas von Aquin*, ibid., xi. 5, Münster 1913; Tj. de Boer, *Die Widersprüche der Philosophie nach al-Gazzālī und ihr Ausgleich durch Ibn Rošd*, Strassburg 1894; do., *De Wijsbegeerte in den Islam*, in the *Volksuniversiteitsbibliotheek*, xi., Haarlem 1921. See also the articles ALLĀH and ṢIFA. (TJ. DE BOER)

KHALKHA, the name of a lake and of a river flowing from it into the Buyir-Nor on the frontier between Manchuria and Mongolia. The river Khalkha is mentioned in the xiii[th] century in the "Secret History of the Mongols" (Russian translation by Palladius in *Trudi Ross. Dukhovnoi Missii v Pekinĕ*, iv., St. Petersburg 1866, p. 90, 91, 101 and 118 (the edition of the text promised by Pelliot has not yet appeared); in Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, in *Trudi Vost. Otd. Russkago Arkh. Obshč.*, xiii., St. Petersburg 1868, Pers. text, p. 216, vol. xv., ibid. 1889, Pers. text, p. 3 *sq.*: *Kalā*. Since the xvi[th] century the same name Khalkha has been given to the north-eastern part of Mongolia (from the western frontier of Manchuria to the eastern frontier of the district of Kobdo and from the Russian frontier to the Gobi desert) and its population. Sanang Saetsen (*Gesch. der Ost-Mongolen*, ed. I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg 1829, p. 191 and 197) speaks of twelve tribes of the Khalkhas; a distinction was made between five "nearer" and seven "remoter" tribes (*op. cit.*, p. 205, and p. 191 and 285). Geresen (full name and title Geresentse Djalair Khun Taidji) was considered the ancestor of all the chiefs of the Khalkhas; he was grandson of the last ruler over all Mongolia, Dayan Khān (d. 1543); on the genealogy see A. Pozdnæew, *Mongoliya i Mongoli*, i., St. Petersburg 1896, p. 472. The four *aimaḳ* (q. v.) into which the Khalkhas were nominally divided (the Manchu emperors long since deprived the chiefs of any power) have taken their names from the different branches of this dynasty; they are the *aimaḳ* (from E. to W.) of Tsetsen-Khān, of Tushetu-Khān, of Sayin-Noyon (after 1725) and of Tsasaktu-Khān. Another division is also mentioned (as early as the occasion of the submission of the Khalkhas to the Emperor K'ang-Hsi in 1691; Mongol inscription in Dolon-Nor, in text and Russian transl. publ. by A. Pozdnæew, *op. cit.*, ii., St. Petersburg 1899, p. 291 *sqq.*): Geresen is said to have had 7 sons, wherefore the population was divided into seven divisions (*khoshun*, written *ḳoshūn* in Arabic); it is not known whether there was a connection between this division and the seven "remoter tribes". Since about 1585, Buddhism has been dominant among the Khalkhas; at that date a grandson of Geresen, Abatai-Khān, was reigning, called Abtai Ghalzaghu Taidji in Sanang Saetsen, p. 253. (W. BARTHOLD)

KHALKHĀL ("anklet"), the name of a place in Ādharbaidjān. Its position nearly corresponds to 37° N. Lat. and 49° East. Long. It does not occur on modern maps, but see the map in G. Le Strange, *The Lands*, etc., facing p. 87. It was situated in the mountains which in this region were beset with fortresses. Yāḳūt passed through this region when he fled before the Tatars in 617 = 1220/21.

According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī it was formerly a fair sized town, which in his days had sunk into a mere village with about a hundred hamlets belonging to it. It was the seat of the governors of the province, after Fīrūzābād had gone to ruin.

There is another place of the same name situated at the mouth of the Ozen on the Caspian.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 198; ii. 459; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. xxiii., index; see chiefly p. 81 *sq.* of the text, p. 84 of the translation; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, index.

KHALWA, KHALWATI, etc. [See TAṢAWWUF.]

KHAMR (A.), wine. The word, although very common in early Arabic poetry, is probably a loanword from Aramaic. The Hebrew *yain* has in Arabic (*wain*) the meaning of black grapes. The question has been fully treated by I. Guidi in his *Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici* in *Memorie della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, series iii., vol. iii. p. 603 *sqq.*

Arabia and the Syriac desert are, in contradistinction to Palestine and Mesopotamia, not a soil fit for the vine; there are, however, exceptions, among which may be mentioned al-Ṭā'if (see H. Lammens, *Ṭāif*, p. 35 *sqq.*; *M.F.O.B.*, viii. 146 *sqq.*), Shibām and other parts of Yaman. Wine, probably of an inferior quality, is also mentioned in Madīna (see below). Usually, however, it seems to have been imported from Syria and 'Irāḳ; in early Arabic poetry the wine-trade is chiefly connected with Jews and Christians, who pitched their tent (*ḥānūt*, also a loanword from Aramaic) among the Beduins and provided it with a sign denoting its character. In it little orgies were held, in the company of female singers who often also belonged to the establishment. The wine was kept in jars or skins, provided with a mouth-piece which was closed by means of a string.

In the days of Muḥammad the people of Mekka and Madīna used to indulge in drinking wine as often as an occasion offered itself, so that drunkenness often became a cause of scandal and of indulgence in a second vice, gambling, which together with wine, incurred Muḥammad's condemnation. Tradition has not refrained from describing how Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's uncle, in a fit of drunkenness mutilated 'Alī's camels (Bukhārī, *Shirb*, bāb 13; *Khums*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ashriba*, Trad. 1, 2; *Maghāzī*, bāb 12; Abū Dā'ūd, *Kharādj*, bāb 19). And the commentaries on the Ḳur'ān relate how Muḥammad's companions held drinking-parties which caused them to commit faults in ritual prayer (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* ad Sūra xiv. 44; Muslim, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, trad. 44; cf. 45; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 185 *sq.*).

The prohibition of wine was not on Muḥammad's programme from the beginning. In Sūra xvi. 69 we even find it praised as one of the signs of Allāh's grace unto mankind: "And of the fruit of palm-trees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourishment". But the consequences of drunkenness manifesting themselves in the way just mentioned are said to have commoved Muḥammad to change his attitude. The first revelation giving vent to these feelings was sūra ii. 216: "They will ask thee concerning wine and gambling (*maisir*). Answer, in both there is great sin and also some things of use unto men: but their sinfulness is greater than their use". This revelation, however, was not considered as a prohibition. As people did not change their customs and the order of prayer happened to be disturbed in consequence thereof, a new revelation was issued, viz. Sūra iv. 46: "O true believers! come not to prayers when ye are drunk, until ye understand what ye say" etc. But neither was this revelation considered as a general prohibition of wine, until Sūra v. 92 made an end to drinking: "O true believers! surely wine and *maisir* and stone pillars and divining arrows, are an abomination, of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper".

This sequence of revelations regarding wine is the accepted one among the traditionists and commentators of the Ḳur'ān (see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 351 *sq.*; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v. 58 ad sūra iv. 46).

The prohibition of wine may, however, also be looked upon from a wider aspect, as Islām is not the only monotheistic religion which has taken a negative attitude towards wine. It is well known that, according to the Old Testament (Numbers vi. 3 *sq.*) the Nazarite who had wholly devoted himself to Yahwe had to abstain from wine and spirits, just as the priests before administrating the sacred rites (Lev. x. 9). The Nabataeans, according to Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94, 3), likewise abstained from wine and one of their gods is called in their inscriptions "the good god who drinks no wine". Likewise, the abstention from wine belonged to the rule of many Christian monks. All this has its roots in remote Semitic antiquity which ascribed a demoniac character to wine and spirits. The same is true for music, especially singing, which is also prohibited by Islām. It is not improbable that negative feelings of this kind may have worked together with the motives mentioned above, to induce Muḥammad to prohibit wine.

The prohibition of the Ḳur'ān has been taken over by the doctors of the law; all *madhhab*'s, and also the Shī'a, call wine *ḥarām* and the wine-trade is forbidden. For an exposition of the Shāfi'ī view, see al-Nawawī, *Minhādj*, ed. v. d. Berg, iii. 241; for that of the Ḥanafīs, *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī*, vi. (Calcutta 1835), 604 *sqq.*; for that of the Mālikīs Zurḳānī in his commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa'* (Cairo 1280), iv. 26; for that of the Shī'a *Sharā'i' al-Islām* (Calcutta 1839), p. 404. Theology reckons the drinking of wine among the gravest sins (*kabā'ir*).

Ḥadīth has many utterances regarding this theme. Wine is the key of all evil (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 238; Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba*, bāb 1). Who drinks wine in this world without repenting it, shall not drink it in the other world (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 73, 76—78 etc.). Cursed is he who drinks, buys, sells wine or causes others to drink it (Abū Dā'ūd,

Ashriba, bāb 2; Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba*, bāb 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 316; ii. 25, 69, 71, 97, 118 etc.). Who drinks a draught of wine on purpose shall have to drink pus on Doomsday (Ṭayālisī, N°. 1134). Prayer of him who drinks wine is not accepted by Allāh (Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bāb 43; Dārimī, *Ashriba*, bāb 3), and faith is incompatible with drinking it (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 1; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bāb 42, 44). It is even inadvisable to use it as medicine (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 12; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 311, 317 bis etc.); and it is prohibited to use wine for manufacturing vinegar (Tirmidhī, *Buyū'*, bāb 59; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal iii. 119, 260 bis). But times will become ever worse and there will be people who declare wine allowed (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 6; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba*, bāb 41 etc.) and so it will be drunk by the generation of the last days (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 176, 202, 213 *sq.*).

The prohibition of wine, although unanimously accepted, gave rise to dissensions between the juridical schools, dissensions which are reflected in ḥadīth, in a historical disguise. The discussions start from the question: what is wine? It is said that, when the use of wine was peremptorily prohibited, the people of Madīna poured out in the streets all that they possessed of the appreciated liquor (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 132 *sq.*; iii. 26, 189 *sq.*, 217, 260 bis; iv. 335 *sq.*). Ibn 'Umar declares, on the contrary, that at the time of the prohibition, there was no wine in Madīna at all (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 2). Anas b. Mālik (*ib.*) says that there was scarcely any wine from grapes in Madīna, when the prohibition was revealed; people used wine from *busr* and *tamr* (two kinds of dates). In another tradition (*ib.*, bāb 3) wine from *fadīkh* and *zahw* (two other kinds of dates) is mentioned. 'Umar is represented delivering a *khuṭba* which was meant to settle the question; according to his son 'Abd Allāh he said: Wine has been prohibited by the Ḳur'ān; it comes from five kinds of fruits, from grapes, from dates, from honey, from wheat and from barley; wine is what obscures the intellect (*al-khamr mā khāmara al-'aḳl*; Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 2). The question remained, whether beverages prepared from grapes in a different way, were prohibited. There was e. g. a kind of syrup. "When 'Umar visited Syria, the population complained of its unhealthy and heavy climate and they added: This drink alone will heal us. Then 'Umar allowed them to drink honey. Then they said: Honey cannot heal us. Thereupon one of the natives of Syria said to him: May we not prepare something of this drink for you? It has no inebriating power. He said: Well. Then they cooked it till two thirds were evaporated and one third of it remained. They brought it 'Umar, who put his finger into it and licked it. Then he said: This is *ṭilā'* like camels' *ṭilā'* (viz. the pitch with which they smeared their skins). Then he allowed them to drink it" (Mālik, *Ashriba*, bāb 14). According to the first chapter of the same *kitāb*, however, 'Umar punishes a man who had become drunk on *ṭilā'*. Juice from grapes, prepared by pressing them only, is considered as wine. Ṭāriḳ b. Suwaid al-Ḥaḍramī said to the Prophet: We have in our country grapes which we press. May we drink the juice? He said: No. This negative answer is given three times and when Ṭāriḳ asks whether the juice may be given the sick to drink, Muḥammad answers: It is no medicine, it is sickness (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 292 *sq.*). And not only those who drink and sell wine are cursed by Muḥammad, but also those who press grapes and have them pressed in order to drink the juice (Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba*, bāb 6).

Another question of importance arose, in connection with spirits: Had they to be considered as wine or not? All the *madhhab*'s, except the Ḥanafīs, have answered the question in the affirmative sense. They have consequently extended the prohibition of wine, in accordance with the intention underlying it. Tradition, which is the best source for the history of the origin of several institutions, shows that the question belongs to the much debated ones. The standard ḥadīth which is found very frequently in the classical collections runs as follows (I pick out Muslim's version *Īmān*, trad. 26, because it contains important details): "Some men of 'Abd al-Ḳais went to the Apostle of Allāh and said to him: O Prophet of Allāh, we are a tribe belonging to Rabī'a; between us and yourself dwell the infidels of Muḍar, so that we can only reach you in the sacred month. Tell us therefore what we have to tell our tribespeople which will open Paradise for us if we so cling to it. The Apostle of Allāh answered: I order four things and I forbid four things. Serve Allāh without associating anything with him. Perform *ṣalāt*, deliver *zakāt*, fast the month of Ramaḍān and deliver the fifth part of booty. And I forbid four things: *dubbā'*, *ḥantam*, *muzaffat* and *naḳīr*. They asked: O Apostle of Allāh, how do you know what the *naḳīr* is? He said: Well, it is a palm-trunk which you hollow out; then you pour small dates into it and upon them water. When the process of fermentation has finished, you drink it with the effect that a man hits his cousin with the sword. — Now among these men there was someone who had received a blow of the sword in this way. He says: I had concealed it out of shame before the Apostle of Allāh. Then I said: But from what vessels should we drink then, O Apostle of Allāh? He answered: From leather skins, the mouthpieces of which are smeared with pitch. They answered: O Prophet of Allāh, our country teems with mice so that no single skin can be kept whole. Then the Prophet of Allāh answered: Even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them".

This tradition did not meet with general approval. It is said that the Anṣār or other people complained of their difficulty in finding the skins necessary for preserving drinks without their becoming fermented. Thereupon the Prophet is said to have withdrawn his prohibition, wholly or partly (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 63—66 etc.). In some versions of this tradition there occurs the restriction, that all fermented inebriating drinks remain prohibited. Innumerable are the traditions which only contain the rule: All drinks which may cause drunkenness are prohibited in any quantity (*kull muskir ḥarām ḳalīluhu wa-kathīruhu*) and this rule has passed into many books of fiḳh (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 60; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 67—75; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 145; ii. 16 bis; iii. 38; iv. 87; v. 25 *sq.*; vi. 36 etc.). Of special traditions prohibiting fermented drinks may be mentioned the following. It is forbidden or disapproved of to

all raisins if they are to be used for preparing *nabīdh* (Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, bāb 51, 52). It is prohibited to mix together different kinds of fruits so that the mixture should become intoxicating. This tradition occurs frequently; see e.g. Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 11; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 16—20; Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, b. 4—17; Ibn Saʿd, viii. 360; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 276; ii. 46; vi. 242, 292. But each of these kinds may be used separately for preparing a non-fermented drink (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 81—83. Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, bāb 14—18 etc.).

It can easily be seen that the difficulty in this matter was caused by two circumstances. People were accustomed to prepare from all kinds of dates, from raisins and other fruits, drinks which only became inebriating if they were preserved a long time and probably also if they were prepared after special methods. Where was the line of demarcation between the allowed and the prohibited kind? Several collections of traditions went so far as to mention *nabīdh* among the drinks prepared by Muḥammad's wives and drunk by him (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 79—89; Aḥmad, i. 232 *sq.*, 240, 287, 320 *sq.*, 336, 355, 369, 372; ii. 35; iii. 304, 307, 313 *sq.*, 326, 379, 384 etc.). Abū Dāʾūd (*Ashriba*, bāb 10) and Ibn Mādja (*Ashriba*, bāb 12) have preserved a tradition on this subject which is instructive. I translate Ibn Mādja's version: Says ʿĀʾisha: "We used to prepare *nabīdh* for the Apostle of Allāh in a skin; we took a handful of dates or a handful of raisins, cast it into the skin and poured water upon it. The *nabīdh* we prepared in this way in the morning, was drunk by him in the evening; and when we prepared it in the evening he drank it the next morning". In another tradition of the same bāb Ibn ʿAbbās says that the Prophet used to drink this *nabīdh* even on the third day; but what was left then, was poured out.

All this could, however, not persuade the majority of the *faḳīh*'s to declare *nabīdh* allowed; three of the *madhhab*'s as well as the Shīʿa prohibit the use of *nabīdh*. The Ḥanafī school, on the other hand, allows it, when used with moderation, for medicinal purposes etc.

It would take us too far to give here a detailed survey of the opinions of the *faḳīh*'s of all *madhhab*'s; it would be superfluous, to some extent at least, because the more important differences regard chiefly *nabīdh* only. The following rapid survey is based on the *Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīrī*, vi. 604 *sqq.* (cf. Shaʿrānī's *Mīzān*, Cairo 1279, p. 192 *sq.*).

Allowed according to the *idjmāʿ* is every non-fermented, sweet drink.

Prohibited (*ḥarām*), according to the *idjmāʿ*, are wine and *sukr* of every kind. As to wine there are six cases: to drink it in any quantity or to make use of it is *ḥarām*; to deny this is *kufr*; to buy, sell, present it etc. is *ḥarām*; no responsibility (*ḍamān*) rests on him who spoils or destroys wine (*mutlifuhu*); whether wine is a possession (*māl*) is an unsettled point; it is *nadjis* just as blood and urine; who drinks any quantity of it is liable to punishment.

Several kinds of products prepared by means of grapes (*bādhiḳ*, *munaṣṣaf*, etc.) are prohibited according to the majority (*ʿāmma*) of the *faḳīh*'s.

Allowed, according to the majority of the *faḳīh*'s are *ṭilāʾ* (vide supra) or *muthallath* and *nabīdh* from dates with the restrictions mentioned above. So is juice from grapes when the process of cooking has made to evaporate two thirds. Muḥammad [viz. al-Shaibānī, q. v.] has a deviating opinion on this point.

As to the **punishment** of him who drinks wine, tradition tells us that Muḥammad and Abū Bakr were wont to inflict forty blows by means of palmbranches or sandals (Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 2—4; Muslim, *Ḥudūd*, trad. 35—37). Under ʿUmar's caliphate, however, Khālid b. al-Walīd reported to him that people were indulging in prohibited drinks. Thereupon ʿUmar consulted the *ṣaḥāba* who advised him to fix the number of blows at eighty, a number suggested by the Ḳurʾān which prescribes that those who accuse *muḥṣanāt* of *zināʾ*, without being able to prove their accusation by the aid of four witnesses, shall be punished with eighty blows (sūra xxiv. 4).

Repeated drinking of wine, according to some traditions, was punished by death at Muḥammad's order (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 36; Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 17; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 136, 166, 191; iv. 93, etc.). It is, however, added in some traditions that capital punishment in such cases is not according to the *sunna* of the Prophet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 125, 130; cf. Ṭayālisī, N°. 183).

The different *madhhab*'s have adopted ʿUmar's view; drinking wine is punished with eighty blows; if the transgressor is a slave this number is however reduced to forty, because in the Ḳurʾān the punishment of the handmaid's *zinā* is fixed at half the amount of blows with which the free woman is punished (sūra iv. 30). The Shāfiʿites however cling to the practice ascribed to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr; with them the number of blows is consequently forty, resp. twenty (see Zurḳānī, iv. 42; Nawawī in Muslim, iv. 156).

The prohibition of wine and spirits (according to three of the four *madhhab*'s) is one of the **distinctive marks** of the Muslim world; its consequences can hardly be overrated. This is not seriously affected by the fact that transgressions have been numerous, according to literary evidence. The praise of wine, not uncommon in pre-Islamic poetry, remained one of the favourite topics also of Muslim poets (cf. the wine-songs by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Abū Nuwās etc.) and at the court of the Caliphs wine was drunk at revelling parties as if no prohibition existed at all (see e. g. The 1001 Nights, *passim*). Even the common people could not always and everywhere refrain from their national drink, date-wine of several kinds; the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz deemed it necessary to promulgate a special edict in order to abolish this custom (see v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1873, p. 68 *sq.*).

Wine has a special place in the literary products of the **mystics**, where it is one of the symbols of ecstasy. In this point they only took over the language of their Christian and non-Christian predecessors. As early as Philo of Alexandria ecstasy is compared with intoxication (see especially his *De Vita Contemplativa*). Among the Ibāḥiyya, language may have been a reflex of practice; but this cannot be said of Ṣūfī's in general, who, on the contrary, cling to the ascetic methods of the via purgativa. As to Ḥāfiẓ' wine- and lovesongs, it is an unsettled point whether they are merely metaphorical or not.

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(A. J. Wensinck)

KHAMS(A) (A.), the number five. This number has a magical character, from the fact that it is the number of the fingers of the hand and that it is found in certain Muslim dogmas (five foundations of belief, five religious duties, five daily prayers, prescribed by the canon). The hand stretched out with the palm open and the fingers expanded is a symbol that protects against the evil eye; in North Africa we frequently find, among Jews as well as Muslims, a hand painted on the door with the fingers spread out. Amulets in this form are made of gold and silver, called *khamsa*, *khoms* by the natives and "hands of Fatma" by Europeans. Thursday, the fifth day of the week, is favourable for magic rites against the evil eye and is the day chosen for pilgrimages to the tombs of famous saints to destroy the effects of the evil eye.

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(Cl. Huart)

KHAMSA, Khamse, the same word as the preceding, pronounced in the manner of the Arabs of the East, the Persians and the Turks; the name given to collections of five poems of which the most famous are those of al-Niẓāmī, also called *Pandj-gandj* "the five treasures": *Makhzan al-Asrār* (559 = 1164), *Khusraw u-Shīrīn* (576 = 1180), *Leilā u-Madjnūn* (584 = 1188), *Haft-paikar* (593 = 1197), *Iskandar-nāma* (597 = 1201); of Amīr Khusraw of Dehli: *Maṭla' al-Anwār* (698 = 1299), *Shīrīn u-Khusraw*, *Madjnūn u-Leilā* (same year), *Āyina-i Sikandarī* (699 = 1300), *Hasht-bihisht* (701 = 1302); of Khwādjū Kirmānī: *Rawḍat al-Anwār* (finished in 744 = 1343), *Humāī Humāyūn*, *Kamāl-nāma*, *Gul u-Nawrūz*, *Djawhar-nāma*; of Kātibī, unfinished, we have the *Gulshan-i Abrār* and a *Leilā u-Madjnūn* about 838 = 1434; of Djāmī: selection from the *Haft-awrang*, and including the *Tuḥfat al-Aḥrār* (886 = 1481), *Subḥat al-Abrār*, *Yūsuf u-Zulaikhā* (888 = 1483), *Leilā u-Madjnūn* (889 = 1484), *Khirad-nāma-i Sikandarī*; of Hātifī, probably unfinished, containing: *Leilā u-Madjnūn*, *Haft-Manẓar*, *Shīrīn u-Khusraw*, *Tīmūr-nāma* (between 917 = 1510 and 927 = 1521); of Faiḍī: *Markaz-i Adwār*, *Sulaimān u-Bilḳīs*, *Nal-daman*, *Haft-kishwar*, *Akbar-nāma* (1003 = 1595), unfinished; of Ḥasan b. Saiyid Fatḥ Allāh: to the glory of Muḥammad and the four first caliphs (of 1038/1628 to 1039/1630). The *Khamsa-i Nāfiya* of Mollā Ṭughrā-i Mashhadī is a diatribe against five persons at the court of Golconda. The author died at the beginning of the reign of Awrangzīb (about 1069 = 1659).

Turkish poetry also contains a certain number of works of the same kind such as those of Ḥamd Allāh Čelebi, called Ḥamdī, son of Shaikh Ak Shams al-Dīn, d. 914/1509: *Yūsuf u-Zulaikhā*, *Leilā u-Madjnūn*, *Mawlid-i Nabī*, *Tuḥfat al-'Ushshāḳ*, *Muḥammadīya*; of Fuḍūlī of Baghdād, d. 963/1556 (mentioned by Laṭīfī and Ḳinālī-zāde, probably wrongly); of the Albanian Yaḥyā, bey of Dukagin, d. 983/1576: *Shāh u-Gadā*, *Yūsuf u-Zulaikhā*, *Kitāb-i Uṣūl*, *Gandjīna-i Rāz*, *Gulshan-i Anwār*; of Mu'īdī of Ḳalḳandilen, contemporary of Bāḳī; of Bihishtī, d. 979/1572: *Wāmiḳ u-'Adhrā*, *Yūsuf u-Zulaikhā*, *Ḥusn u-Nigār*, *Suhail u-Naw-Bahār*, *Leilā u-Madjnūn*; of Sinān b. Suleimān, surnamed Aṭā'ī and son of New'ī, d. 1044/1634 (really only contains four poems, the fifth being the *Dīwān* of the poet): *Subḥat al-Abkār*, *Haft-khwān*, *Nafḥat al-Azhār*, *Sāḳī-nāma*). The *Khamsa-i Rūmī* of Rewānī of Adrianople, d. 930/1524, mentioned by Sehī, probably never existed. That of Nergisī is in prose.

Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī has also collected under the same title five poetical compositions in Eastern Turkī (Catalogue Quaritch, Jan., 1916, p. 23; E. Blochet, *J. A.*, 1916, Series 11, vol. viii. 400). The name *Khamsat al-Mutaḥaiyirīn* is given to a biography of Djāmī in five parts (Belin, *J. A.*, 1861, Series 5, vol. xvii. 303).

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(Cl. Huart)

KHAMSA (abbreviated from *wilāyāt-i khamsa* = the five provinces), the name of a province in Persia of which Zandjān is the capital; Sulṭānīya also forms part of it. It is a small administrative division, forming quite recently a detached district of 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī; it lies between the provinces of Ādharbaidjān and Ḳazwīn and has 11,480 inhabitants. It appears in the Budget with the following statistics: revenue in cash 819,880 ḳrāns, in cereals 10,540 kharwārs (of 640 lbs.), in straw 9,000 kharwār; value of payments in kind 978,038 ḳrāns. Local expenditure, including the remissions of taxation, 19,129 ḳrāns. The five towns which gave the name of this district are Abhar, Farum, Ghelab, Arman-khāne and Terram-Ābād. The country is inhabited by the nomad tribe of Afshār.

Bibliography: [E. Dupré], *Voyage en Perse*, ii. 213—214; Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie*, p. 197; G. Curzon, *Persia*, i. 437, 480.

(Cl. Huart)

KHĀN (T.), a Turkish title: originally a contraction of *Kaghan*, Arabic *khāḳān* [q. v.]; in this meaning *Kan* occurs alongside of *Kaghan* as early as the Orkhon inscriptions of the viiith century A. D.; cf. the Tonyukuk inscription in W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 2nd Series, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 3, and

the quotations in the glossary, p. 93. In the Muslim period the word *Khān* seems first to appear towards the end of the ivth (xth) century on the coins of the Ilek-Khāns [q. v., ii. 465] and particularly in the vth (xith) century in the texts relating to this dynasty (cf. the quotations *loc. cit.*) Not till the Mongol period is a distinction made between the *Ḳaghan* or *Ḳ'ān* as supreme ruler and the *Khān* as ruler of a separate portion of the whole empire.

In course of time *Ḳaghan* and *Khāḳān* were completely ousted from the popular language by *Khān*. In the last centuries before the Mongol conquest, the Turkish *Khān* like the Arabic *Malik* and the Persian *Shāh* was used as a princely title in contrast to the supreme title *Sulṭān*, *Sulṭān* only retaining the meaning in Western Asia and Egypt. In Central Asia in the various kingdoms into which the Mongol empire broke up *Khān* was the real sovereign title and *Sulṭān* the title of each individual member of the dynasties descended from Čingiz Khān. In the administrative system of the modern Persian kingdom founded by the Safawids the *Sulṭān*, as governor of a smaller district, was under the *Khān*, who was governor of a large province. (W. Barthold)

KHĀN DJAHĀN LŌDĪ. An Afghān favourite of the emperor Djahāngīr [q. v.], who called him his son (*farzand*). His original name was Pīr Khān, and he was a son of Dawlat Khān and descended from the Dawlat Khān Lōdī, who was supreme in the Pandjāb when Bābur entered India. Pīr Khān first had the title of Ṣalābat Khān, and afterward that of Khān Djahān. When Djahāngīr died, he behaved badly, made the mistake of not recognising Shāh Djahān, and of not even answering his autograph letter, and sold the Balāghāt of the Deccan to Niẓām al-Mulk. The result was that he was superseded by Mahābat Khān, and though he got another appointment, and came to court, he was no longer a favourite, and became apprehensive that he would be arrested. So he fled at night from Agra with his family and dependents. He was pursued and attacked at the Čambal, and many of his people were killed. He continued his flight towards the Deccan, but eventually was killed in Central India in the fourth year of the reign of Shāh Djahān, to whom his head was sent.

Bibliography: *Tārīkh-i Khān Djahān Lōdī*; Djahāngīr, *Memoirs*, transl. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, i. 87 etc.; Elliot-Dowson, *Hist. of India*, v. 67, vi., vii.; *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, transl. Blochmann, p. 502; *Bādshāhnāma*, i. (Elliot-Dowson, vii. 20); Khwāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*. (H. Beveridge)

KHĀN KHĀNĀN, "Lord of Lords", a title given by the Dihlī emperors to their highest officer. It corresponds to the Turkish *Beglerbeg*. It was in use in Bābur's time, the title having been given to Dilāwar Khān, son of Dawlat Khān. The most famous *Khān Khānān*'s were Akbar's ministers, Bairām and his son 'Abd al-Raḥīm. — *Khān Dawrān*, "Lord of the age", and *Khān Djahān*, "Lord of the world", are similar titles. (H. Beveridge)

KHĀN-I DJAHĀN MAḲBŪL KHĀN, originally a Hindū by name Kunnū or Kattū, became a Muslim on entering the service of Muḥammad b. Tughlaḳ [q. v.], who gave him the title of Ḳawām al-Mulk and made him governor of Multān; he afterwards became *nāʾib wazīr* and distinguished himself by his administrative ability; on the accession of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaḳ [q. v.], he was raised to the position of *wazīr* and enjoyed the confidence of his royal master for 18 years until his death in 770.

Bibliography: Shams-i Sirādj 'Afīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta 1888—1891, p. 62 *sqq.*, 211 *sqq.*, 394 *sqq.*

KHĀNA (P.), house (from the root *khan*, "to dig", aspirated form from *kan-dan*); hence: "local, a square on a chessboard". It is found in numerous combinations such as *Kitāb-khāna*, *kutub-khāna*, "library"; *mehter-khāna*, "regimental band"; *ṭabl-khāna*, "kettledrum band", in the time of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns of Egypt; *top-khāna*, "arsenal of artillery", *ab-dest-khāna*, "water-closet", etc. and is also found in Anglo-Indian hybrids such as *gym-khāna*, "sports meeting" in which *gym* is an abbreviation for *gymnastics* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.). (Cl. Huart)

KHĀNBALİĶ (usually written Khān Bāliḳ), the "Khān's town", the name of Pekin as capital of the Mongol Emperors after 1264 in Eastern Turkī and Mongol and afterwards adopted by the rest of the Muslim world and even by Western Europe (*Cambaluc*, variants in S. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'Occident*, Göteborg 1906, p. 105 *sq.*). According to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Berezin, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.* xv., Persian text, p. 34), Pekin (Chinese then Čungdū, i. e. the middle capital) was called Khānbāliḳ even earlier by the Mongols, apparently as one of the chief towns of the Kin dynasty (cf. the art. ČINGIZ KHĀN). As everywhere in the Mongol Empire, Muhammadans enjoyed considerable prestige in Khānbalıḳ also. Maḥmūd Yalawač b. Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī (W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 139), who died there in Rabīʿ I, 652 (April 21—May 20, 1254), was several times confirmed in office as governor of North China (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 85 and 309). On the assassination of the vizier Aḥmad Fanākatī in 1282 and the events that followed see ibid., p. 508 *sqq.*; Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, i. 415 *sqq.* On the town and its situation on the Imperial Canal cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 455 *sqq.*; on the distances between Khānbalıḳ and other towns by the land routes see Waṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, p. 24, Indian ed., p. 12; *N. E.*, xiii. 225 *sq.* (al-ʿUmarī); Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar Nāme*, Indian ed., ii. 219 *sq.* The name Khānbalıḳ for Pekin was also retained after the decline of the Mongol empire in Central and Western Asia and also in Europe. On the five months' sojourn (Dec., 1420—May, 1421) of the embassy of Sulṭān Shāh Rukh in Khānbalıḳ see *N. E.*, xiv. 320 *sqq.*; the original narrative, which survives in one MS. only (Elliot 422 in Oxford, Bodleiana = *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, f. 390b *sqq.*), has so far not been fully investigated (brief account in W. Barthold, *al-Muẓaffariya*, p. 27; *M. I.*, p. 107). There was a mosque in Pekin even in those days. Khānbalıḳ is mentioned as late as the early years of the xviith century in an anonymous history written in Kāshghar (*Zap.*, xv. 251). In the reports of the Russian Ambassadors of the xviith century, the form Kambalıḳ (with variants) is used, under Western European influence (Ju. Arsenyew, *Puteshestviye* . . ., *russkago poslannika Nik. Spafariya*, in the *Zap. Geogr. Obshč.*, *po otd. etnogr.*, x., vip. 1,

India. Spafari (embassy 1675) is the first to write Pičin, under the influence of the North Chinese pronunciation; this pronunciation also explains the names in the modern literature of Central Asia for Pekin (Baǰin or Bäǰin) (e.g. *Tārīkh-i Amāniya*, p. 24; cf. *Zap.*, xvii. 0188 *sqq.*).

Bibliography (besides the references in the text): Ch. Schefer, *Notices sur les relations des peuples musulmans avec les Chinois, depuis l'extension de l'islamisme jusqu'à la fin du XVe siècle, Centenaire de l'École Or. Viv.*, Paris 1895, p. 1—43. (W. Barthold)

KHANDAK (P., A.), ditch, moat. On the etymology of the word see A. Siddīḳī, *Studien über die Persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen 1919), p. 73; it was taken over by the Syriac speaking population of Northern Mesopotamia in early times, as it appears already in the *Book of the Himyarites* (first half of the 7th cent.; ed. Moberg, p. 30, l. 14) in the form *Kandak*. Consequently it may be an Aramaic loanword in Arabic. Tradition, however, connects its first use in the latter language with Salmān al-Fārisī [q. v.], who, it is said, advised Muḥammad to protect Madīna in the year 6 A. H. against its beleaguerers by digging a moat, a means of defence hitherto unknown in Arabia but usual in Persia.

The episode of Madīna's beleaguerment in that year has ever since been connected with the term khandak or *aḥzāb* (allies). The *sīra* as well as other historical works give different reports concerning the extension of the moat and the part of the town it was meant to protect. Still it may taken as probable that it started from the market-place and the hill called Salʿ, and from there extended chiefly to the North and North-East, partly also to the South.

The digging of the khandak is often mentioned in tradition because Muḥammad himself took part in the work (Bukhārī, *Djihād*, b. 33, 34, 161; Muslim, *Djihād*, trad. 125—130 etc.). He is said to have hewn a large stone-block in pieces, so that flashes of light emanated from it which shone into various parts of the world (Ibn Saʿd iii./i., 59 *sq.*). Several lines of poetry in *radjaz* uttered by him or his companions during the work are recorded, amongst them the well-known *duʿāʾ* in behalf of Muhādjirūn and Anṣār. For further information see MADĪNA, MUḤAMMAD.

Al-Khandak is also the name of several places; see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 85; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s. v.

Bibliography: Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, iii. 207 *sqq.*; Grimme, *Mohammed*, Münster 1892, i. 106 *sq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, A. H. 5, 21—43; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, p. 26 *sqq.* (A. J. Wensinck)

KHWĀNDAMĪR, Persian historian. His real name was Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and he was the son of Khwādja Hamām al-Dīn b. Khwādja Djalāl al-Dīn b. Khwādja Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī. The historian Mīr Khwānd [q. v.] was his maternal grandfather, and Niẓām al-Dīn Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣadr was his maternal uncle. His father was for many years the minister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Samarḳand, who was Bābur's paternal uncle. Khwāndamīr must have been born about 1475, and probably in Herāt, where his maternal grandfather lived. The *Haft Iḳlīm*, however, enters him under Bukhārā. His grandfather Mīr Khwānd seems to have been originally an inhabitant of Balkh. He entered the service of Badīʿ al-Zamān, eldest son of Sulṭān Ḥusain, and was with him in 1502 at Pul Čirāgh and heard him tell of his adventures after his defeat at that place by his father, five or six years before. After Sulṭān Ḥusain's death in May 1506, Khwāndamīr was with Badīʿ al-Zamān at Maral in northern Persia. In the spring of 1507 when there was an idea of opposing Shaibānī's advance, Badīʿ al-Zamān and his brother and co-king Muẓaffar directed Khwāndamīr to go to Ḳandahār and induce Shāh Beg Arghūn to join them. He got as far as Herāt, but delay was caused by the death of Djādjak Bēgam, daughter of Badīʿ al-Zamān, and also by the near approach of Shaibānī, and so he did not go to Ḳandahār. He also once went on a fruitless embassy to Khusraw Shāh at Kundūz. A feeble attempt was made at Maral to encounter Shaibānī, but the princes ran away, and the gallant Dhu 'l-Nūn Arghūn was slain. The march upon Herāt followed in March 1507, and Khwāndamīr and his brother's son ʿUthmān, who was inspector (*muḥtasib*) for the city, were deputed by the inhabitants to interview Shaibānī at his camp, and to obtain terms of surrender. The nephew went and succeeded in having an interview, though he was stripped and pillaged on the way. Khwāndamīr remained in Herāt after its capture, and he has given an amusing account of how he and his friends were squeezed by the Uzbegs. He was also in Herāt when Shāh Ismāʿīl defeated and killed Shaibānī and took possession of the city in 1510. But in 920 (1514) we find him in retirement at the village of Pasht or Basht in Ghardjistān, in northern Persia (not in Georgia, as Elliot has it; see de Sacy on Ghardjistān in *Mines de l'Orient*, i. 321), where he occupied himself in writing his books. He now attached himself to the worthless Muḥammad Zamān, eldest son of his old master, and shared his fortunes for a while, at Balkh, etc. But when Muḥammad Zamān was preparing to go to Ḳandahār, Khwāndamīr obtained leave to return to Pasht. He must have afterwards settled in Herāt, for he was there in July 1527, when he left it to go to Ḳandahār. Nor did he stay long in Afghānistān, for he went off to India in March 1528. He reached Āgra and presented himself before Bābur in September, and in 1529 accompanied him to Bengal and was with him at the *trimohini*, or junction of the Sardjū and Ganges (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, lith., ii. 84, end of 4th part of vol. 2). Bābur died in the end of 1530, and Khwāndamīr afterwards served his son, Humāyūn, and wrote a panegyric on the latter's buildings and devices, which he called the *Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*, or the *Humāyūnnāma* (there is a MS. of it in the British Museum), and an account of the book, accompanied by extracts, is given in Elliot's *History of India*, v. 116). It is commonly said that Khwāndamīr died in 941 (1534—1535) during Humāyūn's expedition to Gudjarāt. But Firishta's account shows that the death, caused by dysentery, occurred on the return march from Gudjarāt. This was in 942, and Khwāndamīr was alive in that year, and made a chronogram on the death of his friend and fellow-traveller, Shihāb al-Dīn, the riddle-maker (cf. Badāʾūnī, Ranking's translation, i. 450). Khwāndamīr probably died in 942 or 943 (1535—1537). At his own request he was buried in Dihlī, near the tombs of Niẓām

al-Dīn Awliyā and Amīr Khusraw. His age was then probably about 60.

Khwāndamīr was a voluminous writer. His first work was the *Khulāṣat al-Akhbār* (or, the Perfection of Narratives). It was written in 905 (1499—1500) and dedicated to ʿAlī Shīr, whose library furnished him with the necessary materials. It is a youthful work, and naturally there is little in it that is derived from personal knowledge. It is in fact a preliminary sketch for the *Ḥabīb*, but in some places, e.g. in the account of the capture and death of Yādgār Muḥammad it is fuller than the latter work. Khwāndamīr's most valuable work, and the only one that has been printed, is the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*. It was begun in 1521 and substantially finished in 1523—1524, though he made additions to it after visiting India. The *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* — so called after his second patron Ḥabīb Ullāh — is a General History from the earliest times down to near the end of the life of Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī I. Naturally, it is chiefly valuable for the author's own time. The best parts are the lives of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt and of Ismāʿīl I. Incidentally, he gives much information about Shaibānī and Bābur, and his account of the latter is the best source that we have for the two great gaps in Bābur's "Memoirs". He is a conscientious author, for he wrote the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* three times over. He is also accurate, and often writes from personal knowledge. His great fault is his style. It is turgid and rhetorical, like the *Anwār-i Suhailī* of his contemporary Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ, and is sprinkled with tags of verse. He bestows too much praise on Sulṭān Ḥusain and Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, and he is also sometimes unnecessarily prolix. For instance, he writes with wearisome detail of the adventures of Muḥammad Zamān. The *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* has been lithographed at Tihrān and Bombay. Khwāndamīr was also the author of 7th vol. of the *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*.

Bibliography: Elliot's *History of India*, vols. 4 and 5; H. Ferté, *Vie de Sultan Hossein Baikara, traduite de Khondémir* (Paris, 1898); Mrs. Beveridge, *Translation of Babur's Memoirs*; *Asiatic Miscellany*, vol. i.; F. B. Charmoy, *Mém. de l'Académie impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg*, ser. vi. t. iii. and viii.; Quatremère, *Journal des Savants* 1843, p. 386—394; Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss.*, i. 98 *sq.*

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KHĀNDESH, the region bounded on the north by the Narbadā, on the east by the province or kingdom of Berār, on the south by the Adjanta Hills, and on the west by the kingdom of Gudjarāt. It became an independent state in 1382, when Aḥmad Fārūḳī, entitled Rādjā Aḥmad or Malik Rādjā, having joined the rebellion of Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī against Muḥammad Bahmanī I of the Dakan, was obliged to flee from that country and established himself in Khāndesh, which owes its name to him and his successors, who long eschewed the royal title and were content with that of Khān, whence their principality was known as "the country of the Khāns". The country, surrounded by powerful neighbours, was too small to be entirely independent, and its rulers owed some degree of allegiance at first to Mālwa and afterwards to Gudjarāt, but the mutual jealousy of these two states preserved Khāndesh from absorption in either. Mīrān Muḥammad I, the eleventh of the Fārūḳī Khāns, was closely related to the ruling family of Gudjarāt, and was elevated to the throne of that kingdom in 1537, but died on his way to Aḥmadābād to assume his new dignity. His promotion encouraged his successors in Khāndesh to use the title of Shāh.

The administrative capital of the country was Burhānpūr, but the fortress of Asīr afforded a safe refuge to its rulers when danger threatened. Asīr was captured by Akbar in 1601 from Bahādur Shāh, the seventeenth and last of the long line of Khāns, and when prince Dāniyāl was appointed viceroy of the Mughul Dakan, which included Khāndesh, his father bestowed upon the province, in his honour, the fanciful name of Dāndesh, by which it was known, in official records, as long as the Mughul empire lasted, though the newer name never displaced the older, and is now almost forgotten.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832; *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross (Indian Texts Series), London 1910. 1921; Lt.-Col. T. W. Haig, *The Fārūḳī Dynasty of Khāndesh* (Indian Antiquary), Bombay 1918.

(T. W. HAIG)

KHĀNFŪ, in the third (ixth) and fourth (xth) centuries the Arabic name for the most important seaport of China, the centre of trade by sea with the western Asiatic peoples. As is now generally believed, this town "is undoubtedly Canton" (cf. above, i. 842). On the other hand, it used to be urged (by J. Klaproth, *J. A.*, 1824, v. 40 bis, I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient* etc., Göteberg 1906, p. 213) that Khānfū was not Canton but the Ganfu or Ganfu mentioned by Marco Polo (transl. Yule-Cordier, ii. 189, and note on p. 199) lying much farther north, the harbour of Hang-čou-fu. This idea is refuted by the fact that, in the Chinese annals of this period also, Canton is mentioned as the most important harbour and centre of foreign trade: in 758 A. D. Canton was plundered by Arab and Persian pirates (e.g. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 173). This event is not mentioned by the Arabs. Arabic sources (Abū Zaid al-Sīrāfī in Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, Paris 1845, ii. 63 [text]; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 303; Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 221) report the destruction of Khānfū by the Chinese rebel Huang-č'ao in 264 (877—878) when a great number (120,000 or 200,000) of Muslims, Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians perished. According to the Chinese annals, Canton was taken by Huang-č'ao in 879: in this connection also the importance of this town for foreign trade is mentioned (P. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1923, p. 410). The statements in Ibn Khordādhbeh (*B. G. A.*, vi. 69, text) regarding the location of Khānfū (four days' journey by sea and 20 by land from the most southerly Chinese harbour Lūḳīn, now Hanoi) can, as F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (*Chau Ju-Kua*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 22, with support from al-Idrīsī) observe, only refer to Canton. The reading Khānfū (Chinese Kuang [čou] fu) is now regarded as certain although the manuscripts frequently have *ḳ* for *f* and even de Goeje (*B. G. A.*, *loc. cit.*) was inclined to prefer the reading Khānḳū (for Hong-Kong). According to the Arab authorities, the town brought the government 50,000 dīnārs a day (about £ 40,000) (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, text, p. 41). After the arrival of a foreign vessel, eunuchs were sent to it by the

Emperor to pick the finest merchandise (ibid., text, p. 73 sq.); the road between Khānfū and the capital Khumdān (Si-ngan-fu) took two months to traverse (ibid., p. 77 and 103). The prince (malik), i.e. governor of Khānfū, bore the title Dīfū (ibid., p. 38; according to Reinaud, note 81 = ii. 27, for Chinese Či-fu. See also the article CHINA, especially p. 840—842). (W. BARTHOLD)

KHĀNIĶĪN, a town in the 'Irāķ, on the Ḥulwān-čai. The statement that Nu'mān V, king of al-Ḥīra, was kept here a prisoner till his death by order of his overlord, the Sāsānian Khusraw II, suggests that there was a fortress here in the Sāsānian period. The bridge of Khāniķīn must also go back to Sāsānian times; it is built of brick and plaster in several arches across the river-valley. The number of arches is said to be 24, each 20 ells wide. At the Muslim conquest a battle seems to have been fought at Khāniķīn for a "day of Khāniķīn" is mentioned in Ibn al-Faķīh. Under Arab rule Khāniķīn was a small town, which made a poor impression on the traveller compared with the splendour of Baghdād, and was an unpretentious station on the road from Baghdād to Khurāsān. Ibn al-Mu'tazz praises the wine of Khāniķīn. According to Mis'ar, a naphtha well at Khāniķīn yielded a considerable revenue to the state. Lastly the Zuṭṭ were deported to (the region of) Khāniķīn after their rising in lower Mesopotamia had been suppressed in 219 (834).

The place was often mentioned in recent years as a junction connecting a branch of the Baghdād railway with the railway system proposed by the Russians in Īrān.

Bibliography: al-Ya'ķūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 245, ii. 576; al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 376; Ibn al-Faķīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 172; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1028; iii. 1168; Ibn Rosteh, *B. G. A.*, vii. 164; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii. 31, viii. 186; al-Muķaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 121; al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, p. 320; Yāķūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 393; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 61, 62, 80.

(P. SCHWARZ)

AL-**KHANSĀ'** is celebrated as the greatest poetess of the Arabs; her proper name was Tumāḍir, daughter of 'Amr b. al-Sharīd of the tribe of Sulaim, from which tribe originated among others the celebrated poet Zuhair b. Abī Sulma. Her father must have been a man of considerable reputation and wealth, for an account preserved in the *Kitāb al-Azmina* of al-Marzūķī (ed. Haidarabad, ii. 168 sq.) tells us that her father visited the fair of 'Ukāẓ with his sons Mu'āwiya and Ṣakhr in the 35th year of the Elephant and transferred some landed property at al-Waḥīda in the Mikhlāf of Yathrib to Ma'mar b. al-Ḥārith, the grandfather of the poet Djamīl, and al-Aṣma'ī says that the document then drawn up was still in the possession of the descendants of Ma'mar in the time of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Assuming the document to be genuine (which I doubt) the brothers of al-Khansā' 15 years before the Hidjra, in 607 A.D., were already old enough to take part in the affairs of their father, but the year of the Elephant was probably much earlier than the date generally assigned to it by Muslim authorities.

The earliest event in the life of al-Khansā' of which her biographers make mention is the proposal of marriage made by the aged Duraid b. al-Ṣimma, who was killed in the year 9 A.H. The latter was bound in close friendship to her brother Mu'āwiya, both having promised to one another that the one surviving would mourn in an elegy the one who died first. Al-Khansā' was then a young girl and as the proposal came through her brother we may assume that her father was dead. It is significant for those times that the girl was permitted to consider the proposal of marriage, and after seeing Duraid her decision went against him. She even composed some verses against the rejected suitor in which she mocks him and his tribe and incidentally mentions that she had previously refused another man of the family of Badr, who is not otherwise known. After this she married a man of her own tribe of Sulaim named 'Abd al-'Uzzā (or, according to Ibn Ķutaiba, Rawāḥa b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā), who was the father of her son Abū Shadjara 'Abd Allāh, who took a prominent part in the apostasy after the death of the Prophet and did not come into al-Medina till the reign of 'Umar. This 'Abd al-'Uzzā probably died early and al-Khansā' married another man of her tribe, Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir, by whom she had three sons, Zaid, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr, and probably her daughter 'Amra, who was her youngest child.

There is considerable difficulty in reconciling the chronological data and to arrive at even an approximate date for the birth of al-Khansā', but as her son Abū Shadjara took a prominent part in the *Ridda* [q. v.] in the year 13 A.H. and may have been 30 years of age we may fairly assume that al-Khansā' was then between 40 and 50, probably even older. Al-'Abbās b. Mirdās, who was one of the poets of the Prophet, was certainly not her son, but the issue of an earlier marriage of Mirdās. Mirdās, an enterprising man, had attempted with some companions to cultivate some swampy ground near a spring, and as a revenge the spirits which inhabited that place contrived to kill him slowly, i. e. he most likely contracted a fever in this unhealthy place.

The turning-point in the life of al-Khansā', however, was the double bereavement, the loss of her two brothers Mu'āwiya and Ṣakhr. Mu'āwiya, in accordance with Arab custom, went out with 18 companions to make a raid upon the tribe of Murra. He had had a quarrel with a man of this tribe, Hāshim b. Ḥarmala, at the fair of 'Ukāẓ and after one unsuccessful attempt he invaded the land of the Murrites in which he was slain by Duraid, the brother of Hāshim. The duty of avenging the death of his brother fell upon Ṣakhr and he succeeded in murdering first Duraid, who had slain his brother Mu'āwiya and was slowly recovering from the wound he had received in the combat; then another Sulamī killed the former's brother Hāshim. Not content with this double revenge for his brother, Ṣakhr continued his raids upon Murra till he was fatally wounded by a man of Faķ'as, an Asadī clan allied with the tribe of Murra. He lingered for a long time in his tent, apparently becoming a burden to his wife, and finally succumbed. All these events happened before the rise of Islām, but al-Khansā' lived long enough to see the final victory of the new faith and she is said to have been reproved both by the caliph 'Umar and by 'Ā'isha for her unreasonable mourning for her brothers, especially Ṣakhr. The new religion had no real influence upon her and her poems.

Fortunately several manuscripts of her elegies have been preserved and the indefatigable labours of Cheikho have put us in possession of a very complete collection of her verses. Naturally we find among the verses recorded in this edition many which have become ascribed to al-Khansā', because of her paramount reputation as a poetess of elegies, but there is no doubt in my mind that we have many poems which are perfectly genuine, especially as the tradition of the undoubtedly genuine pieces emanates from men of her own tribe from whom the poems were collected at a very early date. It is significant that in these genuine poems we find expressed the true sentiments of the *Djāhiliya*; there is no mention of a future life; only the blood of the slain demands retaliation and the despair is over and again expressed that no one can replace the departed, whose many manly virtues are enumerated and extolled.

Both the biography and the merits of her poetry have been critically and elaborately dealt with by Cheikho, Gabrieli and Rhodokanakis so that it is easy to get a fairly complete estimate of her life and work from these authors. Whether al-Khansā' introduced any new features into the *marthiya* or not is very difficult to say, but it is almost certain that her verses inspired many later elegists, among whom figures her own daughter 'Amra. If we contrast her verses with those of other elegists among her contemporaries — I will only to mention Mutammim and Abū Dhu'aib —, we must confess that her verses do not possess the poetical beauties which are found in them, but we have in the contrary in her poems, which are also much shorter, a far more genuine mourning; on the other hand, there is a certain monotony in the repetition of the same thoughts and ideas.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altarab. Poesie*, Hanover 1864; *Dīwān*, ed. Cheikho, Bairūt 1889; *Commentaire sur le Dīwān d'al-Khansā'*, ed. Cheikho, Bairūt 1895; Gabrieli, *I tempi, la vita e il canzoniere della poetessa al-Hansā'*, Florence 1899; N. Rhodokanakis, *al-Hansā' und ihre Trauerlieder*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1904; Coppier, *Le Diwân d'al-Khansâ' trad. par le Père de Coppier*, Beyrouth 1889; al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 48 and 51; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiii. 136 *sqq.*; al-Ṭabarī, i. 1905 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 197 *sqq.*; in addition verses of and notices on al-Khansā' are found in almost all works dealing with older Arabic poetry from the *Ḥamāsa* and the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* onwards and single poems are found translated in several European anthologies of eastern verse before the appearance of the edition of the *Dīwān* by Cheikho. (F. Krenkow)

KHANSA or Khinsa — in Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 489: Khinksāī; in Waṣṣāf, Khinsāī, in the lithogr. edition (Bombay 1869), p. 21 *sq.*: Khinsāī; in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī (ed. Le Strange, p. 10, 7, and 261, 10): Khinsāī; vocalised Khansā by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 284 *sqq.*) and connected with the name of the celebrated poetess [see the art. al-khansā'] — a town in China, capital of the kingdom of the Sung dynasty overthrown by the Mongols, Chinese formerly King Shen, now Hang-čōu-fu (cf. above, i. 845ᵃ). The town is frequently mentioned in the Mongol period and described as one of the greatest commercial cities of the world in those days; Muslim and Christian sources agree in saying there were a large number of Muslims there, as many as 40,000.

Bibliography: The Muslim sources are collected in Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse par Raschid-eldin*, p. lxxxvii *sqq.*, and in Ch. Schefer, *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales vivantes*, p. 19 *sq.*, 25 *sq.*; the Christian sources in I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient* etc., Göteborg 1906, p. 425 *sqq.* Cf. especially the full description of "Quinsay" in Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, ii. 185—215. On the foreign colony in Hang-čōu-fu see also Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 16. (W. Barthold)

KHĀNZĀDA BEGAM. I. Daughter-in-law of Tīmūr, of high rank and much esteemed by him. She was wife of Mīrān Shāh, and when he became mad, she went from Tibriz to Samarḳand to report about him to her father-in-law on his return from India. She is mentioned by Clavigo and by Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī. (See Dawlat Khān, ed. Browne, p. 440).

II. Bābur's full sister and five years his senior. She was with him in Samarḳand, and is said to have fallen in love with Shaibānī (see Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shaibānī-nāma*, ed. Vambéry). Bābur was obliged to allow the marriage in order to escape from Samarḳand. Shaibānī divorced her aunt in order to marry her, but he afterwards also divorced her as he suspected her of favouring her brother. She had borne him one son, Khurram Shāh, who became governor of Balkh, but died young. After her divorce she married a Saiyid, Shaikh Hādī, but he, as well as Shaibānī, was killed in the battle of Marw. The emperor, Shāh Ismā'īl, sent her to Bābur. She afterwards married Mahdī (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 372, in account of Muḥammad Zamān). She died in Afghānistān in 1545. She had charge of Akbar, her grand-nephew, when his mother was in Persia. She seems to have been an excellent person, and was greatly respected. She delighted in the resemblance of the child Akbar to her brother Bābur (Gulbadan, *Memoirs of Humāyūn*, transl., p. 37). (H. Beveridge)

KHARĀDJ (A.). The word *kharādj*, borrowed by the Arabs from the administrative language of the Byzantines — Greek probably: χορηγία; see F. Schwarz, *Die Herkunft von arabisch ḫarāǧ*, (*Grund-*)*steuer*, in *Der Islam*, 1916, vi. 97 *sqq.* — originally meant the tribute [in a general sense (just as did *djizya*)] to which unbelievers in Muslim lands were liable. In the later *Fiḳh*-works the word *kharādj* sometimes still has this general meaning (see e. g. *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb*, ed. van den Berg, p. 620). But by the first century A. H. *kharādj* — probably because it was taken to be an original Arabic word in the sense of "yield of the fields" — came to mean particularly the tax paid on landed property as opposed to the *djizya*, which was now used exclusively in the sense of "poll-tax".

When at the time of the great conquests the inhabitants of the newly acquired territory were left in undisturbed possession of their fields, it was, however, ordained that the soil should be liable to taxation. Henceforth the inhabitants were to pay a definite part of the harvest as a tribute to the Muslim treasury and remained bound to pay this *kharādj* for all time, even if they became converts to Islām (see the art. fai').

They had been previously accustomed to a tax of this kind in these regions under Byzantine and Persian rule and the old methods of administering it were retained by the Arabs in many details. The tribute was paid mainly in kind. Definite contributions of corn or other foodstuffs were levied on villages or in some cases on districts. The Muslim officials turned these into money. Very considerable revenues reached the Muslim treasury in this way, especially in the first century A. H.

At the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period we find different scholars (e.g. Abū Yūsuf, al-Khaṣṣāf and Yaḥyā b. Ādam) still endeavouring to collect the traditions and legal enactments on the *kharādj* and arranging them in special chapters in their books. The regulations regarding the collection of the *kharādj* in these days were still a very important subject. But after the peoples of the conquered territories had generally adopted Islām they began gradually to drop payment of the *kharādj*. It was thought that with the payment of the tithe of the yield of one's fields (see the art. ʿUSHR) enough had been done and the *kharādj* in the end fell everywhere into desuetude. In the later *Fiḳh*-books we therefore only find the regulations regarding the poll-tax still given in detail, while those for the *kharādj* are only dealt with cursorily or even not at all. Only in al-Māwardī's special work on the Muslim system of administration do we find the regulations for the *kharādj* still dealt with in considerable detail.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article FAIʾ see: A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i. 75 *sqq.*, 175 *sqq.*; M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier, étude sur l'impôt du kharâg*, Diss. Leipzig 1886; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 18 *sqq.*, 168 *sqq.*; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge z. Gesch. Aegyptens*, ii. 83 *sqq.*, 124 *sqq.*; do., *Die Entstehung von ʿUšr- und Harāğ-Land in Aegypten*, in the *Z.A.*, 1904/1905, xviii. 301—319; do., *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i., Heidelberg 1906, p. 37 *sqq.*; E. Fagnan, *Abou Yousof Yaʿkoub, Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, Paris 1921.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL)

KHĀRAK, an island in the Persian Gulf, the *Aracia* of the classical geographers. In the Arab period the island belonged to the Persian province of Ardashīr Khurra, and it was so still described by al-Balkhī. Al-Masʿūdī allots it more closely to Djannāba which lies opposite it on the mainland. For shipping it was an important calling-place on the way from al-Baṣra to India and also to ʿUmān. Ibn Khordādhbah therefore gives a description of it. In his time Khārak was 50 parasang from al-Baṣra, had an area of a square parasang and was cultivated, yielding cereals, grapes and dates. So recently as the end of the xviiith century, Niebuhr was impressed by the subterranean works partly cut out of the rock. That there was a large number of inhabitants and that they were Muslims is shown by al-Iṣṭakhrī's mention of a pulpit-mosque on the island. In Yāḳūt's time there was also a place of pilgrimage in Khārak, the alleged tomb of a son of ʿAlī. The pearl-fishery of Khārak is often mentioned. The pearl-beds here are very deep; it is therefore natural that complaints of a poor harvest are made but occasionally very valuable specimens are said to have been found here.

In the xviiith century, the island was for a time in the possession of the Dutch East India Co.; a certain Baron von Kniphausen planned fortifications on the island for them and built a factory behind their walls. Later a town grew up in which Arabs and Persians settled. The Dutch E. I. Co. seems to have abandoned the island at the end of 1765 as its occupation proved too costly.

Bibliography: *B. G. A.*, i. 32, 106, 107, ii. 183, vi. 61; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 387; Thévenot, *Suite du voyage au Levant*, Paris 1674, ii. 336 *sq.*; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Hamburg 1837, ii. 202; do., *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 321; Tomaschek, *Nearchs Küstenfahrt* in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, vol. 121; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1896—1924, ii. 82, 85, 87; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 261.

(P. SCHWARZ)

AL-**KHARAḲĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ BISHR ABŪ BAKR BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN. He was brought by a Khwārizmshāh (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad [q.v.], 490—521 = 1097—1127, or Atsiz, 521—551 = 1127—1156) to Merw and was one of the scholars at the court of this prince. He was also connected with Shams al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar. For him he wrote the work entitled *al-Tabṣira* etc. (see below). Al-Kharaḳī died in Merw in 533 (1138/39). According to al-Baihaḳī, al-Kharaḳī devoted much attention to philosophical problems as well as to astronomy.

Al-Kharaḳī treated of cosmography in two works, extant in numerous manuscripts. The shorter *al-Tabṣira fī ʿIlm al-Haiʾa* deals only with astronomy while the fuller *Muntahā ʾl-Idrāk fī Taḳsīm al-Aflāk* (on this see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Nº. 13,124) also deals with conditions on the earth.

Very lucidly and with excellent illustrations al-Kharaḳī expounds the theory of al-Khāzin, also called Ibn al-Haitham, according to which the planets are supported not by imaginary circles but by massive revolving basins. This assumption avoids the difficulty that in the motion of a planet the ether is pressed in front of it and leaves a vacuum behind it.

Al-Kharaḳī's and Ibn al-Haitham's works were drawn upon by later Muslim astronomers and cosmographers while those of the West utilised Ibn al-Haitham's work *Fī Haiʾat al-ʿĀlam* in Hebrew and Latin translations.

Bibliography: Ẓāhir al-Dīn Zaid al-Baihaḳī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥukamāʾ al-Islām*, Berlin MS., Cat. Nº. 10,052; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. XX, Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, Nº. 94 in the *S. P. M. S. Erlg.*, 1910, xlii. 72; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, Nº. 276; K. Kohl, *Über den Aufbau der Welt nach Ibn al-Haitham*, in the *S. P. M. S. Erlg.*, 1922/23, liv. 140—179.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KHĀRDJE, one of the southern groups of oases in the Libyan desert. The expression *al-Wāḥāt al-Khār(i)dja* recalls the Ὄασις ἡ ἐξωτέρα of the Greek writers, the word *Wāḥ* being a transcription of the Coptic ⲟⲩⲁϩ.

The oasis of Khārdje consists of a large valley which runs from north to south for about 100 miles and averages 12 miles in breadth. Khārdje was reached until quite recently from Esne or Farshūṭ; from the latter place the journey took four

days by camel. A narrow-gauge railway (100 miles) now connects Farshūṭ with the little town of Khārdje, the present capital of the Great Oasis. In 1910 the oasis had about 7,000 inhabitants; the principal places, besides the capital, are Bārīs, Bulāḳ and Djanāḥ. Dates are the principle article of commerce in this region. There are about 70,000 date-palms which produce the best fruit in Egypt. The cultivated area is about 4500 acres, but in recent years artesian wells have been dug with the object of putting a greater area under cultivation.

It is somewhat difficult to get accurate notices of the oases in the Arab writers (see the articles BAḤRIYE, DĀKHLE, AL-FARĀFRA). None of them had visited it and their terminology varies with their informants; we feel nevertheless that the ancient tradition still survived with them, which divided the Oases of the Libyan Desert into Little (= Baḥriye), Inner (= Dākhle) and Outer (= Khārdje). In the notice he gives of them, al-Maḳrīzī is very hazy, for he repeats practically the same generalities for the Inner Oases as for the Outer Oases. One thing that all the geographers emphasise is the remarkable fertility of the Oases in general. Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions especially the lands watered by running water at Khārdje, on which the grape and rice were grown in addition to palm-trees. This impression of great prosperity is all that one gains from the fairly long but confused text of Ibn Duḳmāḳ: it is crammed with names of places. Al-Bakrī distinguishes two Inner Oases and al-Maḳrīzī uses the same expression, *al-Wāḥātain al-Khāridjatain*, but only when he is using an official document of the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. As a matter of fact the oasis of Khārdje may well be divided into two distinct groups.

We are badly informed as to how the oases were settled in the Umaiyad and ʿAbbāsid period: one *kūra* bears the name of Abahāya (the present Minshaʾa, the ancient Ptolemais—Psoi) and of al-Wāḥāt. It seems very likely that it was the oasis of Khārdje that the Nubians ravaged in 339 (= 950). Abū Ṣāliḥ mentions, for the end of the Fāṭimid period, the title *wālī al-wāḥāt* but in the course of a notice of the oasis of Baḥriye. Under the Mamlūks, according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh, to whom al-Kalḳashandī adds nothing, the Sulṭān's government was not at first represented by any official. The oases were all granted as benefices (*iḳṭāʿ*) to officers who administered them as best they could. Later the revenues of the oases were earmarked for the Sulṭān's private purse.

A description of the oasis of Khārdje and more particularly of its ancient temples is given in Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase el-Khargeh*, Leipzig 1878. The *Survey Department of Egypt* has published a fascicule containing a topographical and geological memoir of the region (Ball, *Kharga Oasis*).

Bibliography: Al-Bakrī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, p. 15; *Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane², p. 38; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 93; al-Kalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, Cairo 1331—1338, iii. 393—394; Ibn al-Djīʿān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1898, p. 173; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, Index, i. 372; ii. 208; iii. 363; iv. 351; Isambert, *Itinéraire de l'Orient, Égypte*, p. 517—518; *Guide Joanne*, p. 616—617; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, p. 219—225 (with a very full bibliography).

(G. WIET)

AL-**KHĀRID** or GHAIL AL-KHĀRID, a valley in al-Djawf in South Arabia which contains one of the few perennial streams in Arabia. According to J. Halévy, the river rises in the Bilād Arḥab near Shiraʿ in several springs, some of which are hot and contain minerals, and flows at first through a plain bordered by low hills. About 200 yards from its source, it becomes much broader and exceedingly full of fish. The people of Shiraʿ supply the market of Ṣanʿāʾ with fish from the Khārid so that it is of considerable importance to them. The river also irrigates the oases of al-Djawf. The water is held back by great dams and kept for the dry season when it is led off on to the fields every day by numerous channels. The Djawf owes its rich vegetation mainly to the Khārid; it could hardly retain its verdure without this important water supply. According to E. Glaser, there is no water in the Khārid until Bait Ḏjihailī; this place lies in the extreme north of the Bilād Arḥab. It drains the whole district of Ṣanʿāʾ, Khawlān and Sanḥān and is the most important stream of the Eastern Sarāt. In the land of Dhū Ḥusain it joins the second great wādī of this region, the Wādī Hirrān, and then flows through the whole of al-Djawf. The natives told J. Halévy that the Khārid after twisting and turning round the Balad Hamdān disappears in the sand and only reappears again in Ḥaḍramawt, a feature which the Khārid, however, shares with other rivers of Arabia.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—91, p. 81—83, 109 *sqq.*, 169; J. Halévy, *Voyage au Nedjran*, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1873, Series 6, vol. vi. 36, 259, 582—584; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Jemen 1883*, fol. 26ʳ, 123ᵛ (manuscript); do., *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Hâschid*, in *Peterm. Mitteil.*, 1884, xxx. 172 *sqq.*; do., *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii., Berlin 1890, p. 55; W. B. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, London 1893, p. 314; G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix or the Turks in Yamen*, London 1915, p. 7, 21, 70, 72.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHĀRIDJITES (A., *Khawāridj*, sing. *Khāridjī*), the members of the earliest of the religious sects of Islām, whose importance lies particularly, from the point of view of the development of dogma, in the formulation of questions relative to the theory of the Caliphate and to justification by faith or by works, while from the point of view of political history the principal part they played was disturbing by means of continual insurrections, which often ended in the temporary conquest of entire provinces, the peace of the eastern part of the Muslim empire during the two last years of the Caliphate of ʿAlī and during the Umaiyad period, and involuntarily facilitating first Muʿāwiya's victory over ʿAlī, then that of the ʿAbbāsids over the Umaiyads.

I. The Origins of the Khāridjī Movement.

Opportunity for the schism was given by the proposal presented to ʿAlī by Muʿāwiya during the battle of Ṣiffīn (Ṣafar, 37 = July, 657; cf. above, i. 284ᵃ) to settle the differences arising out of the murder of ʿUthmān, which had provoked the war, by referring it to two referees who would pronounce judgment "according to the Ḳurʾān".

While the majority of ʿAlī's army readily adopted this proposal, either because they were tired of war or because the *Ḳurrāʾ* or "Ḳurʾān-readers" hoped there would emerge from this Ḳurʾānic judgment the justification of the furious campaign they had conducted against ʿUthmān which had ended in the latter's assassination, one group of warriors, mainly of the tribe of Tamīm, vigorously protested against the setting up of a human tribunal above the divine word. Loudly protesting that "judgment belongs to God alone" (*"lā ḥukma illā li-llāhi"*) they left the army, and withdrawing to the village of Ḥarūrāʾ [q. v.], not far from Kūfa they elected as their chief an obscure soldier, ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī (i. 32). These first dissenters took the name *al-Ḥarūriya* or *al-Muḥakkima* (i. e. those who repeat the above phrase; cf. *R. S. O.*, viii. 789, note 1), which is often applied by an extension of meaning to the later Khawāridj also. This little group gradually increased on account of successive defections, especially when the arbitration ended in a verdict quite contrary to what the *Ḳurrāʾ* expected (probably in Ramaḍān or Shawwāl, 37 = Febr.—March, 658); on this occasion a large number of partisans of ʿAlī, including a number of *Ḳurrāʾ* "went out" (*kharadja*) secretly from Kūfa (to which the army had gone during the truce) to join the camp of Ibn Wahb, who in the meantime had gone to the Djūkhā country on the left bank of the Tigris, to a place which commanded the exits of the roads from Fārs and the bridge-head, at which in those days stood the little village of Baghdādh, which later was to become the capital of the empire. The rebel camp lay along the Nahrawān canal. It is to this episode of the exodus from Kūfa that the sect of the Khawāridj owes its name ("those who went out"), more probably than to a general epithet describing them as having gone out of the community of the faithful, as it was later interpreted, probably at quite an early period (cf. the name of the Jewish sect of the Pharisees, which Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii. 283—284, derives from the incident of their separation from the partisans of Judas Maccabeus in 163 B. C., quoting in support of his explanation the name of the Khawāridj). Another name given to those first Khawāridj (which has also been extended to their successors and seems to be the one which they gave themselves) is *al-Shurāt* (plural of *Shārī*), the "vendors" i. e. those who have sold their soul for the cause of God (this idea is found in several contemporary verses).

The extreme fanaticism of the Khawāridj at once manifested itself in a series of extremist proclamations and terrorist actions: they proclaimed the nullity of ʿAlī's claims to the Caliphate but equally condemned ʿUthmān's conduct and disclaimed any intention of avenging his murder; they went farther and began to brand everyone infidel and outside the law who did not accept their point of view and disown ʿAlī as well as ʿUthmān. They then committed many murders, not even sparing women. Little by little the strength of the Khāridjī army grew by the accession of other fanatical and turbulent elements, including a number of non-Arabs, attracted by the principle of equality of races in the faith that the Khawāridj proclaimed. ʿAlī, who had so far tried to avoid dealing with the rebels, in order to avoid a war in his rear so long as he had to face the army of Muʿāwiya, after the rupture of the preliminaries of peace was obliged to take steps to avert the growing danger. He attacked the Khawāridj in their camp and inflicted a terrible defeat on them in which Ibn Wahb and the majority of his followers were slain (battle of Nahrawān, Ṣafar 9, 38 = July 17, 658). But the victory cost ʿAlī dear. Not only was the rebellion not at all suppressed and was prolonged in a series of local risings in 39 and 40, but ʿAlī himself perished by the dagger of the Khāridjī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam al-Murādī (cf. i. 284ᵃ), the husband of a woman whose family had lost most of its members at Nahrawān. The tradition that a conspiracy of Khawāridj had aimed at killing simultaneously ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya and the governor of Egypt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, is almost certainly apocryphal.

It should be noted that the narratives of Arab historians on the origin of the Khāridjī movement are very confused and contradictory, and seem to have lost sight of the real connection between it and the arbitration; on the other hand the nature and date of the latter are quite uncertain. The reconstruction which is given above is that proposed by the writer of this article against the view of Wellhausen (followed by Lammens and Caetani) who thinks that the Khāridjī rebellion and the arbitration are independent of one another and even dates the battle of Nahrawān before the verdict of the arbiters.

II. The Wars of the Khawāridj under the Umaiyads.

The wise and energetic administration of Muʿāwiya succeeding the feeble and vacillating rule of ʿAlī prevented the agitation of the Khāridjīs from breaking out, but it did not succeed in extinguishing it any more than it succeeded in suppressing the feelings and aspirations of the Shīʿa. Our sources mention several risings that broke out in Kūfa and Baṣra during the twenty years of Muʿāwiya's reign (40—60 = 660—680), but they were promptly put down and only served to increase the roll of martyrs, the worship and avenging of whom became one of the features of the Khāridjī movement. It is at Baṣra in particular, under the governors Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son ʿUbaid Allāh, that we find most risings and suppressions of risings. These insurrections, of which the most formidable was that of Mirdās b. Udaiya al-Tamīmī Abū Bilāl [q.v.], settled the tactics of the Khawāridj, whose raids henceforth took the form of guerilla warfare and owed their successes mainly to the rapidity — which soon became legendary — of their cavalry (the names of some of their horses are preserved in Arabic works on hippology). They mobilised unexpectedly, swept through the country, surprised undefended towns and then retired rapidly to escape the pursuit of the government troops. The centres of concentration of the Khawāridj were the marshy country of the Baṭāʾiḥ around Baṣra (cf. AL-BAṬĪḤA) and around Djūkhā, on the left bank of the Tigris, where their movement had originated, from which they could, if defeated, rapidly gain the mountainous lands of the Irānian plateaus.

It was only with the great civil war that broke out after the death of Yazīd I, that in the midst of the general disorder the Khāridjī movement assumed serious dimensions and contributed more than anything else to render pre-

carious the pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair's [q. v.], held on the territory that he had at first been able to subdue. After the fall of Ibn Zubair, it was the Umaiyad governors who had to wage a hard struggle with these indomitable rebels, enemies alike of victors and vanquished. It is at this time that we begin to distinguish among the Khawāridj half political and half theological subdivisions the origin of which is not at all clear, for the tradition which makes them appear at the same time quite suddenly at Baṣra on the death of Yazīd has probably altered the real succession of events. In any case we henceforth find the Khawāridj breaking out throughout the eastern part of the empire (Syria was always free from them and Africa only knew them under the ʿAbbāsids) into serious rebellions at the head of which they placed individuals who have given their names to the *Azāriḳa* or *Azraḳīs* [see AZRAḲITES], the *Abāḍiya* or (better) *Ibāḍiya* [see ABADITES and AL-IBĀḌIYA] and to the *Ṣufriya* [q. v.]. Of all these movements the most dangerous to the unity of the Muslim Empire and the most terrible on account of its ferociously uncompromising character was without doubt that led by Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ [q. v.] which gave the Khawāridj temporary control of Kirmān, Fārs and other eastern provinces, constituted a permanent threat to the security of Baṣra and surrounding country, and which al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra at first, and later al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf only overcame — in 78 or 79 (698 or 699) — after long years of effort which ended in the defeat and death of the last and most remarkable of the Azraḳī leaders, the valiant Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [q. v.]. Less serious and less extensive and prolonged but quite as stubborn as the Azraḳī movement was the insurrection which was called after Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaibānī (76—77 = 696—697), although he did not begin it but was only its most distinguished leader; it began in the high Tigris country between Mārdīn and Niṣībīn and its object was the conquest and devastation of Kūfa. The partisans of Shabīb, who advanced only in little bands of several hundred horsemen, but who often gathered round them large bands of malcontents, sowed terror throughout the ʿIrāḳ, and having several times defeated al-Ḥadjdjādj's troops were only destroyed by the help of an army of picked troops summoned from Syria. Shabīb himself perished, drowned in the Dudjail, while trying to reach the mountains of Kirmān; his successors caused a certain amount of trouble to the governors of Yazīd II and Hishām but never again were a serious danger.

Arabia was another field of Khāridjī activity, where during the government of Ibn al-Zubair between the years 65 (684/685) and 72 (691/692) their leaders Abū Ṭālūt, Nadjda b. ʿĀmir and Abū Fudaik captured in succession Yamāma, Ḥaḍramawt, Yaman and the town of al-Ṭāʾif, and were only restrained by religious scruples from taking the holy cities. They were only destroyed after the intervention of al-Ḥadjdjādj, but they left the seeds of future movements, especially in the eastern part of the peninsula.

Owing mainly to the energy of al-Ḥadjdjādj, Khāridjism seemed definitely quelled. Another factor contributed considerably to its failure, namely the fanaticism and intolerance of the rebels, whose religious disputes ended in splitting their ranks and sometimes resulted in the removal of their ablest leaders on the charge of having on some occasion failed to observe the absolute irreconcilableness of their principles. Another cause of weakness may be recognised in the eternal feud between the Arab element and that of the *Mawālī* which brought fatal consequences along with it, especially among the remnants of the Azraḳīs after the death of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa. But under the last Umaiyads in the midst of the irreparable collapse of the central government, the Khawāridj again raised their heads, and resumed their exploits, this time not in little bands but in large bodies. While the two most serious risings of this period, those of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳais al-Shaibānī [q. v.] in the Djazīra and the ʿIrāḳ and that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, surnamed *Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ*, and of Abū Ḥamza in Arabia (in the course of which Medina itself was occupied), ended in defeat, it is nevertheless true that the anarchy which they provoked destroyed the eastern rampart of Umaiyad power and enabled the ʿAbbāsid insurrection to penetrate more easily to the heart of the empire.

Under the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, the Khāridjī movement may be said to be practically extinct in the ʿIrāḳ and adjoining regions. Except for a few local risings, promptly suppressed, Khāridjism no longer presented any serious danger and only survived as a religious sect, without, however, any remarkable vitality or wide dissemination. In Eastern Arabia, on the other hand, in North Africa and later on the eastern coast of Africa, one of the principal branches of the Khawāridj, that of the Ibāḍiya (Abāḍiya), played an important part in politics, and even after this role was ended it continued to be of importance from the religious point of view. It survives in our day with its dogmas, its rites and its special laws (cf. IBADITES and AL-IBĀḌIYA).

III. The political and religious theories of the Khawāridj.

The Khawāridj, who, as we have seen, never had any true unity of military and political action, did not have either a uniform body of doctrines. Their teachings seem to us like the particular views of a number of independent sub-sects (the collections of *milal* number not less than a score including principal and subsidiary together), some of which represent theological schools as well as political movements of a collectivist character, while others confine themselves to expressing differences of individual opinions among the theorists of the sect. One article is common to all: it is that which treats of the question of the Caliphate, a question which has been the starting point of all the religious divisions in Islām. On this question the Khawāridj are opposed equally to the legitimism of the Shīʿa and the quietism of the Murdjiʾa. On the one hand they assert what Wellhausen aptly calls their "non-conformity" i. e. the obligation on believers to proclaim illegitimate and ipso facto deposed the *imām*, who has gone off the right path (this is how they justify their abandonment of ʿAlī after his acceptance of the arbitration); on the other hand they declare every believer who is morally and religiously irreproachable to be capable of being raised by the vote of the community to the supreme dignity of the imāmate "even if he were a black slave". The result is that each of their leaders has been re-

cognised by them as *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* although none of them had, among other things, the qualification of Ḳuraishī birth. Consequently the only other caliphs besides their own that they recognise as legitimate are Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (the latter is particularly venerated by them); ʿUthmān only during the first six years of his reign and ʿAlī till the battle of Ṣiffīn.

Another capital article of Khāridjī heterodoxy is the absolute rejection of the doctrine of justification by faith without works. They push their moral strictness to the point of refusing the title of believer to anyone who has committed a mortal sin and regarding him as a *murtadd* (apostate); and their extreme wing, represented by the Azraḳīs, says that he who has become an infidel in this way can never re-enter the faith and should be killed for his apostasy along with his wives and children. Of course all non-Khāridjī Muslims are regarded as apostates. Here we have the principle of *istiʿrāḍ* (religious murder) which we find applied from the beginning of the Khāridjī movement, even before it had been formulated in theory, and which found its completest application during the war of the Azraḳīs. This ferocious principle forms a strange but not illogical contrast with the spirit of tolerance shown by the Khawāridj to non-Muslims and which in some of their schools goes so far as to recognise as equal to Muslims in every way those Jews or Christians who will pronounce the *shahāda* with the modification: "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God to the Arabs and not to us." The tendency to the levelling of the Arabs and the *Mawālī* (which was already a result of their attitude to the problem of the imāmate) was pushed so far by one of the theorists of Khāridjī doctrine, Yazīd b. Abī Anīsa (founder of the *Yazīdiya*), that he says that God will reveal a new Ḳurʾān to a prophet among the Persians and that he will found a new religion for them, divine in the same sense as Judaism, Christianity and Islām, which will be no other than that of the Ṣābiʾūn mentioned in the Ḳurʾān.

The same Puritanism which characterises Khāridjism in its conception of the state and of faith is found in its ethical principles: it demands purity of conscience as an indispensable complement to bodily purity for the validity of acts of worship; one of their sects goes so far as to remove Sūra xii. from the Ḳurʾān (*Sūra Yūsuf*) because its contents are worldly and frivolous and make it unworthy to be the Word of God. If, on the other hand, they seem to be less strict than the orthodox in the punishment they inflict on adulterers, for whom they do not allow stoning, this is due simply to the fact that they do not recognise the authenticity of the famous verses added by ʿUmar to the primitive text of the Ḳurʾān (cf. Nöldeke—Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, i. 248—252).

Outside of general principles and a few particular cases, the law and dogmatics of the Khawāridj are not known to us in their totality except for the Ibāḍiya, whose survival to the present day has preserved in its integrity their religious tradition. The Ibāḍiya represents (as does the Ṣufriya on the other side) a comparatively moderate school and their present views, in dogma as well as law, have been to some degree influenced by other Muslim schools. Attention has recently been drawn (C. A. Nallino, *R. S. O.*, vii. 455—460) to the very close connection between the dogmatics of the Ibāḍiya and of the Muʿtazila. It may also be supposed that it was the latter which, in certain points at least, received a stimulus from Khāridjism. What seems beyond doubt is that, as Wellhausen points out, Khāridjism played a very important part in the development of Muslim theology either directly or by the impetus which it gave to reflection on the problems of the faith.

Although Khāridjism seems to us an essentially popular movement in its origins, we must be careful not to think of it as devoid of intellectualism. On the contrary, the very radicalism of its theories must have exercised an attraction on many cultivated minds, much as similar doctrines have done in other times and countries. It is particularly at the time of the early ʿAbbāsids, under the influence of and at the same time in opposition to the refined and sceptic culture of the period, that we find many scholars and men of letters who were thought to cherish Khāridjī views, without this preventing their frequenting high society and enjoying the favour of the court. The best known of these Khawāridj *sub rosa* was the famous philosopher Abū ʿUbaida Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (q.v.), regarding whose fanaticism, in conversation at least, a rather piquant anecdote is recorded by Ibn Khallikān (i. 107 of the 1310 edition; the poetic quotation should be corrected from the *Amālī* of al-Murtaḍā, iii. 88—89). Poetry and eloquence were also cultivated among the Khawāridj, which is explained by the fact that the majority of their leaders, especially in the early days, belonged to the Beduin element in the military camps of Kūfa and Baṣra. Collections were compiled of the *khuṭab* pronounced by the Khāridjī leaders, and what survives of them, besides giving an excellent idea of their views, gives us a fairly high opinion of their oratorical talent. We also possess numerous fragments of their poetry (which had also been collected in particular *dīwāns*), especially of those of ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [q. v.] (who is at the same time considered one of the founders of the Khāridjī fiḳh). A long list of Khāridjī orators, poets and jurists was prepared by Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1313 A. H. edition, i. 131—133, ii. 126—127.

The wars of the Khāridjīs had been recorded from the beginning of Arabic historiography in several works which have not come down to us in their entirety; we know, however, the substance of the more important among them, the authors of which were Abū Mikhnaf, Abū ʿUbaida and al-Madāʾinī from the extracts which have been preserved in the historical sources given below.

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to the Khawāridj, taken from the collections of Hadīth, etc.); do., *Chronographia Islamica*, i.; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*. I. *Die Chawârig* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, New Series, 1901, v. 2; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Mo'âwia Ier* (reprint from the *M. F. O. B.*), p. 125—140; G. Levi Della Vida, *R. S. O.*, 1913, vi. 474—488.

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Section III: M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op al-Ash'arī*, Leiden 1875; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, Index.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

KHWĀRIZM or KHIWA, a country on the lower course of the Āmū-Daryā [q. v.]. Being a fertile delta area, Khwārizm must from the earliest times have been of importance for the development of civilisation in Central Asia; in spite of the objections made by Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, lvi. 434 *sq.*), J. Marquart's view (*Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 155) that "the much contested Airyanem-waēdjō, the home of the Awestā, is identical with Khwārizm", has much in its favour. According to Herodotos (iii. 117), the valley of the river Akes, which was of international importance, before Persian rule belonged to the Khwārizmīs, from which it may be deduced that the ancient Khwārizm was even then of some importance in the history of Central Asia. According to Hekataios (Fragm. 172 and 173), the land of the "Chorasmians" lay east of Parthia; the capital is called Chorasmia (Χορασμίη). According to Herodotos (vii. 66), Parthians and Chorasmians formed one division in the army of Xerxes under a common leader. Whether, as Herodotos (iii. 93) says, Chorasmia was combined to form one satrapy not only with Parthia but also with Sogdiana and Aria, is more than doubtful.

In the time of Alexander the Great the Khwārizmīs were no longer subjects of the Persians but had a king of their own; how and when the Persian yoke was cast off is not known. According to Arrian (iv. 15, 4—5), Alexander received in Bactria in the spring of 328 a visit from the Chorasmian king Pharasmanes, who appeared with a train of 1500 horsemen. The latter is said to have claimed that his territory stretched to the west as far as Colchis on the Black Sea. Curtius (viii. 1, 8) only mentions an embassy from the Chorasmian king, whom he calls Phrataphernes.

Nothing is known of the later political history of Khwārizm down to the eighth century A. D., and the geographical situation is equally uncertain. According to Ptolemy, the Chorasmians lived on the east bank of the Oxus, which corresponds to the situation of the later capital Kāth [q. v.] or Kāt (the modern ruins of Shaikh 'Abbās Walī); on the other hand the oldest Chinese name (given in the "Annals of the Earlier Han") for Khwārizm, Yue-Kien, suggests the town of Gurgāndj (now Kunya-Urgenč). According to the native tradition given by al-Bīrūnī (*Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 35), Fīr or Fīl, the citadel of Kāth, was not built till 616 of the Seleucid era (304 A. D.). The statements of al-Bīrūnī and the later notices lead to the conclusion that the later Muhammadan idea (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 267) of an ancient Khwārizm on the Balkhān near the Caspian Sea is not in keeping with the facts.

What al-Bīrūnī tells us about the beginnings of civilisation in Khwārizm 980 years before the Seleucid era (1292 B.C.), of the coming of Siyāwush and the founding of the rule of his son Kai-Khusraw 92 years later (i. e. 1200) and regarding the descent of the local dynasty from this hero of the national epic is, of course, quite legendary. His statements regarding the genealogy of this dynasty cover the period from 304 to 995 A. D. We are told what princes ruled in the time of Muḥammad's mission, and which was installed by Kutaiba b. Muslim after the conquest of the land about 93 (712). The son of this ruler is called Shāwushfar. In the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty (T'ang-shu) an embassy sent to China in 751 by Shao-she-fen, the king of Khwārizm, is mentioned (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 145); this agreement confirms the reliability of al-Bīrūnī's account; very improbable on the other hand is what he tells us (*op. cit.*, p. 36, 9 and p. 48, 13) of the massacre of scholars and priests and the burning of books. His references to the calendar and the festivals of the Khwārizmīs show that in Khwārizm down to the viiith and among the Zoroastrians to the xith century A. D. a very ancient Īrānian culture had survived. These Zoroastrians were at that time (i. e. in 1000 A. D., when the *Chronology* was written) no longer zealous adherents of their faith, and had only some knowledge of the external rites of their religion. Besides Zoroastrians there were also Christians in Khwārizm; the latter belonged not to the Nestorian Church like most Christians in Persia and Central Asia, but were Greek Orthodox (Melkites; cf. al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 288, 15). Adherents of other religions, e. g. Jews, are not mentioned, although Khwārizm appears in the well known "list of cities" (on which see *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 118, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 7) as a foundation of prince Narses, son of Yazdegerd I (399—420) and his Jewish wife. Whether, as K. Inostrancev (*Žurn. Min. Narodn. Prosvešč.*, 1911, № 2, p. 293 *sq.*) assumes, the *Aḥbār* mentioned by al-Ṭabarī (iii. 1237, 17) were Jews is, to say the least, doubtful (cf. the expression *Aḥbār al-Naṣārā* in al-Ṭabarī, i. 840, 14). An idea of the Īrānian dialect spoken in Khwārizm may be gathered from the expressions relating to the calendar, names of festivals, etc., given by al-Bīrūnī; a few words are quoted in other sources, like *ghōw khwāra*, meaning "cattle-food" in al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 301; *pewand* meaning "bread" in Yāḳūt, ii. 488, 15, from Ibn Faḍlān. Khwārizmī is described by the Arabs as a particularly unintelligible language for the inhabitants of other countries (al-Iṣṭakhrī, p. 304 below; al-Muḳaddasī, 335, 7). In the vth (xith) century written documents in this language still existed (al-Baihaḳī, ed. Morley, p. 842).

In the history of the conquest, mention is made, in addition to the strongly fortified capital (like al-Bīrūnī, al-Ṭabarī also mentions three fortresses) of the town of Hazāsp and of Khūmdjird not mentioned again later, where a brother of the king ruled. After the conquest, according to al-Bīrūnī, only the regal title (*shāhiya*) remained in hereditary possession of the native princes; the real power (*wilāya*) was sometimes in their hands and sometimes in the hands of others. In 110 (728) mention is made of a rising of the people of Kurdar (near the Sea of Aral) (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1525). In Gurgāndj (Arabic Djurdjāniya) arose a separate kingdom independent of the Khwārizmshāh; nothing is known of the genealogy of these chiefs and the origin of their rule. The statement of Ibn Faḍlān, misunderstood by Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld ii, 484, 15) only shows that Gurgāndj no longer belonged to Khwārizm by 922. In 385 (995) the ruler of Gurgāndj, Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, succeeded in overthrowing the old dynasty, placing its lands under his rule and thereby restoring the political unity of Khwārizm. The title Khwārizmshāh passed to the ruler of Gurgāndj.

Ma'mūn died in 387 (997); he was succeeded in turn by his two sons, 'Alī and Ma'mūn II; an Arabic inscription of the latter has been found in the ruins of Gurgāndj (recording the erection of a minaret) of the year 401 (1010/11) (published by N. Katanow, *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, xiv. 015 *sqq.*). The rebellion of this king's army when he had Sulṭān Maḥmūd's name introduced into the *khuṭba* on the latter's demand, his assassination and the resultant conquest of Khwārizm by Maḥmūd in Ṣafar, 408 (July, 1017), are fully dealt with by al-Baihaḳī (ed. Morley, p. 838 *sqq.*) following a lost work of al-Bīrūnī (cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* ii. 280 *sqq.*). Rule over Khwārizm, with the title of Khwārizmshāh, passed to Altūntāsh, who was appointed by Maḥmūd; on him and his sons to the fall of this dynasty in 432 (1041) see the article ALTŪNTĀSH. The victor, Shāh Malik, ruler of Djand, was overthrown two years later by the Seldjūk prince (this is the right pronunciation in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, i. 397; the Arabic spelling Saldjūḳ does not correspond to the Turkish pronunciation) Čaghrī Beg [q. v.]. Khwārizm remained under the sovereignty of the Seldjūḳ dynasty till the death of Sulṭān Sandjar (q. v.) in 552 (1157) with a few interruptions during the reign of this.

A new dynasty was founded in Khwārizm in the last years of the xith century A. D. by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad [q. v.] to whom the administration of the country had been entrusted, first by the governor of Khurāsān and later by Sulṭān Sandjar. On his son Atsiz, the founder of the power of his house, see the article. Atsiz remained till his death, in name at least, the vassal of Sulṭān Sandjar and had also to pay tribute to the Ḳarā-Khiṭāi [q. v.]. Under the next rulers Il-Arslān (1156—1172), Tekesh (1172–1200) and Muḥammad (1200–1220) Khwārizm gradually attained the position of a great power. The last ruler of Persia of the Seldjūḳ line, Toghrul, fell in battle against Tekesh in 590 (1194). Henceforth the Khwārizmshāh could regard himself as the successor of the Seldjūḳ Sulṭāns in their dominion over Western Asia, and even assert such claims against the caliph himself. The yoke of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāi was only finally cast off by Muḥammad's victory over the last Gūrkhān in 607 (1210). Muḥammad's empire stretched from the right bank of the Sīr-Daryā to the mountain passes between Īrān and the Tigris valley; in the south his suzerainty was acknowledged even in the Arabian peninsula (in 'Umān). The capital of Khwārizm was in those days one of the most splendid cities of the east. The country was probably already turkicised by then; we find geographical place names in Turkish mentioned, e. g. the Sū-Ḳarā canal (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 122) or Ḳarā-Sū (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, transl. by Raverty, p. 474).

The rise of Khwārizm, for the first and last time in the history of the country, to the position of a first-class power is probably connected with the development of its wide trading connections, already mentioned as early as al-Iṣṭakhrī (*B. G. A.*, p. 304 *sq.*). Muḥammad's attempt to utilise these commercial connections for his political advantage led to a war between him and Čingiz Khān (q. v.) and the fall of his empire. Gurgāndj, abandoned by all the members of the dynasty, fell in Ṣafar, 618 (April, 1221), after a stubborn defence; the whole population is said to have been massacred or drowned in the waters of the Āmū-Daryā.

After this, Khwārizm belonged for over 140 years to the kingdom of the Golden Horde, only the southern parts with Kāth and Khiwa belonged to the Čaghatāi empire (q. v.). Gurgāndj, called Urgenč by the Mongols and Turks, was rebuilt on another site a very few years after the conquest (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 323), and is described in 1333 by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 1 *sqq.*, and in 1340 by Balducci Pegolotti (in H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ii. 279 *sqq.*) as a populous and splendid commercial town; it was probably the most important emporium on the land route from Eastern Europe to Eastern Asia. Arts and learning flourished in keeping with its economic prosperity; in this respect Khwārizm was "the rendezvous of the most distinguished men in the world" (*madjma' a'yān-i djihān*, in 'Abd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, MS. of the University of St. Petersburg, Nº. 157, fol. 73ª). The teaching of the Mu'tazilīs brought to Khwārizm in the vth (xith) century (cf. I. Goldziher in *Islam*, iii. 220 *sqq.*) had numerous adherents there as late as the second half of the viiith (xivth) century, when there had long been no *Mu'tazila* left in Western Asia. (On the *Mu'tazila* in Khwārizm cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 8, and Ibn 'Arab-shāh, Cairo 1285, p. 18; there also on the excellence of the musicians of Khwārizm). The buildings of this century surviving in the ruins of Old Urgenč are among the finest in Central Asia, notably the tomb of Turā Beg Khānim (mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 4, 5, 14), wife of the governor Ḳutlu Damur. The Aḳ Sarāi in Kāsh at a later date was built for Tīmūr by Khwārizmī craftsmen (*ustādān-i Khwārizmī*; see *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, f. 73^b).

Shortly after 1360 there arose in Khwārizm an independent dynasty known as Ṣūfī of the family of the Ḳungrat. These rulers struck small anonymous gold coins bearing only the inscription *al-mulk lillāhi*. The earliest of these coins are of the year 765 (1363/4), the latest of the Khāns of the Golden Horde of 762 (1360/1). The founder of the line, Ḥusain Ṣūfī, took Kāth and Khiwa from the Čaghatāi, whereupon Tīmūr declared war on him; only after several campaigns did Tīmūr

succeed in 1379 in conquering Khwārizm. During the wars between Tīmūr and Tokhtamish the Khwārizmis were allied with the latter; coins were struck in Khwārizm as early as 785 (1383/4) with the name of this Khān. In 1388 Khwārizm, where Tokhtamish had left a prince of his own house and a representative of the native dynasty, Sulaimān Ṣūfī, was reconquered by Tīmūr. The capital Urgenč (frequently, like Kāth before it, called Khwārizm after the country), was sacked and levelled to the ground, and barley sown on its site. Khwārizm never recovered from the blow. In 1391 Tīmūr had a part of the town in the "Kiāt's quarter" (this quarter was considered the property of the Caghatāi Khāns) rebuilt but the town remained limited to this quarter.

In the ixth (xvth) century Khwārizm was sometimes in the possession of the Khāns of the Golden Horde and sometimes under Tīmūrids. A member of the native dynasty, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Ṣūfī, is mentioned in 868 (1464) as a vassal of Khān Muṣṭafā. The town of Wazīr was founded by this Khān below Urgenč, but Khwārizm seems at this time to have lost any importance in the social and economic life of Central Asia. Under the Tīmūrid Sulṭān Ḥusain, Čīn Ṣūfī is mentioned as governor of Khwārizm; in 911 (1505) the country passed to Shaibānī, the founder of the Özbeg kingdom in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr (cf. the art. BUKHĀRĀ).

In the year 916 (1510) after Shaibānī had fallen in the battle of Marw, Khwārizm became united to Persia for a short time; soon afterwards the Persian governor was driven out by Sharīf Ṣūfī, but the latter could not hold out against the Özbeg conqueror. A separate branch of the line of Djūčī, only remotely connected with the conquerors of Bukhārā and Samarkand, now established themselves in Khwārizm (according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, St. Petersburg 1871/74, text p. 197, as early as the year of the Sheep = 1511; the year of the Hidjra as given there is certainly wrong). The rule of this dynasty lasted till 1106 (1694/5). Only two rulers of Bukhārā, ʿUbaid Allāh b. Maḥmūd in 1538 and ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.] in 1593 and 1595/98, above, succeeded in incorporating Khwārizm in their kingdom for short periods. Civilisation among the Özbegs in those days was in Khwārizm at an incomparably lower level than in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr. It is a significant fact that the Khān Abu 'l-Ghāzī (1645/63) had to write the history of the land himself as none of his subjects had the necessary education to do so (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, text, p. 2). Even the holders of the most important civilian offices in the state, the vizier (later called *Mihter*) and the *Kush-begi*, were only allowed to attend ceremonial gatherings standing, while the military leaders and shaikhs had definite seats allotted to them (*ūrūn*). This ancient home of civilisation had become a brigand state; as a result the caravan road through Central Asia lost almost all importance, as may be judged from the report of the only west European to visit Khwārizm at the time, the Englishman Anthony Jenkinson (1558). The name of the country had previously been transferred to the capital (first to Kāth, then to Urgenč); now the country is usually called after the capital, first Urgenč, later Khīwa.

Khīwa (Khiva) (older form Khīwak; the pronunciation Khīwa mentioned by Yāḳūt is also in keeping with the spelling of the geographers of the ivth [xth century]), was probably, like Kāth, a pre-Muhammadan settlement. In Yāḳūt's time the people of Khīwa were Shāfiʿīs, while the Khwārizmis as a rule were elsewhere Ḥanafīs. Pahlawān-Atā Maḥmūd (d. 722 = 1322) whose tomb is mentioned by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (text, p. 260) is still regarded as the local saint of Khīwa. Khīwa first appears as capital in the second half of the reign of ʿArab Muḥammad (1603—1623); when the left arm of the river dried up (cf. above, i. 342b), Urgenč must have become gradually deserted; in 1645 a new Urgenč arose about 20 miles N.E. of Khīwa; the inhabitants of the old commercial city were settled there, and their descendants made the new Urgenč the most important centre of trade in Khīwa. A new Wazīr arose at a later date farther down the river, also on the left bank. The ancient capital Kāth on the right bank had also to be abandoned on account of the drying up of the channel that affected it. The Khān Anūsha (1663—1687) had the modern Kāth or Kāt rebuilt on the left bank of the river about 20 miles below New-Urgenč. In the year 1092 (1687) the Shāhābād canal was made by order of the same Khān, one of the most important canals of modern Khīwa (after of the conquest Meshhed the Khān had taken the title Shāh). In the xiith (xviiith) century the principality of the Khān of Khīwa is frequently called Besh-Kalʿa ("five fortresses"); the names of the towns which make up the five are differently given. The "island" (Turk. *Arāl*, i. e. the delta area proper of the Sea of Aral, which takes its name from them; cf. i., 420) is also separated politically from Khīwa.

After the extinction of the dynasty the Inaḳ (i.e. the senior of the tribe and military chief) of the Ḳungrat tribe was generally the real ruler. The throne was occupied by descendants of Čingiz Khān, summoned from the steppes; their rule was only nominal and with a few exceptions they were soon sent back home again and replaced by another prince; ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schefer, Paris 1876, text p. 79) calls this custom "playing at khāns" (*khānbāzī*). Peter the Great's attempt to subject Khīwa to his rule had no success. Nādir Shāh conquered Khīwa in 1740 but the Khān whom he installed there could not hold his throne. From the same period we have several descriptions of Khīwa also by Western Europeans (G. Thompson among others in Hanway, *An Account of the British Trade on the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, i. 240), and Russians (Gladishew and Murawin, *Geograf. Izw'yestiya* (1849 and 1850). In 1740 the military officer Nazimov made a plan of the town of Khīwa (*Geogr. Izw.*, 1849, to p. 200). In 1842 T. Fr. Basiner surveyed the modern town (*Naturwissenschaftliche Reise durch die Kirgisensteppe nach Chiwa* = *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des russ. Reiches*, vol. xv., St. Petersburg 1848, p. 120); the difference between these plans is very considerable and suggests that the town had a very different appearance about 1842 from what it had a century earlier, and perhaps was not even on the same site. This is connected by Sawelyew (*Geograf. Izw.*, 1849, p. 167 *sq.*) with the alleged destruction of Khīwa by Nādir Shāh; but it can be proved that the town was on the same site as before in the years immediately following 1740. In 1747 a medrese of ʿArab Muḥammad Khān is mentioned. On the other hand Khīwa was almost completely destroyed shortly before 1770 by the continual raids of the

Turkomans (of the Yomut tribe); only 40 — according to another account, 15 — families are said to have been left (MS. of the Asiatic Museum, 590 ob, f. 55b). In 1770 the Inak Muḥammad Amīn succeeded in conquering the Turkomans and restoring the prosperity of the town and country. The destruction of the old and the foundation of the new Khiwa ought probably to be connected with this event.

In 1804 the Inak Iltüzer, the grandson of Muḥammad Amīn, assumed the title of Khān. When he fell in 1806 in the war against Bukhārā, his brother and successor Muḥammad Raḥīm (1806—1825) again placed a Čingizid on the throne for a short time, but in the very same year took the title of Khān for himself. By the subjection of the Aral country in 1811, the political unity of Khwārizm was restored and was only broken for a brief period again by rebellions. In 1822 the Turkomans in Marw rebelled against Bukhārā and submitted to the Khān of Khiwa. Under Muḥammad Raḥīm's son Allāh Ḳulī (1825—42) the principality of Khiwa attained its greatest extent. It stretched from the mouth of the Sīr Daryā in the Sea of Aral (about 46° N. Lat.) to Ḳal'a-i Mawr on the Kushk (35° 30'). The ancient Urgenč was restored in the same reign. The Russian campaign against Khiwa in 1839—40 was unsuccessful, but the Khān had soon afterwards to fulfil all the demands of the Russian government, although Khiwa at this time entered into negotiations with England. In the official history of Khiwa the English appear as a "section of the Russian people whose land lies north of the Russian Empire" (MS. of the Asiatic Museum, 590 ob, f. 369b). During the following years Khiwa had to fight against Bukhārā (to 1845) and against the Turkomans. The Khān Muḥammad Amīn (Madamin, 1846—55) fell fighting against the latter in 1855, as did his successor 'Abd Allāh in the same year. To the time of Muḥammad Amīn belongs the most important building in modern Khiwa, the blue minaret over 160 feet high (picture in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. B. 1900, p. 205). Saiyid Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān's reign (1864—1910) saw the conquest of Khiwa by the Russians (1873) provoked by the intrigues of the government of the Khān. Only a portion of his former possessions (west of the Āmū-Daryā) was left to the Khān, and even in these he was to consider himself the "obedient servant of the Emperor of all the Russians." The Khān of Khiwa was later given the title of "Highness" but his position was never equal to that of the Emir of Bukhārā (cf. above, i. 783a). Saiyid Muḥammad Raḥīm and his successor Khān Asfandiyār (1910—1918) several times appealed for help to the Russians against the Turkomans. During the negotiations between Russia and the Turkomans of Marw, Khiwa made an attempt to act as intermediary (1881—83) in the hope that Marw would not be united to Russia direct but handed over to the Khān of Khiwa as a vassal of Russia. During the fighting of the Revolution period, Khiwa has again been ravaged several times by the Turkomans. After the deposition and assassination of the Khān Asfandiyār by the Turkoman Djunaid Khān, Saiyid 'Abd Allāh (1918—1920) was chosen ruler; after the deposition of this Khān and the banishment of Djunaid, a "Republic of Khwārizm" was founded, only nominally allied to Russia.

Khiwa in the sixth as in the xvith or xviith centuries was again a nest of robbers, but nevertheless, in contrast to those earlier centuries, more was done than in Bukhārā for the promotion of culture and social progress. The development of the country was facilitated by the building of great canals; there were more bridges on the main roads than elsewhere in Turkestan. Khān Saiyid Muḥammad Raḥīm founded a splendid library and made it also accessible to Russian students. The history of the country which was compiled for the government before the Russian conquest surpasses in fullness and reliability anything written in Bukhārā or Khoḳand. Little has yet been done by the Russians for the exploration of the country, its history and its present conditions, although many features have survived there which may be looked for in vain elsewhere in Turkestan. In place of the villages in a street usual in Turkestan, the landowner's house stands in the middle of his piece of ground as was usual among the original inhabitants of Turkestan, the Tādjik. The driver (*arbakesh*) sits in the vehicle itself as in Kāshghar and not on the horse as in Tāshkent, Khoḳand, etc. The canals are given in the Turkish dialect of Khiwa as among the Turkomans the obviously Aryan names *arna* and *yap* ("great and little canal"); the buildings surviving among the ruins of old Urgenč are among the oldest and most beautiful in Turkestan and have not yet been fully described.

Bibliography: E. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārizm*, i., ii., Vienna 1873 (*S. B. Ak. Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. lxxiii. *sq.*); P. Lerch, *Khiwa oder Kharezm*, St. Petersburg 1873 (from "Russian Review," vol. ii.); N. Weselowskiy, *Očerk istoriko-geografičeskikh swyedyeniy o Khiwinskom Khanstwe*, St. Petersburg 1877; M. J. de Goeje, *Das alte Bett des Oxus*, Leiden 1875; A. Kuhn, in *Materiali dlja statistiki Turkestanskago kraya*, vlp. 4, St. Petersburg 1878 (contains a description of the ruins of Kāth, p. 251 *sqq.*, and of old Urgenč, p. 215 *sqq.*); K. A. Inostrancew, *O domusul'manskoi kul'ture Khiwinskago oazisa* (*Žurn. Minist. Nar. Prosv.*, 1911, Febr., p. 284 *sqq.*; A. Vinogradova, *Khorezmskaya Sowyetskaya Narodnaya Respublika* (*Žizn Nacionalnostei*, 1923, No. 1, p. 181 *sqq.*); W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, vol. ii., St. Petersburg 1900, esp. p. 141 *sqq.*, 280 *sqq.*, 345 *sqq.*; do., *Nachrichten über den Aral-See und den unteren Lauf des Amu-darja*, transl. by H. von Foth (Leipzig 1910; in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde*, ed. by Dr. R. Stübe, vol. ii.); do., *K istorii oroshenya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914; do., *Svyedyeniya pered Khiwinskim pokhodom 1873 goda po rasskazu Khiwinskago istorika*, in *Kaufmanskiy Sbornik*, Moscow 1910, p. 1 *sqq.* On the histories mentioned there (especially following the MSS. of the Asiatic Museum, 590 ob and 590 od) composed by order of Iltüzer and his successors cf. also *Mélanges Asiatiques*, x. 278, where also the titles are given. The first work, *Firdaws al-Iḳbāl*, was begun by Shīr Muḥammad, called Mu'nis, by order of Iltüzer and interrupted by the death of the Khān in 1806, when the author had not yet come down to Nādir Shāh; the work was afterwards being continued by order of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān down to 1812; the author was then ordered to translate the *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* of

Mīrkhwānd into Turkish and died in 1244 (1828/9) before the completion of this work. The history of Khīwa was not resumed till 1255 (1839/40) by order of Allāh Ḳulī by the nephew of Mu'nis, Muḥammad Riḍā, called Āgahī; the history of the country was afterwards brought down to 1872 by this same Āgahī under different titles (each reign being dealt with in a separate work).

(W. Barthold)

al-KHWĀRIZMĪ, Muḥammad b. Mūsā; in al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, iii. 1363) al-Khwārizmī is still called al-Madjūsī (the descendant of a magian) and al-Ḳuṭrubullī (living in or coming from Ḳuṭrubull, a district west of the Tigris near Baghdād).

The accounts of his life are very scanty and unreliable in as much as we do not know in many cases whether the references are to him or to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir (cf. H. Suter, *Nachträge zu "Die Mathematiker"* etc., in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, 1902, xiv., note 19, p. 158). We do not know the year of his birth and the date of his death is uncertain. According to H. Suter, he died between 220 (835) and 230 (844); according to C. A. Nallino, after 232 (846/847). He flourished in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, was one of his astronomers and probably took part in the measuring of the degree in his reign. He used to retire into al-Ma'mūn's library to study. According to al-Ṭabarī (*op. cit.*), al-Khwārizmī was one of the astrologers whom al-Wāthiḳ sent for in his last illness to foretell the result of it. They promised him a long life but he died soon afterwards. Al-Khwārizmī's labours were devoted to mathematics, geography, astronomy and history. He wrote a *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh* which is given as a source by al-Mas'ūdī and al-Ṭabarī probably took from it a passage about an event in the reign of al-Ma'mūn in 210 (825/826) (see C. A. Nallino, *al-Ḫuwârizmî* etc., p. 12). His works, which are in part important and original, reveal in al-Khwārizmī a personality of strong scientific genius.

The writings of al-Khwārizmī were composed before the period of great activity in translating from the Greek, although al-Ḥadjdjādj was his contemporary for part of his life. In his achievements in algebra therefore al-Khwārizmī is particularly dependent on the work of the Hindus, Persians and the school of Gundīsābūr. Greek sources were secondary for him. It was probably rather different with astronomy and geography. A list of the writings of al-Khwārizmī is found in the *Fihrist* of Ya'ḳūb al-Nadīm (p. 275) and in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (p. 286). In the *Fihrist* Sanad b. 'Alī comes immediately after al-Khwārizmī. Karpinski (*op. cit.*) believes, probably rightly, that the works entitled *al-Ḥisāb al-Hindī*, *al-Djam' wa 'l-Tafrīḳ* and *al-Djabr wa 'l-Muḳābala* attributed to Sanad are really by al-Khwārizmī.

His most important mathematical work is the so-called Algebra, *Ḥisāb al-Djabr wa 'l-Muḳābala* (according to J. Ruska "Processes of Calculation for Integration and Equation"). Here we have not an algebra in our sense but an introduction to applied arithmetic based on numerous examples worked out. At the same time the book contains very varied matter: *a.* processes of integration and equation, the simplest forms of equations; *b.* surveying and mensuration; *c.* testamentary regulations for division of inheritances. The book was translated into Latin by G. of Cremona, R. of Chester and others (see *Bibliography* under Rosen and Karpinski). Through misunderstandings and corruption of the name al-Khwārizmī arose the words which ended in our "algorism", which means any recurring method of calculation that has become a rule.

There are references to Arabic commentaries by Sinān b. Fatḥ (Suter, N⁰. 149), 'Abd Allāh b. al-Saidanānī (Suter, N⁰. 152), Abu 'l-Wafā' (Suter, N⁰. 167). Rosen further mentions (*op. cit.*, p. xiv.) a certain al-Muzaihafī. — The influence of our work was very considerable; it is later mentioned as such by Abū Kāmil Shudjā' b. Aslam (Suter, N⁰. 81) and the examples used by him, such as $x^2 + 10x = 39$, continually recur, e. g. in Abū Kāmil, al-Karkhī, 'Umar al-Khaiyāmī, and of Christian writers we find Leonardo of Pisa, for example, influenced by al-Khwārizmī.

There also survives, but only in a Latin translation, an arithmetical work by al-Khwārizmī, *Algoritmi de Numero Indorum* (ed. by Bald. Boncompagni in *Trattati d'aritmetica pubbl. da B. B. Roma*, 1857, N⁰. 1). J. Ruska has shown that it corresponds to the *Kitāb al-Djam' wa 'l-Tafrīḳ* (perhaps we should add *bi-Ḥisāb al-Hind*, i. e. "the Book on Addition and Subtraction after the Indian Fashion", or "with Indian Numerals"; cf. J. Ruska, *op. cit.*, p. 18).

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī had translated the *Siddhānta* into Arabic. It was called "the great *Sindhind*" (on which was the *Siddhānta* in question cf. H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln* etc., p. 32). Al-Khwārizmī prepared two editions of this *Sindhind*; perhaps also earlier a synopsis of it. The book of tables that resulted he called, as Ibn Yūnus tells us, *Fī Zīdj* (see C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī Opus*, i. 157). Like all *Zīdj*-books it contains not only tables (*djadwal*) but also an astronomical introduction of some length, a kind of theoretical astronomy.

This excellent book of tables was edited and republished by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī, as Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a (ii. 39) mentions. This version may be the basis of the Latin translations. In the book we have trigonometrical tables in which the word *gaib* = *djaib* is always used for "sine", while it only occurs occasionally in the later Thābit b. Ḳurra (cf. H. Burger and C. Kohl, *Axel Björnbo, Thabits Werk über den Transversalensatz*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch. und Medizin*, 1924, vii. 5). It is therefore possible that the word was introduced into al-Khwārizmī by Maslama (cf. C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī Opus*, i. 154). — Al-Khwārizmī probably dealt with the appearance of the new moon in another work (cf. C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, i. 269). Yāḳūt mentions (*Mu'djam*, i. 161, 10) Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī as *Ṣāḥib al-Zīdj* ("author of the book of tables") à propos of a statement regarding the size of the earth; but no such statement is given in the *Zīdj*.

Al-Khwārizmī composed two books on the astrolabe: *Kitāb al-'Amal bi 'l-Asṭurlāb* ("On the Manner of Using the Astrolabe") and *Kitāb 'Amal al-Asṭurlāb* ("On the Art of Making the Astrolabe"). Neither has survived either in Arabic or Latin. In al-Farghānī's book *Fī Ṣan'at al-Asṭurlāb bi 'l-Handasa* ("Making of the Astrolabe with the Help of Geometry"), Berlin MS., Catalogue, N⁰. 5790) many astronomical problems are solved with the help of the astrolabe; the section begins with the words: "Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī says . . ." (cf. J. Frank, *Die Verwendung des Astrolabs nach al-Khwārizmī*, in *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der Natur-*

wiss. und Medizin, 1922, iii. 1—32; see also C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. xlix.).

We know nothing about his book on sundials (*al-Rukhāma*) except that he wrote one.

Al-Khᵂārizmī also dealt with astrological questions from the practical side; for example, according to a story of Abū Maʿshar, he investigated how far the conjunction at the time of Muḥammad's birth indicated his future as a prophet (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, Lib. vii., Ch. iv. (text), p. 153 *sq.*; transl. p. 123).

Al-Khᵂārizmī further prepared an atlas of maps of the heavens and the world at the instigation of al-Maʾmūn, probably with other scholars. To this belongs the *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* ("The Work on the Shape of the Earth") preserved in manuscript in Strassburg, or, as Abu 'l-Fidāʾ calls it, *Kitāb Rasm al-Rubʿ al-Maʿmūr* ("The Book of Drawing of the Inhabited Quarters of the Globe"). C. A. Nallino has already shown that this is the text that accompanied the maps. In preparing the maps — in the two editions — Ptolemy's *Geography* was used but edited and enlarged in a very independent way.

C. A. Nallino edited the book in an Italian translation and a very full investigation of the geographical data, particularly with reference to Ptolemy's data. H. von Mžik then dealt very thoroughly with the book and edited, translated and annotated the part dealing with Africa (*Mitt. d. K.-K. geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, 1915, xxxviii. 152 *sqq.*, and *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, philos. Kl., 1916, lix., N°. 4). He also prepared a map based on al-Khᵂārizmī's statements (cf. J. Ruska, *Neue Bausteine zur Geschichte der arabischen Geographie*, in *Geogr. Zeitschr.*, 1918, xxiv. 77—81).

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al-KHᵂĀRIZMĪ ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. YŪSUF (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, i. 258, still calls him al-Balkhī), lived in the second half of the ivᵗʰ (xᵗʰ) century. The oldest encyclopaedia of the Muslims comes from his pen, namely the very important *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* ("Key of the Sciences"; ed. by G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895); he dedicated it to Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUbaid Allāh b. Abī 'l-ʿUtbī, a vizier of the Sāmānid Nūḥ II (366—387 = 976—997) at whose court in Naisābūr he lived. He was probably born in Balkh. As is evident from his book he had an administrative office. As a result of his residence in Khurāsān, he was particularly well acquainted with the conditions prevailing in the East. His book, which was highly thought of by the Arabs, is of great value for our knowledge of the most diverse subjects. These are dealt with concisely.

In the field of mathematics etc. al-Khᵂārizmī certainly used translations from the Greek, such as the works of Euclid, Nicomachus, Hero, Philo etc. He very rarely mentions his sources.

The work is divided into two *maḳāla*'s. The first deals with the *sharīʿa* and allied branches of knowledge, *fiḳh*, *kalām*, prosody, history. The second deals with philosophy, logic, medicine, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, mechanics (*al-ḥiyal*, clever inventions), *al-kīmiyā*.

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(E. WIEDEMANN)

KHᵂĀRIZM-SHĀH, the title of the ruler of Khᵂārizm [q. v.] found already in existence at the Arab conquest (cf. e. g. al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1237 *sq.*). The same title was borne in the Muslim period by the majority of the kings and governors of this country, although the founder of the last dynasty, Iltüzer Khān (1804—1806), was content to describe himself on his coins (which were never issued) as "heir of the Khᵂārizm-shāhs" (*wārith-i Khᵂārizm-shāhān*) (ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Bukhārī, ed. Schefer, p. 80). This is probably the only case in Central Asia of a title retaining its significance from the pre-Muḥammadan period down to modern times. The only source for the genealogy and order of succession of the pre-Muḥammadan Khᵂārizm-shāhs is the "Chronology" of al-Bīrūnī [q. v.]. The legendary Kai-Khusraw (cf. above, ii. 638) is there (ed. Sachau, p. 35) given as the founder of the dynasty. He is said to have begun his reign 92 years after the first settlement of the land which took place in the year 980 before Alexander i. e. before the Seleucid era (i. e. 1292 B. C.). The references to individual rulers, their names and

genealogical succession cover the period from 616 *anno* Alex. (304 A. D.) to the end of the dynasty in 385 A. H. (995 A. D.). Of these rulers Shāwushfar, whose father was a contemporary of the conqueror Ḳutaiba b. Muslim, is certainly identical with the ruler Shao-sho-fen, mentioned by the Chinese, who sent an embassy to China in 751 A. D. (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue occid.*, p. 145); on the other hand the Khwārizm-shāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ashkām mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, viii. 310) under 332 (943/944) is not named in al-Bīrūnī's genealogy. We have coins of the years 348 (959/960) and 366 (976/977) of the Khwārizm-shāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the father of the last prince of this dynasty, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (see A. Markow, *Inventarniy Katalog Musulm. monet. Imp. Ermitaža*, p. 295 and 975).

The northern part of Khwārizm with its capital Gurgāndj [q. v.] was politically separate from the kingdom of the Khwārizm-shāhs, a fact which is not mentioned by the Arab geographers, and was therefore not known to Yāḳūt, so that the references in Ibn Faḍlān [q. v.] were not understood by him (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 484, and Baron Rosen in *Zapiski*, xv. 59). The Amīr of Gurgāndj, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn b. Muḥammad, succeeded in conquering the southern part of Khwārizm and transferring the title of Khwārizm-shāh to himself and his house (385 = 995). He thereby became the founder of the second dynasty of the Khwārizm-shāhs. Maʾmūn died in 387 (997) and was followed in turn by his sons Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn II. To the latter belongs the foundation inscription (mentioned above, in vol. ii. 184) at Gurgāndj of the year 401 (1010/1011) in which he is described as Khwārizm-shāh. On the negotiations between Maʾmūn and the Ghaznawid Maḥmūd (see above, ii. 155) and the murder of Maʾmūn II by his soldiers (Wednesday, middle of Shawwāl, 407 = March 20, 1017) see W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., ii. 289 *sqq.*, following al-Baihaḳī, ed. Morley, p. 838 *sqq.* His young nephew, Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, was elected to succeed Maʾmūn but by Ṣafar, 408 (July, 1017), Khwārizm was incorporated in Maḥmūd's empire and the dynasty ended. The title Khwārizm-shāh then passed to the Amīr Altūntāsh, appointed governor of Khwārizm by Maḥmūd, and there arose a third equally shortlived (to 1041) dynasty. On Altūntāsh and his two sons cf. above, i. 322 *sqq.* Although after the death of Altūntāsh (1032) the title Khwārizm-shāh was transferred to Saʿīd, son of Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd, and Hārūn b. Altūntāsh was only to govern the land as his representative (*khalīfat al-dār*) (al-Baihaḳī, p. 439), Hārūn is called Khwārizm-shāh by the same historian in another passage (p. 499).

Towards the end of the fifth (xith) century a governor of Khwārizm with the title Khwārizm-shāh is again mentioned, namely Ikindji b. Ḳočḳar (cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 346; J. Marquart, in *Abh. Gött.*, New Series, vol. 13, i. 48 *sqq.*). The same title was given about 490 (1097) to his successor Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Anūshtegin (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 181 *sq.*; al-Djuwainī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djihān-Gushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad, ii. 3), the founder of the fourth and most brilliant dynasty of Khwārizm-shāhs. On the foundation of the power of this house by Atsiz see this art. Under Takash (1172—1200) and Muḥammad (1200—1220) the dynasty assumed the position of a great power after conquering Persia and Central Asia — a position with which the title Khwārizm-shāh was no longer commensurate. Takash calls himself on his coins Sulṭān, son of the Khwārizm-shāh, and Muḥammad Sulṭān, son of the Sulṭān; but outside his empire even Muḥammad continued to be called the Khwārizm-shāh (cf. e. g. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 249, 21 [where the genealogical statements are wrong], and iii. 234, 15; on the relations of Muḥammad with Čingiz Khān and the resultant destruction of the empire cf. ČINGIZ KHĀN; on Djalāl al-Dīn and the final fall of the dynasty [628 = 1231] cf. above, i. 1004).

The governors of Khwārizm under the Mongols do not seem to have borne the title Khwārizm-shāh, nor the princes of the house of Ṣūfī, whose independent rule (founded not before 762 = 1360/1361 and not later than 765 = 1363/1364; cf. *Bull. de l'Acad.* etc., 1921, p. 212) only continued a short time (till the conquest of Khwārizm by Tīmūr in 781 = 1379); but later several governors of Khwārizm of this house are mentioned at a later date including Čin Ṣūfī, under whom the land was conquered by the Özbeg in 911 (1505), and Sharīf Ṣūfī, who, according to Ḥaidar Rāzī (cf. above, ii. 218), ruled in Khwārizm for a short time (about 917 = 1511) (W. Barthold, *Svedeniya ob Aral'skom More* etc., p. 89; in the German edition, *Nachrichten über den Aral-See* etc., p. 58, the pertinent remarks are omitted). On the other hand the Amīr Shāh Malik, governor for the Sulṭān Shāh Rukh b. Tīmūr in Khwārizm from the end of 815 (1413) to his death in 829 (1426), is called Khwārizm-shāh in the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī* (MS. formerly in the possession of the Institute for Oriental Languages; cf. *Collections Scientifiques* etc., iii. 111 *sqq.*, now in the Asiatic Museum, p. 737). He was followed as Khwārizm-shāh by his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who was driven from his capital by 834 (1431) by the Özbeg under Abu 'l-Khair (cf. above, i. 95 *sq.*).

The title Khwārizm-shāh is sometimes given in historical documents and literary works to the Özbeg rulers of Khīwa; but they themselves seem to have laid no claim to it. Abu 'l-Ghāzī (cf. above, i. 86 *sq.*) only gives the title Khwārizm-shāh to the dynasty destroyed by the Mongols (ed. Desmaisons, p. 137); otherwise he (p. 277) only uses the expression Khwārizm-shāh as the personal name of one of his brothers. Even when Anūsha, son and successor of Abu 'l-Ghāzī (1663—1687), took the title "Shāh" after the conquest of Meshhed, the word Khwārizm was not added to the title.

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KHARLUKH. [See ḲARLUḲ].

KHARPŪT, a town in Turkish Armenia, built on a rock to the north of a great plain in the area bounded by the west and south by the Euphrates, in the north by the Murād Ṣu and in the east by the chain of the Armenian Taurus; the site of the town itself lies in the Antitaurus. From the time of Diocletian this territory formed part of the Armenian districts incorporated in the Roman Empire and from the time of Justinian to the Roman province of „Fourth Armenia" which occupied the banks of the Arsanias (Murād Ṣu) and which the earliest Arab geographers still

knew under this name. This district is often reckoned to belong to the old Armenian province of Sophene. Hübschmann wished to identify it with the district of Anzitene (Arm. Handzit'; Arabic Hinzīṭ, Yāḳūt, iv. 993). The identification of Kharpūt with Καρκαθιόκερτα (should be Ἀρκαθιόκερτα, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxi. 449) capital of Sophene (Strabo, xi. 527) previously suggested by Ritter could then no longer be maintained. Lehmann-Haupt, however, has come back to the older view (p. 513). In any case the town can be regarded as identical with „Ziata Castellum", the capture of which by the Persians is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (xix. 6, 1). Arab writers still know the town by the name of Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Yāḳūt, ii. 276) probably with assimilation to the well known Arab proper name; in the same way in Syriac we find the forms Ziyāṭ (Land, *Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 61, 4) and Ḥisnā dĕ Zāid (Barhebraeus). The form Kharpūt is of Armenian origin; it comes from the Armenian Kharberd (or Karberd), which probably contains in any case the Armenian word *berd* meaning „castle", although the first element cannot be accurately identified. The Arabs write Khartabirt (Yāḳūt, ii. 417). The form Kharpūt (vulg. Arm. K'arp'ut') is found as early as the xi^th^ century in the Byzantine author Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, ii. 419, 13) in the form Χάρπετε. This is the present Turkish name but in the time of Ewliyā Čelebi the taxation registers still had Ḥisn (sic) Ziyād. Among the popular etymologies given by Ewliyā we find *Khar-but* i.e. „ass-idol", which the Christians are said to have once worshipped there and which is said to be buried in a monastery on the island in the Lake of Göldjik to the east of the town. Lastly the Greek historians of the Crusades call the town Quart-Pierre (William of Tyre) and by other forms. According to al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren, p. 190) Ḥiṣn Ziyād was the name of the castle only and Khartabirt that of the town.

The town is not mentioned in the three first centuries of Islām. Lying as it did on the frontier between Armenia and Byzantium it must have frequently changed hands. Its situation must then, as later, have kept it in a position of more or less dependence on Diyār-Bakr. In the fourth century Khartabirt was still under the Greeks. In 367 (977/978) the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib driven out of Mesopotamia by 'Aḍud al-Dawla was able to make a stand in Ḥiṣn Ziyād where his brother-in-law a vassal of the Byzantines supported him (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 510; Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, iii. 25). In the sixth century we find the Urtuḳids in possession of the town but it is not clear from whom they took it; in 500 (1106) a certain Muḥammad b. Djabuḳ al-Turkmānī is mentioned as lord of Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 296). But a little later we find it the residence of the Urtuḳid Balak [q. v.] b. Bahrām b. Urtuḳ who in 1122 imprisoned there the Crusaders Joscelin and Waleran and in the following year King Baldwin in addition. Some months later (Rab. I 517 = May 1123, according to Ibn al-Athīr), the Armenians succeeded in the absence of Balak in taking the castle and liberating the prisoners. But Balak returning soon afterwards regained his residence (Radjab 23, 517 = Sept. 16, according to Kamāl al-Dīn), and Baldwin again fell into his hands. On this occasion the great tower of the fortress was thrown down (*Rec. Hist. des Crois.*, Doc. Arm., i. 133). Balak was succeeded in the lordship of Khartabirt by the Urtuḳids of Ḥiṣn Kaifā; an inscription of Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳara Arslān [q. v.] dated 561 (1165/1166) was found in 1899 in the court of the great Mosque (cf. van Berchem, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. F., ix., N°. 3, p. 142 *sqq.*). After the death of Nūr al-Dīn, son of Ḳara Arslān, in 581 (1185/1186) his brother 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr seized the fortress and founded a collateral line of the Urtuḳids there, which continued there under the suzerainty of the Aiyūbids and later of the Seldjuḳs of Rūm. The frontier with the lands of the latter was formed by the Euphrates after the extinction of the Danishmandids of Malaṭia. During this period Khartabirt was captured for a brief period by the Sulṭān of Khwārizm (in 625, Djuwainī, *Djihān-Gushā*, ii. 180) then by the Mongols, after their capture of Āmid (1230) but soon afterwards in 631 (1233/1234) took place the conquest by 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḳubād, a conquest which had been foretold to him by the mother of Ibn Bībī (Houtsma, *Recueil de t. rel. à l'hist. des Seldj.*, iv., p. VII, 194). This writer (p. 210) mentions a certain Ṣu-Bashī of Khartabirt who helped to drive out the Khwārizmis. But as van Berchem has shown, the Urtuḳid line must have existed down to the xiv^th^ century though it is not clear if they remained at Kharpūt (van Berchem, *op. cit.*). In the troubled period that followed the decline of the Seldjuḳs, Kharpūt seems to have been included in the lands of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn of Sīwās who took refuge there about 800 (1397) during his fight against Ḳara 'Othmān of the dynasty of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (Sa'd al-Dīn). According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Tīmūr himself was not able to take the town until his return from Asia Minor; after Tīmūr it was the Dhu 'l-Kadr dynasty that held Kharpūt most frequently. Uzun Ḥasan took it from them temporarily in the reign of Malik Arslān (858–870); it was at this time that Josapha Barbaro visited Kharpūt (*Viaggi*, Venice 1545, p. 48 *sqq.*). In 913 (1507) Shāh Ismā'īl took the town but soon lost it to Bīyiḳlī Muḥammad, general of Selīm I who took Kharpūt after his reconquest of Diyār Bakr in 921 (1515) (Rustem Pasha, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Forrer, p. 43; Ewliyā Čelebi). Henceforth the town was included in the Ottoman empire as capital of a sandjak in the eyālet of Diyār Bakr (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 439). The sandjak-beys were usually Kurds.

At the beginning of the xix^th^ century these governors moved their residence from Kharpūt to the little town of Mezere lying in the plain quite near the hill of Kharpūt to the S.W. Mezere is written Mez'ere, as if it were an Arabic word but it seems to be mentioned as early as by Ptolemy in the form Μαζάρα (Hübschmann, *o. c.*). In the reign of 'Abd al-Medjīd, Rashīd Pasha, after a journey of inspection in Kurdistan suggested Mezere as the capital. He had barracks built there. Under 'Abd al-'Azīz, Mezere definitely became the residence of the governor and Kharpūt-Mezere became officially known as Ma'mūret al-'Azīz in honour of the Sulṭān. This name, which was given it by the Wālī Ismā'īl Pasha was next extended to the whole sandjaḳ and in 1296 (1879) Ma'mūret al-'Azīz became the name of a new wilāyet formed in that year with Kharpūt-Mezere as its capital. The wilāyet was composed of the sandjaḳs of Kharpūt-Mezere (including the old province of Sophene as a merkez-kaḍā) and beyond the Euphrates the kaḍās of 'Arabgir, Eghin and

Kabān Maʿden, and those of Malaṭia and Dersim.

The rock of Kharpūt rises to a height of about 1200 feet above the surrounding plain. The upper part is occupied by a mediaeval castle, at one time Balak's residence. The castle has only one gate: its walls have several inscriptions not yet published (Lehmann-Haupt). The town itself is also a fortress (*ič ḳalʿa*) but its ramparts have been for long neglected. Ewliyā mentions the Ulu Djāmiʿ as the largest mosque and also an Arslānlī Djāmiʿ; it is probably the latter that has the inscription mentioned above. The population of Kharpūt-Mezere was estimated about 1900 at 28,000 inhabitants (in 1835 Brant had put it at 9,000) with a majority of Muslims (Turks and Kurds) and a considerable minority of Armenians. There was an important American mission there which took an especial interest in Armenians of whom a great many had become Protestants. There were also Syriac Christians. The Armenians of Kharpūt suffered very much from the massacres of 1895 and during the war of 1914—1918 so that the Armenian element must now be very small. Ewliyā Čelebī says the principal industry was saddle-making. The town is also noted for its manufacture of silks but the cultivation of silk in the districts has diminished (Cuinet). The surrounding plain is well watered and very fertile and contains a large number of villages; at the beginning of the xixth century there was even talk of overcrowding. The nearest port is Kerasūn [q. v.] but the great road to Samsūn via Siwās and Amasia is more used. The roads to Diyār Bakr and Malaṭia are also very old.

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(J. H. Kramers)

KHARRĀZ, Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, an independent mystic, propounder of the doctrine of *fanāʾ wa-baḳāʾ*, died in exile in Cairo in 286 (899). His *Kitāb al-ṣidḳ* has survived (MS. Shahīd ʿAlī Pāshā 1374).

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(L. Massignon)

KHARRŪBA (the seed of the carob-tree, *Ceratonia Siliqua L.*), synonymous with *ḳīrāṭ*. This term is frequently found on Egyptian glass weights of the first and second centuries A. H. usually to give the weight of a copper coin (e. g. *fals* of 25, or 30 or 35 *kharrūba* etc.). The weighing of well preserved glass weights gives an average weight of 0,196 gr. (3 grains) for the *kharrūba*, i. e. rather more than a gold *ḳīrāṭ*. In Tunis the word was applied to a copper coin down to quite modern times. For further information see the article ḲĪRĀṬ.

(E. v. Zambaur)

KHĀRṢĪNĪ (Kharčīnī) is given as the seventh metal by many cosmographers etc. in addition to the usual six, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin; it is called mercury by the alchemists. As is evident from the statements of al-Bīrūnī [q. v.] and al-Rāzī, the famous physician and alchemist, Arabs were not acquainted with it itself but at most with articles made from it, and perhaps even these they only knew by hearsay: mention is made especially of hard arrow-heads, harpoons, looking-glasses, and bells made of *khārṣīnī*. The mineralogist al-Ghaffārī connected it with a meteorite. According to W. Hommel (*Ztschr. f. angewandte Chemie*, xxv. 100 [1912]) it is certainly not zinc, as has been suggested, but a hard lead, i. e. a composition of lead, a good deal of antimony and small quantities of ores, copper, iron and tin. This composition possesses the physical qualities ascribed to *khārṣīnī*. The Arabs, however, credit it with further marvellous (including healing) powers. In the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (transl. Blochmann, i. 40) *Ahenčīnī* is given as a synonym of *Khārṣīnī*. (Cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der Naturwiss.*, v. 403; xxiv. 80, 86 *sqq.*, in *Sitz.-Ber. der Physik. Medizin. Soc. in Erlangen*, xxxvii. 1905; xliii. 1911; further literature is also given there and a series of references to manuscripts).

Bibliography: W. Hommel, *Über indischer und chinesischer Zink*, *Zeitschr. für angewandte Chemie*, xxv. 1912, p. 100; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, v. *Auszüge aus arabischen Enzyklopaedien*, *S.B.P.M.S., Erlg.*, xxxvii. 1905, p. 388; do., *Beiträge*, xxiv. *Zur Chemie bei den Arabern*, do., xliii. 1911, p. 86. Further literature is given in these articles and a number of notes added.

(E. Wiedemann)

KHARTABIRT. [See KHARPŪT].

KHARṬŪM (A.), "an elephant's trunk" (descriptive of the narrowing spit of land between the two rivers), name of the capital town, seat of government, trade centre of the 15 provinces of the Sūdān and residence of the Governor General, who holds his appointment under the British Government with the approval of the ruler of Egypt, is situated on the left or south bank of the Blue Nile, which joins the White Nile about one mile down stream; it has a river frontage of two miles, is 1250 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, in 15° 36′ N. Lat. and 32° 32′ E. Long.; by rail it is 432 miles from Port Sudan on the Red Sea, and by rail and river it is 1345 miles from Cairo.

Across the river (here about 700 yards wide) is Kharṭūm North (population 16,000) with the dockyard, civil prison and military barracks. Omdurman is some two miles down stream on the left bank of the Nile proper, with a population of 60,000.

Before the conquest of the Sūdān in 1819 by the Khedive Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, Kharṭūm was a small native village off the main road from the north to Sennār. This road, leaving the Nile at Shendī 100 miles north of Kharṭūm, led direct

to Saba, across the desert, and then southwards along the right or east bank of the Blue Nile.

Kharṭūm was selected as their base by the Egyptians on account of its position at the junction of the two principal waterways. It became the capital town in 1823, but building in brick was not begun until 1839; as the centre of government and trade activities it became also the centre of the slave traffic.

In 1862 Sir Samuel Baker left Kharṭūm to discover the sources of the Nile, and again in 1870 he went south to attempt to stop the slave trade, in response to pressure put upon Egypt by the Powers in Europe, and to open up the territories of the South. Here too came General Gordon in February, 1874, on his appointment as Governor General of the Equatorial Provinces, a post he vacated in October, 1876. With considerable reluctance he returned in February, 1877, to be Governor General of the Sūdān, but resigned in December, 1879, in despair of effecting any improvement in the administration. When the Mahdist rebellion broke out, Gordon once more returned, in February, 1884, to be Governor General, and taking an active part in the defence of the town against the Dervishes he met his death on the steps of his palace on January 26, 1885, the British relief force arriving two days afterwards, too late to be of any assistance.

Kharṭūm was abandoned by the Dervishes in favour of Omdurman, and was re-occupied after the defeat of the Dervish forces on September 2, 1898, by the British and Egyptian armies under Lord Kitchener. On the re-conquest of the Sūdān the rebuilding of the town was at once commenced, a new palace of three stories being erected on the foundations of the old one, and in the extensive gardens still flourishes a rose tree known as Gordon's from its association with him.

Kharṭūm has been reconstructed on a plan designed by Lord Kitchener with a view to future development and military requirements. A series of barracks for native troops have been built at intervals along the old earth works used during the siege. The barracks of the British garrison are situated at the east end of the town, fronting the Blue Nile and adjacent to the bridge which carries the railway line from the north into Kharṭūm. This railway runs southward along the Blue Nile for 170 miles, and then turning west eventually crosses the White Nile and passes through the gum gardens into Kordofan.

The river front of Kharṭūm extending for some two miles, with its conspicuous fringe of date palms, a distinctive landmark in the flat and treeless country, is reserved for official buildings and residences, with few exceptions. An embankment wall along a considerable part of it protects the bank from erosion by the river, which rises during high Nile to some 30 feet and has a swift current. Along this wall runs a continuous tree-shaded public road bordered on the inner side by well kept gardens. Behind are situated the banks, the headquarters of the trading companies, shops, the native market, and residences; further inland the building regulations are relaxed to enable Europeans and better class natives to occupy less expensive houses. The poorer natives live in villages outside and to the south of the line of encircling barracks. A fine mosque, inaugurated by the ex-Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī in December, 1901, was built of local stone with funds from Egypt. The Anglican cathedral was consecrated in January, 1912, by the bishop of London. There is a Greek church, a Coptic church, a Roman Catholic church in the Austrian Mission, a temporary church in the American Mission, and other places of religious worship. Gordon College, built and endowed with funds raised by Lord Kitchener, provides advanced education for natives of the Sūdān in Muhammadan law and houses a training school for schoolmasters, as well as instructional workshops. There is a government elementary school and various mission schools. A first class civil hospital affords medical and surgical help for patients from all parts of the Sūdān and has a high reputation amongst the inhabitants. There is a small zoological garden. Electric light was first used in 1906 and an excellent water supply laid on in 1909; steam tramways and ferries are now being taken over (1925) by a group of English firms who will also build a bridge to Omdurman.

The population of Kharṭūm, about 23,000, is mixed. British and Greek subjects form the largest European groups. Syrians and Egyptians have migrated from the North, but the great majority of the inhabitants consists of natives of the Sūdān, Arabs from the northern provinces and Blacks from the South.

Bibliography: Lord Edward Gleichen, *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London 1904; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, vol. ii., chap. xiv., xix., London 1907; *The Sudan Almanac*, Khartum 1923. (P. R. PHIPPS)

AL-**KHASHABĀT** (plur. of *al-khashaba*, pole), was the name given to the light-houses in the Persian Gulf near ʿAbbādān: they are mentioned in al-Khwārizmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. v. Vloten, p. 124) as columns placed in the sea, on the tops of which lamps were lit at night. According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, text p. 90, transl. p. 246), they consisted of four columns of teak which rose 60 feet above the sea; there was a platform on the top with a little house for the watchman. The latter lit the lamps which were surrounded by glass to shelter them from the wind. They served as guides to the ships and were also used to signal the approach of pirates. Places at which these light-houses stood are given in *Bibl. Géogr. Arab.*, iv., *Gloss.*, p. 225, and in E. Wiedemann, *Über Leuchtfeuer bei den Muslimen*, *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Naturwissensch. u. d. Technik*, ii. 1909, 151—4, and A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 1922, p. 479. (E. WIEDEMANN)

KHASHABĪYA, "club-men", was originally an abusive name for the Mawālī [cf. the art. MAWLA] of Kūfa, who were armed with clubs (*khashab*, sing. *khashaba*) and formed the main part of the followers of al-Mukhtār [q. v.] and took the field under his generals, for instance Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Ashtar (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 300; Ibn Rosta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-Nafīsa*, *B. G. A.*, vii. 218; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, ii. 684, 16; 1798, 3 sq.; *al-Aghānī*[1], v. 155, 17 sqq.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, v. 226, 8 sq., 227, 7 sqq.; do., *al-Tanbīh*, *B. G. A.*, viii. 313, 4 sqq.; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ waʾl-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, v. 133, 10—12; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, iv. 207, 11; Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1311, i. 294 infra; *L. A.*, i. 340, 21 sqq.; *T. A.*, i. 234, 25 sqq.).

The troops which marched upon Mekka by al-

Mukhtār's order and released Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya [q. v.], who was imprisoned by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.], are called *Khashabīya* (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 693, 4 *sqq.*; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, v. 74, 16 *sqq.*; cf. 70, 15; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv. 206 *sq.*). They themselves apparently called their cudgels *kāfir-kūbāt* (from Persian *kūb*, wood, club) "clubs for unbelievers" (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 694, 13; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, iv. 207, 2 [variant]); these weapons are afterwards found also with the partisans of Abū Muslim [q. v.] (al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ed. Rosen, p. 359, 20 *sqq.*; *al-Aghānī*, iv. 93, 21; cf. G. van Vloten, *Recherches* etc., *Verh. K. Ak. Amst.*, *Afd. Letterk.*, i., N°. 3, 1894, p. 67), and in the civil war in Baghdād in 251 (865) they were distributed among the plebs (al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii. 1586, 15, 1587, 4, 1589, 7; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vii. 99, 5); al-Djāḥiẓ, *Thalāth Rasāʾil*, ed. van Vloten—de Goeje, p. 11, 9, mentions the *kāfir-kūbāt* as weapons of the Turks.

The remark in Ibn al-Athīr's chronicle (*op. cit.*, iv. 207, 1) that the liberators of Ibn al-Ḥanafīya bore cudgels in order to avoid the use of swords in the *ḥaram*, is as improbable as is the interpretation which connects the name *Khashabīya* with the wood piled up by Ibn al-Zubair beside the prison of Ibn al-Ḥanafīya with the threat to have him and his fellow-prisoners burned.

With reference to a ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar in which the performing of the *ṣalāt* behind the *Khashabīya* is mentioned, the latter name was explained as denoting people who reverently kept the pole or tree-trunk (*khashaba*) on which Zaid b. ʿAlī [q. v.] had been executed. But, as Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (*loc. cit.*) observes, this explanation is chronologically untenable.

According to an observation made by Ibn Ḥazm (*al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa'l-Ahwāʾ wa'l-Niḥal*, MS. Leiden 480^b^, f. 138^b^ infra; cf. I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, New Haven 1909, i. 63, note 1), the *Khashabīya* regarded the bearing of iron weapons as not allowed till the expected Mahdī had appeared.

The fact that "Revenge for al-Ḥusain!" (*yā la-thaʾrāt al-Ḥusain!*, e. g. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 694, 14) was the rallying cry of the *Khashabīya* possibly tended to supplant this name by *al-Ḥusainīya*, which is graphically only slightly different; the latter is, however, to be retained in places like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1317, i. 190, 17 *sq.*, and Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, p. 187, 13—14.

Thus *al-Khashabīya* was another name for the Kaisānīya [q. v.] and then was applied to the adherents of the doctrines which were current among the latter, like that of the return (*radjʿa*, q. v.) and that of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*, q. v.). The poetical representative of these doctrines, Kuthaiyir, is called a *Khashabī* and is said to have been gained for the *Khashabīya* by the poet Khindif al-Asadī (*al-Aghānī*, viii. 33, 16, 20—24, 34, 22; xi. 47, 22 *sq.*, where *Khindif* is to be read instead of *Khandak*).

According to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 29, 3 *sq.*), the name *al-Khashabīya* was used for a group of the Zaidīya [q. v.] known as *Ṣurkhābīya* after a certain Ṣurkhāb al-Ṭabarī of whom nothing seems to be known; it might be possible to think of one of the Ṣurkhāb who played a part in Ṭabaristān in the time of Ḥasan b. Zaid [q. v.] (cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, Engl. transl. by E. G. Browne, Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. ii., Leiden—London 1905, Index). It must be left undecided whether they were called *Khashabīya* after their weapons or perhaps on account of Kaisānī doctrines which asserted themselves among them. The same statement occurs in Abu 'l-Maʿālī, *Bayān al-Adyān*, in *Chrestomathie persane*, ed. by Ch. Schefer, i. (*P. E. L. O. V.*, 2nd Ser., vii., Paris 1883), p. 157, 18 *sq.*, where *Ṣurkhāb* is to be read instead of *Ṣ-rkhāt*.

According to a statement given on the authority of al-Laith (apparently Ibn al-Muẓaffar), al-Khashabīya was also the name of a section of the Djahmīya [cf. the art. DJAHM B. ṢAFWĀN], which maintained that Allāh does not speak and that the Ḳurʾān is created (*L. ʿA.*, i. 343, 9; *T. ʿA.*, i. 234, 25).

Bibliography (in addition to the works quoted above): al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. xx., Leiden—London 1912, f. 199^b^; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. de Goeje, *Gloss.*, s. v. *khshb* and *kfr*; *B. G. A.*, iv., *Gloss.*, p. 278; H. D. van Gelder, *Moḫtâr de valsche Profeet*, Diss. Leiden 1888, p. 71—73; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G. W. G.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F., N°. 5, Berlin 1901), p. 80; H. Banning, *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīya*, Diss. Erlangen 1909, p. 46 *sq.*; Isr. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm* (*J. A. O. S.*, xxviii., xxix.), ii. 93—95.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

AL-**KHAṢĪBĪ**. [See IBN AL-KHAṢĪBĪ].

AL-**KHAṢĪBĪ**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. ʿUBAID ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. AL-KHAṢĪB, a vizier. After the deposition of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Khāḳānī in Ramaḍān 313 (Nov. 925) (see IBN KHĀḲĀN, 3) al-Khaṣībī, who at that time was secretary to the mother of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir, was appointed vizier. But as he neglected his official duties and made himself generally hated for his extortions, he was deposed on the advice of the chief of police Muʾnis in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 314 (Jan. 927) and ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (see IBN AL-DJARRĀḤ, 2) appointed in his place. Till the latter could reach the capital, ʿUbaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kalwadhī acted as his deputy. In 318 (930/931) the other vizier Ibn Makhlad [q. v., 2] entrusted al-Khaṣībī with the government of Fārs and Kermān.

Al-Khaṣībī was also the name of the vizier who succeeded Muḥammad ʿUbaid Allāh in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 321 (Dec. 933) and held office till the deposition of the Caliph al-Ḳāhir; in Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 195) and Ibn Khaldūn (iii. 394) however, his name is given as Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUbaid Allāh b. Sulaimān al-Khaṣībī. Al-Khaṣībī died in 328 (940).

Bibliography: ʿArīb ed. de Goeje, p. 80, 109, 126—129, 150; Ibn al-Athīr ed. Tornberg, viii. 116 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 367 *sq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii. 374; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 557.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KHĀṢṢEKĪ (Arab. *khāṣṣa*: "private" with Turkish suffix *ki*), a term applied to anything belonging to the domains, service or the palace of the Sulṭān of Turkey. The Khāṣṣeki were the guards of the serail, a body of 300 junior officers chosen among the *bostandji*; 60 of them formed part of the imperial retinue, as a bodyguard; they wore a uniform of red cloth, were armed with a dagger (*ghaddāre*) and carried a baton in the hand; their commander was the *bash-khāṣṣeki*. The *khāṣṣeki-agha* was the lieutenant of the *bostandji-*

bashi. The *khāṣṣeki-bashi*, who is not to be confused with the preceding, was an officer of the corps of *balṭadji* and acted as receiver general of the revenues that came from the pious endowments of Mecca and Medina. He wore a large bonnet of red cloth.

Khāṣṣeki was the title given to the Sulṭān's favourite. In the early days of the monarchy down to Aḥmad III (1115 = 1703), the wife of the Sulṭān who gave birth to a prince was honoured with the title *khāṣṣeki-sulṭān*, while those who only had daughters were called *khāṣṣeki-ḳadin*. In 1075 (1647), contrary to the rule followed by the house of ʿOthmān, the debauched Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, seven of whose concubines had the title Khāṣṣeki, married one of the latter, Telli-Khāṣṣeki, and she received the name Shāh-Sulṭān.

Khāṣṣeki-djāmiʿ "mosque of the favourite", at Constantinople, built by Khurrem-Khāṣṣeki (Roxelane) in 945 (1538) with fountains, soup-kitchen (*ʿimāret*), a school founded in 946 (1539) and a hospital built in 957 (1550). The building originally had only one dome; a second was added by Aḥmad I. in 1201 (1612). These edifices are in the Awret-Bāzāri (*Forum Arcadianum*) at Stambul. The Khāṣṣeki hospital at the present day is reserved for women.

Bibliography: Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain Iwānsarāyi, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, Constantinople 1281, p. 101; Djewād-bey, *État militaire ottoman*, p. 41; Barbier de Meynard, *Supplém. aux diction. turcs*, i. 681; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1824, vii. 20, 32, 63, 65; Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, trad. Hellert, x. 74. (CL. HUART)

KHAṬAʾ (A.), a mistake, which is made in thought (speech) or action — a fault which one has is called *ʿaib* —, the opposite of *ṣawāb*, the correct; hence in the field of knowledge: error; in that of action: omission, failure, all this, of course, unintentional; from the last meaning develops that of wrong which one commits, transgression; whether this is to be regarded as unintentional or — as in *khaṭiʾa* and *khiṭʾ* — deliberate (sin) is a disputed point with the lexicographers. *Khaṭāʾ* and *khaṭʾ* (the latter is found only in the *Ḳāmūs* so that it is hardly classical) are synonymous (or phonetic variants?). *Khaṭaʾ* is sometimes regarded as an infinite of *khaṭiʾa* used as a substantive (which it originally was and still is), sometimes as a substantive from *akhṭaʾa* (which it has become through linguistic usage), and sometimes as belonging to both. The lexicographers have the most diverse opinions regarding the more accurate definition of the meaning of these two verbs, within the sphere of ideas above outlined. *Khaṭāʾ* and *khaṭaʾ* are exceedingly rare in classical poetry (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, ed. 1888, p. 120, 1: "sin" [parallel with *dhanb*]; also Ḳurʾān, xvii. 33: "sin", as a variant of *khiṭʾ*; iv. 94: "transgression"); more frequently only the verbal forms *khaṭiʾa* and *akhṭaʾa* are used as synonyms.

The use of *khaṭaʾ* as a technical term is in keeping with the general use of the word; the principal uses of it are as follows:

1. Error in logic (opposite *ṣawāb*), synonymous with *bāṭil*, the "invalid" (opposite *ḥaḳḳ*); the former pair of concepts ought to be used in questions of *idjtihād* [q. v.] and the latter in questions of *iʿtiḳād* [q. v.; this may be the result of the corresponding use of the word in the Ḳurʾān], so that Islām and the other religions are contrasted with one another in *ḥaḳḳ* and *bāṭil*, opposite views in the *furūʿ* of the *fiḳh* (see the article FIḲH), as *ṣawāb* and *khaṭaʾ*; but there is only one verb for each, *aṣāba* and *akhṭaʾa*, which points to the artificiality of this distinction, and in reality the rule is often not observed; in other branches of learning also *khaṭaʾ* and *bāṭil* are used promiscuously, as indeed are *ṣawāb* and *ḥaḳḳ* also. The works which deal with the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (see the art. UṢŪL) discuss the question whether the *mudjtahid* [q. v.] *muṭlaḳ* can err. In the orthodox community the opinion has prevailed that the *mudjtahid* can err and in cases of difference of opinion only one can be right at a time, and a tradition is even cited on this point; the Muʿtazilis [q. v.] asserted that every *mudjtahid* is right, and even celebrated orthodox teachers hold this view, e. g. Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī, Ibn Suraidj, al-Muzanī, al-Ashʿarī and his school, al-Bāḳillānī, al-Ghazālī; Abū Ḥanīfa adopts a middle view. The champions of the orthodox view believe, in keeping with this, that Allāh has already come to a definite decision before every *idjtihād* and that the correctness or otherwise of the decision of the *mudjtahid* results from its agreement or not with that of Allāh; those of the Muʿtazila assume either different decisions by Allāh which coincide with those of the individual *mudjtahid*'s and are valid for them and their *muḳallid*'s [q. v.], so that all differing decisions of the *mudjtahid*'s are equally justified, or they consider one decision more justified than the others and believe that Allāh has taken no decision in such cases but "if He did do so", would express quite a definite one: this supposed decision by Allāh is then compared with those of the *mudjtahid*'s and the *mudjtahid* who agrees with it is considered in the right in every respect; but those which differ from it are considered in the right with respect to the basis, the *idjtihād* (*ibtidāʾan idjtihādan*), as the *mudjtahid* has endeavoured with all his power to find the decision, in the wrong with respect to the result, the decision itself (*intihāʾan ḥukman*). The representatives of the orthodox view, who are essentially in close agreement with this form of the Muʿtazili view, make the same distinction (the opinion is rejected that the *mudjtahid* who makes a mistake is completely in the wrong); the other Muʿtazili view, however, is in sharp contrast to this. But this difference only exists in questions of the derivation of legal rules from the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (*fi 'l-ẓanniyāt*) and only in the case when no clear decision is given in the *uṣūl*; if there is one, but it has not been regarded by the *mudjtahid*, he is, of course, wrong. In the domain of the *uṣūl al-dīn*, of *kalām* [q. v.], particularly in reasoned deductions (*fi 'l-ʿaḳliyāt*), according to the general consensus, only one view can be right in a case of differences of opinion. Only a few Muʿtazilis, as whose representatives Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnbarī and al-Djāḥiẓ are cited, asserted that here also in dogmatics every *mudjtahid* (the word is used in a wider sense, meaning everyone who does all in his power to solve a problem) is right; while al-ʿAnbarī adds so long as he can be still described as a Muslim, and al-Djāḥiẓ without limitation. Tradition on this point is no longer certain, as is apparent in differences in detail and in a certain irresolution: in this Muʿtazili teaching, however, — as in the polemics regarding the *mudj-*

taḥkīḳ fi 'l-ḳaḍāʾiyyāt — the other meanings of *khaṭaʾ* come into consideration so that it is doubtless correctly explained that by "being right" is not meant agreement with the actual facts, but that the *mudjtahid* has duly fulfilled the task imposed on him and therefore cannot be punished (while according to the orthodox consensus every non-Muslim is doomed to the pains of hell eternally), that that to which his *idjtihād* leads him is the right for him by Allāh's decree itself. This ambiguity in terminology must have contributed to the ambiguity in tradition. That, taken purely logically, several differing views could be right at the same time has never been asserted. — The *mudjtahid* in the wrong is not punished for his error and is not considered as being in a religious error (*ḍalāl*), but is regarded as excused and is rewarded as he has done everything that is demanded of him if he has really used all his energy for the derivation of the legal rule; if he has not done this he is punished for his error; others say that every error of a *mudjtahid* is a sin; but this view is rejected. All this holds only of the *mudjtahid*'s of the Sunnis; those of the "twelver" Shīʿīs are infallible.

2. Unintentional action (opposite *ʿamd*); this use comes from Ḳurʾān, iv. 94 *sq.* (cf. the art. ḲATL, section i. 1; passages like ii. 286 and xxxiii. 5 may have also influenced); this is of interest here in so far as it is illegal; it may be more accurately defined as an act contrary to law, in which the intention of committing an illegal act is lacking, while the action itself may be deliberate; any negligence is left quite out of the question in the juridical appreciation. The Muʿtazila asserted that one could not be punished by Allāh for it, for punishment is only conceivable for a deliberate illegal act; orthodoxy on the contrary teaches that, while *khaṭaʾ* is not a sin (*ithm*), any negligence, however, is something deliberate, and the *khaṭaʾ*, as its result, is liable to be punished (it is regarded as belonging to the *ʿawāriḍ muktasaba*, happenings only indirectly intended, in themselves not deliberate, for which man can equally be made responsible); but Allāh in his mercy will overlook the punishment in the next world; the *khaṭaʾ* is thus considered as an ameliorating — often even exonerating — circumstance in the infliction of punishment in this world (*shubha*; q. v.); it cannot be punished by *ḥadd* (q. v.). But not all of Allāh's rights are dropped: anyone who, contrary to the prohibition, kills an animal in the *ḥaram* [q. v.], the sacred territory of Mekka, whether with *ʿamd* (deliberately) or from *khaṭaʾ* (unintentionally), has in the opinion of all four *madhhab*'s [q. v.] to make the prescribed atonement; Dāʾūd al-Ẓāhirī alone in this case also considers *khaṭaʾ* as an excuse. This is doubtless connected with what is ultimately a pre-Islāmic idea, that Allāh has an especial right of ownership to the *ḥaram*, its plants and animals (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, p. 7, 10). It follows that an unintentional infraction of this right of property is to be atoned for like an intentional one; (the substance of this is also found in the following difference of opinion: Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal do not require a special compensation if the animal has an owner — who, of course, must be compensated — i. e. does not belong to Allāh; Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī demand it in every case, so that they extend their area of application). In *khaṭaʾ* there also is a full liability for any injury done to another; here *ḳiṣāṣ* [q. v.] is a special case: its application is excluded when *khaṭaʾ* is present; instead the *diya* [q. v.] is to be paid and the *kaffāra* [q. v.] to be performed. For farther details see the article ḲATL, Section i. 5, 6, where the variations of *khaṭaʾ* in the meaning of an unintentional act are given. From them it will be seen that this terminological use of the word is based on the two meanings "error" (in the case of *khaṭaʾ fi 'l-ḳaṣd*) and "failure", "accident" (in the case of *khaṭaʾ fi 'l-fiʿl*) and is no more uniform than the uses dealt with under 1.

Bibliography: The dictionaries; their statements are collected in Lane, *Arab.-English Lexicon*, i/ii. 761; on its use as a technical term see *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musulmans*, Bibl. Indica, Old Series, i. 401 *sq.*; Dschordschānī, *Definitiones*, ed. G. Flügel, p. 104; for further details the works on *Uṣūl* and the *Fiḳh*-books are indispensable. See also the art. ḲATL.

(J. SCHACHT)

KHAṬĀ'Ī, (the "sinner"), pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of Shāh Ismāʿīl [q. v.]. Of his Persian poems we only know so far the single verse quoted in the anthology compiled by his son Sām Mīrzā [q. v.] and some other lines. On the other hand his Turkish *Dīwān* is known from several manuscripts, although these are rather scarce and differ considerably.

E. G. Browne (*Persian Liter. in Modern Times*, p. 12—15) has discovered the curious fact that the founder of the Ṣafawī kingdom wrote mainly in Turkish while his rival Sulṭān Selīm used Persian for his poems. Khaṭāʾī is now rightly regarded as one of the precursors of the literature of the Turkish dialect of Ādharbaidjān. His language, however, judging from the oldest Paris manuscript, is rather artificial; alongside of the true Ādharbaidjānī vocabulary we find parallel forms from Eastern Turkī: *gülürüm/gülürmän*, the accusative of stems in consonants in *-i/-ni*.

From the point of view of poetry, Khaṭāʾī's work is only mediocre; his images are banal and his lyrical themes monotonous. On the other hand the autobiographical allusions are very interesting in which Ismāʿīl poses as avenger of the blood of his father or as protector of the "family hearth" (*khānwādā*) of Ardabīl, fulminates against his enemies of Shīrwān, extols the bravery of his *ghāzī*, *akhī* and *ṣūfī*, and puts forward very bold mystical claims. He identifies himself with ʿAlī and the Imāms and goes on to proclaim: "I am that *agens absolutus* (*fāʿil-i muṭlaḳ*) of whom they talk; the sun and the moon are in my power; my being is truly *domus Dei* (*bait Allāh*); to prostrate thyself before me (*sudjūd*) is thy duty morning and evening".... "I am absolute reality (*ḥaḳḳ*).... I am the pearl in the sea of truth (*ḥaḳīḳa*)".

The place occupied by Khaṭāʾī in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (*vulgo* ʿAlī Ilāhī [q. v.]) is very important. Khaṭāʾī's verses are frequently quoted by adepts of the sect. The litany known as *Kuṭb-nāma* enumerating the successive manifestations of the divinity runs as follows: "In (the person of) Khaṭāʾī it spoke Turkish and became the *pīr* of Turkestān", where this geographical term is said to mean Ādharbaidjān inhabited by Turks.

The Khaṭāʾī *avatar* of Shāh Ismāʿīl is important for the study of the occult doctrine of the Ṣafawīs

which deviates far from the Shī'a canon. It throws a new light on the esoteric foundations of the political power of the Ṣafawīs (cf. the sources like the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā*, *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Ṣafawiya* and the history of the youth of Ismā'īl I published by Sir E. D. Ross in *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 249—340).

Von Hammer (*Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii. 18) mentions a mysterious dervish SŪFĪ KHAṬĀ'Ī (d. 936/1529) who had gone to Persia to receive from the hands of Shāh Ismā'īl the *Dīwān* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī which the Ṣafawī monarch had taken to Persia. V. Hammer quotes four verses from it in translation.

Bibliography: *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*: MS. of the Bibl. Nat. of Paris, Persian Suppl., Nº. 1492, f. 17 r.; cf. also S. de Sacy, *N. E.*, ix., Paris Anno 7, p. 278. The MSS. known of Khaṭā'ī's Turkish *Dīwān* are as follows: 1. Bibl. Nat., Turkish Suppl., Nº. 1307 (83 ff.). 253 *ghazal*'s, *mathnawī fī 'l-munādjāt* (24 *bait*'s), another *mathnawī* identical with that in London (18 *bait*'s), a heroic *mathnawī* (60 verses in *mutaḳārib*); the MS. was written in 948, i. e. 18 years after the death of Shāh Ismā'īl; 2. Ibid. *Ibidem*, suppl. turc, Nº. 995 (the former Schefer-collection), goes back to the xviith Cent., Contains on 64 leaves: in Turkish 205 *ghazal*'s, 9 quatrains, *mathnawī*'s (one of them the *Naṣīḥat-nāma*?), moreover one *ghazal* and some *bait*'s in Persian; 2. Brit. Museum: Or. 3380 "apparently of the xvith century"; cf. Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS. in the British Mus.*, London 1888, p. 205 *sq.*: the *mathnawī Naṣīḥat-nāma* (168 *bait*'s) and the *ghazal*'s (ff. 10b—83); 3. Asiatic Museum of Leningrad: Or. 297, copied in 1036, contains the *mathnawī 'Āshiḳ wa-ma'shūḳ* and the *ghazal*'s; 4. Preussische Staatsbibliothek: Or. Fol. 209, written in 1077, only contains 34 *ghazal*'s (204 *bait*'s); cf. Pertsch, iv. (Pers. Handschr.), sub Nº. 18; 5. Shaikh Ḥusain Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Ṣafawīya*, ed. E. G. Browne, Berlin 1334/1922, p. 68—72: 4 poems of Khaṭā'ī glorifying the 12 imāms; 6. Yūsuf-beg Wazirof, *Adharbaidjān Adabiyatina Bir Naẓar*, Stambul 1337, p. 27—31, quotes 6 *ghazal*'s of Khaṭā'ī taken from MSS. belonging to the Library of the 'Alī Emīrī Efendi; the author also mentions the complete works (*Kulliyāt*) of Khaṭā'ī, printed at Tabrīz (?) but unobtainable.

Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 106; V. Minorsky, *Materiali* . . . . . . *sekti 'Alī-Ilāhi*, Moscow 1911, p. 108—110; do., *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i-Ḥaḳḳ*, in *R. M. M.*, 1922, p. 57, 86.; according to Babinger, *Zur Gesch. der Ṣefewijje*, in *Isl.*, xii., 1922, p. 233, the MS. of Constantinople is preserved in the 'Umūmīya-library; cf. 'Alī Emīrī Efendi, *Ta'rīkh we-edebiyat mejmū'asi*, i. 29. (V. MINORSKY)

KHAṬAK. The Khaṭaks are a Paṭhān tribe belonging to the Karlānī division of the Afghāns, and live in the North-West Frontier Province of British India and adjacent localities. Their origin is much disputed (see the art. AFGHĀNISTĀN, above, i. 150). At the beginning of the Muhammadan era they occupied the Sulaimān Range and the northern part of the plains between these mountains and the Indus. The history of the Khaṭaks was written by Khushḥāl Khān [q. v.], a renowned chief of the tribe in the time of the emperor Awrangzīb. Akora, Shāhbāzgarh, Kālābāgh and Makhad are their chief seats. They are warlike and for centuries have been at feud with their neighbours and with one another; active, industrious and good cultivators, they are also great carriers and traders. The Khaṭaks are all Sunnis and speak the western dialect of Pashto.

Bibliography: See the art. KOHĀT.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

KHĀTAM, KHĀTIM (A.) (P. *muhr*), seal, signet, signet-ring, the impression (also *khatm*) as well as the actual seal-matrix; it is applied not only to seals proper, engraved in incuse characters with retrograde inscriptions, but also to the very common seal-like objects with regular inscriptions of a pious or auspicious character; for the latter which are amulets and further readily distinguished from seals by the absence of a personal name see the article ṬALISMĀN; indeed anything with an inscription stamped upon it may be called *khātam*. Here we are only concerned with seals in the strict sense of the word. The word *khātam* is said by Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 112 to be of Aramaic origin, and in this he is followed by Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, p. 252, who also recognises a loan word in *ṭarḥaṭ*, seal-clay.

The part played by the signet-ring in the east cannot be better illustrated than by the following quotation from Lane (*Modern Egyptians*,[5] 1860, p. 31). Describing the dress of a Muslim Egyptian he says:

"On the little finger of the right hand (it is allowable to wear it on a finger of the left hand) is worn a seal-ring (*khātim*), which is generally of silver, with a carnelion, or other stone, upon which is engraved the wearer's name; the name is usually accompanied by the words "his servant" (signifying "the servant, or worshipper, of God"), and often by other words expressive of the person's trust in God, etc. The Prophet disapproved of gold; therefore few Muslims wear gold rings: but the women have various ornaments (rings, bracelets, etc.) of that precious metal. The seal-ring is used for signing letters and other writings; and its impression is considered more valid than the sign-manual. A little ink is dabbed upon it with one of the fingers, and it is pressed upon the paper; the person who uses it having first touched his tongue with another finger, and moistened the place in the paper which is to be stamped. Almost every person who can afford it has a seal-ring, even though he be a servant".

The use of seals dates from remote antiquity in the east and they have never been supplanted by the spread of a knowledge of the art of writing and the use of the signature as has happened in the west. In the east the seal takes the place of the signature and it is the former that gives validity to a document even if the latter is also used. The seal is also much used as a guarantee that property will be kept intact and thus takes the place of locks and keys. Goods are simply roped up in a packet and the knots sealed with the owner's seal, a plan which to Chardin, for example, appeared more reliable than the western system owing to the practical impossibility of counterfeiting a seal. It is also used to stamp property as a mark of ownership (e.g. books and bindings) and in this way corresponds to a coat of arms in the west. The possession of another person's seal is evidence that the latter has delegated his authority. There is abundant evidence of these usages in the east from very early times. Pharaoh, for example (Gen. xli. 42), gives Joseph his signet,

as a sign of authority, just as the Sulṭān of Turkey did his grand vizier. Jezebel (I Kings, xxi. 8) forges a letter in Ahab's name and seals it with his seal to give it validity. The books of Esther and Daniel give similar examples of the power of the Persian king's seal. Herodotos (i. 195) tells us that every Babylonian carried a seal and the abundance of seals, usually cylindrical in form, that have survived from ancient times in Mesopotamia, illustrates this statement. Seals of the Sasanian period still exist in large numbers, whether made for mounting in rings or pierced for suspension. In South Arabia also the Himyarites have left us numerous specimens of their signets.

No seals of the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs are known. The earliest Arab seals come from Egypt with papyri and belong to the period soon after the conquest. Whether we accept or not the story that only seventeen men in Mecca could write in the time of Muḥammad, we must suppose that seals were in common use in this important commercial centre as in other parts of the east. Tradition in any case has a certain amount to tell about the Prophet's *khātam*. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Būlāḳ 1926), vii. (*libās*) p. 48, says that the Prophet wished to write to the Byzantines. He was told they would not read his letter unless it had a seal so he adopted one of silver with the inscription *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*. According to al-Mas'ūdī, he adopted this ring in Muḥarram of the year 7 A.H. The Prophet is also said to have originally worn a *khātam* of gold, but gave it up when he forbade the wearing of gold rings and silk and brocade (Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*). Women did not observe the prohibition of gold rings and 'Ā'isha for example wore them (*ibid.*). The Prophet wore his signet on his right hand and used to take it off when he went to the privy (al-Tirmidhī *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Būlāḳ 1292), vol. i., *libās*, p. 324). Opinions differ as to the proper hand and finger for the ring and there is no established rule. Later stories illustrate the Prophet's disapproval of metals other than silver for signet-rings. He is reported to have said that a brass ring savoured of idolatry, that an iron one was emblematic of souls condemned to eternal fire, while words could not express his horror of a gold ring; meeting the wearer of one, he cast upon him a terrible frown and turned away as if he had encountered a dog or an infidel. The Prophet's seal was handed on and used by his successors, who had however also their own seals, until 'Othmān lost it in a well at Arīs, or in Zemzem, or according to others in the Tigris near Mosul. The Prophet's interdiction has been generally observed and it is exceedingly rare to find signet-rings of the more precious metals or mounted with the more valuable precious stones, upon which there was no embargo.

The earliest known seal of a Muslim is that of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, conqueror and governor of Egypt whose signet was a bull (Rainer, *Führer*, etc. No. 556). Whether this is due to local influence or the representation of an animal was not unusual with the pre-Muslim Arabs it is impossible to say. Other Arab seals bearing animals are known of this period, but the rigorous avoidance of images of living things was soon applied to seals also, for we soon find seals in Egypt of the Muslim type, although as late as 88 A.H., we find the governor Kurra b. Sharīk using a wolf (Rainer, *Führer*, N°. 593). The seals of Abū Hāshim b. Yaḥyā (N°. 572) and of the head of the Treasury Rāshid b. Khālid "who trusts in God" (N°. 577) are already of the style that became stereotyped. A notable seal from Egypt is that of the tax-collector Nādjid b. Muslim which bears his name in Greek and Arabic (N°. 589). Bilingual seals are again found in Syria and Asia Minor in the tenth century (cf. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, and Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Here also under Byzantine influence we find double sided impressions of seals in lead (*bullae*); of these the most notable is that of the Kakoyid 'Alā al-Dawla of 430 A.H. with a horseman on the obverse (Halil Edhem, N°. 30). Another remarkable seal from the same region is that of the Hamdānid Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sharīf with obverse a bust of St. Theodore and his name in Greek characters (*op. cit.*, N°. 31).

The materials of these early impressions are the same as in later times, a special kind of clay (*ṭarḳaṣ*), or lead, appended by cords to the documents as in the mediaeval west also. When the seal is stamped on the documents itself, it is done with a special thick kind of ink and the paper is moistened before receiving the impression; red wax is also used where the climate permits it. As in mediaeval Europe, there are instances recorded in the east of bullae of the precious metals, silver and even gold for very special occasions (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i., p. 112).

Charles White (*op. cit.*) deals very fully with the use of seals among the Turks and the guild of engravers in Constantinople. The latter have, he says, a special quarter in the bazaar called after them *kakaklar ḳarshi*. The members of the guild are Muslims (in contrast to the dealers in stones who are usually Jews) of fair education conversant with Arabic, Persian and Turkish. A few can decipher the Kufic character. Their training is a long one. Apprentices after a good education take lessons from the best calligraphers of the day and then serve seven years with a master-engraver. When their indentures have expired, they become journeymen (*kalfa*), until they can acquire a business of their own and be admitted into the guild as master-members (*usta*), the number of whom is limited to fifty. Their shops are regularly searched by the police lest they be tempted to put their skill to illegal uses such as the engraving of false coin-dies. Such great care is taken to ensure the genuineness of a seal that the trade are forbidden to engrave two seals exactly the same for the same person. When a seal is lost the owner has some trifling alteration made in the new one, such as a change in an ornament or the date, so that the forgery can be detected if his first seal should fall into evil hands.

The Stambul engravers date the origin of their art in the time of the Caliph 'Othmān and say the first engraver was a certain Muḥammad al-Ḥidjāzī who engraved seals for 'Othmān and 'Alī bearing their names with the additional epithet *'abd Allāh*; the rings were of silver and the stones bloodstones.

White's account of the seals of the Sulṭān and dignitaries of the Ottoman empire follows d'Ohsson. The Sulṭān has three seals of different sizes all of emerald set in gold with the same inscription, the *ṭughrā* [q. v.] and a religious legend. The first is a small seal always carried by the Sulṭān and handed to his secretary as required. The second is somewhat larger and is entrusted to the grand

treasurer of the ḥarem, who uses it for all matters relating to the ḥarem — the Mughal Emperor Akbar similarly had a special seal for all documents relating to the ḥarem. — The third imperial Ottoman seal is the seal of state confided to the grand vizier of the day, who is supposed to keep it in his bosom day and night. The head of each department of state has also his own seal for matters relating to his office.

Persons of distinction do not usually wear signet-rings on their fingers. Great dignitaries have a confidential seal bearer (*muhrdār*) who carries the signet in a small bag in his breast pocket and produces it when required inked for the stamp or clean if wax is used. People of humble rank carry their seal in the breast pocket or suspended round the neck. The impression of the signet stands for a signature although for documents of importance the latter is also necessary. In the case of the Sulṭān, the seal used and the presence or absence of the signature vary with the importance of the document, as does the format of the latter.

Chardin's account of the seals used by the Shāh of Persia is similar. There are three seal-keepers (*muhrdār bashi*) but they only affix the seals, which are kept in a box in the palace sealed with the king's own seal. Friday is the usual day for sealing documents; the *muhrdār* prepares the seal and the paper and makes the impression on a sign from the Shāh who does not usually do it himself. There are three great seals, used for military, civil and foreign affairs, and two small seals used for the palace accounts etc. The same inscription is in the centre of the three large seals, *bandah Shāh wilāyat Sulaimān ast 1080* (A. H.); the small seals have *dīn* in place of *wilāyat*. One of the large seals has a quatrain round it and another has the names of the 12 Shīʿī Imāms. At the king's death his name is erased and that of his successor engraved on it. Of the general use of seals Chardin observes that it would not be easy to steal one as they are worn round the neck and only taken off in the bath; they are also worn on rings. It is rarer to find a seal counterfeited than a signature in Europe. The seal engravers used a drill and a small wheel with emery.

Abu 'l-Faḍl in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* devotes a special chapter to the Emperor's seals, which are used in the three branches of the government — "indeed every man requires them in his transactions". (Here we may note that English officials in India in the xviii[th] and xix[th] centuries found it necessary to have a seal with their names in Persian characters).

At the beginning of his reign, Akbar had a circular seal bearing his name and those of his ancestors back to Timur in the *riḳāʿ* characters; later he had a simpler one with his name only in the *nastaʿlīḳ* character. The former was at first used for letters to foreign kings and the latter (known as *uzuk*) for home affairs but the distinction was not maintained. A second seal used for judicial business was lozenge-shaped (*miḥrābī*) and bore an appropriate verse in praise of justness, round his majesty's name. For other business a small square seal with the legend *Allāhu Akbar, djalla djalāluhu* was used and the ḥarem as already stated had its own special seal.

The great figures of Muslim tradition had of course their seals. That of Sulaimān b. Dāʾūd is particularly famous and plays an important part in many of the stories of his miraculous exploits. It was held in particular awe by the djinn. Djamshīd, the Solon of Persia, according to Saʿdī, was the first person to wear his signet on the left hand. In Firdawsī's story of Sapor II's escape from captivity in Rūm, he reveals his return by sending an impression of his signet to the grand mobed.

Coming to more historical periods, we have a record of the seal inscriptions of all the early caliphs (e. g. in Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, under each caliph; collected by Hammer-Purgstall and von Murr); specimens of the seal impressions of several early Caliph still exist; (cf. Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Timūr's seal bore his special mark, three small circles arranged in a triangle, and the motto *rasti rusti* and an impression still exists in the Bibl. Nationale (de Sacy, *op. cit.*). Joinville mentions a ring of "moult fin or" bearing his signet which was among the presents sent to St. Louis by the Shaikh Djibāl. Specimens of the seals of Sulṭāns of Turkey and other high Turkish dignitaries are given by Hammer-Purgstall (*op. cit.*). Of these the most remarkable is the original seal of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II of 1106 A. H. found on the battle field of Zenta (1697) where its bearer, the Grand Vizier Elmas Meḥemed Pasha, was killed. A special medal was struck by the Austrians to commemorate this trophy. The ṭughrā is a feature of the imperial Turkish seals; it is said to be an imitation of the impression of the hand, because Urkhān's sign-manual was the impress of his hand in red ink. Timūr is also said to have used this primitive signature, but we know that he was not illiterate. The ṭughrā is also traced back to the Prophet himself.

Muslims have followed the example of the Prophet in having simple inscriptions on their seals. Sometimes the name alone is used, sometimes it is accompanied by a brief pious inscription, often indicative of humility; if the owner have the name of a person mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, the reference is frequently worked into the seal inscription. The name is given in a simple form and titles are as a rule avoided in keeping with the general modesty of the signet: for examples of legends see Reinaud and Hammer-Purgstall; in later times in Persia and India seals became much more elaborate and the seal of a minor official of the Moghul court of the end of the xviii[th] century often has several lines of bombastic inscription and forms a striking contrast to the seal for example of the great Sinan Pasha, five times Grand Vizier of Turkey with its modest inscription "O God Thou art full of mercy, pardon poor Sinān, son of ʿAlī".

The commonest materials for rings are silver or copper; and if a stone is mounted in it with the seal, it is one of the less valuable stones, cornelian, garnet, jacinth, agate, coral; the turquoise is not uncommon and one often sees them carved as amulets with inscription inlaid with gold. When not worn on a ring the seal is mounted on a handle and carried in a bag; sometimes the stone itself is pierced for suspension and worn round the neck. The shapes of Arab seals vary, oval is naturally the commonest but they are also square, hexagonal or octagonal; round is not common except for the largest sizes.

The art of the seal engraver was at its best, like that of calligraphy, in the xvi[th] and xvii[th] centuries. Its decline in the xviii[th] was followed

by the practical extinction of the art in the xixth. The names of few celebrated engravers have been preserved. Altun at the court of Tīmūr was reckoned a master of his art. Abu 'l-Faḍl gives the names of four masters of the craft at Akbar's court, each of whom was a specialist in a particular branch.

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(J. ALLAN)

KHATH'AM, an Arab tribe (the name is triptote although in several European editions of Arabic texts we find it wrongly vocalised as a diptote). They inhabited, at least from the sixth century A. D., the mountainous territory between al-Ṭā'if and al-Nadjrān along the caravan route from Yemen to Mekka. Historiographical theory on the migrations of the tribes which is bound up with their genealogical systematisation, makes them settle at the time of the separation of the sons of Ma'add, in the mountains of al-Sarāt [q.v.], from which the Azd are said to have driven them at the time of the migration of the South Arabian tribes after the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib, to the lands they occupied in historical times (al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 28, 38, 41—42 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. ar. Stämme*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xiv. 39, 53, 58 = *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 113—114, following Ibn al-Kalbī; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 464; ii. 326—327; Wüstenfeld, *Register z. d. genealog. Tabellen*, 130—131). According to this theory the Khath'am (like the Badjīla [q. v.] who figure everywhere as their brethren) were part of the Isma'īlī tribes, their descent being Khath'am b. Anmār b. Nizār (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 49, 15—50, 1; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 50, 16; [Pseudo-]Balkhī, ed. Huart, iv. 110—111, who all attribute this view to "the genealogists of the Muḍar"). But another theory connects them with a branch of the Saba' according to the genealogy: Aftal, surnamed Khath'am b. Anmār b. Irāsh b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (the latter is also the father of the Azd tribes) or more simply Khath'am b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, MS. of the Escorial, fol. 44r, 119v, who is followed by Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 302, 1—4; Ibn Ḳutaiba, p. 50, 19—20; Ibn Hishām, p. 50, 3—5; *Aghānī*, xv. 151; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 9, 13; Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, p. 116, 11, gives the isolated genealogy: Khath'am b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir [?] and Ibn Ḳutaiba, p. 50, 18 makes Anmār the son of Saba', cf. Reiske, *Primae lineae*, p. 133). These contradictory statements seem to indicate that, like so many other tribes, the Khath'am do not represent an ethnic unit but rather a confederation of clans of different origins. This seems also to be deducible from the etymology of their name, which connects it with the verb *takhath'ama* "to smear oneself with blood" on the occasion of a pact of alliance (on this custom cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p. 21—22, 25—26 and the authors he quotes). Other etymologies which make Khath'am the name of a mountain or of a camel are not worthy of consideration (Ibn al-Kalbī, fol. 120r = Ibn Duraid 302, 2—3, 304, 6 from below; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 72, 375; *Lisān*, xv. 36). In any case we always find the Khath'am associated with tribes of the south either in alliances made on the occasion of expeditions (*e.g.* *al-Aghānī*, ix. 17; xii. 47 *sq.*; xviii. 35—36) or during the *ridda* (al-Ṭabarī, de Goeje, i. 1985 *sq.*), or latterly in the grouping of the tribes stationed in the military camps of Baṣra and Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, i. 2495, 3174; ii. 122; but ii. 1382, 1—3, we find them also grouped with the Kināna, Ḳais 'Ailān, Muzaina and even Ḳuraish, all tribes of the north under the general denomination *Ahl al-'Āliya*. It seems that at this time [101 A. H.] the territorial principle had prevailed over the ethnic one). Their principal clans were the Shahrān, Nāhis and Aklub, the latter according to the South Arabian genealogy was of another origin (Aklub b. Rabī'a b. Nizār) and was late in entering the tribe (cf. al-Bakrī, p. 53 ult.—54, 9).

We have no authentic information on the Khath'am for the remote period in the history of the Arabian peninsula (the identification proposed by Blau, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxii. 658; xxiii. 561, note 6 with the Ἀτραμῖται *Atramitae* of Uranios and Pliny who are to be distinguished from the Χατραμωτῖται of Ḥaḍramawt, is quite untenable). From the sixth century we find them inhabiting along with other tribes of diverse origins, the districts of Bīsha, Turaba, Djurash, Tabāla; this last was the centre of the cult of the God Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa (on him see Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], p. 45—48), whom the Khath'am like the Badjīla, Daws, Bāhila etc. worshipped (Yāḳūt, i. 791; ii. 461, 703; iv. 62, 567 [= *Aghānī*, xi. 152], 578, 17 *sq.*, where there are numerous references to the neighbours of the Khath'am and to the assignation of the part of the territory of Bīsha at the end of the first century A. H. to some members of the Omayyad and Hāshimī families; Hamdānī, 135—136; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, 34 *sq.*).

Among the numerous guerilla wars in which the Khath'am were involved (*cf. Aghānī*, vii. 119; xii. 47, 51—52; xiv. 25; xviii. 35—36; *Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, 46; Yāḳūt, ii. 735, 16; iv. 56, 16—17;

Hamdānī, 170, 22), the best known is that of Faif al-Rīh in which their chief Anas b. Mudrik (or Mudrika) allied to the greater part of the Madhḥidj, defeated the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a commanded by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail [q. v.] who lost an eye in the battle (*Naḳā'iḍ*, 469—472; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, i. 474; *'Iḳd*, ed. 1293, iii. 102—103; *Dīwān* of 'Āmir, ed. Lyall, Introd., p. 82—83, Nos. x., xi. [= *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, N⁰. cvi.], xii., xix., xxv., xxvii., Suppl., Nos. 1, 19). Anas b. Mudrik famous also as a poet was the hero of another enterprise of the Khath'am like that against the Banū Djusham (*Aghānī*, ix. 17) and that in which he killed the famous poet-brigand Sulaik b. Sulaka (*Ḥamāsa*, 415—416; *Aghānī*, xviii. 137—138; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, 217). The biographical notes on Anas, who lived for several years after the introduction of Islām, have been collected by the author of this article in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x. 499—500 (year 40 A. H., § 347).

The position of the lands of the Khath'am enabled them to play a part in the Abyssinian expedition against Makka. They tried to oppose Abraha's advance but beaten by him, they were forced to guide the enemy's army as far as al-Ṭā'if (see the sources collected in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Araber*, p. 206—217). The spread of Islām at first left them indifferent (no heed need be paid to the story in al-Ṭabarī, i. 1079—1080, of the Khath'amī *kāhina* of Tabāla, Fāṭima bint Murr, who saw a "divine" light on the face of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the future father of the Prophet. The only interesting feature of the story is the epithet Judaising, *Mutahawwida*, conferred on the *kāhina*). Their first relations with Muḥammad were certainly hostile (Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, 387; al-Ṭabarī, i. 1730—1731), but they ultimately sent him an embassy and recognised him and accepted a letter from him which declared all the blood-feuds previous to Islām abolished (Ibn Sa'd, i. 2. 34, 78; *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 330, year 10 A.H., § 28, cf. also § 23, p. 326—327). On the death of the Prophet, only a section of them rebelled (*Annali*, ii. 573—574, 581, 585, year 11 A.H., § 87—88, 98, 104). The destruction of the sanctuary of Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa by 'Abdallāh b. Djarīr al-Badjalī must have broken their resistance along with that of other tribes who were grouped round this turbulent centre (al-Ṭabarī, i. 1985 *sq.*). During the wars of conquest we find them in the army of Syria (Ibn 'Asākir in *Annali*, iii 588, year 15 A. H., § 66*a*, cf. also al-Ṭabarī, i. 3287, 11, 3408, 4—17) as well as in those of the 'Irāḳ (al-Ṭabarī, 2188, 11—12), and as we have seen, they formed part of the tribes quartered at Baṣra and Kūfa.

Several Khath'amī women were married to Ḳuraishīs. One of them played rather an important part in the early history of Islām: Asmā' bint 'Umais is one of the first women converted to the faith of Muḥammad, who took part in the emigration of the first Muslims to Abyssinia. She was successively the wife of Dja'far b. Abū Ṭālib, Abū Bakr and 'Alī, which gives special prestige in Muslim tradition (Ibn Sa'd, viii. 205—209 and cf. *Annali dell' Islām*, x. 231—236, year 38 A. H., §§ 269—292). Her sister Salmā was the wife of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*Annali, loc. cit.*, § 285, Ibn Sa'd, viii. 209); a daughter of Anas b. Mudrik, Asmā', was the wife of Khālid b. al-Walīd (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo, viii. 6, N⁰. 39; *Annali*, ix., year 37 A.H., § 412; x. 499).

The Khath'amī poets were few in number; the most notable is Ibn al-Dumaina (*Aghānī*, xv. 151—157; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kit. al-Shi'r*, p. 458—459, etc.), who flourished probably at the end of the first or at the beginning of the second century A.H. and who is famous for the sanguinary revenge he took for his wife's unfaithfulness.

Bibliography (besides works quoted in the article): Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, MS. of the Escorial, fol. 124ᵛ—127ʳ, of which Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 304—306 and *'Iḳd*, ed. 1293, ii. 78—79 are résumés.

(G. Levi Della Vida)

KHAṬĪ'A (plur. *khaṭāyā* and *khaṭī'āt*), sin, synonymous with *dhanb*. The root *kh-ṭ-'* has the meaning of stumbling (in Hebrew: Proverbs, xix. 2), committing an error (*akhṭa'a* is said e.g. of the bowman whose arrow misses the aim); see the art. KHAṬA'. The definition of *khaṭī'a* is "a sin committed on purpose"; that of *khiṭ'* (see Sūra xvii. 33) simply "a sin", whereas *ithm* is applied to heavy sins. Probably these theological distinctions belong to the Islāmic period only; it seems doubtful whether the pagan Arabs were acquainted with the term *khaṭī'a* at all. It occurs in the *dīwān* of Ḳais b. al-Ruḳaiyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, N⁰. 18, vs. 3, p. 129, in the sense of fault, defect (kind communication from F. Krenkow). It is only in accord with the general character of the Ḳur'ān that this book does not contain an elaborate theory of sin; frequent are, however, the passages in which the consequences and forgiveness of sins is spoken of. Allāh, *al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, through the preaching of His Apostles and Prophets, calls men unto forgiveness of sins (Sūra xiv. 11; xlvi. 30; lxxi. 4, 6). Who avoids heavy sins and immoral deeds will find plenty of forgiveness with his Lord (Sūra liii. 33), who forgiveth sin and accepteth repentance (Sūra xl. 2); He is the best of forgivers (Sūra vii. 154); He forgiveth sins totally (*djamī'an*; Sūra xxxix. 54).

This is the general aspect of forgiveness of sins in the Ḳur'ān. Further details are also given. When Mūsā says: "O my Lord, I have wronged myself (*ẓalamtu nafsī*), forgive me", Allāh forgives him (Sūra xxviii. 15; cf. Sūra xxxviii. 24 [Dā'ūd], etc.). But he who dies as an infidel or as a polytheist will not find forgiveness (Sūra iv. 51, 136; xlvii. 36); *kufr* [q.v.] is forgiven, however, when it is done away with (Sūra viii. 39). But he who "is enveloped" by his sin will remain in Hell for ever (Sūra ii. 75).

This is a mild view; it agrees, on the whole, with the position of Judaism and Catholicism on this point. But it is not to be forgotten that Allāh remains free: "He spareth whomsoever He pleaseth and punisheth whomsoever He pleaseth" (Sūra iii. 124).

The mild attitude regarding sinners taken by the Ḳur'ān is kept on by Islām. Yet the doctrine of sin, the distinction of light and heavy sins as well as their punishment were the object of serious controversy in early Islām.

The distinction between light (*ṣaghā'ir*) and heavy (*kabā'ir*) sins could be maintained in accordance with passages from the Ḳur'ān such as Sūra xlii. 35, where the term *kabā'ir* is already used. Christian dogmatics have certainly exercised influence, as may be seen from the doctrine of the (seven)

capital sins which occurs in Ḥadīth: "The Apostle of Allāh said: Avoid the seven capital sins (*mūbiḳāt*). When he was asked what they are, he answered: Polytheism, sorcery, killing those who may not be killed except for a lawful reason, spoiling the possessions of orphans, usury, fleeing from battle against the enemy, and abusing heedless, faithful *muḥṣanāt*" (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 144: al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 23). In other enumerations of the capital sins there are deviations from this scheme; theology and ethics maintain the view that there are sins heavier than those enumerated in the tradition just mentioned. Al-Nawawī in his commentary (i. 170) cites a passage from Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām the contents of which are the following. Whosoever wishes to know whether a sin belongs to the class of the light or to that of the heavy ones may compare its character with the character of the capital sins. If it is lighter than the lightest of capital sins, it belongs to the light ones; in other cases it belongs to the heavy ones. Who e.g. disdains his Lord or throws the Ḳur'ān into the mire has committed one of the heaviest sins, though the law does not characterise it as such. Likewise, if a man should lay hold on a woman in order to give his companion opportunity to violate her, or if he should detain a man in order to give his companion to kill this man, such a deed would bear a much more sinful character than the spoiling of the possessions of orphans, though the latter figures among the capital sins. In the same portion of his commentary al-Nawawī speaks of the strongly deviating opinions concerning the distinction between light and heavy sins. He cites the saying of Ibn 'Abbās: "Everything which Allāh has prohibited, when perpetuated, is a heavy sin." And other theological authorities have said: "Every action contrary to the law is a heavy sin with a view to Allāh's Majesty." Yet the great majority of the theologians are unanimous in making a distinction between light and heavy sins. Although they recognise the view just mentioned to be right with respect to Allāh, yet there is a gradation with a view to sins considered by themselves. Accordingly the law calls light sins those which are atoned by the five ṣalāts, by the Ramaḍān-fast, by the ḥadjdj, etc. But how can light sins be distinguished from heavy ones? Several answers on this question are given. According to one view, every sin which is mentioned in connection with Hell, with Allāh's anger, curse or punishment belongs to the heavy ones. Another view: Every sin committed without signs of fear or circumspection or with levity belongs to the heavy ones; but sins due to slips of the tongue, to a relaxed control of the passions and the like are to be reckoned among the light ones. Such contradictory definitions induce Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī to state that there are certain sins that are called heavy by law, others that are called light, and others that are not provided with either of these epithets. Prudence therefore commands men to avoid all sins lest he prove to have committed one of the heavy ones. — The '*ulamā*' say: Persevering in committing light sins makes them heavy; and on the authority of 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās the sentence is handed down: "No sin is heavy if forgiveness is asked, no sin is light if the transgressor perseveres in it." Thus far al-Nawawī.

This theory concerning light and heavy sins and their forgiveness, which may be called representative of the views of orthodox Islām, was not shared by two sects of so divergent tendencies as the Khāridjīs [q. v.] and the Mu'tazilīs [q. v.] were. Both hold the position that the consequence of heavy sins will be eternal punishment. This position is connected with the question concerning the relation existing between faith and works. While orthodox Islām, theoretically at least, emphasises the value of faith, these sects lay stress upon works as the criterion of a man being faithful or not; their most consequent opponents in this respect were the Murdji'a [q. v.]. The line of distinction which orthodox Islām draws between Muslims and Kāfirs was removed to the right by the Khawāridj and the Mu'tazila, so as to add to the damned also the Muslims who were guilty of heavy sins. The echo of the fervent debates between the parties is still heard in the commentaries on the Ḳur'ān. Al-Baiḍāwī comments upon Sūra ii. 75 (see above): The "envelopment" mentioned here can only refer to Kāfirs; consequently those who have committed heavy sins do not fall under the verdict of this verse.

Verses like Sūra xxxix. 55: "Allāh forgiveth sins in their totality" and Sūra ii. 284: "He forgiveth whomsoever He pleaseth and He punisheth whomsoever He pleaseth", prove that punishment of sins is not necessary and that heavy sins are also pardoned (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, ii. 82). Al-Baiḍāwī (see also Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, v. 455): "It is not true that for the forgiveness of sins *tawba* [q. v.] is necessary; this is only required for *shirk*" [q.v.]. Still, however strong this assertion may be, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī does not fail to declare in his commentary on Sūra xxxix. 54: "Perhaps He will pardon sins in general and perhaps He will punish in Hell for a time and pardon afterwards".

Al-Zamakhsharī, who was a moderate Mu'tazilī, combats such views. Commenting upon the words "He pardoneth whomsoever He pleaseth" (Sūra iii. 124) he remarks: "On account of *tawba*, for He is not disposed to grant forgiveness except to those who repent". And he fulminates against the interpretation of the verse which is put into the mouth of Ibn 'Abbās: "He granteth heavy sins to whomsoever He pleaseth and He punisheth whomsoever He pleaseth on account of light sins"; words, indeed, to bring a Mu'tazilite to despair.

As is to be expected, the orthodox view of heavy sins being pardonable is also to be found in Ḥadīth. The Prophet said: "Djibrīl visited me and cheered me with the assurance: Any member of thy community who dies confessing Allāh's unity will enter Paradise". I said: "Even if he has committed adultery and theft?" He said: "Even if he has committed adultery and theft"" (Muslim, *Īmān*, tr. 153). Al-Nawawī remarks in his commentary on this tradition: "This is a *locus probans* for the opinion of the Sunnites that those who have committed heavy sins will not suffer everlasting punishment in Hell and that they will be taken back from Hell if they have entered it; and that they finally will enter Paradise and remain there for ever." All this is elaborately treated in the traditions on intercession (see the article SHAFĀ'A) where it is stated anew that Muḥammad intercedes also on behalf of grave sinners and that through his intercession they are allowed to leave Hell.

Innumerable are the traditions in which Muḥammad mentions forgiveness of sins on account

of good works of every kind. In some of these traditions the qualification occurs: "except heavy ones"; this clausula represents the common orthodox view (see above) that light sins are repaired by good works of every kind, that heavy ones require *istighfār* and that *shirk* requires *tawba* [q. v.]. *Shirk*, polytheism, is consequently the heaviest sin; the lightest is the so-called *ḥadīth al-nafs*, i. e. sinful thoughts which do not issue into reality; it is even said that no account of these thoughts is taken in the computation of sins on the Day of Resurrection. The idea is expressed in the following tradition: "The Apostle of Allāh said: Allāh does not take into account what the members of my community think as long as they do not pronounce it or carry it out" (Muslim, *Īmān*, tr. 201—208). This tradition, which also occurs in other forms, is another proof of the mild attitude taken by orthodox Islām towards sin, an attitude which forms a counterbalance against the severe doctrine of *ḳadar* [q. v.]. The tradition just mentioned and the attitude from which it arises are the more remarkable because Muslim theology is very strict in matters regarding the intention (cf. the art. NĪYA). On the other hand, scrupulousness regarding sinful thoughts is highly praised. Once Muḥammad's companions said to him: "We find in our inner self thoughts which we would have scruples to pronounce." He said: "Do you find them really?" They answered: "Yes". Then he said: "This (scrupulousness) is pure faith" (Muslim, *Īmān*, tr. 209). In this connection also the following *ḥadīth* may be mentioned. "Anas said: Verily, you do things which, in your eyes, are more insignificant than a hair is thick; but in Muḥammad's lifetime we considered them as capital sins" (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 32). Finally one tradition must be mentioned which could be called a step in the direction of the attitude of Khāridjīs and Mu'tazilīs regarding heavy sins. "The Apostle of Allāh said: Who commits fornication is not a believer at the same time, nor is he who steals or drinks wine" (Muslim, *Īmān*, tr. 100; cf. tr. 101—105; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 1, 6, 20 etc.). Al-Nawawī in his commentary is anxious to prove that the words "is not a believer" do not imply a total, but only a partial lack of faith, and he states that "the *idjmā'* of the people of the truth" is that those who commit fornication, theft, murder or any sin considered as one of the *kabā'ir*, except *shirk*, are not for this reason infidels; no, they are believers lacking in faith; if they repent, their punishment is abolished and if they die persevering in heavy sins they are left to Allāh's pleasure: if He pleaseth, He forgiveth them and maketh them enter Paradise at once, and if He pleaseth, He punisheth them and maketh them enter Paradise afterwards. — Similar views and their opposite lie also at the bottom of the much debated question whether faith is liable to increase and diminution.

In ethical and mystical literature we find a more systematic and elaborate classification of sins; cf. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, i. 85 *sq.*; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. iv., book i. (on repentance). Abū Ṭālib recognises four classes of sins, a division which was borrowed from him by al-Ghazālī. Those of the first kind are called *rabbānīya*, sins such as haughtiness and pride, boasting, arrogance, love of praise, love of life, ambition, despotism; those of the second class are called satanic (*shaiṭāniya*); it comprises such sins as envy and deceit; those of the third class bear the epithet of "animal" sins (*bahīmīya*); these are avidity, covetousness, rage and lust; the fourth class comprises those sins which remind of the nature of the beasts of prey (*sabu'īya*), such as wrath, fighting and murder.

Al-Ghazālī rejects the view of those who do not recognise a practical difference between light and heavy sins. He mentions the enumerations of heavy sins varying between four and eleven, and cites Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's view that "there are 17 heavy sins, four in the heart, to wit: polytheism, persevering in sin, despair of Allāh's compassion, and أمن من مكره; four in the tongue, to wit: false witness, abusing the *muḥṣan*, false oath, and sorcery; three in the belly: drinking water and intoxicating drinks, spoiling the goods of orphans, and usury; two in the genitals: fornication and pederasty; two in the hands: murder and theft; one in the feet: fleeing from battle; one in the whole body: disobedience regarding one's parents.

The mystics, nothwithstanding such classifications, see sin in a more general light. It is man as such who is a sinner. It is necessary for him to know Allāh in His highness and to know himself in his baseness. For the soul is like a mirror disfigured by rust, which has to be cleaned and polished, so as to be able to reflect the higher world. This polishing process dominates the life of the mystic and gives rise e. g. to the *muḥāsaba*, the daily examination of one's self with a view to sins committed and to the means to avoid them in future (*Iḥyā'*, vol. iv., book viii.; cf. Asín Palacios, *La Mystique d'al-Ghazālī*, *M.F.O.M.*, vii. 90 *sq.*). It is this consciousness of sinfulness which lies at the root of the mournful attitude of the mystics and which has inspired so many sayings expressing their fear to appear before Allāh after death (cf. R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳuschairī's Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, p. 11 *sq.*).

Two deviating attitudes regarding sin taken by the mystics have still to be mentioned: that of the *Ibāḥīya* and that of the *Malāmatīya*. The former have turned their back to the *via purgativa* of the mystic and maintain that the fetters of law and morals have no longer to be borne by him who participates in true mystic life. For a full description see the art. TAṢAWWUF. — The *Malāmatīya* [q. v.], on the other hand, start from the conception that the mystic has to avoid all that may confer on him the praise of mankind and their admiration. They therefore do not shun actions which expose them to general reproval or disdain, actions which in their case are not the outcome of their indulging in sinful inclinations and which, without the purpose of incurring blame, would loose nothing of their sinful character.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHAṬĪB (A.), plur. *khuṭabā'*, was, among the ancient Arabs, the name for the spokesman of the tribe. The *khaṭīb* is therefore often mentioned along with the *shā'ir*, the poet (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 934, 1 *from below*, 938, 3 *from below*; Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 484, 11 *sq.*), and, like the *kāhin* and the *sayyid*, was one of the leaders of the tribe. The character and significance of his office is clearly explained by Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, Cairo 1332, vols. 1—3. The distinction between *khaṭīb* and *shā'ir* is not

absolutely definite but practically is that the *shāʿir* uses the poetic form while the *khaṭīb* expresses himself in prose, often, however, also in *sadjʿ* (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, i. 159); his speech is introduced with *ammā baʿdu* (al-Ḥarīrī, ed. de Sacy, 1822, p. 42). According to Djāḥiẓ, there were a few *khuṭabāʾ* who were also *shuʿarāʾ* (i. 27). In the *Djāhilīya* the *shāʿir* is said to have been more highly esteemed than the *khaṭīb* but when the numbers of poets gradually increased and the latter's art declined and they became beggars, the *khaṭīb* obtained more prestige (i. 136; iii. 227). The *khaṭīb* is also associated with the story-teller, the *ḳāṣṣ*, and with the *aṣḥāb al-akhbār wa 'l-āthār* (Djāḥiẓ, i. 167 *sq.* and passim); the office was sometimes hereditary in the same family. The *khuṭabāʾ* did not form a gild or caste; they were the men who had the ability to be spokesmen. They appear not only at the head of a *wafd* to negotiate as representatives of their tribe, as we know from the *Sīra* (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, i. 20), but, like the poets, they were also the leaders in the war of wits with the enemy (*mufākhara*). The *khaṭīb* had to be able to extol the glorious deeds and the noble qualities of his tribe and to narrate them in perfect language and to be able likewise to expose the weaknesses of his opponents. He had therefore to be *faṣīḥ* and know how to employ *balāgha* and in this way to overcome his opponents (cf. *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, xci. 22 *sq.*, xcvi. 9; al-Kuṭāmī ed. J. Barth, xiv. 20; Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1902, xliv. 19; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 20, 15 *sq.*). Lampoons give the following characteristics of a poor *khaṭīb*: his pronunciation is bad, he turns too and fro, stammers, coughs, strokes his beard, twists his fingers, a sign of cowardice (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 650, verse 5; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 20, 7, 9 *sq.*). It is in keeping with the character of the ancient Arab *khaṭīb* that he is included among the fighting knights and nobles (al-Kuṭāmī, *op. cit.*; Djāḥiẓ, i. 134, 8 *sq.*, 172, 11), indeed, *khaṭīb* itself is used as a name for a brave warrior (Djāḥiẓ, i. 129). When the *khaṭīb* makes a public appearance his insignia are lance, staff or bow (*al-makhāṣir*), just as a man taking an oath carries tokens of masculine honour; he often strikes the earth with it (cf. al-Kuṭāmī, xxvii. 6; Labīd, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Chālidī, 7, 15 [p. 27]; 9, 45 [p. 45]; Djāḥiẓ, i. 197 *sq.*, iii. 3 *sqq.*, 61 *sq.*).

In the earliest days of Islām the *khaṭīb* retained much of his old character. "The prophet came forward as a *khaṭīb*" after the conquest of Mekka (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 823, 2 from below) and spoke publicly with ceremony and authority. But the *khuṭba* now became solely an address to the Muslims, not a part of the war against the enemy and *mufākhara* was no longer part of the activities of the Muslim *khaṭīb*. But it is quite in keeping with the nature of early Islām and with that of the Arab *khaṭīb* that the ruler himself was spokesman and that he not only made edifying speeches from the *minbar* as *khaṭīb* but also issued orders, made decisions and pronounced his views on political questions and particularly questions of general interest. This was the case under the first four caliphs and the Umaiyads (cf. Djāḥiẓ, i. 190), and the governors appointed by them also acted as *khuṭabāʾ* (e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 318 infra); Djāḥiẓ, i. 179 middle, etc.); the local governors appointed by the latter were also entrusted with the control of the *minbar* and of the *ṣalāt* (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 929, 11 *sq.*). Diatribes against and curses on the enemy were part of their *minbar* speeches, e. g. the curses on ʿAlī and occasionally on Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair (Djāḥiẓ, i. 165). *Khaṭīb* was therefore still synonymous with "leader"; a poet of the Khawāridj says: "There will be no peace so long as there is a *khaṭīb* from Thaḳīf on the *minbar*'s of this world" (Djāḥiẓ, iii. 135). An inheritance from the ancient Arab spokesman is the staff or lance which the Muslim *khaṭīb* holds in his right hand during the *khuṭba*, a custom which provoked the scorn of the Persians (Djāḥiẓ, iii. 135.). But the close connection between the *khuṭba* and divine service gave the Muslim *khaṭīb* a specifically religious character. After the conclusion of the wars of the first generations, this element became more predominant and in the time of the ʿAbbāsids, as early as Hārūn al-Rashīd, the caliph left it to the ḳāḍīs to deliver the sermon at the service while he himself was simply a listener (Djāḥiẓ, i. 161). But in theory the leaders of divine service in the great mosques are representatives of the caliph (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1322, p. 173).

The Egyptian Fāṭimids still occasionally preached themselves (behind a veil), namely 3 times in the month of Ramaḍān and at the great festivals (Ibn al-Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 482—486; ed. Popper, p. 331 *sqq.*; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1324, ii. 322, 327, 329). On this occasion his highest dignitaries stood on the steps of the *minbar* (*op. cit.*, p. 327, 329), while on the other hand the *wālī* of a district often stood on the *minbar* if the *khaṭīb* was preaching, a custom which testifies to the original high rank of the *khaṭīb*, but was later condemned by strict authorities on morals (Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, Cairo 1320, ii. 74). Special *khuṭabāʾ* were everywhere appointed. There were three of them in Cairo during the earlier Fāṭimid period (for the ʿAmr, Ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Azhar mosques); cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 348, 6; as a rule it seems to have been the honorary office of a ḳāḍī; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 224, 8 infra. On the *ʿĪd al-Ghadīr*, a special *khaṭīb* pronounced the *khuṭba* on a *minbar* with 9 steps in the sanctuary of Ḥusain in Cairo, while the chief ḳāḍī conducted the *ṣalāt*; the *khaṭīb* on this occasion was given a silk robe and 30 or 50 dīnārs (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 224 *sq.*). On other occasions also the *khaṭīb* received a robe of honour (*op. cit.*, ii. 387 infra). The *khaṭīb* usually was also the conductor (*imām*) of the Friday *ṣalāt* at which he preached and, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and a tradition of Mālik, he must actually do so unless there were special reasons for a deviation from the rule. The daily *ṣalāt*'s are as a rule conducted by other *imām*'s (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya*, ed. Enger, p. 181, 3 from below). According to al-Shāfiʿī and Mālik, the Friday service with *khuṭba* can only be held in one mosque in each town, if the size of the town does not make it impossible, while Abū Ḥanīfa has no such rule. The *khuṭba* was therefore delivered, for example, in Cairo after the end of the Fāṭimid period in the Ḥākim mosque only, because Saladin appointed a Shāfiʿī chief ḳāḍī. This state of affairs was altered by Baibars when he appointed a Ḥanafī chief ḳāḍī (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv. 53). Abū Ḥanīfa on the other hand allows divine service

in which a *khaṭīb* takes part only in a large town (*miṣr*), in which the ruler or his deputy is present in person. The other schools are less rigorous on the point. But the Imām-*khaṭīb* of the Friday service is, according to the other schools also, in theory the representative of "the highest Imām". Several Imāms can be chosen, if necessary with their exact functions defined. According to al-Māwardī (p. 172), the Sulṭān appoints the imāms of the larger mosques, in keeping with the theory of their representative character. But, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, Cairo, iv. 39), each mosque under the Mamlūks had its own *khaṭīb* while the Sulṭān only concerned himself with the larger mosques. The office of *khaṭīb* of the important mosques was a very distinguished one. Thus, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, the Shāfiʿī chief ḳāḍī himself was *khaṭīb* of the great mosque in the citadel of Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik*, 1894, p. 92) and it was regarded as a special distinction, anxiously coveted, when Saladin after the conquest of Jerusalem chose the ḳāḍī Muḥyī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī to act as first *khaṭīb* in the Aḳṣā mosque (Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatain fī Akhbār al-Dawlatain*, Cairo 1288, ii. 108 *sqq.*). The document confirming his appointment under the Mamlūks is further evidence of the *khaṭīb*'s dignity (cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, ii. 222—225; al-ʿUmarī, *Kitāb al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*, Cairo 1312, p. 126 *sq.*). He is the natural authority to whom new converts announce their conversion to Islām (Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, p. 76); the people touch his robe *li 'l-tabarruk*, etc. (al-Shaʿrānī, *Kitāb al-Mīzān*, i. 169). According to al-Māwardī (p. 185), the *khaṭīb* ought preferably to wear black clothes, according to al-Ghazālī, white, while the first mentioned would be *bidʿa* (*Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1322, p. 131, 10 f. b. *sqq.*). His insignia are *al-ʿūdāni*, the "two things of wood" i.e. the *minbar* and the staff or wooden sword which he has to hold in his hand during the sermon, according to the Fiḳh books also. According to the law of 1911 applied to al-Azhar, art. 59, every one who has passed through the second of the three divisions of the institute can become a *khaṭīb*. While in al-Azhar itself only one *khaṭīb* is appointed (al-Zaiyātī, *Taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, p. 207), there were in 1909 in the mosque of the Prophet in Medina 46, in Mekka 122 *khuṭabāʾ*, besides their deputies. They enjoy certain foundations and the office is on the whole hereditary (al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāzīya*[2], Cairo 1329, p. 101, 242).

Beside the official *khaṭīb*, the *wāʿiẓ* exercised the function of an edifying preacher, when he pleased (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 1922, p. 318 *sqq.*).

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AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. THĀBIT, known as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, was born on the 24th Djumādā II, 392 (1002) at Darzidjān, a large village on the west bank of the Tigris below Baghdād. The son of a khaṭīb (preacher), he began his studies very early and spent his youth travelling in search of ḥadīth. In this way he visited Baṣra, Nīshāpūr, Iṣfahān, Hamadān and Damascus. Finally settling in Baghdād, he held the office of a khaṭīb there and this was the origin of the name al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī by which he is known to posterity. His profound erudition in the matter of tradition gained him great fame and authority in his new abode; one of his biographers says that preachers and teachers of tradition used to have to submit the traditions they had collected to his expert opinion before quoting them in their sermons and in their lectures. On the other hand al-Khaṭīb seems to have suffered from the hostility of the Ḥanbalīs, who were numerous and powerful in Baghdād at this period. His preference for the Shāfiʿī-school, after having been at first a Ḥanbalī, his theological opinions which were quite uncompromising in their Ashʿarism, attracted to him the hatred of the pupils of the Imām Aḥmad who were enemies of all bold theological speculation. He succeeded however in spite of the opposition of the Ḥanbalīs and thanks to the protection of the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim and the vizier Ibn al-Muslima in opening a course of lectures on ḥadīth (*imlāʾ*) in the mosque of al-Manṣūr. It seems, that retaining a bitter resentment for the enmity shown him, al-Khaṭīb never lost an opportunity in his lectures and writings of making malicious insinuations against Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Ḥanbalīs and even attacking them openly. He was on this account accused by later generations of *taʿaṣṣub* (legal and theological bias) and there is a body of polemical literature against him (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii. 632). When the successful rebellion of al-Basāsīrī brought about the ruin of Ibn al-Muslima, al-Khaṭīb fled to Damascus; arrested by order of the Fāṭimid governor, he only narrowly escaped execution by a precipitous flight to Ṣūr and Aleppo. Returning to Baghdād after the Saldjūḳs had restored order there, al-Khaṭīb, "ḥāfiẓ of the east", died there a year later on Monday 7th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 463 (1071) in the same year as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, the "ḥāfiẓ of the west". He was buried in the presence of a vast concourse beside the tomb of the venerated Bishr al-Ḥāfī.

Al-Khaṭīb's work was considerable: according to his biographers about a hundred treatises. The most celebrated of his works is the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, a repertory of scholars of tradition living in Baghdād; the geographical, topographical and historical introduction, which precedes the biographical collection has been abbreviated and partly published and translated into French by G. Salmon and utilised by G. Le Strange (*A greek Embassy to Baghdād in 917*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 35—45); edition of the text . . . .; mention should also be made of his *Kifāya fī maʿrifat uṣūl ʿilm al-riwāya* and his *Taḳyīd al-ʿilm*, on which see the

analysis by Ahlwardt in *Verzeichniss der arab. Handschriften der König. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ii. 1039, and 1035; a list of other works by al-Khaṭīb from the *Mir'āt al-Zamān* of Ibn al-Djawzī is given by Salmon, p. 8—10, and could be utilised with the aid of the following corrections: N°. 2: *al-Djāmi' li-akhlāḳ al-rāwī wa 'l-sāmi'* (instead of *li-akhlāf*); N°. 4 *al-Muttafiḳ wa 'l-muftariḳ* (instead of *wa 'l-mu'tarif*); N°. 10 *al-Faḳīh wa 'l-mutafaḳḳih* (instead of *wa 'l-mutafaḳḳiha*); N°. 20 *Man ḥadatha fanasiya* (instead of *fanasa*); N°. 26 *al-Tafṣīl li-mubham al-marāsīl* (instead of *al-tafṣīl*; work on the *ḥadīth mursal*); N°. 32 *al-Idjāza li-'l-ma'dūm wa 'l-madjhūl* (instead of *al-idjāda*; work on *idjāza* granted to an individual unnamed or not yet born); N°. 33 *al-Bukhalā'* (instead of *al-nadjla*; cf. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of arab. MSS. in the British Museum*, N°. 1132) and *al-Asmā' al-mutawāṭi'a* (opposed in logic to the *asmā' mushakkika*); N°. 41 *al-Mūḍiḥ* and *al-Ḳunūt* are two distinct works (instead of *al-Mūḍiḥ wa 'l-Ḳunūt*).

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KHATM (A.) or KHATMA, the technical name for the recitation of the whole of the Ḳur'ān from beginning to end. It is an infinitive from *khatama*, which is derived with the meaning "to end, to conclude" from the foreign word *khātam*, "seal, seal-ring" (Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 252), because the seal was affixed at the end of a document. The complete recitation of the Ḳur'ān is, especially if it is done within a short time, a meritorious achievement, e. g. in 8 nights, as Ubaiy b. Ka'b is said to have done (Ibn Sa'd, iii/ii. 60, 27; cf. on 'Uthmān *ibid.*, iii/i. 53, 3). It is related of Sulaimān al-A'mash (in Lane s. v.) that he accomplished the *khatma* soon after 'Uthmān's edition and soon after that of Ibn Mas'ūd. For a dead man the reciters were asked to recite the *ḳirā'at al-khatamāt* (e. g. in the 1001 Nights in the story of the merchant Aiyūb and his son). In Egypt the *khatma* was used as an entertainment for guests. In modern Mekka the so-called *ikhtām* is celebrated when a boy has read through the whole of the sacred book (the ceremony after the half or one third is called *iṣrāfa*). In South Arabia a *khitām* is presented to one who has recited the whole book for the first time.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 146, 272; Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 126 *sqq.*; Lane, *Arabian Nights*, i. 382; Goldziher in *Isl.*, 1915, vi. 214, on *Khatm al-Bukhārī*. (FR. BUHL)

KHAṬṬ, pl. *Khuṭūṭ* (the poet al-'Adjdjādj also uses the form *akhṭāṭ*), meant originally a straight furrow or line dug into the ground or a line drawn in the sand by a stick or with the finger. The word is frequently used for the digging of a grave, because the latter was long and straight. Then it was used for the meaning of laying out a settlement with lanes or streets (*khiṭṭa*). Finally it has the meaning of a line ruled on paper or parchment, and a line of writing.

This latter meaning is probably derived from the earlier meaning of the lines which a diviner (*ḥāzī*) drew in sand and from which he prognosticated the happy or unlucky issue of an undertaking about which he was consulted. For this purpose the diviner accompanied by an acolyte drew with utmost haste, so that he could not possible remember the number, a quantity of lines in the sand. Then he slowly wiped out two lines at a time, while the acolyte recited the words: "Ye two sons of 'Iyān, hasten with the explanation!" If in the end two lines remained it was a sure sign of success, while one line meant disappointment. This being ancient priestcraft was prohibited by Islām, but another mode of divining survived for a long time and may be practised to the present day. The diviner in this art of *khaṭṭ* made only three lines in the sand and then used corns of barley or date-stones which he flung upon the lines, and from the way they fell upon the lines he prognosticated the good or evil result of the enterprise (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, i. 303; *Lisān*, ix. 157—158).

Further *khaṭṭ* means essentially "handwriting" i. e. the Arabic script with its development and various styles; so we find it used in a verse of Imru' al-Ḳais (ed. Ahlwardt, 63, v. 1): "Like the writing of the Psalter on Yamanite palm-leaf". Similarly 'Abd Allāh b. 'Anama (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, 114, v. 5.) says: "Just as the ink is moved about in the writing from the inkstand". Later poems contain the mention of *khaṭṭ* for writing more frequently and the verse of the Islāmic poet al-Shammākh (ed. Cairo, p. 26, 7) may suffice: "As in Taimā a Jewish rabbi writes Hebrew with his right hand and then draws straight lines across (the parchment)". From this verse it becomes clear that not only Arabic writing, but any script is named *khaṭṭ*.

In modern language the word *khaṭṭ* is used for manuscript copies of books in opposition to printed books. The history of the development of the Arabic script need not be enlarged upon here as the subject has been dealt with in an earlier article (cf. the art. ARABIA, above, vol. i.). The secretaries (*kātib*, q.v.) developed a science about the correct formation of the letters, while necromancers in their turn invented a science by attributing special virtues to certain combinations of letters (cf. Ṭāshköprü Zāde, ed. Ḥaidarābād, i. 75—80; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iii. 2—171, and elsewhere; and for the supposed mystical interpretation of writing principally the books of the Ḥurūfīs). Cf. further the art. KHAṬṬ-I HUMAYŪN.

Bibliography: Ibn Durustawaih, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, ed. Bairut 1921, and most works dealing with the instructions of the *Kātib*. (F. KRENKOW)

AL-KHAṬṬ, a strip of coast on the Persian Gulf. The Arab geographers are not agreed as to its exact extent. While Yāḳūt limits the name to the coast of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān, which is also apparent from the mention of al-Ḳaṭīf, al-'Uḳair and Ḳaṭar, al-Bakrī says definitely that al-Khaṭṭ is the whole coast between 'Umān and al-Baṣra on the one side and Kāẓima and al-Shiḥr on the other. This difference of opinion is probably the result of the variation in extent of 'Umān and al-Baḥrain in the wider sense of these terms in course of time.

There are in any case authors who allot al-Khaṭṭ to either the one or the other territory. Al-Khaṭṭ in Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Herawī, for example,

is simply a collective name for the villages in ʿUmān, while Ibn al-Anbārī uses al-Khaṭṭ as the name for the coast of al-Baḥrain. In contrast to these wide applications of a fairly general term there is a narrow one, according to which al-Khaṭṭ was a particular settlement on the coast which belonged to the ʿAbd al-Ḳais. A. Sprenger has adopted this view, which was held by al-Balādhurī amongst others, and there is much in favour of locating al-Khaṭṭ preferably in the Gulf of al-Baḥrain. The place was in any case noted as a market for the famous Khaṭṭī lance-shafts imported from India and sold to the Beduins. The name al-Khaṭṭ seems to be old. If A. Sprenger is right in connecting it with "regio Attene" and "Chateni" in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 28, 147, and the "Atta vicus" in Ptolemy, the name dates back to long before the Muḥammadan period.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 453 *sq.*; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Leiden 1852, i., p. 358; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876, i. 314; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 92, 116. 118 *sq.*, 130 *sq.*, 135; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides* (*Mémoires d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales*), Leiden 1903, iii., p. 18, 86 *sqq.*; F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, p. 217 *sq.*; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHAṬṬ-I HUMĀYŪN, "imperial rescript", an ordinance referring to reforms in the organisation of the Ottoman empire, promulgated by the Sulṭāns. The expression was primarily applied to the Sulṭān's fiat written by the sovereign himself at the head of the document; later when the charge of the *ṭughrā* [q. v.] was left to an official called *nishāndji*, the term was wrongly extended to the whole document itself. The expression is synonymous with *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* but the usage in Ottoman administrative law is to apply the latter only to the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of Gülkhāne, a constitutional charter granted by Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Madjīd (Shaʿbān 26, 1255 = Nov. 3, 1839), while the former is generally applied to the *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* of the first third of Djumādā II, 1272 (Feb. 18, 1856). The latter addressed to the grand vizier Muḥammad Amīn ʿAlī Pasha had been obtained by the united action of French and English diplomatists at the end of the Crimean War. By this document, the Sulṭān acknowledging that this subjects were united among themselves by cordial bonds of patriotism (*waṭandāshī*, an expression that appears for the first time here but did not catch on) declared he would maintain the guarantees promised by the charter of Gülkhāne for the security of persons and property without distinction of class or cult, as well as the privileges and immunities enjoyed by non-Muslims: he accorded authority to repair churches and other buildings belonging to the various communities, put an end to the use of insulting appellations in administrative documents (for example of the term *reʿāyā*, applied to tributaries); proclaimed all his subjects eligible for public offices; instituted mixed tribunals composed of Muslims; announced the coming codification of penal and commercial law, and better organisation of the police, the application of recruiting to non-Muslims with the right of buying oneself out, the reorganisation of the provincial councils, the right of foreigners to possess landed property, reforms in the levying of taxes, the making of banks, roads and canals. This law remained in in force until the constitution of Midḥat Pasha in 1876.

Bibliography: T. X. Bianchi, *Khaththy humaïoun* (1856) at the end of the *Nouveau Guide de la conversation*, 2. (CL. HUART)

KHAṬṬ-I SHARĪF. [See KHAṬṬ-I HUMĀYŪN].

KHAṬṬĀBĪYA, name of a sect reckoned among the Shīʿite extremists (*ghulāt*), called after Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zainab al-Asadī al-Adjdaʿ, who is said to have asserted the immanence (*ḥulūl*) of the deity in the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (83—148 = 702—765) and afterwards in himself. He obtained a following in al-Kūfa, where he was attacked by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who was governor for some years till 147 = 764/765; he armed his followers with stones, reeds and knives, assuring them that these would prevail against the enemy's swords and lances. This promise proved deceptive; his followers to the number of seventy were slaughtered, and he himself was captured in Dār al-Rizḳ on the bank of the Euphrates, impaled, his trunk afterwards burned and his head sent to Baghdād. This disaster did not terminate the existence of the sect, some of whom maintained that neither Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb nor his followers had been really killed, the appearance having been delusive. Their numbers are computed by the best informed writer about 300 A. H. at 100,000, their location being the Sawād of al-Kūfa and Yaman; they had, however, no power or force. There is a brief allusion to their doctrine in Ibn Ḳutaiba's *Maʿārif*, which is somewhat earlier, and in the work of al-Muṭahhar b. al-Ṭāhir, who is some fifty years later, but they seem to have done nothing which attracted the attention of the historians. After Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb's death his followers are said to have transferred the imamate to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, and are thus to be reckoned among the Ismāʿīlīs.

The statements about their specific doctrines are scanty and to be accepted with caution. They held, it is asserted, that Muḥammad transferred the prophetic office from himself to ʿAlī on the Day of the Pond; and it would seem that Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb must have asserted that similar transference had taken place from Djaʿfar to himself. Both Sunnī and Shīʿī writers maintain emphatically that Djaʿfar repudiated the claims made for him by Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb, whose relation to him seems to have been similar to that of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbaid to Ibn al-Ḥanafīya.

Of his other doctrines the best attested is that he taught absolute ruthlessness in dealing with opponents. Men, women and children were all to be massacred, his argument being the same as was employed by the Azāriḳa. False witness was lawful in dealing with them. Al-Muṭahhar asserts that in consequence the evidence of members of this sect was not accepted in the courts.

The later heresiologues know far more about the sect than do the earlier. With al-Muṭahhar the Bazīghīya are a separate sect, but al-Shahrastānī makes them a subdivision of the Khaṭṭābīya. The latter writer makes another subdivision, the ʿUmairīya, who figure in ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir's work as a subdivision of the Djanāḥīya. Al-Shahrastānī also treats the Muʿammarīya as a branch of the Khaṭṭābīya, but Ibn Ḥazm evidently regarded them as

independent. By the time of al-Maḳrīzī the number of subdivisions had reached fifty, and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's father's *kunya* was variously given as Abū Thawr and Abū Yazīd, probably through misreadings of the name Zainab. The sect is charged with repudiating the whole of the moral law as well as the whole ritual of Islām. Transmigration also appears among their supposed tenets. Since the sect appears to have left no literature, it is difficult to check these statements.

Bibliography: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Kitāb fīhi Madhāhib Firaḳ Ahl al-Imāma* (MS. belonging to A. G. Ellis Esq.); I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, *J. A. O. S.*, xxviii. and xxix. (translation with notes of Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, v. 187 *sqq.*); al-Shahrastānī, transl. Haarbrücker, i. 206; 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ baina 'l-Firaḳ*, p. 242; al-Kashshī, *Ma'rifat Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, p. 187 (too untrustworthy to use); al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 352; 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, ed. Sörensen, p. 345.

(D. S. Margoliouth)

KHĀTŪN (T.), a title of Mongol empresses and princesses, and of ladies of high rank; later simply "lady". The term is an old one. As early as the sixth century of our era we see from the Chinese annals that it was given by the Tu-kiue to the wife of the Khāḳān; the Chinese transcription is *kho-ho-tun* (Stanislas Julien, *Notice sur les Tou-kiue*, *J. A.*, Ser. ii., Vol. iii., p. 331 *sqq.*: date c. 553—581). It is found in the form *ḳatun*, in the inscriptions of the Orkhon, (cf. W. Thomsen, I.E., ii., p. 101; *ögüm Ilbilgä Ḳatun* "my mother the queen Ilbilge", I.E. 25, p. 106 and 31, p. 108; I.N.G., p. 113, p. 164, note 54). The Chinese princesses destined for a Uighur Khāḳān took the title *Pilhe Khātūn* after their marriage (Devéria, *Inscr. de l'Orkhon*, p. xxxiv., Nº. 3). Ṭabarī, *Annales*, knows *Khātūn* as the name of the wife of the Khāḳān; in the reign of the Sāsānid Bahrām-Gūr, we find one reduced to slavery in the course of an expedition (i. 866); another was won over by presents in the reign of Khusraw II Parwīz to surrender Bahrām Čūbīn and repudiated for doing this (i. 1001). In the Muslim period in 280 (893) Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad invaded Turkish territory and captured the king and his wife *Khātūn* (iii. 2138). The form *Ḳātūn* is found in the Turk. Arab. *Glossar*, publ. by M. Th. Houtsma, p. 86; from *ḳātūn* comes the Ottoman Turkish form *ḳadin*. The Arabs have retained the form *Khātūn* and given it the plural *khawātīn*.

The form *kotin* means a married woman, wife, and is found in Kirghiz, Koman and the dialect of Ḳazan (Radloff, *Opit*, vol. ii. col. 284). *Ḳādin* in Ottoman Turkish simply means "lady". In Egypt in the Mamlūk period it was a title borne by queens or daughters, mothers or sisters of queens (*Dīwān al-inshā'*, quoted by Max van Berchem, *Corpus inscr. arabic.* [*M.I.F.A.O.*, vol. xix.], i. 247, Nº. 2).

Proper names of women:

In the family of Aiyūb:

1. The mother of Sulṭān al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aiyūb, died in 593 (1197).

2. The daughter of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, died in 694 (1295); married the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-Manṣūr Maḥmūd b. Ṣāliḥ (Muḥammad Dhihnī, *Mashāhir al-nisā'*, i. 187).

In other families:

3. The daughter of al-Malik Riḍwān, grand-daughter of the Saldjūḳ Tutush b. Alp-Arslān, who married the Atābeg Zangī, son of Aḳ-Sonḳur, before 523 = 1129 (Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm, *Chronique d'Alep*, *Historiens orientaux des Croisades*, iii. 658).

4. The daughter of Djanāḥ al-Dawla Ḥusain, who married the Atābeg Zangī in 531 = 1157 (*op. cit.*, iii. 673).

5. The daughter of Mu'īn al-Dīn Anār, who married successively Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī in 541 (1147) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 572 (1176); she died in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da, 581 (April, 1185) after building in Damascus the madrasa al-Khātūnīya, which was later destroyed, as well as a dervish monastery (*khānḳāh*) outside the Bāb al-Naṣr (H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in the *J. A.*, 1894, Series 9, vol. iv. 256, 305; v. 273; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 212; Abū Shāma, *Historiens orientaux des Croisades*, iv. 51).

6. Khātūn al-Safarīya, grand-mother of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Maḥmūd II, mother of Sulṭān Sandjar, died at Merw in 515 (1121) (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 419); the Persian historians know her as Turkān Khātūn (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. and transl. Gantin, i. 259; ed. Browne, p. 444, 458). She got the name Safarīya from the fact that she was asked in marriage during the campaign of 471 (1078).

7. Khātūn al-'Iṣma, daughter of Malik-Shāh, married in 502 (1108) the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir Billāh (Ibn Khallikān, iii. 445).

In the majority of these cases the real proper name has been forgotten by the historians; only the title has survived.

(Cl. Huart)

KHAWARNAḲ, a place situated about a mile east of Nadjaf [q. v.] in Mesopotamia. Inhabited at first by the tribe of Iyād, a palace was built in it by the Lakhmid chief Nu'mān (after 418 A. D.) for his Sāsānian suzerain. It was there that Parwīz heard the news of the defeat of Dhū Ḳār. The palace was enlarged and used by the early 'Abbāsids. It was in ruins in the xivth century. The pre-Muḥammadan Arab poets frequently quote Khawarnaḳ as one of the "30 wonders of the world", along with the neighbouring castle of Sadīr (perhaps Ukhaiḍir, q. v.). Khawarnaḳ is also celebrated for having given rise to the proverbial expression "the reward of Sinimmār", the Greek architect who had built it and was executed by Nu'mān. The name Khawarnaḳ seems to be of Irānian origin (*hu-varna* "with a beautiful roof" according to Andreas or *Khawarnar*, "place of feasting" according to Vollers) although Ibn Djinnī connects it with the Arabic *Khirniḳ* and Nöldeke with a Rabbinical Hebrew word meaning "arbour, plantation".

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Les Alhambra de Grenade et le Château de Khawarnaq* (*Revue Africaine*, 1906, Nº. 260, p. 22 *sq.*); L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie* in *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxviii. 1910, p. 36/37 and plate 37; xxxi., 1912, p. 136; B. Meissner, *Eine Reise von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Ḥīra und Ḥuarnaq* in *Sendschriften der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1901, Nº. 2, p. 19.

(Louis Massignon)

KHAWLĀN, 1) the name of a South Arabian tribe. This tribe is mentioned as early as the south Arabian inscriptions Glaser, 1076, 12 *sq.* and Halevy, 585, 12 *sq.* (חולן); there

is a reference to its territory (ארץ חולן) in the inscription Glaser, 119, 3 and a clan of the name is mentioned in Glaser, 204, 3. All these passages justify the suggestion that the tribe of Khawlān was already settled in this region in the first millenium B.C. where it still — in part at least — dwells in the land between Ṣan'ā' and Mārib, which al-Hamdānī calls *Khawlān al-'āliya* and which with Dhū Djurra was one of the great granaries of the Yemen, where durra, barley and wheat in particular flourished exceedingly. The Khawlān tribe now belongs to the great tribe of Bakīl which can put about 80,000 armed men in the field. The traveller E. Glaser explored this tribe's country in 1885/1886. The Arab genealogists give as the eponymous hero of the tribe Khawlān b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zaid b. 'Amr b. Gharib b. Zaid b. Kahlān b. Saba'. Some say the ancestor was Khawlān b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāf b. Ḳuḍā'a, after whose ancestor they are also called Khawlān Ḳuḍā'a. The distinction between the Khawlān al-'āliya and the Khawlān Ḳuḍā'a is, however, not genealogical but rather regional; for the former also belong — at least according to Nashwān — to Ḳuḍā'a. The distinction comes from the fact that originally the whole tribe of Khawlān was settled in Mārib and Ṣirwāḥ but in the course of time a portion of them migrated to the highlands east of Ṣan'ā' and received the name Khawlān al-'āliya, while the remainder stayed in Mārib and not till a later date did a new migration take place to the region of Ṣa'da, which is still the most important town of the northern Khawlān territory. As early as C. Niebuhr's time there were two districts of this tribe which were, as they still are, under independent Shēkhs. The last named according to Niebuhr 4 days journey from the port of Ḥalī halfway between Ṣan'ā' and Mecca, which according to E. Glaser extends W. and N. W. of Ṣa'da, is Zaidī. Ḥamdānī's statement is worthy of note, that here pure Arabic was spoken only in the highlands while in the valley and al-Ḳadd a kind of jargon was the usual lingua franca. The name Khawlān in this particular area is still associated with two other features, the peak of Khawlān (*'Urr Khawlān*), a mountain top, which can be seen from the Djebel Takhlā, and *Bait Khawlān*, the name given to the summit of the Djebel Haḍūr. In Khawlān of Ṣa'da, Niebuhr only mentions the villages of Akabat el Muslim ('Aḳabat el-Muslim), Heidān (Ḥaidān), eddáhhr and Sûk ed sjumma (Sūḳ al-Djum'a). The goldmine at Ḳufā'a which belonged to the Banū Ma'mar b. Zurāra b. Khawlān, probably — with other considerations — induced A. Sprenger to connect Khawlān with the Biblical Ḥawīla. Niebuhr also had already done this. In Khawlān of Ṣan'ā' Niebuhr mentions the villages of Beit Roedsje (Bait Rādjiḥ), Tanaejm (Tan'im), Beit el Kibsi (Bait al-Kibsī), Beit el-Naum, Seijān (Seyān), Suradsje (Zuradja) and Berres (Barrāsh). In Sha'bān of the year 10 A. H. (Nov. 631 A. D.) envoys of the Khawlān appeared before Muḥammad in al-Medina and professed Islām on behalf of their tribe. They were instructed in the teaching of Islām by the Prophet himself and promised to destroy their idol 'Amm Anas, then received the usual gift of honour of $12^1/_2$ ounces of silver and returned home. After the death of the Prophet they at first joined the general movement of apostacy, but Ya'lā b. Munya whom the Caliph Abū Bakr sent against them with an expeditionary force, succeeded in regaining them for Islām in the course of the year 11 A. H. (632 A. D.). Politically they were on closer terms with the government in al-Medina than the other tribes of the Yemen, which was probably the result of their relations with the Persian rulers in Ṣan'ā'. They afforded shelter to the two Persian princes Djushaish and Fairūz who were driven out of Ṣan'ā' by the rebellion of the Arabs under Ḳais b. 'Abd Yaghūth b. Makshūḥ and supported them till help came from al-Medina.

Members of the tribe of Khawlān after their lands were finally opened to Islām after the subjection of the Yemen in 13 or 14 A. H., played an important part among the Southern Arabs who took part in the conquest of Egypt and settled here. We frequently find Khawlānīs in important positions in Egypt; in Old Cairo (al-Fusṭāṭ) they gave their name to a quarter, and the name generally is not rare in the papyri and on Arab tombstones in Egypt.

2) the name of a village near Damascus. One of the most distinguished of the companions of the Prophet is buried there, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mishkam Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī.

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2) Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 499; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, Leiden 1852, i. 375; 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-'Ulūm*, p. 76.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHAYĀL, MĪR MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ, of Aḥmadābād in Gudjarāt, author of a collection of tales in 15 volumes entitled *Bustān-i Khayāl*, composed in Persian prose between 1742 and 1756, at the

request of his patron, Nawwāb Rashīd Khān, or, according to one MS., for the two brothers, Nawwāb Rashīd Khān and Nawwāb Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Khān, sons of Djaʿfar ʿAlī Khān (Nawwāb of Bengal, 1757—1761 and 1763—1765); an account of the contents of this work, which is made up partly of historical legends and partly of fantastic fairy tales, is given by Ethé, *Cat. of Persian MSS. of the Bodleian Library*, Nº. 480. Khayāl died in 1173 (= 1759—60).

Bibliography: Ethé, *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, ii. 342.

KHAYĀL-I ẒILL, also called ẒILL-I KHAYĀL, shadow-play. The shadow-theatre which combines the mimic art with music, painting and poetry and which with its transparent figures made of painted leather is able to produce on the linen sheet illuminated from behind an illusion which means much more to the contemplative Oriental than our realistic coarser art of the stage, seems, as far as we know, to have come from China to the West. It certainly does not originate in classical antiquity.

The earliest notices available to us refer to India where, however, the shadow-theatre is now extinct. The Javanese *wayang*, which works with predominantly Indian materials, is, however, a proof of its former existence there.

The Turks seem to have received it from the Chinese through the intermediary of the Mongols. In any case points of contact can be established between the Chinese shadow-play and Islām.

From China and India the road to the Muslim lands lay through Persia. Among the Persian poets we find numerous passages referring to the shadow-theatre, but they give very little definite information about the play. In modern Persia the shadow-play survives in the *Kečel Pehlewān*.

The shadow-play was highly developed very early in the Arabic sphere of culture, notably in Egypt. The shadow-plays of the physician Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl (d. 1311) are the only remnants of dramatic poetry of the Arab middle ages that have survived to us at all.

The shadow-play attained a very high development and popularity among the Turks. The borrowing of the Turkish play from the Egyptian in spite of many resemblances cannot be well assumed, as the Turks had evolved at least as early as the xiiith century a word of their own for shadow-play: *ḳabarčuḳ*, if the meaning "puppet of the Chinese shadow-play" for *ḳabarčuḳ* given by Houtsma in *Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, p. 43 and 87, is correct, but it seems exceedingly doubtful; for the word which still survives in Eastern Turkī as *ḳamurdjaḳ* and *ḳoghurdjaḳ* has no reference at all to the shadow-theatre.

The shadow-play in Turkestān etc. seems — if it ever existed at all — to be quite extinct and to have been completely replaced by the puppet-play: *ḳol ḳurčaḳ* and *čadyr khayāl*.

Among the Ottoman Turks it is called *Karagöz* [q. v.] and down to recent times, when the cinematograph began to offer deadly competition to it, was the most popular entertainment in Ramaḍān, not only for the women and the lower classes but had also a great attraction for many of the upper and educated classes and even for many Sulṭāns. Wherever the Turkish element is large enough to ensure a shadow-player some sort of a livelihood, the shadow-play is to be found.

The play spread from Turkey to non-Turkish lands. It seems to have established itself with special firmness among the Greeks and down to quite modern times (notably in Athens, the Piraeus and Salonika). In the same way it was very popular among all classes in Rumania.

Bibliography: G. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*[2], Hanover 1925, where the literature to be consulted is completely given. Cf. also L. Roussel, *Karagheuz, ou un théâtre d'ombres à Athènes*, Athens 1921; J. Kats, *Het Javaansche Tooneel*, vol. I., *Wajang Poerwa*, Weltevreden 1923; A. Samojlowič, *Kukol'nyj teatr w Turkestane*, in *Russkij Muzej, Etnografičeskij otdel*, Petrograd 1923, Nº. 1.

(TH. MENZEL)

KHAYĀLĪ, properly MEḤMED BEY, also known as BEKĀR MEMI, an important Turkish poet of the time of Sulaimān the Great. Like the poet Usūlī he belonged to the little Rumelian town of Wardar Yenidjesi. Like Sheikh Ghālib, he was precocious and developed his poetic talent very early. As a boy he was in the service of the Ḥaidarī dervish and mystic Baba ʿAlī-i Mest, by whom he was introduced into mysticism which left traces in many of his poems. In the wanderings of his master, he came with him to Constantinople where he was removed from the influence of this dervish by the intervention of the authorities.

His poetical abilities ultimately won him the favour of the Defterdār Iskandar Čelebi and then that of the Grand Vizier Frenk Ibrāhīm Pasha, who introduced him into the circle of poets around Sulṭān Sulaimān. The Sulṭān granted him his favour and confidence: he became one of the intimates of the Sulṭān, the highest honour that could be attained by an Ottoman poet. After the execution of his patrons (Iskandar was hanged in Baghdād in 1535 and Ibrāhīm strangled in the Serai in 1536), with the declining influence of the once powerful poet-favourites, Khayālī fell upon evil days, as he had never been able to save the presents and other tokens of favour with which he had been overwhelmed, but he was finally given a sandjaḳ by the Sulṭān and the title of Bey. He died in 964 (1556—1557) in Adrianople where he was buried.

Khayālī, who was of an amiable friendly character and throughout his life retained a dervish-like humility and frankness, just as he retained his membership of the Ḥaidarī order, was one of the best poets of his time. None of his contemporaries surpassed him in poetic vigour and diction. His language is, however, now antiquated. He only worked in the lyric field (*ghazal*, *ḳaṣīda*). Careless of the fate of his work as of this world's goods, he left the task of arranging his strongly mystical poems into a *dīwān* to another. His son ʿUmar Bey (d. 1010) was also a poet.

Bibliography: Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 149; Sehī, *Tedhkere*, Constantinople 1325, p. 126; Muʿallim Nādjī, *Medjmūʿa*, Constantinople 1305, Nº. 36, p. 141; do., *Esāmī*, Constantinople 1308, p. 137; Fāʾiḳ, *Eslāf*, Nº. 23, *Khazīne-i Funūn*, Constantinople 1311, i. 147; Brūsalī Meḥ. Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Müʾellifleri*, Constantinople 1338, ii. 160 (Ṭāhir confuses him with the Khayālī of the time of Selīm I and makes one individual of them, attributing the latter's *Lailā u-Medjnūn* to him); Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iii. 2071; Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*,

Constantinople 1311, ii. 313; Flügel, *Kat. der ... türk. Handschriften in Wien*, 1865, i. 649. (A MS. written by the poet and calligrapher Ibrāhīm Čelebi is in the library of the Royal As. Soc. in London); E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 58; v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*², ii. 332. (TH. MENZEL.)

KHAZAR, a people of uncertain origin; on their relation to the Bulghār and the rise of the Khazar state see above, i. 786, where also the alliance between the Khazar and the Byzantines in the war against Persia in 627 is dealt with. In spite of the successful issue of the war for the Byzantines it is not recorded that their empire was increased at the expense of Persia; but the Caucasian lands taken at this time by the Khazars were not reconquered by the Persians and the Khazars were only deprived of them by the Arabs. Al-Balādhurī's statement (ed. de Goeje, p. 194) that the old capital of Arrān, Ka'walak, Arab. Kabala (cf. the art. ARRĀN), was also called Khazarān is important. On the ravaging of the countries of the Caucasus by the Khazar cf. A. Manandian, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte*, diss. Leipzig 1897, p. 39 *sqq.*, following Moses Kalankatuaḍi; *ibid.*, p. 30 *sq.*, from the same source, on the alleged conversion of the Huns, i.e. the Khazars, to Christianity by the Albanian bishop Israel in the time of the Armenian Catholikos Sahak III (677—703); in this connection we are given some information regarding the pagan conceptions of the Khazars and the worship of their supreme deity Tengri-Khān. The "capital of the land of the Huns" there mentioned, Varačan or Varadjan, is, according to Marquart (*Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 16), identical with Balandjar, where, according to al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 62, 16), in earlier times the capital of the Khazars was, according to Marquart on one of the streams that form the Ḳoi-su (Sulak). Al-Ṭabarī relates the conquest of Balandjar and the fortresses in this region by the Arabs in the year 104 = 722/723 (ii. 1453) or 105 = 723/724 (ii. 1462). In the account of the campaign of 111 = 729/730 (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v. 117) al-Baiḍā' (the "white city") is first given as the capital; according to Marquart, this is a translation of the name given in the earliest Arabic source (Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 139, 14; al-Gardīzī in W. Barthold, *Otčet o poězdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 95) for the west side of the later capital Itil (at the mouth of the Volga); Marquart proposes to read the name Sarighshar (Turk. "yellow city"). According to Ibn al-Athīr (v. 160), Marwān b. Muḥammad advanced as far as al-Baiḍā' in 119 = 737. Ibn al-Athīr only records the flight of the Khazar king from this town; according to al-Balādhurī (p. 207), he concluded peace with Marwān and declared himself ready to adopt Islām, whereupon Marwān confirmed him in his kingdom. A section of the Khazars was settled by Marwān between the river Samūr and the town of Shābirān (cf. above, i. 943). In spite of this, Arab rule was not firmly established on the Volga nor even in Daghestān [q.v.]; even in the ivth (xth) century the rule of the Khazars reached almost up to the walls of Derbend (cf. the article DAGHESTĀN). The Khazar kingdom was able to assert itself as a great power against the Byzantine Empire as well as the Caliphate. The emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741–775) married a Khazar princess; the Emperor Leo IV (775—780), the son of this marriage, was known as "the Khazar". About the same time the governor of Armenia, Yazīd b. Usaid al-Sulamī, is said to have married a daughter of the Khazar king at the request of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (754—775) (al-Balādhurī, p. 210). The Armenian Levond (Russian translation by K. Patkanyan, St. Petersburg 1862, p. 92; cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 5) connects the invasion of Georgia and Armenia by the Khazars in 147 (764/765) with the death of this princess; the leader of the Khazars is given by him as Radj Tarkhān; in al-Ya'ḳūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 446) Rās (in the MS. Ḥalis) Tarkhān, in al-Ṭabarī (iii. 328, 9) Astarkhān al-Khwārizmī. There was therefore a Khwārizmī at the head of the Khazar force that invaded Muslim lands while at a later date in the body-guard of the Khazar king there were Muslim soldiers from Khwārizm, who had bargained for the right "to remain neutral whenever the Bey of the Khazars waged war against Muslims" (Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 5, from al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii. 10). The frontier provinces of the caliphate were raided by the Khazars for the last time in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 183 (799); this invasion also is said by al-Ṭabarī (iii. 647 *sq.*) to have been brought about by the failure of a proposed matrimonial alliance between the daughter of the Khazar king and the Barmecide Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (cf. above, i. 665 and ii. 36).

It was in the reign of Hārūn also that, according to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 8), the conversion of the Khazar king (the Khāḳān) and of the nobles to Judaism took place; cf. the discussion of the sources in Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 5 *sqq.*, and the alleged letter of a contemporary and subject of "King Joseph", since published by S. Schechter (*The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Ser., iii. 181 *sqq.*; following him, P. Kokowzow, *Žurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1913, Nov., p. 150 *sqq.*). We have again later an account of the conversion of the Khazars to Christianity (the missionary journey of the Slav apostle Constantine or Cyril between 851 and 863; cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 13 and 22) and two reports of their conversion to Islām. According to Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 418), the Khazars and later their king were converted to Islām in 354 (965) when they had to defend themselves with the help of the Muslim Khwārizmīs against an attack by a Turkish people; this story, which we find as early as Ibn Miskawaih (H. F. Amedroz and S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1920—1921, text ii. 203, transl. v. 223), is undoubtedly taken from the lost work of Thābit b. Sinān and we must agree with Fr. Westberg (in *Žurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1908, March, p. 6) in referring it to the known campaign of Swyatoslaw (cf. above, i. 789). What al-Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 361, 1, tells us about the adoption of Islām as a result of the campaigns of al-Ma'mūn does not refer, as Marquart (*op. cit.*, p. 3 and Index) supposes, to the Caliph but, as a comparison with al-Muḳaddasī, p. 288, 19, shows, to the ruler of Gurgāndj (Arab. Djurdjāniya) and afterwards (after 995) of all Khwārizm, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad. In neither case is the story of the change of religion historical. Al-Balādhurī's story (p. 203; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 413) of the rebuilding of the town of Shamkhor (Arabic Shamkūr) with the name al-Mutawakkiliya by Boghā the Elder [cf. BOGHA AL-KABĪR] is more important;

he is said to have settled Khazars there who had come to him "from an inclination towards Islām".

The danger which threatened the Khazars as a result of the movements of peoples in the ixth century caused the embassy to the emperor Theophilos (829—842) and the building of the Khazar fortress of Sarkel on the Don by the Greek Petronas. This story in Constantine Porphyrogennetos (*De admin. imperio*, Chap. 42) is connected by Marquart (*op. cit.*, p. 28) with Ibn Rusta, p. 143, 4. Ibn Khurdādhbeh's story (ed. de Goeje, p. 162 *sq.*) of the alleged mission of Sallām al-Tardjumān is quoted by Marquart (*op. cit.*, p. 476) as proof that "the Khazars were on friendly relations with the Caliphs at this time," but it should be pointed out that the Caliph there does not communicate direct with the Ṭarkhān, king of the Khazars, but through the intermediary of several Caucasian princes. About 240 (855/856) the Canark' (Arab. Ṣanāriya), who had fled before Boghā, applied for assistance to the kings of the Byzantines, Khazars and Slavs (al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii. 598; transl. in Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 413 *sq.*). The attitude of the Khazar ruler was equivocal on the occasion of the raid made by the Russians on the lands on the Caspian Sea recorded by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 18 *sqq.*; new transl. in Marquart, p. 330 *sqq.*). Various suggestions have been made regarding the date which is not definitely given; according to Westberg, *Žurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, Febr., 1908, p. 386), the raid did not take place till 925 but this is probably too late. The Russians were allowed a passage through Khazar territory on condition that they gave half their plunder to the Khazar king; on the way back they were fallen upon and almost wiped out — with the approval of this ruler who "could not prevent it," although he had informed the Russians of the danger awaiting them — by his Muslim mercenaries and the inhabitants of Itil, Muslim and Christians. Whether the more important Russian raid of 332 = 943/944 (cf. the art. BARDHA'A) was undertaken by agreement with the Khazars or against their will is not recorded. According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii 22), the Khazars had no ships; on the other hand, according to Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (ed. Amedroz, p. 217 infra), the dams built at Derbend [q. v.] were intended as a defence against the ships (*marākib*) of the Khazars.

The relations between the Khazar empire and the Byzantine must have been affected by the persecutions of the Jews under the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919—944); the only direct evidence of this is in the document of doubtful origin published by S. Schechter (cf. above). The reception in the Khazar lands of many Jews driven out of the Byzantine empire at this time is also mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 8 *sq.*). To about the same time belongs the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān (cf. i. 820 and ii. 398) — probably the only Muslim description of the Khazar kingdom and its capital Itil by an eye-witness; the *Risāla* may be taken as the source of al-Iṣṭakhrī (p. 220 *sq.*) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 278) and also of al-Mas'ūdī; cf. the reference to Ibn Faḍlān in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 436, 20. The information there given on white and black Khazars (*ḳara khazar*), the nominal rule of the *Khāḳān* and the actual rule of the viceroy (his title is variously given), on the seven judges etc., has been several times cited since Frähn (*Veteris memoriae Chazarorum*, St. Petersburg 1832, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, vol viii.). The most important source of revenue was the import and export of foreign goods; the land is said to have produced no wares of its own (Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 283, 11, adds: "with the exception of isinglass.") Even the material for clothing was not prepared in the land itself but imported from Gurgān, Ṭabaristān, Ādharbaidjān and Rūm. Judaism was the predominant religion because the Khāḳān, the viceroy, the prince of Samandar in Daghestān who was related to the latter, and the high officials all professed it; in numbers, however, the Jews were less than the Muslims and Christians. In Itil there were over 10,000 Muslims, a principal mosque with a lofty minaret and 30 mosques. In the year 310 (922/3) the king received a report that in a Muslim country a synagogue had been destroyed (the name given in Yāḳūt, ii. 440, 4, is not clear; cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 4 and 477 *sq.*). He therefore had the minaret destroyed and the *mu'adhdhin* killed. He left the mosque itself unharmed for fear that all the synagogues in Muslim lands should be destroyed.

On the extent of Khazar power in what is now Russia, on the campaign of Swyatoslaw and its consequences see above, i. 789. Earlier (in the ninth century) even Kiev was subject to the Khazars; in this connection the author of the oldest — composed about 1095 (according to the critical edition by A. Shakhmatow, Introduction, p. xxiii.) — Russian Annals observes that in his time the Khazars were under the rule of Russian princes (A. A. Shakhmatow, *Povest' vremennikh lět*, Petrograd 1916, p 17). In any case it is evident from the annalists that they did not consider the Khazar kingdom destroyed even by Swyatoslaw's campaign; in the legend of the attempts by the adherents of various religions to convert prince Vladimir, "the Khazar *Jews*" are also mentioned as foreigners not subject to the Russians (*ibid.*, p. 104). The original home of the Khazars on the lower Volga and in Daghestān was not conquered by the Russians at this time; the subjection of the Khazars mentioned by the annalists can only refer to a part of the Crimean peninsula and the peninsula of Taman' opposite it, where lay the Russian principality of Tmutarakan' first mentioned in 1022. This region may well have been the "Khazaria" which was conquered by a fleet sent by the Emperor Basil II in alliance with the Russians in January, 1016; its leader is called Swen, Greek Sfengos, said to have been a brother of "King" Vladimir (according to Cedrenus, 464; Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, vol cxxii.); the Khazar king (*arkhōn*) of this region was Georgios Tzulos, apparently a Christian (Tzulos is the Turkish title *Čur*). In 1022 the ruler of Tmutarakan' was Mstislav, a son of Vladimir (Shakhmatow, *op. cit.*, p. 186); in the next year Mstislav, in alliance with the Khazars, undertook a campaign against his brother Yaroslaw. The Khazars are mentioned for the last time as neighbours of Tmutarakan' and intervening in the civil confusion in this principality in 1083 (*ibid.*, p. 253). The Muslim sources give us no information regarding the end of the Khazar kingdom. Ibn al-Athīr (ix. 279) makes the Kurd Faḍlūn, ruler of Gandja [q. v.], make a raid on the Khazars in 421 (1030) and be attacked and slain by them on the way back. This was Faḍl b. Muḥammad, of the Shaddādid dynasty; cf. above, i. 461 and ii. 129b and see E. Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien* (*Abhandl. der preuss. Akad. d.*

Wissensch., 1923, philol.-hist. Kl., N⁰. 1, N⁰. 22). According to Marquart, this is the last mention of the Khazars in Ibn al-Athīr and in history generally (W. Bang and J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, in *Abhandl. der kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse, N. F., vol. xiii., N⁰. 1, Berlin 1914, p. 56). But a raid from Gandja against the Khazars is very improbable on geographical grounds; the Khazars are probably mentioned here in error for the Georgians or Abkhaz, as in al-Bundārī in *Rec. des textes rel. a l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 31, 11. Similarly (confusion with the Ghuzz or Ḳipčaḳ) is probably to be explained the mention of the Khazars in Khāḳānī about 1175 (cf. above, i. 943). In the xiith and xiiith centuries the town and country of Saḳsīn [q.v.] or Sakhsīn are mentioned north of the Caspian Sea, probably on the Volga. J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, agrees with the suggestion of Fr. Westberg (*Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 291) that Saḳsīn is the site of the former Khazar capital but rejects the view of the same scholar that the Saḳsīn are simply the Khazars under another name. According to Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (in Dorn, in *Mél. Asiatiques*, vi. 710), the distance between Bulghār and Saḳsīn was 40 days' journey; on the other hand Saḳsīn in the vth (xith) century in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (*Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333 = 1914—1915) is identified with Suwār, only two days' journey from Bulghār (cf. above, i. 788). (W. BARTHOLD)

AL-KHĀZIN, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AL-KHURĀSĀNĪ (al-Bīrūnī adds the names Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain; we sometimes find al-Khāzinī instead of al-Khāzin), born about 340 (960), was, according to his countrymen, one of the greatest Muslim astronomers. He belonged to Khurāsān and conducted observations for Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd († 359 = 969/970), a vizier of Rukn al-Dawla (326—366 = 932—970). He was better known by the *kunya* Abū Djaʿfar than by his own proper name. Like most students of mathematics, he dealt with all its branches.

In arithmetic he dealt with numerical problems and solved a problem found in Archimedes which leads to a cubic equation (see E. Wöpcke, *L'Algèbre d'Omar al-Khayyāmī*, p. 2 *sq.*; cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 3996); he also wrote a commentary on the first part of the tenth book of Euclid which deals with division (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 1070). Cod. Leiden N⁰. 992 contains two problems from his book of tables of planes.

Cod. Leiden N⁰. 1014 gives a geometrical problem; on one connected with the problem of parallels cf. G. Jacob and E. Wiedemann, *Zu Omer-i-Chajjām*, in *Islam*, 1912, iii. 56.

One of Abū Djaʿfar's principal fields of research was astronomy. In the *Kitāb al-Ālāt al-ʿAdjība al-Raṣdiya* he gave a description of marvellous instruments of observation (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 1122 and 9887). This work is also mentioned by al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-Ḳāṣid* and in Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena* (French transl., i. 111; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. IX: Zu der Geschichte der Astronomie*, in the *S.B.P.M.S. Erlangen*, 1906, xxxviii. 190). The same book probably also deals with an instrument for measuring the altitude of the sun (J. Frank, *Über zwei astronomische Instrumente*, 2. *Das Instrument mit dem Dreieck (von al-Khāzin)*, in the *Zeitschr. für Instrumentenkunde*, 1921, xli. 199 *sq.*) and a ring 8 ells (about 13 feet) in diameter with which, according to al-Nawawī, he ascertained the obliquity of the ecliptic for Ibn al-ʿAmīd with the help of a number of scholars. He found it smaller than his predecessors had done (Cod. Leiden, *Catalogue*, N⁰. 1060, fol. 5a).

Mention is often made of a work highly praised by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, "The Book of Tables of Planes" (*Zīdj al-Ṣafāʾiḥ* for the astrolabe), which consists of several *maḳāla*'s with a long introduction. In it, according to al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, p. 326; *Chronology*, p. 322), there is most probably an explanation of the progressive and retrograde movement of the spheres. It is perhaps a part of this work that is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī (*Kitāb al-Istīʿāb* etc., Cod. Leiden, *Catalogue*, N⁰. 1066, fol. 69a) as "On the Differences in the Ascensions (*maṭāliʿ*) for Equal Arcs etc.". Possibly it is identical with the work quoted by Naṣīr al-Dīn in his *Kitāb Shakl al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ* ("Book on the Figure of Transversals") viz. *Maṭālib Djuzwiya Mail al-Muyūl al-Djuzwiya wa 'l-Maṭāliʿ fi 'l-Kurat al-Mustaḳīma* ("partial investigations into some of the partial inclinations and of the *maṭāliʿ* in the sphaera recta") (*Traité du quadrilatère*, ed. and translated by Alex. Pacha Carathéodory, 1891, text p. 115, transl. p. 150).

The following were probably mainly theoretical cosmological works: 1. *al-Mudkhal al-Kabīr fi ʿIlm al-Nudjūm* ("the great introduction to astronomy") (see al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, p. 202; *Chronology*, p. 133); in it Abū Djaʿfar also discussed questions of chronology and gives methods of determining the sign of Muḥarram. 2. *Sirr al-ʿĀlamīn* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 7140). In one of these two writings Abū Djaʿfar probably dealt for the first time with Ibn al-Haitham's theory of the structure of the world mentioned by al-Khiraḳī. In it he apparently relied on the hypotheses of Ptolemy, which Thābit b. Ḳurra had translated (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 13,124). Abū Djaʿfar also evolved a form of the world which differs from that with the excentric sphere and the epicycle; in it the distance between sun and earth is always the same in spite of the difference in its rotation. He thus gets two regions on the earth, a northern and a southern which do not differ in heat and cold (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, p. 259; *Chronology*, p. 240).

Like almost all astronomers, Abū Djaʿfar also dealt with astrology; he was learned in the doctrine of *tasyīr*.

Abū Djaʿfar was also interested in philosophical problems, as is evident from a commentary on the beginning of the work of Aristotle on the heavens by a certain Abū Zaid al-Balkhī, who wrote it to Abū Djaʿfar (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, p. 40, 5).

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker der Araber*, etc., N⁰. 124; Yaʿḳūb al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 266 and 282; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, p. 396.
(E. WIEDEMANN)

AL-KHĀZINĪ, ABU 'L-FATḤ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-MANṢŪR AL-KHĀZINĪ (AL-KHĀZIN), flourished about 500 A.H. (end of the xith and beginning of the xiith century). A pretty full account of him is given in the work of a certain al-Baihaḳī (see below) and isolated references are given in his "Sindjarī Tables" (*zīdj*) and his *Kitāb Mīzān al-Ḥikma*. Al-Khāzinī was a Greek slave brought up in the service of ʿAlī al-Khāzin al-Marwazī in Merw and received an education in geometrical and philoso-

phical knowledge worthy of his talents which enabled him to compose the books mentioned below.

He later became associated with the Sulṭān of Khurāsān, Mu'izz al-Dīn Abū Ḥārith Sandjar b. Malik-shāh b. Alp Arslān (511–552 = 1117–1157; he had previously been governor of Khurāsān for the twenty years 491—511). Al-Khāzinī enjoyed the favour of this prince and his nobles; at the same time his style of life remained as exceedingly simple and modest, as that of al-Bīrūnī.

Two works of his are known and have survived:

1. *Al-Zīdj al-Mu'tabar al-Sindjarī*. This book of tables gives statements of the positions of fixed stars for the year 509 = 1115/1116 and also for oblique ascensions and time-equations for the latitude of Merw (37° 40'), which was in Sandjar's kingdom. This work was used by C. A. Nallino in his *al-Battenī Opus Astronomicum*; cf. e. g. vol. i., p. lxvii., and the Index.

2. *Kitāb Mīzān al-Ḥikma* (finished 515 = 1121/1122); its contents are discussed in the articles AL-ḲARASṬŪN and MĪZĀN. Al-Baihaḳī says that he rediscovered the book; a passage from it is mentioned in a manuscript in the India Office.

Bibliography: Ẓāhir al-Dīn Zaid al-Baihaḳī, *Ta'rīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām* (Berl. MS.; Ahlwardt, Catalogue, N°. 10,052), contains the life of al-Khāzinī (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. XX, Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, N°. 103, in the *S.B.P.M.S. Erlg.*, 1910, xlii. 73); H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, N°. 293 and Appendix, p. 226. A considerable part of the *Kitāb Mīzān al-Ḥikma* is published by N. Khanikoff, *Analysis and Extracts of the Book of the Balance of Wisdom* etc., in *J. A. O. S.*, 1859, vi. 1—128. Other parts have been edited by me in *Beitr. XV, Über Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen*, in the *S. B. P. M. S. Erlg.*, 1908, xl. 105—132; *Beitr. XVI, Über die Lehre vom Schwimmen, die Hebelgesetze und die Konstruktion des Qarasṭūn*, *ibid.*, 1908, xl. 133—159. Here also the parts published down to the present day are discussed again; also *Beitr. XXXVII, Über die Stundenwage*, *ibid.*, 1914, xlv. 27—38; *Beitr. XLVIII, Über die Wage des Wechslers von al-Chāzinī und über die Lehre von den Proportionen nach al-Bīrūnī*, *ibid.*, 1916, xlviii. 1—15; E. Wiedemann, *Über die Kenntnisse der Muslime auf dem Gebiet der Mechanik und Hydrostatik*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, etc., 1910, ii. 394—398; do., *Über den Wert von Edelsteinen bei den Muslimen*, in *Id.*, 1911, ii 345—358. (E. WIEDEMANN)

AL-**KHAZRADJ** is the name of the tribe who with their brother-tribe al-Aws were occupying the region of al-Madīna and farther north to Khaibar and Taimā' at the time of the beginning of Islām. On account of the important part which they played in the successful rise of Islām both tribes are designated by the honorific name of *al-Anṣār* "the Helpers". It is the unanimous statement of genealogists and Arab antiquarians that the Khazradj, together with the Aws and the Ghassānids in Syria, migrated from South-Arabia at a very early date and as the reason for their emigration from their ancient homes is given the bursting of the dam at Ma'rib the exact date of which cannot be determined; it can be approximately dated in the fifth century of the Christian era. The genealogies of the divisions of the tribe are fairly well established because the different clans were registered in the *Dīwān* introduced by the second caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, as they were entitled because of their help to Islām to the second category of pensions allotted by the *Dīwān*. As regards the earliest names in their pedigree: al-Khazradj b. 'Amr al-'Anḳā' b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr Muzaiḳiya, which they share with al-Aws, we may be more sceptical. When the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazradj in their migration reached Yathrib, which later received the name of Madīnat al-Nabī, they found settled there a number of Jewish tribes among which the Banū Ḳainuḳā', Ḳuraiẓa, the Naḍīr and nearly twenty more clans are known by name. The latter possessed in Yathrib and its neighbourhood over 70 castles, named *Āṭām* (plur. of *uṭum*), which formed one of the distinctive features of the city and which granted the inhabitants a measure of security not known in any other town of Arabia. If we had not the repeated affirmation of Arab antiquarians that these buildings were constructed by the Jews, we might think that they were built on the model of similar buildings in the Yaman and introduced by the immigrants. The Khazradj settled at first on the outskirts of the town like the Aws, but as their numbers increased more rapidly than the resident Jewish population of the town, they soon asserted their power and made themselves masters of some of the *āṭām*. The immediate cause of their first war with the Jews is stated to have been that a prince of the Jewish family Zuhra, named al-Kaiṭun, intended to enforce the *jus primae noctis* with a bride from the tribe of al-Aws for which the prince was slain by the brother of the bride. (That the name al-Kaiṭun is fictitious is apparent; it is nothing but the Greek word κοιτών). The consequence was that the allied tribes asked and received help, either from the Ghassānids in Syria or from Yamanites from South-Arabia, and by treachery murdered many of the most prominent Jews. Being now in possession of a large portion of the town, the allied tribes fell out among themselves. The peculiar formation of the town, consisting of a number of detached settlements with the castles among them, made it possible for such warfare inside the township to continue for a long time, and as neither al-Aws nor al-Khazradj were very numerous, each in turn made alliances with the nomadic tribes in the country surrounding Yathrib. The Khazradj were stronger in numbers and to equalise this the Aws made alliances at various times with the tribe of Sulaim and were generally also assisted by the Jews; it was only after the fight at al-Bu'āth in which the Khazradj were heavily defeated that something like equilibrium prevailed in Yathrib. However, the intermittent fighting between the two tribes and murders, with the consequent retaliation, continued. The momentous change was brought about by the Hidjra of the Prophet from Mekka to Yathrib where he arrived at the suburb of Ḳubā' on Rabī' I 12 (Tuesday, June 29, 622) and engaged the hitherto antagonistic tribes to assist him in his struggle against his fellow-citizens of Mekka. We get a fair estimate of the number of fighting men in each of the two tribes by the list of participants in the battle of Badr, for Ibn Sa'd in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (vol. iii/ii.) gives us the names of 63 members of the tribe of al-Aws and 175 names of those drawn from al-Khazradj. With the whole community accepting Islām, the Jewish

element in Yathrib soon lost all importance and the clans of Ḳuraiẓa and al-Naḍîr were practically exterminated. Though the early converts from Mekka were always held in higher estimation, the Anṣâr during the remainder of the Prophet's life were the mainstay of his power and it was not unnatural that upon his death, when he had not appointed a successor, the Khazradj felt by their numerical superiority that they were destined to be heirs of the State created by the Prophet and it was only due to the timely interference of 'Umar that the choice for the ruler of the State did not fall upon Sa'd b. 'Ubâda. That the latter felt that he had been unjustly deprived of a position which was rightly his is proved by his irreconcilable attitude after his rejection and his removal from al-Madîna to Ḥawrân, where he died in the year 15 (637).

The Khazradj were divided into a number of clans of very unequal numerical strength at the time of the Prophet. The most numerous were the Banu 'l-Nadjdjâr, while the other clans were approximately in the following order: al-Ḥârith, Djusham, 'Awf and Ka'b. It was also from the ranks of the Khazradj that the poets of the Prophet derived their origin, namely Ḥassân b. Thâbit [q. v.], Ka'b b. Mâlik and 'Abd Allâh b. Rawâḥa. During the rule of the Umaiyads, descendants of the early followers of the Prophet continued to hold prominent positions and most of them were strong supporters of the Umaiyads with the notable exception of al-Nu'mân b. Bashîr [q. v.] who as governor of Ḥimṣ unsuccessfully took the side of 'Abd Allâh b. al-Zubair and lost his life. We also find numbers of the tribe of al-Khazradj among the early settlers in Egypt and the descendants of 'Abd Allâh b. Rawâḥa were for centuries men of note in Muhammadan Spain; they were settled principally in Saragossa in the North. If we come to consider the large amount of immigrants from al-Madîna and the South of Arabia to Egypt we may not be far from the truth in assuming that the language of the Khazradj, from their South-Arabian origin, had also influence upon the Arabic dialect of Egypt and that they pronounced the letter *djîm*, unlike Eastern Arabs, hard like *g*.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳât*, ed. Sachau, III/ii.; al-Samhûdî, *Khulâṣat al-Wafâ'*, Mekka 1316, p. 73 *sqq.* (this work is useful for fixing with much detail the ancient settlements of the Khazradj in Yathrib); A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908; Kowalski, *Dîwân des Ḳais ibn al-Khaṭîm*, Introduction; H. Lammens, *Médine à la veille de l'Islam*, Bairût; and almost every work dealing with the life of the Prophet and the early history of Islâm. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* and *Register*; al-Ḳalḳashandî, *Nihâyat al-Arab*, Baghdâd 1332; al-Nuwairî, *Nihâyat al-Arab*, ii. 316—317.

(F. Krenkow)

al-**KHAZRADJÎ**, Ḍiyâ' al-Dîn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. Yûsuf b. 'Afîf al-Khazradjî al-Sâ'idî, belonged to a family which was originally native to Granada; he was born at Baghâ (Priego de Córdoba) about 590/1194, and established himself at Alexandria where he often met Ibn Rashîd (who mentions him in his *Riḥla*) and where he died in 626 (1228—1229) or 627, or, according to others as late as 650 (1252—1252). One of his commentators, al-Zammûrî, says that he was born at Fâs, travelled in the East and died at Ceuta in 610. This error on the part of Zammûrî is due to his taking our Khazradjî for another person of the same name whose biography is to be found in Ibn al-Ḳâḍî's *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibâs*, p. 298. al-Khazradjî's work on metre, under the title *al-Râmiza al-shâfiya fî 'ilmai al-'Arûḍ wa 'l-Ḳâfiya*, consists of 96 *ṭawîl*-verses. It discusses metre and feet as well as the syllables of which the latter are composed. Then the author gives a description in which he treats the component parts and their modifications at the beginning and the end of hemistichs, as well as changes allowed or not. Then he describes different kinds of verses and finally rhyme, rhyming letters and mistakes in this field made by the poets. Like all handbooks of this kind, it cannot be utilised without a detailed commentary; this applies especially to the technical lines 8—12, 16, 27—29, 52—76. Of the many commentators of this poem may be mentioned Abu 'l-Ḳâsim al-Fattâḥ al-Zammûrî (flourished about 750), lith. ed. Fâs; Abu 'l-Ḳâsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, known as al-Sharîf al-Gharnâṭî, died in Sha'bân 760 (June—July 1359); Badr al-Dîn Muḥammad, known as al-Damâmînî, died at *Kulbirja* in Sha'bân 727 (June—July 1424), not in 856, as Freytag says; printed at Cairo 1305, Muḥammad b. Marzûḳ al-Ḥafîd, from Tlemcen, died on Sha'bân 24, 842 (Febr. 9, 1439); 'Alî b. Muḥammad al-Baṣṭî with the surname of al-Ḳalaṣâdî, died at Badja (Beja) in Tunisia in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 891 (December 1486); Zakarîyâ al-Anṣârî, died in 926 (1519—1520), lith. ed. Alexandria 1288, printed at Cairo 1303; Aḥmad b. 'Alî al-Balawî, died in 938 (1531—1532). The first edition of the poem was published by Guadagnoli, in his *Breves arabicae linguae institutiones*, Rome 1642, p. 286—299); it has further been printed in different *madjmû'*. I have published an edition with a French translation, historical introduction and commentary: *La Khazradjyah*, Algier 1902.

Bibliography: al-Maḳḳarî, in Dozy's *Analectes*, i. 590; Freytag, *Darstellung der ar. Verskunst*, p. 35—37; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 312.

(René Basset)

KHEDÎW (Khedive). The Persian word *khedîw* or *khidîw* meaning "lord" is one of the titles occasionally given to Muḥammadan rulers since the Middle Ages (cf. the xvi[th] century Turkish historian 'Âlî, *Kunh al-Akhbâr*, Constantinople, v. 17). This title was conferred in 1867 by the Ottoman Sulṭân 'Abd al-'Azîz on Ismâ'îl Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt. Though, since the *firmân* of 1841, the function of Pasha of Egypt was already hereditary in the family of Muḥammad 'Alî, Ismâ'îl desired a title indicating that his rank was higher than that of the other Ottoman governors with the title of Pasha. During the preliminary negotiations Ismâ'îl proposed the title of *al-'Azîz* (cf. Ḳur'ân, xii. 30), but for several reasons (e.g. the occurrence of this word in the Sulṭân's own name) the title of Khadîw (in official documents Khadîw Miṣr; the form al-Khadîwî is also often found) was chosen, which had been used already by Muḥammad 'Alî (see below 2, and Dicey, *The Story of the Khedivate*, p. 58). The term Khedive is, however, generally applied to all members of the dynasty founded in Egypt by Muḥammad 'Alî, until the establishment of the English protectorate over Egypt in

1914. The new ruler then assumed the title of Sulṭān, which was replaced by that of Malik after the protectorate had been abolished on February 28, 1922. The title of Viceroy often applied to the Khedives in European literature was already used in Muḥammad ʿAlī's time.

The following members of the Khedivial dynasty have ruled Egypt under the suzerainty of the Sulṭān of Turkey:

Muḥammad ʿAlī 1805—1848
Ibrāhīm 1848 (June—November)
ʿAbbās I 1848—1854
Saʿīd 1854—1863
Ismāʿīl 1863—1879
Tawfīḳ 1879—1892
ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī 1892—1914.

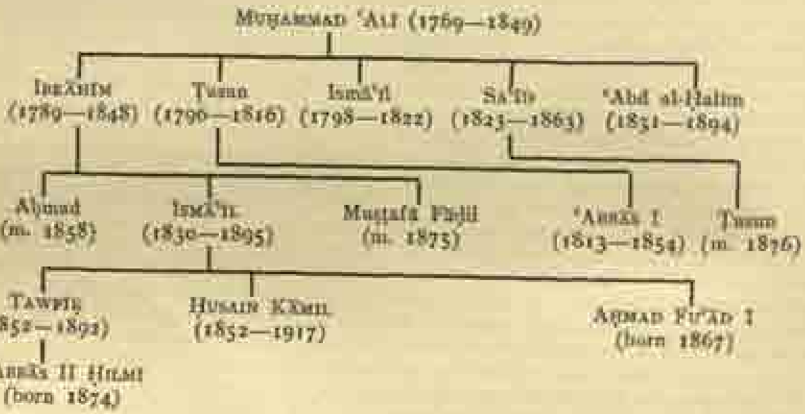
They were succeeded by:

Ḥusain Kāmil, Sulṭān, 1914 (Dec. 19)—1917 (Oct. 9).

Aḥmad Fuʾād, Sulṭān from 1917 to 1922, King (as Fuʾād I) since 1922 (March 16).

Genealogical tree of the most conspicuous of the numerous members of this dynasty:

has happened, during the same period, to other Muḥammadan countries and with the latter Egypt shows the common feature that the models after which the western institutions have been fashioned were nearly all French. But the particular form of the europeanisation of Egypt — its revival under a nearly independent dynasty, the marvellous development of its economic productivity and its weakening to a point which brought the country under the control of a European Power — was quite different to the corresponding process in Turkey, Algiers and other Muḥammadan lands. At the same time Egypt has remained the chief centre of Muḥammadan civilisation and education and its rapidly increasing population now amounts to half the Arabic-speaking world (Massignon in *R. M. M.*, lvii. 75 *sqq.*). The main point of view from which in the following lines the condition of Egypt since the beginning of the nineteenth century will be traced is the way in which this Muḥammadan country has reacted to the process of "europeanisation" and the results which have been the outcome of it.



The *firmān* of 1841 regulated the order of succession according to seniority in Muḥammad ʿAlī's family; by the *firmān* of 1866 this regulation was replaced by the right of primogeniture limited to the descendants of Ismāʿīl Pasha. A decree of April 13, 1922, has recently settled the order of succession of the kings of Egypt.

Though really of Albanian origin, the Khedives have always been regarded in Egypt as "Turks", nor can they be said to have become a really national dynasty. The remark has been made that its various members have exhibited as many different types of character (Hasenclever, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 190). The first five of them ruled with the absolutism of Oriental despots, but after the English occupation they had much less opportunity of developing an attitude of their own. The ties which bound this dynasty to Turkey always have remained strong enough to make it possible that, soon after the Turkish revolution of 1909, an Egyptian Prince, Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha, could become Grand Vizier in Constantinople.

During the khedivial period Egypt has been what is generally called "europeanised", viz. a great many technical, juridical, economic and social institutions have been introduced. The same thing

1. Political History.

We can distinguish four periods before the war of 1914: 1. from the French expedition to the final installation of Muḥammad ʿAlī (1798—1805), 2. Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign until the end of his period as one of the Great Powers (1805—1841), 3. up to the English occupation (1841—1882) and 4. the occupation period until the English protectorate (1882—1914).

One of the chief motives for the French expedition against Egypt was the wish to prevent England from such an enterprise. During the eighteenth century France's commercial interest in Egypt had always been far more important than England's, but since this country had concluded a commercial treaty with the usurper ʿAlī Bey [q. v.] and obtained in this way admittance for British vessels into the Red Sea for the Indo-Egyptian trade, the interference of England in Egyptian affairs had become a political danger. The geographical position of the country has destined it to become the first object of European political interests, as soon as the consolidation of colonial power in India could no longer be content with the sea route as the only line of communication. In France the idea of taking possession of Egypt had been

discussed throughout the eighteenth century, but the traditional good relations with Turkey had been one of the reasons that prevented its execution. Finally it was due to the initiative of Napoleon Bonaparte, seconded by Talleyrand, that the French Directoire decided in favour of the expedition on March 5, 1798. As to Turkey, the unusually energetic measures taken by the Porte in 1768 against 'Alî Bey proved that, even at Constantinople, there had been a presentiment of the coming events. In Egypt itself nothing indicated that a foreign invasion by a European power was seriously apprehended.

The French fleet, consisting of about 400 ships and a landing-force of 35,000 men, commanded by Bonaparte, landed near Alexandria on July 2, 1798. Alexandria was occupied without difficulty and the French immediately began their march on Cairo. The resistance organised by the Mamlûk Beys Murâd and Ibrâhîm near Embâbe on the Nile was soon broken in the battle of the Pyramids and on July 24 the capital was occupied. Murâd Bey fled to Upper-Egypt and Ibrâhîm into the Delta. The panic that for a moment had overcome the inhabitants of the capital soon disappeared, but they were far from showing confidence in the French "liberators" and "friends of Islâm", as the French soldiers had been styled in a proclamation. Bonaparte soon had to adopt more severe and more Oriental methods against revolts of the populace. A month after the landing the destruction of the French ships in the bay of Abû Kîr by Nelson (August 1) completely changed the character of the French enterprise and was the first of the blows struck by England, resulting in the final evacuation. The Porte, though reluctantly, declared war on France in September, but not before the middle of the next year (1799) did Turkish troops appear in Egypt. In the meantime the French had established a regular administration in the country. The Egyptians, however, maintained their ironical attitude towards the actions of the French, as well towards their zealous respect of local religious customs as towards the scientific investigations of the scholars accompanying the expedition. Besides, they soon were disappointed when they saw that the French also demanded the payment of land-tax, and the Muhammadan majority naturally did not like to see that the foreigners made a large use of the native Christians (Copts, Greeks, Syrians) as subordinate officials. On October 21, 1798, a rather serious revolt broke out in Cairo, which was only suppressed on the following day after a bombardment of al-Azhar. In order to prevent the invasion of a Turkish army, Bonaparte undertook in February, 1799, his famous expedition to Syria. Having failed to take 'Akkâ, defended by Djazzâr Pasha [q. v.], he had to retreat in May. A month after his return the first Turkish troops (among whom was Muhammad 'Alî as an officer in the Albanian corps), transported by English ships, landed at Abû Kîr (July 14, 1799). They were utterly defeated and on August 2 Bonaparte took their last refuge, the fortress of Abû Kîr. After Bonaparte's departure (August 22) the French maintained themselves another two years under Kléber (murdered in June, 1800) and Menou, but in August, 1801, their last resistance was broken by the allied English and Turks and they had to evacuate Egypt.

Apart from the immediate political results — the destruction of the Mamlûk power and the return of Egypt to Turkey —, the results of the scientific work of the French expedition (centralised in the "Institut Egyptien" founded by Bonaparte on August 21, 1798, in Cairo. v. Bréhier, *L'Egypte de 1798 à 1900*, p. 65—80) published in the eight folio volumes of the *Description de l'Egypte* (cf. the *Bibliography*) were enormous. The researches on the "present state of Egypt" constitute the basis of all European knowledge of modern Egypt (e.g. the elaborate researches made by Lepère on the possibility of a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea). The immediate influence, however, of the French on the cultural development of Egypt was almost nil. The gap between Eastern and Western civilisation was too wide to allow of any tangible results during the first period; this impression is given very strongly by reading al-Djabartî's account of the foreign occupation.

After the departure of the French army, a struggle began between the Turkish authorities and the Mamlûk Beys who wanted to regain their ancient power. The Mamlûks were protected by the English; after Murâd Bey's death their most important leader became 'Uthmân Bey Bardîsî. The Turks on the other hand naturally wished to take advantage of the opportunity to fasten their grip on the country, but their administrative methods and the inability of the successively appointed *wâlî*'s to withhold their own troops from mutiny, for want of money, gave to Bardîsî and his party a temporary advantage. His protectors, the British, had left Egypt in March, 1803, but one of his chief supporters was Muhammad 'Alî with his Albanian regiment. His aid enabled Bardîsî and the old Ibrâhîm Bey to maintain themselves in Cairo, while the *wâlî*'s of the Porte exercised authority only in certain parts of the Delta. A last Turkish *wâlî*, Khurshîd Pasha, could reside for some time in the Cairo citadel, but finally Muhammad 'Alî, by his ever increasing influence, removed him.

After the rather negative results of the foregoing five years the second period proved to be of enormous importance for the country. From a political point of view the most notable effect of Muhammad 'Alî's reign was that he gave Egypt a dynasty of its own. Although what Muhammad 'Alî did for the country was only a means of realising his own ambitions, the history of Egypt has been deeply influenced by his measures. He unchained forces which determined its destiny and settled the fate of the dynasty itself. They may be summed up as follows: firstly, the mobilisation of the national forces of the Egyptians themselves and secondly the introduction of European instructors and European methods. From a cultural point of view it may be remarked that from the beginning of Muhammad 'Alî's reign until the English occupation Egypt was much more exposed to Ottoman-Turkish influences than was ever the case before; personal and independent as the régime of the viceroy may have been, the administrative methods and the taste of himself and his surroundings were impregnated by the traditions of the Ottoman Empire (as an instance may be cited the so called Alabaster Mosque built by Muhammad 'Alî in the Citadel of Cairo in Constantinople style). The great expansion of Muhammad 'Alî's power between 1833 and 1840 was one of the natural historical consequences of Egyptian political power which always has implied the annexation of Syria (see the art. EGYPT); Muhammad

ʿAlî's Great Power policy itself, however, was not very important for Egypt. The conquest of the Sûdân was of far more direct and future profit for the country. In 1841, at the end of this period, closed by the Imperial *firmân* of Rabîʿ II 2, 1257 (May 23, 1841), Egypt's international position was quite changed. To outward appearances it had become again a Turkish province, but in reality the fact of the intervention of four great European Powers (except France) showed the beginnings of political dependence upon Europe and especially upon England. The occupation of ʿAden by the British in February, 1838, was already a clear symptom of the new situation. Muḥammad ʿAlî was always fully aware of this fact (Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, i. 16). He remained himself a staunch friend of France, though this friendship proved to be of little avail to him. But as long as he reigned he was able to avert foreign intervention from Egyptian internal affairs; it is for this reason that he never gave his consent to the piercing of the Suez Isthmus.

The last years of Muḥammad ʿAlî, and the short reign of Ibrâhîm [q. v.], belong, with the reigns of ʿAbbâs, Saʿîd and Ismâʿîl (cf. these articles), to the **third period**. During this period Egypt became more and more detached from the Ottoman Empire and it was drawn more and more into the sphere of European politics and economics. No territorial expansion took place except in the South (Abyssinian war in 1872; acquisition of Sawâkin and Maṣawwaʿ from the Porte in 1865). Egypt's relations with Turkey in this period were rather of a personal character, inasmuch as the Khedives sought to gain special favours from the Sulṭâns in return for an increase of the tribute. But whenever the Ottoman government tried to exercise real influence on Egyptian affairs — as in the beginning of ʿAbbâs's reign — the results were illusory. Even the Sulṭân's prohibition of Ismâʿîl's contracting new loans without his assent could easily be ignored. The Egyptian army was only theoretically a part of the Turkish army (Egyptian troops, however, participated in the Turkish wars against Russia) and it was only due to special circumstances, that, in 1879, the Sulṭân had an opportunity of deposing Ismâʿîl. In the interior the viceroys reigned with unlimited autocratic power after the traditional Oriental fashion. With the exception of ʿAbbâs, who showed himself an enemy of Western civilisation — especially in its French form —, they encouraged the introduction of European arts and sciences and institutions. The result was that Egypt became soon more "europeanised" than any other Muhammadan country. It is well known that all these works, far from increasing the prosperity of the country, brought about its financial ruin. The cause has to be sought not so much in the proverbial but much exaggerated prodigality of Ismâʿîl as in the system that prevailed in the execution of the reforms. This system was based on the careless Oriental administrative methods, the disastrous effects of which were doubled by the readiness shown by the Europeans in granting financial facilities. Moreover, many of the European agents were no more than unscrupulous adventurers, whose only aim was to get an enormous indemnity for alleged breaches of contract by the Egyptian government. A great many public works remained uncompleted on account of difficulties of this sort. The first result was an ever increasing floating debt (the first beginnings of this disastrous development are very clearly depicted by von Kremer, ii. 28). The main difficulties, however, were brought about by the different loans contracted in Europe by Saʿîd and Ismâʿîl (1862, 1864, 1866, 1868, 1872); they grew to an extent which cost Ismâʿîl his throne. The greater part of the bondholders of the debt were French and, to a less degree, British. So France and England, the ancient rivals in Egyptian affairs, became the leaders of the foreign intervention; representatives of both these countries took part in the "Dual Control" over the revenues and expenses of Egypt since 1876, interrupted only by the period in which an Englishman and a Frenchman were ministers (August 28, 1878—April 5, 1879). France's financial interests were unquestionably the greater, but England was already by far the more influential by its trade and by its political situation; moreover the British occupation of Perim in 1857 and of Cyprus in 1878 strengthened England's position considerably. Still, up to the English occupation of 1882, Egypt's formal relations towards other countries were nearly those of an independent state, limited only by the capitulations and, since 1876, by the mixed jurisdiction (see 2). The Khedive, since 1873, was able to conclude treaties with other powers (except purely political); at the opening of the Suez canal (1876), Ismâʿîl was treated as the equal of the European sovereigns who came to attend the ceremonies. As the European personnel in the Egyptian administration increased, however, the influence of the French and English consuls became gradually considerable.

The condition of the people of Egypt had become more favourable in the beginning of this third period, especially after the abolition of the state monopoly. But the *fellâḥ*'s profited little by the favourable economic circumstances and, especially after 1876 when the heavy and ruinous taxation began which was the only means whereby the government could meet its obligations, there began a period of profound misery which was only to end towards 1890. This unsatisfactory situation was one of the causes of the first **nationalist movement**. This movement had originated in the indigenous middle classes, which had already come into existence under Muḥammad ʿAlî; by European as well as Oriental influences (Djamâl al-Dîn Afghânî) these classes had gradually become an important factor in social life, although, for the time, orthodox religious circles still stood aloof, as the modernist views of the first nationalists and their sympathy with freemasonry were antipathetic to them. The nationalists criticised Ismâʿîl's financial policy, his favorisation of European elements in the country and his predilection for the Turco-Circassian class to the detriment of the native Egyptians. The treatment of the indigenous element in the army especially had excited their indignation (the armies sent to the Sûdân and against Abyssinia in 1875 consisted exclusively of *fellâḥ*'s). Public opinion began for the first time to manifest itself in 1877. In that year the nationalists published some newspapers (a. o. *Miṣr* and *al-Waṭan*) and the device of *Miṣr li 'l-Miṣriyîn* was heard for the first time. Notwithstanding repressive measures, the nationalist papers published sharp criticisms of the government;

a special subject of their criticisms was the participation of Egyptian troops in the Turco-Russian war. The "coup d'état" of April, 1879, which caused the fall of the ministry of Nūbār Pasha with the two European ministers was the first palpable result of the nationalist action (it seems even probable that the nationalists encouraged the deposition of Ismāʿīl) (M. Sabry, *La Genèse* etc., p. 160). A still more serious consequence was the movement in the army against the Turco-Circassian officers, which finally led to open revolt and, as a consequence, the occupation of the country by British troops.

This military movement, the revolution of ʿArābī and his friends, opens the fourth period of modern Egyptian history. In the two preceding years, after the accession of Tawfīḳ Pasha [q. v.], the new Khedive and his ministers had tried to execute a more or less nationalist programme; but, when ʿArābī had come with his claims of army reforms, the convocation of parliament and of a constitution, they soon came to look on foreign intervention as the only possible salvation. Thus the absence of a really strong and able power in the country — for ʿArābī's party was weak through inexperience and incompetence — had made possible the intervention of England. The chief cause which made it desirable for England to get a strong position in Egypt was the geographical situation of this country on the route to India. This desirability had much increased since France had taken possession of Algiers and Tunis and after the opening of the Suez canal, which it was in England's interest to keep free from powerful foreign influence. The development of Egyptian affairs had provided it with an excuse for an armed intervention. France, whose political interests were less engaged, shrank back from the responsibility at the last moment; Egypt's history after 1882 shows how England has assumed this responsibility.

Theoretically, the international position of the country remained unchanged after the occupation; Egypt now enjoyed a double suzerainty, a financial tutelage, a threefold jurisdiction, a foreign military occupation and was the scene of the clash of two civilisations. The British policy had in the first place to face what Lord Cromer calls "Internationalism", meaning by this term the intervention of other powers, especially France, in Egyptian administrative affairs on the basis of former agreements. Only in 1904, the year of the Anglo-French agreement, did England practically get a free hand in Egypt. The man under whose direction the position of the English was consolidated in the Nile valley was Lord Cromer, British Consul-General from 1883 to 1907. Notwithstanding his comparatively modest official function, Cromer became the most powerful man in Egypt. He governed by the system of "governing the governors of Egypt"; his chief aids were the British advisers in the different ministries. It certainly was an advantage for Egypt that its interests had now become to a large extent identical with those of England. Thus England succeeded by a new loan guaranteed by the great Powers and by very severe measures in the interior in putting the finances on a sound base, so that in 1904 the power of the "Caisse de la Dette" could be considerably limited, so as to give back to Egypt its financial liberty. The public debt, it is true, was not much less in 1914 than in 1882, but the economic prosperity of the country had greatly increased (see 3). As to Turkey, its influence on Egyptian affairs became ever less. The sending of Ghāzī Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha in 1885 as Turkish High Commissioner had no political results, though the unofficial panislamic propaganda carried on by the Pasha was considerable at the time. The Sulṭān's attempts in 1892 and in 1906 to assert his authority on the Sinai peninsula were complete failures. During the Turco-Italian war England did not even allow Egypt to send troops to Tripoli. On the other hand Turkey could not sympathise with the nationalists, the Young Turks (many of whom had found an asylum in Egypt during the Hamīdian régime) after 1908, even less than Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. France's opposition to the English occupation was more influential on account of the strong French sympathies in the country. After ʿAbbās Ḥilmī's accession a revival of French cultural influence took place, against which the English occasionally had to take measures (deposition of Nūbār Pasha in 1894). It was from France that, until 1904, the nationalists always hoped for support. The position of the Khedives was of no political influence; ʿAbbās Ḥilmī was no more successful in his nationalist attitude in the first years of his reign than later on in his entertaining good relations with Constantinople.

The Sūdān, the possession of which had been most important for Egypt's prosperity and its international position, theoretically was, like Egypt, a province of the Ottoman Empire; by a *firmān* of 1841 Muḥammad ʿAlī had been granted the governorship over these regions "without hereditary rights". Under Ismāʿīl the Sūdān had been governed for Egypt by English governors (Baker and Gordon). But, since the revolt of the Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad [q. v.] and especially the taking of Khartūm (January 26, 1885) had interrupted the Egyptian domination, the Sūdān affairs were entirely directed by British policy; the same is true of the reconquest; the nominal chief of the Egyptian army was the Khedive, but after the reorganisation of this army in 1883 all higher ranks were occupied by British officers. After the reconquest (1898) the English policy did not allow the return of the Sūdān to Egypt; by the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of January 19, 1899, an Anglo-Egyptian condominium was established in the Sūdān. In this treaty the rights of the Porte were not taken into account and the Khedive, though the Sulṭān's vassal, acted as an independent sovereign. The consolidation of the British power in the Sūdān, on the other hand, has strengthened considerably England's ascendency over the Nile valley.

After ʿArābī's defeat the nationalist movement was crushed for the moment and until the end of Lord Cromer's days it never became again a political factor of importance. During that time a new generation grew up and found a leader in the young Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha [q. v.; died on February 10, 1908, at the age of 34], who founded in 1899 the paper *al-Liwāʾ* and became in 1907 the first president of the National League (*al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*). This second generation of nationalists stood likewise under French cultural influence. Intellectually they were much better equipped than their predecessors: when they began their renewed campaign of "Egypt for the Egyptians", they showed much moderation and rejected revolutionary ideas. After Lord Cromer's replacement

by Sir Eldon Gorst (1907—1911) the attitude towards the nationalists became one of the chief problems of British policy. In 1906 the incident of Denshawai had proved that anglophobia was still widely spread and, though the culprits were punished in an exemplary way, the new British representative adopted a much more conciliatory attitude towards the nationalist aspirations. But this new policy had not the desired results; in 1909 freedom of the press had to be restricted again and al-Azhar had to be closed for some time on account of the anti-English demonstrations of the students. Then happened on February 20, 1910, the murder of the Coptic Prime Minister Butros Ghālī Pasha (one of the members of whose cabinet was Sa'd Zaghlūl) by a young Muḥammadan nationalist. This event brought about a breach between the Christian and the Muḥammadan element, in the nationalist party, which soon threatened to lead to serious disorders. In the same year the General Assembly rejected the prolongation of the Suez canal concession after 1968. So, with Gorst's retirement and his succession by Lord Kitchener in 1911, the British policy made place again for a stronger rule which lasted until the declaration of the English protectorate over Egypt on December 18, 1914. Next day 'Abbās Ḥilmī was declared to be deposed and replaced by his uncle Ḥusain Kāmil as Sulṭān. A *fatwā* of the Shaikh al-Islām of Constantinople declared the new ruler to be a traitor to the cause of Islām whom it was obligatory to fight and who deserved death (text in Jacob, *Hilfsbuch für Vorlesungen über das Osmanisch-Türkische*, ii., Berlin 1916, p. 46).

During the war Egypt was merely a link in the strategic organisation of the British Empire. From November 6, 1914, the country was at war with Turkey, but the defence of Egyptian territory was only in British hands. The sittings of the Assembly were suspended and martial law was proclaimed. The result of the war was the definite loosening of the ties with Turkey by the Treaty of Lausanne (May 25, 1923), to which Egypt, however, was no party. A much more important consequence of the war was the renewed growth of nationalism. Several causes had combined to incite opposition against the British protectorate, such as the heavy requisitions imposed on the people and the growth of the number of British officials. The Wilson principles too stimulated the Egyptians to claim political independence. The nationalists, this time, were supported by a much greater part of the population than before; the Copts had joined them again and even the circles of al-Azhar encouraged the nationalist propaganda. Its leader became Sa'd Zaghlūl Pasha, before the war Minister of Justice and at that time known as a man of moderate political views. The indifference, however, which the Egyptian claims met in London caused the Egyptians to abandon moderate measures. A struggle of three years followed between them and England in which nationalists made use of disturbances (breaking-up of railways, anti-European outbreaks), passive resistance (strikes, boycotting of the Milner mission) and the discrediting of the English administration. The British used military force (martial law was maintained) and deportation (Zaghlūl twice); at the same time Bolshevist agitators and partisans of the return of the former Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī were at work. Finally the English government changed its attitude; it declared the British protectorate abolished and recognised Egypt as a sovereign and independent state (February 28, 1922). The settling of some important points, however, remained reserved (e. g. the defence of Egypt and the Sūdān question). Though by this attitude on the part of the English government the difficulties seemed to have been solved, this was not the view of the nationalists. The events after February, 1922, have shown that the struggle between the claim to full independence and British intervention in Egyptian affairs has in no way become less violent and less dangerous for the peaceful development of the country.

2. Government and administration.

After the departure of the French the number of Mamlūk Beys had been completed again to twenty-four, but the shock their government system had undergone by the occupation had deprived it of all power of resistance against the strong will of Muḥammad 'Alī. The French occupation had lasted too short a time to permit the establishment of new governmental traditions. For tax-collecting the French had been compelled to make use of the existing institutions; their chief innovation was the creation of a *dīwān* in Cairo composed of ten *shaikh*'s (with careful exclusion of representatives of the Mamlūk class) to look into matters of government. Bonaparte was provided with a Ketkhudā (Kikhya in Egyptian Arabic), as had been the custom with the Turkish pasha's before.

As has always happened before when Egypt got a strong ruler, the government system of Muḥammad 'Alī became again extremely centralised. All feudal powers were abolished (massacre of the Mamlūks), the only great vassal being the viceroy himself who reigned in the name of the Sulṭān. The character of his reign was still very Oriental and very "Turkish" at the outset. But the way in which this absolutism collapsed was no longer Oriental; Egypt did not fall back again into the hands of a number of feudal chiefs. For the country became ever more interwoven with European interests, which at last, though allowing the survival of the Khedivial dynasty, put the government into the condition of a constitutional monarchy, in which, however, the check to absolutism was not formed by a representative body of the people, but by the representative of a European government.

The relation of vassaldom towards the Porte has in practice never bound the hands of the viceroys in matters of interior administration, not even since the *firmān* of May 23, 1841, the dispositions of which have theoretically formed the base of Egypt's juridical international position up to 1914 (Turkish text in Aḥmad Luṭfī, *Tārīkh-i Dewlet-i 'Alīye-i 'Othmānīye*, Constantinople 1302, vi. 140; French text in Noradounghian, *Recueil*, ii. 335). Its provisions for the interior administration are only: the application of the *Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf* of Gülkhāne (1839), the paying of a tribute from the revenue (fixed at 80,000 purses in a separate *firmān* of the same date and raised to 150,000 purses or 750,000 Turkish pounds in 1866), the coinage in the Sulṭān's name, the reduction of the army to 18,000 men (this limitation was removed in 1873), the viceroy being authorised to

confer military grades up to the rank of colonel, and the prohibition of the construction of men-of-war without special permission. The *firmān*'s after 1841 only contained slight modifications and the one of June 8, 1873, resumed all former dispositions. The *firmān*'s granted to the Khedives Tawfīḳ and ʿAbbās Ḥilmī on their accession contained nearly similar prescriptions.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's general government was made up of a system of *dīwān*'s and *madjlis*'s (the members of which were appointed by himself), forming together the central government. The most important was *al-Dīwān al-Khidīwī* in the citadel of Cairo, presided over by the *kikhya*; it was at the same time a supreme court of judicature (Lane, i. 130). Besides there was a *Madjlis al-Mashwara* (general government), a *Madjlis al-Djihādiya*, a *Madjlis al-Tarskhāna*, a *Dīwān al-Tudjdjār*, etc. All these bodies had occasionally juridical and executive power. The *sharīʿa* jurisdiction was exercised by a Ḥanafite ḳāḍī, sent every year from Constantinople, in the *maḥkama* of the capital. There was also a council of *ʿulamāʾ*, but this more national element, which had exercised a considerable influence in the time of the French occupation, soon lost its influence under Muḥammad ʿAlī. The number, the names and the attributions of the different *dīwān*'s were, however, far from stable (see Zaidān, *Mashāhir al-Sharḳ*, i. 24). Saʿīd Pasha changed three of the *dīwān*'s into ministries (*wizāra*) under a *wazīr*, viz. the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance and War, and the place of the *Kikhya* was taken by a kind of chancery called *Maʿiya*; the working system of these bodies was still very imperfectly organised (cf. the description by von Kremer, ii. 9 *sqq.*). Ismāʿīl created the Ministries of Interior, Marine, Public Instruction (ʿAlī Mubārak Pasha), of Public Works and of Commerce (1876), the central direction being given to a *Madjlis Khuṣūṣī*. The *waḳf* administration did not yet form an independent ministry. Although in the beginning this Khedive succeeded in keeping a strong hand on government, the different personalities of the ministers began to exercise influence; especially towards the end of his reign, when for a short period even two Europeans were members of the cabinet of Nūbār Pasha. At the same time a number of high European officials in Egyptian service had obtained influential positions in different departments. In 1866 Egypt had been granted a kind of representative body (*Madjlis Niyābī*, opened November 25, 1866) elected by the communes, but as this germ of an Egyptian Parliament only possessed a limited power of advice and was convened only once a year, it did not yet play a role in the government. Only after 1879 did this *Madjlis* become a real parliament "with an opposition".

The constitutional régime inaugurated by Ismāʿīl in 1878 by his declaration that henceforward he would reign by the means of responsible ministers did not last long. After his deposition it was hoped that the Khedive Tawfīḳ — who gave a constitution on February 7, 1882 — would be able to work with his parliament, but these hopes were annihilated by the ʿArābī revolution. England, after the occupation, interfered in government matters through the mission of Lord Dufferin, whose well known report was presented in February, 1883. It was followed in May of the same year by a new Organic Law, which restored the full legislative power to the Khedive, instituted a legislative council of 30 members and a general assembly which was an enlargement of the first body but with very limited powers. This system worked for 30 years; it enabled the English to direct the government of Egypt by means of "advisers" in the different ministries. In 1913 the two bodies mentioned became one single legislative assembly with consultative function, consisting of the cabinet ministers, 66 elected and 17 nominated members; this assembly, however, did not meet, after martial law had been proclaimed in 1914. Finally, after the declaration of Egypt's independence (February 28, 1922), a commission of 30 members was charged with the elaboration of a constitution, which was promulgated by the king on April 19, 1923. This constitution has established in Egypt a representative parliamentary, monarchical government. In outward appearance almost everything that could suggest that Egypt had ever had any other than European traditions had vanished.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's reorganisation of the provincial administration began in 1813 and consisted of a reduction of the number of provinces (see the art. EGYPT, § 2a) and the establishment of a highly centralised administration. In 1840 the number of provinces (*mudīriya*) was only seven: Buḥaira, Manūfiya, Daḳahliya, Sharḳiya (besides the governorships of Cairo and Alexandria) in Lower Egypt, and Banī Suwaif (including Faiyūm), Minyā and Isnā in Middle and Upper Egypt. Each province was governed by a *mudīr*; it was subdivided in *markaz*'s each under a *maʾmūr*, these again into *ḳism*'s under a *nāẓir*, these again into *nāḥiya*'s under a *shaikh al-balad* (whose title and function were taken over from the preceding period). In each *nāḥiya* there was an official called *khawlī* for agricultural matters, a *ṣarrāf* for the tax collecting and a *shāhid* or *maʾdhūn*, who was a deputy of the ḳāḍī. The *mudīr*'s were always "Turks". The *khawlī*'s and the *ṣarrāf*'s were all Copts; most of the other officials were indigenous Muḥammadans. Under Muḥammad ʿAlī's two successors the centralising control slackened and abuses entered freely. Then Ismāʿīl proceeded to a new division of Egypt into three great sections: Al-Baḥarī, with the *mudīriya*'s Buḥaira, Djīza, Ḳalyūbiya, Sharḳiya, Manūfiya, Gharbiya and Daḳahliya; al-Wusṭānī, with Banī Suwaif, Faiyūm and Minyā, and al-Ṣaʿīd [q. v.] with Asyūṭ, Djirdja, Ḳenā (Kenneh) and Isnā (Esne). Besides these, there were the governorships (*muḥāfaẓa*) of Cairo, Alexandria, Dimyāṭ, Rashīd (Rosette), al-ʿArīsh, Port-Said, Suwais (Suez) and Sawākin. The existing subdivisions were maintained; only over each *nāḥiya* there was put an *ʿumda*, who was to be assisted by the *shaikh al-balad*; both were chosen by the inhabitants. The function of *khawlī* was abolished on account of the greater agricultural autonomy granted to the provincial representative bodies (cf. 3). Each *markaz* and each *mudīriya* got such a *haiʾa niyābiya* composed of notables. It was after the fashion of these bodies that in 1866 the *Madjlis Niyābī* was created in Cairo (see above). A no less important innovation was the replacement of "Turkish" *mudīr*'s by native ones; it was some time before the population became accustomed to obeying high officials chosen from their midst. The administrative system described is maintained in its main features up to the present day.

As in former centuries, the administrative system was closely connected with the land policy. Muḥammad ʿAlī abolished nearly all full property of the soil. All arable lands were distributed by his cadastral administration (*rawnāme*) among the *fellāḥ*'s (each getting 3—5 *feddān*), who were to be only usufructuaries. They could in no way dispose of the soil and had to pay *kharādj*; their land was called *kharādjī*. The taxes were collected by officials (see above) and the tax-farming system (*iltizām*) was abolished. The former tax-farmers were indemnified by being allowed to keep as usufruct the tax-free ground (called *ūsiya*) which they had already possessed under the Mamlūks, and by an annual rent. In course of time this *ūsiya* land has returned to the public domain as *kharādjī* or has become full property (*milk*). Also other kinds of exceptional private property (*rizḳa*) entered gradually the category of *kharādjī*. A new kind of lands were those called *ibʿādiya*, uncultivated grounds given by Muḥammad ʿAlī to notables and high functionaries for them to cultivate. The *ibʿādiya* were free from taxes and could not be sold. Under the same conditions large properties were granted as *čiflik*'s (from Turkish *čiftlik*) to the members of the viceregal family and some high functionaries; these became under Ismāʿīl the great *dāʾira* administrations. Now all the categories of land enumerated have gradually become full property. The limitations to the property rights of holders of *kharādjī* lands have been abolished by different laws, especially the *muḳābala* law (see below). So there has been an evolution from a state in which nearly no private property existed at all to the present situation where *milk* property has become the rule. Foreigners have officially been allowed to possess landed property in Egypt only since the Turkish law of June 10, 1867, but Muḥammad ʿAlī had already given *ibʿādiya* lands to several foreigners; still the portion of Egyptian soil actually possessed by Europeans is rather small. The Egyptian property law is now to be found in the Egyptian and the Mixed Civil Codes. As to the original *waḳf* land, a considerable part of it had been confiscated by Muḥammad ʿAlī and now belongs to the *milk* category.

The **financial administration** of Egypt is better known than any other branch of government through the elaborate investigations made by European experts, beginning with the report of Mr. Cave in 1876. The collection of the chief revenue, the land-tax (cf. 3), always brought with it many abuses, especially the collection in advance under Ismāʿīl in order to meet the exigencies of the public debt. The *muḳābala* law of 1871, changed many times and abolished in 1880, was a curious example of financial policy, as it exempted those who paid six years in advance for ever from the half of their future tax obligations. Another important branch of revenue, the custom duties, were still farmed to *multazim*'s in the beginning of the 19th century. Since European officials have been introduced in the financial administration, these revenues have come in more regularly. A feature of financial administration under Ismāʿīl has also been the amalgamation of the administration of the Khedive's own domains (*dāʾira saniya*) with that of the government.

The first impulse to the reorganisation of **jurisdiction** was given by the institution of the mixed tribunals in 1876, obtained by Nūbār Pasha after laborious negotiations with the powers. As in Egypt the jurisdiction of the foreign consulates had increased far beyond the limits laid down by the capitulations — as a result of the insufficiency of indigenous jurisdiction — a reform had become an imposing necessity. After the creation of the mixed jurisdiction, consular jurisdiction was limited to processes between foreigners of the same nationality and penal jurisdiction over each consul's nationals. The mixed judges were to be Egyptian officials, but as the majority were subjects of the different western states possessing capitulations and as the mixed tribunals were given competence to judge even the Egyptian government, they assumed the character of a foreign power in the government, a very clear symptom of Egypt's „europeanisation". On the other hand a serious resistance of the Porte had to be overcome, as Turkey did not like to see the official establishment of so independent a jurisdiction in one of her provinces. By a *firmān* of 1872 (Noradounghian, iii. 340), however, the authorisation was given by the Sulṭān. Seven years after the institution of the mixed tribunals there were organised new indigenous tribunals after the same pattern, by the decree of June 4, 1883, replacing the jurisdiction of the administrative authorities and their *dīwān*'s. The codes applied by the two kinds of jurisdiction are nearly identical and fashioned chiefly after the French codes. The new indigenous codes were likewise published in 1883 (the penal code and the code of criminal instruction were renewed in 1904). On the penal code that existed under Saʿīd Pasha and was a very confused compilation, see von Kremer, ii. 52—66. The jurisdiction of the personal statute of Muḥammadans is reserved to the *maḥkama*'s of the Ḥanafite *madhhab*, which were reorganised by a decree of 1897 (and later on again in 1909 and 1910). There exists, however, a codification in articles of the Ḥanafite law on marriage, tutelage and successions, made for the information of the judges of the mixed courts; a French translation of this compilation, in 647 articles, has been inserted in the recent edition of *Egyptian Codes and Laws* by J. Wathelet and R. G. Brunton (Brussels 1920). The Arabic text was published in Cairo in 1917. Ḳadrī Pasha, late minister of Justice, had also codified, for educational purposes, the dispositions of Ḥanafite law concerning property and obligations (Arabic edition, Cairo 1909), but, unlike the Turkish Medjelle, these codifications of Muḥammadan law have no exclusive authority with the Egyptian *maḥkama*'s.

The different Christian communities have their own jurisdiction in matters of personal statute.

3. Economic Development

The great economic creations of Muḥammad ʿAlī were the introduction of cotton cultivation and his monopoly system. These, supported by his highly centralised government system, procured him the means of pursuing his vast political schemes. In itself the economic system was quite Oriental, but, in two ways, it brought about relations with Europe. Firstly the viceroy sought to apply European methods and for that purpose brought European experts to Egypt, secondly the products of agriculture were sold to Europe and the commercial relations with Europe thus created had again most important consequences after the monopoly

system had been given up under 'Abbās I. Free commercial relations then developed between the European buyers and the Egyptian cultivators, nearly always by the intermediary of other elements. This change, however, was accomplished under conditions which have proved highly prejudicial to a sound and independent development of the country. Firstly European ideas of credit were introduced into a country that before had known only very limited credit operations. The European merchants and their auxiliaries began to give large advances on the payment for the expected crop; the inevitable consequence was that the peasants got into debt and that the merchants lost their money. Here we see, on a lower plane, exactly the same symptoms that brought about the heavy debt burden of the state itself, due to exaggerated confidence in the prosperity of the country. The Egyptians evidently did not know how to use credit, as their economic traditions had not made them acquainted with the accumulation of capital. Secondly the imports from Europe brought wares of a kind of which the population stood in no great economic need, but which were nevertheless bought in large quantities. In the first place mention may be made of cotton manufactures that came chiefly from England. So, notwithstanding the increased production, the country was not able to enrich itself; on the whole the population remained poor and in debt, as was the treasury. But indissoluble economic and financial ties had been formed with Europe and particularly with England. A glance into the import and export trade about 1850, as given by von Kremer, is enough to show how much England was commercially interested in Egypt and explains why it was England which, when the financial and economic crisis came, undertook the most active intervention resulting in the military occupation. After 1882 Egypt became economically still more dependent on England by the extension of cotton cultivation, though, on the other hand, English control prevented the country from falling back again into a state of unproductiveness. So here again we see how the work of Muḥammad 'Alī created possibilities the profits of which, as in so many other Muhammadan countries, have not been reaped by Egypt's population itself.

A thorough investigation of the Europeanisation of Egyptian economics has not yet been written (as was done e. g. for Turkestān by Reinhold Junge in his book *Das Problem der Europäisierung orientalischer Wirtschaft, dargestellt an den Verhältnissen der Sozialwirtschaft von Russisch-Turkestan*, Weimar 1915). So, after the foregoing sketch, we shall point only to a few prominent features and figures.

Egypt has not only remained an almost exclusively agricultural country, but it has developed its agrarian character to an extent which has surpassed all former estimates. In the Mamlūk time the country had produced scarcely enough wheat for its own livelihood; it was Muḥammad 'Alī who, in his typical centralising way, gave a first start to the reawakening of Egypt's productive power.

The cardinal point was the care for good irrigation, very much neglected in the previous centuries. The French had only had time to make a thorough study of the existing canal system; then Muḥammad 'Alī took up the problem energetically. He wasted many thousand lives in the improvement and digging of new canals, the best known of which is the Maḥmūdiya canal from Alexandria to the Rosette arm of the Nile. His irrigation works not only brought about a territorial extension of agriculture, but he created for the first time the possibility of perennial irrigation by canals containing water during the whole year. Besides, he entrusted the control of all irrigation works and the distribution of the water to special officials (the *khawlī's*, see 2), leaving no liberty to the peasants themselves. This canal digging activity was continued by Ismā'īl (the Ibrāhīmiya canal in Upper Egypt and the Ismā'īliya canal, linking the Nile with the Suez canal). In his reign the centralised control of irrigation was superseded by the local and provincial councils, acting under the supervision of government engineers, but at the same time abuses in the water distribution by the local authorities became frequent. This situation only improved when, after 1882, English officials were charged with the control. Care for the irrigation became one of the first principles of the English administration; from the loan of 1884 an amount of £ 1,000,000 was reserved for this purpose, while all other expenses had to be reduced for lack of money. The results of this policy have entirely fulfilled the expectations. It was also by English engineers that the barrage of the Nile near Djīza — already begun under Muḥammad 'Alī by French engineers — was finished. This work was followed by the famous dam of Aswān (finished in 1902 and raised in 1912), which had already more than agricultural significance, as it made it possible to hold up, within a certain measure, the water necessary for the irrigation of the country below. The same applies to an even greater extent to the huge dams projected after the war in the Blue and the White Nile above Kharṭūm for the irrigation of the Sūdān (the first was opened in 1926); during the post-war disturbances in Egypt England's power over the Nile waters became one of its most powerful means of coercion in the struggle with the nationalists. In Egypt itself the irrigation administration is now almost entirely in the hands of Egyptian officials. Apart from the care for banks and dykes the *fellāḥ*'s themselves still apply for the greater part the primitive irrigation methods of the *sāḳiya* and the *shādūf*, while only on the larger estates modern machines have been introduced.

Besides the care for irrigation, the cultivable soil has also been extended enormously by Muḥammad 'Alī's land policy (see 2). Further, he exercised by the monopoly system a decisive influence on the direction in which agriculture has developed. He succeeded in centralising the entire production in his own hands and of disposing of it freely; the peasants were no more than day-labourers who were obliged to sell their products at fixed prises to the government and to pay likewise their taxes in kind. Notwithstanding this prevention of all personal initiative — made still worse by the *corvée* and the conscription — the viceroy was able to force the agriculturists to produce larger quantities and so to increase the surplus destined for export. Wheat always had been the chief agricultural product of Egypt; in 1821 Muḥammad 'Alī introduced cotton cultivation not without having to overcome the passive

resistance of the population. At first there was planted an indigenous wild cotton (Mako); in 1828 Sea Island seed was introduced. This cultivation soon developed to an enormous extent; the area of the cotton land increased proportionally much more than that on which cereals were grown. The difference was, however, that the bulk of the cotton crop was destined for export and the cereals — wheat, barley, maize (*durra*) and rice (in the Delta) — for home consumption. After the abolition of the monopoly system the same development of agriculture prevailed and after the occupation the English — for many years previously already the chief purchasers of cotton — increased the cotton cultivation to a still larger extent. Between 1883 and 1908 the cotton growing area was doubled (from 800,000 to 1,640,000 *feddān*); cotton then covered a larger area than cereals. After that time a period of stagnation set in; during the war the cultivation of cereals had even to be encouraged (in 1919 the proportion was: cotton 1,573,000 *feddān* and wheat 1,274,000 *feddān*); it was even forbidden to plant more than one third of the cultivable area with cotton.

Another agricultural product introduced by Muḥammad ʿAlī was hemp, which had to provide the cordage for the ships of his fleet. Sugar-cane was likewise a new product, and was first planted by Ismāʿīl on his domains in Upper Egypt (since 1867). This crop has not produced such remarkable results as the cotton. Among the ancient crops flax has much decreased; so has the formerly flourishing tobacco culture, which was entirely prohibited in 1890. After the war, experiments have been made to introduce this crop again.

Apart from the produce in kind, agriculture provides also important revenues to the treasury in the form of the land tax. This tax has always constituted the bulk of the government revenue and has weighed heavily on the *fellāḥ* class. Muḥammad ʿAlī levied the land tax in kind; those who failed to pay for more than three years lost the land granted to them. Afterwards the *fellāḥ*'s had to pay cash and under Ismāʿīl they were often obliged to have recourse to usurers in order to fulfil their tax obligations; sometimes the government itself called in the aid of money-lenders to that purpose (as in 1878; Cromer, i. 38). Later the Agricultural Bank rendered the same services, the results of which was in many cases sale of property by decrees. The so called "5 *feddān* law" of 1912, prohibiting the pledging and sale by decree of landed property of less than 5 *feddān* has proved to be only a partial improvement.

Industry remained of as little importance to Egypt as in previous centuries. The petty native industries (spinning and weaving looms, pottery, forgery, etc.), just as they had developed under mediaeval conditions, still existed in the beginning of the 19th century. Muḥammad ʿAlī included these too in the monopoly system; those who worked on their own account were punished in a drastic way (Lane, i. 149). At that time the ancient guild organisation still existed, although it had decayed considerably after the Turkish conquest (see Thorning, *Türkische Bibliothek*, xvi. 80). During the 19th century, however, the competition of the imported European wares caused a still greater decline; in 1880 the guilds were officially abolished, though up to the present day this archaic form of production has survived. Among the new industries should be mentioned the factories for sugar crushing in Upper Egypt and the flourishing cigarette industry in Alexandria (since 1873), which now works only imported tobacco. Cotton is but little worked in Egypt itself; there exist, however, spinning factories (Filature Nationale d'Egypte). Nearly all new industries (also brewing, soap, confectionary, rice peeling mills) are in the hands of Europeans. They first employed European workmen, who have now been gradually replaced by natives. The latter have already learned the European forms of syndicalism.

The traffic possibilities have kept pace with the economic development. Next to the ancient traffic route, the Nile and its arms, the new big canals have rendered possible the extension of inland navigation. The Suez Canal, though lying entirely on Egyptian territory, has hardly any importance for the Egyptian trade. During its execution (1859—1869) Egyptian labourers were employed and the viceroy, Saʿīd Pasha, by furnishing half of the capital of the society, had created, at least for his dynasty, the possibility of future profits. But after Ismāʿīl had been obliged to sell, in 1876, his shares to the English government, the now considerable profits of the exploitation are of no benefit to Egypt. As, after 1968, the canal has to return again to Egypt, the Egyptians have done what they could by refusing in 1910 the prolongation of the concession. Besides, the canal has put Egypt under other international obligations. The Suez canal treaty of October 29, 1888 (ratified by England in 1904), declares the canal to be open in peace and in war time to all kinds of ships and charges with the control of its execution the representatives at Cairo of the different contracting countries. But England, as occupier, has always taken all measures for the defence of the canal, especially during the war, when a Turco-German offensive was threatening from that side. After the declaration of Egypt's independence the defence of the canal has remained one of the points of dispute between England and Egypt. In the overland traffic railways now take by far the first place, as the canals make other land routes superfluous. Railway building was begun under ʿAbbās Pasha in 1852 and in Ismāʿīl's reign the greater part of the Delta system and in Upper Egypt the line up to Asyūṭ were completed. Only after the occupation was this last line continued up to Aswān, but between Aswān and Wādī Ḥalfa, where the extensive Sūdān system begins, there is no railway communication. During the war a line was built to al-Ḳanṭara on the Suez canal which communicates with the other new line coming from Yāfā. The Egyptian railways have been subjected until 1904 — as a consequence of the financial difficulties — to a special international administration. Since Ismāʿīl's reign the railway service is managed by Egyptian officials and engineers.

If, finally, anything proves clearly the new orien[illegible]tation of Egypt's economic — and in consequen[illegible] cultural — orientation, it is its foreign tra[illegible]. The commercial relations which the countr[illegible] possessed in the beginning of the 19th c[illegible] still were the remains of the great transit-[illegible] Indian products that had flourished in [illegible] Middle Ages, but was limited at the time to th[illegible] products of the Sūdān and South Arabia. Unde[illegible] Muḥammad

ʿAlī's system of government trade or monopoly, Egypt, for the first time since antiquity, began to produce again for export. This system, however, gave much offence, as well to the Muḥammadans who were treated less favourably by the viceroy than the European merchants, as to these merchants themselves. England even concluded in 1838 a commercial treaty with Turkey directed against the economic policy of Muḥammad ʿAlī. Under Saʿīd Pasha the export of cereals was still more important than that of cotton, but since his successor cotton has been leading; at that time it was particularly the civil war in America that had caused a great increase of the cotton export of Egypt. Since the middle of the century the chief purchaser of raw cotton has been England, which country, accordingly, was then already the most interested in the maintenance of cotton cultivation. By the development after 1882 Egypt has become, after America and India, the chief cotton exporting country of the world. The export figures are easily accessible in the literature on the subject; they are based chiefly on the custom-house statistics of Alexandria. Not so well known, however, is the manner in which trade has developed since the abolition of the monopoly system. Probably the foreign purchasers used mostly the services of intermediary agents, Syrians or Copts. It seems that methods were often adopted which had a detrimental influence on the development of trade, especially as in the form of advances to the peasants or the purchase in advance of the crops too great risks were taken, with the consequence that both producer and buyer suffered loss. The export of cereals has been much less constant than that of cotton (between 1910 and 1920 the proportion was about 1 : 9); there have been years (as in the war) when wheat had to be imported. Among the exported industrial products sugar and cigarettes are the most important.

The import from abroad consisted and consists for the greater part of cotton goods and textiles from English factories, next coal (from Turkey), iron, tobacco, machinery. After England the chief importers before the war were Turkey, France and Austria (clothes and *fezes*). These European imports soon became indispensable to the population and have contributed in a large measure to the material side of europeanisation.

It is clear that, since the beginning of Egypt's commercial development, England's part in it has been greater than that of any other country. Before the war this part was 57 %, while in 1919 it was nearly 60 %. With a few exceptions, the Egyptian trade has always shown a favourable balance of trade. It is difficult to determine how the country has profited by this circumstance. A great part must have been used for the public debt obligations. In any case the riches which have flowed into the country have found a very unequal repartition, for the peasant class is still poor and indebted. And next to the rich landed proprietors (especially the Turco-Egyptian Pasha-class; see 4) the Europeans too are in a more favourable position, as the capitulations liberated them from all taxation, while the import tax allowed by the capitulations was never more than 8 %.

The inland trade too was monopolised under Muḥammad ʿAlī; he forced the *fellāḥ*'s to buy from him at high prizes the grain which they had been obliged to sell at a much lower rate. For Saʿīd's time the inland trade has been described amply by von Kremer (ii. 212 *sqq.*). Here, notwithstanding the intrusion of European commercial methods, many ancient features have still been conserved. A special mention should be made of the *bāzār* system, which is still very lively (as at Cairo in Khān al-Khalīlī), though the old charm of bāzār life and the quality of the wares are no more what they used to be.

4. Population

The rapid growth of the population of Egypt since the beginning of the 19th century clearly proves that the conditions of life have considerably improved. From the time of the French occupation to Saʿīd's reign the population has nearly doubled (from 2,460,000 to 4,476,440), if the estimates can be relied upon. The increase has continued in the same proportion until the end of the century (in 1882 : 6,813,919 and in 1897 : 9,734,405), to diminish a little after that time, the figures being 11,287,359 for 1907 and 12,750,918 for 1917. As the cultivable surface is comparatively small (33,607 K.M.², according to *R. M. M.*, liii. 119), the density of population is considerable.

Actually about 92 % of this population constitutes the homogenous indigenous basic element whose tongue is Arabic. To it belong the cultivating class (the *fellāḥ*'s) and the native townsmen. About 93 % of these are Muḥammadans; the other are Christian Copts (854,778 in 1917). The non-indigenous element is composed of Turks, Oriental Christians and Jews, and Europeans. As in other Muḥammadan countries the differentiation of religion and race corresponds to an analogous differentiation in social function.

The fellāḥ's, the real native stock, live in villages situated on the Nile and on the canals in much the same primitive conditions as centuries ago. Muḥammad ʿAlī's economic measures impoverished them extremely and since the days of Ismāʿīl the *fellāḥ*'s have often been the object of the commiseration of European authors on account of the heavy taxes imposed upon them and the brutal and abusive methods of the tax collectors. But the steady increase of the population in those days proves that, hard as their plight may have been, conditions of life were more favourable to them than in foregoing centuries. The Egyptian peasant always has shown a traditional aversion to tax paying, if not urged by the *kurbāsh*, while, on the other hand, their inability to accumulate capital has kept them as a whole in an inferior condition. When Muḥammad ʿAlī began to form *fellāḥ* regiments, their dislike to military service made them often try to escape by self-mutilation; still the *fellāḥ*'s have proved good soldiers if conducted by able officers e. g. in the Sūdān campaign of 1897.

During the 19th century the settled population of several parts of Egypt still reckoned themselves to belong to Arabic tribes. The lowest class of agriculturists have no property at all and work as labourers on the larger estates. Next come the smaller proprietors (under 50 *feddān*). The best situated is the class of the *shaikh al-balad*'s (see 2), the "squirearchy", as Lord Cromer calls them.

The khedivial period has been most important for the indigenous element, as it has allowed them gradually to take a larger part in the public life and the administration of the country. In the

previous centuries the natives had supplied almost exclusively the ranks of the 'Ulamā'; since Muḥammad 'Alī — who still only admitted the "Turks" to higher positions — a kind of middle class had begun to be formed, and under Sa'īd — who has the reputation of having been a friend of the *fellāḥ* — their rise in the ranks of the army and the civil administration was encouraged. So towards the end of Ismā'īl's reign something like a public opinion (for the greater part turcophobe; see 1) was born. Some of the most conspicuous representatives of this native Egyptian intellectual class were 'Alī Pasha Mubārak [q. v.] and the mathematician Maḥmūd al-Falakī [q. v.]. One of the concessions to the indigenous element was also the substitution of Arabic for Turkish as the official language under Sa'īd Pasha. These beginnings of nationalist development, however, had mainly been stimulated by European influence and had no root at all in the conscience of the masses (see 1). Only the revived nationalism of the 20th century seems to have been understood by larger classes of the population. The *fellāḥ*'s, however, have been only reached by nationalist propaganda as far as they live in the neighbourhood of the towns.

The four orthodox Muḥammadan rites are officially organised. The dominant *madhhab* is that of al-Shāfi'ī and a part of the inhabitants of Upper Egypt are Mālikites. As, however, since the Turkish conquest, jurisdiction has always been exercised according to Ḥanafī law, the latter *madhhab* is now nearly always followed in all not purely ritual actions. The *ḥadjdj* obligation has been performed during the last years by an average of 16,000 Egyptians. Besides the official Sunnī festivals there are celebrated a number of local festive days according to the ancient Coptic calendar, which has survived as the agricultural calendar of the *fellāḥ*'s. The celebration of these days has corresponded from time immemorial to the annual return of certain natural occurrences, in the first place the movement of the Nile. Very famous was the big festival of the opening of the Khalīdj in Cairo [q. v.] in August. Many feasts have been connected with Muḥammadan saints whose *mawlid*'s are celebrated (e.g. Shaikh Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā, Shaikh Baiyūmī in Cairo). The number of *mawlid*'s is immense; many saints are even anonymous. Most places where they are venerated must be pre-islāmic holy places. A very full description of Egyptian popular religion and local uses is to be found in the *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda* of 'Alī Pasha Mubārak (esp. part viii—xvii; cf. Goldziher in *W. Z. K. M.*, iv. 351). The most wide-spread mystical congregations are mentioned in the same work (iii. 129; also *R. M. M.*, iii. 123). Since 1550 these congregations are under the authority of the Shaikh al-Bakrī who, since 1811, is at the same time Naḳīb al-Ashrāf.

The "Turkish" element of the population, though numerically far inferior to the indigenous, has occupied the foremost place throughout the period of Muḥammad 'Alī's dynasty. The dynasty itself was the chief representative of this class, together with the high officials in the army and the administration. They were the bearers of Turkish political and cultural tradition, but, as to their origin, were composed of all non-Arabic elements of the Ottoman Empire. Those of Circassian descent were already numerous from the Mamlūk period onwards. Until the English occupation the number of "Turkish" families was occasionally supplied from other parts of Turkey. Apart from being the ruling class, the Turkish Pashas were also, by the favour of the viceroys, the great land proprietors (see 2). Many of these "Turks", however, have become acclimatised in Egypt (Cromer calls them Turco-Egyptians) and have shown sympathy with the nationalist movement. The Prime Ministers Sharīf Pasha [q. v.] and Riyāḍ Pasha (in the days of the 'Arābī movement and immediately afterwards) are typical instances of this kind. The "Turkish" grandees have been for two or three generations the most europeanised part of the Egyptian Muḥammadans and appear to be for the greater part agnostics.

The nomads inhabiting Egypt are now about 600,000 in number. They consist of pure Arabs in the Sinai peninsula, in the Delta and in Upper Egypt. The Berber tribes of the Lybian desert have been arabicised, except those living in the Sīwa oasis. Autochthonous tribes in Upper Egypt are the 'Abābda and the Bedjā (see these two articles). During the khedivial period the government has always been strong enough to protect the population against the raids of these Beduins.

Muḥammadan is also the negro element whose social position is that of slaves. Slavery had been an acknowledged institution in Egypt up to 1877, when, by an Anglo-Egyptian convention, the slave trade was forbidden on Egyptian territory. A new slavery convention of 1895 made interference with personal liberty a criminal offence, and art. 3 of the constitution of 1923 guarantees individual liberty to all Egyptian subjects. Practically slavery subsisted much longer and may not yet have wholly disappeared. The severe measures against the slave trade, however, have made the import of fresh slaves from the Sūdān nearly impossible. Most of the negro slaves were females; the other were eunuchs. The influence of negro blood on the racial characteristics of the Egyptians during the 19th century is still noticeable. White female slaves (*mamlūk*) were still imported in the first half of the century from the Caucasus and from Abyssinia.

Of the other foreign Muḥammadans the alumni of al-Azhar form a noticeable part. Muḥammadans from North Africa and Syria are the most numerous among them; occasionally they enter the corps of the Egyptian *'ulamā'*. The Shī'ites only consist of a small Persian colony in the towns, amongst whom even Behā'īs are to be found.

The call for the emancipation of Muḥammadan women in Egypt was raised at the end of the 19th century by Ḳāsim Amīn (d. 1908), an Egyptian of Kurdish extraction, who in 1899 by his book *Taḥrīr al-Mar'a* and, some years later, his *Al-Mar'a al-Djadīda* (dedicated to Sa'd Zaghlūl) raised strong opposition and equally strong sympathies. Feminism has also been defended by Muḥammadan women themselves, as Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (born 1886; she wrote *Nisā'iyāt* under the pseudonym of Bāḥithat al-Bādiya). It was likewise strongly supported by some very able Christian Syrian women (see *Oriente Moderno*, v., N°. 11). A result of this movement was the progress of female education (see 5 and Martin Hartmann, *Die Frau im Islam*, Halle a. S. 1909).

The Copts (see the art. ḲIBṬ), with the exception of the Coptic remnants in Upper Egypt, form a lower

middle class living for the most part as handicraftsmen in the towns and supplying the government with lower administrative functionaries. Lane estimated their number to be 150,000, so that their proportional increase has been greater than that of the Muhammadans. With the latter the Copts — though Christians — have many institutions in common, such as circumcision and the veiling of women; the formerly obligatory dark colour of the turban and clothes has only been maintained by the Coptic clergy. In Muḥammad 'Alī's time the lower technical functionaries in the provincial administration were Copts (see 2). Other notable Copts of his time were quite influential — as they had been likewise in the days of the Mamlūks —; such were Mu'allim Djirdjis al-Djawharī (d. 1811) and Mu'allim Ghālī (d. 1821). They held the function of *ra'īs al-kuttāb*, but at times had to suffer from the Pasha's despotic rule. Dj. Zaidān gives their biographies after a *Ta'rīkh al-Ummat al-Kibṭiyya* by Ya'ḳūb Bey Nakhla Rufīla. Buṭros Ghālī Pasha (born 1847, murdered 1910) was the first Coptic Minister. His assassination put an end to the collaboration of the Copts with the Muhammadan nationalists (see 1). Asyūṭ is nowadays the great Coptic cultural centre.

The Armenian community in Egypt is small and consists for the most part of shop-keepers. In the 19th century some notable Armenians have occupied high positions in the government. The most conspicuous are Boghos Bey, a former tax farmer who became a councillor to Muḥammad 'Alī (*Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, i. 226), and Nūbār Pasha, several times prime Minister before and after the English occupation. These intellectual Armenians have been an important medium for the spread of French cultural civilisation.

Syrian Maronite Christians (*Ashwām*) have been in Egypt since the Mamlūk time; in Ismā'īl's time they became the most useful element in the reorganised administration by their knowledge of languages and their aptitude for assimilating European procedure (Cromer, ii. 217). They hardly ever entered the higher offices. Other Syrians have immigrated to make their fortune by trade, and sometimes to be ruined again as a consequence of the economic difficulties of the time. A typical instance of this kind is Amīn Shamīl (1828—1897, biography in *Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, ii. 169); he was a Syrian immigrant, gained and lost enormous wealth in the cotton trade and ended his life as a prolific writer and publisher adapting himself to circumstances in a remarkable way. Syrians are to be met everywhere as the promotors of modern intellectual life in Egypt, as publishers, journalists and authors; they are found likewise among the first nationalist propagandists (e. g. Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh; see the *Bibliography*). Some of their characteristics have made them, as a class, especially hated by Muhammadans.

The Greeks form a transition to the European element. Their significance for Egypt is exclusively economic; an enormous commercial activity is displayed by the Greeks in Alexandria. Greeks of the lower classes are everywhere to be found in Egypt as *baḳḳāl*'s and occasionally as usurers. As elsewhere in the former Turkish Empire the Greeks in Egypt keep to their particular Greek form of western civilisation.

The Jews are half natives and half foreigners; their number towards the end of the century was about 30,000. They nearly all live in Cairo and Alexandria and are largely engaged in banking business. They played a part — not unlike that of the Syrians — in the first nationalist manifestations of 1877. One of them, James Sanua, with the pseudonym Abū Naḍḍāra, founder of the first Arabic theatre in Cairo, published in 1877 a kind of paper in vulgar Arabic in which he criticised the Khedive. Subsequently he was expelled (Sabry, *La Genèse* etc., p. 127). Since 1840 there have been Jewish schools in Cairo.

The steady increase of the number of Europeans is more a consequence than a cause of Egypt's "europeanisation". Many Europeans are only foreigners by their passport and constitute the well known class of Levantines, prospering under the immunities still granted to them by the capitulations. The Europeans who have served the Egyptian government in the execution of reforms and technical works have belonged to different nationalities: French (de Sèves-Sulaimān Pasha, the creator of Muḥammad 'Alī's *niẓām*-troops; Clot Bey, the organisator of the medical school; Ferdinand de Lesseps, and others), Swiss (Dor Bey and Munzinger), Austrian (Slatin Pasha in the Sūdān; Blum Pasha, financial adviser under Ismā'īl) and English (Baker and Gordon as governors of the Sūdān). An influential class is formed by the foreigners who, though theoretically Egyptian officials, hold or have held functions in institutions such as the mixed tribunals and the Debt Administration, and especially the high British officials in the ministries and other departments (after the occupation). The cultural influence of the English cannot be said to have been considerable as yet. Even the knowledge of the English language is less wide spread than that of French, in accordance with the traditional preponderance of the French form of European civilisation in the country. Lastly, mention has to be made of the numerous European adventurers who came to Egypt in the days of Sa'īd and Ismā'īl and, by pretended schemes of commercial or technical enterprises, tried to extort money from the too careless viceroys.

5. Education, Science and Literature

Education continued during the 19th century along the traditional Muhammadan line, while, on the other hand, a European system of education was introduced by Muḥammad 'Alī. It has not yet been possible to fuse the two systems into a whole.

The ancient Arabic *kuttāb* have continued to exist all over the country until the present day, without any government control (except as far as they were paid from *waḳf*'s administrated by government) until the law of 1876, which introduced arithmetic. The other pole of religious Muhammadan instruction is represented by al-Azhar [q. v.], which institution, after having been neglected by Muḥammad 'Alī, has been an object of the sollicitude of the later Khedives. In 1924 the number of students at al-Azhar was given as 10,287, of whom 9,758 Egyptians (lecture delivered in August, 1924, by Muḥammad Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm on *The University of al-Azhar*, published at Cairo). Other mosque universities organised on similar lines as al-Azhar are those of Alexandria, Ṭanṭā, Disūḳ and Dimyāṭ. Besides, there exists in Cairo a special school for the training of ḳāḍīs.

In 1924 the government took some measures for gradually bringing about an equalisation between the diplomas of al-Azhar and the government schools (*Oriente Moderno*, v., N°. 5).

Elementary and secondary schools exist among the Christian communities, in the first place the Copts.

Muḥammad 'Alī introduced European education, mainly in order to provide the military officers and the officials of his army manufactories with the necessary technical knowledge. One of the means followed was the so-called "Mission Egyptienne" (*al-Ba'thāt al-'Ilmiya*) to Paris. It began in 1820 with the sending of 40 young Egyptians but was abandoned about 1870. Its results were not as satisfactory as was hoped, chiefly on account of the military régime to which the students were subjected and that did not cultivate their individual and social independence. Still, some prominent Egyptians have owed their education to this institution. Apart from the purely military schools founded by Muḥammad 'Alī in Cairo and Alexandria (to which native Egyptians were not admitted), he created in 1825 the Medical School, under direction of Clot Bey. In 1836 a *Madjlis al-Ma'ārif* was instituted, in which French cultural influence was predominant. At the same time about 50 elementary and secondary schools were opened all over the country (the latter modelled after the French lycées); they were more specially intended for the instruction of the Egyptians themselves and the language of instruction was Arabic, but often strong coercive means were necessary to induce parents to send their children to school. 'Abbās I closed all schools, according to Dor, not as a reactionary measure but with the intention of reorganising and reopening them. Under Sa'īd the Medical School was opened again by Clot Bey, but under Ismā'īl a great many new colleges and educational establishments were created, most of them in Cairo (one of the best known is the lycée *Dār al-'Ulūm*). The leading spirit was 'Alī Pasha Mubārak [q. v.], then Minister of Public Instruction. To him also is due the already mentioned law of November 8, 1867, which distinguished primary, secondary and advanced schools and started from the principle of unifying all Egyptian public instruction into one whole. Still, though the educational activity of this time may have spread much technical knowledge, this „inoculation" (Dor) of western science affected only a small minority of the population. Moreover, the educational methods did not encourage free individual development, and owing to the lack of money — which caused many schools to be closed at the end of Ismā'īl's reign — the native teachers received very insufficient salaries. The result was a considerable enlargement of the gap separating the mass of the illiterate population from the Turco-Egyptian and Egyptian intellectual classes. This circumstance is to be regarded as one of the causes of the failure of the first nationalist movement. During the first decades of the English occupation little was done for the spreading of education (see Cromer, ii. 524 *sqq.*, and Vollers' critical remarks in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1909, p. 79 *sqq.*). Two girls' schools were opened about 1875, but the real progress of the education of Muhammadan girls has only begun since the end of the century (see 4.) At the present time there exist for these girls *kuttāb*'s, government schools and private schools (these for the greater part in Alexandria).

The Egyptian University (*al-Djāmi'a al-Miṣriya*) was founded at Cairo in 1908 by means of large subscriptions and gifts and was started under the presidence of Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād Pasha, afterwards King. During its first years only courses on literary and historical subjects were organised, given by Egyptian and European teachers and by European Orientalists expressly invited to that purpose (the lectures have been published at Cairo). This University has sent in the first years groups of young Egyptians to different European Universities with the object of appointing them after their return university teachers in Cairo. In 1924 this university passed under government administration; since that time several projects have been elaborated for the extension of its organisation and activity (*Oriente Moderno*, v. 110, 434). As was to be expected, the new university has encouraged research the results of which have not seldom been in strong opposition to the spirit of orthodoxy prevailing in al-Azhar.

Apart from the already mentioned educational establishments the many foreign schools, among which the missionary schools — first American Missionary school in Cairo in 1855 — in Cairo and Alexandria, sometimes subsidised by the government (as under Sa'īd Pasha), have equally exercised an influence on the intellectual education of the Egyptian upper classes.

The introduction of printing into Egypt is closely connected with the educational programme of Muḥammad 'Alī; the printing-press which the French had brought with them for their own use has left no traces. About 1821 the first printing office was founded in Būlāḳ; it began to produce Arabic and Turkish books for the newly opened government schools. Already in these first years began also the important activity of printing and publishing classical works of the Arabic, Turkish and, to a less extent, Persian literature. One of the first works printed seems to have been the grammatical treatise *al-Adjrūmiya* (in 1239/1824; see Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, i., Leipzig 1846, p. 19), used in al-Azhar (von Kremer, ii. 285). The greatest printing activity of this kind began about 1850, not without encouragement from Europe; this productivity, to which so many European library catalogues bear witness, has been, however, more to the profit of European Oriental studies than to the scientific and literary development of Egypt itself (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 471). The same can be said of the "Bibliothèque Khédiviale" founded in 1870 by 'Alī Pasha Mubārak. The origin of printing in Egypt is also connected with that of the press, since in 1828 the official newspaper *al-Waḳā'i' al-Miṣriya* began to be printed on another press in the Citadel. About 1875 the printing office at Būlāḳ (belonging to the *Dā'ira Sanīya*, as were also the paper factories at Būlāḳ) was still the most important; besides this establishment there were a few private printing and lithographic shops in Cairo and Alexandria. After 1876, however, printing has gained enormous importance by the services it rendered to the then beginning development of the Arabic press, mainly by the initiative of energetic Syrians and under the influence of the first nationalist movement.

On the Arabic press — which was to be more important for the intellectual development than the printing of books — see the art. DJARIDA (especially on the press movement of 1878: M.

Sabry, *La Genèse* etc., p. 127). The great Muḥammadan political paper *al-Mu'aiyad* ceased to exist in 1915, while *al-Muḳaṭṭam* and the nationalist organs have continued (*R. M. M.*, liii. 124).

The religious Muḥammadan Arabic literature, so far as it is a continuation of the tradition of previous centuries, has produced only a few remarkable figures and those only in the first half of the 19th century, the most conspicuous being al-Bādjūrī (q. v., d. 1861). A very important branch of Muḥammadan literature was, however, the literary activity of Muḥammad 'Abduh [q. v.] and his school, who initiated a theological modernism in Islām. While following the methods of old Islāmic science but with independent interpretation of the holy texts, they tried to prove that Islām is still a living world religion and in no way opposed to modern civilisation. A great many of Muḥammad 'Abduh's articles have appeared in the review *al-Manār* (published since 1897 by the Syrian Saiyid Rashīd Riḍā). Though obviously these modernist views — styled by Goldziher "Kulturwahhabitismus" — have originated under the influence of the introduction of modern civilisation, it cannot be said to have come under the influence of western thought itself. It has met with strong opposition from the conservative circles of al-Azhar, the press organ of which is *al-Afkār*.

Poetry (as literary form) has never abandoned the classical Arabic forms and, though several poets have earned renown in their time (e. g. Shaikh Muḥammad Shihāb al-Dīn, 1787—1858; see von Kremer, ii. 294), modern Egypt does not seem to have produced a generally acknowledged famous Arabic poet.

The other branches of literature have abandoned by a more or less gradual process the old forms and the old style for Western literary methods, the models of which had been made accessible by an extensive activity in translation. The first works translated were French scientific books for Muḥammad 'Alī's schools; since Sa'īd Pasha's reign a great many European scientific and belletristic works have been translated; e. g. the translation of French historical and geographical works by Rifā'a Bey al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801—1872) have much contributed to the spread of knowledge of European literary methods. Prose writing has seldom been used for the composition of novels and plays after European fashion. But there has sprung up an extensive semi-scientific literature on political and social questions, to which belong e. g. the works of Muṣṭafā Kāmil and the other nationalist literature; also the treatises on feminism mentioned in 4. This literature has been published partly in the daily press and the numerous periodicals, partly in books; a large part has been contributed by Syrians and Jews.

In contemporaneous historiography the work of al-Djabartī [q. v.] holds a prominent place; it was composed in the traditional style of historical writing. Later books on Egyptian history, such as Farīd Bey's history of Muḥammad 'Alī and Ilyās al-Aiyūbī's history of Egypt under Ismā'īl (see the *Bibliography*), follow the methods of European historiography and use European sources. The same applies to the important historical and biographical works of the Syrian Djurdjī Zaidān. In 'Alī Pasha Mubārak's *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda* we may see — as was the intention of the author — a continuation of the typical Egyptian tradition of *Khiṭaṭ*-literature; next to Lane's *Modern Egyptians* it is a chief source of information on Egypt and its population in the 19th century. We may include in the same class the various descriptions of travels, particularly those on the pilgrimage to Mekka, as the work of al-Batanūnī (see Lammens in *R. M. M.*, Nº. xxxviii) and the account of different *ḥadjdj*'s (1901, 1903, 1904, 1908) by Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pasha al-Liwā' in his book *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramain* (2 vol., Cairo 1344/1925).

It should not be left unmentioned that all through the 19th century a considerable popular literature has continued to exist in the vulgar dialect, in the poetical form of *mawwāl* and *zadjal*'s and in the form of prose ballads or *siyar*, describing the deeds of ancient Arab more or less Egyptianised heroes as Abū Zaid, 'Antar and others. An endeavour to introduce the vulgar Arabic of Egypt into literature was made by Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān Djalāl, who translated, between 1880 and 1890, some works of Racine and Molière into Egyptian Arabic; they, however, found no favour with the educated public. An unsuccessful propaganda has been made about 1896 by an American for the introduction of the Latin alphabet to be used for a new popular literature in one of the vulgar dialects of Egypt. Even Orientalists such as M. Hartmann were convinced at the time that an undertaking of this kind might succeed (*Z. A.*, 1898, p. 277 *sqq.*).

The ancient Oriental shadow-plays, that have continued a waning existence in Egypt up to the present day, have been studied by Prüfer and Kahle. In their present form these shows were revived by the Algerian Ḥasan Kashkāsh in the second half of the 19th century (see the art. KHAYĀL-I ẒILL). The occurrence of the Turkish Ḳara-Göz play is mentioned by Lane (ii. 113).

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History; Sources: G. Eff. Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, 4 vols., Paris 1898—1906; Martens, *Recueil Général de Traités*. As it is impossible to give here even an approximatively complete list of the very extensive literature, the following list mentions in chronological order some of the most notable works. In the later European works most attention is generally given to the international relations of Egypt. Al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. iii. and iv. (until 1820), Cairo 1297; Aḥmad Djawdat Pasha, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. vii.—xii. (until 1825), Constantinople 1271—1301 (1855—1883); Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vi., vii., Gotha 1863; F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*, 2 vols., Paris 1823; Ed. de Cadalvène, *Histoire de la guerre de Méhémed Ali contre la Porte Ottomane (1831—1833)*, Paris 1837; P. Mouriez, *Histoire de Méhémet Ali*, 5 vols., Paris 1855—1857; P. 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KHIḌR. [See AL-KHAḌIR].

KHIḌR BEG, an Ottoman scholar and poet, the first judge of Constantinople. He was born on the first of Rabī' I, 810 = 6th Aug. 1407 at Siwriḥiṣār, the son of the local judge Djalāl al-Dīn and belonged to a famous family which traced its descent from Khodja Naṣr al-Dīn. On the conclusion of his studies, which he conducted mainly under Mollā Meḥmed Yekān, whose daughter he afterwards married, he became a judge in his native town and later *Mudarris*. He was next appointed professor in Brussa, then judge in Aïnegöl and finally called to a teaching appointment in Adrianople and after the capture of Constantinople was appointed its first judge. His sons were the *Mufti* of Brussa, Aḥmad Pasha (d. 901 = 1495, buried with the Zeinīs in Brussa), Sinān Pasha [q. v.] and Ya'ḳūb Pasha, judge of Brussa (d. 891 = 1486; buried in the mosque of Mollā Fenārī), all three distinguished for intellectual gifts and considerable literary attainments. Khiḍr Beg himself was a great authority on Muslim learning and had a wide knowledge of the literature of the three great languages of Islām. He composed a homiletic poem in *basīṭ* verses, *al-Nūniya fi 'l-'Aḳā'id* [Stambul 1258, 32 fol. (cf. *J. A.*, Ser. iv., Vol. iii., 1854, p. 222)] which has been often commented upon (e.g. by Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Ḳarṣī, Cairo 1297, 87 fol.), and a number of other, mainly poetical works. Khiḍr Beg died in 863 = 1458/1459 in Stambul where he was

buried in the Eiyūb cemetery. He founded the little mosque of Ḥadjdji Ḳadin; cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusein, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i. 85, *sq.* (with biogr. notes), cf. thereon J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 62, N°. 158. On his tomb cf. *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i. 218, 7. The village of Ḳādīkoi, opposite to Stambul on the Asiatic side, where Mollā Khiḍr Beg had great estates, still bears his name ("the judge's village").

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(Franz Babinger)

KHIḌR KHĀN, Saiyid, of Dihlī, founder of the Saiyid dynasty (1414—1451), was the son of Malik Sulaimān, adopted son of Mardān Dawlat, one of the *amīr*'s of Fīrūz Tughluḳ. Khiḍr Khān succeeded to Mardān Dawlat's fief of Multān, but was expelled in 1396, during the usurpation of Nuṣrat Shāh at Dihlī. When Tīmūr invaded India in 1398 Khiḍr fled into Mewāt, but after the capture of Dihlī waited on the conqueror and received from him a grant of the fiefs of Multān and Dīpālpūr, where he remained independent during the remainder of the troubled reign of Maḥmūd Tughluḳ. On Nov. 12, 1405, he defeated and slew, on the banks of the Satladj, Mallū (Iḳbāl Khān), Maḥmūd's minister, who was attempting to recover Multān, and having extended his territory towards Dihlī, formed a party in the capital. In 1412 he unsuccessfully besieged Maḥmūd in Dihlī, but returned in 1414, after Maḥmūd's death, and besieged Dawlat Khān Lōdī who had been acknowledged by the *amīr*'s at Dihlī as their leader, but surrendered the city on discovering a plot to admit the besiegers. On June 4, 1414, Dawlat Khān was imprisoned in Ḥiṣār-i Fīrūza and was shortly afterwards put to death.

Khiḍr Khān refrained from the use of the royal title and contented himself with that of *Rāyāt-i Aʿlā* ("the Exalted Standards"). He is said to have remitted tribute to Tīmūr's son, Shāh-rukh, to whom he owned allegiance.

He first recovered the revolted provinces of Katehr (Rohilkhand) and the Gangetic Doāb, and in 1416 he asserted his authority in Gwalior, suppressed a rebellion of Turks under Ṭaghān Raʾīs in Sirhind, and relieved Nāgawr which was besieged by Aḥmad I of Gudjarāt. In 1417 he completed the suppression of the rebellion of the Turks and in 1418 and 1419 was engaged in restoring order in Katehr. In the latter year a rebel who pretended to be Sārang Khān, Khiḍr's ancient enemy, who had expelled him from Multān, appeared in Māčīwāra, but was defeated near Rūpar and fled to the mountains, and in 1420 was put to death by Ṭaghān Raʾīs. Later in the same year it was again found necessary to send an army into the Doāb and Katehr, and Ṭaghān rose in rebellion in the Sirhind district. In 1421 Khiḍr Khān led an expedition into Mewāt and to Gwalior, whence he returned by way of Itāwa. Here he fell sick and returned to Dihlī, where he died on May 20, 1421.

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(T. W. Haig)

KHILʿA (an Arabic word derived from *khalaʿa* "to divest oneself of one's robe"), a robe from the wardrobe of the sovereign, which he no longer wears and which he bestows, as a gift, on the person whom he wishes to honour (synonym *tashrīf*, pl. *tashārīf*, Ibn Khallikān, transl., iv. 117; Abu'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, v. 80; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, quoted in *Histoire des Mamlouks*, part. 4, p. 70, note 1, 8; Shihāb al-Dīn, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, in *N. E.*, xiii. 376). This garment is of course rich and sumptuous and of great value. It is also given as a sign of investiture to an official. Sometimes a sum of money is given instead. Thus it was that in Turkey the name *khilʿat-beha*, „the price of a robe of honour", was formerly given to a certain sum of money distributed to the officers of the Janissaries on the Sulṭān's accession (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionn. turc.*, i. 709). The kings of Persia used to send a robe by a special messenger to governors of provinces whom they wished to honour and who wore it on special occasions. In return the latter treated the messenger handsomely and heaped presents upon him. In Central Asia these are made of cloth of gold of the Indies, of Kashmir shawls, of silk of all colours. At the distribution, the individuals who receive this favour put on the *khilʿa* (Pers. and Turk. *khalʿat*) over the clothes they are wearing.

In Egypt, under the Mamlūks, these robes of honour were arranged in classes (*menzile*, *mertebe*), according to the rank of the individuals for whom they were intended, and who formed three classes, (1) men of the sword, (2) men of the pen, i.e. officials in the civil service, (3) scholars. A sword enriched with gold was added to the present, taken from the *silāḥ-khāne* (arsenal) and a horse fully caparisoned, covered with a *kunbūsh* (Pers. *kūn-pūsh* covering) of gold and brought from the *rikāb-khāne* (royal stables). Fuller details will be found in the *Masālik al-Abṣār* quoted by Quatremère in *l'Histoire des Mamlouks*, part. 4, p. 72 *sqq.*, note and in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. lxxxix. *sqq.* — On the use of these robes as a sign of authority cf. G. Meloni, *Alcuni temi semantici*, in *R. S. O.*, iii., 1910, p. 533 *sqq.*; F. W. Buckler, *Two instances of Khilʿat in the Bible* in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxiii. (1922), 197 *sqq.* — For India, especially Lakhnaw, see Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Musulmans of India* (1832; 2nd ed. 1917), p. 149; F. W. Buckler, *The political theory of the Indian Mutiny* in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, v. (1922), 81 *sqq.*

Bibliography: M. d'Ohsson, *État de l'Empire othoman*, vii, 199; Le P. Raphaël du Mans, *Estat de la Perse*, p. 153; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, *Perse*, ii. p. 122; H. Moser, *A travers l'Asie Centrale*, p. 87.

(Cl. Huart)

KHILĀFA. [See khalīfa].

KHILĀL. [See siwāk].

KHILDJĪ. [See khaldjī].

KHIRḲA (a.), „rag", hence "a mystic's coarse woollen robe", because it was originally made up of pieces (synonym *muraḳḳaʿa*). „It is the inner

ꞌflesh (*ḥarḳa*) which makes the Ṣūfī" said al-Hudjwīrī „not the religious dress" (*khirḳa*). This dress was the outward sign of the vow of poverty taken by the Ṣūfī; it was originally as a rule blue, the colour of mourning. Certain mystics, however, did not like to wear a special costume, saying that if a distinctive mark of this kind was adopted for God's sake, it was useless, for God knows best what is; and if it is for the people, one cannot escape from this dilemma — either the vocation of the dervish is true and then it is pure ostentation, or it is pretended and it is hypocrisy. Nevertheless the distinctive dress was generally adopted. It could not be obtained by the novice until the expiry of the three years necessary for his education. The investiture of the *murīd* with the *khirḳa* by his tutor (Shaikh, Pīr) had a ceremonial character. „The donning of the robe", says Suhrawardī in the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, „is the tangible sign that the man is entering upon the way of truth, the symbol of his entrance upon the mystic path, the sign that he is abandoning himself and putting himself entirely in the hands of the Shaikh". There are two kinds of robe: *khirḳat al-irāda* (robe of good-will), which one asks from the Shaikh, being fully conscious of the duties which this investiture imposes on one and of the passive obedience to which one condemns oneself in accepting it; and *khirḳat al-tabarruk* (robe of benediction) given ex officio by the Shaikh to persons whom he thinks it would be useful to cause to enter upon the mystic path, without their fully realising the significance of the investiture. The first is naturally much superior to the second and distinguishes the true Ṣūfīs from those „who only resemble them in external appearance." (E. Blochet, *Études sur l'ésotérisme musulman* in *Muséon*, X., 1909, p. 176 et suiv.).

Bibliography: al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 45 *sqq.*; H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Islam. Vereinswesens* (*Türkische Bibliothek*, xvi.), index; S. de Sacy, *Pend-nameh*, p. lxiii.; *N. E.*, xii., 305; Cl. Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, p. 204. (CL. HUART)

KHIRḲA-I SHERĪF, the „noble mantle", the name given to the mantle of the prophet (v. BURDA) venerated as a relic and kept in Constantinople. The day for visiting it is a fête day (the 15th Ramaḍān of each year). It was formerly kept in a special chamber of the serai, where it was preserved in a chest of medium size covered by a green velvet cloth with a broad fringe of gold and silver. The ceremony of the pilgrimage was performed in the following manner. On the appointed day the ministers, the 'ulamā, the generals of the Janissaries and of the other troops, notified on the evening before by letters carried by the čaush, assembled before midday prayer in front of the gate of bliss (*Bāb al-Sa'āda*), the second gate of the serai; the ministers and the 'ulamā seated themselves on the right, the soldiers on the left and awaited the arrival of the grand-vizier. The latter, as soon as he had been informed of the arrival at Aya-Sofyā of the Shaikh al-Islām, brought by the *Ra'īs al-Kuttāb*, proceeded thither with the functionaries of the Porte. Together they all performed midday prayer and proceeded thereafter to the imperial palace.

After having passed by the *'arḍ-odasy* and having obtained permission to proceed, the procession entered the chamber of the *Khirḳa-i sherīf*. The first and the second imām of the Sulṭān seated themselves before the chest containing the relic and each recited an *'ushr* (tenth) of the Ḳur'ān. The Sulṭān in person opened the chest and authorised those who were with him to place their forehead (*yuz sürmek*) on the relic, first the grand vizier, then the Shaikh al-Islām and the other dignitaries, after which each one returned to his place, where he remained standing. The shaikhs (heads of religious orders) placed themselves before the chest, said prayers (*du'ā'*) and placed their foreheads on the relic. They went out with the same ceremony and mounted their horses outside the *orta-ḳapū* (the middle gate). This fête was an occasion for distributing pastries called *baḳlawa* to the Janissaries and to the other troops.

The relic is a mantle with large sleeves, a white mohair camlet. After the reception was finished, the grand vizier and the general of the *silāḥdār* wiped it with a piece of muslin (*dulbend*) and gave this muslin to their followers. Then they washed in a goblet of gold the spot where the forehead had been placed and dried the wet spot by fumigations of aloes and of ambergris.

In 1265 (1849) the mantle was moved to a mosque specially built for it by the Sulṭāna Wālide, the mother of the Sulṭān 'Abd al-Madjīd. This monument called *Khirḳa-i sherīf djāmi'i* stands in Stambul in the Yeni bāghče quarter, to the west of the mosque of Fātiḥ on the south slope of the fifth hill. Situated in the middle of a large garden enclosed by a railing of iron, it is a type of construction unique in Constantinople and marks the tendency to follow European models; for it is the application of ironwork to the construction of religious buildings. It is an elegant octagonal building surmounted by a cupola and flanked by pavilions to which it is joined by glass galleries. A beautiful border of iron runs along the roof. A fluted minaret supports a light balcony of hammered iron.

Bibliography: Es'ad-Efendi, *Teshrīfāt-i ḳadīma*, p. 14, 15; [L. Rousset], *De Paris à Constantinople* (Guides Joanne), p. 263; Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation du Serrail*, (*Voyages*, t. vi.), p. 189. (CL. HUART)

KHITA. [See ḲARA KHIṬĀI].

KHITĀN (A.), circumcision. According to the *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. *kh-t-n*, the term is exclusively used in connection with the circumcision of males, whereas in the case of females *khafḍ* is the proper word. If this statement should be exact, the expression *al-khitānāni* "the two circumcised parts" (viz. that of the male and that of the female) would be a dual *a potiori*. This expression occurs in the tradition "if the two circumcised parts have been in touch with one another, *ghusl* is necessary" (Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Ḥaiḍ*, trad. 88; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 81, 83).

Some words connected with the root *kh-t-n* denote the father-in-law, the son-in-law, the daughter-in-law (*khatan*, *khatana*), or marrying (*khutūna*). Some of these words must have belonged to the primitive Semitic language, as they occur also in the same or cognate forms in North-Semitic languages. We shall have to discuss the relation between this class of ideas and circumcision below.

Circumcision must have been a common practice in early Arabia. It is mentioned, not in the Ḳur'ān, but in old poetry (I am indebted to F. Krenkow's

kindness for references to the *Dīwān* of the Hudhail's, to Farazdaḳ and other poets) and in *ḥadīth*. The early language has also a special word for "uncircumcised" (*aghral*, Hebrew *'ārēl*).

In *ḥadīth* it is said that Ibrāhīm was circumcised in his 80th year (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, trad. 151). This tradition is based on the Biblical report. Ibn Sa'd has preserved a tradition according to which the patriarch was already circumcised at the age of 13 (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/i. 24).

This tradition is apparently a reflex of the practice of circumcision in the first centuries of Islām. We may confront it with the statements concerning Ibn 'Abbās' circumcision in *ḥadīth*. According to some traditions (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 273) he was 15 year old when Muḥammad died. In other traditions it is said that he was already circumcised at that time (Bukhārī, *Isti'dhān*, bāb 51; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 264, 287; Ṭayālisī, N°. 2639, 2640).

Circumcision is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in the story of the Emperor Heraclius' horoscope (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Waḥy*, bāb 6). Heraclius read in the stars the message of "the king of the circumcised". Thereupon an envoy of the king of Ghassān arrived who reported the news of Muḥammad's preaching of Islām. This envoy appeared to be circumcised himself and he informed the Emperor of the fact that circumcision was a custom prevalent among the Arabs.

It is further recognised in *ḥadīth* that circumcision belongs to the pre-islāmic institutions. In the traditions which enumerate the features of natural religion (*al-fiṭra*), circumcision is mentioned together with the clipping of nails, the use of the toothpick, the cutting of moustaches, the more profuse length of the beard etc. (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 63; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 49, 50; Tirmidhī, *Adab*, bāb 14 etc.). Perhaps circumcision of females is implicitly understood here. In a tradition preserved by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (v. 75) circumcision is called *sunna* for males, honourable for females. Circumcision of females is also testified by the nickname *ibn muḳaṭṭi'at al-buẓūr*, i. e. "son of the woman who circumcised females", which is given some Makkans.

There are differences between the several *madhhab*'s concerning rules for circumcision. Instead of giving a survey of the different views it may be sufficient to translate the passage al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 50 (ed. Cairo 1283, i. 328) has devoted to the subject, also because it contains a description of the operation:

"Circumcision is obligatory (*wādjib*) according to al-Shāfi'ī and many of the doctors, *sunna* according to Mālik and the majority of them. It is further, according to al-Shāfi'ī, equally obligatory for males and females. As regards males it is obligatory to cut off the whole skin which covers the *glans*, so that this latter is wholly denudated. As regards females, it is obligatory to cut off a small part of the skin in the highest part of the genitals. The sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) view within the limits of our school, which is shared by the large majority of our friends, is that circumcision is allowed, but not obligatory in a youthful age, and one of the special views is that the *walī* is obliged to have the child circumcised before it reaches the adult age. Another special view is, that it is prohibited to circumcise a child before its tenth year. The sound view according to us, is that circumcision on the seventh day after birth is *mustaḥabb* (recommendable). Further there are two views regarding the question whether in the "seventh day" the birthday is included or not".

The treatment of circumcision has not a prominent place in the books of law. More important, however, is the value attached to it in popular estimation. "To the uneducated mass of Muslims" says Snouck Hurgronje "as well as to the great mass of non-Muslims, both of whom pay the greatest attention to formalities, abstention from pork together with circumcision, have even become to a certain extent the criterium of Islām. The exaggerated estimation of the two precepts finds no support in the law, for here they are on the same level with numerous other precepts, to which the mass attaches less importance" (*De Islam*, Baarn 1912, p. 30; *Verspr. Geschriften*, i. 402; cf. iv/i. 377). In Java circumcision is generally considered as the ceremony of reception into Islām and therefore sometimes called *njilamakĕ-salam* ("rendering Muslim"). Apart from this term many other words denoting circumcision are used on Java (*s. l.*, iv/i. 205 *sq.*).

In Atchin circumcision of infidels only is considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 398). The importance attached to circumcision appears also from the tradition according to which Muḥammad was born circumcised (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/i. 64). In North Africa a child born with a short foreskin is considered as a blessing (Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, p. 353).

At Makka, where the rite is called *ṭahār*, children are circumcised at an age of 3—7 years, girls without festivities, boys with great pomp. On the day preceding that on which the rite will be performed, the boy who is clad in heavy, costly garments, is paraded through the streets on horseback, several footmen walking on both sides in order to prevent him from falling and to refresh him by means of a perfumed handkerchief. He is preceded by men with drums and duffs who accompany the *dhikr*'s sung by others. Nearest to the boy goes an elderly black handmaid of his father's, bearing on her head a brazier burning with charcoal, resins and salt. The second part of the procession is formed by the boy's poorer comrades, equally on horseback. The procession passes through the main streets during the time of *'aṣr* and comes back to its starting-point a little before sunset. The female members of the family pass the evening with their friends; the party is enlivened by female singers.

Next morning, at sunrise, the barber performs the operation. The foreskin is pressed together by means of a thong, the boy lying on his back, while his mother tries to divert his attention by sweets. A plaster is applied to the wound which usually is healed in a week. The operation is followed by a breakfast for the nearest relatives. It is to be observed that Ḥaḍramites who still cling to their native customs, circumcise their children on the 40th day after birth (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 141 *sqq.*).

In Egypt boys are circumcised at the age of about five or six years. Before the operation the boy is paraded through the streets. Often the train is combined with a bridal procession in order to lessen expenses; in this case the boy and his

attendants lead the procession. He is dressed as a girl, in a gorgeous manner. The kerchief is used to cover a part of his face in order to avert the evil eye. As in Makka he is preceded by musicians. The foremost person of the procession is usually the servant of the barber (who performs the operation), who bears his *ḥeml*, a case of wood of a semi-cylindrical form, with four short legs; its front is covered with pieces of looking-glass and brass, and its back with a curtain. It is to be noted that the Copts also circumcise their boys (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Chapter on Infancy and Education).

D'Ohsson in his *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i. 231 *sqq.*, describes circumcision as practised in Turkey under the heading "Circoncision, *sunneth*", a designation which is also reflected in the word *sunnet-dji* for the barber who performs the operation. It takes or took place in the presence of the imām of a mosque who accompanies the ceremony with prayers for the preservation of the child, who is usually 7 years old when he is circumcised. Plate 20 of d'Ohsson's work shows children dressed for the ceremony, plate 21 adorned victims which are slaughtered at this occasion. Parties for relatives, friends and poor people as well as the procession are also mentioned.

The circumcision of the imperial princes used to give occasion to the displaying of great pomp. Long before the appointed day intimation was sent to the high dignitaries of the empire, sometimes even to the other courts of Europe. D'Ohsson gives a translation of Murād's III letter of invitation to the dignitaries on the occasion of the circumcision of the crownprince.

In North Africa children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and 13 years, by the barber who makes use of a knife or a pair of scissors. According to Gian, as cited by Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 351, at Algier a stone knife was used for the operation. Nowadays this custom seems to be no longer known. It reminds us of Joshua v. 2 *sqq.* where it is said that the Israelites at their entering the Holy Land were circumcised by means of stone swords or knives; some populations of the Dutch Indies also use a stone knife of the operation (Wilken, p. 212). In North Africa as well as in Egypt often several boys are circumcised together, the father of the richest bearing the expenses of the ceremony.

On Java circumcision of boys is often combined with the *khatam-* or *katamman*-ceremony. On the different designations of circumcision used in this part of the Archipelago cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/i. 206. The age at which boys are circumcised varies in the different parts of Java; among the conservative populations it is higher (14—15 years) than in circles which are in closer touch with Muslim law (10 years or younger). Before the preparations begin, the boy is taken to the tomb of his father or ancestors, where flowers and incense are offered and prayer is performed. Then a portico (*tarub*) is made before the house or *pendopo*, and a small room (*tobongan*) is prepared where the operation is to take place. In or before this room several objects and dishes are placed which have a symbolical or ritual meaning. These preparations are concluded by a religious meal at which several dishes are offered to several categories of awe-inspiring beings.

Festivities such as *wayang*, *tayuban*, *djagongan* precede or follow the ceremony. The *djagongan* always takes place in the preceding night and follows upon *katamman*, the recitation of some chapters of the Ḳurʾān by the boy.

On the day preceding circumcision a procession is held in which the boys are either conducted by their relatives, or are placed in a kind of cars which have the forms of *naga*'s or other animals. They wear the bridegoom's dress, and are hung with gold and diamond ornaments, the visible parts of the body being besmeared with *borèh*. It occurs also that the boy wears the ḥadjdjī's dress. Just as in North Africa poor parents have their sons circumcised together with those of well-to-do people, who bear the expenses.

The boy has to keep quiet for some days before and after the operation and to abstain from hot dishes as well as to beware of any action which is considered to be unlucky in this time. Before the operation he is bathed with the recitation of a great many prayers and formulas. Then he is placed on the lap of an elderly person, usually a *santri* who has many children, a circumstance which is expected to exercise a wholesome influence on the boy's marriage. For further details see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/i. 205 *sqq.*

Girls are not always circumcised on Java. The ceremony is called *tetes* (*sunnat*), whereas the Sundanese denote it by *gusaran* "filing of teeth"; a fictitious filing of teeth takes place the day before circumcision. Girls are circumcised on Java at an age varying between 2 and 8 years. During the last decades the ceremony has been covered under a mysterious veil in some circles. Parents, however, who cling to the *ʿadat*, do not share this tendency.

In Atchin boys are usually circumcised by the *mudim* (probably = *muʾadhdhin*) at the age of 9 or 10 years, immediately after finishing their Ḳurʾān study. The operation (for details see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 399 *sq.*) consists in a complete circumcision; in some parts of Java it is rather an incision. The boy here also has to diet himself. In Atchin the ceremony is not usually accompanied by festivities. But in many cases the latter take place in consequence of vows connected with circumcision. The father of the boy vows, e. g. to arrange a *Rapaʾi*-performance or to visit a sacred tomb. In this case the boy, dressed as a bride, is conducted to the tomb, sometimes on horseback, where his head is washed and a religious meal given.

Girls are circumcised in Atchin soon after the *peutron* (the ceremony of taking the child from the house into the open air for the first time), consequently at a very young age. The operation is performed without any further ceremonies; even the father does not know when his daughter is to be circumcised.

Circumcision is a rite practised by many peoples, primitive peoples of the present time as well as those mentioned in ancient literatures, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Israelites, the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites (see Jeremiah, ix. 25).

In the Indonesian Archipelago it was already practised before the rise of Islām in that part of

the world (cf. G. A. Wilken, *De besnijdenis bij de volken van den indischen Archipel* in *B.T.L.V.*, Ser. iv., vol. x., p. 166, 180 *sq.* = *Verspreide Geschriften van G. A. Wilken*, iv. 206, 220). The facts mentioned above may be arranged in certain groups.

a. Among many peoples females as well as males are circumcised. We must consequently start from the view that the rite was not originally applied to one of these classes to the exclusion of the other. It may be observed that among some Muslim peoples girls are circumcised at a younger age than boys and with less or hardly any festivities; often the circumcision of females is covered with a veil of mystery; sometimes no males are allowed to assist at it (Wilken, *Verspr. Geschriften*, iv. 238).

b. The rite is sometimes repeated (Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 207). In the Muslim world we have the instance of Malayans who in their country were not circumcised in the way prescribed by religious law and submit to the operation a second time when arriving at Djidda for the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 312).

c. Children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and the 15th year. It is consequently a rite which may take place in any period of childhood and which is often indeed combined with other rites peculiar to childhood such as the first cutting of the hair (*ʿaḳīḳa*, cf. Doutté, *Merrâkech*, p. 351), the filing of teeth, the conclusion of the study of the Ḳurʾān. As we have seen above, there are linguistic features pointing to a relation between circumcision and marriage. These features, valuable as matter-of-fact evidence, are supplemented by reports of travellers. In Central Arabia, it is said (e.g. Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, p. 213, note), there are tribes among which the operation is applied to adult young men, in a painful and dangerous way; the bride of the patient stands opposite him during the operation; if he utters a cry of pain the projected marriage is abandoned (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 141). From a note to the passage just referred to, it may, however, be seen that the author doubts whether any of the travellors' reports is based on eyewitness; according to him they are handed down by townspeople. Be this as it may, the relation between circumcision and marriage appears also from the Javanese custom of placing the boy who is operated, on the lap of a *santri* who has many children (see above and Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 225).

d. Another group of characteristics is evidence of a relation between circumcision and the transition into a tribal or religious community, e. g.: the boy's being conducted to the tomb of his father or of one of his ancestors (see above); the circumcision of several boys at one time (cf. also Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 220); the value attached to circumcision as the ceremony of reception in to the Muslim community; cf. the Old Testament designation of circumcision as the "token of the covenant" (Genesis xvii.; see also Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 227).

e. Many accessory rites express the intention to avert danger: the boy's being dressed as a girl, the use of the handkerchief, the burning of charcoal and salt; the drums and daffs; the recitation of *dhikr*'s and prayers; possibly the displaying of charity and the slaughtering of victims may also be viewed in this light.

In the literature on the subject different views regarding the origin, the original signification and the gradual extension and modification of the rite are to be found. For several reasons it seems unnecessary to review these opinions here. An exception may, however, be made for Wilken, who bases his opinion partly on that of Ploss, and for van Gennep (*Les rites de passage*, Paris 1909, espec. the fourth chapter).

According to Ploss the rite was meant as a chirurgical operation, serving to remove or to prevent phimosy, as it was believed that this anatomical deviation and perhaps the foreskin in general, was an impediment to the sexual function. Consequently the operation could take place at any age before marriage. Ploss' theory seemed to find support in the reports of some travellers (Wilken, *loc. cit.*, p. 224 *sqq.*). Wilken combines this view with an extension in the religious direction. If the aim of circumcision was the promotion of fecundity, the rite became a religious one, because begetting children was a precept of religion among many peoples.

Ploss' and Wilken's theories do not regard, as may be seen from the short *resumé* just given, the circumcision of females. According to Wilken the rite is in this case originally nothing but a chirurgical operation serving to prevent abnormal deviations of the genitals.

These theories are open to several objections. The conjecture of a different meaning of the rite in the case of males and females, can only be admitted if a common explanation appears to be impossible. Further the rite is practised among peoples who do not know of a connection between sexual intercourse and the birth of children. Another objection regards Ploss' and Wilken's method as such. It may be observed that an enquiry into the origin and development of widely spread rites such as the one in debate, has scarcely ever led to satisfatory results, because such rites, if they may have originated from one clearly definable idea at all, sooner or later have become receptacles of other more or less cognate ideas; a process which has covered them under such a mass of tangle-wood that it is no longer possible to find a thread of evolution.

During recent years ethnologists have, therefore, given up the genetic method, in order to return to the descriptive one, hoping thus to be able to set the important sides of the rites in the best light. This method has been applied to sacrifice by Hubert and Mauss, to circumcision by van Gennep.

In his *Rites de passage* van Gennep has shown that a great many rites may be described as rites of transition from one state of life into another one. Circumcision must be placed on the same level with the first shaving of the hair (*ʿaḳīḳa*), the filing of teeth, with initiations of various kinds, etc.

This point of view accounts for many of the features of circumcision mentioned above. It accounts for the fact, that children are admitted to the operation at ages varying between the seventh day after birth and the beginning of the manly age or the time of marriage; that females as well as males are circumcised; that the rite is sometimes repeated; that its shows a deeply rooted connection with marriage; that it is considered as the act of reception into a religious community;

that it is sometimes preceded by a bath; that processions take place, which show a striking similarity with bridal processions and so on.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHĪWA. [See KHWĀRIZM].

KHLOṬ, an Arab tribe of Northwestern Morocco. Its name in literary Arabic *Khulṭ* has become *Khloṭ* in the vulgar dialect by regular metathesis, but the primitive form of the word is found in the adjective *Khulṭī* fem. *Khulṭiya*.

The Khloṭ who came into North Africa with the Hilālī invasion in the fifth (eleventh) century formed a part of the group of mixed Arab elements, known as Djusham from the name of the ancestor of one of them. According to Ibn Khaldūn and other Muslim historians, the Khloṭ were the Banū 'l-Montafiḳ. In Little Africa, the Djusham spread through Central Maghrib, settled there and took part in all the fighting which devastated Barbary. After the Almohad conquest, they tried to rebel but were cruelly put down. A little later, the Banū Ghaniya, rivals of the Almohads, had no difficulty in getting them as allies after the taking of Bougie [q. v.]. But the Almohad Caliph al-Manṣūr, victorious over his enemies, punished their Arab allies and transported the Djusham and Riyāḥ Arabs to Morocco to the coast of the Atlantic. The Riyāḥ were settled in al-Habaṭ and al-Gharb, the Djusham in al-Tāmesnā (the present Shawia), a country which had been empty since the extermination of the schismatic Berghwāṭa by the Almohads. Al-Manṣūr thought he would settle these tribes permanently and make them auxiliaries for the djihād in Spain. His attempt was doomed to failure.

Under the successor of al-Manṣūr, the intrigues of the Almohad Shaikhs found excellent allies among the Djusham (Khloṭ and Sufyān) and the jealousy between the Khloṭ and Sufyān aggravated the internal dissensions still further. In 621 (1224 A.D.) the Khloṭ took the side of the pretender al-Ma'mūn against the Caliph al-'Ādil supported by the Sufyān. In 625 (1228) al-Ma'mūn was proclaimed Caliph. In 630 his son al-Rashīd succeeded him but he was forced to take strong measures against the chiefs of the Khloṭ on account of their robberies and other misdeeds. The Khloṭ rebelled and took the side of the pretender Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir. The Sufyān made their peace with al-Rashīd. They attacked the Khloṭ on the banks of the Umm al-Rabī' and wrought terrible carnage among them. The Khloṭ in return proclaimed as Caliph the pretender Ibn Hūd from al-Andalus. But al-Rashīd pursued and routed them, took their chiefs prisoners and beheaded them (635 = 1237/1238). Weakened and compelled to submit, the Khloṭ took part in the expeditions of the Caliphs but their rivalry with the Sufyān was not extinguished and proved fatal to the Almohads. In 646 (1248) at the siege of Tamzezdekt held by the Zaiyānid pretender Yaghmorāsan, the rivalry resulted in the death of the Caliph al-Sa'īd and the defeat of the Almohads.

The rise of the Marīnids in Morocco again made the Khloṭ feel the hand of the conqueror. Sulṭān Abū Thābit took steps to punish them for their brigandage (707 = 1308), but he used their help to destroy the power of the Riyāḥ Arabs. The Khloṭ, installed in the latter's territory, in Azghār and in Habaṭ formed part of the makhzen [q. v.] of the Sulṭāns of Morocco, contracted matrimonial alliances with these rulers and furnished them with governors of provinces, ambassadors and councillors. Vassals of the Marīnids, the Khloṭ passed into the service of the Banū Waṭṭās, their successors. It is even claimed that intermarriage between them and Bū Ḥassūn, the last Waṭṭāsid Sulṭān, prevented them from taking the side of the Sa'dian Sherīfs on the latter coming to the front.

The Sa'dian Sherīfs at first had no dealings with the Khloṭ, in spite of the importance of this tribe which, according to Leo Africanus, could put into the field 12,000 horsemen and 50,000 foot-soldiers. But the important part played by Khloṭ in the Moroccan victory over the Portuguese at Wādī Makhāzin made them admit them partially into the *Makhzen* of the Sherīfs. But the plundering and undisciplined spirit of the Khloṭ made them dangerous to any regular authority. During the decline of the Sa'dian dynasty, the marabout pretender al-'Aiyāshī [q. v.], who wished to make them take the field against the Christians of Larache could not subdue them and was assassinated by them in 1048 (1638/1639).

Under the Filālī Sherīfs the Khloṭ took the side of the petty chiefs of Northern Morocco who had made themselves independent under cover of the djihād. Mūlāy Ismā'īl and his successors after conquering them deprived the Khloṭ of their position as a *makhzen* tribe and encouraged the settlement in this region of heterogeneous Arab elements, the Ṭlīḳ and Badāwa groups who could only disturb and weaken the older occupants of the land. At the present day these groups have each their ḳā'ids who keep a jealous watch on one another; any attempts made by the Khloṭ against the Moroccan authorities have for a long time been uniformally unsuccessful.

The territory occupied by the Khloṭ is now about 50 miles in length from N. to S., and 20 in breadth from E. to W. It is bordered on the N. near Aṣīla by the Wādī Salem, the tribe of Banū 'Arūs and the Wādī 'Aiyāsha; on the E. by the tribe of Banū Gorfeṭ, and of Ahl Sarīf; in the S. E. by the Djabal Ṣarṣar; in the S. by the Gharb. In the W. from Aṣīla to Larache, the Khloṭ are cut from the Ocean by the narrow territory of the Sāḥal; from Larache they stretch along the Atlantic as far as the marshes of Mardja Zarḳa.

Bibliography. One could quote here all the works dealing with the history of N. W. Africa from the second Arab invasion. M. M. Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon in *Archives Marocaines*, iv., v., vi., Paris 1905–1907, have given a very full account of the territory, ethnography, administrative organisation, political position and divisions of the Khloṭ in their article on *Les Tribus Arabes de la vallée du Lekkoûs*.

(A. COUR)

KHODABENDE. [See ULDJAITU].

KHODJA (Pers. Khwādja), name of a community of dissenting Muslims, mainly to be found (*a*) in the Pandjāb, (*b*) in Sindh, Kačč, Kathiāwār and the Western Coast of India; (*c*) in Zanzibar and on the East Coast of Africa; (*d*) in scattered groups under the name of Mawālī or Mawlā'ī in the Hindu Kush region and the Northwest frontier of India, in Afghānistān, in the Khānates of Central Asia, in the hilly districts of Eastern Persia and in the Persian Gulf District.

The numbers enumerated in India at the Census of 1921 (*Census of India* 1921) were:

Province	Male	Female	Total	*Census of India 1921*
Bombay. . . .	30,703	27,925	58,628	1/iii(b)
Pandjāb. . . .	45,629	41,852	87,481	1/iii(b)
Kashmir State	2,536	1,705	4,24[illegible]	xxii/iii(b)
British India	76,332	69,777	146,109	1/iii(b)

The Pandjāb Khōdjas do not own allegiance to H. H. the Āghā Khān, but hold religious beliefs similar to those held by the Bombay Khōdjas (*Census of India* 1901, xvii. 150 *sq.*). They are, like the Bombay Khōdjas, converted Hindus, who are mainly engaged in commercial occupations, keep accounts in Hindī and follow Hindu customs. Allied to them are the Paraćas of whom there are about 4,000 in the Pandjāb. The Pandjāb Khōdjas derive their origin from Ḥādjdjī Saiyid Ṣadr al-Dīn, who came in the 15th century as an Ismā'īlī preacher from Khurāsān and lies buried in Trinda Gorgedj in the Peshkārī of Gōthćant in the Bahāwalpūr State. He presented his doctrines to the Hindus in a form which would appeal to their Hindu traditions. He is reputed to have been the author of the *Das-Avatār*, in which the incarnations of Viṣṇu are described as leading to Islām. The first nine incarnations are treated as a Hindu would treat them. The tenth incarnation (Skr. *niṣkalaṅka*, "unspotted") which the Hindus expect in the future is described as having materialised in the unrevealed Imām of the Ismā'īlīs. Both the *Das-Avatār* and Ṣadr al-Dīn's hymns are used up to the present day by the Pandjābī Khōdjas as well as by the Āghā Khān's Indian followers and their offshoots in East Africa. For practical guidance the Pandjāb Khōdjas look to faḳīrs of the Ḳādiriya and Čishtiya sects and other Pīrs, whose religious beliefs are not, however, necessarily identical.

The Khōdjas of the Bombay Presidency and their offshoots in East Africa form a much better organized community and are in direct touch with H. H. the Āghā Khān. Their religious ideas are in origin the same as those of the Pandjāb Khōdjas, but their living contact with the Imām in the person of the Āghā Khān has isolated them from the influence of Muslim religious orders. Secessions have taken place from their ranks from time to time, but notably in the seventh decade of the 19th century, when a section of them attempted to declare the whole community Sunnī, and more recently, in 1901, when a small number under the leadership of men educated on Western lines declared themselves to be Ithnā-'ash'ariya [q. v.] Shī'is (what may be called the orthodox school of the Shī'a faith). They have built a separate mosque and made a separate burial ground in Bombay (called the Ārām Bāgh), but they maintain social intercourse with the main body of the Bombay Khōdjas.

The Khōdjas are mainly governed by **customary law**. The Bombay High Court has held (1847) that the Muslim law of succession does not apply to them and that, as under Hindu law, their females are excluded from immediate succession (Sarjan Meer Ali's case; cf. Sir Erskine Perry, *Cases Illustrative of Oriental Life and the Application of English Law to India*, London 1853, p. 110).

The Bombay Khōdjas have a tradition of an [illegible] ...lier than [illegible] Ṣadr al-Dīn, viz. one [illegible] ...f or Pīr [illegible] Gur Nūr who is supposed to have lived in the 12th or 13th century of the Christian era. About 1594 A. D. their Imām Āghā 'Abd al-Salām wrote in Persian for the guidance of the Indian Khōdjas a book called the *Pandyāt-i Djawān-mardī*, which in its old Sindhī form is revered as the 36th in the list of Khōdja Pīrs or saints (cf. with this the personification of the Sikh scripture as the Granth Ṣāḥib).

The **marriage, divorce and funeral customs** of the Bombay Khōdjas are different from the general law and customs of Islām. The marriage customs show traces of archaic Hindu ceremonies. The actual *nikāḥ* ceremony used until recently to be celebrated by Sunnī ḳāḍīs. A marriage certificate in due form is issued in Gudjarātī, with the names of the four archangels, Djibrā'īl, Isrāfīl, 'Azrā'īl and Mīkā'īl, in the four corners. No divorce is permitted without the *djamā'at*'s sanction, and the *djamā'at* usually requires the consent of both parties. A second wife is not allowed in the life-time of the first without the *djamā'at*'s sanction, which is, however, usually granted if Rs. 2,000 are deposited for the first wife's maintenance. A curious custom followed on the approach of death is that of *samarćhānta* or the sprinkling of holy water to the reading of the *Das-Avatār*.

The **organization** of the community is in the form of a complete fiscal centralisation round the sacred person of the Āghā Khān, but of complete congregational independence in administrative matters, including even questions of excommunication. Every congregation has its own *djamā'at-khāna* (pronounced in Gudjarātī *djamāt-khānu*), which is both a meeting house and a mosque. The officers are the *mukhī* (headman, treasurer, chairman) and the *kāmaria* (secretary, accountant). They are sometimes appointed by the Āghā Khān, but are frequently elected. Offerings for the Imām are collected through them; these comprise the fixed *Dasondh* or tithe (the Momnas split from the community in the 16th century and mainly on their refusal to pay this) and various minor dues on special occasions, either recurring (as the festival of the new moon) or occasional (as the rites of birth, marriage, burial, etc.).

Very little is known of the present day organisation of the followers of the Āghā Khān in Persia, Central India, or in the North-West Himalayan frontier. In point of doctrine they keep to the pure Ismā'īlī [q. v.] doctrine [see the art. ISMĀ'ĪLIYA] of the Nizārī branch, as opposed to the Musta'lī branch of the Egyptian and Arabian Ismā'īlīs and of the Bohoras of India, who are derived from them.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, ix/ii. 36—50 (Bombay 1899, the best modern account in English); *Revue du Monde Musulman*, i. 48—85 (supplements the information given above, with some history of the Ismā'īlī sect and of the Āghā Khān's ancestors) and index to vols. i.—xxi., s. v. *Khojah* and *Aga Khan*; Jaffer Rahimtoola, *History of the Khojas*, Bombay 1905 (written by a Khōdja graduate of the Bombay University in Gudjarātī and containing a useful roll of honour of the Khōdja community); *Judgment by the Honourable Sir Joseph Arnould in the Khojah case, delivered 12th November 1866*, Bombay 1866 (sums up

the history of the Khōdjas to date and rejects the contention of a minority that the community were Sunnī); *Census of India 1901*, vol. xvii., *Punjab*, p. 150—151 (Simla 1902; account of the Pandjābī Khōdjas); J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta 1898 (slight glimpses of the Frontier Ismā'īlīs); M. Dumasia, *A Brief History of the Aga Khan*, Bombay 1903 (uncritical, written by a Parsi author); S. Nāndjiānī, *Khōdja Vrittānt*, Aḥmadābād 1892 (written by a Khōdja, but before the results of modern research were known); Mīrzā Muḥammad Fānī, *Dabistān-i Madhāhib*, Calcutta n.d., p. 348 *sqq.* (transl. D. Shea and Anthony Troyer, Paris 1843, ii. 397—451) (A. Yusuf Ali)

KHŌDJA EFENDI, Sa'd al-Dīn b. Ḥasan Djān b. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad b. Ḥāfiẓ Djamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, usually called Khōdja (Sa'd ed-Dīn) Efendi, a famous Ottoman historian and Shaikh al-Islām. He was born in 943 (1536—1537) in Stambul, the son of a certain Ḥasan Djān who had immigrated from Persia and served as a chamberlain to Sulṭān Selīm I during the last seven years of his reign. Ḥasan Djān told his son all sorts of anecdotes of the life of the Sulṭān which Sa'd al-Dīn worked into a *Selīm-nāme* and then added it as an appendix to his famous history (ii. 221—401) (cf. Pertsch, *Türk. Hss. Berlin*, p. 241, Nº. 212; Flügel, *Die .... Hss .... in Wien*, ii. 210, Nº. 987; thereon J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii., p. vi. 10: ii. 634; ix. 203, 59 and his *Lettere sui mss. orientali* in *Biblioteca italiana*, xliii. [1826]; the *Selīm-nāme* was translated (without the introduction) into German by H. F. v. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, i. 256—302 [Berlin 1811]). Sa'd al-Dīn studied law, became an *'ulemā'* early, in 963 (1555/1556) *mulāzim* of the famous jurist Abu 'l-Su'ūd [q.v.], in Muḥarram 981 (1573/1574) tutor (*khōdja*, whence his popular name, the one by which he is still generally known) to the heir-apparent Murād, then governor of Maghnisa. On the accession of Murād III in Dec. 1574 he remained his trusted adviser and retained the rank of *Khōdja-i sulṭānī*, tutor to the Sulṭān, under Murād's successor Meḥmed III. In Sha'bān 1006 (1598/1599) he became Shaikh al-Islām and died in this office two years later in Stambul on 12 Rabī' I, 1008 (Oct. 2, 1599) just as he was preparing to celebrate the birthday service (*mewlid*) in the Aya Sofia. Four of his five sons, some of whom attained high rank (Meḥmed [cf. *Sidjill-i 'othm.*, iv. 144] and Meḥmed As'ad [cf. *ibid.*, i. 330 *sq.*] became Muftīs, 'Abd al-'Azīz [cf. *ibid.*, iii. 338] and Ṣāliḥ [cf. *ibid.*, iii. 200 *sq.*] ḳāḍī 'asker, Mas'ūd died young as "guardian" [cf. *ibid.*, iv. 365 *sq.*]), bore their father's coffin to Aiyūb, where he was buried in the school for the recitation of the Ḳor'ān.

Sa'd al-Dīn was the author of the famous Ottoman history known as the *Tādj al-Tewārīkh*, which although not written by the imperial command (S. was not the so-called imperial historian, *Waḳ'a Nuwīs*, cf. also *Mitt. zur osm. Gesch.*, i. 241), is still generally regarded as an authoritative source for Ottoman history and not only consigned all earlier chronicles of the house of 'Othmān, called *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, to oblivion, but even made them appear contemptible (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ii. 112, Nº 2158 and J. H. Mordtmann in *Isl.*, x. 160). The work dealt with the history of the imperial Ottoman house from its foundation to the death of Selīm I (d. 21. ix. 1520), copying from the earlier historians and written in a style often bombastic and extravagant. The work which was finished in the reign of Selīm II (1566/1574) and was strictly speaking intended as a supplement to the Persian *Mir'āt al-Adwār wa-Mirḳāt al-Akhbār* of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Lārī (d. 979 = 1571), which Sa'd al-Dīn translated into Turkish (MS. in Vienna, cf. Flügel, ii. 80, Nº. 845), was disseminated and read in numerous manuscripts until it was made generally accessible in a printed edition in 1279 (1861) in two large volumes (586 and 619 pp., large 8vo, cf. *J. A.*, 1863, ii. p. 262). MSS. of the book often beautifully produced (e. g. one in the Vatican) are common in European libraries. The most important and most useful for a future critical edition may be mentioned: Berlin, Nº. 213; Dresden, Nº. 386; Leiden, Cat., iii. 27; London, Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, p. 31[b] *sqq.*; Mailand, Ambrosiana, Nº. 243; Munich, Nº. 76—81; Oxford Uni., *Cat.*, Nº. 1. and 4; Paris, Nº. 63—70; St.-Petersburg, Univ.-Bibl., Nº. 1 and 2; Cat. von C. Salemann and V. v. Rosen, p. 21; Rome, Vaticana, a splendid MS. formerly belonging to the Swedish Queen Christine (cf. J. v. Hammer in *Bibl. ital.*, xlvi. 35, 115 and P. Horn in *Z.D.M.G.*, li. [1897], p. 45 *sq.*); Uppsala, Nº. 245; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Nº. 30, 85, 3 and 134; Vienna, Nat.-Bibl., Flügel, ii. 244; Konsular-Akademie, A. Krafft, *Die ... Hss. d. or. Ak.*, Nº. 263. — The book found early recognition in the west and parts of it have been frequently translated: cf. W. Seaman, *The Reign of Sultan Orchan*, London, 1652; V. Bratutti, *Chronica dell' origine e progressione della casa ottomana composta da Saidino Turco*, part i., Vienna 1649, part ii., Madrid 1652 (cf. *W. Z.*, vii. [1919], p. 110 and *Isl.*, xii. [1922], 228 *sq.*); *Saad ed-Dini Annales Turcici usque ad Muradem I. Turcice et Latine cură Fr. Kollar*, Vienna 1755, fol.; incomplete, cf. Pertsch, *Türk. Hss. Berl.*, p. 243, note and *W. Z.*, vii. [1919], p. 125 *sq.*); parts transl. by J. H. Garcin de Tassy in *J. A.*, iv. 347; viii. 300, 340; ix. 155; *The Capture of Constantinople*, ed. E. J. W. Gibb (with a biography of Sa'd al-Dīn), London, 1879.

A MS. of a French translation of the *Tādj al-Tewārīkh* was prepared by Antoine Galland in 1710; the MS., the first volume of which seems to be lost, is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris as MS. anc. fds. fr. 6074.

Sa'd al-Dīn's son, Meḥmed As'ad Efendi, is said to have continued the history written by his father; cf. Brussali Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlī mü'ellifleri*, ii. 22 *sq.*; *'Ilmiye Sālnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 426 *sqq.*

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sons Meḥmed and Meḥmed As'ad, *ibid.*, p. 426 *sq.* (*resp.* 435 *sq.*); preface to the edition of the *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*; also Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 164, 165, 205—208 and his *The Capture of Constantinople*, London 1879, preface. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KHODJA ILI. [See ḲODJA ILI.]

KHOI (in Arabic Khuwaiy), a town in Persia in the province of Ādharbaidjān, on a plateau 70 miles W. N. W. of Tabrīz; population from 20,000 to 30,000. Its territory is irrigated by a water-course which rises in the mountains of Salmās and flows into the Aras; the town is surrounded by gardens which produce, amongst other fruits, figs, and a superior quality of pears called *paighambarī*, "pears of the Prophet". At the present day cotton is cultivated in the neighbourhood. The bazaars are large and busy. In former days a material called *Khalīfīya* was manufactured there. Now socks of knitted or woven wool are made here. The present defences (earthworks) were built at the beginning of the 19th century by General Gardane's expedition. The town was in part destroyed by the earthquake of 1842. It was near Khoi that Shāh Ismā'īl I lost the battle of Čaldirān against Sulṭān Selīm I in 920 (1514).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 502; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 220 (also from the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, ed. Browne, p. 84); Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 230, n. 1.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, ed. Reinaud, p. 396; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 166; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 50 *sqq.*; J. P. Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 304. (CL. HUART)

KHOḲAND, Arab. Khuwāḳand, later written Khuḳand (which is given a popular etymology, *khūk* + *kand* = town of the boar), a town in Farghāna, cf. above, ii., p. 64; 66 where see also for the other spellings and the foundation of an independent Özbeg kingdom with Khoḳand as capital in the twelfth (eighteenth) century. The accession of the first ruler Shāhrukh was followed by the building of a citadel; another citadel later called Eski Urda was built by his son, 'Abd al-Karīm (d. 1746). 'Abd al-Karīm and his nephew and successor Irdāna Bī are several times mentioned in the history of the Atalïḳ Muḥammad Raḥīm, afterwards Khān of Bukhārā (d. 1759; cf. i., p. 782, Muḥ. Wafā Karmīnagī, *Tuḥfat al-Khānī*, MS. of the Asiat. Mus., c. 581b, especially fol. 33b *sq.*, 145b *sqq.*) When the Kalmuck empire was destroyed and the frontiers of the Chinese empire advanced up to Farghāna (1758), Irdāna also was forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty; the Chinese records on this matter are cited by J. Klaproth, *Magasin Asiatique*, i. (1825), pp. 81 *sqq.* from the *Tai Ts'ing yi t'ung chi*. Irdāna later was a member of a coalition of Muhammadan rulers of Central Asia, which applied to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (cf. i., p. 169, 202 *sqq.*), the ruler of Afghānistān, for help against China. The alliance had no further results, although Aḥmad Shāh in 1763 appeared in Turkestān at the head of an army and occupied the territory between Khoḳand and Tāshkend (at the same time an invasion of the land of the Kara-Kirgiz was made from Khoḳand, Klaproth, *op. cit.*, p. 83), but he had soon to retire again on account of the claims of his enterprises in other directions. 'Abd al-Karīm's grandson, Nār Būta Beg (probably reigned 1188—1213 = 1774/5—1798/9; cf. L. Zimin in *Protokolï Turk. Kruzhka Lyub. Arkheologii*, xviii. 102, and Walidow, *ibid.*, xx. 112 *sq.*), was also nominally under Chinese suzerainty. To the early years of this reign belongs the journey of the Russian sergeant, Filipp Yefremow, who was taken prisoner by the Kirgiz in 1774 and sold in Bukhārā and in 1782 returned to Russia via India and England. According to his *Travels* (F. Yefremow, *Stranstvovaniye v Bukharii, Khiwě, Persii i Indii* (St. Petersburg 1794, p. 59 *sq.*), Nārbūta was already entitled Khān "by the Chinese," was allied with China and at enmity with Bukhārā. No mention is made of prominent buildings in the capital (the Madrasa Mīr was built in the reign of Nārbūta); on the other hand, a high pillar (apparently a minaret), said to be over 280 feet high in the market-place in Marghīnān, is described. According to Filipp Nazarow (see below), this "tower" was visible for a distance of 50 versts (over 30 miles).

Nārbūta's two sons, 'Ālim and 'Omar, are the real founders of the state and city of Khoḳand as we later know it. The chronology of these reigns (1213—1237 = 1798/1799—1821/1822) is not sufficiently established; even the year in which 'Ālim was assassinated and 'Omar raised to the throne is variously given in the sources. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī* (ed. Pantusow, p. 100) 'Omar died in the year 1237 = 1821/1822 (in the cyclic reckoning the year of the horse = 1822 is given); according to Nalivkin (Russ. original, p. 101; French translation, p. 122), who here follows another source (the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥakīm Khān), 'Ālim was not murdered till the spring of 1232 (i.e. 1817, not 1816 as in Nalivkin); on the other hand Nalivkin himself in another passage (Russ. orig., p. 185; French transl., p. 228) puts the building of the chief mosque of Khoḳand by 'Omar Khān in 1231 (1815/1816). The Russian interpreter Filipp Nazarow, who was in Khoḳand in the winter of 1813/1814, calls the ruler of Khoḳand Amir Walliami (*Zapiski o nekotorïkh narodakh Sredney Azii*, St. Petersburg 1821, p. 50 *sqq.*). This is probably for *Walī al-Ni'am*, not *Walī Miyānī*, as in Klaproth, *op. cit.*, p. 45. The ruler at this time was only twenty-five years of age; this statement can only refer to 'Omar, not to the much older 'Ālim; according to 'Abd al-Karīm al-Bukhārī also (ed. Schefer, p. 102), this embassy and the cause of it (the murder of the Khoḳand envoy by a Russian soldier in Petropavlovsk) both took place in the reign of 'Omar Khān. According to 'Abd al-Karīm, p. 99, 'Ālim had already been killed in 1224 (1809), which cannot be right, as we have a document of his dated Djumādā I, 1225 (June 1810) (*Protokolï Turk. kruzhka Lyub. Arkh.*, iii. 165 *sq.*). The change of ruler must therefore have taken place between 1810 and 1813.

In the oldest known document of his reign, dated 1213 (1798/1799), 'Ālim still regards himself as the representative of an un-named Khān; later he appears as an independent ruler with the title Khān or Amīr; after the conquest of Tāshkend, his power was as great as that of the Amīr of Bukhārā. In 'Omar's reign in 1814 (so Nazarow; not so late as 1819, as in Nalivkin, Russ. orig. p. 110 *sq.*; French transl., p. 134 *sq.*), the town of Turkestān with the parts of the Kirgiz steppes

belonging to it was incorporated in the kingdom of Khoḳand. 'Omar thereupon took the title of *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. There were several wars with Bukhārā regarding the possession of Ura Tübe in the reigns of both 'Ālim and 'Omar. The town indeed remained a bone of contention between the two states right down to the Russian conquest. The memory of these hostilities is said still to survive in the children's game "Ura Tübe is mine" (*Žiwaya Starina*, i., 1913, p. 195).

'Omar's domestic policy was quite different from that of his predecessor. Like many other Central Asian rulers 'Ālim had made up his mind to break the power of the Özbeg families and therefore surrounded himself with mercenary troops from the highlanders of Ḳarātegin, Darwāz and other lands (*Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, p. 42 *sq.*). The war against the nobles was, as frequently elsewhere, combined with a war on the clergy, especially the dervish orders; the historians on this account describe 'Ālim as a godless tyrant (*ẓālim*); on the other hand they praise the piety and justness of 'Omar, who was put on the throne by 'Ālim's murderers. 'Omar built the present chief mosque of Khoḳand, which is also used as a medrese and therefore is known as Madrese-i Djāmi' (picture in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. B., 1900, p. 224). 'Omar was also fond of poetry and wrote poems himself under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) Amīr; verses by the Khān himself, his officials and favourites were collected in a special anthology (afterwards printed) entitled *Madjmū'at al-Shu'arā'* by M. Hartmann in *Mitt. des Seminars f. Orient. Sprachen*, vii., Westas. Stud., p. 87 *sqq.* It was probably 'Omar who founded the town of Shahr-i Khān (west of Andidjān); the great canal, led to it from the Ḳara Daryā, Shahr-i Khān Sāi, is now 110 versts (nearly 75 miles) long; the area watered by it is about 6,000 square miles. The irrigation of Farghāna was completely altered by the excavation of this canal.

'Omar's son and successor, Madali (properly Muḥammad 'Alī), was twelve at his accession (according to others fourteen). During the first half of his reign, the state of Khoḳand reached its greatest power and extent. In the south the districts of Ḳarātegin, Darwāz, and Kulāb, which now belonged to Bukhārā, were all conquered; in the north-east taxes were levied on the Ḳara Ḳirgiz, on the Great and on a part of the Central Horde of Ḳazak Ḳirgiz; the Khān's representatives even appeared among the tribes of the Great Horde which led a nomadic life on the other side of the Ili (q.v.). The rebellion of Khodja Djahāngīr in Kashgharia (1826), which received support from Khoḳand, met with no success; nevertheless the officers of the Khān were allowed by the Chinese government to collect taxes in the "six towns" (*alti shahr*): Aḳsu, Ūch Turfān, Kāshghar, Yangishahr, Yārḳand and Khotan. Like Khoḳand, where one of the largest medreses bears the name of Madali Khān (picture in N. P. Ostroumow, *Islamovĕdĕnīye*, Tāshkend 1914, p. 185), Tāshkend attained considerable prosperity; from 1835 the Beglerbegi of Tāshkend was given the administration of all the northern provinces of the kingdom; a memorial of this period is the great Beglerbegi Medrese (picture, *op. cit.*, p. 188). The excavation of the great Khān Ariḳ canal in the region of Tāshkend also belongs to this period (*Protokoll Turk. Kruzhka Lyub. Arkh.*, iii. 175).

In spite of the great extent of his kingdom, the authority of the Khān was not firmly established; his vicious life and cruel rule had aroused general discontent. Naṣr Allāh, Amīr of Bukhārā [q.v.], is said to have been asked by people in Khoḳand itself to put an end to the rule of this bloodthirsty and godless tyrant. The Khoḳand army was completely defeated; the capital itself was taken by the enemy (for the first time since the foundation of the kingdom); Madali was killed while trying to escape (1258 = 1842). The conquerors were driven out again in the same year and Shīr 'Alī, a cousin of 'Ālim and 'Omar, was placed on the throne; but down to the Russian conquest domestic peace was never restored for any length of time. The reigns of Shīr 'Alī (1842—1845) and his sons Khudāyār (1845—1858 and 1865—1875) and Mallā (1858—1862) and several short-lived rulers were a period of continual confusion and bloody fighting, notably between the Özbegs of the Ḳipčaḳ tribe and the "Sarts", i. e. the native population. Khudāyār, who was still a minor, was raised to the throne by Musulmān Ḳul, the chief of the Ḳipčaḳ; the Ḳipčaḳ drove the Sarts out of their houses in the capital and took possession of the canals in the country; the Sarts were only allowed the water necessary for their fields on payment of a fixed sum. In 1269 (1852) Musulmān Ḳul was overthrown by Khudāyār and put to death; the land again passed to the Sarts. Mallā then relied on the support of the Ḳipčaḳ and restored to them the lands taken by the Sarts. Banished pretenders usually took refuge in Bukhārā. Under these circumstances Naṣr Allāh was able to advance as far as Khodjande in 1275 (1858), his successor, Muẓaffar, in 1279 (1862) and again in 1282 (1865) to occupy Khoḳand itself. The struggle against foes at home and abroad was waged with mediaeval cruelty. Madali's father-in-law, Muḥammad Sharīf Atāliḳ, governor of Tāshkend, was bound to a horse's tail by order of Khān Shīr 'Alī and dragged across the steppes; after the capture of Ura Tübe by Khudāyār in 1265 (1848) a tower of skulls (*kelle-minār*) was erected of the heads of the enemy killed.

In spite of all this, the kingdom retained its former extent down to the Russian conquest. The Russian troops had been in contact with the troops of the Khān of Khoḳand since 1850 on the upper course of the Sīr Daryā, about two hundred miles from the mouth and in the north-east since 1860 between the Ču [q.v.] and Ili. All these regions were still under the governor of Tāshkend, who was also responsible for the maintenance of agriculture; the governor Mīrzā Aḥmad (1853—1858) is said to have carried out irrigation works from the town of Turkestān to the valley of the Ču. It was only shortly before the Russian conquest in 1865 that Tāshkend passed into the possession of the Amīr of Bukhārā. From 1866 the kingdom of Khoḳand became limited to Farghāna and remained nominally independent within the boundaries of the latter, even after the treaty with Russia in 1868. To this period belongs the digging of the Ulugh Nahr canal (Middendorff, *Einblicke in das Ferghana-Thal*, St. Petersburg, 1881, Appendix, p. xxi) and several buildings (the *urda* or palace of the Khān, frequently reproduced, e. g. in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, p. 112, and better in W. Masalskiy, *Turkestanskiy Kraĭ*, St. Petersburg, 1913, p. 701 and 703; the

Medrese Ḥākim Ayīm and M. Sulṭān Murād Beg, built by the mother and the brother of the Khān, reproduced in M. Ostroumow, *Islamowedeniye*, p. 184) were erected at this time.

After the deposition of Khān Khudāyār by a popular rising and the new troubles thereby provoked, the remainder of the kingdom was incorporated in Russia as the "territory of Farghāna". Khoḳand still continued to be the largest town (113,636 inhabitants, according to the census of 1911) under Russian rule and the most important trading centre in the territory; the newly founded town of New Marghelān, later Skobelew, now called Farghāna, was the residence of the governor. The last time Khoḳand played a part on the political stage was in 1917, when an "autonomous government of Turkestan" was formed there; in the next year the victory of the Red Army put an end to it.

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KHOLT. [See Khlot.]

KHOMAIR (Khumir), A people of northern Tunis. Khumiria has as its boundaries, to the north the Mediterranean sea, to the west the Algerian frontier, to the south the Wādī Ghezala, a tributary of the Medjerda, to the east the country of the Nefza and the Chiahia. The area of this region is about 350 square miles. It is a country with a very hilly surface, occupied by a mountain mass stretching as far as Algeria. Although the average altitude hardly exceeds 3,000 feet, these heights cut by deep ravines and steep gorges, give to the country a very rugged aspect. Khumiria is for the natives "the mountain" par excellence, Djebel Djebaliye. The sandstone formations which constitute nearly everywhere the subsoil are favourable for arboriculture. The forests of cork-oak and of Zean-oak occupy here an area of a hundred thousand hectares. The rainfall here reaches 66 inches a year. The water filtering through the sand-stone reappears on reaching the impenetrable marl as springs and flows towards the valley of the Medjerda and especially towards the Mediterranean. Agriculture can scarcely be practised except in the alluvial plains of Ṭabarḳa. Everywhere, besides, a border of dunes stretches between the coast and the forest, and partly arrests the waters coming from the interior. Deposits of zinc, of lead, and of iron have been recognised at different points.

The population of Khumiria is about 6,500 individuals. The natives called Khumir or Khamair are divided into 4 tribes: Khamir of Ṭabarḳa, Atafia, Tebaaka, Sellūl. The rearing of animals, oxen, sheep, and goats is their means of livelihood. Only those who live around Ṭabarḳa devote themselves to agriculture. The women manufacture coarse cloth, and household utensils in common pottery. Lastly numbers of natives are employed by the administration for the exploitation of the forests of cork-oak. The Khumirs are settled, or half settled. They live in huts or *gourbis* of branches, usually situated on the slopes of the mountains or in the neighbourhood of the river. Some of them have retained the use of tents. Near Ṭabarḳa there is also a small colony of Zwāwa, the descendants of Kabyls of the Bougie district, settled at this place in the xvii[th] century by the Bey Ḥamūda. They cultivate vegetables and fruit, live in stone houses, and enjoy a comfort much in excess of the other natives. The Europeans, who are few in number, are found in the centres of ʿAïn Draham (q. v.) and Ṭabarḳa (q. v.).

The Khumir may be regarded as the descendants of the Ṣanhādja, who occupied the northern coast of Tunis and of the province of Constantine at the time of the Muslim conquest. This primitive stock has been reinforced by other Berber elements, driven from the centre towards the north after the Hilālī invasion, and finally mixed with Arab blood. In spite of their Berber origin, the Khumir have for a long time been arabicised. They have given up the use of the Berber language which has only left traces in their dialect and have given themselves an Arab descent. They claim, indeed, as their ancestor, a certain Khmir b. Amor, of Arab origin, whose descendant Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh b. Djemāl, is said to have established himself near ʿAïn Draham. According to another tradition this personage is said to have attached himself to the tribe of the Ḥmir or Kmir, who at the time of the conquest, had passed from ʿIrāḳ into the extreme Maghrib, from which ʿAbd Allāh is said to have migrated into Tunis some centuries later. The different Khumir tribes are said to be descended from the sons of Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh, whose "Marabout" is still at the present time the religious centre of this district. Twice a year in spring and in autumn, a much frequented *Zerda* is celebrated there. It has also been held that the Khumir had for a long time inhabited the south of the Regency under the confederation of the Shabbīa, and that after the destruction of this confederation in the xvii[th] century they fled for refuge into the mountains of the north.

In the shelter of their forests and of their mountains, the Khumir retained until the end of the nineteenth century an almost complete independence. Their political organisation was very rudimentary. They did not possess Ḳāḍīs and their disputes were brought before the djamāʿa. The tribes were often at strife with one another; they, however, sometimes formed federations to combat the populations of the valley of the Medjerda, or to resist the attacks of the Beys. The latter, under whom they nominally were, never could make them pay the taxes. Installed in the island of Ṭabarḳa, the soldiers and the officials of Tunis found themselves forbidden access to the country. The Zwāwa settled on the coast by Ḥamūda, in order to prevent the incursions of the mountaineers, were content

to receive the pay which was granted to them, but refrained from entering into conflict with their dangerous neighbours. The Khumir, on their side, lived mainly by brigandage at the expense of the Tunis tribes, or of the Algerian tribes of the frontier. The Beys of Tunis showed themselves powerless to put down these depredations. Acts of violence multiplied under the government of Muḥammad al-Ṣaddoḳ. Thus the French government decided in 1881 themselves to punish the guilty ones. This was the origin of the Tunis expedition which aimed at the establishment of the French Protectorate. The operations against the Khumir were very brief. At the end of the month of April, 1881, a column from Algeria under the command of General Delebecque penetrated into Khumiria from the west, while a detachment disembarked at Ṭabarka; on the 8th May the column occupied the marabout of Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh b. Djemāl and, on the 13th, ʿAïn Draham. By the end of the month the conquest of the Khumir was achieved. The construction of a fortified post at ʿAïn Draham assured the final pacification of the country. Since then the most complete tranquility has never ceased to reign, and Khumiria is to-day the region of Tunis where the fewest thefts and crimes of violence are committed.

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KHORĀSĀN (Country of the "rising sun", from *khūr* "sun" and *āsān* "rising"; P. Horn, *Grundriss der iran. Etymologie*, Nº. 25; *Grundr. der iran. Philologie*, vol. I., 2nd part, p. 170; *Wīs u Rāmīn*, p. 119; cf. Yāḳūt, *s. v.*; opposed to *Khurbarān* the "west"), a vast country in the east of Īrān, comprising the lands situated to the south of the Āmū-daryā (Djaiḥūn) and to the north of the Hindū-kush (Paropamisus), but embracing also politically Mā-warāʾ al-Nahr (Transoxiana) and Sidjistān (Sakastana). Under the Sāsānids Khorāsān, classified under the fourth clime, was part of Ērānshahr; it was administered by a *ispahbadh*, who held the title *pādhōspān* and by four *marzpān*, each governing a fourth of the territory: 1. Merw-Shāhadjān; 2. Balkh and Tokhāristān; 3. Herāt, Būshandj, Bādhghīs, Sidjistān; 4. Transoxiana (Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 18). This province yielded a revenue of 37 million dirhems. To the Arab geographers this country had for its boundaries on the east, Sidjistān and India (including Wakhkhān), on the west the desert of the Ghuzz and Djurdjān; on the north Transoxiana (Mā warāʾ al-Nahr) and on the south-(west) the desert of Persia, and the canton of the Ḳūmis (ʿIrāḳ-ʿadjamī). The principal towns were: Naisābūr, Merw-Shāhadjān, Herāt, Balkh; other towns: Ṭūs, Nasā, Abīward, Sarakhs, Asfizār, Bādhghīs, Djūzdjān, Bāmiyān; Gharchistān and Tokhāristān were also included amongst them. At the present time the province of this name includes less than half of ancient Khorāsān; the rest of the country, to the east of a line starting from Sarakhs in the north and running directly to the south and passing half way between Meshhed and Herāt, belongs to Afghānistān; the region which extends from Merw to the Oxus is Russian territory. Meshhed has remained the capital of this shrunken province. The chain of mountains which runs along the southern border is from 11,000 to 13,000 feet high. Water is scarce in this province. The country offers the appearance of a group of oases, watered by intermittent rivers and by wells situated along their subterranean course. The population is sparse and mixed.

At the time of the Muslim conquest Herāt, Bādhghīs and Būshang were put under the authority of a chief whom Balādhurī (p. 405, l. 12) calls ʿ*Azīm* "the great". Herāt in particular was in the territory of the Ephthalite Huns (*Haiṭal*, Balādhurī, p. 405, 15; Ṭabarī, I, 2885) so that the last Persian territory to the north was marked by the town of Marw al-rūdh, under the command of a *Marzbān* called Bādhām. In the year 31 (651—652) an army, which set out from Fārs and from Khūzistān, and was put under the orders of Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳais whose surname was al-Aḥnaf, by the command of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kuraiz, invaded Khorāsān by way of Fahla (Pahlaw whence the Parthians originally came), conquered Tokhāristān and brought about the capitulation of the inhabitants of Balkh (cf. Schwarz, p. 137). According to Ibn Ḳutaiba (Muḳaddasī, p. 293), the inhabitants of this province were converted very quickly to Islām; at all times arrogant and unruly, they often rebelled against the central authority. During the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, the Arabs were driven from Naisābūr (Ṭabarī, I. 3249, 3350; Balādhurī, p. 408) and the Chinese installed a Turk as governor of Tokhāristān. ʿAlī sent Khulaid b. Kaʾs in 37 (657) to bring the inhabitants of Naisābūr to submission (Dīnawarī, p. 163).

As soon as Muʿāwiya was the undisputed master of the Empire, he appointed ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kuraiz governor of Baṣra and bade him reconquer Khorāsān; the latter in the year 42 (662) named Ḳais b. al-Haitham as his lieutenant, but in the year 43 (663) he sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, who had already governed Sidjistān under the Caliph ʿOthmān, to reconquer Balkh and Kābul. The first of these two towns was retaken in the year 51 (671) by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād. In the year 90 (708) the Tarkhān Naizak of Bādhghīs rebelled, took the yabghū (*djabghū*) of Tokhāristān prisoner but in the following year was conquered by Ḳutaiba b. Muslim and put to death.

It was in Khorāsān that Abū Muslim and the ʿAbbāsid propaganda recruited the troops which overthrew the caliphate of the Omayyads. A *ḥadīth*, without doubt made up after the event, claims that the Prophet declared: "When you see the black flags coming from Khorāsān, go to meet them, for in their midst you will find the Mahdī" (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Livre de la Création*, ed. Huart, ii. 156). An attempt was made to find in this an indication of the coming of the resurrection; but even by the time of this author it was explained by the revolt of Abū Muslim (*op. cit.*, ii. 157). The internal disputes between the insurgent Arabs had for a long time fomented disorder; the Azd representing the Yemenites, the Tamīm and the ʿAbd al-Ḳais of the race of Muḍar

fought for supremacy; the first seemed to triumph with the family of al-Muhallab, which remained for a long time in power. Naṣr b. Saiyār had called the attention of the Damascus caliph to the ʿAbbāsid movement without obtaining reinforcements. When Abū Muslim, gathering around him the Shīʿīs, established a camp not far from Merw, he was then able to intervene successfully in the battle fought by Naṣr in the streets of this town against Ibn al-Karmānī and to put Naṣr to flight (130 = 748). The whole country was soon afterwards conquered.

Khorāsān really recovered its independence with the foundation of the Ṭāhirid dynasty by Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, nominated in 205 (820) governor of the eastern regions by the Caliph al-Maʾmūn. It was joined to his possessions in Sidjistān by ʿAmr b. al-Laith al-Ṣaffār in 283 (896), then it was annexed to Transoxiana by Ismāʿīl al-Sāmānī in 287 (900); it was occupied by the Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Subuk-takīn al-Ghaznawī in 384 (994). Toghrilbek the Seldjūḳ seized Naisābūr in 429 (1037) but the inhabitants revolted in 430 (1038) while the Sulṭān Masʿūd reconquered Khorāsān, but only for a short time, because Toghrilbek finally conquered the Ghaznawid sulṭān in the following year. On the death of the Sulṭān Sandjar in 552 (1157) the Ghuzz recommenced their incursions and devastated anew the country, a part of which recognised the authority of Altech al-Moʾaiyad, the slave of Sandjar [q. v.]. Anarchy and brigandage favoured the expeditions of the Khwārizmshāh and of the Ghūrids, and the country finally remained in the hands of the former. The conquests of Cinghiz-Khān completely destroyed their independence in 617 (1220).

At the death of the Mongol Khān Abū Saʿīd in 736 (1320), Khorāsān saw the dynasties of the Kert and the Serbedār [q. v.] give a certain life to the country up to the time of the campaigns of Tīmūr (783 = 1381). It was the centre of the empire of his son Shāh-Rukh. Shaibek-Khān Özbek conquered it in 913 (1507) after disputing its possession with Shāh Ismāʿīl I. With the exception of Naisābūr and of Meshhed, it was incorporated into Afghānistān by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī after the death of Nādir-Shāh about the year 1160 (1747). In 1249 (1833) Kāmrān defended Herāt against ʿAbbās Mīrzā, the son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, who was supported by Russia and concluded with England, who had sent an expeditionary force to occupy the chief towns of Afghānistān, a treaty which was signed by Lieutenant Pottinger. In this treaty he recognised the sovereignty of Shāh Shodjāʿ [q. v.]. From this time Khorāsān has remained in two sections, the boundary of which starts from the Harī-rūd at Sarakhs and runs from the north to the south, on the east side of the Persian province of Sidjistān as far as Lake Hāmūn.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 409; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 197; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 47 *sqq.* (not in the index); Fr. Spiegel, *Ērān. Altertumskunde*, i. 28 *sqq.*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 147 *sqq.*; Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G. A.*, i. 253 *sqq.*; Ibn-Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 308 *sqq.*; Muḳaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 293 *sqq.*; Mehren, *Cosmographie*, 310; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, ed. Reinaud 441; Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ṣaniʿ al-Dawla, *Maṭlaʿ al-Shams*, in Persian, Teheran 1301. (Cl. Huart)

KHORĀSĀN (Banū), a Tunisian dynasty. The establishment of the Banū Khorāsān in Tunis was a consequence of the Hilāli invasion. Irritated because the Zīrid Sulṭān al-Muʿizz did not protect them against the brigandage of the Arabs, the inhabitants of Tunis in 451 (1059) asked the Ḥammādid sovereign of al-Ḳalʿa to send them a governor. This prince chose for this office ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khorāsān, a personage originally from Tunis according to certain authors, but belonging, according to Ibn Khaldūn, to a Ṣanhādji tribe. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ gained the support of the inhabitants by his good administration, and succeeded in putting an end to the plunderings of the Arabs by signing a treaty with them. But he had to fight the Zīrids who wished to recover Tunis. Besieged by Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz, he was forced to recognise him as sovereign. On his death (488 = 1095) his power passed to his son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and after him to his grandson, Aḥmad. This prince was, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the most notable representative of his dynasty. He put to death his uncle Ismāʿīl, got rid of the council of shaikhs, which ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ had associated with him in the government, and ruled as an absolute monarch. He surrounded Tunis by a fortified wall, and concluded a treaty with the Arabs, to ensure the provisioning of the town and the security of travellers. He constructed for himself a palace and surrounded himself by men of letters. The Zīrids, however, had not disarmed. They supported Muḥriz b. Ziyād, the chief of the Arabs, who were installed in the ruins of Carthage, which Aḥmad had attacked and obliged the governor of Tunis to submit to their demands (510 = 1116/1117). Four years later the Ḥammādids, not wishing to allow their authority to be lessened for the benefit of the Zīrids, came in their turn to besiege Tunis. Aḥmad saw himself forced to recognise the sovereignty of the Sulṭān of Bougie. He kept, however, the government until 522 (1128). At this time he was deprived of power, imprisoned at Bougie and replaced by a Ḥammādid official. After an interval of twenty years, the Tunisians having expelled their governor, the Banū Khorāsān regained their power. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was chosen by them as Amīr (543 = 1148/1149). He died in 552 (1157) while the Almohads besieged the town. His nephew ʿAlī b. Aḥmad replaced him, but at the end of five months, had to capitulate and make his submission to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. Sent to Marrākesh with all his family, he died during the journey.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 324 *sqq.*, transl. Fagnan, i. 474 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 205 infra, 207, 209, 210—212, transl. ii. 22, 25, 27, 29—32; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle*, Constantine—Paris 1913, chap. ii. (G. Yver)

KHORSĀBĀD, the name of a place noted for its Assyrian excavations, situated on the plain to the northeast of Mosul, at a distance of 12 miles (5 hours by caravan) from the town and eight miles from the Tigris at the south west of the foot of the Djabal Maḳlūb, and on the left bank of the Khowser. At this place the village of Khorsābād was situated in the year 1843; inhabited by the Shabak [q. v.] it was the village that Botta, the first explorer bought, and transplanted the inhabitants to another place in the plain, so that

he might be able to begin excavating. Khorsābād is mentioned by Yāḳūt as Khurustābād, a village with good irrigation. The form given by Yāḳūt would seem to be in opposition to the derivation from Khosrāwābād, which is supported by Oppenheim. Yāḳūt mentions in this neighbourhood a town in ruins, which he calls Ṣar'ūn, a dependency of Nainawā (Nineveh) where it was believed treasures were to be found. Ṣar'ūn ought very probably to be corrected to Ṣarghūn, the form under which the name of the Assyrian king Sargon II (who died in 705 B.C.), the founder of this Assyrian capital, has survived.

The village was situated on the highest summit of a group of artificial mounds. The excavations were begun in 1843 by Botta, French Consul at Mosul, and were continued and completed from 1851—1855 by Place. The Assyrian town, Dūr-Sharrukin, was in the shape of a rectangular parallelogram with corners facing the four points of the compass. The palace of Sargon was on the southwest side, and the great temple was built on both sides of the northwest wall of the town. The antiquities which were discovered were transported to the Musée du Louvre in Paris.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 422, iii. 382; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 241; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 811; von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 180 *sqq.*; Victor Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie, avec des essais de restauration par F. Thomas*, Paris 1866—1869, i. 11, 12.

(J. H. Kramers)

KHOSRAW. [See khosrew, khusraw, khusrū, kisrā.]

KHOSREW, Mollā, a famous Ottoman jurist, whose real name was Meḥmed b. Firāmurz b. 'Alī. M. Khosrew according to one statement was of Turkoman (tribe of Warsaḳ) descent and born in the village of Ḳarghīn (half way between Siwās and Toḳat), according to others, however, he was of "Frankish" descent and the son of a "French" nobleman who had adopted Islām. According to Sa'd al-Dīn his father was of Romaic (*Rūm*) descent. Khosrew became a pupil of the famous disciple of Taftazānī, Burhān al-Dīn Ḥaidar of Herat (cf. *Islam*, xi. 61 and Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, ii. 430), and received a teaching post in the Shāh Malik medrese in Adrianople; in 848 (1444) he became ḳāḍī of Adrianople and later Ḳāḍī-'asker of Rumelia. On the death of Khiḍr Beg [q. v.], the first ḳāḍī of Constantinople, he succeeded him and was at the same time *müderris* at the Aya Ṣofia. Feeling hurt at Mollā Kurānī [q. v.] being promoted over him, he went to Brusa in 867 (1462) and built a medrese there. In 874 (1469) he returned to Stambul by command of the Sulṭān, became Shaikh al-Islām and died there in 885 (1480). His body was taken to Brusa and buried in the court of the mosque founded by him. He also founded a mosque in Stambul, which bears his name (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, i. 201; J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 87, Nº. 428).

Mollā Khosrew was a celebrated jurist, many of whose pupils became famous in after life. He also attained a wide reputation as an author. His two most important works are the often annotated *Durar al-Ḥukkām fī Sharḥ Ghurar al-Aḥkām* on the principles of legal practice, written in 877—883 = 1473—1477 (printed Cairo 1294 and 1305), also a dogmatic work *Mirḳāt al-Wuṣūl fī 'Ilm al-Uṣūl* (printed Cairo 1262 and Stambul 1304). On others works by him cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 580 *sq.* and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 226 *sq.*

Bibliography: Tashköprüzāde-Madjdī, *Shaḳā'iḳ al-nu'mānīya*, i. 135—139; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, ii. 462—465; Ewliyā, *Seyāḥetnāme*, ii. 53; *Travels*, ed. J. v. Hammer, ii. 1, p. 27; al-Seiyid Ismā'īl Belīgh Brūsewī, *Güldeste-i Riyāḍ-i 'Irfān*, Brusa 1302, p. 258 *sqq.*; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 271 *sq.*; *'Ilmīye Sālnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 328 *sqq.* (with specimens of his work); Brūsali Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānli Mü'ellifleri*, Stambul 1333, p. 292 *sq.* (with indication of some autographs); Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 226—227.

(Franz Babinger)

KHOSREW BEG, also called Ghāzī Khosrew, Ottoman governor of Bosnia.

Khosrew was the son of the governor of Bosnia (869/870), later of Skutari (Albania) Farḥād Beg, who had married a daughter of Bāyezīd II in 894 (1480) (cf. *Die altosman. anonymen Chroniken*, ed. by F. Giese, Breslau 1922, p. 122, 1. col.; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 302, and *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iii. 555, s. v. Farḥād Beg). He is therefore sometimes called Sulṭānzāde. Thanks to his connections, Khosrew Beg was appointed governor of Bosnia at quite an early age in 924 (1518) and then transferred in 927 (1521) in the same capacity first to Skutari (Albania), later to Semendria (Smederovo, Serbia). In 932 (1525) Khosrew returned to Bosnia, was later temporarily disgraced, dismissed, but restored again to office. He lived in Serajevo [q.v.] where he died in 948 (1541/1542) and was buried in the mosque built by him in 937 (1530). One of Ghāzī Khosrew's sons was called Maḥmūd.

Ghāzī Khosrew Beg attained fame for his numerous conquests in the frontier lands of Turkey, notably in Bosnia; but he also ravaged Hungarian territory with his raiding parties (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 189), when he plundered and occupied the country round Essek and Požega. Ewliyā Čelebi gives the number of his conquests as 170 fortresses, no doubt with the usual exaggeration. Ghāzī Khosrew however is still more famous, especially in his own district, for his rich endowments which Ewliyā Čelebi probably with less exaggeration puts at 300. In Serajevo alone his charitable foundations are very numerous. Besides the mosque which bears his name, he built opposite it a medrese, also baths for men and women and a bezestān with 90 roofed shops, a *ṭashlu-khān* with 60 roofed store-rooms. In a foundation grant (*waḳfnāme*) of the year 938 (1531) the various foundations are detailed. The property which Khosrew left for the maintenance of his buildings and for public kitchens was enormous. In money, gold and silver vessels and jewels alone, it amounted to 3,000,000 dirhems, an enormous sum for those days, which although the foundation has been reduced in course of time to less than a quarter of its former size, still yielded an annual income of £ 2,500 a few decades ago. The estates and the house-property of the endowment still exist. Khosrew Beg therefore created for himself in Bosnia a permanent memorial of gratitude and remembrance in the hearts of the people, who everywhere revere him as a saint and great benefactor.

Bibliography: Ewliyā, *Seyāḥatnāme*, v, 441; *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, I., Wien 1893, 503 *sq.*; C. v. Peez, *Die ottomanischen Statthalter von Bosnien* (ibid., ii. 344 *sqq.*), based on the *Sālnāme* of Bosnia for 1295, gives the tenure of office by *Khosrew Beg* as 924/927 and 938/940 and his successor Ḥusain or Mikhāloghlu [q. v.] Meḥmed. — The splendid letter of renewal, yards long (*Muḥarrer-nāme*) of Sulṭān Osman II for the foundations of Ghāzī Khosrew Beg dated Dhu 'l-Ḳa'de 1027 (1618/1619) is in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden (cf. H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus codd. mss. orr.*, Leipzig 1831, p. 47, N°. 320, 2) and still awaits editing and publication; Rif'at, *Dewḥat al-Mashā'ikh*, Stambul, n. d., p. 8 *sq.*

(FRANZ BABINGER)

KHOST. There are two places of this name in Afghānistān. One is in the Oxus basin, near Andarāb, in what is now called Afghān Turkistān, and is on the borders of Badakhshān. It lies S.E. of Balkh, S.S.E. of Hailak, N. of Kābul and Čārkār, and at the back of (i.e. north of) the the Hindu Kush mountains. The place seems little known, and is seldom marked on the maps, but was of importance in old times. Yāḳūt (Barbier de Meynard's translation) calls it "le chef lieu d'un petit pays fertile et boisé", and it is several times mentioned in Bābur's Memoirs. He spells it Khwast, and it seems to be identical with the Khūst of Ḳazwīnī and the Khūsht of other writers. In S. Zain's translation of Bābur's "Memoirs" it is called Khost-i Badakhshān. Two of Bābur's daughters were born at Khost, one of his chief wife Māham, and the other of Dildār Begam. Evidently Māham was closely connected with Khost. Her brother Muḥammad 'Alī Ṭaghai was a Mirzazāda of Khost, and Bāyazīd Biyāt in his Memoirs, called the *Tārīkh Humāyūn* (I. O. MS. No. 223 of Ethé, p. 26*a*), mentions that Humāyūn (Māham's son) visited his maternal grandparents at Khost. We also find Bābur making special mention of the place when sending presents from India (see the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Bāburī* of his ecclesiastical judge S. Zain, who notices that the people of Khost were distinguished for piety). This seems to point to Māham's family, for she was descended from the famous saint Aḥmad Djām. Yāḳūt says that Khost was the birthplace of an early traditionist (Barbier de Meynard, p. 210). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also speaks of the many cells of religious in the Hindu Khush. It is probable that Khost has been ruined by the Turcomans and Uzbegs. For references to Khost see Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 410 and 417, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, translation, p. 103 and note, Vambéry's *Shaibānināme*, Canto 63, p. 360, and Khwāfī Khān, i. 615, where there is an account of Djagat Singh and his Rādjpūts gaining a victory over the Uzbegs at Khost, and of their erecting a wooden fort there, as timber was plentiful. See also *Bādishāhnāma*, ii. 463; the year was 1645 (1055 A.H.).

The other Khost is a valley in the S.S.E. of Afghānistān, and borders on the Peshāwar district. The inhabitants are warlike and have given trouble by making raids into British territory. See Raverty's *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 75; Clement Markham in *Proceed. Geog. Society* for 1879, p. 49; the *Official Report of the Second Afghan War*, London 1908, and *The Times* of March 28, 1914.

There is a third Khost in Balōčistān, 35 m. E. of Quetta, which is the seat of a coalfield (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, iii. 138 and vi. 306). Khwāst in Persian means an island, and so may have the same import as Andarāb.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KHOTAN, a town in Chinese Turkestān. In the oldest Chinese records (from the 2nd cent. A. D.) the town is called Yu-tien for Yotḳan; this is the name still given to the ruins of the pre-Muḥammadan town, the most eastern part of which lies 5 miles west of the modern town. Later the name is written K'iu-tan and Ho-tan (cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 125). The Indian name Kustana or Kustanaka "breast of the earth" in Chinese transcription Kiu-sa-tan-na is explained by Sir Aurel Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, 1903, p. 402, as a learned etymology of the native name. On the ruined site of Yotḳan and its surroundings cf. especially M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 1907, p. 190 *sqq.* As Stein shows, old Buddhist places of worship are now reverenced as the tombs of Muslim saints. The oldest dated Buddhist monument found by Stein is of the year 269 A. D. (*Sand-buried Ruins*, p. 405); but Buddhism must have been disseminated in Khotan much earlier. The oldest documents and writings are in an Indian dialect in which Stein now, in contradiction to his earlier opinion, sees *not* the language of the native population but a literary language which arose under the influence of Indo-Scythic dominion (M. A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 1912, i. 290 *sq.*, 386 *sq.*). Later we find instead of this in Khotan and east of it the native Aryan language called "language II" by E. Leumann, which is Iranian in grammatical structure but has a vocabulary much influenced by Sanskrit, cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, lxi. 648 *sqq.* and especially E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Litteratur*, Strassburg 1912, p. 29 (the language seems "an almost indianised Iranian just as English is a romanised Germanic"); whether this language had already been driven out by Turkish in pre-Muḥammadan times, is not certain. In contrast to Kāshghar and the northern part of the modern Chinese Turkestān, Khotan is not mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (MS. of the Asiat. Mus., f. 14*a*) in the description of Turkish tribes and their lands, but under China; the town was in the frontier-land between China and Tibet and was under the rule of a separate prince who called himself "sovrain of the Turks and Tibetans" (*'aẓīm al-turk wa 'l-tubbat*). On the other hand according to Gardīzī (in Barthold, *Otčet o poězdkě v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 94) the town of Kai (?) fifteen days' journey from Khotan on the road to China was under the rule of the (Turkish) Toghuzghuz. According to Gardīzī the people of Khotan were Buddhists but he also mentions a Muslim cemetery north of Khotan and two Christian churches in the town itself (neither Christian nor Manichaean relics have so far been found in the ruins).

Islām spread much later in Khotan than in Kāshghar and was brought thither by force of arms. Ibn al-Athīr gives as the conqueror of Khotan Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf who died in 423 (1032) of whom we have coins struck in Kāshghar and Yārkand from the year 404 (1013—1014) (A. Markow, *Inventarnïy Katalog* etc., p. 192 *sq.*). Khotan like Kāshghar was later under the rule of the Ilek-Khāns (cf. above, ii., p. 465) and the Ḳara

Khitai (ii., p. 738); on the conquest of the country by Küčlük, the ruler of the Naiman and the persecution of Islām instituted by him, see ii., p. 739. According to Djuwainī (*Ta'rīkh-i Djihān Gushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, i. 49 and 52 *sqq.*) he had the Imām 'Alā al-Dīn Khotanī nailed to the door of his madrasa. Nothing was known of this martyr by the time of Ḥaidar Mīrzā (cf. ii., p. 252 *sq.*); his tomb was also unknown (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 298). There was therefore no native historical tradition in Khotan; the references to Khotan in the Arabic and Persian geographical works are extremely scanty; even the site is wrongly given by Sam'ānī (D. S. Margoliouth, Gibb Mem. Series, f. 189b) and by Yāḳūt (ii. 403) who follows him.

In the xiiith century Khotan according to Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, i. 188 *sqq.*) was under the rule of the Emperor of China, not like Yārkand under the rule of prince Ḳaidū (cf. above, i., p. 848). Khotan later seems to have regularly shared the political history of Kāshghar and other towns of this region, belonged like Kāshghar in the xviiith century to the state of the Khodja's (saints), had to submit to Kalmuck and later to Chinese rule, after the events of 1280 (1863—1864) to the rule of the invader Ya'ḳūb Beg and returned after his death (1877) to its allegiance to China. On a history composed in Khotan quite recently (finished on 18th Sha'bān 1311 = Feb. 24. 1894) dealing with events since 1280 (1863) cf. *Bulletin de l'Acad.*, etc., 1911, p. 209; and see also the section on the Khodja of Khotan in the *Ta'rīkh-i Emenīye*, ed. Pantusow, p. 161 *sqq.*

In the modern town the silk industry, much cultivated here from the earliest times, still survives. The number of inhabitants is very variously given; according to Kornilow, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, p. 275 only: 15,000; according to G. and P. Sykes, *Through deserts and oases of Central Asia*, London 1920, p. 246: 30,000.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text see more especially: E. Bretschneider, *Med. Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, ii. 47 *sqq.*, 246 *sqq.*; M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, p. 93 *sq.* — On the rule of saints in Islām and the relation of Khotan to this see M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, Berlin 1905, i., p. 195 *sqq.* and index. (W. Barthold)

KHUBAIB b. 'Adī al-Anṣārī, one of the first martyrs of Islām. The main features of his story common to all versions are as follows: After the battle of Uḥud (on the chronology see below) a small body of ten of the Prophet's followers was spied out and surrounded between Mecca and 'Usfān by 100 (or 200) Liḥyānis who belonged to the Hudhail. The leader of the hard-pressed little band, 'Āṣim b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (according to others the leader was al-Marthad), proudly refused to yield. He and six others were killed whereupon Khubaib, Zaid b. al-Dathina and a third surrendered; the latter fell a victim to his stubbornness and the two former were taken to Mecca and sold. Khubaib fell into the hands of the Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf who on the expiry of the sacred period took him out of the Ḥaram to al-Tan'īm, bound him to a stake and killed him with lances (*ṣabran*) in revenge for al-Ḥārith whom Khubaib had killed in the battle of Badr. Before he was tied to the stake, Khubaib asked for time to perform two rak'a's which was a *sunna* for martyrs, comparable to the last prayer of Christian martyrs. Khubaib is said to have recited two verses at the stake to the effect that he as a Muslim martyr cared nothing about the treatment of his body as Allāh was able to bestow his blessing even upon his severed members. Kunūt formulae uttered by him besides these verses have also been handed down in which he appealed to Allāh for vengeance on his enemies. Those present are said to have shown great trepidation at this curse of the dying man; it is related that Abū Sufyān hurriedly pressed the little Mu'āwiya to the ground to protect him from the consequences of the ill-omened words; and Sa'īd b. 'Āmir used to fall into long swoons whenever he thought of the scene.

A comparison of the accounts shows discrepancies and idealising features. Before his death 'Āṣim prayed to Allāh asking him to communicate news of the event to his Prophet in Medina, which actually happened. His corpse was protected by a swarm of bees so that the enemy could not reach it and later it was carried away by a deluge of rain. According to al-Wāḳidī, p. 155, however, Muḥammad received news of the event at the same time as that of Bi'r Ma'ūna; and according to Ibn Hishām, p. 641, it was not 'Āṣim but Khubaib who prayed to Allāh asking him to cause Muḥammad to be informed. — According to al-Zuhrī and 'Urwa (see the latter's brief account in al-Wāḳidī, p. 156) the ten men were sent out as a *sariya* to spy upon the Meccans; according to Ibn Hishām, p. 638, al-Wāḳidī, p. 157 and Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 39 *sq.*; iii/ii. 33 *sq.* ten teachers of religion, who were on their way to a tribe to instruct them, were treacherously placed at the mercy of the enemy by their guides. This story is too much like that which has been woven round the drama of Bi'r Ma'ūna, which happened at the same time. Al-Wāḳidī tells us under the year 6 A. H. that Khubaib was not yet at that time a prisoner among the Meccans (p. 227). The only certain chronological statement that can be made is that the event took place after the battle of Uḥud as 'Āṣim fought there. In the official *Sīra*, the incident is recorded under the name Yawm al-Radjī' and put by Ibn Hishām in the year 3 and by al-Wāḳidī in 4 A. H.

The figure of the protomartyr Khubaib lent itself readily to embellishment. The daughter of al-Ḥārith (according to others Māwiya, a client of Ḥudjair b. Abī Ihāb) in whose house he was kept a prisoner, saw him one day eating grapes, although these could not possibly be obtained in Mecca. — When his martyrdom approached, he asked for a knife with which to remove the hair on his privy parts (as was usual in such cases); the woman sent a little boy with it to him, but became terrified at the thought of his possible revenge; when Khubaib noticed her terror, he calmed her with the assurance that no such cruelty need be feared from him. — The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake have grown in Ibn Hishām to a whole poem. The same author (p. 644 *sqq.*) gives the laments for him. For how his corpse was taken from the Ḳuraish and swallowed up by the earth, see Ṭabarī, i. 1436 *sq.* = *Iṣāba*, i. 862.

Bibliography: al-Zuhrī's or Abū Huraira's tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 294

sqq., 310 sq. and in al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, B. 170; Ibn Isḥāḳ's version, p. 638 sqq., goes back to 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Ḳatāda; al-Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 156 sqq. (cf. 226 sq.) compiled the whole story from various sources; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Horovitz, ii/i, 39 sq.; ed. Sachau, iii/ii, 33 sq.; al-Diyārbekrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1203, i. 454 sqq.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i. 860 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii. 111 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Anno 4, § 7, 8; Anno 6, § 2; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1431 sqq., who gives the two main versions.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHUDĀWENDIGĀR (P.), derived from *Khudāwend*, signifying master, lord, prince, and often used in literature to denote God. In the history of the Ottoman Empire this word was: 1) the surname of the Sulṭān Murād I (1360—1389, q. v.) and 2) the name of the sandjaḳ and later of the wilāyet of which Brūsa was the capital.

The earliest Ottoman chroniclers do not yet give this surname to Murād I (generally called Sulṭān Murād Ghāzī, see e. g. Anonymous Chronicle, ed. Giese). It does not appear until the xvith century (Idrīs Bidlīsī, Sa'd al-Dīn; see von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 107). But the title of Khunkiār is found amongst the earliest historians (v. 'Āshiḳ Pasha Zāde, *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1332, p. 68) and is generally considered as an abbreviation for Khudāwendigār ('Ālī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 16; *Ferheng-i Shu'ūrī*, s. v.; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Turkī*, i. 589; Nādjī, in his *Lughat*, derives it however from *khunuk-ār*, "bringing happiness"; see also *J. A.*, 2nd Series, xv. 276, 572). The title of Khunkiār is given to all the Ottoman Sulṭāns, at least until the xviith century, along with that of Pādishāh. The historian Ibn Iyās says that the Egyptians were amazed at this strange title borne by Selīm I (see Barthold in *Isl.*, vi. 393). But Khunkiār is also given as a title to several great men of religion and mystics, especially to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who is often called Mollā Khunkiār. The title of Khunkiār derived from Khudāwendigār seems then to belong to the same category as that of Pasha, which is probably derived from Pādishāh (see Giese in *Z. S.*, ii. 262) that is to say both these titles originated in the atmosphere of mysticism which surrounded the origins of the Ottoman Empire. The surname of Khunkiār in its primitive and literary form Khudāwendigār then became attached more especially to Murād I (see however below), in the same way as the words pasha and pādishāh have each had their special development. Khunkiār (Constantinople pronunciation *hünkiār*) is also found amongst geographical names such as Khunkiār Iskelesi, etc.

2) After the conquest of Brūsa by Orkhān, the town with its surrounding districts, was given as a sandjaḳ to Prince Murād Beg; 'Āshiḳ Pasha Zāde, p. 43, says that the sandjaḳ was called after him, Beg Sandjaghī. But the later historical tradition had it that the sandjaḳ and later the wilāyet of which Brūsa became the capital, were called Khudāwendigār after the surname of its first governor (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-Numā*, p. 656). Ewliyā Čelebi, however, says that from his time (1640) Brūsa was the capital of the eyālet of Anadolu and the residence of the governor (*ḥākim*) who bore the title of Khudāwendigār (Const. ed., ii. 10). It is then probable that the origin of the geographical name Khudāwendigār does not go back exclusively to Sulṭān Murād I, but that it is derived from a title borne by the high official who had his head-quarters at Brūsa. The religious buildings in the town of Brūsa bearing the name of Khudāwendigār such as the Djāmi'-i Khudāwendigār or Ghāzī Khunkiār Djāmi'i (Ewliyā, ii. 14; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv. 127) and the Medrese-i Khudāwendiye (Ewliyā, ii. 17) are however connected with Murād I.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-**KHUDJANDĪ**, ḤĀMID B. AL-KHIḌR ABŪ MAḤMŪD died about 391 (1000). He lived in al-Raiy in the time of the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla (366—387 = 976—997); he gave the latter's name to the sextant (not the sextant in our sense) which he made (*al-suds al-fakhrī*). This consisted of two parallel perpendicular walls A and B 12 feet apart, which reached 30 feet above the earth and 30 feet below it (reckoning an ell at 18 inches). At the south end and perhaps also at the north end of the south wall was a dome with an orifice. Around the latter a sextant with a radius of 60 feet was described, which was formed by the carefully polished surface of a wall erected between the two walls. The sextant reached from 30 feet below the earth's surface to the latter and every 10″ was marked. The rays passing through the orifice were caught on a white plane which moved along the circle. The greatest altitude of the sun was thus obtained. Al-Khudjandī calculated with the sextant the plane of the ecliptic in 384 (994). As cloudy weather prevailed, the observations which were made in the days before and after the culmination of the sun in Cancer and Capricorn had to be approximated for the calculation of the ecliptic. By careful calculation and interpolations, it was successfully done. The plane of the ecliptic proved slightly different from earlier calculations at 23° 32′ 21″. This figure differs by $1^3/_4$ minutes from the true value then in use. From al-Bīrūnī we learn in the *Mas'ūdic Canon* that al-Khudjandī's value was falsified by the fact that the instrument used for one of the two calculations had been damaged. Al-Khudjandī explains at great length that, as the astronomical values are variable, there is no fundamental reason against a variability of the plane of the ecliptic also.

Al-Khudjandī also constructed the instrument called *al-āla al-shāmila*, "the comprehensive instrument" (cf. J. Frank, *Über zwei astronomische arabische Instrumente*, *Ztschr. für Instr. Kunde*, xli, 1921, p. 193—200). It is a universal instrument, filling the place of both astrolabe and quadrant, but at first could only be used for one latitude. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusain al-Badī' Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Asṭurlābī made it applicable to all latitudes (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, p. 339 and H. Suter, N°. 278).

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, N°. 173; L. Am. Sédillot, *Mémoire sur les instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, i ser., vol. i., 1844, p. 202; L. Cheikho, *Traité arabe de Khodjandi sur le Sextant appelé Fakhri suivi de l'épître de Bairouni sur le sujet*, in *Machriq*, vol. ii., 1908, p. 60—69; E. Wiedemann, *Über den Sextant des al-Chogendi*, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturw. und der Technik*, ii., 1910, p. 149—151; O. Schirmer, *Studien zur Astronomie der Araber*, *S. B. P. M. S.*, 1926, lviii., p. 43 and 63.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KHULK. [See AKHLĀK.]

KHULM, name of a place, situated 2 *marḥale* (10 *farsakh*) to the East of Balkh, on the road to the frontier of Badakhshān. Ibn Khurdādbih calls the station halfway between Balkh and Khulm Walīzī. A. Burnes reckons a distance of 40 miles from Khulm to the ancient city of Balkh; the mediaeval geographers give the following distances from Khulm to Simindjān, Warālīz (or Warwālīz) and Bahār respectively: 2 days (Iṣṭakhrī and Muḳaddasī; acc. to Yāḳūt: 3 days); 2 days; 6 *farsakh* (Ibn Khurdādbih; the extract from Ibn Djaʿfar's *Kitāb al-Kharādj* gives 7 *farsakh* and notes besides 3 *farsakh* from سواحی to Khulm).

The height of the place is said to be 1,500 feet above the sea (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 11). The river of Khulm, Āb-i Khulm or Khulmrūd seems to be the Artamis of the ancients (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*², ii. 1305). Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 33) mentions a *nahr al-Dirghām* in the neighbourhood of the town; can this be the same as the Khulmrūd? The fall of the river of Khulm amounts to 60 feet in each mile. On the upper course of this river the village of Dūāb is situated; the stream itself runs to the West of and parallel to another water-course, the Ghūrī, to join the Oxus after passing Haibak and Khulm. Herewith may be compared the description in Burnes' *Travels* (iii. 176): "Heibuk and Khooloom stand on the same rivulet, the water of which is dammed up on certain days, and allowed to run on others. The gardens on its banks are rich and beautiful, and among the fruit-trees, one again meets the fig, which does not grow in Cabool".

The town of Khulm is reckoned by the geographers to Ṭukhāristān, or, in a wider sense, to Khurāsān (cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 518: Ṭukhāristān is *min mawāḍi Khurāsān*). al-Idrīsī seems to consider Khulm as a locality belonging to Badakhshān (*Géographie d'Édrisi* .... par P. A. Jaubert, 1836, i. 474). The town belonged to the "*mudun latīfa fi 'l-islām*" (Yaʿḳūbī, ed. de Goeje, p. 288); its dependencies were numerous (Muḳaddasī); we find mention of Kharūrandj (Yāḳūt) and "Muzar" (Burnes; Mazār?). The climate is, according to the mediaeval authorities healthy, but breezy during the summer; the place was inhabited by Arabs from the Azd, Tamīm and Ḳais, who had settled there at the time of the conquest. Two theologians, Abu 'l-ʿAwdjā Saʿīd and ʿUthmān al-Khallī were, according to Yāḳūt, natives of Khulm.

As regards pre-islāmic times, it has been supposed, that the Aornos mentioned by Arrian, *Anab.*, iii. 29, was in the neighbourhood of Khulm, but this cannot be proved (comp. *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 474, ann. 5; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*², i. 2659). Next, the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang mentions the kingdom of Hu-lin (Khulm): it measures, according to his account, ± 800 *li* in circuit; the circumference of the capital is 5 to 6 *li*. There were more than 10 Buddhist monasteries, and above 500 monks. To the West of Hu-lin was Fo-ho (Balkh), but, though this identification seems to be correct, the transcription, according to Watters, "seems to require an original like Bokhar or Bokhara, the name of the country which included Balkh". Comp. S. Beal: *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Popular Edition), i. 43; Th. Watters: *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (1904), i. 106, 109. Later, Khulm sometimes is mentioned during the struggles which the Muslims waged against the Turks of Central-Asia, e. g. in the year 90 (708/709), in the war of Ḳutaiba b. Muslim with them; in 119 (737), when Asad b. ʿAbdallāh was in the field against the Khāḳān, the latter tried in vain to take the town. Khulm is also met with in the assessment-list of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir of the years 211/212 (826/827—827/828): it is noted there for the sum of 12,300 *dirham*. On these data comp. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 82, 218 *sq.*, where the authorities are given. In 268 (881/882) the rebel Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khodjustānī, after beating the army of Abū Ṭalḥa, the general of ʿAmr b. al-Laith at Sarkhas, defeated him a second time near Khulm (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 209).

In the beginning of the xixth century, Khulm is described as having a mixed population consisting of Tādjīk's, Uzbegs and Kābulī's. Under the reign of Kilidj Alī Beg (an Uzbeg prince of Balkh, nominally tributary to the crown of Kābul), the town, then an important place, was liable to be harassed by the nomads of its neighbourhood. Because of this, the seat of government, which seems to have been at Khulm, was transferred to the locality of Tāsh Ḳurghān, situated on a distance of ca. 4 English miles from it. When Moorcroft visited these regions (1824), another calamity also had befallen Khulm. The year before, Murād Beg, the prince of Ḳunduz, had forced the inhabitants to migrate to Ḳunduz, such compulsory removals being not uncommon during his reign. Since that time, Khulm proper has decayed, and its place has been taken by Tāsh Ḳurghān. This Muḥammad Murād of Ḳunduz had held a command of minor importance under ʿAlī Beg, but after the death of the latter, Murād attained so much power, that he became in reality an independent ruler in the regions north of the Hindū Kush. New Khulm (Tāsh Ḳurghān) had, at the time Burnes travelled there some 10,000 inhabitants; it was the frontier town of Murād's state. The sons of ʿAlī Beg, in their turn, had become vassals of Murād, and reigned in his name over the district, whose capital was Khulm, and which contained moreover Haibak, Ghūrī, Andarāb, Ṭāliḳān and Ḥaḍrat-Imām.

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(V. F. BÜCHNER)

KHUMĀRAWAIH B. AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN, born in 250 (864) was appointed by his father Aḥmad his deputy in Egypt as early as 269 (882). Before his death, while on a campaign in North Syria, Aḥmad at the request of his generals, designated Khumārawaih as his successor and died shortly after in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 270 (May 884). His older son 'Abbās had previously rebelled against him and was regarded as cruel and untrustworthy. On his deathbed Aḥmad had shown an inclination to make peace with Muwaffaḳ, the all-powerful brother of the reigning Caliph al-Mu'tamid; the latter had readily considered the proposal. The negotiations however were interrupted by Aḥmad's death, for only his great prestige had induced his enemies to consider peace negotiations on a basis of his appointment as governor in Egypt and Syria. When the negotiations fell through, two partisans of the Caliph, Ibn Kindādj, who had previously been appointed governor of Damascus, and Abu 'l-Sādj, the governor of Northern Mesopotamia, went with their troops to Syria and sought Muwaffaḳ's support, which he promised them. The governor of Damascus joined them and handed over Antioch, Aleppo and Ḥims to Ibn Kindādj. Khumārawaih now sent troops to Syria who put down the rebellion in Damascus and advanced as far as Shaizar [q. v.] on the Orontes. The winter forced the two parties to go into winter quarters. Al-Muwaffaḳ's son Aḥmad now arrived in Syria in command of the Caliph's army. Aḥmad along with Ibn Kindādj attacked the quarters of the Egyptian army, inflicted a severe defeat on them so that they fled to Damascus; driven out of this city they retired to Ramla. Aḥmad however now quarrelled with the Caliph's two generals and was left with only 4,000 men. Khumārawaih had in the meantime reached Ramla from Egypt with a large army (70,000 men it is said). The armies met on Shawwāl 16, 271 (April 6, 885) in the famous battle of al-Ṭawwāḥīn (north of Jaffa). Khumārawaih, who had never been in battle before, did not resist for long but fled back to Egypt with the majority of his army. Aḥmad's troops then fell upon the camp and were plundering it when a body of Egyptian troops that had been kept in reserve attacked them. Aḥmad thought that Khumārawaih had returned with his troops and fled precipitately to Damascus. When the governor shut its gates against them, the troops went on to Tarsus in Southern Asia Minor. A great part of the army had already been taken prisoner and carried off to Egypt. On this occasion Khumārawaih showed his extraordinarily fair and peaceful character. He gave the prisoners the choice of returning to the 'Irāḳ without a ransom or of settling in his kingdom. Aḥmad returned to Mesopotamia.

One of his own generals rebelled against Khumārawaih but was defeated by him, as he had now regained his personal courage and he was also able by his bravery to conquer Ibn Kindādj who had taken up arms against him. He now began negotiations with Muwaffaḳ and in 273 (886) was recognised for a period of 30 years as governor of Egypt, Syria and the marches against Asia Minor and Armenia for a trifling tribute. In 273—277 (886—890) there was again fighting between Khumārawaih and rebel governors, which ended in Khumārawaih being also recognised as suzerain of Mesopotamia. In Radjab of the year 279 (Oct. 892) the Caliph al-Mu'tamid died and was succeeded by Muwaffaḳ's son Aḥmad, with the title al-Mu'taḍid. The latter confirmed Khumārawaih in his office and the latter became ambitious to be closely related to the Caliph. He offered him his daughter as a daughter-in-law, but the Caliph married her himself. To attain his end Khumārawaih had to make enormous financial sacrifices. The dowry of the princess is said to have been £ 50,000. On this occasion the contrast between the rich provincial governor and the poverty of the central government which represented the Caliph was striking. It was impossible for the latter to collect money from the provinces as the independent governors kept all the revenues for themselves and paid only a moderate tribute to him. It is related that when the princess came to Baghdād, the Caliph and his chief eunuch sought for candlesticks in order to receive her in a fitting manner. The chronicler records that he could only collect 5 silver and gold plated candlesticks and then heard that the princess was accompanied by 150 servants each of whom carried a gold and silver plated candlestick. He then said to the chief eunuch: "Come let us go and hide ourselves, lest we be seen in our poverty". The princess Ḳaṭr al-Nadā was noted for her wit and beauty and must have ruled the Caliph as the anecdotes show. Once when the Caliph entered her room, she said: "Alas, my father is dead". Asked how she knew, she said: "Hitherto when you came to me, you sank on your knees and touched the earth with your forehead to greet me, but now you say simply "good day"".

Khumārawaih's extravagance in daily life and on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter naturally did great harm to the finances of the lands he governed. As an example of the boundless extravagance, which he displayed in the maintenance of his court and in the erection of costly buildings, the palace is mentioned, in the court of which he erected a basin of quicksilver supported by pillars, to alleviate his insomnia. He lay on cushions, filled with air on the surface of the quicksilver, and tied to the pillars, and was gently rocked to sleep by their motion on its surface. It was a particular misfortune for Egypt that Khumārawaih fell a victim to a plot while still young. He learned that his favourite wife was deceiving him with one of his servants and the latter, to escape punishment, resolved to kill his master. He and several conspirators fell upon him and killed him. On the whole he procured a period of peace for his lands. Egypt itself was spared from war during his reign. Nevertheless as a result of his extravagance the country was so injured that his sons who followed him steadily lost power. The family of the Ṭūlūnids had ceased to reign by 292 (905).

Bibliography: See the article AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN where the main sources are quoted and especially also the critical discussion, marking a great advance on Wüstenfeld (*Statthalter*) in C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, ii. 149—153 and 182—192; also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vii., passim, s. Index; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 432—434, 468, 481; Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, ii. 462—475 (translation of the chapter al-Ḳaṭā'i' from the *Khiṭaṭ* of Maḳrīzī, where details of his life are given) and Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i. 498—500).

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

KHUMBARADJĪ, in Turkish "bombardier", a body of regular troops formerly in the Ottoman army. It was composed of 300 men provided with military fiefs; the Count of Bonneval becoming the chief (January 24, 1732) with the title of *Khumbaradjī-bashī*, in the reign of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā III, began to enlarge it by 300 paid men. The force was increased to a thousand men by Sulṭān Selīm III, latterly it was commanded by an Englishman named Inglis-Muṣṭafā. It was disbanded in the reforms. This body was included in the *ḳapu-ḳulī*, "slaves of the Porte", and thus attached to the personal service of the Sulṭān. It was part, as one would say to-day, of the Imperial Guard.

Bibliography: M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, vii., p. 369; J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, French edition, xiv. 268; Aḥmad Djawād, *État militaire ottoman*, transl. G. Macridès, i. 18 and note 1.

(Cl. Huart)

KHUMIR. [See KHUMAIR.]

KHURDĀDH (P.), the name of the third month of the movable Persian solar year, also the name of the sixth day of each month. The 6th Khurdādh as the day on which the name of day and month were the same was called *Khurdādhgān*. To distinguish the day Khurdādh from the month of Khurdādh, the former was called Khurdādh-*rūz* ("day of Khurdādh") and the latter Khurdādh-*māh* ("month of Khurdādh").

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 1878, p. 42, 43, 70, 220; al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i., 1849, p. 81; Ginzel, *Handbuch d. math. u. techn. Chronologie*, 1906, i., § 67 *sqq.*

(M. Plessner)

KHURRAM (P. "joyful"), the name of the favourite (*khāṣṣekī*) of the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaimān I, the Legislator, better known in European historians by the name of Roxelana. She was a slave of Russian origin ("altra donna di nation *Rossa*, giovine non bella ma graziada" in the report by Piero Bragadino [1526], Marini Sanuto, xli.), who was the mother of three sons, Sulṭān Selīm II, princes Murād and Muḥammad and one daughter, Mihrimāh Sulṭāne. She was anxious to secure the succession to the throne for her eldest son and is accused of having brought about the execution (960 = 1553) of Muṣṭafā, eldest son of Sulaimān by a Slav girl. It was owing to the superiority of her brain and character that she was able to remain the Sulṭān's trusted adviser till her death in 965 (1558); but her genius for intrigue urged her to crimes; she brought about the overthrow and execution of two grand viziers, Ibrāhīm Pasha and Aḥmad Pasha. Her son-in-law, Rustam Pasha, by birth a Croat, was through her efforts appointed grand vizier in 951 (1544). She was buried in a türbe specially built for her in the court of the Sulaimānīya Mosque in Constantinople. Several pious foundations and charitable buildings were built or instituted at her expense in Constantinople; these were the imperial mosque, the hospital, and the school of the Khāṣṣeki in the Awrat Bāzār quarter.

Khurram-Begum was the name of the wife of Mīrzā Sulaimān, son of Khān Mīrzā, son of the Tīmūrid Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, ruler of Badakhshān, died at Lāhore in 997 (1589).

Khurram is also the name of an alleged king of Djīnīdjīn, hero of the *Ilāhī-nāme* of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and of its imitation the *Khairābād* of Nābī (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 370 *sqq.*).

Mīrzā Khurram was the proper name of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Djahān [q. v.] which he bore before his accession in 1037 (1628).

Pahlawān Khurram Khurāsānī, a general of the Muẓaffarids, contributed to placing Shāh Shudjā' on the throne; appointed governor of Iṣfahān, after the deposition of Sulṭān Zain al-'Ābidīn, he held office till his death (Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i. 701, 712, 721; Defrémery, *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Mozaffériens*, p. 48, *J. A.* [1844—1845]; Khondamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii., part. 2, p. 32).

Bibliography: Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. 1283, i. 425; Ḥādjdjī Ḥusain Efendi d'Aiwānserāī, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, i. 17, 201; J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'emp. ott.*, Fr. transl. v. 379, 456, 538; vi. 99, 483; xviii., p. 19.

(Cl. Huart)

KHURRAMĀBĀD, capital of the province of Lūristān with 6,000 inhabitants, situated in 33° 32' N. Lat. and 48° 15' East Long. (Greenwich) about 4700 feet above the sea-level between Iṣfahān and Kirmānshāh on the river of the same name. On an isolated ridge of rock between the town and the river lie the ruins of a castle Diz-i Siyāh, "black castle", in the middle ages the residence of the governor, with annexes called Falak al-Aflāk which at the beginning of the xixth century were the residence of the governor of Lūristān. At the foot of the old castle is the modern residency, built about 1830 with commodious courts and gardens. Opposite the town are the ruins of the ancient *Samha* with a monolith, the inscription on which dates from the time of Maḥmūd, grandson of Malik Shāh. The town was visited by J. Rich and H. Rawlinson. The town is not mentioned by the older Persian geographers; on the other hand Yāḳūt and others know two places of the same name near Raiy and near Balkh.

Bibliography: C. Ritter, *Asien*, vol. ix.[2], p. 207—209; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 426 *sq.*; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 206.

(J. Ruska)

KHURRAMĪYA, a sect whose name is derived by Sam'ānī from the Persian word *khurram* "agreeable", on the ground that they regarded everything that was agreeable as lawful; but it is more likely to be derived from Khurram, a district of Ardabīl, where the sect may have arisen. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi. 186, they came into prominence after the execution of Abū Muslim of Khorāsān in 136 A.H., but while some of them denied that he was dead and foretold his return "to spread justice in the world", others maintained the *Imamate* of his daughter Fāṭima, whence they got the names *Muslimīya* and *Fāṭimīya*. One Sanbādh started a rebellion in Khurāsān, demanding vengeance for Abū Muslim, but this was suppressed within seventy days. They are next heard of in the reign of Ma'mūn, when Bābak the Khurramī rebelled against the Muslim government and entrenched himself in Badhdh (sometimes in the dual Badhdhān) "a village between Ādharbāidjān and Arrān"; he maintained himself from 201 till 223, when his fortress was taken by Afshīn, an officer of Mu'taṣim; he was himself captured and sent to Sāmarra, where he was tortured to death, displaying marvellous fortitude under torture (*Mukhtār al-Mukhtārāt*, p. 75). His daughter was taken into

Mu'taṣim's ḥarem (*Irshād al-Arīb*, i. 369,7). Many odes of both Abū Tammām and Buḥturī are devoted to eulogizing the conquerors, who are said to have served the cause of Islām. In Mas'ūdī's time (332), members of the sect were to be found in Raiy, Iṣpahān, Ādharbāidjān, Karadj, Burdj, and in Masabadhan. Shortly before Mas'ūdī wrote, some fortresses held by them were stormed by 'Alī b. Buwaihi (afterwards 'Imād al-Dawla, 321 A.H.; Miskawaihi, i. 278); and about 40 years later they were in possession of some fortresses in the neighbourhood of Tīz and Makran, which they surrendered to 'Aḍud al-Dawla's agent, 'Ābid b. 'Alī (*ibid.* ii. 321).

The best account of their doctrines seems to be that furnished by Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, who states that he had met members of the community in their homes, Masabadhan and Mihirdjan-ḳadhaḳ. It is as follows (*Livre de la Création*, ed. Huart, v. 30): "They are divided into various sects and sorts, but all agree on "return" (i.e. transmigration), asserting, however, that names and bodies are changed. They maintain that all the Apostles, though their codes and religious systems differ, are inspired by one spirit; that revelation never ceases; and in their opinion every adherent of a religion is in the right, so long as he hopes for reward and fears punishment. They do not approve of defaming such a person or harming him, provided he shows no desire to injure their own community or attack their system. They strenuously avoid bloodshed except when they are in open rebellion. They highly esteem Abū Muslim and curse al-Manṣūr for having put him to death. They frequently implore the divine favour for Mahdī b. Fēroz owing to his being a descendant of Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima. They have *Imām*'s to whom they have recourse in legal matters, and Apostles who go on circuit among them, and whom they call by the Persian name *Firishtah* (Angel). Wine and liquors are in their opinion more fortune-bringing than all other things. The basis of their system is Light and Darkness. Those whom we have met in their homes Masabadhan and Mihirdjan-ḳadhaḳ were found by us to be most scrupulous about cleanliness and purity, and most anxious to win people's favour by spontaneous acts of kindness. Some of them, we found, permit promiscuity where the women consent, and indeed the enjoyment of anything craved by the natural mind, provided no injury results to any one therefrom".

Iṣṭakhrī (p. 203) somewhat similarly says of them "they have mosques in their villages, and they read the Ḳur'ān; only it is asserted that secretly they hold no religious dogma but lawlessness" (*ibāḥa*). Probably then they differed from the Sunnī Muslims in their theory of the *Imāmate*, which they supposed to be inherent in the family of Abū Muslim; whereas their practice of promiscuity (if true) was similar to the Shī'ī *mut'a*; further in believing in the continued existence of Abū Muslim and in supposing his daughter to inherit his rights they resembled various Shī'ī groups.

Since the member of the sect who attracted most attention was Bābak, we should have expected to learn something of his doctrine, and indeed a special history of this person by Wāḳid b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī is quoted in the *Fihrist*; it is a string of fables, translated by Flügel in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. 531 foll. This writer agrees with Ṭabarī in assigning him a predecessor named Djāwīdān. 'Abd al-Ḳāhir (*al-Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ*, p. 252) asserts that the followers of Bābak make the founder of their religion a prince of theirs who lived in pre-Islāmic times, called Sharwīn, whose father was of the Zandj, whereas his mother was the daughter of a Persian king. This would seem to be another form of a story told by Ibn Isfandiyār (transl. E. G. Browne, p. 237) that one Sharwīn of the house of Bāw (called by Ṭabarī, iii. 1295, 5: Sharwīn b. Surkhāb b. Bāb) was the first person who took the title "King of the Mountains". He adds that they have a feast on their mountains which is marked by gross licentiousness; but for all that they ostensibly maintain the ceremonies of Islām. The attempts made to connect them with the old Persian Mazdakites are probably without historical basis. (D. S. Margoliouth)

KHURSHĪD II, *iṣpahbadh* of Ṭabaristān, the last prince of the line of Djīlān Shāh which ruled this province for 116 years; he was the son of Dādh Mihr b. Farrukhān and had the title of Farshwād Marzbān; he was descended on the female side from the Nahābida (Arm. *nahapet* "patrician") of Ṣūl and reigned from 122 to 150 (740—767). His paternal uncle, Sārūya, the regent of the kingdom, wished to hand over the power to him when he attained his majority; he was prevented from doing so by a conspiracy amongst his own sons, and Khurshīd was not able to reign until he gained a victory over his cousins at Ḳaṣr-i Dādakān, between Tamīsha and Sārī. He repaired the castle of Kūs and built a fortress called Se dile (cf. Sadīr near Ḥīra); he established a market around the latter and built a caravanserai. After the assassination of Abū Muslim, Sonbādh handed over his treasures to the care of Khurshīd when he rebelled against the Caliph al-Manṣūr. After his defeat he wished to take shelter with Khurshīd but he was assassinated on his way by one of the cousins of Khurshīd, Ṭūs, in revenge for an insult. The Caliph demanded that the treasure should be surrendered to him but Khurshīd refused, consenting however to pay tribute. Thinking of the large sums that Ṭabaristān might yield him, al-Manṣūr determined to conquer it; the town of Āmul surrendered; Khurshīd placed his women and children in the fortress of 'Ā'isha Kargīlī Dīz, called by the Arabs Ḳal'at al-Ṭāḳ, "the citadel of the vault", while he himself went to raise troops in Gīlān and Dailam; the garrison of the fortress having been decimated by plague gave itself up to the invaders. Khurshīd in despair poisoned himself and Ṭabaristān passed under the sway of Islām. The date given by Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, 141 (758), is wrong. The last coinage known of Khurshīd II belongs to the year 148 (765) corresponding to the year 114 of the era of Ṭabaristān.

Bibliography: Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, transl. Browne, p. 113—122; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. B. Dorn, p. 46—50; Mīrkhond, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, iii. 125; Ṭabarī, iii. 120, 136, 137; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 369, 386, 387; Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 336, 337; *Ta'rīkh Munedjdjim Bashî*, ii. 393; A. D. Mordtmann, *Erklärung der Münzen*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xix. 486, 495; xxxiii. 110.

(Cl. Huart)

KHŪRYĀN-MŪRYĀN, the name of a group of islands in the bay of the same

name on the south coast of Arabia, consisting of Ḥellāniya, Ḳarzawīt (Ḳarzawī or Aḳarzawī), Sōdā (Suwaidiya), Djebeliya and Ḥāsiḳī. The first of these alone is inhabited; but the number of dwellers on it has greatly diminished in spite of the facts that the inhabitants of Sōda had all migrated to it. Vegetation on Ḥellāniya is also scanty; a few marine shrubs, some scattered tamarisks and mimosas here and there enliven the monotonous landscape. In the centre of the island a peak rises to a height of 1,510 feet above sea-level: in front of it in the west lies a high plateau. The water is usually brackish, the best being found in a well dug by European sailors. The same is true of Suwaidiya. Djebeliya is quite waterless and desert and inhabited only by seafowl so that the island possesses extensive deposits of guano. Djebeliya was once inhabited as a few tombs on it show. The most westerly island of the group is Ḥāsiḳī, which is only 20 miles from the coast and is commanded by two peaks 400 feet high; it also is devoid of water and vegetation but occupied by numerous flocks of pelicans and goosanders.

This group of islands which was early identified with the so-called seven successive islands of Zenobios, formed the frontier mark between the kingdom of the Parthians and the kingdom of Ḥaḍramūt, so that the Parthian frontier should be located in the innermost corner of the Khūryān-Mūryān Bay or in about 56° 45′ E. Long. (Greenwich). The inhospitality of the land made the inhabitants dependent on the sea and they naturally became a race of fishermen. Idrīsī (d. 1164) already knows that the inhabitants of the Khūryān-Mūryān islands, who were then politically under al-Shiḥr, were very poor in winter and only managed to make a moderate livelihood in the sailing season. They used to sail to ʿUmān, ʿAden and the Yemen. Their main source of revenue was tortoise shell which they traded to the Yemenis and occasionally very beautiful amber, for which they sometimes got very high prices. Idrīsī calls the bay containing the islands Djawn al-Ḥashīsh (Bay of Herbs). It was the Portuguese who first directed the attention of Europeans to the islands. In 1503 the Khūryān-Mūryān islands were discovered by Alfonso d'Albuquerque. As the Curia-Muria islands they continually appear in Portuguese sources, while Suwaidiya appears as Sodiē Ḥāsiḳī as Aaquiē and Ḳarzawīt as Rodondo. The islands later passed into the possession of the Sulṭān of Masḳaṭ, who ceded them to the English on July 14, 1854.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, transl. by Jaubert, i. 54; ii. 49; *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, por Fernão Lopes de Castanheda I, Coimbra 1554, chap. 54; *Historia Oriental de las peregrinaciones de Fernan Mendez Pinto Portugues*, traduzido de Portugues en Castellano por Francisco de Herrera, Madrid 1620, chap. 3; *Decada primeira da Asia de João de Barros*, Lissabon 1628, livro vii., chap. 4, fol. 134, livro ix., chap. 1, fol. 172; *Decada sexta da Asia*, por Diego do Couto, livro x., chap. 18. ibid., *Decada septima*, livro i., chap. 5; P. Manoel d'Almeyda, *Historia general de Ethiopia a alta*, por P. Balthasar Teller, Coimbra 1660, libr. iii., chap. 2, iv., chap. 24; *L'Ambassade de Dom Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse*, Paris 1667, p. 5, 498; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Berlin 1846, viii., p. 306, 336—345, 657; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, *Abhandl. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, iii/3, Leipzig 1864, p. 145; do., *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 98 *sq.*; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii., p. 186 *sq.*; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien*, *Hamburgische Forschungen*, Braunschweig 1916, i., p. 149; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i., *Osten und Orient*, i/4, Vienna 1922, p. 189; F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, Munich 1925, p. 722 *sq.*

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

KHUSHḤĀL KHĀN, warrior and poet, foremost of poets, father of fifty-seven sons, was the famous chief of the Khaṭak [q. v.] tribe of the Paṭhāns during the reigns of the Mughal emperors, Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb. Born in the year 1022 (1613), he succeeded his father as chief in 1650. His father's fief was confirmed to him by Shāh Djahān together with the charge of protecting the royal road from Atak on the Indus to Peshāwar. After the death of Shāh Djahān he fell under the displeasure of Awrangzēb and was confined in the fortress of Gwalior for seven years. While in captivity, he wrote many of his poems. On release Khushḥāl Khān returned to the Khaṭak country, of which Akora was the chief town, and later on we find him in alliance with the Afrīdīs waging a determined war against the Mughals. Affairs at Peshāwar became so serious that Awrangzēb appeared on the scene in person and for about two years remained encamped at Atak. The Paṭhān confederacy was broken up and Khushḥāl resigned the chieftainship to his eldest son. He died in the seventy-eighth year of his age. From all accounts he was a voluminous author of poetry and prose in Persian and Pashto. His poetry is of the patriotic and popular type.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. H. W. Bellew, Peshawar 1869; selections in *The Gulshan-i Roh*, ed. H. G. Raverty, London 1860; *Afghan Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. C. E. Biddulph, London 1890, and *Kalīd-i Afghānī*, ed. T. P. Hughes, Lahore 1893; James Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. clxxxvii. *sq.*, Paris 1888—1890.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

KHUSHḲADAM AL-MALIK AL-ẒĀHIR SAIF AL-DĪN AL-NĀṢIRĪ (so called from his first master), Sulṭān of Egypt and Syria, reigned from 865—872 (1461—1467). He was the first Sulṭān to come from the Sultanate of Rūm (in Asia Minor) which however many also say of Baibars II [q. v.] and Sulṭān Lādjīn (696—698 = 1296—1298). Purchased as a slave by Sulṭān Shaikh [q. v.] he was enrolled in the corps of Djamdārs [q. v.]. Under Shaikh's son Aḥmad, who reigned only a few months, he became a member of the bodyguard (*khāṣṣakī*) and only in the reign of Sulṭān Čaḳmaḳ [q. v.] did he become an amīr of 10 Mamlūks in 846 (1442) and *raʾs nawba* (leader of a company). In 850 (1446) he became commander of 1000 Mamlūks in Damascus, in 854 *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb* (president of the military court) in Cairo. Three years later under Sulṭān Īnāl he was War Minister and in 860 (1456) he commanded an expedition against the prince of

Ḳaramān, whose land he devastated most cruelly without meeting his troops. Īnāl's son Aḥmad (see under ĪNĀL) appointed him Atābeg. The Ashrafiya (Sulṭān Ashraf Īnāl's Mamlūks) were however dissatisfied with Sulṭān Aḥmad, conspired against him and offered the throne to Djānim, the governor of Damascus. The Ẓāhiriya (Sulṭān Ẓāhir Čaḳmaḳ's Mamlūks) however preferred Khushkadam. They therefore hurried to elect the Atābeg Khushkadam Sulṭān before Djānim's arrival, took Aḥmad prisoner and sent him to Alexandria. When Djānim later arrived in the vicinity of Cairo, there was nothing left for him to do but recognise Khushkadam and return to Damascus. As he did not feel safe for long there he sought refuge with Ḥasan al-Ṭawīl, Sulṭān of the White Sheep Turkomans, where he was murdered not long afterwards. Another influential amīr of the Ẓāhiriya, the governor of Djidda, Djānibey, to whom the Sulṭān owed everything, was murdered by his orders. He thus deprived the Mamlūk corps of their leaders and was able to play one corps against another. The Mamlūks were also weakened by the campaigns against Cyprus, which were a result of Īnāl's policy. The latter had supported king James against his sister Charlotte who in her turn expected help from the Knights of St. John of Rhodes. The governor of Tripolis was entrusted by Īnāl at the end of his reign with a campaign against the Queen, but on account of the change on the Egyptian throne only engaged in it for a short time. The amīrs, who had been sent with a corps to Cyprus to support James soon returned on account of the disturbances which broke out after the assassination of Djānibey. Only one of the amīrs with a small body of troops was left in Cyprus. The capital Famagusta had surrendered to James, who was now master of practically the whole island. He therefore no longer required the assistance of the Egyptians, who had acted arrogantly and impudently towards him. To get rid of them he had them attacked in the rear by the people of Famagusta and then fell upon them himself. To the Sulṭān he represented the massacre as a rising among his subjects, of which he was quite innocent. Queen Charlotte revealed the truth to Khushkadam to get his assistance and also gained his favour by ransoming a ship that had been captured by the Knights of Rhodes, but the Sulṭān was glad to live at peace with James, especially as the latter paid him regular tribute. He was in close alliance with his vassal, the Sulṭān of the White Sheep Ḥasan al-Ṭawīl, because the latter had to rely on the help of the Egyptian Sulṭān in his continual struggle with the Sulṭān of the Black Sheep and the governors of Abulustīn of the house of Dhu 'l-Ghādir.

Ḥasan, whose relations with the Ottomān Sulṭān Muḥammad II were also not of the brightest, therefore remained faithful to Khushkadam in the midst of all the intrigues and fighting. Muḥammad II had overthrown Ḥasan's relative, the Byzantine emperor of Trebizond. Ḥasan in turn along with Khushkadam supported Isḥāḳ, ruler of Ḳaramān, who was at war with the Ottomans. He and the Sulṭān also aided the princes of Abulustīn, Budāgh and Rustam, successively against their rival for the governorship, Shāh Suwār, who sided with the Ottomans (see ḲĀ'ITBEY). Although it never came to actual fighting between the two Sulṭāns, there was always a latent enmity. While Khushkadam was able to keep the Mamlūks of his predecessors in check, his own Mamlūks committed countless outrages on the people. The Sulṭān's finances were always in a muddle; he endeavoured to secure money by the sale of offices as well as by visits to his subjects (cf. ḲĀ'ITBEY). The Sulṭān fell ill in 872 (1467) and died in ten days. He was not really a great ruler but he was able to keep Egypt at peace. During his reign Egypt was spared epidemics. He was averse to reforms and adhered strictly to the old customs in contrast to the turbulent Ḳā'itbey.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, Būlāḳ 1311, ii. 70—84; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 240—315; Muir, *The Mamluk or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 163—171. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

KHUSRAW. [See ANŪSHARWĀN, KISRĀ, PARWĪZ.]

KHUSRAW FĪRŪZ, AL-MALIK AL-RAḤĪM ABŪ NAṢR B. ABĪ KĀLĪDJĀR, a Būyid. After the death in Djumādā I 440 (Oct. 1048) of Abū Kālīdjār [q. v.] Khusraw Fīrūz (var. Khurra Fīrūz) was recognised as Amīr of the 'Irāḳ while his brother Abū Manṣūr Fūlādh Sutūn seized the town of Shīrāz. Soon afterwards Khusraw Fīrūz sent an army under Abū Sa'd Khusraw Shāh, who was also his brother, against Shīrāz; the town had to surrender and Abū Manṣūr was taken prisoner (Shawwāl 440 = March—April 1049), but released after some time. In 441 (1049/1050) he recaptured Shīrāz and seized a part of al-Ahwāz but in Rabī' II of the following year (Aug.—Sept. 1050) Khusraw Fīrūz invaded al-Ahwāz and soon conquered 'Askar Mukram. In Muḥarram 443 (May/June 1051) al-Ahwāz was invaded by Arabs and Kurds. After they had sacked Surraḳ, they were put to flight by the troops of Khusraw Fīrūz. The latter then left 'Askar Mukram, because Abū Manṣūr in alliance with the Kurd chief Hezārasp intended to march on Tustar. Khusraw Fīrūz succeeded in anticipating him and when the advanced patrols met, Abū Manṣūr and Hezārasp had to withdraw. After a bloody battle Khusraw Fīrūz also took Rāmhurmuz, while Abū Sa'd took the two towns of Iṣṭakhr and Shīrāz. In the meanwhile Abū Manṣūr had applied to the Saldjūḳ prince Toghril Beg; the latter sent him reinforcements and after a two days' battle Khusraw Fīrūz had to retire to Wāsiṭ (end of Rabī' II = Sept. 1051). In 444 (1052) his troops conquered Baṣra; the governor there, Abū 'Alī also his brother, saved himself by flight and went to Iṣfahān to Toghril Beg. Khusraw Fīrūz then made peace with Hezārasp. In the following year Abū Manṣūr again became lord of Shīrāz and drove out Abū Sa'd; in Muḥarram 447 (April 1055) a Dailamī chief named Fūlādh seized the town and drove out Abū Manṣūr. Although Fūlādh declared he would submit to Khusraw Fīrūz and Abū Sa'd, they did not trust him and Abū Sa'd joined with Abū Manṣūr and marched on Shīrāz. After a long siege Fūlādh had to fly, and the two brothers occupied the city in the name of Khusraw Fīrūz. In the same year the Būyid dynasty was overthrown. Under the pretext of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, Toghril Beg asked permission to enter Baghdād, which was granted him by the Caliph al-Ḳā'im. On Ramaḍān 22 (Dec. 15, 1055) the *khuṭba* was read in his name and three days later he made his ceremonial entry into the capital. But as the people of Baghdād rose against the foreign troops, Toghril Beg in spite of the Caliph's protests had Khusraw Fīrūz

arrested as the alleged fomenter of the strife. He died a prisoner in the citadel of al-Raiy in 45 (1058/1059).

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(K. V. Zetterstéen)

KHUSRAW MALIK. [See ii. 157[b].]

KHUSRAW PASHA, the name of two Turkish grandviziers.

1. The Bosnian Khusraw Pasha, grandvizier under Murād IV. Brought up in the imperial palace, he held the offices of *Silāḥdār* and of Agha of the Janissaries (from 1033/1624) and later in Radjab 1036 (March—April 1627) he received the rank of *Wezīr-i Ḳubbe-nishīn*. In November 1627 after the failure of the grand vizier Khalīl Pasha [q. v.] to subdue the rebel Abāza Pasha at Erzerūm, a council called by the Sulṭān decided, on the proposal of the Shaikh al-Islām Yaḥyā Efendi, to depose Khalīl and to appoint Khusraw Pasha as his successor. The latter was a "novus homo", and his rank was not yet sufficiently high. He was therefore at first nominated wālī of Diyār Bakr and at once he left the capital. The great seal of the Empire was only sent to him when he was at Izniḳ (Shaʿbān 1037/April 1628). The campaign had been well planned and the new grandvizier arrived at Erzerūm before Abāza expected him. The latter surrendered after a fourteen days' siege (18th September) and he returned with Khusraw Pasha to Constantinople along with the Persian general Shams Khān who had been taken prisoner. The victorious entry of Khusraw into Constantinople (9th December) — celebrated by a *ḳaṣīda* of the poet Nefʿī — was followed by the pardon of Abāza (afterwards nominated Wālī of Bosnia) and by a period of absolute power of the grandvizier; he reigned by terror, relying for support above all on the troops of the Sipāhī and the Janissaries, to whom he guaranteed anew the pernicious privileges which, a short time before, had been abolished. At this time the young Murād IV had not yet sufficient power to counterbalance the influence of his grandvizier. The latter again left the capital — never to return — in July 1629 as *serdār* of a new military expedition, against Persia. Radjab Pasha, the future grand-vizier, remained as *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Constantinople. The Army went to Aleppo, Diyār Bakr and Mōṣul, where the inundation of the country caused by torrential rains, forced it to wait for seventy days until the end of January 1630. Great military preparations were made for the capture of Baghdād but in the meanwhile Khusraw Pasha himself marched eastwards. He crossed the two Zāb's and advanced upon Shehrizūr [q. v.] while the Kurd chiefs came and offered submission to him. Then after sending several bodies of soldiers against Lower Mesopotamia he advanced to meet the Persian general Zainal Khān who was at Hamadān. Zainal Khān tried in vain to reconquer the castle of Mihribān (on the Hamadān road) taken by Noghāi Pasha, beglerbeg of Aleppo, by the orders of Khusraw; the loss of this battle cost him his head. The grandvizier arrived in person at Mihribān on the 5th May 1630; thereafter he destroyed Hasanābād and arrived on June 20th before Hamadān. This town which had been abandoned by its inhabitants was completely sacked. Khusraw Pasha still continued his advance as far as Dergazīn (on the Ḳazwīn route); he then turned here towards Baghdād, the goal of the expedition. He passed by the Derteng défilé and by Ḳaṣr Shīrīn [q. v.] and arrived on the 6th September before Baghdād. The siege began a month later. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa was present as a scribe in the Ottoman army and he describes the siege in the *Fedhleke* (p. 299). A general assault took place on the 9th November but had no result so that Khusraw had to retire on Mōṣul leaving garrisons at Ḥilla and several other places. At Mōṣul where he arrived on December 12th, he learnt of the capture of Shahrizūr by the Persians; soon the Turkish garrisons left in the neighbourhood of Baghdād were also put to flight. Khusraw then retreated to Mārdīn in order to spend the winter there; the following year was passed in inactivity, due to the indecision of the grandvizier and the discontent of the Sipāhī and the Janissaries. The *Munshaʾāt* of Ferīdūn (ii. 179—188) contains four documents issued by the Sulṭān and addressed at this time to Khusraw to testify that he was pleased with him and to encourage him. But at last the Sulṭān was convinced of the lack of capacity of the grand-vizier; he deposed him (25th Oct. 1631) and nominated in his stead the former grandvizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pasha [q. v.]. A čāʾūsh was sent to go and bring back the seal of office; near Malatia he overtook Khusraw who complied immediately and went to Toḳat. His dismissal was, however, the signal for a general revolt of the troops in Constantinople as well as in Anatolia, a revolt which very soon cost the grandvizier his life (10th February 1632) and nearly led to the overthrow of the Sulṭān himself. The rebellion was secretly fomented by Khusraw and Radjab, who was created grandvizier sometime afterwards. Murād then commanded Murtaḍā Pasha, wālī of Oczakow, to see to the execution of Khusraw. Murtaḍā, appointed wālī of Diyār Bakr, went to Toḳat, and took the steps necessary for overcoming the resistance of Khusraw Pasha. The latter resigned himself to his fate and was strangled on the 29th Shaʿbān 1041 (March 21st, 1632). His head was sent to the capital where the rebellion could only be quelled after the execution of Radjab Pasha (18th May).

Khusraw Pasha left behind him the reputation of a man, courageous but bloodthirsty and intriguing. All opposition which he encountered was stifled in blood; the roads by which he passed were marked by a series of executions. This strategic capacity is severely criticised by Naʿīmā (i. 495) because he wasted his time and his troops in making minor conquests before attacking Baghdād. His name is given to a *khān* which he had built on the great road between Eski Shehir and Konya (see Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i. 102 and the map).

Bibliography: The principal sources are: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, p. 282—305; and Naʿīmā, i. 452—515; also ʿOthmān Zāde, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, p. 74 *sqq.*, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii. 274 (there are errors in the dates); Pečewi, *Taʾrīkh*, ii. 409 *sqq.*; Munedjdjim Bashi, iii. 677 *sqq.*; von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1837, ix. 99 *sqq.*

2. Muḥammad Khusraw Pasha, a statesman and a grandvizier in the reigns of the Sulṭans

Maḥmūd II and ʿAbd al-Madjīd. He was by birth an Abkhazian slave and served first in the *enderūn* as servant of the Čāʾūsh Bashi Saʿīd. In 1206 (1792) he left the palace as *mühürdār* and *kiāya* to his compatriot Küčük Ḥusain Pasha, just appointed Ḳapudan Pasha. He gained promotion quickly in his military and administrative career and became in 1800 *mütesarrif* of Ḳara Ḥiṣār. He accompanied the Turkish fleet which in March 1801 landed in Egypt under Küčük Ḥusain Pasha and afterwards became commandant at Alexandria. In September of the same year he was appointed *wālī* of Egypt, after having been raised to the rank of *wezīr*. Khusraw Pasha made his ceremonial entry into Cairo in January 1802, and immediately began military operations against the Mamlūk beys. But his inexperience and avarice, which had caused him to dismiss his own troops, brought about his failure. The Mamlūks gained ground and the *wālī* was not able to maintain his authority over the Albanian troops, under the command of Ṭāhir Pasha and Muḥammad ʿAlī. The latter encouraged the revolt of these troops and on the 3rd May 1803 Khusraw was forced by them to leave Cairo and to entrench himself in Damietta. At first he fought with success against the Albanian troops who were now allied with the Mamlūks, but in July 1803 the allies commanded by Muḥammad ʿAlī and ʿOthmān Bey Bardīsī took Damietta and Khusraw was taken a prisoner to Cairo. Meanwhile the Porte had replaced him as *wālī* by ʿAlī Pasha Djezāʾirli. An attempt to escape from Cairo failed. On the 13th March 1804, the Albanian troops beat the Mamlūks in their turn and Muḥammad ʿAlī proclaimed Khusraw once more *wālī* of Egypt, but two days later through the influence of the relatives of Ṭāhir Pasha who had died in the meanwhile, the arrangements of Muḥammad ʿAlī were upset. Khusraw was taken to Rosetta where he was given leave to embark for Constantinople. From this Egyptian period Khusraw always had an inveterate hatred for Muḥammad ʿAlī, whom he considered, not without reason, as the principal author of his failure.

Thereafter Khusraw Pasha began a long career as *wālī* of a great number of *wilāyet*'s; from the beginning of 1812 to 1817 he was Ḳapudan Pasha and again from December 1822 to February 1827. During this latter period he took part in the taking of Missolonghi (April 1826). When the news of the massacre of the Janissaries reached him, he had all the Janissaries in the fleet thrown into the sea in order to show his zeal for reforms. On May 9th 1827 he became *Ser-ʿAsker* at Constantinople, an office which he kept until 14th November 1836. During this time his power was unlimited. Although he had little education (he never learnt either to read or write) no one was more in favour with Sulṭān Maḥmūd than he, on account of his great zeal for reforms. It was he who was the first to present the Sulṭān with a body of troops trained according to the European method. Moreover as minister of police, he was able to maintain perfect order in the capital in spite of the troubled situation in the Empire. The population knew him and feared him under the name of "Topal Pasha". "He was the very genius of intrigue of Turkish officials" (Rosen). He assembled around himself a large clientèle of dependents amongst whom some gained the position of *dāmād*, for example his adopted son Khalīl Pasha. Von Moltke, sent in 1835 to Constantinople as instructor of the new Turkish troops, has given a description of the *Ser-ʿAsker* who, by this time, had attained a considerable age. He was an old man, very active, with a red face and white hair (there is a portrait in the *Taʾrīkh-i Luṭfī*, vol. viii., Constantinople 1328, p. 86). He had, however, a disastrous influence on the operations of the Turkish armies against the Egyptian troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī. By his jealousy he thwarted the plans of the Turkish generals Ḥusain Pasha in Syria (April 1832) and Rashīd Pasha (battle of Ḳonya, 21th Dec. 1832) so that the failure of the Turks must be largely attributed to him. In the period of upheaval which followed, he took very little part in the diplomatic intrigues; he never showed a very definite sympathy either with Russian influence or with that of France. The fall of Khusraw in November 1836 was ultimately due to the influence of the conservative party, and also to the plague which had been ravaging Constantinople during these last years. He returned, however, to the head of the Government in March 1838 as chief of the cabinet with the title of *reʾīs-i shūrā* and *reʾīs-i medjlis-i wālā*; in this cabinet the young Rashīd Pasha was minister for foreign affairs. This ministry continued the organisation of the civil service (*tanẓīmāt-i khairiye*). In 1839 war broke out anew with Muḥammad ʿAlī, which led to the catastrophe of Nizib (24th June 1839). During this time Khusraw was able to maintain tranquillity in the capital even at the time of the death of Maḥmūd II, which took place on June 30th 1839. Thus on the accession of the young Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Khusraw was the person indicated to fill the office of grandvizier, an office which was re-established after having been temporarily abolished. The situation of the Empire was at this time very critical because of the defeat of the army and the loss of the fleet which had gone over to Muḥammad ʿAlī. During this time Khusraw was the soul of the resistance to the viceroy, his ancient enemy, but he took very little part in the diplomatic negotiations with the Powers, negotiations the object of which was to save Turkey. It was Rashīd Pasha who directed foreign affairs and who took the initiative in the proclamation of the famous *Khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of Gülkhāne on Nov. 3rd 1839. Khusraw was not the man to appreciate such a measure and played a very passive rôle during the ceremony. Little by little the intrigues of Muḥammad ʿAlī at Constantinople seconded by Khalīl Pasha who had become *ser-ʿasker* succeeded in undermining the position of the grandvizier; the Sulṭān dismissed him in June 1840 and banished him to Rodosto. At the end of a year, however, the conservative influence was re-established in Constantinople, so he was recalled and he held the office of *ser-ʿasker* again from January 1846 to December 1847. Finally he retired for good, and this, the last Turkish grand-vizier of the old school, died on the 13th Djumādā II, 1271 (4th March 1855) aged nearly a hundred years, without leaving any children. He was buried in a special *türbe* at Eyyūb; at this place there is also a library which he founded. During his life-time he had amassed enormous wealth. Many of his old slaves and servants rose to positions of high dignity in the civil and military service.

Bibliography: Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh-i*, Constantinople, 1303, viii. 104, 111—113, 130, 184,

194, 212; *Luṭfī Ta'rīkh-i*, ii.—vii., Constantinople 1291—1306, passim, viii., Constantinople 1358, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sharaf, p. 87, 131; Thurayyā Efendi, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 275; al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-Āthār*, Būlāḳ 1290, i.; Felix Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed Aly*, Paris 1823, i. 16—18, 29, 39, 47, 90 *sqq.*; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, Berlin 1893, p. 30—33, 105, 468; G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, Leipzig 1866, esp. i. 235—237.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KHUSRAW SHĀH. [See ii. 157b.]

KHUSRAW SULṬĀN, eldest son of Djahāngīr by the daughter of Rādjā Bhagwān Dās, was born at Lahore in 1587. He was a favourite with his grandfather, Akbar, who perhaps wanted to make him his successor. He rebelled against his father in the first year of the latter's reign, was defeated and imprisoned. He made a second conspiracy in Afghānistān, and this having been detected, he was, with one interval, kept in confinement for the rest of his life. He died at Asīrgarh near Burhānpūr in the Deccan in 1622, and was in all probability murdered by Shāh Djahān. His sister had his body buried in the Khusraw Bāgh at Allāhābād. His two sons, Dāwar Bakhsh, otherwise Bulāḳī, and Garshāsp, were put to death at Shāh Djahān's accession. See *'Amal-i Sāliḥ* (still in MS.), Djahāngīr's *Memoirs* (O.T.F.) vols. 1 and 2, *R. A. S. J.* for 1907.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

KHUSRŪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN AMĪR B. AMĪR SAIF AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHAMSĪ, born in India 651 (1253). His father was a Turk of the tribe of Lāčīn, emigrated from Hazāra, near Balkh, during the reign of Djingiz Khān, to India and settled at Patyālī where he married the daughter of 'Imād al-Mulk, a great noble of the court of Dehlī. Khusrū lost his father at the early age of nine and was brought up under the care of his maternal grandfather. He was very intelligent and had great love for study. He was fortunate in enjoying the favour of seven successive kings of Dehlī: (1) Muḥammad Sulṭān b. Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664—686 = 1265—1287); (2) Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn Kaiḳubād (686-689 = 1287—1290); (3) Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh II b. Djalāl al-Dīn (689—695 = 1290—1295); (4) Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh I, 'Alā' al-Dīn (695—715 = 1295—1315); (5) Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh I, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (716—720 = 1316—1320); (6) Sulṭān Taghlaḳ Shāh I, Ghiyāth al-Dīn (720—725 = 1320—1324) and (7) Sulṭān Muḥammad II b. Taghlaḳ (725—752 = 1324—1351).

Khusrū was a pupil or votary of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725 = 1324) for whom he had the greatest regard and sincerest devotion; and it is said that when he was accompanying Ghiyāth al-Dīn Taghlaḳ Shāh in his march to Bengal, the news of the demise of his spiritual leader reached him. On hearing it he hastened back to Dehlī, gave up the royal service and distributed all he had to the poor, and took up his abode at the tomb of the saint, and died six months after in Dehlī, 725 (1325).

He is the author of the following works:

(1) *Tuḥfat al-Ṣighar*, the poems which were composed from the poet's 15th to 19th year;

(2) *Wasṭ al-Ḥayāt*, the poems which he composed from his 20th to 34th year;

(3) *Ghurrat al-Kamāl*, the poems which were written during the 34th to the 43rd year;

(4) *Baḳiya-i-Naḳiya*, select remnants or poems of old age.

Selections from the preceding four *dīwān*'s have been lithographed with the title of *Kulliyāt-i-Amīr Khusrū* in the press of Naval Kishore, Lucknow.

(5) *Nihāyat al-Kamāl*, a collection of *Ghazals* (lyrical poems) and *Rubā'ī's* (quatrains);

(6) *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*, a poetical account of the campaigns of Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh II during the first year of his reign, i.e. from his accession, 689 (1290), to his return to Dehlī in 690 (1291);

(7) *Maṭla' al-Anwār*, a moral and religious poem, written in imitation of the *Makhzan al-Asrār* of Niẓāmī;

(8) *Shīrīn wa-Khusrū*, an imitation of Niẓāmī's *Khusrū wa-Shīrīn*;

(9) *Madjnūn wa-Lailā*, an imitation of Niẓāmī's *Lailā wa-Madjnūn*. It has been lithographed, Calcutta 1244, Lucknow 1286;

(10) *Ā'ina-i-Sikandarī*, a counterpart to the *Iskandar Nāma* of Niẓāmī;

(11) *Hasht Bihisht*, a poem on the loves of Bahrām, written in imitation of Niẓāmī's *Haft Paikar*;

(12) *Ḳirān al-Sa'dain*, a poetical account of the meeting of Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn Kaiḳubād and his father Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā Khān, Sulṭān of Bengal, which took place on the bank of the river Ghāgrā in Oudh, 688 A. H.; lithographed, Lucknow 1259;

(13) *Nuh Sipahr*, a poetical description of the court of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, with an account of the principal events of his reign;

(14) *Duwalrānī Khiḍr Khān*, a poem on the love adventures of Khiḍr Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn, with Dewal Rānī, the daughter of Rāi Karn of Gudjrāt.

(15) *I'djāz Khusrawī*, a work on Rhetoric, lithographed in the press of Naval Kishore, Lucknow. In 1914 an attempt was made under the guidance of the late Nawwāb Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Khān, the then secretary of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh (now Aligarh Muslim University) to publish well edited texts of the *Kulliyāt* Khusrū, but, owing to the death of the Nawwāb, only Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 14 of the above list could be lithographed.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishtāh, *Ta'rīkh-i Firishta*, vol. ii., p. 753; Dārā Shikūh, *Safīnat al-Awliyā'*, p. 98; Āzād al-Bilgrāmī, *Khazānat-i 'Āmira*, p. 209; G. Ouseley, *Biographical Notices*, pp. 145—163; Sprenger, ... *Oude Catalogue*, pp. 467—470; Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss.*, p. 609; Ethé, *Ind. off.*, No. 1186 and *J. Moslem Institute*, October—December 1906, ii., No. 2, p. 89.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

KHUSŪF. [See KUSŪF.]

KHUṬBA (A.), sermon, address by the *khaṭīb* (q. v.). The khuṭba has a fixed place in Muḥammadan ritual, *viz.* in the Friday-service, in the celebration of the two festivals, in services held at particular occasions such as an eclipse or excessive drought. In the Friday-service it precedes the *ṣalāt*, in all the other services the *ṣalāt* comes first. A short description of the rules for the khuṭba according to al-Shīrāzī (q. v., *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll,

p. 40), one of the early S̲h̲āfiʿī doctors, may be given here. *a*. One of the conditions for the validity of the Friday-service is that it must be preceded by two sermons. The conditions for the validity of these sermons are the following: the *k̲h̲aṭīb* must be in a state of ritual purity; his dress must be in accord with the prescriptions; he must pronounce the two k̲h̲uṭba's standing and sit down between them; the number of auditors required for a valid *d̲j̲umʿa* must be present.

Regarding the sermon itself are obligatory: the *ḥamdala*, the *ṣalāt* on the Prophet, admonitions to piety in both k̲h̲uṭba's, prayer (*duʿāʾ*) in behalf of the faithful, recitation of a part of the Ḳurʾān in the first k̲h̲uṭba or, according to some doctors, in both. It is commendable (*sunna*) for the k̲h̲aṭīb to be on a pulpit or an elevated place; to salute the audience when directing himself towards them; to sit down till the *ad̲h̲ān* is pronounced by the *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in*; to lean on a bow, a sword or a staff; to direct himself straightway to his audience; to pray (*duʿāʾ*) on behalf of the Muslims; to make his k̲h̲uṭba short.

b. Regarding the k̲h̲uṭba's on the days of festival the same author says (p. 42) that they are like those of the Friday-service, except in the following points: the *k̲h̲aṭīb* must open the first with nine *takbīr*'s, the second with seven. On the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* he must instruct his audience in the rules for the *zakāt al-fiṭr*, on the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* in the rules for the sacrifice of this day. It is allowed to him to pronounce the sermon sitting.

Regarding the k̲h̲uṭba's of the service during an eclipse, al-S̲h̲īrāzī (p. 43) remarks that the preacher must admonish his audience to be afraid, and in the service in times of drought he must ask Allāh's pardon, in the opening of the first k̲h̲uṭba nine times, in the second seven times; further he must repeat several times the *ṣalāt* on Muḥammad as well as *istig̲h̲fār*, recite Sūra lxxi. 9, elevate his hands and say Muḥammad's *duʿāʾ* (which is communicated by al-S̲h̲īrāzī in full). Further he must direct himself towards the *ḳibla* [q. v.] in the middle of the second k̲h̲uṭba and change his shirt, putting the right side to the left, the left to the right, the upper part beneath and keep it on till he puts off all his other garments.

These prescriptions give rise to the following remarks. C. H. Becker was the first to point to the relation between the Muḥammadan pulpit and the judge's seat in early Arabia. This explains why the *k̲h̲aṭīb* must sit down between the two k̲h̲uṭba's; it explains also why he must lean on a staff, sword or bow; for these were the attributes of the old Arabian judge. It is not easy to see why the k̲h̲uṭba precedes the services on Friday, whereas on the days of festival and the other special occasions *ṣalāt* comes first. *Ḥadīt̲h̲* tells us that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the first to change this order of things by pronouncing the k̲h̲uṭba before the performance of the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival (e. g. Buk̲h̲ārī, *ʿĪdain*, bāb 6 and especially the pathetic picture in Muslim, *ʿĪdain*, trad. 9).

It is also said that Marwān was the first to hold the *k̲h̲uṭba* on these days on a pulpit, the old custom being a service without *minbar* or *ad̲h̲ān*. According to other authorities (cf. Muslim, *ʿĪdain*, trad. 78, 79 and al-Nawawī's commentary) the k̲h̲uṭba before the *ṣalāt* was an institution going back to ʿUt̲h̲mān or even to ʿUmar. The common opinion of traditionists is, however, that it was an innovation due to the general tendency of the Umaiyads to favour their own dynastic interests rather than those of religion. If this opinion should be right, the innovation as well as the holding of the k̲h̲uṭba in a sitting attitude, may be looked upon as an endeavour to go back to the pre-Islāmic judicial rites concerning *minbar* and *k̲h̲uṭba*.

Regarding the prayer on behalf of the faithful (*duʿāʾ li ʾl-muʾminīn*) it must be observed that in this prayer before the Friday-*ṣalāt* it has become customary to mention the ruling sovereign. The history of Islām is full of examples of the importance which was attached to this custom, especially in times of political troubles, the name mentioned in this *duʿāʾ* betraying the *imām*'s political opinion or position. Though it is not prescribed by law to mention the ruler's name, the suppression of the name at this occasion exposed the *k̲h̲aṭīb* to suspicion on the part of the ruler. In countries where Muslims live under non-Muslim rule, even a prayer for the worldly prosperity of the ruler may expose the *k̲h̲aṭīb* to suspicion on the part of his fellow-Muslims (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph*, p. 13 *sq.* = *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii. 430 *sq.*; do., *Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg's beoefening van het mohammedaansche recht*, in *Ind. Gids*, viii. 809 *sq.* = *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 214 *sq.*). The custom of mentioning the ruler in prayer is found as early as the fifth century B. C. in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (Pap. i., line 26; cf. also Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, i. 286.

Several of the characteristics of the k̲h̲uṭba prescribed by the doctors of the law occur also in *ḥadīt̲h̲*. The k̲h̲uṭba's of Muḥammad usually begin with the formula *ammā baʿdu* (Buk̲h̲ārī, *D̲j̲umʿa*, bāb 29). Side by side with the *ḥamdala* (Muslim, *D̲j̲umʿa*, trad. 44, 45) the *s̲h̲ahāda* occurs (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 302, 343: "A k̲h̲uṭba without the *s̲h̲ahāda* is like a mutilated hand"). In a large number of traditions it is stated that Muḥammad used to recite passages from the Ḳurʾān (e. g. Muslim, *D̲j̲umʿa*, trad. 49—52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 86 *sq.*, 88, 93 etc.). The k̲h̲uṭba must be short, in accord with Muḥammad's saying: "Make your *ṣalāt* long and your *k̲h̲uṭba* short" (Muslim, *D̲j̲umʿa*, trad. 47). Just like the *ṣalāt* the k̲h̲uṭba must be right to the purpose (*ḳaṣdan*, Muslim, *D̲j̲umʿa*, trad. 41). The audience must be silent and quiet; "who says to his neighbour "listen", has spoken a superfluous word", Buk̲h̲ārī, *D̲j̲umʿa*, bāb 36). The two k̲h̲uṭba's pronounced by the standing *k̲h̲aṭīb*, who sits between them, are based on Muḥammad's example (Buk̲h̲ārī, *D̲j̲umʿa*, bāb 27; Muslim, *D̲j̲umʿa*, trad. 33—35; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 35, 91, 98). During the *ad̲h̲ān* Muḥammad used to sit on the *minbar*; the *iḳāma* was spoken when he had descended (in order to hold the k̲h̲uṭba standing); this order was observed by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 449 bis).

Neither the term k̲h̲uṭba nor the verb *k̲h̲aṭaba* in their technical meaning occur in the Ḳurʾān. Even in the passage containing an admonition not to abandon the Friday-service for worldly profit, it is only the *ṣalāt* which is mentioned (Sūra lxii. 9—11). It would be wrong to conclude from this silence that the k̲h̲uṭba did not yet form a constituent part of worship in Muḥammad's time. Still, it is not probable that the different kinds of service were accurately regulated from the be-

ginning. *Ḥadīth* has preserved descriptions showing that Muḥammad's khuṭba often did not have much to do with the regular sermon of later times. Abū Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-Diyāt*, bāb 13: Muḥammad had sent Abū Djahm b. Ḥudhaifa as a collector of the *ṣadaḳa* to the clan of Laith. When a man made difficulties concerning the payment of *ṣadaḳa*, Abū Djahm knocked him on the head. Then his clans-people went to Madīna and laid before Muḥammad a claim on retaliation. After a discussion they agreed upon a blood-fine to a certain amount. Then Muḥammad said to them: to-night I will hold a khuṭba and propose to my people the amount you have agreed. At night Muḥammad pronounced his khuṭba saying: These men of Laith have come to me in order to claim retaliation. They did not accept several proposals, but finally have agreed to such an amount. Do you agree with it? They answered: No. Then the Muhādjirūn were angry with the embassy of Laith, but Muḥammad persuaded them not to importune them. Finally they received a greater amount after Muḥammad had agreed on it with them in a second khuṭba. — This kind of khuṭba apparently is a sample of the addresses of the early Arabian rulers to their people and has scarcely anything to do with a sermon. Still, it is not possible to distinguish between the kinds, as may appear from the following traditions. In a tradition on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī it is said that Muḥammad on the days of festival used to open the service with the *ṣalāt*; then he pronounced the khuṭba "and his khuṭba usually consisted in the command to participate in some mission or expedition" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 56 *sq.*). A similar statement is to be found in Muslim, *'Īdain*, trad. 9: "When Muḥammad had concluded *ṣalāt* on the days of festival by the *taslīm*, he remained on his feet and turned to the sitting audience; when he wanted to send a mission or when he desired some other arrangement, he gave his orders on it; he used also to say: give alms, give alms, give alms; . . . . then he went away. This state of things lasted till Marwān *etc.*". This is a very simple description of the service and would be a considerable support to the view that a service with a fixed order only arose long after Muḥammad's time. Yet, it must not be forgotten that the description just translated betrays the tendency to contrast the simple service of the Prophet with the highly official style introduced by Marwān, who had even a *minbar* built on the *muṣallā*. The following instance refers to the Friday-khuṭba: "Abū Rifā'a says: I addressed the Prophet while he pronounced the khuṭba, saying: Oh Apostle of Allāh, I am a stranger who wants information concerning his religion which he does not understand. Thereupon the Apostle of God abandoned his khuṭba and came to me. Then a chair was brought (it seems to me that its legs were iron); the Apostle of Allāh sat down on it and began to teach me what Allāh had taught him. Then he finished his khuṭba" (Muslim, *Djum'a*, trad. 60). This tradition, interesting though it may seem, betrays the tendency to accentuate the absence of a *minbar*. Other traditions of this type give an equally simple picture of the Friday-service, e. g. those in Muslim's chapter, *Djum'a*, Nos. 54—59, which represent Muḥammad pronouncing his khuṭba, when a man enters. Muḥammad at once directs to him the question: Have you performed the two *rak'a's*? Apparently the tendency is to show that Muḥammad laid so much stress upon the two non-obligatory *rak'a's* that he even interrupted himself in his khuṭba in order to accentuate their importance.

However uncertain the value of these traditions may be, it seems not out of place to suppose that a fixed order of service on Friday and the days of festival arose only after Muḥammad's lifetime. This order reposes on three elements: the early-Arabian khuṭba, Muḥammad's *sunna* and the example of Jews and Christians.

In his study on the history of Muslim worship C. H. Becker has endeavoured to establish a close connection between the services on Friday and the days of festival on the one hand, and the mass on the other. The main features of his position are the following. The first khuṭba corresponds to the first part of the mass ("Vormesse"). *Adhān* and khuṭba are an echo of the responses between the deacon and the priest who administers the mass. The obligatory recitation of the Ḳur'ān corresponds to the recitation of the scripture. Concerning the two khuṭba's he states that this duality is subject to *ikhtilāf* on the part of the *faḳīh's*; it has found its way to the service on the days of festival coming from the Friday-service. The second khuṭba corresponds to the sermon and the general prayer.

This view was combated by Mittwoch who found in the Jewish liturgy features corresponding to *adhān* and *iḳāma*, to the *ḥamdala*, the recitation of the *Tora* (first khuṭba) and the recitation from the Prophets (second khuṭba). It is perhaps impossible to decide the question; probably the example of the Jewish as well as that of the Christian liturgy have exercised influence on the final constitution of the Muḥammadan service.

Instead of a history of the Muḥammadan sermon which has not yet been written, a few notices only may be given here. Muḥammad's first and second khuṭba in Madīna are in Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 340). It may follow here in translation, not because of its being considered as genuine, but as a standard specimen. "The Apostle of Allāh praised Allāh and said: *Ammā ba'du*. Oh people, provide for yourself (by good works), accept instruction. By Allāh you will be thunder-stricken and everyone of you will leave his cattle without shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him, speaking without a dragoman and without a screen: Has not my Apostle come to you? He preached to you and I provided you with money and gave you abundance. What have you provided for yourself? Then you will look to the right and to the left, without perceiving anything (which can aid you); then you will look before you, but not perceive anything besides Hell. Therefore, whosoever will be able to avoid Hell, even though it were on account of a piece of a date (given as alms), he should do it, or on account of a good word, if he should not possess a date. For good deeds are rewarded ten, nay even seven hundred times. May peace and God's mercy and blessing be upon you".

Muḥammad's last sermon is communicated in Bukhārī's collection, *Djum'a*, bāb 29; his emotion when he preached is described in Muslim, *Djum'a*, trad. 43. An accurate description of the Friday-service with a translation of two khuṭba's in Lane, *Manners and Customs*, Paisley and London 1895, p. 99 *sqq.*

A collection of sermons ascribed to ʿAlī is in the former Royal Library in Berlin; among them is a khuṭba without the letter *alif*.

As the office of the khaṭīb became a regular function, the khuṭba became to the khaṭīb what a calligraphed document is to the professional scribe; the one displayed his art in flourished initials, the other in rhymed prose. Collections of sermons are often arranged following the calender, viz. four sermons for every month and additional ones for the days of festival, the Prophet's birthday, and his Ascension; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hss.*, iii., p. 437.

It is customary to hold the khuṭba in Arabic. This rule has often been broken in Turkey.

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. Wet*, Leiden 1925, p. 71 *sq.*, 109 *sq.*; Shaikh Niẓām, *al-Fatāwī al-ʿĀlamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1828 *sqq.*, i. 205 *sq.*, 210 *sq.*, 214 *sq.*; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥallī, *Kitāb Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1893, i. 44, 48; C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam* in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, Giessen 1906, p. 331 *sqq.*; do., *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus* in *Isl.*, iii. 374 *sqq.*; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1913, Nº. 2; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 92.

(A. J. Wensinck)

KHUTTAL, a district on the upper course of Āmū-Daryā between the rivers Pandj and Wakhsh, called Djaryāb and Wakhshāb in the middle ages; on the situation cf. also i., p. 339 *sq.* The pronunciation Khuttal is given by Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, ii. 402); for the frequently used plural form we have evidence for the pronunciation Khuttalān in the lampoon preserved by Ṭabarī (ii. 1492, 1494 and 1602) on the reverses suffered by the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 120 = 738). On the other hand in later Persian poetry the pronunciation Khatlān or Khutlān is required; the same pronunciation is given by the Persian lexicons (e.g. in Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

Hulbuk, the capital of the rulers of Khuttal, must be sought to the south of the modern Kulāb, according to the data given in the geographers; the largest town of Khuttal, Munk (so in the geographers; in Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. edition, i. 38: Mūnk), must have corresponded approximately to the modern Baldjuwān, although we already find the latter mentioned in the *Ẓafar-Nāma* (i. 83). Yaʿḳūbī (*B. G. A.*, i., vii. 292) says the "largest town of Khuttal" is Wāshdjird, the modern Faiẓābād which really lies outside of Khuttal (west of the Wakhsh). Khuttal was a district specially noted for its horses (cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 325 infra and vi., text, p. 180).

The pre-Islāmic titles of the rulers of Khuttal, Khuttalān Shāh and Shīr Khuttalān (*B. G. A.*, text, p. 40), seem to have been no longer used in the Muslim period. The last battles of the Arab conquerors mentioned in Ṭabarī (iii. 74) are of the year 133 (750/751); the king (*malik*) of Khuttal had to leave his country and go first to Farghāna then to China. The Chinese accounts of the title granted to the king of Khuttal in 753 (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 168 and 210) are thus explained. A genealogy of the "later rulers of Khuttal" has been compiled by Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, p. 302); in his opinion the kingdom of Khuttal later became divided into several small states; but in the time of the Sāmānids a ruler Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar is mentioned as amīr of Khuttalān (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 9, account of the events of 336—337 = 947/949). Muḳaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 337, 2) also mentions among the rulers from whom the Sāmānids received no taxes (*kharādj*) but only presents (*hadāyā*), the amīr of Khuttal.

After the fall of the Sāmānids, Khuttal belonged to the empire of the Ghaznawids (see ii., p. 154) and being on the frontiers was exposed to frequent raids from the land of the Ilek-Khāns (cf. ii., p. 465). Under Sulṭān Masʿūd (1030—1041) claims to the suzerainty over Khuttal were made, notably by ʿAlī Tegin [q. v.] (Baihaḳī, ed. Morley, esp. p. 348); a separate ruler of Khuttal is not mentioned at this period. On the other hand in Ibn al-Athīr (x. 22) in the account of Sulṭān Alp Arslān's campaign of 456 (1064) an amīr of Khuttal who had shut himself up in his fortress (its name is not given) is mentioned; it was only after a long siege, in which the amīr himself was killed, that the fortress was stormed. In another passage (xi. 155) Ibn al-Athīr tells of a campaign by the lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Khuttal, Ibn Shudjāʿ Farrukhshāh in Radjab 553 (Aug. 1158) against Tirmidh; this ruler is said, like the Sāmānids before him, to have claimed descent from the Sasanian Bahrām Gōr (cf. i., p. 586ᵃ). There is no further mention of a native dynasty in Khuttal after this. It probably belonged to the kingdom of the Ghōrids (ii., p. 162—164); we are definitely told this of the district of Wakhsh on the lower course of the river of the same name (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, transl. Raverty, p. 426). Among the many smaller principalities into which the Ghōrid kingdom broke up, the kingdom of Wakhsh is mentioned (ibid., p. 436 and 490; Nesawī, ed. Houdas, p. 39; cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., ii. 400).

In the second half of the viii. (xiv.) century Khuttal was one of the many small Turkish-Mongol kingdoms into which Čaghatāi's empire had broken up (cf. i., p. 812). In 1372 by command of Tīmūr the king of Khuttal, Kai-Khusraw was put to death for treacherous negotiations with Khwārizm (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. edition, i. 243). Khuttal later was one of the dependencies of Ḥiṣār (cf. ii., p. 316); when in 903 (1497/1498) the Beg Khusraw Shāh had seized dominion over Ḥiṣār, he granted Khuttal to his brother Walī Beg (*Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, fol. 57); Walī Beg was killed in 910 (1504/1505) by Shaibānī, the founder of the Özbeg kingdom (ibid., fol. 125ᵇ). Under the rule of the Özbegs the name Khuttal for the region was ousted by Kulāb. The district of Khuttal is mentioned as late as the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (begun in Rabīʿ II 1044 = Sept.—Oct. 1634, cf. *Zapiski*, etc., xv. 233) (Ind. Office MS. 560—575, fol. 228ᵃ and 238ᵃ); the name Kulāb is already used in the history of Khān ʿUbaid Allāh (1702—1711); the work was begun in his lifetime (F. Teufel in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxviii. 243; cf. esp. text, p. 29).

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 70 *sqq.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 438 *sq.*; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 232 *sqq.*, 299; Note by N. Elias on the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 21.

(W. Barthold)

KHUZĀʿA b. ʿAmr, name of a South-Arabian tribe, a branch of the large tribe of Azd. The genealogists with few exceptions are unanimous in tracing their pedigree through ʿAmr, surnamed Luḥaiy, b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha b. Muzaikiya and they agree further that they, together with the other branches of the Azd, left South Arabia at a remote time and wandered with them to the North. When they reached the territory of Mekka, most of their kinsmen continued their journey, the Ghassān to Syria, Azd Shanūʾa to ʿOmān, but Luḥaiy remained with his clan near Mekka and thus separated (*inkhazaʿa*) from the remainder of the tribe. The city of Mekka and the sacred territory was at that time in the hands of the tribe of Djurhum and we may fix the time approximately in the fifth century of the Christian era, though Arab antiquaries, by assigning exceptionally long lives to some of the chiefs, date their arrival near Mekka several centuries further back. According to the same antiquaries the Djurhum had allowed the sanctity of the sacred territory to lose much of its splendour and in addition by extortions from pilgrims had caused the pilgrimage to have fallen greatly into disuse. The leader of the Azd, Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr, had asked from the Djurhum permission to stay in the sacred territory till his foragers had found suitable pasture-grounds elsewhere. This permission the Djurhum would not grant and as Thaʿlaba said that he would stay, whether they allowed it or not it came to fierce fighting which lasted several days and ended in the utter defeat of the Djurhum. Only Muḍāḍ b. ʿAmr al-Djurhumī who had held aloof from the fighting was allowed to leave the city peacefully, and founded a new settlement with his family and followers at Ḳanāh and Ḥaly, where his descendants still resided in the third century of the Hidjra. Having become complete masters of Mekka and the sacred territory, they permitted the descendants of Ismāʿīl, who were few in numbers and had taken no share in the quarrel, to remain peacefully among them. The very next year of the conquest brought epidemic fevers to the new population and according to some historians it was not till this time that the other clans of Azd migrated further afield. With a view to establishing a legal claim to the custodianship of the sanctuary, no doubt, Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr married Fuhaira the daughter of ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ, who had been the last ruler of Mekka, and thus he became the richest man in the city. From this latter account it becomes almost evident that the two tribes lived for some time together in Mekka and that the rise of the Khuzāʿa was less violent than is generally concluded from the first account. There can hardly be any doubt that here the same process occured as it happened continually, that the tribes outside a town by gradual pressure upon the more peaceful and prosperous town-dwellers became in time the masters of the situation, only to suffer the same fate a few generations later. Rabīʿa is credited with having re-introduced the rites of the pilgrimage, especially by caring for the welfare of the numerous pilgrims who visited the sanctuary, but he is also credited with having been the first to have placed the idols round the Kaʿba and especially with having brought the idol Hubal from Hīt in Mesopotamia, which with other idols still existed at the time of Muḥammad. Rabīʿa and his descendants remained custodians for a very long time (Arab historians mention 300 and 500 years — which figures must be highly exaggerated). The last ruler was Ḥulail b. Ḥubshiya b. Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr who gave his daughter Ḥubbay in marriage to Ḳuṣaiy, the head of the small clan of Ḳuraish, a branch of the tribe of Kināna. Ḥulail when he grew old made it a practice to give to his daughter or his son-in-law the keys of the Kaʿba to perform such duties as were the privilege of the custodian of the sanctuary. When Ḥulail died he left his office to his daughter and his son-in-law, but when the latter wanted to claim this right, he was strongly opposed by the whole of Khuzāʿa, who forcibly took the keys of the sanctuary from Ḥubbay. Ḳuṣaiy who had many friends among the Kināna who were settled in the vicinity of the sacred territory as also among the Ḳuḍāʿa, came to an arrangement with his friends that at the next pilgrimage-period and upon the termination of the rites of the pilgrimage it should come to open quarrel with the Khuzāʿa, and in the end it resulted in fierce fighting in which many were slain. To settle the dispute both parties agreed to submit to the judgment of Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf al-Kilābī. Both parties were invited to meet at the portals of the Kaʿba and when Yaʿmar had ascertained the number of slain of Khuzāʿa to be greater than that of the partisans of Ḳuṣaiy he gave judgment in favour of the latter. He was in consequence given the custodianship of the sanctuary and with it the rule of the city of Mekka, while the Khuzāʿa were permitted to reside with the Ḳuraish in the precincts of the sacred territory. Thus the end of the rule of the Khuzāʿa was also the commencement of the rule of the tribe of Ḳuraish [q. v.]. Another less heroic account, however, tells us that Ḳuṣaiy bought the custodianship from Abū Ghubshān, the last ruler of the tribe of Khuzāʿa, for a goats skin of wine; this is the account also given by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Kitāb al-Mathālib*. With the advent of Islām we encounter the names of a number of persons belonging to the tribe of Khuzāʿa, and as the conquest of Egypt and the West was principally accomplished by warriors recruited from Western Arabia it is not surprising that we find descendants of the tribe of Khuzāʿa prominent in the newly conquered lands, especially in Spain.

That there was a great deal of confusion in the genealogies of this tribe is evident from their being at times not classed among the South-Arabian tribes at all, so e. g. the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ gives the genealogy: Khuzāʿa b. Luḥaiy b. Ḳamaʿa b. al-Yās b. Muḍar, which Suhailī in his commentary of the *Sīra* tries to explain by saying that Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlaba married the widow of his father Ḳamaʿa, who was also the mother of Luḥaiy, in which way the genealogy is correct both in deriving their origin from North and South-Arabian tribes. As regards the divisions of Khuzāʿa there is a great amount of divergence, some genealogists mention the clans of Kaʿb, Mulaiḥ, Saʿd and Salūl, while other know only ʿAdiy, ʿAwf and Saʿd.

The great number of names of men who claimed descent from this tribe must make us believe that they were more numerous than we should conclude from the comparatively few names mentioned as companions of the Prophet, and it may be that by the time of the rise of Islām they

had gradually been pushed by the more energetic Ḳuraish into the surrounding country out of the precincts of the city of Mekka itself.

Bibliography: Azraḳī, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i. 55—64; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 276—281; Nuwairī, ii. 317; Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Baghdād, p. 205—209; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, passim; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 59 *sqq.* and many works dealing with the early history of Islām. (F. KRENKOW)

KHŪZISTĀN, the land of the Khūz (Hūzī), *Κοσσαία* of Ptolemy, a province of Persia corresponding to the ancient Susiana, now officially called ʿArabistān, "the country of the Arabs", because its desert plains have been over-run by the nomad tribes of the Kaʿb (Beduin pronunciation Čaʿb) and of the Banū Lām. The present boundaries of the province are, to the North, the mountains of the Zagros chain; to the West, the Kerkha [q. v.]; to the South, the river Djarrāḥī or Ṭāb and a line drawn across the desert from the confluence of the Kārūn [q. v.] and of the Kerkha with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab [q. v.]; to the East Kurdistān. The principal towns are Shushtar (Tustar of the Arabs), the seat of the governor, Dizful, Hawīza (Sūḳ al-Ahwāz, "the market-place of the Cosseans"), Rām-Hormuz, Muḥammara, Behbehān; the mountains are inhabited by Lūr tribes, namely Feilī, Bakhtiyārī, Kūhgelū and Mamasenī.

Under the Sāsānids this province was included in those of the South (Nīm-rūz); the Christians who inhabited it formed an ecclesiastical province called Bēth Hūzāyē; the capital was Bēth Lāpāṭ, later called Gundishāpūr. Conquered by the Arabs in the year 19 (640), it was defended by the Satrap Hormuzān, who after the capture of Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (Ḥamza Iṣfahānī: Hudjistān-wādjār), and his defeat at Rām Hormuz by ʿOtba, was besieged in Shushtar for 6 months and gave himself unconditionally to the Caliph ʿOmar. It was occupied by Muʿizz al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Buwaih before the capture of Baghdād in 334 (945) and during the reign of the Mongol Īlkhān Abaḳa it was given as a fief to the Atābeg of Luristān, Yūsuf Shāh I, as a reward for having saved him from a sudden attack of the Dailamis. It was for some time occupied by the Ottomans after the battle, which was lost by the armies of Shāh ʿAbbās I in front of Baghdād in the year 995 (1587).

For Arab geographers Khūzistān has for its boundaries, to the West, the canton of Wāsiṭ and Dūr al-Rāsibī; to the South, the shore of the sea from ʿAbbādān to Mehrūbān; to the East, Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-ʿAdjamī (the boundary is marked by the Ṭāb); to the North, the course of the Kerkha and the mountains of the Lūr. Important towns were: Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (capital), Sūs, Gundishāpūr, Tustar, ʿAskar Mokram, Rām Hormuz, Dawraḳ (later Ṭūr, Ḳorḳūb, Djobbā, Ḥiṣn Mahdī). Climate warm, air unhealthy, particularly for strangers; rivers numerous, soil fertile (dates, wheat, barley, rice, sugar-cane). Population ugly and of bad character; inhabitants quarrelsome and greedy, copper-coloured, slight figure, beard scanty, hair bushy. Probably they were the residue of the negroids who formerly were the population of the country. They still spoke at the time of the Arab conquest a peculiar language (khūzī) which was neither Indo-European nor Semitic — perhaps it was the remains of the language of the Anzanites or Elamites; the remains of it are said to be preserved in the patois of the Diz-ful. After the wars with the Romans the people of Mesopotamia were transplanted there in the reign of Shāpūr I; the magnificent *band* of Tustar was built by the prisoners of war taken after the disastrous expedition of the Emperor Valerian. Industry developed in the country under the influence of the workmen carried off from Byzantine territory. At the present time the country is ruined; a few inhabitants maintain themselves in a few large villages; the plains provide pasturage for bodies of nomads.

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KIAYA. [See KETKHUDĀ.]

ḲIBLA, the direction of Mecca (to be exact of the Kaʿba or the place between the water-spout [*mīzāb*] and the western corner), which has to be observed during the *ṣalāt*.

1. From very early times the direction at prayer and divine service was not a matter of choice among the Semitic peoples. There is already an allusion to this in I Kings, viii. 44 and it is recorded of Daniel (Dan., vi. 11) that he offered prayer three times a day in the direction of Jerusalem (which has remained the Jewish *ḳibla* to this day). As is evident from the names of the quarters of the heavens, the whole life of the Semitic peoples was turned eastwards. The Essenes prayed in the direction of the rising sun and the Syriac Christians also turned eastwards at prayer (*Ancient Syriac Documents*, ed. Cureton, p. 24, 60; *Acta Martyrum orient.*, ed. Assemani, ii. 125). It may therefore very well be assumed in agreement with the tradition that Muḥammad appointed a *ḳibla* at the same time as he instituted the *ṣalāt*. It is certain that in the period immediately following the Hidjra the direction taken by the Jews was also used by the Muslims. Tradition places the alteration in the *ḳibla* to 16 or 17 months after the Hidjra, in Radjab or Shaʿbān of the year 2, probably rightly, for in this period we have the important change in Muḥammad's attitude to the Jews. Disappointed at the slight success of his preaching among the Jews of Yathrib, he began to turn more and more to the old Arabian tradition and make the religion of Ibrāhīm the basis of all monotheistic religions. The Kaʿba was brought into prominence as a religious centre and the Ḥadjdj began to be talked of as a Muslim rite. At the same time a beginning was made with the eviction of the Jewish tribes of Yathrib. The alteration in the ḳibla is a not unimportant fact in this series of events and this train of thought. The Ḳurʾān verses, ii. 136 *sqq.*, refer to this: "The fools among the people will say: "What has induced them to abandon their former *ḳibla*? Say: to Allāh belongs the east and the west. He guides whomsoever he pleaseth

unto the right path. Thus have we made you an intermediate community, so that ye may be witnesses for mankind while the Prophet is a witness for you. We only appointed your previous ḳibla to distinguish him who follows the Prophet from him who turns back on his heels. Verily this is a grievous sin from which he is free who is guided by Allāh, but Allāh will not allow your faith to be of no avail for He is gracious and kindly to man. We see how thy face turns to all the quarters of the heavens so we will cause thee to turn to a ḳibla pleasing to thee. Turn then thy face toward the holy *masdjid*; turn your face to it wherever you are. Whatever signs thou wert to give to the people of a scripture, they will not follow thy ḳibla" etc.

The importance placed by Muḥammad himself upon the change is clear from these words. It is not necessary to assume with the tradition that it was brought about by scornful remarks of the Jews regarding Muḥammad's dependence on the prescriptions of their religion (see Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1280). In other traditions, the new ḳibla is represented as that of Ibrāhīm (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i. 378, ii. 13). Here we have a glimmering of the real truth of the matter, namely the connection with Muḥammad's new politico-religious attitude. According to one tradition (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 32; *Tafsīr*, Sūra 2, B. 14) the revelation of the above quoted verses from the Ḳur'ān was communicated to the believers in the morning ṣalāt in Ḳubā'; according to another story Muḥammad had with a portion of the community performed two rak'a's of the Ẓuhr-Ṣalāt in a mosque of the Banū Salima, when he turned round to the direction of Mecca (Baiḍāwī, on Sūra II, 139). The mosque received the name of *Masdjid al-Ḳiblatain*, "the mosque of the two ḳiblas".

If it may then be considered established that Muḥammad and his community turned towards Jerusalem at the ṣalāt during the early years of the Hidjra, the question still remains what was his ḳibla before the Hidjra. In Tradition two answers are given to this question and a third deduced by harmonising the other two. According to one, Muḥammad in Mecca observed the ḳibla to the Ka'ba (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii. 4; Baiḍāwī, on Sūra II, 138); according to the other story the ḳibla had always been Jerusalem (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii. 3, 8, ed. de Goeje, i. 1280; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 2); according to the third (Ibn Hishām, p. 190, 228) Muḥammad in Mecca was careful to have the Ka'ba and Jerusalem in a straight line in front of him at the *ṣalāt*. The first view is influenced by the theory of the "religion of Ibrāhīm" for al-Ṭabarī also makes 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib already know that Ibrāhīm appointed the Ka'ba as ḳibla (*Hamdāni*, i. 125). If the second opinion had not an historical basis, one does not quite understand how it could have arisen, for Tradition does not like to acknowledge Muḥammad's dependence on Jewish practice. This view is therefore, in my opinion, the most probable. It is further mentioned as a distinguishing peculiarity of Barā' b. Ma'rūr that even in the period before the Hidjra he would not turn his back on the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām p. 294); this tradition would lose its point if the old ḳibla had been in the direction of the Ka'ba. Besides these traditional views, others have been put forward in recent years. According to Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala and Stockholm 1926, p. 4 (cf. Buhl, *Muhammed's Liv*, p. 212) the original ḳibla was to the east. Andrae bases his view not on the material of Tradition but on the general agreement between early Muslim and Christian religious usages. Schwally said that the Jerusalem ḳibla was introduced into Mecca, it is true, but not as a specifically Jewish institution, perhaps a Jewish-Christian one (*Geschichte des Qorans*, i. 175, note k).

The direction of the ḳibla was, or is, not assumed at the ṣalāt only and with the points of the toes (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 28; *Adhān*, bāb 131; Nasā'ī, *Sahw*, bāb 25; *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 96), but also at the *du'ā'* (Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 24), at the *Iʿtikāf* or *iḥrām* (Bukhārī, *Ḥaidj*, bāb 29) and after the stone-throwing at the central Djamra (Bukhārī, *Ḥaidj*, bāb 140—142); the head of an animal to be slaughtered is turned to the ḳibla and the dead are buried with the face towards Mecca (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, Paisley and London 1899; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv./i. 243; v. 409).

In the Ḥadīth it is forbidden to turn towards Mecca when relieving nature (Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 11; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 61; Nasā'ī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 18—20). On the question whether it is allowable in doing this to turn one's back to Mecca and thus in some parts of Arabia be facing Jerusalem no unanimity prevails (cf. Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 14; *Khums*, bāb 4; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 29; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 59, 61 *sq.*; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 4); one should not expectorate in the direction of Mecca (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 33).

The observance of a ḳibla is given in old traditions along with the performance of the *ṣalāt* and ritual slaughter as a criterion of the Muslim: The Prophet of God said: "The command has been given me to fight the people till they say: There is no god but Allāh; when they say these words, perform our *ṣalāt* and slaughter in our way, their blood and their property shall be inviolate for us", etc. (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 28; cf. *Aḍāḥī*, bāb 12). One of the terms for the orthodox community is *Ahl al-Ḳibla wa 'l-Djamā'a*. In many Muslim lands the word has become the name of a point of the compass, according to the direction in which Mecca lies; thus ḳibla (pronounced *ibla*) means in Egypt and Palestine, south, in the Maghrib, east.

In the mosques the direction of the ṣalāt is indicated by the *Miḥrāb* [q. v.]; in classical Ḥadīth, this word does not occur and ḳibla is used to mean the wall of the mosque towards which one turns. At a ṣalāt outside a mosque, a *sutra* [q. v.] marks the direction. In Egypt, small compasses specially made for this purpose are used to ascertain the ḳibla (Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 228). — It should be noted that many mosques are not accurately but only approximately orientated (according to the *djiha*). It sometimes happens that this error has been later corrected by the drawing of lines or the stretching of threads. This is, for example, the case in many mosques of the Dutch East Indies where the faithful at the *ṣalāt* take their direction not from the *miḥrāb* but from such indicators (information kindly supplied me orally by Prof. Snouck Hurgronje).

The laws relating to the ḳibla are here given very briefly only and according to the Shāfi'ī school as laid down in al-Shīrāzī's *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* (ed. Juynboll, p. 20). The adoption of a ḳibla is

a necessary condition for the validity of a *ṣalāt*. Only in great danger and in a voluntary ṣalāt on a journey can it be neglected. But if one is on foot or can turn his steed round, it should be observed at the *iḥrām*, *rukūʿ* and *sudjūd*. One should turn exactly in the direction of the ķibla, and one who is near it can do so with certainty, and one who is remote as nearly as he can judge. According to others, in the latter case only the general direction (*djiha*) is obligatory. Outside of Mecca one turns towards the *miḥrāb* within a mosque; when not in a mosque one follows the direction of reliable people: only a man who is in a deserted region is allowed to ascertain the direction for himself by means of certain indications. For details of the laws see the *Bibliography*.

Bibliography: The Ḳur'ān commentators on Sūre ii. 136 *sqq.*; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, p. 108—110, 133—135; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii., register; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, Leiden 1925, p. 67, note 5; al-Nawawī, *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn*, ed. van den Berg, i. 69—73; *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1828, i. 86—89; al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, p. 28—30 (transl. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, Paris 1871, i. 56 *sqq.*); al-Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, Paris 1900, p. 16 *sq.* (A. J. Wensinck)

II. In terms of astronomical geography the direction of Mecca in any particular spot Ω is identical with the tangent, at the point Ω on the circle Ω *M* (fig. 1). It will form with the meridian

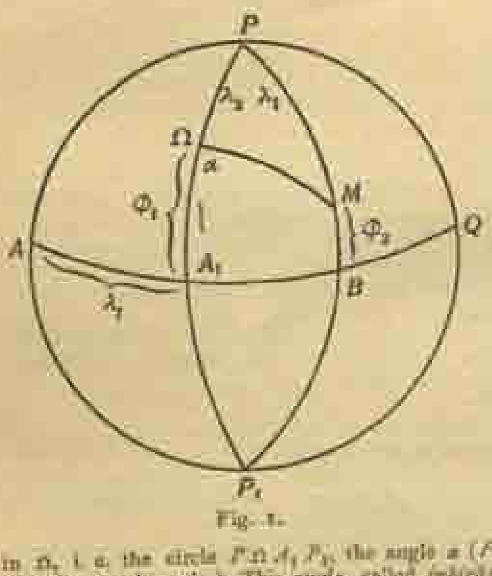


Fig. 1.

in Ω, i. e. the circle $P \Omega A_1 P_1$, the angle *a* (*P* and P_1 are the poles). This angle, called *inḥirāf* in Arab astronomy, gives the deviation of the direction of the gaze from the north-south line. If *AQ* is the equator and ϕ_1 and ϕ_2, λ_1 and λ_2 the latitudes and longitudes of two places Ω and *M*, the calculation of the angle *a* is a problem for spherical trigonometry. This angle *a* has of course a separate value for every place Ω according to its geographical coordinates.

The direction of Mecca was usually marked on the dial of a horizontal sundial (*basīṭa*, *rukhāma*). For all places with a latitude north of and greater than that of Mecca, it runs south, southeast or southwest which holds for by far the greater part of the Muslim world. Once during the day as a rule the shadow of the pointer falls upon the ķibla or on its prolongation beyond the foot of the style, which is called *miķyās*, *shakhṣ* or *shiẓʿ*. The *muwaķķit* (caller of the hour) made this moment known from time to time by calling aloud, and in the same moment every other shadow pointed to Mecca. The shadow itself was called *ẓill* before the zawāl and *faiʾ* in the afternoon. For large towns (e. g. Cairo) Muslim astronomers calculated the daily altitude of the sun for the moment at which it came into the direction of the ķibla on its daily course.

Every *Zīdj* of any size (book of tables, from the Persian *zīh*, Arabic *zīdj* [chord because the tables of sines or chords were the same]) deals with the calculation of the ķibla. Arabic literature is not very rich in special tractates dealing with the ascertainment of the ķibla. If the difference between latitude and longitude of the place in question was not great, a method of approximation, known even to the early Arab astronomers was used which gave results, sufficiently accurate for practical purposes. We find this method already used by al-Battānī (929), Ibn Yūnus (1009) etc. The process is as follows: the difference between the longitude of Mecca and that of the place in question is counted off westwards on the Indian circle (i. e. on a horizon circle) starting from the south point and eastwards from the north point (i. e. the two equal arcs *SA* and *NB* on fig. 2) and the two points thus reached *A* and *B* are

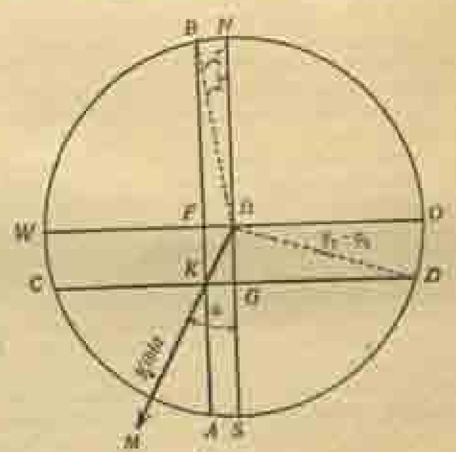


Fig. 2.

joined by a straight line *AB*. Similarly the difference of the two latitudes is measured southwards from the west point and from the east and the two points thus found are joined by a straight line *CD* which cuts *AB* in *K*. A straight line from the centre of the circle Ω of the circle gives the direction of the ķibla.

There are in Arabic literature numerical formulae for the finding of the angle *a* (*inḥirāf*) by this method of approximation. For Cairo Ibn Yūnus gives:

$$\phi_1 = 30^\circ; \quad \phi_2 = 21^\circ; \quad \phi_1 - \phi_2 = 9^\circ;$$

$$\lambda_1 = 55^\circ; \quad \lambda_2 = 67^\circ; \quad \lambda_2 - \lambda_1 = 12^\circ;$$

$$KG = \sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1); \quad \Omega G = \sin(\phi_1 - \phi_2);$$

$$\sin a = \frac{\sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)}{\sqrt{\sin^2(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) + \sin^2(\phi_1 - \phi_2)}}$$

$$\sin a = \frac{12}{15};\quad a = 53°,$$

while he finds by the exact rules of spherical trigonometry a to be $53° 0' 17''$. — The Persian astronomer 'Alī Shāh Olui al-Munadjdjim deals in this way with the case of Hamadān. He puts:

$$\phi_1 = 35° 10';\quad \phi_2 = 21° 40';\quad \phi_1 - \phi_2 = 13° 30';$$
$$\lambda_1 = 83°;\quad \lambda_2 = 77° 10'$$

(reckoning the longitudes from the "Fortunate Isles"); $\lambda_1 - \lambda_2 = 5° 30'$. From the construction of the figure we get $a = 23°$, while worked out exactly by spherical trigonometry $a = 22° 15'$. We see then that this approximating method of calculating the direction of the ḳibla is very useful for small differences of latitude and longitude but of course breaks down when this is not the case. Fig. 2 gives the construction for Hamadān.

In contrast to this approximate method Ibn Yūnus in ch. xxviii. of his *al-Zīdj al-Kabīr al-Ḥākimī* ("The Great Ḥākimī Tables", Oxford, Hunt. 331) gives quite an exact method of finding the ḳibla and by three different methods, of which the first is very remarkable inasmuch as the transcription of the text of Ibn Yūnus gives as in modern language the cosine and sine equation of spherical trigonometry. The author shows that:

$$\cos \Omega M = \cos X = \cos\phi_1 . \cos\phi_2 . \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)$$
$$\pm \sin\phi_1 . \sin\phi_2$$

and

$$\sin a = \frac{\sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) . \cos\phi_2}{\sin X} \text{(fig. 1)}$$

If the two latitudes ϕ_1 and ϕ_2 refer to different hemispheres, the product $\sin\phi_1 . \sin\phi_2$ is negative hence the double sign in the cosine equation. The other solutions go back to the division of any spherical triangle $\Omega\ M\ F$ into two right-angled triangles.

An exact and mathematically interesting calculation of the *inḥirāf* of the ḳibla is given by Abu 'l-Wafā' (d. 998) in his *Almadjisṭī* (MS. 2494 Paris) for the city of Baghdād. He finds $a = 13° 49' 9'' 19'''$. Abu 'l-Wafā''s method of ascertaining the ḳibla (by the rule of the shadow) is very similar to that which had previously been made known by the Persian mathematician and astronomer al-Faḍl b. Ḥātim al-Nairīzī (d. 922/923), except that he found for the *inḥirāf* of the ḳibla at Baghdād $a = 29° 7'$ which is remarkably far out.

A neat study of a purely constructive but exact method of ascertaining the ḳibla was given by the important Muslim mathematician Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Haitham (d. 1039). It is as follows: the circle $A\,B\,G\,D$ (fig. 3) with centre H is described on a horizontal wooden plane with any radius. Two diameters are drawn at right angles $A\,G$ and $B\,D$. From A cut an arc $A\,C$ equal to the latitude of Mecca $= \phi_2$ on the circumference of the circle, which represents the horizon of the place for which it is desired to ascertain the ḳibla. Similarly the arc $G\,R$ at the other end of the diameter is made equal to the latitude of the place $\Omega = \phi_1$. Finally the arc $A\,N = \lambda_2 - \lambda_1$ indicates the difference in longitude of the two places in question. The perpendicular $C\,T$ is then dropped on $A\,H$ from C and with the radius $H\,T$ an arc is described from the centre H, which cuts $H\,N$ in E; $E\,F$ is then drawn at right angles to $A\,H$. On the radius $H\,R$ section $H\,K$ is cut $= C\,T$ and a perpendicular to $H\,R$ erected at K and $K\,M$ made $= F\,H$. From M the perpendicular $M\,Q$ is dropped on $B\,H$ and $F\,S$ is cut off $F\,H$ so that $F\,S = M\,Q$. The angle $E\,S\,F = a =$ the *inḥirāf* of the ḳibla.

The proof of the correctness of this construction is given in our author by transferring the area of the triangle pole — Mecca — place (Ω) in the plane of the horizon of the place Ω for which the ḳibla is being ascertained. The correctness of Haithamī's construction can however be easily

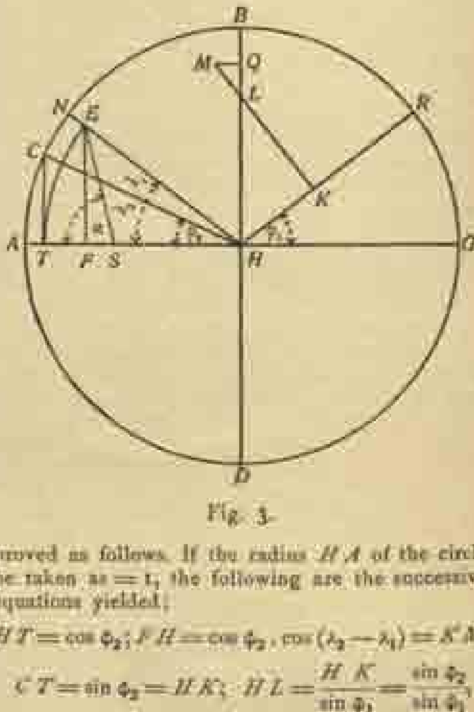


Fig. 3.

proved as follows. If the radius $H\,A$ of the circle be taken as $= 1$, the following are the successive equations yielded:

$$H\,T = \cos\phi_2;\ F\,H = \cos\phi_2 . \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) = K\,M,$$

$$C\,T = \sin\phi_2 = H\,K;\ H\,L = \frac{H\,K}{\sin\phi_1} = \frac{\sin\phi_2}{\sin\phi_1},$$

$$K\,L = H\,K . \operatorname{cotg}\phi_1 = \sin\phi_2 . \operatorname{cotg}\phi_1,$$

$$M\,L = K\,M - K\,L = \cos\phi_2 . \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) -$$
$$- \sin\phi_2 . \operatorname{cotg}\phi_1,$$

$$E\,F = \cos\phi_2 . \sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1).$$

It further follows from the two right-angled triangles $H\,K\,L$ and $L\,M\,Q$ that:

$$\frac{M\,Q}{M\,L} = \frac{H\,K}{H\,L};\quad M\,Q = M\,L . \frac{H\,K}{H\,L}$$

$$M\,Q = [\cos\phi_2 . \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) - \sin\phi_2 .$$
$$. \operatorname{cotg}\phi_1] . \sin\phi_1$$
$$= \cos\phi_2 . \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) . \sin\phi_1 -$$
$$\sin\phi_2 . \cos\phi_1 .$$

Finally

$$\operatorname{cotg} a = \frac{F\,S}{E\,F} = \frac{M\,Q}{E\,F} =$$

$$= \frac{\cos\phi_2 . \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) . \sin\phi_1 - \sin\phi_2 . \cos\phi_1}{\cos\phi_2 . \sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)}$$

or

$$\operatorname{cotg} a = \frac{\sin\phi_1 . \cos(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) - \cos\phi_1 . \operatorname{tang}\phi_2}{\sin(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)}.$$

but the latter formula is simply the well known cotangent equation of spherical trigonometry, applied to the spherical triangle Ω *P M* in fig. 1. This formula at once gives the angle *a*. A full discussion of all possible cases of the situation of the place Ω with reference to Mecca cannot be entered into here; the author gives no numerical examples.

The ascertainment of the azimuth of the ḳibla, as given by al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048) in *al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* (Berlin, MS. Orient. 275, Maḳāla 5, chap. 6, f. 123r) is of a similar geometrical nature to the solution already given to the problem by Ibn Haitham, mentioned above, although of course much shorter. The late Arab astronomers, so far as we can judge, had made no progress beyond those of the middle ages in their ḳibla calculation. We know the process followed by Maḥmūd b. Muḥ. b. 'Umar al-Djaghmīnī (d. c. 1345) in his *Mulakhkhaṣ*; it is the approximative method already known to us. The Samarḳand astronomer Ulugh Beg used spherical trigonometry for ascertaining the ḳibla.

To the xvith century belong two pamphlets dealing specially with the direction of Mecca, namely one by Mīram Čelebi (d. 1524/1525) entitled: *Risāla fī Taḥḳīḳ Samt al-Ḳibla* (Constantinople, Library of the Aya Sofia, 2628) and the other by Khalīl Ghars al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Naḳīb al-Ḥalabī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 1563/1564): *Fī 'Stikhrādj al-Ḳibla* (Cairo). These two works begin with various horizon operations (*A'māl afāḳiya*) such as ascertaining the four cardinal points, the azimuth etc., after which comes the trigonometrical calculation of the ḳibla. In the first of the above mentioned treatises the already often mentioned approximative method is again explained (for the ḳibla of Constantinople).

In modern times the ḳibla has become a subject of orthographical studies. Thus J. I. Craig repeatedly mentions a "Mecca retro-azimuthal projection", the object of which is to make a map in which the true direction of the ḳibla can at once be read for any point on it. On such a map meridians are taken to be parallel equidistant straight lines. If one combines with this quality of retro-azimuthality accuracy in defining the distance from the centre in such a map in addition to the azimuth of the ḳibla, the shortest distance of every place from Mecca could be read. C. Schoy has published a sketch of the map, in which of course the straightness of the meridional lines is dropped.

A table of places with the corresponding *inḥirāf* of the ḳibla is given in the Gotha MS. Arab. 1483, which is a fragment of the astronomical tables of Ibn al-Shāṭir (d. 1375/1376).

Bibliography: On the Ḳibla in al-Battānī cf. C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatenii opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903, i., chap. lvi., p. 137; J. B. Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie du moyen-âge*, Paris 1819, p. 57—60; C. Schoy, *Gnomonik der Araber*, Berlin 1923, p. 40—42; chap. 28 of the *Zīdj al-Kabīr al-Ḥākimī* of Ibn Yūnus is translated and annotated in C. Schoy, *Gnomonik*, etc., p. 36—40; Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzdjānī's process, ibid., p. 84—86; al-Nairīzī's work "On the Direction of the Ḳibla", is translated and annotated by C. Schoy in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Ak. d. Wissensch.*, math. phys. Kl., 1922, p. 55—68; and the "Essay by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Haitham (Alhazen) on ascertaining the direction of the Ḳibla", by do. in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1921, p. 242—254. The *Mulakhkhaṣ* of al-Djaghmīnī has been published in a German translation by Rudloff and Hochheim in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1893 (cf. p. 37). Details of the process for finding the ḳibla by Ulugh Beg are given in L. Am. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des Tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg*, Paris 1853, p. 120 *sqq.*, and on that of 'Alī Shāh etc., in do., *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire comparée des sciences mathématiques chez les Grecs et les Orientaux*, Paris 1845—1849, i. 297. On cartographical representation of the Ḳibla cf. J. I. Craig, *The Theory of Map-Projections with special reference to the projection used in the Egyptian Survey Department*, Cairo 1911, and C. Schoy, *Die Mekka- oder Qiblakarte* (*Kartographische und Schulgeogr. Ztschr.*, Vienna 1917, p. 184).

(C. SCHOY)

al-**KIBRĪT**, sulphur. It is numbered by al-Ḳazwīnī among the oily bodies along with quicksilver, the various kinds of tar, naphtha and ambergris. Other writers include it among the ethera, the evanescent bodies, with the two kinds of *zarnīkh* (sulphide of arsenic, orpiment, and realgar), sal-ammoniac and quicksilver.

Among the Arabs, as before them in Pseudo-Aristotle, three kinds of sulphur are distinguished, the red of fine quality, the pure yellow, and the white; the latter would be the so-called "bath-sulphur" which smells of sulphuretted hydrogen. Red, probably quite mythical, sulphur is said to be found in the west in the vicinity of the sea and to be very rare. A man possessing unique qualities is therefore called "red sulphur". Flowers of sulphur were obtained from ferrous sulphide by roasting. The important uses of sulphur are for explosives in fireworks and for the colouring of metals. One series of metals becomes black with sulphur, e. g. lead and silver; sulphur silver is used in niello inlaying; the quicksilver also becomes black at first but on being heated red (cinnabar). Sulphur had many uses in medicine (cf. Ibn al-Baiṭār, al-Ḳazwīnī etc.).

In its natural state sulphur is found in three forms; all these were known to the Arabs.

1. In gypsum, chalk beds etc. lumps of sulphur occur; in this form it was exported from al-Ghōr in the land of the Jordan (al-Muḳaddasī, p. 184); it was also found in this form in Persia, Balūčistān and in Sicily.

2. It is found in volcanoes, extinct as well as active, e. g. on Etna, Demāwend etc.

3. It is obtained from sulphur springs; for example there are hot sulphur springs at Dawraḳ al-Furs in Khūzistān, at which yellow sulphur is found (Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 242). Information on the occurrence of sulphur in the east is given in C. Hintze, *Handbuch der Mineralogie*, part i., 1904, p. 80 and 87; B. Dammer and O. Tietze, *Die nutzbaren Mineralien*, part i., 1913, p. 93; O. Stutzer, *Die wichtigsten Lagerstätten der "Nicht-Erze"*, i. 1911, p. 251).

Among the alchemists sulphur has numerous epithets (cf. J. Ruska and E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, lxvii., *Alchemistische Decknamen* in *S. B. P. M. S.*, Erl., lvi., 1924, p. 17—36). It is described as the yellow, red, or white bride, or wax. Its colouring properties procured it the name of the "colouring spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-ṣābigh*); the asphyxiating smell

of burning sulphur gave it the name of *al-ḫannāḳ* (the asphyxiator). It was also called the "killer of the escaped" (*ḳātil al-ābiḳ*) i.e. of quicksilver which combines with sulphur to form solid cinnabar. Some other epithets are given in Shams al-Dīn al-Dimishḳī (*op. cit.*); e.g. "cockscomb" (*ʿurf al-dīk*), "sea-bird" (*ṭair al-baḥr*), "pomegranate-seed" (*ḥabb al-rummān*), "liquid yāḳūt" (*al-yāḳūt al-dhāʾib*) etc. See M. Berthelot, *La chimie au Moyen-âge*, iii.; al-Ṭughrāʾī in *Kitāb al-Djawhar al-naḍīr fī Ṣināʿat al-Iksīr* (Berlin, Ahlwardt's *Katalog*, Nº. 18361).

According to the natural philosophers sulphur is composed of atoms of water, air and earth. Mixed and exposed to great heat they become coherent and form an oil which on cooling down becomes solid.

According to the teaching of the alchemists, sulphur along with quicksilver plays the main part in the formation of the most varied substances, especially metals. Here however sulphur and quicksilver are only general terms which have nothing to do with ordinary sulphur or quicksilver.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 243; J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie etc.*, *Jahresbericht 1895/96 der Oberrealschule Heidelberg*, p. 42; Ibn al-Baiṭār, *Djāmiʿ al-Mufradāt* under al-Kibrīt deals very fully with the subject; Shams al-Dīn al-Dimishḳī, *Tuḥfat al-Dahr fī ʿAdjāʾib al-Barr wa ʾl-Baḥr*, p. 58 and Mehren's transl., 68 *sqq.*; J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, p. 101, Heidelberg 1912; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge I: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie*, *S.B.P.M.S.*, Erl., 1902, xxxiv., p. 55—58; do., *Beiträge XXIV: zur Geschichte der Chemie*, *ebenda*, 1911, xliii., p. 91; E. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, 1919, Berlin; and other works on Alchemy, given under AL-KIMIYĀ. (E. WIEDEMANN)

ĶIBṬ, the Copts, the name given by the Arabs to the Christians of Egypt. According to Arab writers, the word is derived from the name of a king of ancient Egypt, *Ḳibṭ*, who is said to have been a descendant of Noah. It was thought in Europe that this word derived its origin from the town of *Coptos* or that it was a corruption of *Jacobites*. One Coptic manuscript alleges that the Greeks called the Egyptians *Kopti* because they had their children circumcised. It is now generally agreed that the word *Ḳibṭ* is a corruption of *Aiguptios* [Ḳalḳashandī, i. 222; iii. 413; transl. Wüstenfeld, p. 119; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 69, 82; Vansleb, (*Nouvelle*) *Relation*, p. 6; Quatremère, *Rech(erches sur la lang. et la litt. de l'Egypte)*, p. 30—32; *Égypte*, (collection) *Un(ivers) pitt(oresque)*, iii. 104; Macaire, (*Hist. de l'Égl. d'Alexandrie*), p. 5—6; *B.I.E.*, 1894, p. 20; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, i. 370; Lane, *Manners*⁵, ii. 274; Stern, *Copt. Gramm.*, p. 1; Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.*, p. 2; ibid., ii. 5].

The Copts and the Arab Conquest. When the Arabs conquered Egypt in 640, for nearly twelve centuries the country had been under foreign domination. Egypt had ultimately sunk to the level of a colony administered by the prefects of the Byzantine Empire. The hatred of the Egyptians for their masters, nourished by bondage, must have increased to such a degree during the Byzantine period that it restored to the natives the feeling of their lost nationality.

Under the caliphate of ʿUmar and, somewhat against his desire according to Muslim tradition, the Arab army conquered Egypt [Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iii. 143—150; v. 14—39; (Caetani), *Chrono(graphia)*, p. 219—220, 227—228, 240; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 273 *sqq.*; *Dict. (d')arch. (chrét.)*, iv. 2474—2476; ibid., ii. 6]. It seems little likely that the Arab general ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ wished to confront the Caliph with the *fait accompli* [Caetani, *Annali*, iv. 85—86; ibid., i. 330; ii. 5; for the opposite view: J. Maspero, *Organ. (de l'Ég. byzantine)*, p. 9; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 300—310]. Indeed the conquest of Egypt took place at a moment when the Persians, crushed two years previously at Ḳādisiya, were unable to create any diversion and when the Byzantines, cut off from Egypt by the Arab occupation of Palestine and of Syria, were unable to come to its assistance.

The Greek army in Egypt was defeated, because the rôle of police which it had played, had not prepared it for war and because, moreover, it was composed mainly of Copts. Besides, in the sixth century a certain number of high officials were of native origin. The native population, long exposed to humiliating treatment by the Byzantines, did not render them assistance in this new conflict, and the Greeks could not even count upon their neutrality [J. Maspero, *Organ.*, p. 5, 16, 42—43, 49—50, 83—84, 95; Amélineau, *Actes (d. Martyrs)*, p. 3; Rouillard, *Admin(istration) civile (de l'Egypte byzantine)*, p. 15, 164, 193; J. Maspero, *Hist. (des) Patr(iarches d'Alexandrie)*, p. 39]. The manifestations of Egyptian nationalism, which date from the fourth century, took an unexpected development after the council of Chalcedony. In the absence of a well-defined Jacobite dogma, there are good grounds for thinking that the Egyptians were Monophysites, because their bishops had founded the doctrine and Severus of Ashmūnain says that the Chalcedonian thesis had not been able to penetrate into a certain convent "because all the monks there were Egyptians" [*P(atrologia) O(rientalis)*, i. 498; cf. J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 16—17, 24—25, 49—51, 53; *Annali*, iv. 65—86]. In fact the Egyptians almost welcomed the Arabs as liberators. "It was no little advantage for us", writes Michael the Syrian (transl. Chabot, ii. 413; cf. also p. 222), "to be delivered from the cruelty of the Romans, from their malice, from their anger, from their cruel zeal against us and to find ourselves at peace" (cf. *Annali*, iv. 85; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 250; Basset, *Mélanges (africains et orientaux)*, p. 2). The same writer (ii. 432—433), who, although late, is habitually well informed, definitely asserts that the patriarch Benjamin gave up Egypt to the Arabs in return for a promise given that the latter would give back to the Jacobites their churches. The bishop of Nikiou, always very accurate in the facts which he recounts, records strange defections amongst the native leaders, and declares that certain garrisons refused to fight against the Muslims and even rendered them assistance [Johannes of Nikiou, transl. Zotenberg, p. 357, 559—561, 565, 570, 573, 585; cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (ed. Torrey), p. 58—59, 73; Eutychius (ed. Cheikho), ii. 24; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fº 80; *P.O.*, xi. 563; Maḳrīzī, ed. Būlāḳ, ii. 492; Macaire, p. 231—234; J. Maspero, *Organ.*, 126, 131—132; Rouillard, *admin. civile*, 220 *sqq.*, *Rev. historique*, cxix. 303—304]. Indirect evidence is also furnished by the numerous "ḥadīth" of the Prophet in which

he recommends the Muslims to treat the Copts well (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 99). The historical romance *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, also shows that the troops who resisted were mainly Greeks, that the enemy contingents comprised Arab Christian elements and that the natives were often disloyal (transl. Galtier, p. 38, 85, 89, 95, 105—106, 128—129, 154, 161).

The vanity of the Copts enabled them to find an excuse for their conduct. They already regarded Alexander, Diocletian and Theodore as their compatriots, they boasted of having received numerous prophets, they had put forward the hypothesis that Jesus must have been born in Egypt, they held that their church had been founded by Saint Mark, an assertion which remains to be proved, that their country had furnished the first martyr, before St. Stephen (J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 26, 108; Abū Ṣāliḥ, f° 20—21, 47; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iv. 2, 126; Amélineau, *Actes*, p. 13—14, 30, 38, 163 *sqq.*; *J. A.*, 1887, i. 24—26; *Dict. arch.*, i. 1098—1101). Muḥammad is believed to have ordered the Arabs to be kind to the Copts because Hagar, the slave of Abraham, and Māriya, the concubine of the Prophet, were Copts (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 2—4; Suhailī, i. 12; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 97 *sqq.*, *Muntakhab Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, iv. 270, 316; v. 310). Finally the conqueror of Egypt was predestined for his mission, because, in the course of a former journey, he had been present in Alexandria at the games in the circus and the ball, which, thrown at hazard, was to point out the future sovereign of the country, fell upon him (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iii. 125—128; *Masālik al-abṣār*, i. 241—242; this without denying the existence of such divinatory proceedings: Michael the Syrian, iii. 57; *R. M. M.*, lvi. 85; Huart, *Perse antique*, p. 60).

Another factor, the help of neighbouring Arab tribes of Egypt, also played a part, but it is impossible to estimate its value. A number of Arab tribes led a nomadic life on the coast from the Red Sea, from Sinai up to the Thebaid, and it has been noted that Strabo describes Koptos as a town under the Arabs (J. Maspero *Organ.*, p. 13, 66; Lesquier, *L'armée romaine*, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xli. 426—427; ibid., p. 7).

The Islamisation, its Progress and Causes. The Arabs imposed upon Egypt a treaty, of which Ṭabarī claims to give the accurate text [Ṭabarī, i. 2588; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, xiii. 324; *Bib(liothèque des) Arab(isants)*, ii. 168—170; Lane-Poole, *Egypt* (*in the middle Ages*), p. 7; Clermont-Ganneau, *R. A. O.*, v. 186—194; Butler, *The Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabarī*], which must be compared with the similar treaties concluded in other countries [Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, transl. Fagnan, p. 108 *sqq.*, 195, 214 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt, i. 858; Ḳalḳashandī, xiii. 357—359; Sauvaire, *Hist. de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, p. 36—41; *Annali*, ii. 340—352, 792; iii. 22—28, 221—222, 381—382, 582; iv. 40, 43, 354; v. 459—460; vii. 178, 257; *J. A.*, 1852, i. 101—102; 1894, ii. 222—223; Goldziher, *Dogme et loi de l'Islam*, p. 29—30; *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1285, i. 134—135; Mach, xii. 609—618, 674—682; *B. I. F. O. A.*, iv. 211; Muir, *Caliphate* (1915) p. 134 *sqq.*]. The Christians of Egypt were treated like the other non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimma*) of the growing Arab Empire. They had to pay a personal tax (*djizya*), fixed in Egypt at two dīnārs for each adult male, in recognition of which they enjoyed the protection of the Muslims (*dhimma*). This statement is found throughout the Arab literature, but the papyri show it is inaccurate, in as much as the tax was proportionate to one's fortune (*Rev. historique*, cxix. 280). In a word, this régime was at first the prototype of the modern protectorate; the Muslim government assured the Christians of protection for themselves and for their property; those who did not receive a share in the distribution of the *dīwān* were not obliged to give military service.

The treaty in Ṭabarī omits two important articles in the other treaties: the **rules laid down in regard to dress** and the question of **religious buildings**. The situation of the Christians in Egypt will be here examined in detail in chronological order, but for the sake of clearness it is better to examine these two questions separately.

The alleged edicts of ʿUmar forbade the Christians to adopt in their garments and in their turbans the same colour as that of the Muslims; they had to wear a distinctive piece of material (*ghiyār*) as well as the belt called *zunnār* (*J. A.*, 1852, i. 111, 115; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, ii. 103—104). It seems, however, that such a regulation was really much later and owes its origin to Hārūn al-Rashīd (*J. A.*, 1894, ii. 115; below ii. 169; cf. however, Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 27). But the most celebrated edict, and one that is recorded by the historians of Egypt, emanated from Mutawakkil [Yaʿḳūbī, *Hist.*, ii. 594; Eutychius, ii. 59; Ṭabarī, iii. 1389 *sqq.*; Abū Ṣāliḥ, f°. 52; Ḳalḳashandī, i. 256; xiii. 366; Maḳrīzī, Būlāḳ, ii. 494; Renaudot, (*Hist. patr. alex.*), p. 293-300, 608—609; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 298; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 39; Lammens, *La Syrie*, i. 137]. These measures were revived by al-Ḥākim, who made them more severe; by Badr Djamālī in 479 (= 1086); by the caliph Ẓāfir in an ephemeral fashion; and lastly by Shīrkūh [Yaḥyā (al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho), p. 187, 195, 202—203; Ibn al-Athīr, *s. a.*, p. 398, 411; Ḳalḳashandī, xiii. 359—360; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii. 247; Maḳrīzī, ed. Būlāḳ, ii. 286—288, 495—496, 507; Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 101, note; Quatremère, *Mém.* (*sur l'Égypte*), ii. 447; Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, p. 180; Renaudot, p. 463, 519; *R.O.C.*, xiii. 196]. We only know of one Aiyūbid decree (Renaudot, p. 587), but in 700 (1301), Sulṭān Malik Nāṣir, at the instigation of an African, vigorously enforced the ancient ordinances [Ḳalḳashandī, xiii. 377—387; Maḳrīzī, Būlāḳ, ii. 487—499; Quatremère, (*Hist. des sultans*) *Mamlouks*, ii., b, 137 *sqq.*; Ibn Iyās, i. 143; Renaudot, p. 602—603; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 300; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 301; ʿAlī Pāshā (Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*), i. 32; iii. 101; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 378]. The Copts however freed themselves by paying a sum annually which in 709 (1309) aroused the wrath of Ibn Taimiya (*Z. D. M. G.*, liii. 559—560). The decree was not long in force since it was necessary to revive it in 721 (1321), in 755 (1356), in 820 (1417) and in 854 (1450) [Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, vii. 186; Ibn Iyās, i. 201; Sakhāwī, (*Tibr masbūk*), p. 306; Dozy, *Dict. des noms de vêtements*, p. 28; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 246—247, 260; *Dict. arch.*, iv. 2479]. From these successive renewals it can be concluded that these regulations quickly fell into disuse (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, lxxxviii. 95). The Ottoman governors revived them once more (ʿAlī Pāshā, i. 57; Djabartī, French

transl., iii. 275; iv. 208—209); Muhammad 'Alī is said to have abolished them in 1807, and it was in vain that subordinate officials attempted to re-establish them in 1820 and in 1817 (B.I.E., 1900, p. 135—139; Djabartī, iv. 247—248, 268). The Coptic clergy have kept to the present day the custom of wearing black turbans.

The question of religious buildings received more attention from the Muslim rulers. The con-ditions laid down by 'Umar are well known: The Christians are forbidden to build any new church or any convent and it is further forbidden to re-build edifices which had fallen into ruins (J. A., 1851, i. 110; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, v. 117, in 3; ibid., ii. 761). In practice, in return for a money payment the Christians were allowed to repair their churches and their convents and even erect new buildings. On their settlement in the country the Muslims converted some churches into mos-ques; this was the regular practice under the Umaiyads in the whole Muslim Empire (Caetani, Chronographia, p. 1065, 1175; van Berchem and Strzygowski, Amida, p. 51—52; Thiersch, Pharos, p. 219). The Christians of Egypt had earlier in-stalled certain churches in temples of the Pharaohs (Dict. arch., iv. 2455 sq.). Even when they built a completely new mosque, the Muslims took the materials from the churches, especially the columns (P. O., x. 512—515; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iv. 6; Derenbourg, Oumara, ii. 151, n. 4); this was in the eyes of the Muslims the right of the conqueror. It seems, however, that the legal theory of "new churches" scarcely dates back to the second (viiith) century, for during the first century the Christians could build and restore as they desired (Eutychius, ii. 41; P. O., iii. 368; v. 24, 42, 119; vii. 399—400; xi. 606; Abū Sālih, fol. 23, 29, 53; Maḳrīzī, Būlāḳ, ii. 492; Renaudot, p. 178, 179, 184; Marcel, Égypte, 28; Lane-Poole, Egypt, 26; B.I.F.A.O., i. 143; Chronographia, p. 520, 589, 618, 758, 775, 825—826, 939; ibid., ii. 8). This liberal official attitude was not in accordance with the sentiment of the mass of the people and a permit to rebuild in 117 (735) caused a riot (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, v. 91). Numerous Christian buildings were demolished in the course of the struggle against the last Umaiyad (Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 60, 78), but these were acts of war. Under popular pressure towards the year 170 (786) the governor 'Alī b. Sulaimān ordered the churches founded since the Muslim conquest to be destroyed, a measure rescinded by his successor after a consultation of jurists (Kindī, p. 131—132; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 23; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, v. 117—118; Būlāḳ ed., ii. 493, 511; Lane-Poole, Egypt, p. 32); and building on the finest scale went on again, in spite of the protestations of the people (Eutychius, ii. 58; P. O., x. 418—419, 460; Kindī, p. 334—335; Ibn Sa'īd, ed. Tallqvist, p. 32—33). With the Fāṭimids a great era of prosperity opened for the Coptic churches and the convents,—except under al-Ḥākim, which will be discussed later. Besides, the decision really rested with the Christians who filled the government offices (P. O., iii. 387—388; xi. 561; Yaḥyā, p. 186, 229, 231—234; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 17, 24—25, 27, 30—37, 39, 41—42, 44, 48—50, 61—62, 66—67, 69, 78, 81—82; Ibn Muyassar, p. 79; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv. 78—79; Maḳrīzī, Būlāḳ ed., ii. 283; Renaudot, p. 370; Wüstenfeld, Fatimiden, p. 131; Lane-Poole, Egypt, p. 119, 170). More strict in regard to the Copts, the Aiyūbids began by despoiling the churches of a part of their revenue, and while authorising certain restorations, they did not hesitate to do away with buildings which annoyed them. Besides, the wars with the Crusaders brought about the ruin of many churches. It is from the Aiyūbid period that the ruin of the convents dates (P. O., xi. 617; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 7, 17—28, 33, 38—39, 45, 59, 81—82, 88, 90; Blochet, Hist. d'Égypte, p. 518, 559—560; Marcel, Égypte, p. 28; Amélineau, Actes, p. 222; ibid., ii. 44). But the real catastrophe dates from the reign of Malik Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kalā'ūn; after being withheld in 700 (1301) the mob rushed to attack the Christian buildings throughout the whole of Egypt in 721 (1321); sixty churches were demolished and according to Muslim writers many convents were henceforth deserted (P. O., xiv. 459; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 208—209, note; Būlāḳ ed., ii. 511—517; Quatremère, Mamlouks, ii, b, 179 sqq.; Sakhāwī, p. 73; 'Alī Pāshā, i. 35; iii. 98—101; vi. 74 sqq.; Quatremère Mém., ii. 225—249; Lane-Poole, Egypt, p. 301, 310—312; Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, xxii. 393; Dict. arch., iv. 2476—2482; Lane, Manners, ii. 300—302; ibid., ii. 8). Churches were again demolished in 755 (1354) and a large part of their revenues was confiscated. In the course of the ninth (fifteenth) century the regulations of the Caliph 'Umar are said to have been at different times solemnly revived (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 296; Būlāḳ ed., ii. 499—500; Sakhāwī, p. 36—40, 124—125, 145; Ibn Iyās, i. 206—207; ii. 35; 'Alī Pāshā, Bull. Soc. Géogr. d'Égypte, xiii. 79; 'Alī Pāshā, i. 38; B.I.E., 1907, p. 167). Under Ottoman rule the authorities permitted the restoration and even the foundation of churches, although amongst Mus-lim legal circles less liberal doctrines were still up-held until the beginning of the nineteenth century ('Alī Pāshā, vi. 84—85; Djabartī, iv. 20; v. 218; viii. 246).

After elucidating these two points, we can now review in chronological order the main events in the history of the Copts under Islām. The chief concern of the Caliph was to make no change in the administration of Egypt. He appointed a gover-nor general sometimes the position was held by two officials, the one undertaking the political administration, the other financial; the political governor had under him two subordinates, a prefect of police and a ḳāḍī. The military occupation was reduced to a certain number of posts (ribāṭ or maḥras) scattered along the Mediterranean coast and on the desert frontiers of the Delta. Under 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (65—86 = 685—705) there were 30,000 men. The country remained divided into pagarchies called kūra, transcription of χώρα; at its head was the ṣāḥib al-kūra, trans-lation of πάγαρχος; the subordinate officials also bear Greek names; these are the djaṣṭal (ᵹυγοστάτης) the māzūt, the origin of which is not known for certain, the ghalyūlis (γραμματεύς). — Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, ed. Gloss., 48, 58; Kindī, p. 418—419; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 114, 373; Būlāḳ ed., ii. 259; Michael, iii. 475; J. Maspero and Wiet, Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte, p. 170—171; Dict. arch., iii. 2836; Id., ii. 254—255, 361 sqq.; iv. 95—96; Bell, Aphrod. Papyri, xvii. sqq., xxxv. sqq., 65, 78, 447; W.Z.K.M., xx. 144; Z.A., xi. 76; Klio, ix. 206—209; B.I.F., xi. 155—161. — The absolute impossibility which the Arabs found of governing by means of methods of their own is sufficiently established by the papyri. The

Arab occupation lived by the institutions which it found in Egypt and allowed itself to be administered by Copts who were supervised and docile. According to the papyri and the authors, all the provincial officials were Copts during the first hundred years of the occupation until the end of the Umaiyad period (*P. O.*, v. 3, 9—10, 12, 18, 48, 57, 64; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 240, n. 3; Michael, ii. 475; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 15; *Annali*, v. 319—455; *Chronographia*, p. 253, 296, 758, 911, 1091, 1112, 1164; Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 167; *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 21, 27, 37, 42; *P. E. R. Mitt.*, i. 6—7; Bell, *Aphr. Pap.*, p. xxxiii.; [*Z. A.*, xx. 72—75, 77; *Id.*, ii. 245—246, 257—258, 271, 361, 364—365, 381; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 10—12, 172, 229; Monneret de Villard, *Scultura ad Ahnâs*, p. 23; ibid., ii. 8, 12—15). The fiscal organisation was also modelled on the Byzantine, without regard for the rules otherwise laid down by the Muslim doctrine. The Christians, old men, women and chilleren excepted, had to pay from 40 dirhams to 4 dīnārs, to provide for the upkeep of the army, corn, oil, honey, cloth and to procure a lodging for a period of three days for every Muslim. The Copt officials continued to collect the Annona corn which was sent to Madīna (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 322—323; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 178; J. Maspero, *Organ.*, p. 112; Becker, *Beiträge z. Gesch. Ägypt.*, ii. 84—85; *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 42 *sqq.*; Bell, *Aphr. Pap.*, p. xxv. *sqq.*; 5; *Id.*, ii. 251—252, 271, 277—278, 282, 382, 384; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 85; *Chronographia*, p. 241; *J. A.*, 1886, i. 440; Bourdon, *Anc. canaux, anc. sites et ports de Suez*, p. 6 *sqq.*; *M.-I. Égypte*, vi. 20).

At the very first the Copts were happier than under the Byzantine régime; the exiled bishops with the patriarch at their head once more took possession of their sees. They lived in such peace that they played no part in the grave events in which the Muslim troops of Egypt participated — the assassination of ʿUthmān, the duel between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, the rivalry of Ibn Zubair. The Arabs did not persecute anyone on account of his religious ideas (*P. O.*, i. 495—497; v. 12; Renaudot, p. 160; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 340—361; *Annali*, v. 4).

It would, however, be wrong to extend this observation to the Umaiyads and especially to contrast the toleration of the Umaiyads, "who did not seek to make proselytes", with the spirit of persecution which is said to characterise the ʿAbbāsids (*Dict. Arch.*, iii. 2829, 2841). No doubt the Jacobites had cause to rejoice at being given back the churches formerly confiscated by the Melkites; besides, although it did not compensate for the converts to Islām, the adhesion to the Monophysites must be noticed of a few Melkites, with the object of escaping the double *djizya*, which was imposed upon them by Kurra b. Sharīk's principal adviser, naturally a Jacobite (*P. O.*, i. 341; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 39; *Id.*, ii. 364; *Chronographia*, p. 1091). It is, however, stated in accurate texts that the Umaiyad governors were not always kind to the Copts (*P. O.*, v. 15—16, 54—57, 60—61, 68, 75—76, 86, 92, 94—95; xvi. 233—234; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 83—84; *Chronographia*, p. 1024, 1091). It is necessary to add that it was a question of taxation which became more and more severe and not of religious persecution in the narrow sense of the word. Besides, the Copts, with very rare exceptions which will be noted, were never put in the position of having to apostacise to save their lives, and we do not find throughout the whole history of Muslim Egypt a single measure that can be compared with the persecution of Diocletian. It shows contempt for historical statements to oppose Byzantine toleration to Muslim fanaticism (*M. F. O. B.*, i. 109; Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 362—363). Finally it may be mentioned for this first period that Christian annals were compiled in the monasteries, and that the monks took good care to describe as persecutions measures which deprived them of the advantage of remaining a privileged class (Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 55).

Under the Umaiyads as well as under the ʿAbbāsids the Christians enjoyed liberty of worship. The governors only took care to have their Coptic lessons and prayers translated for them in order to be sure that they contained no insults to Islām. The bishops were allowed to meet in councils; the government watched over these councils, especially in the case of the election of a patriarch. It enquired also into the relations which the clergy were allowed to enter into with a foreign power. The Christian writers praise the liberalism of the Caliph Hishām; but at this time the fiscal system was well established and applied without favour (*P. O.*, v. 24, 28—29, 34—37, 51, 56, 68, 73—75, 104; x. 371; Renaudot, p. 190; *Chronographia*, p. 825, 864, 952, 1337, 1340, 1472; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 283—284).

We shall now give a chronological exposition of the measures which were prescribed. In the year 70 (689) the religious emblems on the outsides of the churches were destroyed. Since the monks at first had been exempt from the *djizya* many Copts assumed the robe in order to escape the tax. But these monks, according to the testimony of Byzantine authors, possessed considerable wealth. From before the year 86 (705) the monks were subjected to a tribute and forced to pay one dīnār a year (*P. O.*, v. 51, where the absurd اخصى must be corrected and its translation "mutilated"). This edict promulgated by ʿUmar II whose tolerant spirit is specially mentioned by Christian authors, was renewed by Usāma b. Zaid, under drastic conditions. In 87 (706) Arabic became obligatory for all administrative offices. Some years later Kurra b. Sharīk, whom the Muslims revile as much as the Christians, impoverished the churches to such an extent that the priests had to use chalices of glass and wooden dishes. It was the same governor who appears to have seen to it that the lower ranks of officials were Muslims, but the measure was not made general until the year 100 (718). The Caliphs Walīd and Yazīd II renewed in the year 95 (714) and 104 (722) the order to suppress religious emblems. In 109 (727) immediately after the first revolts of which we are going to speak, the government settled in the eastern region of the Delta 5,000 Arabs of the tribe of Kais. Finally in the year 112 (730) in order to obtain a better return from the taxes and following the example of what had been done in other parts of the Muslim Empire a general census of the population was taken (Ṭabarī, tr. Zotenberg, iii. 229; Abū Yūsuf, tr. Fagnan, p. 64—65; Kindī, p. 60, 76—77; *P. O.*, v. 24, 62, 64, 67, 70—73, 101—102; xvii. 679; Michael, ii.

450; Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 335—336; Bulāķ, ii. 492—493; Renaudot, p. 190, 193, 198; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 33—35, 37; Butler, *Copt Churches*, ii. 38, 84; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 27; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 193—194; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 297—298; Rouillard, *Admin. civile*, p. 171—172; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 342, 347—349; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 99—100, 104, 121, 126—127; *Id.*, ii, 363—364, 370—371; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2829; Bell, *Aphr. Pap.*, p. xxxv *sqq.*; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 45, 76; *Chronographia*, p. 527, 826, 1088, 1164, 1265, 1284, 1286, 1310; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 278—279; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 55—56, 60; *R. S. O.*, viii. 184; *C. I. A., Egypte*, ii. 8; ibid., § iii).

The Copts endeavoured by every means to escape from this tax. When it was useless to take refuge in the monasteries they decided to quit the villages where they were registered and to settle in other districts where, being not so well known, they had a chance of escaping the tax. This movement of "fugitives" (ϥⲉⲩⲅⲁⲗⲉ = *djāliya*) was almost general and every effort was made by the government to thwart it. No one was allowed to go out of his native district without being furnished with a passport, a measure which has wrongly been represented as vexatious; the delinquents were to be branded with a red hot iron (*P. O.*, v. 64, 69—70; [Pseudo-] Denys, tr. Chabot, p. 123—124; Renaudot, p. 199, 201; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 37; Rouillard, *Admin. civile*, p. 6, 9, 125, 171; *B. I. E.*, 1880, p. 10—11, 100; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 27; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2829; *Id.*, ii. 257—258, 269—270, 273—276, 279, 367—369, 378—380; *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 40; Bell, *Aphrod. Pap.*, p. xv., xl—l., xlvii. 57; *Z. A.*, cx. 96—97; xxii. 139 *sqq.*; *Chronographia*, p. 1025, 1211; *B. I. E.*, 1908, p. 107; *M. F. O. B.*, vi. 159—160).

Finally the Copts decided upon open rebellion for fiscal reasons. Blood flowed in Egypt, principally on the Delta, for more than a century. The first insurrection took place in 107 (725). Rebellions followed in 121 (739), 132 (750), 135 (752), 150 (767), 156 (773). Lower Egypt was then convulsed by risings which have nothing especially Coptic about them which — it must be said in passing — show already the numerical weakness of the Christian element. They lasted from 194 to 211 (809—826) and were a repercussion of the struggle for the Caliphate between Amin and Ma'mūn; the chief part was played at Alexandria by the Spanish Arabs exiled from Cordova (Kindi, p. 73—74, 81, 94, 96, 102, 116, 119; *P. O.*, v. 76, 188—189; x. 427—428; Michael, ii. 500—501; Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 333—334; iii. 181—185, 201—207; Bulāķ, ii. 492—493; Ibn Rāhib (ed. Cheikho), p. 126; Renaudot, p. 226 *sqq.*, 251 *sqq.*; *Bib. des Arabisants*, ii. 191—192; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 153—156, 197—198, 201—212; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 29—31, 35—36; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 109, 115, 120; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2829; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 31, 42, 47, 59, 76, 99, 103, 110, 137, 209; *Chronographia*, p. 1107, 1351, 1524; Caetani, *Cron. generale*, i. 65, 88; ibid., i. 32).

The Coptic risings begun under Umaiyad domination cannot then be put down to any particular brutality of the 'Abbāsids; the governors of the new dynasty were led to regard the natives as rebels. The 'Abbāsids increased the burden of taxation, but not especially on the Copts, since it was on this account that the Arabs revolted in the Delta in 78 (794), 186 (802), 191 (807) and in 214—215 (829—830). At this latter date, the Christians of the central part of Lower Egypt called Bashmūrites, entered into the struggle. The physician Ibn Riḍwān at a later date remarked upon their ferocity and their stupidity. Their conduct scandalised the Christians themselves, and the Coptic clergy strove in vain to calm their unruliness. The Caliph Ma'mūn, at the time in Syria, was induced to come to Egypt; very liberal, he charged an ecclesiastic of his suite, the patriarch Denys of Tell-Maḥre, with the task of obtaining by kindness the submission of the rebels. The Bashmūrites would not yield; they were crushed by Afshīn and a large number were massacred. A number of survivors, including women and children, were transported to the region of Baghdād where some of them covered themselves with glory fighting against the Zuṭṭ (Kindi, p. 190—192; Eutychius, ii. 120—121; *P. O.*, x. 486—502; Ibn Rāhib, p. 129; Michael, iii. 76—84; Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 303, 334, 337—340; iii. 3; Bulāķ, ii. 494; Renaudot, p. 272 n. 7, 141, 186; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 156—161, *sqq.*, 279 *sqq.*; *Bib. des Arabisants*, i. 256—257, 263; 170—174; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 38; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 120—121; *Mit(teilungen) P(apyri) E(rzherzog) R(ainer)*, i. 96; *R. O. C.*, xiv. 279; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 32, 43—45). This was the last rebellion of the Copts: "From that time they were in subjection throughout all the Egyptian territory, and their power was definitely crushed. None of them had the power to revolt or even resist the Government; the Muslims were the majority in the villages" (Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i. 334—335; Bulāķ, ii. 1; ed. ii., p. 494; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 198).

Denys of Tell-Maḥre has left a very severe judgment on the Coptic clergy. He is indignant at their ignorance and rages against the simony which flourished everywhere (Michael, iii. 80; *Bibl. d. Arabisants*, i. 257—258). The Coptic bishops retorted that the simoniacal practices were necessary for the recovery of the wealth of the church, hard hit by taxation. It is a fact that one of the first 'Abbāsid governors condemned certain bishops to work at the Arsenal because they refused to give up their sacred vessels (*P. O.*, x. 374). This policy of an excessively severe system of taxation succeeded in emptying the monasteries. It is striking to note that the monastic inscriptions come to the tenth century (*Dict. Arch.*, iii. 2839, 2841). However in purely religious matters the government remained tolerant. The Christians were allowed to enter the mosque to bring a law-suit before the Ķāḍī. In 169 (785) a Copt who had insulted the Prophet was only put to death as the reasoned opinion of the imām Mālik who was consulted at Madīna (Kindi, p. 382, 390—391).

Before the coming of the Fāṭimids there were two attempts to gain independence, which are worthy of note here; those of the Ṭūlūnids and of the Ikhshīdids. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn imprisoned the patriarch Michael III because he did not pay a fine. Here again there was no religious persecution properly so called. For this dynasty as well as that of the Ikhshīdids seems to have taken into account Christian public opinion, from which they gained support against Baghdād. It is

well known that Khumārawaih (q. v.) enamoured with art took pleasure in visiting the convents; it is reasonable to believe that the Copts knew how to profit by this. Under the Ikhshīdids the influence of Christian officials appears. The government did not make peace for nothing during the popular troubles which burst forth at Fusṭāṭ in 349—350 (960—961) on the news of the victories of Nicephorus Phocas. On the contrary a rescript from the Caliph dated 313 (925) had already prepared a pacification throughout the whole Muslim Empire, by deciding that the *djizya* would not be imposed upon the bishops, monks and necessitous laymen. The Ikhshīdids honoured by their presence the public celebrations of Christian festivals. A contemporary Muslim traveller, Masʿūdī does not appear to be shocked by this (Appendix to Eutychius, ii. 292; Abū Yūsuf, tr. Fagnan, p. 188; *P. O.*, xvi. 242; xviii. 717, 779—780, 782—785, 799; Abū Ṣāliḥ, f° 49—50; *Masālik al-abṣār*, i. 363; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iv. 231; Būlāḳ ed., ii. 152—153, 494; Renaudot, p. 324; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 85; Schlumberger, *Nicéphore Phocas*, p. 125; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 66, 85—86; Becker, *Beiträge*, i. 62).

This attitude of the Ikhshīdid government is confirmed by the edict imposed by the first of the Fāṭimid caliphs, Muʿizz, who forbade these public rejoicings. This ostracism endured for only a short time and from the accession of his successor ʿAzīz, Christian ceremonies recommenced with more pomp than in the past. Thus it was during the time of the Fāṭimids with an eclipse under Ḥākim. The favour which the Christians enjoyed is attested by one of their first acts, the transfer to Cairo of the office of patriarch. ʿAzīz had a Christian wife whose two brothers he himself appointed patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Alexandria respectively. Being liberal, he encouraged controversies between Christians and Muslims and he refused to prosecute renegade Muslims. The resentment in Muslim circles must have been terrible. It explains and in part excuses the exasperation of Ḥākim who pursued the Christians with his hatred with the direct object of abating their growing influence (see the definite statement of Maḳrīzī, Būlāḳ, ii. 31, 495). But it must be remembered that Ḥākim was a ferocious persecutor. He threw to wild beasts the patriarch Zachariah, to whom, according to Christian chronicles, they did no harm; this act of brutality was perhaps committed at the instigation of a monk. He prohibited the celebration of Christian festivals, forbade the Christians to possess slaves, to have Muslims in their service; he seized the property of the Church and he caused a considerable number of crosses to be burnt. Then he passed on to the destruction of the churches with such rage that he is said, — but this is without doubt exaggerated by Muslim writers —, to have destroyed between the years 403 and 405 (1014—1016), 30,000 churches in Egypt and in Syria. He had decided upon the exile of all the Christians, but the decree was rescinded before it could be put into action. A measure of general dismissal of the Christian functionaries resulted in a complete check. In spite of everything the judgments of the *Synaxaire* on this Caliph are not malevolent (*P. O.*, iii. 289). Ẓāhir inaugurated his reign by a measure of justice authorising the Christians to return to their religion, who bewildered by the madness of Ḥākim had become converts to Islām (for a condemnation to death see however Yaḥyā, p. 238). Under the Caliph Mustanṣir, the vizier Yāzūrī made the Christians submit to numerous vexations; he ordered the closing of the churches and the incarceration of the patriarch Christodoulos, under the pretext that the latter had instigated the King of Nubia not to pay the agreed tribute to Egypt. These incidents which were terminated by a heavy fine inflicted upon the patriarch were perhaps not quite unconnected with the fall and the putting to death of Yāzūrī. Under the Caliph ʿĀmir who liked to be entertained by the monks of the convent of Naḥya in the suburbs of Cairo, the tendency is to liberalism. Credits were provided in the budget for Christian ceremonies. Towards the end of his reign a monk Abū Nadjāḥ played the part of a kind of prime minister to him; this monk who assumed the arrogance of a grand seigneur had the effrontery to go even into the mosque and insult the Muslims; this action cost him his life. Ḥāfiẓ, who like his predecessor, loved a sojourn in the monasteries, had as his vizier an Armenian Christian, Bahrām, who received the title of *saif al-islām*, the "sword of Islām". However the Muslim councillors of the Caliph carried out all his commands. Bahrām, all powerful, made a large number of Armenians come to Egypt and contributed to the restoration of many churches. The Muslim revolt burst forth and overthrew the minister, his successor Riḍwān favoured a violent reaction against the Christians, driving them from the administration, bringing about confiscations, ordering even summary executions. But the country was to be troubled by the rivalries of ministers who fought for power with armed force and the Christians suffered from this state of affairs neither more nor less than the Muslims. It is in this sense that we must interpret a very touching Coptic document, the inscription of the jar found at Dair al-Aʿẓām, dated 872/1156 (*Ann. du Serv. des Antiquités*, i. 117—119; *B. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 75; *Dict. arch.*, i. 1707—1710; iii. 2806; Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, N°. 8104). The incident which it commemorates should not be regarded as a persecution of the Christians, any more than we would charge the government with the plundering of the convents of Scete and the massacring of the monks by the Berbers, under the early ʿAbbāsids and in the time of the Fāṭimid Mustanṣir (Ibn Rāhib, p. 128; Renaudot, p. 443; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 400). Churches and convents were destroyed wherever there was fighting and naturally Christian buildings were not spared in the burning of Fusṭāṭ by command of Shāwar (q. v.), who had a church restored at Ḳifṭ. The Ghuzz troops who accompanied Shīrkūh quarrelled with the Fāṭimid, negro, Turk or Armenian troops and then the Copts; just as the soldiers of Shīrkūh (q. v.) violated the tomb of Shenoudi at the White Convent. The *History of the Patriarchs* records the execution of a monk who refused to apostatise. This can hardly be an isolated case at this time (Yaḥyā, p. 195—197, 203—205, 235—236, 239; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, p. 66—68; Abū Ṣāliḥ, f° 25, 43, 47, 61—66, 81—82; Ibn Rāhib, p. 135—136; Ibn Muyassar, p. 71—72, 78—79, 82, 84; *P. O.*, iii. 288, 386—387; Ḳalḳashandī, viii. 260; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, iv. 226, 228—229, 231—234, 240; Būlāḳ ed., i. 357; ii. 286—288, 495—496, 507; Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, ii. 63, 101; Renaudot,

p. 367 *sq.*, 381, 389—395, 399, 430, 505—507; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 247 *sqq.*; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 342—345, 347—348; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 108—109; Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, p. 160, 180; *J. A.*, 1888, ii. 487—490; 1889, i. 63; 1921, ii. 105—106; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 299; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, i. 125—128, 232; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 119, 126—128, 143—144, 168—170; Becker, *Beiträge*, i. 62; *R. O. C.*, xiii. 196; xiv. 380 *sq.*; *Dict. arch.*, ii. 209; Derenbourg, *Oumara*, ii., fr., 266, n. 1, 306—307, 331, n. 2; Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohâg*, i. 28; *C. I. A.*, *Égypte*, ii. commentary on Nº. 587; ibid., i. 551, ii. 572).

The Aiyūbid regime marks a contrast with that of the Fatimids. This must have applied to religious toleration as to other political problems. The new Sultāns did not take part in Christian festivals; but it would be wrong to believe that there were persecutions. Two facts, indeed, go to prove that the Copts were not oppressed. On the one hand the churches continued to be restored, and on the other, the viith (xiiith) century was the golden age of Arab Christian literature in Egypt. The Copts had kept their posts in the government service, although in 577 (1181) Saladin had forbidden them to follow the professions of secretary and physician; howewer the court continued to employ Christian physicians and the officials kept their positions. The double invasion of Egypt by the Franks in 615 (1218) and in 647 (1250) certainly did not increase Muslim toleration. Life was however far from being unbearable for the Christians in Egypt since the Syrian Jacobites took refuge there from the commencement of the Crusades. Besides, we may appeal the evidence of a Christian writer to show that the government kept its sang-froid and, above all, that it made, just like the Crusaders, but *mutatis mutandis*, a distinction between the Melkites and the Jacobites (*Hist. d. Patriarches*, in Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 555—558). One of the last Aiyūbids, Malik Kāmil (q.v.) was noted for his tolerance and his relations with Frederick II are well known. It is also known that he received at his court St. Francis of Assisi and, according to a Franciscan tradition, the Sulṭān became a convert and retired to die at Ḳonya. This legend has at least the merit of showing that this sovereign left no unpleasant memories in Christian circles (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii. 82 *sqq.*; Maḳḳarī, Cairo 1302, i. 21; Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 102, 148, 309, 318, 409, 478; Renaudot, 479, 549—550; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 160—161; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 330; *J. A.*, 1888, ii. 477, 481; 1889, i. 61, 72; 1902, i. 439; 1904, i. 51, n. 5; *Mashr.*, xii. 487, 490; *B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 115; *C. I. A.*, *Jérusalem*, ii. 115, n. 1; *Congr. internat. de géogr.*, Cairo 1925, v. 141 *sqq.*; Chauvau, *Les saints d'Égypte*, ii. 65, 388 *sqq.*; *Bull. Comité Art arabe*, xxi. 102; Almagia, *L'opera degli Italiani per la conoscenza dell' Egitto*, i. 107—108).

The government of the Mamlūks gave the *coup de grâce* to Christianity in Egypt, which ceased to mean anything but a number of individuals. This period which extends from 648 to 923 (1250—1517) saw the completion of the ruin of the churches and the convents, the reduction of the number of Christians to the present day proportion and the disappearance of the Coptic language. The intelligent minority of the Copts not only continued to hold offices of state, but they managed the estates of the Mamlūk officers. They were indispensable in the management of business and some Muslim writers had the courage to recognise this, while deploring their arrogance. In order to satisfy public opinion, the government from time to time decreed their dismissal, and a month after the decree, the Copts whom they found indispensable, resumed their offices. These periodic dismissals took place in 678 (1279), 682 (1283), 700 (1301), 721 (1321), 755 (1354), 822 (1419), 825 (1422), 852 (1447) (*P. O.*, xvii. 777; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Ta'rīf*, p. 63; Ḳalḳashandī, viii. 36; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii. 88, 93, 110—111; Būlāḳ ed., ii. 42, 75, 85, 90, 237, 391, 497—498, 507; Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, i., *a*, 231; ii., *a*, 8; *b*, 133, 179, 213; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, vi. 398—400, 450, 456, 464, 468, 559, 665, 718, 724, 819—820, 823; vii. 160, 269, 272, p. 277, 587; Sakhāwī, 215; Ibn Iyās, i. 93, 201, 268; ii. 48—49, 67, 80, 171, 197, 255; 'Alī Pāshā, i. 27; vi. 40; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 173; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 223—225, 242, 247, 261—262, 288; *B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 126—127, 175, n. 4; *R. O. C.*, xiii. 196; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, cxvii.; Wiet, *Les secrétaires de la Chancellerie*, reprint from *Mél. R. Basset*, 22; *C. I. A.*, Jerusalem, i. 334—335; ii. 132; ibid., i. 683, 846).

The government during normal times maintained courteous relations with the Coptic Patriarch, on whom the Mamlūk chancellery bestowed pompous titles. He forbade him to enter into secret engagements with the Negūs of Abyssinia. There were incidents in regard to this in 826 (1423) and in 852 (1448) (*P. O.*, xiv. 449—451; Ḳalḳashandī, xi. 85, 100, 395—405; Sakhāwī, p. 210; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, vi. 572).

At the same time popular manifestations forced the government to take more serious measures than a simple dismissal of officials. Besides, the most severe measures were continually passed with the object of exacting a ransom; for the Christians were more especially molested at times of financial crisis for the government. One single incident stands out as worthy of attention. In 700 (1301), a date often already cited, the Mamlūk government caused the greater part of the churches to be shut throughout the whole of Egypt. It excepted the town of Alexandria, perhaps in order not to provoke foreign interference, for the Melkites also suffered by this order and two ambassadors sent by the Byzantine Emperor and the King of Aragon, obtained the re-opening of some of the churches (*P. O.*, i. 567; xii. 556, 477; xiv. 449; Maḳrīzī, Būlāḳ ed., ii. 8, 31—32, 130, 292, 399; Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, ii., *b*, 180; Renaudot, p. 604—605; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 223—224, 257; Ibn Iyās, ii. 35; Marcel, *Égypte*, 163; *J. A.*, 1887, ii. 210; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 378).

The Muslim writers relate the story of the sacrifice of a virgin thrown into the Nile to obtain an abundant harvest, a custom which the Muslims had abolished (Sakhāwī, p. 12—13; Lane, *Manners*[5], ii. 229—230; *Bull. soc. Khédiv. de Géogr.*, vii. 158—159; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 216—217; *Chronographia*, p. 242). It is hardly likely that the Christians had retained a human sacrifice, for which, besides, there is no evidence in classical texts (Maspero, *Hist. des peuples de l'Orient*, i. 24, n. 2; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, ii. 38—40); an analogy with sacrifices following military expeditions? Amélineau,

Actes, p. 80, n. 4). Special mention is made among the Christians of Egypt of a liturgical rite to secure the rise of the Nile (*Dict. Arch.*, iv. 2561—2562). In the Mamlūk period the Christians had still retained the custom of throwing into the Nile a little casket containing the finger of a martyr. This ceremony which gave rise to abuses, forbidden from 702 to 738 (1303—1337) was definitely suppressed in 755 (1354) and the Church of Shubrā-Damanhūr, where the festival took place in a suburb north of Cairo was destroyed (Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, transl. 178; *Masālik al-abṣār*, i. 361; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 292—296; Būlāḳ ed., ii. 500; Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, ii., 6, 213—214; Renaudot, p. 606; Sakhāwī, p. 12; Ibn Iyās, i. 206—207; *B.I. Egypte*, 1907, p. 167—168; *B.I.F.A.O.*, i. 170).

The Jacobite patriarchate in 1442 signified its adherence to the Council of Florence two centuries after a fruitless attempt at reunion with Rome attempted by the Patriarch Cyril III. The Coptic Church was united to Rome for a century and a half by very loose bonds and it appears as if the most of the people did not trouble about it, in spite of the correspondence exchanged between the Papacy and the Patriarch of Alexandria, and in spite of the Council of Memphis in 1582. In any case it was to regain the support of the Ottoman Pāshas that the Coptic Church dropped all relations with Rome (Renaudot, p. 611—612; Macarius, p. 298, 300, 303 *sqq.*, 323—326, 336; *B.I.E.*, 1904, p. 197—211; *Machr.*, x. 534—540; *Bessarione*, xxxiv. 153—161).

Under the Ottoman Pāshās the financial administration remained largely in the hands of the Copts. Christian popular festivals, especially in the country, were held with the approval and even with the participation of the Muslim elements. This period saw the *avanies* flourish, about which the archives of the convent of St. Saviour of Jerusalem give so many particulars (Castellani, *Catalogo dei firmani*, Jerusalem, 1922). The Copts had to endure these fines inflicted on the slightest provocation, and this resulted in the closing of the churches until the fines were completely paid. The first governors exacted the payment of the special imposts due from tributaries. In the first half of the xiith (xviiith) century the assessment of the *djizya* was even increased. Then we come to a period of anarchy, where "nothing happened worthy of being recorded except irritating and arbitrary acts of the Emirs" (Djabartī, v. 208, 218). These troubles had economic reactions which affected the whole of Egypt, but it does not appear that the Copts suffered from them more particularly (Vansleb, *Relation*, p. 93, 110, 189—190; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 9—10, 12—13, 19; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 234; Djabartī, ii. 20, 114—116; iii. 132, 157; iv. 144, 208—209, 217—221; v. 13, 23, 217—218; Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, i. 302; 'Alī Pāshā, vi. 84—85; Ch. Roux, *Les origines de l'expéd. d'Égypte*, p. 41—43; *B.I.E.*, viii. 166—167).

Ryme says that on the arrival of the French, the Copts were "poor, brutalised and engaged only in the most ignoble callings"; they were "tax-collectors, spies, managers of the business affairs of the Mamlūks" (*Égypte, Un. pitt.*, ii. 27 *sq.*). Bonaparte did everything to prevent the Muslims from thinking that he favoured the Christians, who had nearly been massacred at the landing of the French. To "secure himself the friendship of the people" Bonaparte forbade Christians to wear white turbans or to break the fast of Ramaḍān in public. After the revolt in Cairo the Muslims tried to put the blame on the Christians, who had not always been prudent. After various tergiversations the French administration created a system of taxation which "almost enabled them to do without the Copts". The latter assisted in pointing out the inconveniences of it. Besides, Copts had already been enrolled in the French army (*Égypte, Un. pitt.*, ii. 148, 152, 189, 193, 199; Djabartī, vi. 15, 26, 36, 40, 56, 58, 93, 95, 97, 129, 151, 175—178, 208, 210—211, 214, 216—217, 253, 255—256, 259, 267, 297, 306; vii. 30, 48, 220—221; *B.I.E.*, viii. 8).

The departure of the French made Muslim reprisals inevitable but an official circular ordered that the Christians were not to be molested in whom "it was excusable to have joined the French". The Copts were again employed as tax-collectors, but it must be noted that the government was still able to extort money from them, and that in 1230 (1815) the poll-tax was again levied (Djabartī, vii. 38, 42, 46—48, 52, 56, 77, 177, 300, 306, 308, 318, 320, 393, 397, 405; viii. 149, 201, 283; ix. 17, 87—89, 91, 111, 113—114, 166—167, 180, 184, 297; Macaire, p. 367—372).

This exposition shows the rapidity of the islāmisation of the Copts. The energetic suppression of the first revolts weakened the power of resistance of the Christians, who from the third (ninth) century no longer had a majority in Egypt. According to the text of the treaty made after the Arab Conquest, there were six or even eight million Christians subjected to taxation; as women, old men and children were exempt from it the lowest figure would give 24 millions as the total number of inhabitants in Egypt, which is excessive. The re-assessment of the year 112 (730) is said to have given five million Copts liable to taxation, a number which we also consider greater than the reality. In practice the poll-tax collected under Mu'āwiya (41—60 = 661—680) five million dīnārs, a figure which was reduced under Hārūn al-Rashīd (170—193 = 786—809) to four millions, and fell a little later to three millions. Besides, at the end of the first (viith) century the governors wished to put an end to the conversions which were impoverishing the Treasury, and if the Caliph 'Umar II had not been opposed to it, the new converts would have had to continue to pay the *djizya*. Anxious to adhere to Islām the Copts sometimes even tried to attach themselves to Arab tribes; a legal scandal on this point made some stir (Kindī, p. 397—399, 412—415). In this connection we may go back to the preceding paragraphs and reflect that each government measure of any importance brought about conversions en masse. We may recall the tragic visit of Marwān II, when 24,000 conversions were made, the great persecution of Ḥākim, the dismissals of officials under the Mamlūks; in 721 (1321) in a single day in the town of Ḳalyūb 450 conversions to Islām were registered. Nothing can better show the diminution in the number of Copts in the Mamlūk period than to give that in the number of episcopal sees. The Council of Alexandria in 320 brought together almost 100 national bishops; at the end of the seventh century there were still over sixty. In the sixth century there were only 40 sees (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 70, 87; Euty-

chinā, ii. 24; *P. O.*, v. 34, 52, 75; xvi. 233; Ya'kūbī, *Kit. al-buldān*, 339; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 12, 22, 26, 92; Michael, ii. 489; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 312, 321, 326; ii. 28—29, 94—95; Būlāḳ, ii. 287, 495—496; Renaudot, p. 457 *sq.*, 309; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 184—185; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 258, 444; Amélineau, *Géographie*, p. 571—577; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 302; J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, p. 192; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 106, 111, 116; Becker, *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 18; *M. I. Egypte*, vi. 21—22, 77, 114; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 28; Bell, *Aphr. Pap.*, p. 167—168; *Dict. arch.*, iv. 2430, 2436; *Chronographia*, p. 910, 1226, 1243, 1418; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 40, n. 5, 245; *Rev. d'hist. eccles.*, xvii. 505—507; Moh. Abdu, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, fr. transl., p. 125; ibid., ii. 8).

The estimates of the numbers of Copts made by travellers are not to be considered very accurate (Vansleb, *Relation*, p. 25; *Egypte*, *Un. pitt.*, ii. 26—27; iii. 133; Isambert, *Itin. de l'Orient Egypte*, p. 34; Clot Bey, *Aperçu sur l'Egypte*, i. 167, 243—244; Lane, *Manners*, i. 27—28; ii. 273). Here are the figures from the last three official censuses:

	1897	1907	1917
Total population	8,971,761	11,189,978	12,743,402
Copts	609,511	706,322	1,026,262

The majority of the Copts are in Upper Egypt:

Total population	4,046,296	4,630,700	5,186,872
Copts	484,770	554,282	634,552

The following are the provinces containing the largest number of Copts:

Asyūṭ	170,662	194,955	216,414
Girga	122,562	127,641	141,330
Miniya	94,088	114,748	134,755
Ḳena	53,777	58,653	68,933

In a notice on the Copts, it is necessary to indicate briefly the **foreign elements** which have mingled with the native population since the Arab conquest. The first conquerors settled in the country and by the beginning of the second (viiith) century the Arabs of Ḳais were established in the eastern part of the Delta and the beginning of the next century is marked by the arrival at Alexandria of the Spanish exiles from Cordova. Upper Egypt, especially in the extreme south, kept almost intact the population which had previously inhabited it. Under the Ṭūlūnids there were in the army 24,000 negroes and 40,000 Turks; the latter were still there under the Ikhshīdids and under the Fāṭimids, who also recruited Berbers, Greeks, Slavs, Persians, Turks and Armenians. Saladin abolished the negroes and the Armenians whom he replaced by the Ghuzz and the Kurds. The rule of the Aiyūbids and that of the Mamlūks carried on, on a large scale, continued purchases of Turkish and Circassian slaves. Egypt was thus peopled by foreign mercenaries, who, in other regions, would have prevented the native stock from remaining pure. But these foreigners were often exterminated in the course of the revolutions and above all foreigners and particularly the Mamlūks proved unfertile in the land of Egypt. When they married foreigners they had no children by them, or the children died before reaching manhood. From their marriages with native women were born delicate children, and the race was rarely perpetuated as far as the third generation. Without insisting too much upon its importance we note in regard to this fact an Arab saying which attributes a special fecundity to Coptic women. To sum up, agreeing with Massignon and all the Orientalists, we estimate that 92% of the Egyptian population is of Coptic origin. On this particular point we know nothing so erroneous as the chapter devoted to Egypt (p. 526—528) in *Races et l'Histoire* by Eug. Pittard (Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, tr., p. 193; Ibn Muyassar, p. 1—2, 34, 79; *B. I. F. A. O.*, ii. 34—36; Ḳalḳashandī, i. 302 *sqq.*; iv. 67—72; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, i. 9-10; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 13, n. 12, 214, n. 13; ii. 43—46; iii. 251; iv. 33, 83; Būlāḳ ed., ii. 4, 12, 14; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 84 *sq.*, 190—210; Wüstenfeld, *El-Makrizi's Abhandlung üb. die in Ägypten eingewand. ar. Stämme*; Blochet, *Hist. d'Egypte*, p. 106-140; Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, i. 2, 40—41; ii. b, 187 *sqq.*; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, vii. 81—82; Volney, *Voy. en Egypte*, i. 73 *sqq.*; Marcel, *Egypte*, p. 234; *Egypte*, *Un. pitt.*, ii. 27—28; iii. 47, 103—115; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 24—25; Clot Bey, *Aperçu sur l'Egypte*, i. 158 *sqq.*; Lane, *Manners*, i. 31-32; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 192-193; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 28—29; *C. I. A.*, *Egypte*, i. 722—725; d'Harcourt, *l'Egypte et les Egyptiens*, 85 *sqq.*; *R. M. M.*, lvii. 12, 26, 75—77; ibid., l. 1, 842; ii. 7, 44).

Summing up the stages of the islāmisation of the Copts in a few lines, we may say that the Christians were no longer in the majority by the third (ixth) century, two hundred years after the Arab conquest and it can be estimated that by the viiith (xivth) the Christians were hardly, as in our times, a tenth of the total population of Egypt. It remains to account for the **causes of this strangely rapid conversion** of a race which had been able to recover on many occasions, whom the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian had not subdued and whom the Byzantines were never able to settle. On the part of the Muslims, however, persecutions, in the sense understood in Roman times, were extremely rare. It is undeniable that there were martyrdoms which cannot be explained away; but the vast majority of the executions ordered by the Government show a particular characteristic on which it is necessary to insist. The Muslims have never wavered on two points; the death penalty was ordered in the case of a public insult to the Muslim religion and in that of conversion *from* Islām to Christianity. This observation must, for Egypt, be applied to the majority of European monks martyred in Egypt; the latter were, besides, in the eyes of the government, more or less suspected of espionage. That the church should honour them as martyrs is to be expected, but it would be wrong to call this persecution. Indeed the records of Egyptian martyrs, which contain innumerable lists for the Roman period, are exceedingly poor for the Muslim period and Christian epigraphy furnishes no further light (*P. O.*, i. 633—636; iii. 436; xvi. 203—205; xvii. 578—580, 754; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 84—86; Maḳrīzī, Būlāḳ ed., ii. 493; Renaudot, p. 426—427, 564—565; Maillet, *Descr. de l'Egypte*, ed. 1735, p. 95 *sqq.*; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 251—258; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 333 *sqq.*; *J. A.*, 1887, i. 113 *sqq.*; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 27—28; *B. I. F. A. O.*,

i. 114, 136—137; iv. 204; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2829; Chéneau, *Les saints d'Égypte*, ii. 394—400; *Anal. Bolland.*, xl. 101, 107, 111, above, ii. 873, 876; an article by Père Delehaye, which I have not been able to consult in *Constructive Quarterly*, Dec. 1921).

The Christians of Egypt did not then become Muslims, in order to escape persecution, although this has been asserted (Amélineau, *Actes*, p. 1); nor did they go over, as had been recently but wrongly written, "to the attraction exercised by a new religion upon men wearied by the narrow formalism of their churches" (B. Michael and Moust. Abd al-Razik in transl. of Shaikh M. Abdu, *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, p. lxxxiii.). It is more just to believe that Christianity "made no change in the spirit of the race, that it did not penetrate into the intimate life of individuals and that their souls never were sincerely and thoroughly Christian" (Lefèbre, *Rec. Inscr. Grecques Chrétiennes*, p. xxiv.; cf. Gayet, *Coins d'Égypte*, p. x. 128). This cannot be denied, but the true cause for conversion lay in the fiscal measures imposed upon the Christians by the Muslim law: "What the Arabs wanted was money, money, more money and yet more money" (Becker in *Isl.*, ii. 364; cf. *R. M. M.*, lvii. 77). We have seen the Copts at first enter convents, flee from their villages, foment revolts, not in an access of faith nor in order to defend their oppressed consciences, but in order to escape demands of the fiscal system. The history of the churches of Egypt under the Muslim domination is a sordid story of money; besides, at all times the Simoniac heresy was the favourite sin of the Coptic Church (Michael, iii. 80; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, i. 257—258; Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 31; Blochet, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 409, 558; Renaudot, p. 160, 325, 373, 379, 384, 396, 432, 510, 572, 578—581, 588, 590—591, 593; Quatremère, *Mém.*, ii. 444—445; *R. O. C.*, xiv. 381; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 272—275).

From ancient times until the present day the Egyptians have been celebrated for their love of money, and their hatred of paying taxes. A passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, a letter of Hadrian, has often been quoted. But in regard to this miserable question of money, sufficient attention has not been drawn to one of the rules of the patriarch Peter, the Martyr; these rules imposed penalties upon apostates who were desirous to re-enter the Church; but one of them, to say the least strange, "excluded from all censure Christians who had paid not to be persecuted and had thus at least shown their 'contempt for money'" (Aimé-Giron, *Légendes coptes*, p. 1 *sqq.*; *Dict. arch.*, i. 1102, 1105; iv. 2425, 2433; J. Maspero, *Organ.*, p. 15, 95; Clot Bey, *Aperçu sur l'Égypte*, ii. 287; Rouillard, *Admin. civile*, p. 6, 138, 165 *sqq.*). Thus it is that the Christians became Muslims in order to gain the benefit of an inheritance or to enjoy their property in complete tranquillity (Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 39—40).

It was in the offices of state that the Copts were particularly able to enrich themselves or satisfy their passion for governmental intrigue. The Muslim historians assure us that the Copts devoured the revenues of the state and complained of the severity of their superiors in regard to accounts. It was almost with the object of not losing their lucrative posts, during the periods when the Muslims were chafing against their presence in the offices of state, that the Copts were more willing to become converts when they had not been able by bribing their masters to obtain the withdrawal of the edict, which dismissed them from office (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii. 247; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 335; ii. 24; Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, ii. b, 179, 221; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 184, 192; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 140, 178; *C. I. A.*, *Égypte*, ii. commentary on Nº. 589; *M. I.*, *Égypte*, xl. 144).

The Coptic tax-collectors "who seemed to avenge on the poor Arabs the fact that the Coptic nation alone was liable to poll-tax" used a secret system of keeping accounts in order to make themselves indispensable. It was in vain for example that Napoleon tried to do without them. Mohammad 'Alī definitely suppressed this secret method of accounting at the same time as he imposed a check upon their embezzlements (*Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 19; Volney, *Voy. en Égypte*, 1825, i. 64, 176; *Égypte, Un. pitt.*, iii. 7, 160; Djabartī, viii. 240, 242—245, 248, 275—278; ix. 88—89, 121; *B. I. E.*, 1889, p. 285 *sqq.*; Maspero, p. 360 *sqq.*).

This general attitude of the Copts has not been without influence upon the verdicts of Muslim writers; for example one should read the opinions quite devoid of favouritism of the physician Ibn Riḍwān and the Spanish traveller Umaiya b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The travellers and writers of the west are, in their turn, very severe upon the Copts. It may be recalled here that the word *Kibti* was even in Turkish used as an insult and applied to mountebanks (Nuwairī, i. 293—294; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 195, 206—207, 213, 215; Būlāḳ ed., i. 340; Ḳalḳashandī, iv. 43; Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, ii. b, 247; Clot bey, *Aperçu sur l'Égypte*, ii. 132 *sqq.*; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 273 *sqq.*; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, i. 334—336; Basset, *Mélanges africains*, p. 286—287; *Actes du Congrès de Géogr. du Caire*, iv. 245—247; d'Harcourt, *L'Égypte et les Égyptiens*; Vansleb, *Relation*, p. 41—43; *R. M. M.*, xx. 105; Isambert, *Itin. de l'Orient, Égypte*, p. 153, 178—184).

One last question arises: Has this wholesale conversion of the Copts to Islām had any economic consequences? It has been said that the Muslims of Egypt were not productive, relying upon the undoubted fact that the industrial centres were largely peopled by Christians. The question is difficult to decide. It is stated that at the Mamlūk period the greater part of the native industries had perished, and special mention is made of the disappearance of centres of the weaving industry which the early historians and geographers mention: Akhmīm, Ashmūnain, Asyūṭ, Bahnasā, Dabīḳ, Damietta, Tinnīs, Tūna. It cannot however be believed that a simple change of religion could make the artisans abandon their occupations, and it is necessary rather to blame, after the terrible economic crisis of the reign of the Fāṭimid Mustanṣir, the excessive and extortionate taxation of the Aiyūbids and especially of the Mamlūks. The Copts, moreover, had made themselves famous by a particular industry which has not yet completely disappeared; the ship-building yards were at the beginning of the Arab occupation prosperous to such an extent that on the establishment of an arsenal at Tunis, the governor of Egypt, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān sent 3,000 Copts there. A recent enquiry has shown how much the technical language of the boat-builders of the Nile still owed much to the ancient national language (Bell, *Aphr. Papyri*, xvi. *sq.*, xxxii. *sqq.*; J. Maspero, *Organ.*, p. 56; *Z. A.*, xxii. 147 *sqq.*;

Rouillard, *Admin. civile*, p. 185; Bakrī, transl. p. 84; *B. I. F. A. O.*, xx. 45 *sqq.*, 301 *sqq.*)

The Arabisation. The Arab occupation gave new life for a period to the Coptic language, a victory without result, since the Coptic language was to be absolutely superseded by Arabic. At first the administrative offices continued to be conducted in Greek, as we shall show in detail later on. But in regard to geographical names we see a somewhat curious nationalist phenomenon. Greek place-names, especially the capitals of pagarchies disappeared completely and were replaced by transcriptions of the former Greek names. The Greek names only remained for places founded by the Greeks (Fusṭāṭ, al-Iskandariya). This revenge of the Copts on the Greeks was final since at the present time numerous place-names are still based on the Coptic names (Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, i. 267, 38 *sqq.*). At the same time, the Scripture lessons which were read in Greek in the church services and explained in the Coptic language were henceforth only read in Coptic until Arabic commentaries became necessary. In the same way Christian epigraphy became Coptic, while it had been Greek up to the sixth century (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 15; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2821).

In the year 87 (706) the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik ordered administrative documents to be drawn up in Arabic (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 122; Kindī, p. 58—59; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii 57—58; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 32, 290; *Bib. d. Arabisants*, ii. 106; Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 130—131; *Chronographia*, p. 949, 1024, 1056—1057, 1110; Chassinat, *Pap. médical*, p. 6). We now give some facts deduced from an examination of papyri. The first bilingual papyrus in Greek and Arabic dates from the year 22 (643). There is another of 57 (677), the last is of 101 (719). But the protocols of these papyri remain bilingual down to 102 (720). Alongside of them are papyri written wholly in Greek of which the latest are dated 164 (780). The first papyrus composed wholly in Arabic is dated 90 (709). The Arab government readily accepted communications in Coptic but does not seem to have used it regularly (Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 131, 145; *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 28—29; Bell, *Aphr. Papyri*, p. xlvi, 417; *Z. A.*, xx. 68—104; xxii. 137—154; *P. E. R. Mitt.*, i. 6, 50; *Isl.*, ii. 245—283, 359—384; iii. 132—140, 369—373; iv. 87—120, 313—314; *W. Z. K. M.*, xx. 139 *sqq.*; *Chronographia*, p. 254, 899, 911, 951, 1112, 1181, 1226, 1623; *Rev. historique*, cxix. 276; *Corp. pap. Raineri*, iii., *a*, 22; *b*, x.—xl.). The first inscription in Arabic found in Egypt is painted on a house at Antinoë dated 117 (735) (*C. I. A.*, *Égypte*, i., Nº 513; ibid., i. 388). It is probable that some Arab officials learnt the Coptic language — the case of the Ḳāḍī Khair b. Nuʿaim (120—128 = 738—746) cannot have been isolated (Kindī, p. 349, note; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 778). The patriarch Michael (728—752) had a petition sent to the governor ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (132—133 = 750—751) written in Coptic and in Arabic (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 32—33); but he himself did not know a word of Arabic, for he required an interpreter to converse with the Caliph Marwān II (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 33; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 6). In 145 (762) at Fusṭāṭ the Coptic language was generally understood (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 30; Kindī, p. 113). During his sojourn in Egypt (217 = 832) the Caliph Maʾmūn was accompanied by an interpreter, whose services were by no means unnecessary (Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i. 340; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 43—44). The Patriarch Joseph (831—850) addressed the bishops who had become themselves his accusers in Coptic and some of the Muslims understood his discourse (*P. O.*, x. 525; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 34). The clergy in the ninth century had learned Arabic well, for a Muslim, who wished to be converted was instructed by a priest who expounded to him in Arabic the Coptic text of the holy scriptures (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 34—35). Let us note in passing a Christian stele in Coptic and Arabic, dated 625 A. M. = 909 (*Ann. du serv. des Antiquités*, xiii. 285—286). The Coptic medical papyrus published by Chassinat (*M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxii.) frequently employs Arabic terminology, transcribed in Coptic characters and in some places in Arabic script. It was written between the ninth and tenth centuries by an author who used both languages with facility and a note might even lead us to suppose that he was more familiar with Arabic than with Coptic. He frequently gives the preference to Arabic terminology over Greek or Coptic, quotes numerous Arabic physicians, and even uses an Arabic translation of Galen, although he knew Greek (Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 4). On account of certain transcriptions, Chassinat would date about this time the alchemical fragments which Stern put to the eighth or even as late as the ninth century (ibid., p. 5). But according to Muḳaddasī (about 325 = 985) the Christians of Egypt still spoke Coptic (Muḳaddasī, p. 203), which is confirmed by popular Coptic poetry of this period (*An. Bolland*, xl. 244, n. 3). The celebrated passage in Severus of Ashmūnain is well known. "I have begged the assistance of Christians who have translated for me the facts which they had read in Coptic and in Greek into Arabic, which is now spread to such an extent throughout Egypt that the greater part of the inhabitants do not know Greek and Coptic". This statement is absolutely accurate on the first point, as we possess in Coptic the biographies of patriarchs that Severus has faithfully translated (*P. O.*, i. 115; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 35; Ladeuze, *Cénobitisme pakhômien*, p. 69; *M. R. O.*, i. 110; Chassinat, *Pap. médical*, p. 6). Thus in the fourth (tenth) century the Coptic clergy wrote in Arabic when they wished to be understood; this is especially the case in regard to Severus and Eutychius (Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. 131; ibid., ii. 7). It is from the same period that an Arabic text written in Coptic characters dates (*B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 1 *sqq.*; Chassinat, *Pap. médical*, p. 5; 23). Besides, the Coptic language began to be corrupted; this is the case with a document relating the persecutions of al-Ḥākim (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 247 *sqq.*). It seems however, too much to assert that in the xith century, or perhaps earlier, Coptic was no longer written (*Dict. Arch.*, iii. 2821). The geographer Bakrī (d. 1094) even asserts that around Tripoli in Barbary certain groups still spoke Coptic (Bakrī in Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 293). Athanasius of Ḳūs prepared in Arabic his grammar of the Coptic language, but noted that from his time two dialects the Bohairic and the Saidic were still used (Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 20—21). Mawhūb b. Manṣūr, the continuer

of Severus of Ashmūnain, still used biographies written in Coptic (*ibid.*, p. 37; Renaudot, p. 418). Abū Ṣāliḥ, who records a Coptic inscription dated 1043 says that in the sixth (xiith) century educated men among the clergy still knew Coptic (Abū Ṣāliḥ, fos 41, 45); this was so in regard to the patriarchs Cyril II (1076—1090) and Gabriel II (1132—1145) who wrote as elegantly in Coptic as in Arabic (Renaudot, p. 407, 501; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 292; Butler, *Copt. Churches*, ii. 84). The latter translated into Arabic the liturgical books (Michael, iii. 235; Renaudot, p. 467). The investiture of the patriarch Macarius (1101—1127) was celebrated in Greek, in Coptic and in Arabic (*P. O.*, i. 231; Renaudot, p. 488). The heretic Mark b. Ḳanbar (d. 1166) to spread his doctrine expounded the Holy Scriptures in Arabic from the Coptic text (Abū Ṣāliḥ, fos 9 *sqq.*, 14; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 496; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 36; Graf, *Ein Reformversuch innerhalb der Kopt. Kirche im zwölften Jahrh.*).

At the end of the xiith century a converted Jew became fluent in the Coptic language (Renaudot, p. 525; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 36—37). Abū Ṣāliḥ mentions that in his time at Esnā Christians marched in front of wedding processions even Muslim ones, and chanted formulae in Saidic Coptic (f. 102; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 43). We have already mentioned the Coptic inscription of Dair al-A'ẓām, dated 1156; we may here note that of the tombs opposite al-Aswān dated 1173 which refers to the expedition of Tūrān Shāh into Nubia (*Dict. Arch.*, ii. 2879).

These two texts support in a remarkable way a passage in Abū Ṣāliḥ who says that in 554 (1159) Coptic was still being studied (Abū Ṣāliḥ, f. 45). The story of the martyrdom of John of Phanidjoit which dates from the beginning of the xiiith century clearly marks a decline, for we find many Arabic words in it (Quatremère, *Rech.*, 401; *B. I. E.*, 1885, p. 356; *J.A.*, 1887, i. 120—121; *B.I.F.A.O.*, i. 113 *sqq.*; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 6; *An. Bolland.*, xl. 245). The translation of the sacred books was continued and while the services were always celebrated in Coptic, the lessons were explained in Arabic (Villecourt, *Observances liturgiques*, repr. from *Le Muséon*, xxxvi. 49—50, 65, 111—112). Perhaps the clergy no longer understood Coptic; the patriarch Michael V (1165—1166) was not able to read either Coptic or Arabic (Renaudot, p. 514; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 37—38). The latest Coptic inscriptions are of this date, those of the White Convent in the xiiith century; those of the painter Mercury, one of which is dated 1301 at the Red Convent, the other 1318 at the Convent of St. Simeon; and lastly the bilingual inscription (Coptic and Arabic) on a rock between Aswān and Kōm-Ombo, dated 1537 (*Dict. arch.*, iii. 2870—2871, 2878—2879; *J. of Theol. Studies*, v. 554—555; *M.F.O.*, v, i, 133*; *B.I.F.A.O.*, vi. 3—4; Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Sohâg*, i. 28 *sqq.*). While an ecclesiastical diploma was in 1256 prepared entirely in Arabic, an ordination diploma of 1363 was still written in Arabic and in Coptic (*Ann. du Serv. des Antiquités*, xi. 177—185; *Proc. of Bibl. Arch.*, xx. 270—276). The latest in date of Coptic manuscripts is of 1393 (Stern, *Copt. Gramm.*, p. 2). The decline is quite complete and it is clearly wrong to say that towards the end of the reign of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, an order was made to close the Coptic schools and that the teaching of the Coptic language was forbidden (*Égypte, Un. pitt.*, iii. 159). At no time indeed does such a measure seem to have been taken. We may note here that Abyssinia has "received in a very singular fashion the imprint of Arabicisation by means of the Arabic literature of the Christian Copts in Egypt" (*R.M.M.*, lvii. 95).

The celebrated passages of Maḳrīzī are well known which declare that in the majority of monasteries of the district of Asyūṭ, Greek and Coptic were both known and that Coptic was still spoken. Some people naturally have been led to say that this assertion is an exaggeration. In our opinion one can go further; it is probable that Maḳrīzī quotes on this occasion an early writer, Shābushtī for example (d. 390 = 999); it must not be forgotten that Maḳrīzī is a compiler who often does not give his sources (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 507; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 42; *Dict. arch.*, iv. 2481, 2486; Lane, *Manners*, ii. 282; Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.*, p. 2; *R.O.C.*, xiii. 192, 194; Ladeuze, *Cénob. pakhômien*, p. 69; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 6). — Chassinat holds that the copy of the *Theotokies*, a Coptic text written in Arabic characters, can scarcely be of an earlier date than the xivth or xvth century. It is also evidence that Coptic had been completely neglected for, in order to learn the pronunciation, it was necessary to have recourse to the Arabic alphabet (*B. I. F. A. O.*, v. 91 *sqq.*; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 23—24).

There remain to be noted certain isolated facts which show that a few Copts, until the middle of the last century, still used the ancient national language (Vansleb, *Relation*, p. 363; Quatremère, *Rech.*, 44, 293; *Dict. arch.*, iii. 2822; iv. 2486; *R. M. M.*, lvii. 77; *Égypte, Un. pitt.*, iii. 117; *Zeitsch. f. äg. Sprache*, xxxix. 87). — As to the care which the Coptic clergy took of their collections of manuscripts reference can be made to the work of Hyvernat (*Rev. biblique*, v. 442—428).

In brief a rude blow was dealt to the national language from the time that the Arabs firmly established the use of their own language in government offices. The conversions *en masse* which had taken place from the first century induced the new Muslims to learn the language of the Ḳur'ān. Step by step the Arabs passed from the régime of a military occupation to that of a colonisation, and, doubtless, this was the principal factor in Arabicisation. The necessity of buying and selling to the townspeople forced the Copts to learn the Arabic language, and even to write it. The Coptic language survived for several centuries, losing ground in each generation, ended by quite disappearing from everyday life, being restricted to the church services and was not understood by the people at least from the vith (xiith) century (*ibid.*, ii. 7). The *Vocabulaire* published by G. Maspero may be the latest document of spoken Coptic (*Romania*, xvii. 481—512; Chassinat, *Pap. Médical*, p. 36).

It is quite natural that a certain number of Coptic words have survived in the Arabic of Egypt, but it is wrong to think that Coptic grammar has in any way influenced Egyptian Arabic (*Z.D.M.G.*, l. 653—656; Stern, *Kopt. Gramm.*, p. 5—6; *B. I. F. A. O.*, ii. 212—216; and the authors quoted in *B. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 33—38).

Christian Literature in Arabic. Literature in the Coptic language consists almost

entirely of religious works, translations of the Old and New Testament, and Lives of the Saints for the most part translated from the Greek. This literature has been roughly handled by J. Maspero, who admits however that Greek had supplanted Coptic amongst the educated circles of the Christian population and that Egypt produced works of value in the Greek language under Byzantine rule. Coptic literature proper did not have the time to develop, and after having lived in translations, perished without producing a single original work (J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 17—18, 24, 27, 33, 51; *B. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 194—195).

Coptic literature, confined to the liturgy and to the moral education of the people consists of ecclesiastical works, lives of saints and of pious individuals, which were compiled in the monasteries and which we must deal with as some of them are translations or adaptations of them in Arabic. It has the faults and merits of a popular literature. The short stories of the lives of the monks in their convents, with their familiar apparitions, in which demons and even Christ appear frequently and often in a burlesque fashion, have in every way a very infantile character. In this literature always written for edification and for an uneducated class, the marvellous always plays a prominent part — the marvellous of a quite naive kind, and it is surprising to note to what extent miracles, clumsy imitations of those of the prophets, increase in the stories of the Copts (*Dict. arch.*, iii. 2820—2821, *B. L. E.*, 1885, p. 336; 1886, p. 308—309, 356; Chénau, *Les saints d'Égypte*, ii. 142; Gayet, *Coins d'Égypte*, p. 4; J. Maspero, *Hist. Patr.*, p. 57; Ladeuze, *Cénob. pakhômien*, p. 141—145, 217, n. 1; *Anal. Bolland.*, cl. 148).

In agreement with Casanova we believe "that the Arabic translations of Coptic works were made at the time when the Fāṭimids who had shown favour to the Copts, reigned in Egypt, and when there was a kind of renaissance of Christian literature, a renaissance which was manifested by the number of works written in Arabic". Of all this hagiographic literature in Arabic, the *Lives* of Shenūdi, Pakhomios, Pisentios, and of Victor, son of Romanos, are the best. These are panegyrics, not chronicles or biographies. It is convenient to place here the Arabic Jacobite Synaxary, published in the fifteenth century by Michael of Malīdj, of which a contemporary recasting has been recently republished under the title *al-Amin al-Ṣādiḳ*. Certain quotations from the liturgical and ecclesiastical texts enable us to pass in review the old writers who enjoyed popularity among the Christians in Egypt. The latter translated into Arabic the canons, sermons and homilies of St. Athanasius, of St. Basil, of Ephraim the Syrian, of St. Epiphanius of Alexandria, the canons of Pope Clement, the sermons of Cyril of Jerusalem, of Gregory of Nyssa, of Gregory of Nazyanza, numerous treatises and homilies by St. John Chrysostom, treatises by St. John of Damascus etc. (*B. I. F. A. O.*, i. 20; Ladeuze, *Cénob. pakhômien*, p. 84 *sqq.*, 116; *Anal. Bolland.*, xl. 91—113, 127—154; Haase, *Altchristl. Kirchengesch.*, p. 115).

Without producing a writer of the class of Firdawsi, the Copts have left us a history of ancient times, but it was the Muslims who wrote it: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, in his *Futūḥ Miṣr*, Masʿūdi in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* and notably in his *Akhbār al-zamān*, later Ibn Waṣīf Shāh, so often quoted by Maḳrīzī. We know also these legends from the *Égypte de Murtadi fils du Gaphiphe* (Murtaḍā b. ʿAfīf) and the anonymous *Abrégé des Merveilles*. G. Maspero has clearly brought out that the documentation of these works was mainly Coptic (*Journ. des Savants*, 1899, p. 69—86, 154—172, 277; *Klio*, ix. 20).

Nevertheless the Christians in Egypt produced a certain number of historians of note who do not make a bad show by the side of the Muslim annalists. They are very valuable for the history of their own country, and much use of their works has been made in this article. The first in date, Eutychius (263—328 = 877—940), in Arabic Saʿīd b. al-Baṭrīḳ, the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, wrote, besides medical treatises, a history which extends from the creation of the world to events contemporaneous with the author. Masʿūdi praises his work, in which important sources have been utilised. A continuation of his history written by one of his relatives, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭāḳī deals chiefly with contemporary events in Egypt and in Syria. An account of the years 328—425 (940—1034) is given there. The first Jacobite is Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, bishop of Ashmūnain about the year 985. He was a very fertile writer, since, according to Abu 'l-Barakāt, he composed twenty-six ecclesiastical and apologetic treatises, amongst which a "*Histories of the Councils*" and a "*Refutation of Eutychius*" are well known. But the most precious work is in our opinion his "*History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*" which was continued by the deacon Mawhūb b. Manṣūr (about 1087). Although an Armenian, Abū Ṣāliḥ cannot be omitted from this list, since he wrote in Egypt from native sources, especially Muslim ones. His *History of the Monasteries* contains information of every kind, geographical, archaeological, historical and ecclesiastical. With the help of this book compared with Muslim works, it is possible to estimate the favour which the Christians enjoyed at the Fāṭimid court. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Ibn al-Rāhib (Abū Shākir Buṭrus) produced a general chronology which starts from the creation of the world; he also wrote a *History of the Councils* and a lexicographical work. His contemporary al-Makīn (George b. Abi 'l-Yāsir) wrote a general history, following the method of nearly all Arab writers. So far the second part, which, after summarising Ṭabarī as a beginning, deals with events following Islām, is the only one known; in the first, the author made use of Eutychius, Agapius of Manbidj, and different Greek writers. Al-Makīn, an official at the court of Baibars I, a descendant of officials in the service of the Aiyūbids, died at Damascus in 672 (1274). His work was continued until the year 750 (1349) by Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, who belonged to a family of ecclesiastical writers. His history, *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, which owes much to Nuwairī, is as to the part still unpublished, very like the anonymous history published by Zetterstéen, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Mamlūken-sultane*. Lastly we must note Abū Dhaḳn, who wrote in the eighteenth century, a *History of the Copts* (Graf, *Reformversuch*, p. 2, 17—18, 25; *Machr.*, xii. 488—492, 495; Masʿūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 154; Ibn Abi Uṣaibiʿa, ii. 86—87; *P. O.*, xii. 345—354; Haase, *Altchrist. Kirchengesch.*, p. 30—31, 33; Graf, *Christ.-ar. Lit.*, p. 40—46; *R. O. C.*, xiv. 385;

Renaudot, p. 346—348, 367—368; Zaidān, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-'arabiya*, ii. 200; ibid., iv. 187).

Besides these historians, the Arabic Christian literature in Egypt possesses philologists of the first rank. They appeared at the time when the Coptic language, no longer in everyday use, ran the risk of being no longer understood by the ecclesiastics. Nourished on Arabic culture, these writers took for their models Arabic grammarians. An analysis of all these works, grammars or "scalae" (in Arabic *sullam*), has been ably made by P. Mallon, whose conclusions are here summarised. The first in date is the Coptic grammar of Athanasius of Kūṣ who lived in the 11th century. The *scalae* must have existed at this time for John of Semennūd, who wrote in the middle of the thirteenth century, wrote his own to take the place of the older ones, which through endeavouring to be complete were too voluminous. Confined to the liturgy, it is arranged in a detestable manner, for it classifies the words according to the order in which they occur in the sacred books; it is entitled *sullam kanā'isī*, the *scala ecclesiastica*. John wrote in addition a grammar to which he gave the name of "preface", *muḳaddima*. At the same period lived three brothers, all famous, the sons of al-'Assāl, one, Abu 'l-Faḍā'il, known for his *Collection of Canons*, the second, Abu 'l-Faradj, who was also an exegist, wrote a preface, which greatly resembles in method that of John of Semennūd; the third, Abū Isḥāḳ, the author of the *Sullam muḳaffā'*, a *scala* in which the words are arranged according to their rhymes after the manner of the Arab dictionaries. The grammars of Ibn Kātib Ḳaiṣar, of John of Kalyūb and of Ibn al-Dahairī, who lived probably in the second half of the xiiith century, are still in existence. They were immediately followed by Ibn al-Rāhib, already mentioned as a historian; his *Preface* is very inferior to the preceding ones (*M.F.O.B.*, i. 121—136; ii. 213—216; v. 57—90; Quatremère, *Rech.*, p. 20—21; Villecourt, *Observations Liturgiques*, repr. from *Le Muséon*, xxxvi. 3—4; Mallon, *Gramm. Copte*, p. 5—7; Marmite, p. 300).

The authors of these dictionaries were not the first, but amongst the whole group of lexicographers, who have just been mentioned, the great personality of Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Kabar, stands out. He was the first of Christian writers in Egypt to be known in Europe, thanks to Kircher, who published his *Sullam Kabīr*, or *Scala Magna* and to Vansleb who reproduced his *Lamp of the Darkness* in his *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*. These are the two chief works of this ecclesiastic whose literary activity lay in the first half of the fourteenth century. In addition he collaborated in a *General History* of the Mamlūk Emir Baibars al-Dawādār whose secretary he was. The *Lamp of the Darkness* is an "encyclopaedia of the ecclesiastical sciences, containing in dogma, religious history, liturgy and discipline, all that a Coptic priest could wish to know". This work contains very valuable lists; those of the seventy disciples, the patriarchs of Alexandria, the saints of the Coptic Year, and, above all, an important bibliography of Arab Christian authors (*Dict. de Théol. Catholique*, viii. 2293—2296).

The greater part of Arabic Christian literature was intended to be read to the people during the service, and its form shows signs of this. They are somewhat analogous to the sermons of the Middle Ages, written in a macaronic style, addressed to an illiterate audience, to whom Latin was not known. Let us add to this that these works are translations from Greek and Coptic, often word for word, and that the Arabic phraseology is clumsy. But it is a matter for astonishment that the editors of Christian manuscripts have thought that they must keep faults of orthography, which the Muslim copyists as well as the Christian ones had made and have thrown the blame for them upon the author. The result has been deplorable and with only rare exceptions, the editions of the *Patrologia Orientalis* and of the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum Orientalium* are almost unintelligible. Another inconvenience is that the result has been regrettable erroneous estimates of the Christian writers (*Z. D. M. G.*, li. 453—471; *B. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 140; Amélineau, *Actes*, p. 9; *R. O. C.*, xxii. 383—384).

Bibliography for the literature: *B.I.F.A.O.*, iii. 25—68; iv. 105—221; vi. 179; xii. 47—48; *R. O. C.*, xiii. 81—89, 298—313; xiv. 174—188, 278—281, 337—356; *R. S. O.*, iv. 546 *sqq.*; *Dict. arch.*, i. 1200; Basset, *Mélanges africains*, p. 306—310; Galtier, *Mémoires et fragments*, p. 34—134; Hilmy, *Bibliogr. of Egypt*, i. 20, 14, 21, 24, 26—27, 35—36, 44—45, 107, 135, 144, 152, 228—229, 251, 329, 337, 364; ii. 1, 17, 24, 39, 86, 165, 228, 283—284, 296; 'Alī Pāshā, vi. 83—85; Clermont-Ganneau, *R. A. O.*, vi. 364—372.

[The author owes several essential references to the kindness of M. M. Noël Aimé-Giron and H. Munier. He expresses especially his thanks to Mr. W. E. Crum who in view of this article undertook long and fruitful researches]. (G. W.)

ḲIDAM is said (1) of anything which is antecedent to another in time (*taḳaddum*, opp. *ta'akhkhur*); (2) of the temporal, newly arisen, which no time has preceded; (3) of the absolute, i. e. in its nature without beginning (*ḳidam* in this sense is usually synonymous with *azal*, *azaliya*; but some, e. g. Djīlī, *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, ii. 30, endeavour to show that there is a subtle distinction). In the last (3) sense, according to orthodox belief, the name *al-Ḳadīm* can be applied to God alone. The question whether God's thought in relation to the (not yet) created world can be conceived as a simple relation or is a concrete part of his eternal prescience and the world is thus eternal in God was answered differently.

It was the custom in philosophical language to talk of the eternalness of the real world. If the creation of the world was not denied, an eternal creation was taught and God called the first cause and the world eternally caused as a whole. In this reasoning one could appeal to the multiplicity of meaning of the conception "eternity" in Hellenistic tradition especially to the Aristotelian distinction between πρότερον and ὕστερον (cf. *Categ.*, 14a, 26 *sqq.* and *Metaph.*, 1018b, 9 *sqq.*). Thus in general a distinction was made between a temporal (*zamānī*) and an essential (*dhātī*) priority and posteriority but 3 to 6 varieties were distinguished, viz.: — in addition to an order of precedence in time, one in order of place (*rutba*), in rank (*sharaf*), in nature (*ṭab'*), in causality (*sababiya*) and in knowledge (*'ilm*).

Bibliography: *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, p. 1211 *sqq.*; cf. the article ḲHALḲ.

(T. J. DE BOER)

ĶIFṬ (KUFṬ, KAFṬ, the old Κοπτος), name of a place in Upper Egypt, nowadays insignificant (according to Baedeker, *Egypt*, it has 8934 inhabitants only), situated under 26° north. lat., on the east bank of the Nile, but at a certain distance from the river, where the latter comes nearest the coast of the Red Sea. This situation explains the importance of the place in antiquity, when it was an emporium where the wares coming from India, Punt, Arabia Felix were directed to the North. Its commerce with India is still mentioned by Yāķūt who speaks also of the surrounding orchards. The territory was a *waķf* belonging to the Ashrāf (ʿAlids) and the inhabitants were Shīʿites.

Traditions on the origin of Koptos are to be found in Maķrīzī's *Mawāʿiẓ*.

Bibliography: Breasted, *Egypt*, general index (geographical) under Coptos; H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, Berlin 1878, p. 202; Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. Evetts, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, (sem. ser., Nº. 7), index; Yaʿķūbī, *B. G. A.*, vii. 333; Ibn al-Faķīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 73; Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie du Moyen-âge*, Copenhague 1874, p. 325, 328; Maķrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ* ed. Wiet in *M. I. F. A. O.*, vol. xxx., xxxiii., xlvi., indices; Ibn Duķmāķ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Vollers, Cairo 1893, ii., p. 32—33; Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, i. 126 *sq.*; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb Taķwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 110 *sq.*; Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 152; ʿAlī Basha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, Būlāķ 1305, xiv. 104—105.

AL-**ĶIFṬĪ**, *nisba* of a family of officials of pure Arab origin, several members of which filled high offices under the Aiyūbids. The honorary title *al-Ķāḍī al-Awḥad* was borne by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, whose son Yūsuf, afterwards *al-Ķāḍī al-Ashraf*, was born at Ķifṭ on Muḥarram 1, 548 (March 29, 1153). He succeeded his father in the administration of his native town, but had to leave it in 572 (1176/1177) on account of the rising of a Fāṭimid pretender. After filling several offices in Upper Egypt, he was summoned in 583 (1187), after the conquest of Jerusalem, to Saladin's court in the field, to assist his vizier al-Ķāḍī 'l-Fāḍil. When, on Saladin's death, his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil deprived his nephew of his inheritance and occupied Jerusalem in 592 (1196), al-Ķifṭī, along with other officials, left this town in 598 (1202) and went to Ḥarrān, where he entered the service of Saladin's son Ashraf. But he soon decided to leave Syria and under the pretext of the pilgrimage went to Mecca, thence to the Yemen, where the Atābeg Sonķor, the guardian of the minor Aiyūbid al-Nāṣir, gave him the vizierate in 602 (1205). But he soon gave up this office and died in retirement at Dhū Djible in Yemen in 624 (1227).

His son ʿAlī, born in Rabīʿ I or II of 568 (winter of 1172) at Ķifṭ, followed his father and grandfather in the official service, but his inclinations were rather towards scholarship. After studying in his native town and in Cairo, he went with his father to Jerusalem, where he was able for several years to gratify his inclinations. But his father had to leave Jerusalem, and he could not have stayed much longer, certainly not till 608, as Yāķūt, *Irshād*, v. 4855, says. But the son went to Aleppo, where a patron of his, the former governor of Jerusalem and Nābalus, Fāris al-Dīn Maimūn al-Ķaṣrī, had become vizier to Saladin's son al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī. The latter took him into his service as secretary and he received thanks for careful administration of the fiefs. After the death of his patron on Ramaḍān 13, 610 (Jan. 26, 1214), the Sulṭān appointed him his khāzin. Although he would have preferred to devote himself to study, he had soon to take over the reorganisation of the *Dīwān*. After al-Ẓāhir's death on Djumādā II 20, 613 (4th Oct., 1216), he retired into private life, but had again to return to the head of the Dīwān in Ṣafar 616 (April, 1219) and held this office till the end of Djumādā II, 628 (April, 1231). He then already had the title al-Ķāḍī 'l-Akram al-Wazīr, as his protégé Yāķūt tells us in his *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, iv. 152, a passage written before 624 (1227). After five years' leisure he again took on the office of vizier in 633 (1236) and held it till his death on 13th Ramaḍān, 646 (Dec. 31, 1248).

Before affairs of state entirely took up his energies, he had displayed considerable literary activity. In the *Irshād*, v. 4834, Yāķūt gives a list of his works written before 620, some, however, not quite completed by then; this list was copied almost word for word by al-Ṣafadī [q. v.] in his *al-Wāfī fi 'l-Wafayāt* (ed. Fleischer, in *Abulfedae Historia anteislamica*, p. 234), and al-Kutubī borrowed it from him with several corruptions in his *Fawāt* I 196.

His historical works are all lost: they included a history of Maḥmūd b. Sübüktigin and his sons (*maḥmūdī*, in al-Kutubī corrupted to *mahaḍiyat*, not recognised by Süssheim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Brit. Mus. zu London verwahrten Chronik des seldschuqischen Reichs*, p. 31, Nº. 2) and a history of the Seldjūķs from the beginning to the end of the dynasty, which must have been of considerable value. Of his works on literary history, only the posthumous work on poets with the name Muḥammad has survived to us (see de Slane, *Cat. des Mss. Ar. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Nº. 3335). Of his history of the grammarians we have only the synopsis by al-Dhahabī (d. 748 = 1347) in the latter's autograph, see *Cat. Codd. Ar. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*[2], ed. de Goeje and Th. W. Juynboll, iii. 26, Nº. xlviii. The most valuable of his works for us, the *Kitāb Ikhbār al-ʿUlamāʾ bi-Akhbār al-Ḥukamāʾ*, our most important source for the history of the exact sciences and Hellenistic tradition in Islām, has only survived in a synopsis by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Zawzanī, made in 647 (1249), see *Ibn al-Qifṭi's Taʾrīḫ al-Ḥukamāʾ, auf Grund der Vorarbeiten Aug. Müllers*, ed. by J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, *repr.* Cairo 1326.

Bibliography: Yāķūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, *G. M. S.*, vi. 447—494; al-Ṣafadī, *op. cit.*, p. 233—234, taken over by al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Cairo 1299, p. 1197; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 358; do., *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 319; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. ar.*, ii. 193—198; Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur* (*Abh. für die Kunde des Morg.*, 1877), p. 129, Nº. 111; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 331; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 325; A. Müller, *Über das sogenannte Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ des Ibn al-Qifṭi*, *Actes du 8e congrès internat. des orient.*, sect. i., Leyden 1891, p. 15—36; H. Derenbourg, *L'histoire des philosophes attribuée à Ibn al-Kifṭi* in *Opuscules d'un arabisant*, Paris 1905, p. 37—48.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

KILĀB b. Rabī'a, an Arabic tribe which was one of the principal branches of the large tribe of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. Their original homes were in the Ḥima Ḍarriya which corresponds roughly to the country North and South of the present Wahhābī capital al-Riyāḍ. This district was considered one of the best in Central Arabia and we are told that the Kilāb occupied nine tenths of it. At a much later time than the rise of Islām they wandered North into the confines of Syria where they gained possession of the towns of Hīt, Ḥalab and others and where their rulers were known as the Āl Mirdās [q. v.]. A large tribe like the Kilāb was divided into many clans and we have notices of ten larger divisions: 1) Dja'far b. Kilāb with four divisions: Mālik, al-Aḥwaṣ, Khālid and 'Utba. 2) Abū Bakr b. Kilāb with three divisions: 'Abd, Ka'b and 'Abd Allāh. (3) Mu'āwiya al-Ḍibāb with thirteen divisions of whom five had names used for the lizard: Ḍabb, Muḍibb, Ḍibāb, Ḥusail, Ḥisl, 'Amr, Anas, al-A'war, Zufar, Unais, Mālik, Rabī'a and Zuhair. Shamir b. Shuraḥbīl who killed al-Ḥusain at Karbalā' was a member of the division of al-A'war. 4) 'Āmir b. Kilāb with four divisions: al-Aṣamm, Ka'b (one of the principal clans of the whole tribe), Ṭarīf and 'Aḳīl. 5) Rabī'a b. Kilāb with three divisions: Budjair, 'Ubaid and Nufail. 6) Al-Aḍbaṭ b. Kilāb the divisions of which are all derived through Wabr and of which seven are mentioned by genealogists. 7) 'Amr b. Kilāb with two divisions: Nufail and Abū Awf. 8) 'Abd Allāh b. Kilāb with three divisions: 'Āmir, 'Amr and al-Samūt. 9) Ru'ās b. Kilāb with three divisions: Bidjād, Budjaid and 'Ubaid. 10) Ka'b b. Kilāb with four divisions: 'Āmir, Wahb, Rabī'a and Aws. The most prominent clan in the time before Islām were the Banū Dja'far, who were powerful enough to have under their protection for a long time the tribe of Ghanī and also gave support to the tribe of 'Abs in their long struggle with the Banū Dhubyān. The most remarkable deed recorded of the tribe of Kilāb was their signal defeat of the confederate tribes of Dhubyān and Asad in the battle of Djabala, where they with other 'Āmir tribes secured a signal victory which is reckoned as one of the three great battles in the time of paganism of which Arab authors have any record. We find them still in their old settlements in the first centuries after the Hidjra, but they were quite submissive to the governors sent to them from al-Madīna or Damascus. In the year 231 Bughā al-Kabīr was forced to capture 1500 of their men as they by that time had reverted to their ancient Beduin life of making predatory raids upon the neighbouring country.

Among prominent men who came from this tribe the poet Labīd [q. v.] is probably the best known, but it is astonishing how few of them are recorded as traditionists or scholars.

Bibliography: Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ed. Cairo, ii. 338—340; Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, ed. Cairo, i. 340; Kalkashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Baghdād 1332, p. 329; Naḳā'iḍ, ed. Bevan, passim, especially pp. 655 *sqq.*, and 662 *sqq.*; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen* and *Register*, p. 267; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, passim; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, passim. (F. Krenkow)

KILĀT-I NĀDIRĪ (strictly *Kalāt*), a town in Persia (Khorāsān) on the Russo-Persian frontier to the north of Meshhed and to the north-east of Sarakhs. It is a natural fortress perched on a spur of the Kara-Dāgh mountains. When Arghūn rebelled against the election of Takūdar Aḥmad as Mongol Il-khān, he took refuge after his defeat, in this fortress (680/1281), the entrance on the west side of which is still known as Darbend-i Arghūn (it is also pronounced Arghawān, probably by a popular etymology). It was besieged by Tamerlane who attacked it fourteen times without success. The conqueror withdrew, leaving troops to blockade it, and it surrendered finally after a pestilence. This was the first place which Nādir Shāh, who had begun as a brigand, made his centre of action; later he built a palace there and a treasury for the spoils of Delhi.

Bibliography: Mīrzā Mahdī-khān, *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān-gushāi Nādirī*, Bombay 1265, p. 18; Waṣṣāf, quoted in d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii. 594; P. M. Sykes in *Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society*, December 1906; do., *History of Persia*[1], ii. 185, 201, 341, 350 (photograph of the treasury of Nādir-Shāh). (Cl. Huart)

KILĪD al-BAḤR, a fortress and small town at the narrowest part of the Dardanelles.

The reader is referred to the article ḲALE'-I SULṬĀNIYE where the fortress on the Asiatic side opposite Kilīd al-Baḥr is fully dealt with, and here only the minimum necessary is given. The castle of Kilīd al-Baḥr was planned and armed along with the Asiatic fortification in the years 1462/1463 by Ya'ḳūb Bey, sandjaḳ-bey of Gallipoli, by order of Meḥmed II (*Kritobulos*, ed. C. Müller, book iv., chapt. 14 and book xv., chapt. 3; cf. also: *Chalkokondyles*, ed. I. Bekker, p. 529, 19 and J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 73). Sulaimān the Great in 958 (1551) renewed the fortifications which had fallen into decay in the interval and they were fundamentally remodelled and extended with those of Ḳale'-i Sulṭānīye in 1069/1070 (1659/1660). The further history of Kilīd al-Baḥr is practically the same as that of the Asiatic fortress of Ḳale'-i Sulṭānīye [q. v.] 1500 yards away. The ancient picturesquely situated fortress of Kilīd al-Baḥr with its old round tower was strengthened in later times by the addition of the modern fort of the same name with an adjoining battery, the small earthworks of Yeñi Medjīdiye and the large earthworks at Namāzgāh. Behind the old tower of the fortress lies the insignificant village of the same name on the slope of a hill, which suffered a great deal during the fighting in the Dardanelles in the Great War.

Bibliography: (in addition to references under ḲALE'-I SULṬĀNIYE): Ewliyā, *Siyāḥetnāme*, v. 302—304 (with the chronograms); Jacob Spon, *Voyage du Levant*, Lyon 1678, i. 209; G. Wheeler, *Journey*, London 1682, 74; G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1801, i. 234; Félix de Beaujour, *Voyage militaire*, Paris 1829, ii. 489; d'Anville in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xxviii., 1761, 322; Jean Reinhard, *J.-M. Angiolello (1452—1525)*, Part i., Besançon 1913, p. 38; picture in Jérôme Maurand, *Itinéraire (1544)*, ed. by Ch. Schefer, Paris 1901, on pl. xiv., picture 2 ("Sestos"), and p. 179 *sqq.*; a description in: *Historia, e ria vera, e distinto Ragguaglio dello Stato presente della Città di Costantinopoli* etc.; iv.: *La descrittione .... delli Dardanelli*, Venice, 1686, 4°, 36 pp.; J. Löwenklau (Leunclavius), *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, ed. altera, Francof., 1596, p. 122 *sq.* (Franz Babinger)

ḲILIDJ ALAYÎ (T.), the "ceremony of the sword" also called *taḳlîd al-saif* or *taḳlîd-i shemshîr*. It was the ceremony of investiture of the Ottoman Sulṭâns, which took the place of coronation. The ceremony generally took place shortly after the *bai'at*, or homage to the new Sulṭân. The latter, leaving his palace went by barge with great pomp to the faubourg of Aiyûb. Here he disembarked and went to the türbe of Abû Aiyûb al-Anṣârî [q. v.], accompanied by the Shaikh al-Islâm, the Ḳâḍî 'Asker, the Grand Vizier, the Naḳîb al-Ashrâf and a limited number of other high dignitaries. In the türbe the Shaikh al-Islâm after a short *ṣalât* of two *rak'a* proceeded to the ceremony of girding on the sword (in Turkish, *ḳilidj ḳushatmak*). After it, the Sulṭân returned on horseback through the town, always entering by the Adrianople gate. Tradition had it that the new sovereign should visit the great mosque and the türbes which contained the tombs of his ancestors.

This is how the ceremony is described by d'Ohsson (*Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, i. 305 *sqq.*; ii. 258) and von Hammer (*Des osm. Reiches Staatsverfassung*, following Tashrîfâtî Zâde Muḥammad, i. 484). This description differs little from those we have of the middle of the xvii^th^ century (Ricaut, *Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 10, 19) and from the way in which the *ḳilidj alayî* was performed in the xix^th^ and xx^th^ centuries. In the xix^th^ century the part of the Shaikh al-Islâm was taken by other dignitaries such as the Naḳîb al-Ashrâf, in 1255/1839 at the accession of 'Abd al-Madjîd (cf. Aḥmad Luṭfî, *Ta'rîkh*, vi., Constantinople 1302, p. 51) and later the Čelebi Efendî of the Mewlewîs at Ḳonya (cf. Čelebi). On the last occasion on which the ceremony took place, in August 1918, after the accession of Muḥammad VI it was the Shaikh of the Sanûsîs who performed the rites (cf. the detailed description by Rûshen Ashraf, *Iki Salṭanat arasinda*, Constantinople 1334, p. 34 *sqq.*). Several Sulṭâns did not have the ceremony performed, such as Muṣṭafâ II in 1695 and Murâd V in 1876 ('Othmân Nûrî, *'Abd al-Ḥamîd we-dewr-i Salṭanatî*, Constantinople 1327, i. 91 *sqq.*).

The origin of the custom of *ḳilidj alayî* is obscure. Tradition, as recorded by d'Ohsson, says that Aḳ Shams al-Dîn, the holy man who discovered the tomb of Abû Aiyûb performed the ceremony for the first time in the case of Muḥammad II. But nothing of this is mentioned in the Turkish historiographers (cf. especially Ewliyâ Čelebi, *Siyâḥatnâme*, i. 401). These rather give one the impression that the essential part used to be the pious visit made by the new Sulṭân, first to the *türbe* of Abû Aiyûb and then to the türbe's of all the other Sulṭâns since Muḥammad II (cf. e.g. Selânikî, *Ta'rîkhi*, p. 132 for Murâd III in 1575; and Na'îma, i. 195 for Aḥmad I in 1604). The first Sulṭân for whom the ceremony of the sword is definitely recorded seems to be Muṣṭafâ I in 1617 (Na'îma, i. 320; Pečewî, ii. 361). It must be concluded that in any case not so much importance was attached to the ceremony in the early centuries as in later times. The ceremony itself has however an ancient tradition; d'Ohsson (i. 306) makes it go back to customs followed by the Mamlûk Sulṭâns of Egypt, who were girt with the sword by the 'Abbâsid Caliph. Such a ceremony is described for example by al-Ḳalḳashandî (*Ṣubḥ*, iii. 265 and 280, according to Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamlouks*, p. 24). In Egypt the Sulṭân was at the same time robed by the Caliph in a black *khil'a* [q. v.]; this ceremony therefore has many points of resemblance to the formalities practised by the Caliphs of Baghdâd when they wished to honour and recognise the services of their great vassals, such as the Bûyids and Seldjûḳs. Only in the 'Abbâsid period we find no mention made of the sword (cf. Ibn al-Athîr, viii. 286). It is certain therefore that the ceremony of *ḳilidj alayî* rests on a very ancient tradition; it is moreover interesting to note how the Shaikh al-Islâm [q. v.] here has in a way assumed the office formerly exercised by the Caliphs.

As to the sword itself, it is described by von Hammer (*l. c.*) as "the sword of the Prophet", while Aḥmad Luṭfî (*l. c.*) describes it as the sword of the Caliph 'Umar al-Fârûḳ. These statements can only be based on a pious fiction. It is further to be noted that the expression *taḳlîd al-saif* originally means putting the belt of the sword around the neck, which seems to go back to ancient Arab customs (cf. al-Shartûnî's dictionary, *Aḳrab al-Mawârid*, p. 1029). (J. H. KRAMERS)

ḲILIDJ 'ALÎ PASHA. [See OCHIALY.]

ḲILIDJ ARSLAN, the name of several Seldjûḳ rulers in Asia Minor.

1. ḲILIDJ ARSLAN I B. SULAIMÂN was, according to Matthew of Edessa (ch. 225), not born till after his father had overthrown Sharaf al-Dawla (478 = 1085) but this seems hardly credible as he left an eleven year old son at his death in 1107. It is certain however that he was still very young when his father fell in battle with Tutush (479 = 1086). This explains why he played a subordinate part in the war with the Crusaders, so that Christian chroniclers do not once mention his name but always talk of Solimanus or of the Sultan. Only a short time before he had returned to his father's capital Nicaea, for after Sulaimân's death the administration of Asia Minor, Anṭâkiya, Edessa and Ḥalab was re-arranged by Malikshâh and the young Ḳilidj Arslân was taken by him to 'Irâḳ. After Malikshâh's death in 485 (1092) Ḳilidj Arslân was granted permission by Barkiyaruḳ to return to Asia Minor and according to Byzantine sources he married a daughter of the powerful emir of Smyrna, called Tzachas, which did not please the Greeks so that they set about — and with success it is said — estranging him from his father-in-law. When the Crusaders advanced on Nicaea, Ḳilidj Arslân had been clever enough not to allow himself to be shut up in the fortress, but took part in the battles later fought between the Turks and Crusaders, although, as already mentioned, not he but rather Turkish emirs, notably Danishmand (Tanismanus) held the command. The relationship between the Seldjuḳs and the Danishmandiya was already not of a friendly nature although for some time they united against the common foe. They were quarrelling about the possession of the town of Malaṭya, where an Armenian named Gabriel was ruling under the suzerainty of Tutush. Ḳilidj Arslân was actually besieging the town, when the Crusaders advanced and when he had retired for this reason Danishmand ravaged the country round the town. Gabriel therefore appealed for help to Boemund but when the latter hurried up he was taken prisoner by Danishmand and Malaṭya had to surrender to the latter (1101). The attempts of other Crusading armies

to relieve him failed and the only course left for the Christians was to purchase his liberty for a very high ransom. Kilidj Arslān, as the Christian chroniclers tell us, claimed a portion of the ransom for himself, which gave rise to a new quarrel with Dānishmand to the great vexation of the Muslims, who knew how much the cause of Islām suffered thereby. When Dānishmand died in 1106, Kilidj Arslān seized the opportunity to get possession of Malatya by a treaty. At the same time he also became master of Maiyafāriķīn, appeared with an imposing army in front of Edessa but when he could do nothing there he went to Ḥarrān where he fell ill. He therefore returned to Malatya and there received an invitation from the people of Mōṣul to help them in their struggle with the Seldjuķ ruler Muḥammad or more accurately his general Djawali Saka'u, who at the latter's command had taken prisoner the rebellious lord of the town Djakarmish. Kilidj Arslān heeded the appeal and appeared in 1107 in Mōṣul, established himself on the throne there and had his own name mentioned in the *khuṭba* instead of Muḥammad's. He returned at once, after leaving his son Malikshāh under the guardianship of an emir in the town, to resume the struggle with Djawali, who had in the meanwhile received help from Raḍwān of Damascus. On a hot summer's day (June 3, 1107) the two armies met on the bank of the Khābūr, but it was very soon apparent that Kilidj Arslan had lost the day. He threw himself in his heavy armour on horseback into the river, but the horse sank beneath this burden and Kilidj Arslān was drowned. The body was afterwards recovered, taken to Maiyafāriķīn and buried there in a specially built *ḳubba*. His son Mas'ūd's wish to move it to Ḳonya was not carried out.

Bibliography: See the article SELDJUKS.

2. KILIDJ ARSLĀN II, b. MAS'ŪD, reigned from 1155—1192. In the lifetime of his father he was appointed by him lord of the towns conquered in the southeast of Asia Minor and succeeded him on his death, thrusting aside his two brothers. He also succeeded — but only after several years — in putting an end to the Dānishmandid dynasty in the peninsula and securing sole supremacy for the Seldjuḳs. We cannot go into the details of this struggle here, but only mention that a member of that dynasty, Dhu 'l-Nūn, brought a much more dangerous enemy, the famous Nūr al-Dīn, against him. He was not on good terms with the latter even at the beginning of his reign because they could not agree about the possession of several places in the south-east of Asia Minor. Therefore when Dhu 'l-Nūn, after Kilidj Arslān had seized his lands appealed to Nūr al-Dīn, the latter was quite ready to take up his cause. He invaded Asia Minor with an army, occupied Mar'ash, Kaisum, Behisni, Marzabān and even Siwās (1173). Kilidj Arslān then began negotiations for peace, for which Nūr al-Dīn was not disinclined in view of his continual war with the Christians but he insisted on rather harsh conditions and made Kilidj Arslān the reproach that he could not consider him a Muslim in view of his friendly relations with the Byzantines. But the peace was concluded, although the garrison sent to Siwās remained there till Nūr al-Dīn's death in 1174. Kilidj Arslān thereupon seized all the towns which the Dānishmandids had previously held, with the exception of Malatya, where a member of this dynasty held out till 1177 when Kilidj Arslān was able to capture this much contested town after a four months' siege.

The relations between Kilidj Arslān and the Byzantines were by no means always of a friendly nature. The Turkish emirs in the frontier lands used to harass the Christians from time to time when the opportunity occurred, e. g. in 1159, when Manuel hurried back to Constantinople from Cilicia by forced marches, so that Kilidj Arslān, who was considered personally responsible went to Constantinople in person and was entertained in regal fashion by the Emperor (probably in 1161). Long negotiations were carried on in which the relations of the Seldjuḳs to the Dānishmandids were also discussed. Nevertheless the conduct of the Turks continued later to give rise to many complaints and when Dhu 'l-Nūn, after his protector Nūr al-Dīn had died was in Constantinople, the Emperor Manuel, who in any case had unwillingly seen the Seldjuḳs obtain sole supremacy in Asia Minor to the disadvantage of the Greek policy *divide et impera*, resolved to undertake a campaign on a large scale against Kilidj Arslān. The latter was cunning enough to avoid a direct encounter with his impetuous and chivalrous opponent, but when the latter was encamped in Muriokephalon (Pass of Čardak) the Turks suddenly fell upon him and inflicted a disastrous defeat on the army (572 = 1176). Kilidj Arslān duly trumpeted this victory throughout the Muslim world as evidence of his ardent zeal for the faith, sent a portion of the booty to the 'Abbāsid caliph and was celebrated as a hero of the faith by poets such as Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī. An enterprise against Nikaea at the same time in the interest of the Dānishmandids was equally unsuccessful and a nephew of the Emperor Andronicos Vatatzes fell in it. Henceforth the Greeks left the Turks in peace.

Some time afterwards Kilidj Arslān quarrelled with the all-powerful Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, first about the ownership of the fortress of Ra'bān, which Mas'ūd had conquered but had lost to Nūr-al-Dīn. When Kilidj Arslān was preparing to occupy the town, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent troops thither under the command of Taḳī al-Dīn 'Omar b. Shāhinshāh, who drove out the Turks, because Kilidj Arslān had no wish to involve himself in a war with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn for the sake of a not very important fortress (575 = 1179/1180). Soon, however, the conduct of the Ortuḳid of Ḥiṣn Kaifa who had married a daughter of Kilidj Arslān named Seldjuḳa Khātūn, gave rise to further disagreement between the two rulers. Kilidj Arslān was incensed against Nūr-al-Dīn Muḥammad (the Ortuḳid) because he neglected his daughter for a songstress, so that Nūr al-Dīn out of fear of the wrath of his father-in-law appealed for help to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The latter ordered Kilidj Arslān to leave Nūr al-Dīn alone and when Kilidj Arslān refused to do so Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself marched with a force on Ra'bān, but was dissuaded from continuing the war by the representations of the able perwāna of Kilidj Arslān, Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ḥasan. As to the Seldjuḳ princess, it may here be mentioned that she later came to Baghdād and died there in 586 (1188) as we know from an epitaph which Niebuhr copied in his journal.

If Kilidj Arslān had good fortune in all these matters, grave disasters overtook him and his kingdom at the end of his life; firstly the passage of the Third Crusade, in which even his capital

Konya was occupied in 1190, and secondly the quarrels of his numerous sons. The latter, nearly a dozen in number, if we include a few other relations, had each received from Kilidj Arslān rule over a certain town and its territory and when their father became old and weak conducted themselves as independent rulers. One of these, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Malikshāh, lord of Siwās, was able to arouse Kilidj Arslān's suspicions of the Parwāna who had been Kilidj Arslān's greatest support, and had him murdered (1183). He then forced his father to instal him as heir to the throne, and henceforth acted as if he were sole ruler. The aged Kilidj Arslān escaped from his tyranny and sought refuge with another of his sons, and finally reached his youngest son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw at Burglu where he fell ill and died (August 1192) Ghiyāth al-Dīn had the body brought in a litter to Ḳonya, giving out that his father was ill, thinking that in this way he would himself gain possession of the Seldjuḳ capital, which he did do for a time (cf. the article KAIKHUSRAW). He had his father's body interred there and the tomb with inscription still exists.

Bibliographie: see the Art. SELDJUḲS. The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian is particularly important here, as the author was personally acquainted with Kilidj Arslān.

3. KILIDJ ARSLĀN III B. RUKN AL-DĪN SULAIMĀN had homage paid him as Sulṭān after the death of his father in 600 (1203) but had to give way only a few months later to his uncle Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaikhusraw.

4. KILIDJ ARSLĀN IV B. GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN KAIKHUSRAW II is better known by his *laḳab* Rukn al-Dīn. He has already been dealt with in the article KAIKĀ'ŪS II (cf. ii., p. 637) down to the time when his brother, joint Sulṭān with him, sought refuge with the Greek Emperor (659 = 1261). Henceforth he was sole Sulṭān but the real power lay in the hands of the Parwāna Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaimān [q. v.]. When he became inconvenient to the latter he was treacherously put to death by order of the Parwāna (664 = 1266).

KILLIZ, a town in Northern Syria between Ḥalab and 'Aintāb. It was apparently already known to the Assyrians, for a cuneiform inscription (Harper 1037, Brit. Mus. K. 13073, obv. 3) mentions a town *Ki-li-zi*. In the Roman period the town was called *Ciliza sive Urmagiganti* (*Itin. Ant.*, ed. Pinder-Parthey, p. 84). It must have been quite insignificant in the middle ages; it is mentioned in the rising against the patriarch Dionysius of Tellmaḥrē in 817 A.D. (*Killis* should be read in Barhebr., *Histor. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 339, 342, 1 for *Kalas* or *Shalas* and in Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, *Chron. syr.*, iii. 23, for *Ḥalīf*). Yāḳūt calls Ḳillis (as he writes it) a village of the nāḥiye of 'Azāz; almost all the other Arab geographers do not mention it. The modern town has about 20,000 inhabitants including 15,000 Muslims (Cuinet 1891); the Arabs still call it Killis and the Turks *Kilis*. According to M. Hartmann, the ancient Killis was at the modern Tarzime Khān (1 hour's journey W.S.W. of the modern Killis) where large stones are still found; while tradition still assumes the little garden *Ḥezi baghčesi* (20 minutes east of Killis) to be the old site of the town or of a part of it, as the name Killis is supposed to survive in Ḥezi and there are traces of an old site here.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 158, 229; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 440, 508; Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, ed. Rosen, p. 17, 14; *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, 1883, xliv., cf. p. 166 and 171 *sq.*; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 486; M. Hartmann, *Zeitschr. Gesellsch. f. Erdk. Berlin*, 1894, xxix., p. 485; *M.V.A.G.*, 1896, p. 106 (reprint p. 22); Barthélemy, *Recueil de travaux rel. à la philol. et à l'archéol. égypt. et assyr.*, 1897, p. 34 (wrongly identifies Killis with the ancient Kyrrhos); Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 185 *sqq.*; R. Hartmann, *Geogr. Nachrichten über Palästina u. Syrien in Ḫalīl aẓ-Ẓāhiris zubdat kašf al-mamālik*, Diss. Tübingen, 1907, p. 63, note 1; Meissner in *Z. A.*, xxvii. 1912, p. 266; Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, Paris 1917, p. 257 *sqq.* (HONIGMANN)

AL-ḲILY, the salts (alkali, soda and potash) obtained from the ashes of different plants, especially those which belong to the salsolaceae and allied families; it often means the ash itself and the lye obtained from it. Among plants special mention is made of *al-ḥamḍ* which therefore cannot here be sorrel. The best ash is said to be that of *al-ḥurḍ* which is defined as *al-ushnān*. Ushnān originally means saltwort but now it seems to be identical with *arthrocnemium glaucum* or *anabasis articulata* or *seidlitzia rosmarinus*. *Hurḍ* and *ushnān* seem to be often *nomina generis*, even in old Arabic. Seetzen in several passages in his *Reisebeschreibung* (e.g. vol. iii., p. 68) mentions the obtaining of alkali but always from saline plants (the reference is therefore to soda).

Al-ḳily usually means sodium carbonate, soda, as the saline plants contain sodium salts. But another carbonate is also obtained, potassium carbonate (potash); for example, al-Rāzī in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* mentions a salt of ashes (*milḥ al-ramād*) which is obtained from oak ashes. In alchemical works ashes of poplar trees and figtrees etc. are mentioned. There is also a *ḳily al-ḫumr* (= *al-ḫumra*), wine-lees-ḳily or ashes from lees; it is the ash of tartar; we also have tartar = potassium carbonate (see Berggren, *op. cit.*, p. 441).

A sharp distinction between soda and potash was not possible. Different ashes yielded different amounts of both which could only be distinguished at best by the taste and therefore with little certainty. In place of *al-ḳily* the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (ed. van Vloten, p. 259) speaks of *milḥ al-ḳily*. According to J. J. Hess in Nedjd it is called *gilu*, i. e. *ḳilw*.

On the preparation of *ḳily* the *Tādj* observes that certain plants are burned in a moist condition and the ashes sprinkled with water (i. e. lyed) and that this lye is precipitated to *al-ḳily* (probably by steaming).

Al-ḳily, i.e. the lye, is primarily used for washing. According to alchemical works lime can be added to this lye, it then becomes stronger and more suitable for soap-making. The ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans used the ashes obtained in this way for cleaning and washing and had no soap (cf. against the contrary view the very full discussion by Blümner in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedia*[2], s. v. Seife). On the other hand the Arabs made and used soap probably usually the hard soda-soap. The kali-soap made from potash is soft soap. Ibn Duraid (321 = 933) is the first to use the word, Ibn Abī Manṣūr Muwaffiḳ

several times in his work (composed in 968—977, *Principles of Pharmacology*; K. Kobert, *Historische Studien*, iii., 1893, p. 1—278) mentions soap (*ṣābūn*) and also the hard kind. We learn through al-Musta'ṣim that the soap (*al-raḳḳī*) made in Raḳḳa was a dry soap (read *djaff*) like bees-wax. It was made into cubes so must have been firm (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i. 847ᵃ). A full description of the manufacture of soap in Tripolis in Syria is given by L. Rawolfen (*Aigentliche Beschreibung der Reiss*, etc., Laugnigen 1582, p. 38/39). Sea-weed was burned there, hard potassium soap was obtained; one could stamp it or walk upon it. Whether kali or soft soap was made or not is not certain.

Al-ḳily is also used in the manufacture of glass; it brings sand to the melting point, purifies it and makes it easily take a colour. Glass-makers (*al-zadjdjādjūn*) use it: only sodium carbonate could be used for glass-making as the glasses of potassium are very difficult to melt and part. That many ancient glasses contained potassium is natural. The *al-ḳily* obtained from *al-ḥurḍ* is used by the dyers and is called *ḳily al-ṣabbāghīn*, the *ḳily* of the dyers; the name *Shabb al-'Uṣfur* is connected with this, the alum of saffron and the passage in the *Tādj*; it is a grain with which one treats saffron as with alum. The reason for this statement is that alum is used in many dyes as a colouring matter; this is not however the case with alkali carbonates; they are used in saffron to dissolve the dye-material which is practically insoluble in pure water.

From what has been said above it will be clear that it is not correct to call soda (alkali) after the Arabic word *al-ḳily*. Medical and other uses are discussed in al-Ḳazwīnī, Ibn al-Baiṭār etc. It should further be noted that the accurate botanical identification of the different plant-names is extremely difficult.

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(E. WIEDEMANN)

KIMĀK (usually written: Kīmāk and wrongly vocalised: Kaimāk), name of a Turkish people on the lower course of the Irtish. Ibn Khurdādhbih (text in *B.G.A.*, vi. 28 and 31) mentions a road thither (80 or 81 days) from Ṭarāz (now Awliyā Atā) or Kuwīkat, seven farsakh distant, and Gardīzī (in Barthold, *Otčet o poězdkě v Srednjuju Aziju*, p. 82 *sq.*) fully describes another route from Fārāb (Otrār) (via Jenikend, the modern ruins called Djānkent south of the mouth of the Sīr-Daryā). According to Muḳaddasī or Maḳdisī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 274) a portion of the Kimāk at the end of the ivᵗʰ (xᵗʰ) century were already dwelling in the immediate neighbourhood of the Muslim territory in Turkestān. The historical importance of the Kimāk lies in the fact that there sprang from them the later very numerous people of the Kipčak (called Kuman in Europe and Polovtzi by the Russians), originally only a tribe of the Kimāk. From the vᵗʰ (xiᵗʰ) century (the mention in Idrīsī naturally comes from written sources) the name of the Kimāk disappears and is not again mentioned in the Mongol period. Cf. also J. Marquart in *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 1914, index, s. v. Kimāk; on the pronunciation, p. 89, note 1.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲIMĀR, games of chance. The Ḳur'ān prohibited games of chance, under the name of *maisir*, at the same time as it forbade wine (ii. 216; v. 92); they are, it says, a great sin. The pagan Arabs gambled a great deal, say the commentators and staked in play their families and their property. Zamakhsharī interprets *maisir* by *ḳimār*, and applies this name especially to the lottery with arrows. There were ten inscribed arrows; a victim was divided into ten parts; the arrows were drawn by lot and to each of them corresponded a part; or sometimes twenty-eight parts were made, one part was allotted to the first arrow; two to the second, three to the third and so on up to the seventh; the three last arrows got nothing and paid the cost of the game. This lottery was practised chiefly in Mecca. According to a tradition of the Prophet, the prohibition also applied to *Ka'bataini* (dice): "These accursed dice belong to the *maisir* of Persia"; and according to a tradition of 'Alī to chess and back-gammon. According to Ibn Sīrīn, it is extended to everything in which there is a stake or a bet (*khaṭar*).

As regards chess, it should be noted that certain forms only of this game, and these the less usual, necessitate the use of dice and can be regarded as games of chance; back-gammon, on the other hand, is always played with two dice (see SHAṬRANDJ). The Persian dictionary of Vullers also classifies among the *ḳimār* horse-racing, because betting takes places on it. It was in favour in the time of Arab paganism up to the beginning of Islām and under the Omayyads. The historian Mas'ūdī quotes about this a curious and ancient piece of poetry (*Murūdj*, viii. 377).

Cards are called amongst Orientals "the leaves of fate", *waraḳ al-ḳimār* or *ḳimār waghadī*; their origin or at least their diffusion, is more recent than that of the games which we have mentioned. The Arabs have never taken to them; but the Persians were great lovers of them and painted beautiful packs (for example a Persian pack of cards bought by Prisse in Egypt and bearing sabres, crowns, helmets and other signs, "*Magasin Pittoresque*", 1846, xiv., p. 365). The use of cards was known in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century, and spread throughout Europe during the fourteenth century. It is said without any good reason to have come from the Arabs. The use which is made of cards for fortune-telling is not without an analogy in the proceedings of geomancy, an ancient superstition in vogue in the north of Africa. We must recall in this connection the opinion of Etteila whose work is the authority on cartomancy. This student of magic attributes to the Egyptians the invention of checkered

cards, which he calls the book of Thot; this "book" composed of 78 sheets of gold bearing hieroglyphics was the only thing which escaped from the fire of the library of Alexandria in the time of ʿOmar; it passed afterwards from the Arabs to the other nations, who received it at the same time as the books on philosophy. Cards are certainly connected with the Chinese games played with tablets bearing figures or symbolical or moral characters which are grouped by families; such games were known in China from the twelfth century.

The Persians have always had gaming-houses which they call *ḳimār khāna* (*ḳimār* is also found with the simple *k*). The new ruler of Persia, Riżā Khān, had them closed on his accession (Nov. 1925). "This world — says the poet Saureni wishing to express the sentiment of the uncertainty of fate — is the gambling-house of the gods".

Bibliography: Th. Hyde, *Historia Nerdiludii*, p. 103; Spiegel, *Chrestomathie*, p. 138, 149; Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, Bonn 1864, under *ḳimār* and *mang*; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, Calcutta 1856, i. 147; *Le Grand Etteila*, new ed. by Julia Orsini, n. d., introduction. (B. Carra de Vaux)

AL-KĪMIYĀ', alchemy.

Introductory. The name. In modern chemistry, by a qualitative analysis of the substances occurring in nature the elements composing them are ascertained and by a quantitative analysis their proportions are obtained. From these elements the substances themselves and countless others can be built up by a synthesis; this is done as a result of theoretical considerations which are based on observations. They enable the elements to be combined and their formation to be ascertained in keeping with the facts and even the structure of atoms to be investigated. These purely scientific investigations then lead to inquiries on the obtaining by technical means of practically important substances and the manufacture of corresponding new substances.

In *kimiyā'*, alchemy, one starts off on the other hand from theories propounded *a priori* and isolated facts often wrongly interpreted and endeavours to manufacture precious metals and jewels, either by mixing in a suitable way bodies that occur in nature or by applying an elixir to them. If the study of *kimiyā'* was at first less fruitful for the development of knowledge than that of astrology, this was because the latter was able to use the achievements of a very advanced branch of knowledge and was able to advance by means of its investigations, while this was not the case with *kimiyā'*. It was only from its study and practice that methods of work developed and a more thorough knowledge of the substances occurring in nature and those obtained from them, was obtained; and this knowledge was later put to scientific use. It formed the starting point for the science of chemistry, especially when analytic methods of separation became more generally known.

Kīmiyā' is in Arabic not primarily an abstraction but means a substance, the means by which the transmutation of metals is affected; it is therefore synonymous with *iksīr*. The word is usually derived from *kem-it* or *kem-it*, the black (A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1920, p. 14); according to H. Diels (*Antike Technik*, Leipzig 1920, 2nd ed., p. 123), it comes from χύμα molten metal. In the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (p. 256) it is derived from *kamā*, to conceal, while according to al-Ṣafadī, it comes from the Hebrew and is composed of *kim* and *yah*; according to him the word means that this science comes from God.

Kīmiyā' thus comes also to mean a method by which one endeavours to obtain something, e.g. in *kimiyā' al-saʿāda*, *k. al-ghanā'*, *k. al-ḳulūb*, i.e. means by which fortune or advantage is attained or hearts are moved (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, v. 285): in this sense it is found in the titles of works by Arab mystics.

Alchemy itself is called *ṣanʿat al-kīmiyā'*, *ṣanʿat al-iksīr*, *ʿilm al-ṣinā'a*, *al-ḥikma* or briefly *kīmiyā'* or *al-ṣanʿa*. Other names are the science of the stone (*ḥadjar*), of the key (*miftāḥ*). It is also known as the science of the balance or of the scales (*mīzān* or *mawāzīn*); a much used work of Djābir b. Ḥayyān, one of the first in this field, is called *Kitāb al-Mawāzīn*, while one of the last prominent alchemists, al-Djildakī (d. about 1350), also wrote a work on *ʿIlm al-Mīzān* (Berlin, *Verz.*, Nº. 4185). *Kīmiyā'* does not get this name, as might be supposed, because scales are used in it but because in its problems the relations and considerations of the right measures and proportions of the lower world, of the elementary qualities to one another and of the lower to the upper world are discussed. Only when a correct equilibrium is attained can the desired results (see Berlin, *Verz.*, No. 4185) be obtained. Just as the body is only sound when its qualities, its humours, are in the right proportions to one another, so it is with the precious metals. The alchemist is called *kīmāwī* (*kīmawī*, *kīmī*, cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*), *kīmiyā'ī* (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 188, 10), *ṣanʿawī* (*Fihrist*, p. 351), *iksīrī* (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, text, p. 35, 14).

Alchemists and their writings. Just as in the middle ages alchemical knowledge was sought in Enoch, Homer, in the Greek myths, etc., so, according to Muslim writers, God taught Adam this science and he taught his son Seth. Abraham, Idrīs (here = Enoch), David, Solomon and Korah, who however had got his knowledge from Moses possessed it. Muḥammad and the Caliph ʿAlī were said to have been acquainted with alchemy (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, lxiii.).

The Arab alchemists relied very often on works which were ascribed to Greek authors and as usual these included many pseudepigraphic works. We may mention Hermes Trismegistos, Ostanes, Zosimus, Krates, Democritus, Cleopatra, Maria, Apollonius of Tyana, Aristotle, also Pythagoras, Archimedes, Euclid, Ptolemy etc. A list is given by M. Steinschneider in the *Z. D. M. G.*, l. 356 (1896). — Some of the Arabic texts ascribed to such authors have been published by Berthelot (*op. cit.*). The knowledge of these writings was probably in part disseminated through the Syrians; indeed it is recorded that the teacher of Khālid b. Yazīd to be mentioned below was a monk named Marianus and translations were prepared for him by Iṣṭifān al-Ḳadīm.

In Arabic literature a large number of Muslim alchemists and their works are cited. The list is however not nearly so long as that of the astronomers and astrologers, who played a very different and scientific part and therefore were generally noticed.

The *Fihrist* probably gives most names (p. 351): according to Stapleton, al-Kāthī gives another; al-Akfānī quotes a few works with an appreciation of them; M. Berthelot (iii. 41 *sq.*) has given a number of names and books from *al-Wāfī fī Tadbīr al-Kāfī* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maṣmūdī; al-Djildakī mentions those who seem the most important to him in the introduction to his *al-Miṣbāḥ fī ʿIlm al-Miftāḥ*, "Lights of the Science of the Key" (Leiden, Cod. 935); finally there are numerous references in the section *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* on alchemy in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. The writings quoted at the end of it (in Flügel's ed., v. 284) are in any case those most read in his time. It is remarkable to find among them one by Ibn Sīnā (*Mirʾāt al-ʿAdjāʾib*, "Mirror of Wonders").

We now give a list of the best known Muslim alchemists with one or more of their principal works:

Khālid b. Yazīd, an Umaiyad prince (d. 85 = 704); to him is erroneously ascribed *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* = "Paradise of Wisdom" (Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 67) [see below].

Djābir b. Ḥaiyān [q. v.] who is not identical with the Geber who wrote in Latin — Berthelot distinguishes them as Djābir and Geber — is the author of numerous works; a number of them have been published by Berthelot, *op. cit.*, iii.; but according to some he was a mythical personage. J. Ruska however has shown that he was by no means mythical [see below] cf. Brockelmann, i. 240 *sq.*).

Ibn al-Waḥshīya [q. v.] (c. 870) wrote, in addition to *al-Falāḥa al-Nabaṭīya*, which contains some interesting information along with a good deal of nonsense, and is probably really from the pen of Abū Ṭālib al-Zaiyāt, alchemical works, which were used for example by Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī in his *Cosmography* (Brockelmann, i. 242).

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā al-Rāzī (Rhases), the celebrated physician (c. 288 = 900), wrote, besides alchemical works the *Kitāb al-Asrār* (Brockelmann, i. 233 *sqq.*); this is now being edited by J. Ruska.

Ibn Umail al-Tamīmī (eighth or tenth cent.) wrote the *Miftāḥ al-Ḥikma al-ʿuẓmā* (cf. Leiden, *Cat.*, Nº. 1274; Brockelmann, i. 241 *sq.*).

Al-Fārābī [q. v.], the famous philosopher (d. 339 = 950), wrote: "On the necessity of the art of arts, i. e. the Elixir" (Brockelmann, i. 210 *sqq.*).

Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Madjrīṭī (d. 398 = 1007), also distinguished as a mathematician and astronomer, was the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-ʿUlamāʾ* (Brockelmann, i. 243).

Abu 'l-Ḥakīm Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥī al-Khwārizmī al-Kāthī (c. 425 = 1034) wrote: "The Essential of the Art and the Help for the Workers", *ʿAin al-Ṣanʿa wa-ʿAwn al-Ṣunnāʿ* (s. H. E. Stapleton and R. Azo, *op. cit.*).

Muʾaiyid al-Dīn al-Ṭughrāʾī (d. about 515 = 1122), the famous vizier and poet often mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (s. *Bibliography*), wrote for example the *Kitāb al-Anwār wa 'l-Mafātīḥ*, then *Mafātīḥ al-Raḥma* and *Anwār al-Ḥikma*, Paris, Nº. 2414, probably also *al-Djawhar al-Munīr fī Ṣanʿat al-Iksīr*, Berlin, Nº. 10361. — According to Gildemeister he was the Artephius of the west (Brockelmann, i. 247 *sq.*).

Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Arfaʿ Raʾs (d. 593 = 1197?) is the author of the *Shudhūr al-Dhahab*, the "gold-spangle", which was often annotated (Brockelmann, i. 496).

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿIrāḳī al-Simāwī (c. 700 = 1300?). From his pen comes the *al-Muktasab fī Zirāʿat al-Dhahab*, on which al-Djildakī wrote a commentary (Brockelmann, i. 496 *sq.*).

ʿAlī b. Aidamir b. ʿAlī al-Djildakī's (c. 1342) writings and commentaries were much used later as is evident from the numerous manuscripts that still exist. They all move in mystically speculative channels (Brockelmann, ii. 138).

Abu 'l-Aṣbaʿ b. Tammām al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 762 = 1360/1361) (Brockelmann, i. 524).

Unfortunately we still lack a compilation for the alchemists such as H. Suter has prepared in masterly fashion for the Arab mathematicians and astronomers. For those who were also physicians the works of Wüstenfeld and Leclerc on Arab physicians and Arab medicines give much information. For the earliest history of Arabic alchemy it is of great importance that J. Ruska has shown that the stories of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ are simply legends, at least so far as they are concerned with their part as alchemists and with the latter as teacher of Djābir b. Ḥaiyān; on the other hand Djābir b. Ḥaiyān, as is becoming more and more evident, was in reality the great founder of Arab alchemy and al-Rāzī his most important successor (Ruska and Holmyard).

The theories of the Alchemists. The formation of minerals, following Aristotelian views (cf. e. g. the very lucid account in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, text i., p. 33—36, transl. i. 38—41 and also the writings of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, *loc. cit.*) was imagined to be somewhat on the following lines. Under the influence of the heat of the sun watery particles rise into the heavens, which are cold and moist, out of the water which is moist and light. When they mingle with the air, which is hot and dry, vapours (*bukhār*) are formed; out of the earth which is hot and dry there arise from the same cause particles which, mixed with the air, form smoke (*dukhān*). *Bukhār* and *dukhān* thus together contain the four elemental qualities (cold, hot, dry and moist). Their mixture over the surface of the earth produces clouds, wind, rain, snow etc. and under it earthquakes, springs and minerals. The *bukhār* is regarded as the body and the *dukhān* as the soul of the substances. According to their quality and quantity different bodies are formed, including jewels; according to many alchemists the astrological constellations play a part in this. If *bukhār* predominates in the mixture, and the warmth of the sun produces a contraction after the complete mixture, quicksilver is formed, if both are present in almost equal quantities, a viscid, fatty, moist substance is formed; if this matures, particles of air emanate from it unless cold brings about a contraction. This mass is inflammable. If there is a small preponderance of *dukhān*, sulphur is formed, red or yellow, white or grey; in other cases we get *zarnīkh* and naphtha. The substances thus formed, quicksilver, which is also called the mother, and sulphur which is also called the father of the seven bodies (metals) are their sole components. Differences in the kind of body are due to differences in the purity of the components, to the mixture being made in a particular way, and to

the components affecting each other in different ways; the heat in the deposits may change, cold may supervene etc. — The components are found in the purest form and in the proper proportions first in gold and then in silver; this is less the case with the other metals, which were therefore described as diseased gold and silver; tin is considered as leprous silver and quicksilver as apoplectic silver.

When the alchemists however speak of sulphur and quicksilver, they frequently do not mean the substances usually known by this name. Thus Djābir distinguishes (Berthelot, *op. cit.*, iii. 207) an eastern and a western quicksilver; but what he means by these is not clear from his statement.

The opinions just outlined vary much in individual points of detail but must have been assumed in principle by all Muslim scholars, without essential alteration; for example al-Akfānī briefly defines alchemy as follows (E. Wiedemann, in the *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, Ser. ii., vol. xxvi., 1907, p. 106): — the doctrine of alchemy is a science by which one endeavours to take their qualities from minerals and to give them qualities which they did not have.

The Arab scholars were however divided into two groups, one of which assumed the possibility of a transmutation of metals and the other denied it. The former took up the position that the metals and minerals likewise differ only in their accidental qualities, i. e. that they belong to a *naw'* and that it is possible, although difficult, with the means at man's disposal, to make the corresponding changes. To this school belong al-Fārābī and the alchemists above mentioned. As evidence for the possibility of alchemy numerous phenomena that had been observed were adduced, notably the continually asserted cases of spontaneous generation, according to which animals were produced from the most different inanimate objects (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Die Lehre von der generatio spontanea*, *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift* [N. F.], xv. 381, 1916), and the hatching of hens' eggs in incubators in Egypt, or the manufacture of glass from soda and sand, the dissolving of stone (probably with vinegar, cf. O. Rescher, *Der Islam*, 1919, ix. 120 who quotes a passage from al-Balādhurī), the manufacture of bronze from copper and *tūtiyā'* burned with coal, reduced zinc oxyde, the dyeing of glass by adding various materials. From these processes bodies are frequently produced which bear no similarity to the original substances.

The opponents of alchemy regard the metals as being different in their essential qualities — as not belonging to the same *naw'*; it might be possible to imagine the transmutation of a metal in theory but it could not be carried out for fundamental and practical reasons. Ibn Sīnā (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *op. cit.*) reasons as follows: "Even if it were possible to stain silver with the colour of gold etc., in such a way that something was taken from or added to the dyed body, I do not see from this the possibility of transmutation of metals. For probably the things observed do not correspond to the fundamental qualities which settle the nature of the body but are accidental things, only necessary to characterise of the body. But the fundamental qualities are unknown; one can therefore not look for them, produce them or destroy them". Other writers emphasised that the time available to alchemists for their researches is too short, for very long periods of time have passed in the interior of the earth during which the elements etc. were being cooked sometimes under the influence of certain constellations, until they were transformed into precious metals (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, who also wrote a work on *al-Kīmiyā'*; *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, *loc. cit.*, p. 73).

One of the most notable opponents of alchemy was al-Kindī [q. v.] whom Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī attacked with unseemly vigour (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, i.).

Even in the xiv[th] century and later when Muslim learning had considerably declined and it must be assumed that criticism had become much weaker, alchemy was still vigorously attacked. This is seen from a section in the *Cosmography* of al-Dimashḳī (d. 727 = 1327), who devoted some time to the refutation of alchemy (ed. Mehren, text, p. 58, transl., p. 64). The ardent alchemist al-Djildakī considered it necessary to add to his commentary on *al-Muktasab* a chapter entitled: "On the possibility that the accident may disappear, which has entered into the specific kind (*naw'*) so that the body again assumes its specific kind by art, further, on the proof that the art, its practice and the certain proof for it is possible and finally on the refutation of him who ridicules it and says it is useless" (Leiden, *Cat. Or.*, iii. 204). The great historian Ibn Khaldūn (*op. cit.*) also vigorously attacks alchemy and its representatives (see Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft*, i.).

This refusal to have anything to do with alchemy was largely due to the repeated failures of the alchemists, which brought scorn and ridicule on their heads, and vigorous attacks on the pernicious study of alchemy. Ibn Khaldūn observes that it was usually poor people who studied alchemy. Ibn Sīnā, who denied the reality of the elixir, possessed great wealth, while al-Fārābī who believed in it was one of the most unfortunate of men and did not always have sufficient food. — 'Abd al-Laṭīf says: "Verily, most men have been ruined by the work of Ibn Sīnā and by alchemy". — There are two proverbs: "Three things cannot be attained by three things, youth by rouge, health by medicine, and treasure by *al-kīmiyā'*" and "He who studies astrology is not secure from poverty". To conclude, al-Ṣafadī gives very scornful remarks on alchemy and the fruitless endeavours of its followers.

The alchemists however consoled themselves with the reflection that at any rate the knowledge of alchemy had once existed but had later been lost, but it would certainly be found again (see E. Wiedemann, in the *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, Series ii., vol. xxvi., 1907, p. 123; Ibn al-Faḳīh, ed. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, v., p. 205; Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 264; al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 164).

Among the alchemists we must carefully distinguish the men who were convinced of the possibility of the transmutation of metals, and went about their task in good faith and the swindlers. The serious students were in part philosophers who derived their doctrine of the elixir by pure deduction from Aristotelian views; of these the most notable was al-Fārābī. Others enlivened simple assumptions with mystic, gnostic, neo-Platonic etc. ideas and then wrote works of

which it may be said to be very doubtful whether the authors themselves understood them. As the latter admit, puzzling expressions are deliberately used, but these vary from school to school, simply, we are told, to prevent the masses and the rulers from making gold artificially, which would be very harmful. Each successive writer seems to try to surpass his predecessor in obscurity and the commentaries do not make the originals any clearer. It is often difficult to understand how intelligent beings could have written such things. They claim to have acquired their knowledge, as was indeed common among Muslim scholars, on distant journeys. The study of alchemy has had one undesirable result, in as much as the representatives of the mystic movement in Islām studied alchemy e.g. Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) who called gold and silver the "great names" (see al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 51, transl. p. 56). To this school may be said to belong more or less the Pseudo-Khālid b. Yazīd, Ibn al-Waḥshīya, Ibn Umail al-Tamīmī, Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾs, al-Djildakī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-ʿIrāḳī and others. Many of these men, however, made experiments, at least, according to al-Ṣafadī, the Imām al-Ḥaramain (al-Djuwainī) was burned to death by a jet of flame. Another group of alchemists describe experiments in their works, but it is not always certain whether these were actually made or whether they are purely imaginary; the latter is of course always the case when a real elixir is said to have been made and its effects even described. Of this nature are the works of Djābir b. Ḥaiyān, the *Kitāb al-Asrār* of al-Rāzī, that of al-Ṭughrāʾī, *al-Djawhar al-Munīr* etc., that of al-Kāthī and the Arabic writings on which are based the works of the western scholar known as Geber. Frequently as in al-Rāzī the arrangement in these books on alchemy is such that the substances and apparatus are first described and then the various experiments are detailed, arranged according to the methods of treatment like sublimination, calcination, dissolution, etc. and not as with us according to the substances investigated; we thus see what great stress was laid on method.

Whether the alchemists ever had any laboratories on a large scale with a staff of assistants is not yet known; their workrooms were probably very like those often described later, as they required special arrangements for many purposes which could only be set up in a special room. At any rate this was the case with alchemists who worked for princes, who frequently employed an alchemist just as they had a court astrologer. The unsuccessful efforts of two may there be mentioned; al-Maʾmūn (198—218 = 813—833) said to an alchemist Yūsuf Luḳwa, who had had no success: — "Alas for you: there is nothing in *al-kīmiyāʾ*". The latter replied in excuse that the druggists swindled him whereupon the Caliph declared himself satisfied. Others did not fare so well, as is shown by the story, whether true or not, that Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr b. Isḥāḳ, a Sāmānid, beat al-Rāzī so severely that he blinded him. It is more probable that, as al-Baihaḳī records, his eyes were affected by the vapours which arose in the preparation of the elixir and that he had himself treated by a physician for a large fee. He thought that this the was true *al-kīmiyāʾ* and became himself a physician. Al-Masʿūdī also talks of grave injuries caused by vapours (see E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, ii. 547). They resulted in loss of hearing or sight, and loss of colour in the face (in heating vitriol for example sulphuric acid escapes). Poisonous vapours are also mentioned by other writers (E. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, xxv. 127).

Alchemical swindlers. Alongside of these alchemists who are to be taken seriously, appeared a great number of swindlers who took advantage of the credulity of high and low to make money easily. In North Africa, according to Ibn Khaldūn, it was particularly students of law and theology who used to deceive the people of the villages in this way. These swindlers either claimed they could make gold out of a definite material but without ever producing it, or they brought gold into contact with the stuff to be transmuted into the apparatus itself, or they fastened it to the lid of the crucible with wax, or they coloured ordinary metals either with sulphide or by preparing coatings for them, so that they looked like gold. A series of illuminating stories is given by al-Djawbarī (E. Wiedemann, *Journ. f. prakt. Chemie*, *loc. cit.*, p. 82 and E. Wiedemann, *Über das Goldmachen*, etc.). One is a delightful story of how the so clever al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Zankī (541—569 = 1146—1173) was swindled. The great Mughal Sulṭān Akbar [q. v.] fared no better when he allowed himself to be introduced to alchemy by bigotted jugglers, the Yogis, and publicly exhibited gold made by himself (Badāʾūnī in Blochmann's translation of the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i. 201).

These swindlers naturally did a great deal of harm to the prestige of alchemists in general, so much so that according to al-Ḳazwīnī (ii. 98) they were the lowest grade of students.

Methods of solving the problem of alchemy. It was thought that the solution of the alchemical problem might be reached by one of three ways (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, *loc. cit.*, p. 105, from al-Akfānī). Whether and in how far they were ever really systematically prosecuted, research has not so far been able to ascertain. The methods were the following:

1) A start is made from the view above mentioned, that all metals have arisen out of sulphur and quicksilver which were heated in the earth as described. The alchemists proceed similarly, but in place of these two bodies many others are also taken, of which they suppose that they contain the fundamental materials and endeavour to increase the heat on account of the shortness of the time available beyond that prevailing in the earth. 2) They go back to the mutual (of course quite unknown) relation of volume and weight of the components and combine the metals so that a body is formed which in weight and volume is like the desired metal. In this process heed must be paid to the balancing of the qualities. These two methods, as far as their principles are concerned, may be called scientific, although they were hardly so in practice. 3) The third method starts from the view that the ignoble metals are diseased precious ones. A remedy was prepared which was called elixir (*al-iksīr*) or *al-farrār*, i.e. the fugitive (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, ii. 346); it was also called from its material the "honoured stone" (*al-ḥadjar al-mukarram*); in place of the stone there

was also a "substitute (*badal*) for the stone", out of which a more deeply hidden elixir is obtained; there was also a substance similar to the stone and its substitute. The elixir etc. also contained healing virtues to a high degree.

The most fabulous stories are told regarding the elixir's power to attain desired transmutation; one *mithḳāl* of elixir is said to turn 60,000, 300,000 or 1,200,000 *mithḳāl* into gold, — or even as much as is between heaven and earth (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *op. cit.*, p. 276) (cf. also the statements in O. Rescher, *Der Islam*, ix. 33).

That *kīmiyā'* was practised down to modern times is shown for example by the statements in Snouck Hurgronje (*Mekka*, ii. 215, and E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[3], London 1860, p. 264). There is also a play by Fatḥ 'Alī Akhondzāde "The Alchemist" (cf. G. Jacob, *Türkische Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1901; see also Barbier de Meynard, *Journ. Asiatique*, Ser. viii., vol. i. [1886], p. 5).

The substances used. The substances used by the alchemists are given in their writings: varieties of the individual bodies are detailed, for example a whole series of varieties of sulphur is given and of kinds of *marḳashītḥā*, etc. In many cases we are at the same time told which are the good and which the bad varieties.

The *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* distinguishes, as is usual in other books: 1) metals: gold, silver, copper, the two kinds of *raṣāṣ* (lead and tin), *khārṣīnī* for *al-ḥadīd al-ṣīnī*, usually hard lead; quicksilver is sometimes given in place of the latter; 2) evaporating substances (*rūḥ*): sulphur, *zirnīkh* (realgar and oripigment), *nūshādir* (usually sal ammoniac but also ammonium carbonate), quicksilver; 3) all other mineral substances (in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* called drugs).

Al-Rāzī divides the substances first into animal, mineral (*turābī*) and vegetable drugs. The mineral are divided into the 7 bodies (metals), 13 stones (including precious stones), 5 vitriols, 6 kinds of *būraḳ* (borax, salpetre etc.), 11 salts. The animal are hairs, brains, eyes etc. Only a few vegetable substances are used by him, namely *ushnān* (alkali plants) and cinquefoil, chaste-tree, (*bandjan kusht*, *vitex agnus castus*), its fruits and an anticroticum. Al-Ṭughrā'ī gives a similar division; only he divides the stones into four groups, the reason for which is not quite clear.

Al-Kāthī divides into metals and 12 stones which latter include sulphur, *zirnīkh* and *nūshādir*.

Al-Dimashḳī deals successively with quicksilver, sulphur, metals and then the minerals which include mythical stones and a few drugs.

Al-Ḳazwīnī classifies the substances he deals with into metals, stones and oily substances.

A very peculiar division with regard to the preparation of the elixir (see Stapleton and Azo, *op. cit.*) is the following: Quicksilver, sal ammoniac etc. are spirits; sulphur, *zirnīkh* etc. are souls; gold, silver, iron, *magnīsiya* are bodies. To prepare an elixir one must have 1 part of spirit, two of soul and one of body. An elixir which contains no spirit or no soul or no body is useless. Soul and spirit may however give colour even if body is absent; but this disappears on smelting. If all three are combined it is permanent.

The alchemist gives the separate substances he uses a great number of epithets (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur. Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, x. 82) by which he refers to them in his works which makes it unusually difficult to understand them. The metals are called after planets to which they are subordinate. Mercury thus belongs to *khārṣīnī*. In the MSS. the name is often replaced by the sign of the planet. But the metals have countless other names. For sal ammoniac we frequently find *ʿuḳāb* (eagle).

The works on jewels, drugs etc. are of alchemical but also of purely chemical interest. A number of Arabic sources with as full references as possible are given in the articles quoted in the *Bibliography*.

Apparatus used. We know a good deal about the apparatus used by Arab alchemists. In the first place we have lists of the apparatus used, sometimes with descriptions, e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* of al-Rāzī, in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in the work of al-Kāthī, in *al-Djawhar al-Munīr* of al-Ṭughrā'ī, which frequently agrees with the *Karshūnī* text published by Berthelot, *op. cit.* Information is also given in various passages, especially about distilling apparatus. The apparatus used is essentially the same as that used by the Greeks; a furnace for example is called, although perhaps without reason, the furnace of Zosimus (Gotha MS., N°. 1349).

The apparatuses used for heating are of course numerous. Various forms and names were given to the furnaces. The draught was regulated as required; its strength was judged by a leaf thrown into its current. The bellows were used to kindle the fire, but there were also furnaces with a self-acting draught. For special purposes, such as the treatment of glass, the manufacture of precious stones, the furnace was of a suitable form. For melting either an ordinary crucible was used or one crucible above another; in the latter case the upper one was perforated in the bottom. The molten metal in the upper crucible flowed into the lower one and the slack was kept back. Tongs etc. were used to pick things up; an alchemist complains that he very often burned himself in using them but without obtaining any results. Moulds were used for casting. To hold the substances to be heated, boxes, bottles, stills, (aludel *uthāl*) a longish pumpkin closed with a lid were used. The capital (*anbīḳ*, ἄμβιξ) was put on the still. Thus the alembic [q. v.] is made and if the still is closed at the end it is called „blind", if it is open and has a spout, still and capital together correspond to our retort and are used for distillation (*taḳṭīr*). A *ḳābila*, our receiver, is then placed over the end of the spout. Al-Rāzī and al-Ṭughrā'ī frequently point out that the vessels to be heated must be of uniform thickness and have no flaws, or they might easily burst. The kurbises etc. were heated either on an open fire or in the hot air rising from one or in the steam rising from boiling water or a water bath.

To solder and polish the places where different parts of the apparatus are joined, clay of wisdom (of philosophy *ṭīn al-ḥikma*) was used, which was made of pure fermented clay, usually mixed with finely chopped hair and salt. There are numerous recipes for its manufacture. Different kinds of clay are given the names of the planets (Gotha MS., N°. 134). The outsides of the vessels to be heated, as was still the custom with us in the xiᵗʰ century, were also covered with clay to distribute the heat evenly and thus diminish the danger of explosion.

To break up substances the mortar (*hāwun*) and pestle (*dakk*) were used and for grinding them a hard, flat slab (*ṣilāya*) and a grindstone (*fihr*).

Processes used. In their experiments the alchemists used a large number of processes, which again had many variants. The following is a list, of course not quite complete, divided into eight groups; it is taken from al-Khwārizmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*), Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and alchemical writers.

1) *Tadbīr*, the treatment of bodies in general. 2) *saḥḳ*, grinding etc.; *tafṣīl*, breaking into pieces, *mizādj* and *tamzīdj*, mixing. 3) *ḥall* and *taḥlīl* (dissolving) are probably synonyms. These mean methods by which the body is either dissolved in our sense of the word or simply divided into very fine particles. Varieties are dissolution in corrosives, in dung (i. e. in a moderate heat), in moisture, by pounding with the pestle (*dakk*), by boiling, with the blind *anbīḳ* (i. e. at a high pressure and temperature), with cottonwool and the anvil (the substance is wrapped in a roll of cottonwool and beaten on the anvil), by dripping (*taḳṭīr*). Many alchemists distinguish the following varieties of *ḥall*: the substances are dissolved as usual or they are hung up in a sieve-like bag and the steam rising from water dissolves them (cf. al-Kāthī and al-Ṭughrāʾī); *taʿlīl*, suspension, by which the substance is divided into fine particles in water; *tarshiya*, spraying, *taṣfiya* and *taḳṭīr*, cleaning and filtering. 4) *iḳāma*, solidifying (over the fire without anything being burned); *tashmiya*, stewing (in oil) etc. or dry; *taʿḳīd* and perhaps also *muʿḳad*, to solidify; the following varieties are given: with dryness, with the bottle, the kettle, burying (*dafn* which plays a great part generally; bottles for burying are for example mentioned), with the blind *anbīḳ*; *tadjmīd*, a kind of *tadjsīd*, changing into bodies. 5) *sabk* melting; *istinzāl*, allowing to flow from the upper to the lower crucible. 6) *taḳṭīr*, allowing to drip, distilling and filtering; *taṣʿīd*, sublimating; *tardjīm* „stoning", a kind of sublimating. 7) *tashmīʿa*, cerification, making soft like wax; *taklis*, calcination; *taṣdiʾa*, to turn into rust; *ilghām*, amalgamating. 8) I do not know the meaning of *taswīt*, "balancing"; *takhnīḳ*, "strangling", which is connected with cerification.

Weighing was, of course, a process of special importance and frequently used; for it must have been very soon recognised that substances could not be mixed in any proportions one pleased. They must always occur in the proper proportions (on weighing see the article MĪZĀN). Statements on the proper proportions are not very frequent. In the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* we are told that to make cinnabar, one should take 1 part quicksilver and 1 part sulphur; the proportion calculated from the atomic weights is 200 : 32. It should be noted however that for the reaction to take place smoothly a considerable superfluity of sulphur is necessary. Another interesting quantitative statement (Yāḳūt, ii. 139) is to the effect that 1 part of silver is obtained from 100 parts of lead in the making of litharge. Al-Kāthī gives a long list of the smallest quantities of all the different substances that the alchemists use (*op. cit.*, p. 57 *sqq.*).

Synthetic and analytic methods. There were no general methods to produce definite bodies; a whole series was however obtained artificially, e. g. verdigris from copper and vinegar, white of lead from lead and vinegar, cinnabar from the heating of lead, also litharge, iron rust from iron, etc.; in these cases it was known that the substances concerned must contain the metal. It was the same when copper was obtained from minerals found in nature such as the varieties of malachite (*Dahnadj*, al-Dimashkī, text p. 83, transl. p. 97).

There was no analysis in our sense of the term. But there were a large number of rules for the chief of police (*muḥtasib*) by which he could tell the apparently very common adulterations. Thus mineral adulterations of indigo were ascertained by burning. There are writings on this subject by Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Dimashkī, Ibn Bassām and al-Nabarāwī (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, xxxii. and xl.). Gold and silver are tested for purity by the touchstone or by purely chemical methods.

Technical processes. Very little has so far been accurately learned regarding chemical technical processes. A few indications may suffice here. In the first place we do not know much about the methods by which the metals were actually obtained. Gold was got by washing; in some places it was dissolved by quicksilver, the latter of course being regained by distillation (see E. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, xxiv. 83). Quicksilver was obtained by distillation from cinnabar (either out of iron retorts or by the addition of splinters of iron) (E. Wiedemann, *Journ. für prakt. Chemie*, *op. cit.*, p. 111). On the manufacture of steel and especially its damascening, the providing with *firind*, there are a series of works, e. g. one by al-Kindī. According to a modern Oriental writer, Thābit (*al-Mashriḳ*, 1900, iii. 577 and 700), damascening is said to depend on the presence of titanum in the metal; but these statements are as a rule of an empirical and thumb nature (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, xxv.; L. Beck, *Gesch. des Eisens*², vol. i.).

For a series of artificially prepared inorganic substances see above.

The methods of obtaining different scents from plants were very highly developed. These were especially cultivated in Persia and in Damascus and followed the processes of the ancients. In the district of Shīrāz, special taxes were levied on the buildings in which rose-water was prepared (E. Wiedemann, in Diergart, *Beiträge*, p. 234). The scents were partly extracted from the flowers or leaves by means of cold or hot oil and fat and then subjected to further processes. A great variety of oils, — olive, sesame, etc. — was used in the process (cf. Ibn al-Baiṭār under *duhn*). Water was poured on the different substances and they were put in retorts. These retorts were arranged around a shaft in circles, which were placed above one another in tiers. Hot air from a fire or steam from hot water heated the retorts. The steam developed in the retort carried off the sweet scented ethereal oils and was precipitated with them into a receptacle (pictures in al-Dimashkī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, text, p. 194; E. Wiedemann, in Diergart, *op. cit.*).

The important sugar industry, about which we possess fairly full information will be dealt with in the article SUKKAR (cf. E. A. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers*, Leipzig 1910; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Naturwissenschaften*, xli., liii., lv.) and the glass industry under ZADJĀDJ.

On the manufacture of the usual inks, sympathetic and gold inks, of lacquers and solders, and of cements, a number of works exist which still await editing; so far as I can ascertain, they contain purely practical rules.

A very great part was played by the processes by which drugs, pearls, jewels, etc. were imitated. This was done to a very great extent as we know from al-Khāzim's *Mīzān al-Ḥikma*. Many of the processes given by the different authors are simply pure inventions. Of particular interest are the statements by al-Djawbarī in his *Kashf al-Asrār* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, xxxiii. and *Mitt. z. Gesch. d. Medizin d. Naturwissenschaften*, 1910, ix. 386) and those in the handbooks prepared for the *muḥtasib*.

A proper history of *Kīmiyāʾ* and an account of its place in Muslim culture will only be possible when we are much better acquainted with the works of its representatives than at present, and also have a better idea of the sciences connected with chemistry, pharmacy, knowledge of drugs, etc., mineralogy, etc. As to chemistry a start has to be made almost from the beginning, as has been done by J. Ruska and E. J. Holmyard. It is important that the processes described should be translated into modern technical terms as Darmstädter endeavoured to do for the Latin Geber.

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al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 351 *sqq.* (Berthelot has translated the passages referring to alchemy: *La chimie*, etc., iii. 26 *sqq.*); al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. van Vloten; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, ed. Bombay, ii. 95, and the translation of the section on Mineralogy by F. Dieterici, *Die Naturanschauung und Naturphilosophie der Araber*², p. 95 *sqq.* (to be used with caution); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, viii. 175—177; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, text, p. 48 *sqq.*, transl. p. 52 *sqq.*; al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 202, translation by J. Ruska, *Jahresber. der prov. Oberrealschule Heidelberg*, 1895/1896; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, commentary on the *Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam* of al-Tughrāʾī, MS. Berlin, Nº. 7660; al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-Ḳāṣid ilā Asnā 'l-Maḳāṣid*, ed. Sprenger, *Bibl. Ind.*, Nº. 21, 1849; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, text and transl., *Bibl. Ind.*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, section on *ʿIlm al-Kīmiyāʾ*, v. 270 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, *Not. et Extr.*, xviii. 229 *sqq.*, transl. de Slane, xxi., i. 249 *sqq.*

Catalogues of the Libraries, especially that of the Berlin Library. The Sulṭāniya Library in Cairo is also said to be very rich. There are also the alchemical writings themselves so far as they have survived. The Latin translations of Arabic works on *Kīmiyāʾ* are not here quoted (on them cf. M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* in *Sitzungsber. d. K. Akad. der Wissensch.*, Vienna, Philos.-hist. Kl., cxlix., 1904 and cli., 1905).

II. Western Sources:

C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litteratur*; H. Kopp, *Gesch. der Chemie*, Braunschweig 1843—1847; do., *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Chemie*, Braunschweig 1869—1875; do., *Die Chemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit*, Heidelberg 1886, 2 vols.; F. Hoefer, *Histoire de la Chimie*², Paris 1867—1869, 2 vols.; M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, 3 vols., Paris 1893; E. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin 1919 (in this work the material has been most carefully collected and utilised with the most accurate references to the literature); H. E. Stapleton and R. F. Azo, *Alchemical Equipment in the Eleventh Century* (contains "The Essence of the Art and Help for the Workers by one al-Kāthī" with transl. and commentary) in *Mem. of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, 1905, i. 47; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften u. s. w.*, in *Sitz.-ber. d. phys.-med. Soc. in Erlangen*; the following are specially important in this connection: *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Chemie bei den Arabern* (i.); *Zur Gesch. d. Chemie* (ii.); *Auszüge aus arab. Encyklopaedien* (v., p. 437); *Einiges aus al-Gaubarī* (xxiii.); *Zur Chemie bei den Arabern* (xxiv.); *Über Stahl und Eisen bei den muslimischen Völkern* (xxv.); *Zur Mineralogie im Islam* (xxx.); *Aus der arabischen Handels- und Warenlehre von Abu 'l-Faḍl Gaʿfar Ibn ʿAlī al-Dimashḳī* (xxxii.); *Über Verfälschungen von Drogen usw. nach Ibn Bassam und al-Nabarāwī* (xl.); *Über die bei den Arabern benützten Drogen* (xlix.); *Über Parfüms und Drogen bei den Arabern* (lvi.); *Zur Geschichte der Alchemie* (lxiii.); do., *Zur Alchemie bei den Arabern* in *Journ. f. prakt. Chemie* [2], lxxvi. 65 and 105, 1907; do., *Über chemische Apparate* in P. Diergart, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Chemie*, p. 234, 1909; do., *Über das Goldmachen und die Verfälschung der Perlen nach al-Djaubarī*, in *Berichte zur Kenntnis des Orients*, v. 77, Munich 1908; do., *Zur Geschichte der Alchemie* in *Zeitschr. f. angewandte Chemie*, xxxiv. 522 and 528; do., *Über arabische Parfüms* in *Arch. für Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften und Technik*, 1913, vi. 418; *Arch. für Gesch. der Medizin*, 1914, viii. 83; J. Ruska, *Sal ammoniacus, Nušādir und Salmiak*, *S. B. Akad. Heid.*, 1913, essay 5; do., *Arabische Alchemisten*, i., *Chālid Ibn Yazīd Ibn Muʿāwiya*, *Heidelberger Akten der von Portheim Stiftung*, 1924, Nº. 6, p. 31 *sq.*; ii. *Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiq der sechste Imām*, ibid., 1924, Nº. 10; review by E. O. von Lippmann, *Chemiker Zeitung*, Nº. 1 and 3; R. Winderlich, *Arabische Alchemisten Zeitschr. f. angew. Chemie*, 1925, xxxviii., p. 348—350; J. Ruska, *al-Rāzī als Bahnbrecher einer neuen Chemie*, *D. L. Z.*, 1923, xliv., p. 115—125; do., *Probleme der Gābirforschung*, in *Isl.*, 1924, xiv., p. 100—104; do., *Über das Schriftenverzeichnis des Gābir ibn Ḥajjān und die Unechtheit einiger ihm zugeschriebener Abhandlungen*, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 1923, xv., p. 53—67; do., *Tabula Smaragdina*, in *Heidelb. Akten der von Portheim-Stiftung*, Heidelberg 1926 (Ruska will shortly publish articles on the history of sal-ammoniac and the *Kitāb al-Asrār* of al-Rāzī); E. J. Holmyard, *Gābir ibn Ḥayyān*, *Proc. of the Roy. Soc. of Medicine*, 1923, xxvi., p. 40—57; do., *A critical examination of Berthelot's Work upon Arabic Chemistry*, *Isis*, vi. 479—499; do., *The present position of the Geber Problem*, *Science Progress*, 1925, p. 415 *sqq.*; do., *Maslama al-Majrīṭī and the Rutbatu 'l-Hakīm*, *Isis*, 1924, vi., p. 293—305; do., *Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad*

al-ʿIrāḳī, Kitāb al-ʿIlm al-Muktasab, etc., 1923, 53 p., text and transl. 57 p.; do., *A Romance of Chemistry, Journ. of the Society of Chemical Industry*, 1925, xliv.; do., *Chemistry in Islam*, in *Scientia*, Milan, Nov. 1926, pp. 287—296; J. Ruska and E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, lxvii., *Arabische alchemistische Decknamen, S.B.P.M.S., Erlg.*, 1924/1925, lvi. *sq.*; E. Darmstaedter, *Die Alchemie des Geber*, Berlin 1922 (translation of works by the Latin Geber with notes important for the Arabist). (E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲINĀLĪZĀDE, Ar. Ibn al-Ḥinnāʾī (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, xiv. 544 and Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 199 note) a Turkish family of scholars and poets (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 736), of which the following are the most important members:

I. ḲINĀLĪZĀDE, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. AMRULLĀH, Ottoman jurist and author, was born in 916 (1510/1511) in Sparta in the district of Ḥamīd-eli [q. v.] in Anatolia, the son of the ḳāḍī Emrullāh (Meḥmed) who died in 967 (1559) and grandson of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Ḥamīdī. He filled judgeships in the following towns: Damascus, Cairo, Brussa, Adrianople, and from Djumādā II, 978 (Oct.–Nov. 1570) in Constantinople, was appointed ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Anatolia in Muḥarram 979 (May–June 1571) and died on 6th or 7th Ramaḍān of the same year (Jan. 22/23, 1572) in Adrianople. His brother was the poet Muslimī, who was ḳāḍī at Rhodes and elsewhere and is said to have died in 944 (1537). Of ʿAlī's sons mention may be made of Meḥmed Fehmī Efendi, also distinguished as a poet, who died when only 32 on 28th Shawwāl 1004 and Ḥasan Čelebi (see below), the famous biographer of poets.

Mollā ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī was a very industrious writer. He wrote glossaries and commentaries on a series of theological works. He became famous by his ethical work *Akhlāḳ-i ʿAlāʾī* written in 972 (1564) for the Beylerbey of Syria, ʿAlī Pasha, the original MS. of which is in the library of Rāghib Pasha in Stambul (Nº. 966). This work (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, i. 203, Nº. 280) was printed (236 + 127 + 52 pp.) in Shawwāl 1248 (Feb. 1833) at Būlāḳ (cf. *J. A.*, 1843, ii. 40, Nº. 68; Zenker, i. 1357, where *ʿalamī* is an error for *ʿalāʾī*) and besides translated either in full or in parts; cf. the MS. transl. of the Venetian dragoman Giovanni Medun in the Bonn University Library, Nº. 47 in J. Gildemeister, *Katal.*, p. 114; thereon G. B. Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Venice 1787, i. 95 as well as R. Peiper, *Stimmen aus dem Morgenlande*, Hirschberg 1850, 1 *sqq.*, 403 *sqq.* and do., *Das Capitel von der Freigebigkeit*, Breslau 1848, esp. p. 75, 98, 128. MSS. of the Ethics of Mollā ʿAlī are numerous; cf. Flügel, *Wiener Kat.*, iii. 304 *sq.*; Pertsch, *Berl. Türk. Hss.*, p. 168 *sq.*, where further details are given.

Another work is his collection of letters (*Munshaʾāt*, cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, vi. 185) in the five sections of which, in a period in which style was decaying, he gives masterly specimens of the different kinds of literary composition. There are MSS. of this work in the British Museum (Rieu, *Turk. MSS.*, p. 94), Vienna, Nat.-Bibl., Nº. 289 (Flügel, *Katal.*, i. 266 *sq.*); Vienna, Konsular-Akad., Nº. lxxxiv. Krafft, *Katal.*, 28 *sq.*).

Bibliography: The fullest biography is in the MS. *Tadhkira* of his son Ḥasan Čelebi; ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhail-i Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniya*, p. 164–168; ʿAlī, *Kunh al-akhbār* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 755, Nº. 57); Peçewī, *Taʾrīkh*, i. 458; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii. 501 (with erroneous statements regarding the Ḳinālīzāde family); J. v. Hammer, *G.O.D.*, ii. 341, iii. 131; do., *G.O.R.*, iii. 736 (also contains mistakes regarding individual Ḳinālīzāde's), iv. 603 (where the brother of Mollā ʿAlī, Mollā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Keramī Čelebi, mentioned in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i. 7 *sq.* and died in 1000 = 1591, is wrongly given as the author of this or another collection of letters; cf. thereon, W. Pertsch, *Berl. Türk. Hss.*, p. 471 on Nº. 491); Brusali Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, i. 400 (with exact list of writings); F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Nº. 532, p. 248 *sq.*

II. ḲINĀLĪZĀDE ḤASAN ČELEBI, an Ottoman biographer of poets.

Ḥasan Čelebi was the son of the Mollā ʿAlī mentioned above and was born in Brussa in 953 (began March 4, 1546), where his father was judge. At the age of twenty he became assistant (*mulāzim*) to the famous Abū Suʿūd [q. v.], in 975 (1567/1568) professor, in 990 (1582/1583) "guardian" (*ṣaḥn*), i. e. *Müderris* at the mosque of Meḥmed the Conqueror (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 186), five years later professor at the Suleimāniya mosque, at which his father had once been first *Müderris* (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 349). In the year 999 (1590/1591) he became ḳāḍī of Aleppo, then of Cairo, Adrianople and Cairo again. In 1007 (1598/1599) he went as ḳāḍī to his native town of Brussa, then to Gallipoli, became ḳāḍī of Eiyūb, and in Ṣafar 1011 (July 1602) of Eski Zaghra. He died, the holder of an *arpaliḳ* [q. v.] on Shawwāl 12, 1012 (March 15, 1604) at Rosetta (Rashīd) in Egypt.

Ḥasan Čelebi achieved fame by his comprehensive dictionary of poets in three sections (*faṣl*), *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, a work which according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's view (*Kashf*, ii. 262, Nº. 2817) surpasses all previous works of the kind in the beauty of its language and the compactness of its matter. The *tadhkira* (finished in 944 = 1586 and dedicated to the great Saʿd al-Dīn [cf. KHODJA EFENDI] gives biographical sketches of nearly six hundred poets with specimens of their work. This most important work, of which many manuscripts exist, has not yet been printed. A definitive edition of this, the best and most comprehensive of all Ottoman anthologies, is urgently desirable.

Bibliography: ʿAlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 736, 756, Nº. 138); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i. 240; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii. 127; J. v. Hammer, *G.O.D.*, i. 44; ii. 341; iii. 131; do., *G.O.R.*, iii. 736; ix. 243, Nº. 137; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, passim, esp. iii. 199 *sq.*; Brusali Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii. 385; al-Muḥibbī, *Taʾrīkh Khulāṣat al-Athar*, Cairo 1284, ii. 29; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Nº. 547, p. 254. (FRANZ BABINGER)

KINĀNA B. KHUZAIMA B. MUDRIKA B. AL-YĀS B. MUḌAR is the name of a large Arab tribe which had its camping grounds at the beginning of Islām in the territory round Mekka, extending from the Tihāma in the South-west of the city, where they bordered on the lands occupied by the related tribe of Hudhail, to the North-east of the city where their grounds adjoined those occupied by their nearest relations the tribe of Asad of Khuzaima. They were very numerous and their chief

importance in the eyes of native genealogists lies in the fact that the Ḳuraish, and consequently the Prophet, derived their origin from this tribe. In view of this fact we have concerning them an abundance of notices of their subdivisions and of men of note who traced their descent from them. While later genealogists name as a rule only six large clans, Ibn al-Kalbī in the *Djamharat al-Nasab* mentions the following fourteen sons of Kināna: 1) al-Naḍr i.e. Ḳais who is considered the ancestor of Ḳuraish [q. v.]; 2) Nuḍair; 3) Mālik; 4) Milkān (so this name is vocalised in the good MS. of the *Djamhara*, while Ḳalḳashandī insists on the pronunciation Malkān); 5) ʿĀmir; 6) ʿAmr; 7) al-Ḥārith; 8) ʿArwān (or ʿAzwān); 9) Saʿd; 10) ʿAwf; 11) Ghanm; 12) Makhrama and 13) Djarwal. All these thirteen tribes are stated to be the offspring of Barra bint Murr, the sister of Tamīm b. Murr, for which reason they are brought into relationship with the large tribe of Tamīm. The fourteenth son of Kināna named ʿAbd Manāt was a son of al-Dhafrāʾ bint Hanī b. Balī of Ḳuḍāʿa for which reason this clan is often reckoned as belonging to Ḳuḍāʿa itself. The later genealogists as a rule only mention al-Naḍr, Mālik, Milkān, ʿĀmir, ʿAmr and ʿAbd Manāt of most of which they also enumerate subdivisions. No divisions of Milkān, ʿAmr and ʿĀmir are mentioned except al-Ḳain as a branch of the last named, while al-Naḍr as ancestor of Ḳuraish is dealt with in the article referring to Ḳuraish. Mālik was divided into the clans Thaʿlaba b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik, with the subdivisions of Firās b. Ghanm b. Thaʿlaba, and Mukhdidj b. ʿĀmir b. Thaʿlaba, and Fuḳaim b. ʿAdī b. ʿĀmir. The ʿAbd Manāt were perhaps the most numerous and are split up into a number of clans: 1) Ghifār; 2) Bakr with the subdivisions of Duʾil and Laith; 3) Bal-Ḥārith; 4) Mudlidj, who were renowned as augurs; 5) Ḍamra b. Bakr.

It would be absurd to assume that these names mean actual sons or descendants of Kināna, but for the early period of Islām they are important as indicating the mutual relationship in which the various clans of Kināna considered themselves to be and were possibly entered in the *Dīwān* created by ʿUmar. As with all other Arab tribes the exact knowledge of affiliation of single persons very soon became doubtful and only the descendants of men who had played an important part in the rise of Islām could trace their descent with some degree of certainty. The clans of Kināna which in later times, i. e. in the sixth century of the Hidjra were settled in Upper Egypt near Ikhmīm or in the Western Delta had no knowledge of their origin except that they claimed to be descended from the original stock and had immigrated into Egypt at various periods, the last immigration having been in the vizierate of Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk (549—556 A. H.).

As close neighbours of the sacred territory, the tribe of Kināna played no unimportant part in the history of the city of Mekka in the time before Islām and the clansmen outside gave the final decision when the branch Ḳuraish wrested the rule of the city from the tribe of Khuzāʿa, for it was their chief Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. ʿĀmir b. al-Laith b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt who was chosen to give his final decision which was in favour of Ḳuraish; and he received on account of his decision the nickname al-Shuddākh "the Crusher" because he crushed the dispute. Their attitude towards the Prophet as a united tribe is not recorded, but one of their clans the Banū Firās was among the chief supporters of ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. The last time Ṭabarī mentions them in his *Annals* is in the year 230 A. H. when they where in part still encamped near Mekka, but were too weak to resist the depredations of other tribes who had become more powerful. At this time a large section had their camping grounds in the Ḥawrān and near Ṣarkhad. Though not important as a tribe, the names of men of note as traditionists etc. are very numerous, too numerous to be mentioned in detail.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Nasab*, Brit. Mus. Add. 23297, fol. 1v; Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo, ii. 350 *sq.*; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, Cairo, i. 350 *sq.*; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 105—108; Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen N.*; Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, *G. M. S.*, vol. xx., s. v.

(F. Krenkow)

KINDA, also called Kindat al-Mulūk (the royal Kinda) was a South-Arabian tribe which, probably not numerous, was settled at the time preceding the rise of Islām in the country to the West of Ḥaḍramawt. The Arabian genealogists know their descent, but as usual with all South-Arabian tribes it is altogether imaginary. The line of descent is traced as follows: Thawr (i. e. Kinda) b. ʿUfair b. ʿAdī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zaid b. Yashdjub b. Zaid b. ʿArīb b. Zaid b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ. They appear not to be mentioned in ancient South-Arabian inscriptions and are first mentioned in history in the fourth century of the Christian era. Ḥudjr b. ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar b. Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥārith al-Akbar b. Muʿāwiya b. Kinda, called Ākil al-Murār, was a step-brother of the Ḥimyarite ruler Ḥassān Tubbaʿ and in accordance with the practice of the Ḥimyarite kings, his son ʿAmr b. Ḥudjr was kept by Ḥassān Tubbaʿ at his court as a page and at the same time hostage. When Ḥassān Tubbaʿ made his expedition into the interior of Arabia and subdued the various tribes settled there, he appointed, upon his return to Yaman, his step-brother Ḥudjr ruler of the conquered tribes. Ḥassān Tubbaʿ was killed at the instigation of his brother ʿAmr, after an expedition against Djadīs, who resided in Yamāma. The latter gave a sister of Ḥassān Tubbaʿ in marriage to ʿAmr b. Ḥudjr and when his father Ḥudjr had perished he succeeded him as ruler of the Arab tribes in Central Arabia; he was nicknamed al-Maḳṣūr. ʿAmr was succeeded by his son al-Ḥārith who for a short time after the death of the Persian king Kabādh was made ruler of al-Ḥīra but lost this possession upon the accession of Nūsharwān. After his death the now practically independent kingdom of Central Arabia was divided among the sons of al-Ḥārith, while his son Ḥudjr retained the rule over the tribe of Asad, Shuraḥbīl became ruler of the tribes of Bakr, Ḥanẓala, ʿAmr b. Tamīm and the Rabāb, while Salama ruled over Taghlib, al-Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ and Saʿd b. Zaid Manāt and Maʿdī Karib had the tribes of Ḳais and Kināna under his authority. They immediately began to dispute one another's authority which resulted in the first battle of Kulāb in which practically all Arab tribes took part. This place Kulāb is difficult to identify; it is said to have been between al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, seven days' journey from Yamāma.

After a fierce fight Shuraḥbīl was killed but his adherents permitted his family to return in safety to Yaman. The final result however was that the authority of the various princes was very much reduced and the tribes regained their independence. Meanwhile Ḥudjr had not taken part in the quarrel and had ruled in tyrannical fashion over the tribe of Asad and the Byzantine annalists know of raids which Ḥudjr (Ogaros) and his brother Maʿdī Karib had made upon the Roman border about the end of the fifth century. Ḥudjr was treacherously murdered by the Asad. He had been absent from the tribe, and when they refused any longer to acknowledge his authority and pay the tribute, he marched against them with an army probably drawn from the tribes over which his other relations ruled. His camp was surprised by the Asad and he was killed while his son Imru ul-Ḳais managed to escape. This event practically ended the lordship of the Kinda kings over the Arab tribes and the years which followed were occupied by Imru ul-Ḳais in attempts to regain at least part of the heritage of his father. After many unsuccessful attempts he finally went to Constantinople to seek help and auxiliaries from the Greek emperor, in which he was disappointed; and according to legend he was actually poisoned by emissaries of the Emperor at Anḳira.

But it was not only this family which gained the tribe the name of the Royal Kinda, for we find until late into the Muslim period men of note who held prominent positions at court as nobles of great importance and they were also prominent in resisting the early missionaries of Islām. Ḳais b. Maʿdī Karib had been a man of eminence at the dawn of Islām and poems by al-Aʿshā testify to his importance. His son al-Ashʿath became a convert to Islām but apostasized; he was defeated by the army sent by Abū Bakr, made a prisoner and pardoned. His descendants were holding important posts during the rule of the Umaiyads. Among other prominent men may be mentioned the false prophet al-Muḳannaʿ [q. v.] and the Ḳāḍī Shuraiḥ [q. v.]. Other persons were named al-Kindī because they were clients (*mawlā*) of the tribe as e.g. the philosopher Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī [q. v.]. A district in Syria and also a quarter of the city of Baṣra was named after this tribe and it is stated that the poet Abū Nuwās was born in the Kinda quarter of Baṣra.

Among the branches of Kinda are mentioned the clans of Sakūn b. Ashras and al-Sakāsik; from the former were descended the Tudjīb who were among the earliest settlers in Egypt and were principally concerned in the revolt against the caliph ʿUthmān, one of their clan being actually named as the murderer of the Caliph. The clan of Tudjīb later attained great influence in Spain and the Banū Sumādiḥ in Almeria, the Banū Dhu 'l-Nūn in Malaga and the Banu 'l-Afṭas in Badajoz each in their turn exercised in these districts royal authority till they fell before the power of the Almoravids.

Bibliography: al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, i. 328; Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ii. 331; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, Cairo 1300, p. 212; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii. 274—277; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xi. 65—66; *Dīwān* of ʿAbīd, ed. Lyall, Introduction; *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, passim; Wüstenfeld, *Register* and *Tabellen*.

(F. KRENKOW)

AL-KINDĪ, ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB B. ISḤĀḲ, an Arab philosopher, called the *failasūf al-ʿArab* on account of his South Arabian descent, was born probably in the middle of the ninth century A. D. in Kūfa, where his father was governor, and educated in Baṣra and Baghdād, then the great centres of education. He served in various capacities at the ʿAbbāsid court, especially under Maʾmūn and Muʿtaṣim, as translator or editor of Greek philosophical works, as tutor to a son of Muʿtaṣim, as astrologer, etc. Devoted to the Muʿtazilī theology of the court, he was affected by the restoration under Mutawakkil and his library was confiscated for a time. He was still alive in 870, when he thought he could foretell a duration of about 450 years to the ʿAbbāsid empire then threatened by the Ḳarmaṭians and a conjunction of stars.

Al-Kindī had acquired with tolerable understanding a knowledge of the so-called "ancient", i. e. mainly Greek learning, as far as it was accessible to him; and all his life he furthered its dissemination in Islām by an industrious literary activity. In the tenth century we find everywhere, especially in mathematics and natural philosophy, the traces of his activities. Of his works very little has survived in Arabic, but more in Latin translations, including some by Gerhard of Cremona. Enough survives with some quotations and biographical and bibliographical references to enable us to estimate his position in science and philosophy.

Eclectic in the sense of the later Hellenism, he regarded the Neo-Pythagorean mathematics as the basis of all sciences and endeavoured in Neo-Platonic fashion to combine the views of Plato and Aristotle. He was fond of applying mathematics not only in physics, but also in medicine, e. g. in the theory of composite medicines. He explained the effect of these medicines from the geometrical proportions of the mixture of physical qualities, warm, cold, dry or moist. He was therefore still regarded by Cardan, a philosopher of the Renaissance, as one of the twelve subtlest minds.

Al-Kindī was celebrated in the Middle Ages as an astrologer; he was numbered among the nine judices of astrology, but he dealt not only with what we would call astrological fantasies but with exact astronomical measurements and calculations.

As regards alchemy, much studied in his time, which was defended against him by the physician Rāzī, our philosopher adopted a rather sceptical attitude. Gold and silver, he thought, could only be attained from mines, where nature has brought them into being, and not made by human skill.

Al-Kindī dealt very fully with optics. His principal work, which was much used in the east and west, next to the work of his greater successor, Ibn al-Haitham, is based mainly on the *Optics* of Euclid in Theon's recension. In it he dealt with (1) the passage of light in straight lines, (2) the direct process of vision, (3) the process of vision by a looking-glass and (4) the influence of distances and angle of vision on sight along with optical delusions. According to him light takes no time to travel and vision takes place through a bundle of rays which, sent out from the eye expanding in the form of a cone, embrace the object. While the other four senses receive impressions from things, the sense of sight

grasps its object in an active and instantaneous manner.

We also possess by him, like his principal works only in a Latin translation, a little work on the cause of the blue colour of the sky, in which it is explained that this colour is not really special to the heavens, but arises from the mixture of the darkness of the sky with the light of the atoms of dust, vapour, etc. in the air illuminated by the light of the sun. A work on ebb and flow, also preserved in Latin, is remarkable because the author tested experimentally the principles of the theory, an erroneous one, however.

Primarily a natural philosopher, al-Kindī also discussed the doctrine of the soul and of the intelligence (νοῦς). According to him the world as a whole is the work of an externally active cause, the divine intelligence, whose activity is transmitted in many ways from above to the world. Between God and the world of bodies is the world of soul, which created the world of heavenly spheres. The human soul is an emanation from this world-soul. In so far as the human soul is combined with the body, it is dependent on the influence of heavenly bodies, but in its spiritual origin and being it is free. For only in the world of intelligence (*ʿaḳl*, νοῦς) is there freedom and immortality. If then we wish to attain the highest, we must turn to the eternal possessions of the intelligence, the fear of God, knowledge and good works.

In al-Kindī's treatise *De Intellectu*, edited by Nagy, we meet for the first time the doctrine of *ʿaḳl* in a form that is significant of the whole course of Neo-Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy in Islām. Following Alexander of Aphrodisias (*De Anima*, ii.) a fourfold *intellectus* is distinguished: (1) which is always *in actu*; (2) which is *in potentia* in the soul; (3) which is realised in the soul by the first (1) (so far corresponding to the threefold νοῦς of Alex. Aphr.: ποιητικός, ὑλικός, ἐπίκτητος) and (4) an *intellectus demonstrativus*. According to a suggestion of P. Duhem's (*Le Système du Monde*, Paris 1916, iv., p. 405) by the latter is meant the *anima sensitiva*, about which Alex. Aphr. speaks in this context, but which he did not call νοῦς nor could have called it so. Al-Kindī seems to me to mean by his fourth *ʿaḳl* the effective participation of the third, just as Aristotle distinguishes between the possession of acquired virtue and its practice, acquired knowledge and mental activity. The fourth would therefore have to be distinguished from the first *ʿaḳl* in later Arab terminology as *ʿaḳl bi ʾl-fiʿl* from *ʿaḳl faʿʿāl*.

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(T. J. de Boer)

al-KINDĪ, Abū ʿOmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, an Arab historian of Egypt, was born on 10th Dhu ʾl-Ḥiddja 283 (Jan. 17, 897) at some place not exactly known in Egypt and belonged to the Tudjīb, a clan of the Kinda, who had come into Egypt with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. He studied Tradition under Ibn Ḳudaid (d. 312 = 924) and al-Nasāʾī (d. 302 = 914; q. v.); towards the end of his life he is said to have himself been a teacher of Ḥadīth. But his main interest was in the history and traditions of his native land. He seems to have spent all his life in al-Fusṭāṭ, where he died on 3rd Ramaḍān 350 (Oct. 15, 961).

His two principal works are the history of the governors of Egypt (*Tasmiyat Wulāt Miṣr* or simply *Umarāʾ Miṣr*) and the history of the judges of the country (*al-Ḳuḍāt*). The former deals with the governors (*umarāʾ al-ṣalāh*) and includes the chiefs of police appointed by them (*wālī* or *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* or *al-harb*), but excludes other higher officials; these bare lists are only occasionally interrupted by brief notes on the domestic and foreign policy of the country. The author brings the history of Egypt down to the death of al-Ikhshīd in 335 (946): an unknown author continued it till the coming of the Fāṭimids in 362 (972). Sections of the book were first published by K. Tallquist in Ibn Saʿīd's *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, Leiden 1899 and by N. A. König in *The History of the Governors of Egypt*, New York 1908. As a supplement to his first work al-Kindī wrote the history of the judges of Egypt down to the appointment of Bakkār in 861 (246). Here in connection with the lives of the judges he not infrequently gives us important legal decisions laid down by them and thus gives us valuable data for the history of Muslim law. Al-Kindī seems to have brought the work down to his own time in a second edition, but this has not survived. Instead of the latter we have two continuations, one by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Burd to the year 366 (977) and an anonymous one for the years 347—424 (959—1033), the beginning of which therefore covers part of the ground of the original versions; both are bare chronological lists. This work has been edited by R. Gottheil, *The History of the Egyptian Qadis*, Paris 1908. Both works have been brilliantly edited by Rhuvon Guest, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt or Kitāb el-Umarāʾ (el-Wulāh) wa-Kitāb el-Quḍāh of el-Kindī together with an appendix derived mostly from Rafʿ el-Iṣr by Ibn Ḥajar*, *G. M. S.*, xix., Leiden 1912.

Of other works by al-Kindī we know mainly

from quotations in al-Maḳrīzī's *al-Khiṭaṭ* and in Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Djund al-Gharbī* or *al-Adjnād al-Ghurabā'* (?), a *K. al-Khandaḳ wa 'l-Tarāwīḥ* (on the fight for the trench made by Ibn al-Zubair's governor Ibn Djaḥdam for the defence of al-Fusṭāṭ), a *K. al-Khiṭaṭ*, a *K. Akhbār Masdjid Ahl al-Rāya al-A'ẓam* and a *K. al-Mawālī*. A *Sīrat al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam* is only mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī. Yāḳūt in the *Irshād al-Arīb*, ii. 156 quotes a history by al-Kindī beginning in 280 (894) and Ibn Duḳmāḳ (iv. 18, 2) gives him as a source for an event of the year 290 (903). Al-Suyūṭī wrongly ascribes to him the short *Kitāb Faḍā'il Miṣr*, which his son 'Omar composed for the Ikhshīdid Kāfūr (355—357 = 966—968). It has been edited by J. Oestrup (*'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Kindīs Beskrivelse af Ägypten, udgivet og oversat*) in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Danemark*, Copenhagen 1896, N°. 4. But al-Kindī himself did write a larger work with the same title which the son quotes several times, according to Nallino, *Opus Astron. al-Battani*, ii. 325.

Bibliography: in the article; short biographies of al-Kindī are only given in the still unpublished *al-Muḳaffā* of al-Maḳrīzī and the *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* of al-Dhahabī.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-KINDĪ, 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ B. ISḤĀḲ, the fictitious name of the author of a celebrated Arabic apologia for Christianity, the *Risālat ilā 'Abdallāh b. Ismā'īl al-Hāshimī*. Professing (ed. 1880, p. 47; cf. p. 2) to be a contempory account of a controversy held about the year 204 (819) before the Caliph al-Ma'mūn on the relative values of Islām and Christianity, it contains theological statements and a terminology probably posterior to the year 300 (912), for example in particular the allusion to the refutation by Ṭabarī (d. 310 = 923) of the thesis of the Ḥanbalī Barbahārī (d. 329 = 940) on the inscription of the name of the Prophet Muḥammad on the base of the throne of God. The adaptation to Christian theology of the ideas of the Islāmic *Kalām* as in the distinction between *ṣifāt dhāt* and *ṣifāt fi'l*, would make one try to identify this "Kindī" with some Jacobite author with pre-Averroan tendencies, for example with the celebrated Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (d. 364 = 974). The text was used and its author quoted, by al-Bīrūnī, under his assumed name of a Nestorian Kindite, "son of Isaac", addressing to a Hāshimite "son of Ismā'īl."

This apologia, often aggressive in tone, is a very remarkable document. It contains the first known outline of a critical history of the gradual formation of the present text of the Ḳur'ān. The Arabic original, written in Syriac characters (Karshūnī MSS.: Paris, *Catal. Zotenberg*, p. 204, 205; Gotha, *Cat. Möller*, p. 160) was analysed, then translated into Latin about the year 1141 by Peter of Toledo (MSS. Lat., Paris, N°. 3393, 3649, publ. in Bibliander, *Alcoranus*, 1543, ii. 1—20) and resurrected in the xixth century by Sir William Muir.

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(L. MASSIGNON)

KINKIWAR, KANKIWAR, KANGAVAR, a little district with a town of the same name and about 30 villages between Hamadān and Karmīsīn. The town has about 2,500 inhabitants; in its vicinity is a famous castle, Ḳaṣr al-Luṣūṣ or Ḳaṣr Duzdān, the "robber castle"; it is said to take its name from the fact that several animals were stolen from the Muslims at the conquest; Ṭab. i. 2649.

Bibliography: *B.G.A.*, i. 195; ii. 256; iii. 393; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 450—451; Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 188 *sq.*; Flandin, *Voyage*, i. 408 *sqq.*

(J. RUSKA)

ḲINNASRĪN, a town in North Syria at the point where the Nahr Ḳuwaiḳ enters the swampy lake of il-Maṭkh. In ancient times it was called Χαλκίς, *Chalcis ad Belum* and lay ἐν μεθορίοις 'Αράβων (Diodorus, *Bibl.*, xxxiii. 4a); perhaps it is to it that the note in Stephen of Byzantium refers, according to which a town named Chalkis was founded by the Arab Μονικός. In the late classical period a part of the Syro-Arabian limes was called τὸ λίμιτον Χαλκίδος (Malalas, p. 296, 5). In this region the Arabs very early immigrated into Byzantine territory; at *al-Ḥiyār* (the later *Ḥiyār banī 'l-Ḳa'ḳā'*) in the district of Ḳinnasrīn in 554 A.D. the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith won a decisive victory over the Lakhmid al-Mundhir of al-Ḥīra (Nöldeke, *S. B. Ak. Berlin*, 1887, p. 18; according to Herzfeld, *Jahrbuch d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1921, xlii. 123, al-Ḥiyār is the modern Ḳaṣr Ibn Wardān). The Syriac name Ḳenneshrīn (not to be confused with the monastery of Ḳenneshrē on the Euphrates also written Ḳenneshrīn; cf. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akt. pers. Märt.*, p. 161 *sq.*) occurs several times in Syriac texts before the Arab period (Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii. 537^b, 707^b; Severus of Antioch, *Epist.*, 37, p. 117 ed., p. 104 transl. Brooks); also in the Talmud (*Babyl. Talm.*, iii. 366, ed. Goldschmidt: Province of Ḳannishraiyā). In the last struggle between the Byzantines and Sasanians, the town was taken in 573 A. D. (Michael the Syrian, ii. 312) and in 608/609 A.D. by the Persians. At that time Arab tribes were already dwelling round Ḳinnasrīn, Ḥalab, Manbidj and Bālis (Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. 67; Lammens in *M.F.O.B.*, i. 52). In 637 Abū 'Ubaida took the town (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 137, 139, 144 *sqq.*). It then became the capital of an administrative district (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 164, 189 *sq.*).

The Caliph Yazīd I in his reforms in the administration of Syria added to the four military provinces already in existence (*adjnād*) Filasṭīn, al-Urdunn, Dimashḳ and Ḥimṣ, a fifth the djund of Ḳinnasrīn, which he separated from the djund of Ḥimṣ (Balādhurī, p. 132; following him Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 742. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazid Ier* in *M. F. O. B.*, vii. [1914—1921], p. 446 *sq.*). Besides its capital, it included Ḥalab, Anṭākiya and Manbidj. After the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in which the 'Awāṣim were again separated from the djund of Ḳinnasrīn (in 170/786), the districts of Ḳinnasrīn, Ḥalab, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Ma'arrat Maṣrīn and Sarmīn (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 36) belonged to it. Various changes in the frontier seem to have been made later. Thus Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B. G. A.*, vi. 75; c. 850 A.D.) in addition to the places mentioned and Ḥiyār Banī 'l-Ḳa'ḳā'

and Martakhwān also includes the towns of Dulūk and Ra'bān in the north, which, according to other authors, belonged to the 'Awāṣim, and al-Maḳdisī includes in our district the places of Anṭākiya, Bālis, Sumaisāṭ, the two Ma'arra, Manbidj, Baiyās, al-Tīnā, Ḳinnasrīn and al-Suwaidiya (*B. G. A.*, iii. 54; the list given in iii. 154 *sq.* which is the only one noticed by Le Strange, p. 39 and Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, vii. 147 is very defective). On the other hand al-Khunāṣira and Kafarṭāb are, probably rightly, included in Ḥimṣ (in spite of Le Strange, p. 40) although the former in Iṣṭakhrī's time belonged to the province (*'amal*) of Ḳinnasrīn (M. Hartmann in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii. 146). Ḳinnasrīn, which seems in ancient times to have far surpassed Beroia in importance, later became more and more overshadowed by Ḥalab; the Arab geographers are practically unanimous in saying that it had formerly been a strongly fortified and flourishing town but in their day was already quite ruined, depopulated and had sunk to be a mere village. According to Yāḳūt the inhabitants had left the town on the approach of the Byzantines (351/962); some fled across the Frāt, the remainder were settled by Saif al-Dawla in Ḥalab. When in 355 (966) Nicephoros Phocas advanced on Ḥalab, the Ḥamdānid retired to Ḳinnasrīn but, when he could not make a stand there, he destroyed the town. It was again populated under the Emperor Basil II, burned again in 389 (998). Rebuilt by the Banū 'l-Buṣaiṣ of the tribe of Tanūkh, it was laid waste again by the Byzantines (422 = 1030) and once more destroyed by Tādj al-Dawla Tutush, after the Seldjūḳ Sulaimān b. Ḳuṭulmish had restored and rebuilt it. Henceforth Ḳinnasrīn was uninhabited. In the Crusading period it was several times used as a depot for military stores (Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreiches Jerusalem*, p. 131, 139, 140). It never seems to have fallen into the hands of the Franks, who wrote the name Canestrine (William of Tyre, xiv. 7). In Yāḳūt's time there was only a khān for caravans and the Sulṭān's tax-collectors there.

The modern Ḳinnasrīn, also called Eski Ḥalab by the Turks, still has great ruins of the ancient walls and those of a citadel on an eminence to the north east. A chain of hills in the north of the town is crowned by the sanctuary of Nabī 'Īs in which fragments of Kūfic inscriptions of the xii[th] century A. D. have been found.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī in *B. G. A.*, i. 61; Ibn Ḥawḳal in *B. G. A.*, ii. 118; al-Maḳdisī in *B. G. A.*, iii. 56, 156; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii., 142; Ibn Djubair, ed. Wright, p. 255; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 184; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud-de Slane, p. 267; *Annales Muslemici*, ed. Reiske, i. 226; ii. 60; iii. 312; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, Indices; al-Balādhurī, *loc. cit.* and passim; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v. 472; vi. 84; Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, ed. Kračkovskij and Vasiliev in *Patrol. Orient.*, xviii., 1924, p. 805; ed. Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk.*, xliv., p. 51, 1 = p. 56 of the Russ. transl.; cf. note p. 252 and 260; Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 45, 119; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 486 *sq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii. 790 (cf. also index to vol. iii.—v., p. 46); Kamāl al-Dīn by J. J. Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum*, Bonn 1829, p. 14, 29, 43, 54, 56, 68, 83; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, in Kremer, *Denkschr. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 1852, p. 34; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 30 and p. 82 *sqq.* (from al-Ḳalḳashandi, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Kitābat al-Inshā'*); Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, passim (cf. *Table générale*, p. 61*); Inscriptions of Tall Nabī 'Īs: Littmann, *American Archaeol. Exped. to Syria*, part iv. (Semitic Inscriptions, 1905), p. 190; van Berchem in *Beiträge zur Assyriol.*, vii. 1913, p. 34 *sq.* (E. HONIGMANN)

ḲINṬĀR (from the Latin centenarius, cf. German Zentner and English hundredweight), an avoirdupois weight in the ancient Arab weight system mentioned as early as Ḳur'ān iii. 12, 68. Out of the wealth of tradition regarding the amount of this weight, we may select as the most usual and the one in keeping with its literal meaning, the equation 1 *ḳinṭār* = 100 *raṭl*, which however, is very indefinite. The term *ḳinṭār* is, following its use in the Ḳur'ān, chiefly applied to a considerable sum in gold coins (usually 10,000 dīnārs = 85 lbs.).

On other weights (*waḳ* and *kurr*) see RAṬL.

Bibliography: The authorities mentioned in the article ḤABBA, especially Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, in *J. A.*, 1884, iv. 261. (E. v. ZAMBAUR)

KIOSK. [See KÖSHK.]

ḲIPČAḲ, a Turkish people; usually also written Ḳipčāḳ or Ḳifčāḳ, the forms Khifčākh and Khifshākh are also found. In later popular and learned etymologies (first in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Berezin = *Trudī Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, vii. 23, later in Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, p. 19) *ḳipčaḳ* is connected with *ḳobuḳ* or *ḳaḳ* and explained as a "hollow tree trunk"; at the same time a legend is told of the birth of a boy from a hollow trunk; the boy is said to have been adopted by Oghuz Khān (cf. GHUZZ, ii. p. 168) and to have been given a separate territory as a fief. Gardīzī (text in W. Barthold, *Otčet o poězdkě v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 82) mentions the Ḳipčaḳ along with the Īmāk as a division of the Kīmāk who lived on the Irtish, although the earlier anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (f. 19a) say that the Ḳipčaḳ had separated from the Kīmāk and dwelled to the north of the Pečenegs. Ibn Khordādhbih (ed. de Goeje, p. 31, 9) and, following him, Ibn al-Faḳīh (ed. de Goeje, p. 329, 3) mention the Ḳipčaḳ along with the Kīmāk as a separate people. Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (i. 273) describes the Yimāk (sic) on the Irtish as a subdivision of the Ḳipčaḳ not of the Kīmāk. In another passage of the same work (iii. 22) we are told that the Yimāk are a Turkish tribe (*djīl min al-turk*), the same "as we call Ḳipčaḳ" (*wa-hum al-ḳifdjāḳiyatu 'indanā*); the Ḳipčaḳ themselves thought they were a separate branch (*thumma atrāk ḳifdjāḳ yaʿuddūna anfusahum ḥizban ākhara*). The Kīmāk mentioned by Muḳaddasī (p. 274, 3) at Ṣawrān must have been Ḳipčaḳ. In connection with the advance of the Ḳipčaḳ from north to south is the appearance (first in the xith century in the *Dīwān* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw; cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i. 227) of the name *Dasht-i Ḳipčaḳ* for *Mafāzat al-Ghuzz*, cf. above, ii. 168. The Ḳipčaḳ (Khifčāḳ) are already mentioned by Baihaḳī (ed. Morley, p. 97) as neighbours of Khwārizm. According to Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (ii. 253 and iii. 23) the dialect of the Ḳipčaḳ had the same phonetic peculiarities as the

dialect of the Ghuzz (and at the present day the dialect of the Ķazaķ): *dj* for *y* at the beginning of a word. That the term *Dasht-i Ķipčaķ* was also extended to South Russia is shown by the evidence of Ḥamd Allāh Ķazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-Ķulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 21 and 238), that Dasht-i Ķipčaķ is the same as Dasht-i Khazar; the same people were of course called Polowtzī by the Russians and "Comani" by western Europeans; the name Ķipčaķ was later transferred to the Mongol empire of the Golden Horde. According to J. Marquart (*Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, p. 102) the Ķipčaķ appear in history for the first time in 514 (1120/1121) in Ibn al-Athīr (x. 399) as allies of the Georgians; according to Marquart (ibid., p. 136) the kingdom of the Ķipčaķ was founded by people who emigrated from Manchuria in connection with the rise of the Čurč (Chinese Kin dynasty); cf. thereon P. Pelliot in *J. A.*, ser. 11, xv. 125 *sqq.* The Ķipčaķ in South Russia were exposed not only to the influence of Islām but also to that of Christianity; a prince of the Ķipčaķ (Chinese Kin-č'a) in the time of the Mongol invasion (the same prince is mentioned in Russian annals) was called George (Russ. Yuriy, hence Chinese Yü-li-ghi, in Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii. 297 *sq.* and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 150). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Christian Ķipčaķ at Ķerč; the so-called "Codex Comanicus" must be regarded as a memorial of the spread of Christianity among the Ķipčaķ.

The Ķipčaķ are no longer mentioned after the Mongol period; like many other early names of peoples (Ķarluķ, Uighur, Naiman etc.) the name Ķipčaķ is found as the name of a family among the Özbeg and Ķazaķ. The Ķipčaķ are particularly associated with Farghāna in the modern history of Central Asia, cf. the article KHOĶAND.

Bibliography: Especially J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903; do., *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin 1914. — On the Codex Comanicus cf. the bibliographical references in Pelliot, *J. A.*, ser. 11, xv. 127. (W. BARTHOLD)

ĶIRĀ'A, the method of recitation, punctuation and vocalisation of the text of the Ķur'ān. al-Suyūṭī has classified according to Ibn al-Djazarī the various readings of the Ķur'ān into three series:

1. The Ķirā'a accepted authentically, which possess the *idjmā' al-ṣaḥāba* and the *tawātur*, that is the seven canonical readings of the 'Othmānic text, attributed to Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā, Ḥamza, 'Āṣim, Ibn 'Āmir, Ibn Kathīr, Nāfi' and al-Kisā'ī, which Ibn Mudjāhid published (d. 324/936), cf. ĶOR'ĀN, § 18. To these are sometimes added Ya'ķūb, Khalaf, Abū 'Ubaid, in order to arrive at the figure ten. 2. The *Ķirā'a shādhdha*, which are authentic, but have only *idjmā'* without *tawātur*; they are the maṣḥaf of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubaiy; it is forbidden since the condemnation of Ibn Shanabūdh in 323 (935) to make use of them. 3. The *Ķirā'a shādhdha* which are pure innovations, grammatical corrections proposed by critics such as Khalaf, Abū 'Ubaid and Ibn Sa'dān, exercising the right of *ikhtiyār*, an anti-traditional claim condemned from 322 (934) onwards (Ķirā'a of Ibn Muķsim al-'Aṭṭār condemned).

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, passim; Suyūṭī, *Itķān*, Cairo 1278, i. 96; 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, *Risāla*, p. 79—83; Yāķūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 300/301, 499/500. (L. MASSIGNON)

ĶIRĀN (A.) is defined by the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, p. 232 (cf. also E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, *Über die Astronomie nach den Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* in *Sitzungsber. der physikal. med. Soc. Erl.*, xlvii., 1915, p. 238) as the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter if the word is used without any qualification, but if the ķirān of two other planets is meant it is defined by giving the names of the two planets concerned. In the *Kitāb Tafhīm li-awā'il* and more particularly in Chap. ii. of the last book of the *Ķānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, treating of the *ķirānāt* of the upper planets, al-Bīrūnī, whom we here learn to be a convinced astrologer, deals very fully with this conjunction; according to him Saturn, being nearest the cone of fixed stars, has the greatest astrological influence, then Jupiter which is next and similar to it. From the course of the two planets (cf. e. g. C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī*, ii. 103, *tabula motuum quinque planetarum in singulis annis romanis*) it is found that if a first ķirān takes place in Aries, the second will be in Sagittarius, the third in Leo and the fourth again in Aries and in cycles of about 20 years; and this occurs after Saturn has passed through eight zodiacal signs, which together form a triplicity. But it is not exactly 8 zodiacal circles but these and $2^1/_2° = 242^1/_2°$; the position of the conjunction shifts by this $2^1/_2°$ between every two conjunctions on the zodiacal circle. After this has happened 12 times, the $2^1/_2°$ has grown to 30° i. e. the size of a sign of the zodiac and the ķirān enters upon a second triplicity, beginning with Aries, this is the case after $12 \times 20 = 240$ years. The ķirān which takes place 24 years after the first is called the middle ķirān. If the ķirān has gone through all four triplicities which begin with Aries, Taurus, Gemini and Cancer, for which $4 \times 240 = 960$ years are required, then the ķirān again enters Aries. It is then called the great ķirān.

In all observations, geocentric observation is assumed; i. e. the planets go round the earth. According to al-Bīrūnī the word ķirān is especially used for the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Cancer. Here we can only refer the reader to the very full calculations given by al-Bīrūnī. From the same stem as al-ķirān with corresponding meanings come *al-iķtirān* and *al-muķārana* (see C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, p. 349). Al-Battānī only uses the term *al-idjtimā'* for the conjunction between sun and moon. — On *ķirān*, or *iķrān*, as a technical term of *iḥrām* see this article (ii. p. 455).

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb Tafhīm* etc. under the astrological expressions; do., *al-Ķānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, *loc. cit.*, Berlin MS. (Ahlwardt, *Katalog*, N°. 5667). The Brit. Mus. MS. N°. 1997 has only the beginning of the chapter on al-Ķirān. (E. WIEDEMANN)

ĶIRĀŢ (from the Greek κεράτιον = seed, grain of corn; the seed of the carob tree, *Ceratonia Siliqua L.*), a unit of weight in the Muḥammadan apothecary's measure and coinage.

(1) Apothecary's weight. The name and the weight had long been adopted from the Byzantines by the Arabs before Islām. The Constantinian weight system founded by the Arabs in Syria and Egypt and left unaltered by them was as follows (the Arabic names are given beside the Latin):

These seven denominations have survived apart from inevitable variations to the present day. The *raṭl* of this system of about $^1/_3$rd kg., its $^1/_{72}$nd part

the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz" or Kirghizistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Özbeg, cf. the articles ABU 'L-KHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the xvith century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xviith century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *djüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*ulu djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kičü djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the xviith century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviiith century; but it was not till the xixth century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last popular leader of the Ḳazāḳ, Kenesarï, who fought against the authorities in Siberia and Orenburg from 1842, was killed in 1847 in the mountains of Ala Tau; several risings were stirred up down to 1873 by his son Sadik (so-called by the Russians, properly Ṣiddīḳ). Another son, Aḥmad, later wrote the life of his father Kenesarï and of his brother Sadik, entitled: *Sultani Kenisara i Sadik. Bjografičeskiya očerki sultana Akhmeta Kenisarina. Obrabotane dlya pečati i snabžena primečaniyami E. T. Smirnowim*, Tāshkent 1889. Review by V. Rosen in *Zap.*, iv., p. 122 *sq.*

The most southern part of the Kirgiz steppes was conquered in the xixth century by the Özbegs of Farghāna and Khiwa and partly colonised; the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted by the Ḳazāḳ. After the foundation of the general-gouvernement of Turkestān (1867) and the general-gouvernement of the Steppes (1882), Semirečye belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to Turkestān), the government of the Kirgiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand after the revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the "Kirgiz Republic" and by the people themselves "Ḳazāḳistān"; since 1924 this "Republic" has included a vast territory, little smaller than Russia in Europe, but of course less thickly populated. According to the latest Russian figures before the revolution the Ḳazāḳ numbered about 4,000,000 compared with about 500,000 genuine Kirgiz. The present numbers of the population cannot be very different from these. Culoshnikow's (see below) reckoning, by which the Ḳazāḳ and true Kirgiz would now be about 8,500,000 together is certainly much too high. In the northern part of the Kirgiz steppes between 1920 and 1923 the population is known to have declined by 21.2%. According to figures in the official publication *Sowětskaya Kirgiziya* (1924, No. 8—9, p. 4), the population of the "Kirgiz Republic" is 6,536,000 including 4,008,310 Kirgiz (61.3%).

The *Bibliography* of the Kirgiz is very large: see the attempts to collect it in A. Kharuzin (*Etnograf. Obozreniye*, 1891 and 1892) and A. Alektorow (*Izv. Obshč. Arkh. etc. Kazan*, xx. 1904). The fullest history of the Kirgiz steppes is that by A. Levshin, *Opisaniye Kirgiz-kaisakskikh ord i stepei*, St. Petersburg 1832; this is supplemented by many quotations (especially from the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* and the *'Abd Allāh Nāma*) in Welyaminow-Zernow, *Issledowaniya o kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*, vol. ii. On the everyday life (esp. of the Ḳazāḳ) in the xixth century: W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1893, vol. i.; do., *Proben der Volkslitteratur* etc., vol. iii. and v. On laws: N. Grodekow, *Kirgizi i Kara-Kirgizi Sïr-Daryinskoi Oblasti*, Tashkent 1889; review by N. Veselowskiy in *Zap.*, v. 115 *sqq.* On present conditions: *Obzor narodnogo khozyaistva Kirgizskoi A. S. S. R. 1924 god. Pod redakziyei J. P. Krutikova*, Orenburg 1925. Later essays on the history of the Kirgiz: A. Culoshnikow, *Očerki iz istorii Kazak-Kirgizskogo naroda, Cast' I. Drewnye wremena i srednïye věka*, Orenburg 1924. M. Tinishpayew, *Materiali dlya istorii Kirgiz-kazakskogo naroda*, Tashkent 1925. (W. BARTHOLD)

KIRID. [See CRETE].

ĶĪRĶ KILISE. A town in Eastern Thrace, situated twenty-four miles to the east of Adrianople,

on the southern slope of the Istrandja mountains, which run parallel to the coast of the Black Sea from the north-west to the Southeast. It was conquered from Byzantium during the reign of Murād I, a few years after the capture of Adrianople and after the great defeat of the Serbians near this town (766). The chronology of the conquest is very uncertain, for neither the early Turkish chroniclers nor the Byzantine mention it. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Chronologia historica*, Venice 1697, p. 116) and Saʿd al-Dīn (*Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, p. 5) say that Murād, after having definitely established his residence in the new palace of Adrianople, commanded in person an expedition in the territory to the east of this town; on this expedition Ḳirḳ Kilise was taken, as well as some other places in the region of the Instrandja, such as Wize and Bañar Ḥiṣār. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa places these events in 769; Munedjdjim Bashī (iii. 295) gives the year 770. The identification made by von Hammer (*G.O.R.*, i, 175) with the ancient Tarpodizus (see Pauly, *Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1852, vi. 1603) would appear to be very questionable. Leunclavius *Pandectae Historiae Turcicae*, Paris 1650, p. 473) says that the town of Ḳirḳ Kilise was called by the Greeks Sarante Ecclesies and that it was, in his time, the capital of the Sandjaḳ of this name. Ewliyā Čelebi (v. 79) says that it was the most important sandjaḳ of the wilāyet of Adrianople; he gives a short description of the town. It may be concluded therefore, that formerly Ḳirḳ Kilise was not a place of importance; under Turkish rule, however, its situation on the route from Constantinople to Shumla and to Prawadia made it gain in importance. As regards the name "the forty churches", the numeral *ḳirḳ* which is found here is also met with in other geographical names (e.g. Ḳirḳ Aghač); it is perhaps permissible to find in this an allusion to the forty saints who play a certain part in geographical nomenclature, both Christian and Muḥammadan (cf. Goldziher in *R.H.R.*, ii. p. 320).

About the year 1900 Ḳirḳ Kilise had about 16,000 inhabitants, of whom Greeks formed the greater part; after them came Turks and Bulgarians. There were eight *djāmiʿ*, one of which is attributed to the Sulṭān Bayezīd I and two *tekke*. The most important local industry was the weaving of wool. Under the new administrative system of the xixth century Ḳirḳ Kilise remained the capital of a sandjaḳ in the wilāyet of Edirne; the sandjaḳ stretches along the two sides of the Istrandja and contains seven *ḳaḍā*. All this district is fertile and contains many streams, especially to the south of the Istrandja; the rivers, of which the most important is Erkene Ṣu, all belong to the basin of the Maritza. Agricultural products are grain, all kinds of fruit, and especially tobacco and wine. The pasturage is very suitable for the raising of cattle.

After the Balkan War had broken out in October 1912, the Bulgarians occupied Ḳirḳ Kilise during the last days of this month, during their advance on Catuldja, to which the Turkish army had retired. As a result of the recapture of Adrianople by the Turks Kirk Kilise was restored to Turkey after the war and remained Turkish after the victory of the Turkish nationalists, in 1922 (Treaty of Lausanne 23rd July, 1923). Ḳirḳ Kilise is now, with Adrianople, Rodosto and Gallipoli, one of the chief towns of Eastern Thrace.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. von Hammer, Vienna 1812; de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1914, ii. 401 *sqq.*; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām* v. 3614.

(J. H. Kramers)

ḲIRḲ WAZĪR. [See SHAIKHZĀDE, II.]

KIRKŪK, a town in Mesopotamia, in 44° 25′ E. Long, and 35° 25′ N. Lat., the largest town in the district bounded by the Little Zāb in the north-west, the Djabal Ḥamrīn to the south-west, the Diyālā to the south-east, and the chain of the Zagros to the north-east. This territory, which even in the days of the ancient Babylonian empire and later in the Assyrian empire was much exposed to the raids of the hill-peoples of the north-east, was called under the Sāsānids, Gamarkān (Moses of Khurene) and in Syriac sources Bēth Garmē; the town of Kirkūk is called in these sources Karkhā de Bēth Selōkh. The proof of this identification was given by G. Hoffmann (*Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii. no. 3, p. 267 *sqq.*). In the history of the martyrs of this town (*op. cit.*, p. 43 *sqq.*) its foundation is attributed to the Assyrian King Sanianā who had it built as a bulwark against the Medes. Seleucus at a later date built a tower in the citadel; henceforth the town bore the name of Seleucus (Selōkh) while the citadel was called Sarbūy or Sarbūg (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 21). Under the Sāsānids the town became a celebrated centre of the Nestorians; the Metropolitan of Bēth Garmē had his residence there and it was here that took place the persecution of the Christians under Yezdegird II (438—457) described in the martyrology above mentioned.

While the Christians continued to call the town by its old Syriac name, or in Arabic al-Karkh, (Eliyā of Damascus in Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii/ii. p. dcccxvi.; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 272) it is not clear what name the Arabs gave it. We find Bādjarmā as a *kūra* of the province of al-Mawṣil in Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 94; al-Balādhurī, p. 265; Yāḳūt, iv. 683) but none of the towns enumerated can be identified with Kirkūk. Ibn Khurdādhbih (*loc. cit.*) knows a town Khunyā Sābūr in Bādjarmā (a conjecture of de Goeje which applies also to Ṭabarī, i. 840). Hoffmann, (*loc. cit.*) suggests a connection with the town of Karkhīnā in Yāḳūt (iv. 257). The identification is made more difficult by the fact that the Arab geographers always describe the road from Baghdād to al-Mawṣil as following the Tigris; the old road which is also the modern road by Kifrī, Ṭaʾūḳ, Kirkūk and Irbil does not seem to have been much used in the early centuries of Islām.

In the xiith century the region of Kirkūk belonged to the territory ruled by the Begteginid dynasty which had its capital in Irbil [q. v.]. After the death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūri in 1232, the lands of this dynasty passed to the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs to be conquered soon afterwards by the Mongols. The name Kirkūk is found for the first time in the history of Tīmūr by Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (transl. Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, ii. 259), where we are told that after the conquest of the ʿIrāḳ, Tīmūr set out for Diyār Bakr, going via Taʾūk (Daḳūḳa among the Arabs), Carcouc (Kirkūk) and Altoun Cupru (Altūn Köprü) which he left on December 20, 1403. Next comes the rule of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu followed by the

conquest of Mesopotamia by Shāh Ismāʿīl I in the early years of the xvith century. When finally Mesopotamia and the ʿIrāk had passed into the hands of the Ottoman Sulṭāns Selīm I and Sulaimān I, by the first Turco-Persian peace concluded at Amasia (May 29, 1555), Kirkūk resumed its former role of an important bulwark against an enemy from the east. It appears also that from this time onwards the desolation of the banks of the Tigris encouraged the development of the ancient commercial and military route between Baghdād and al-Mawṣil (Ewliyā Čelebi, however, took the road along the Tigris, cf. *Siyāḥat-nāme*, v. p. 6). Kirkūk again was occupied by the Persians after the fall of Baghdād in 1623, but was retaken by Khusraw Pasha [q. v.] in 1630. In 1638 Murād IV passed through it on his way to recapture Baghdād. The real masters of the country however were the local Kurd chiefs in the province of Ardalān (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-Numā*, p. 435). But little by little Ottoman power was established there through the energies of the pashas of the *eyālet* of Shehrizūr [q. v. or Shehrizūl]. This *eyālet* contained thirty-two sandjaks one of which was the sandjak of Kirkūk and this town became the official residence of the Pasha of Shehrizūr, after the town of this name was destroyed (*Djihān-Numā*, l. c.). In 1732, Nādir Ḳulī (the future Nādir Shāh) besieged the town in vain; the following year there was a great battle near Kirkūk, where the Turks were completely defeated under the grand vizier Topal ʿOthmān Pasha, who was killed in it. In 1743, Kirkūk again fell into the hands of the Persians but was restored to Turkey by the peace of 1746. The town remained in the Ottoman empire down to 1918; under the modern Turkish administrative system it was the capital of the sandjak of Shahrizūr (although the site of the old town of this name was henceforth in the new sandjak of Sulaimāniye) in the province of Mōṣul. Kirkūk had just been occupied by the English troops when the armistice of 1918 was concluded. It remained under the English and in 1920 passed under the government of the kingdom of the ʿIrāk. It was not till 1926 that it was definitely incorporated in this kingdom after the agreement come to between Turkey and Great Britain regarding the fate of the old province of Mōṣul.

The modern town is grouped round an acropolis (*ḳalʿa*) about 120 feet high, which forms a little town by itself; on the south and east side in the plain lies another larger quarter. These two are separated from a quarter on the west by the Khāṣṣa Čai coming from the north-east and running southwards, under the name Adhaim Ṣu, to reach the Tigris below Sāmarrā. The population must now be 20,000 at most. The Turks are the dominant element, or to distinguish them from the Turks of Asia Minor, Turkomans. This Turkish population was probably there long before the conquest by the Ottoman Sulṭāns but it is uncertain whether its origin is to be traced to a Turkish garrison placed there by the Caliphs in the ninth century or to an immigration in the time of the Seldjūḳs or Begteginids. In any case the town was always a bulwark of the Ottoman empire and a centre of its culture (cf. *Türk Yurdu*, 1915). In Turkish the name of the town is pronounced as Kirkuk, although the correct official form is Kerkūk (Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3846). The Christians to the number of 350 families (*Rapport de la Commission de Mosul* quoted in the *Bibliography*, p. 52), also speak Turkish which they write in Syriac characters; they all live in the citadel. They are "Chaldaean" Catholics (Kirkūk is the see of an archbishop or Meṭrān) and descendants of the old Nestorians, although according to their own tradition they immigrated in the Seldjūḳ period. Since 1906 they have had a new cathedral. Arabic is spoken mainly by the Jewish population which is quite considerable. Finally there is a strong Kurdish element. The *ḳalʿa* was at one time surrounded by a wall; it contains the mosque of Ulu Djāmiʿ, an old church, and on the slope of the hill there is a mosque called Mār Daniel. Quite recently excavations have been begun in the hill which promise to give us information about the history of the town in the Babylonian period. Another Christian monument is the tomb of the martyr Mār Tahmasgerd, who is known from the martyrology above mentioned; this tomb is in the east of the town.

Kirkūk is of some commercial importance; it is the market for the cereals and animals raised in the surrounding country and its most important connections are with Baghdād (via Ṭāwūḳ and Kifrī) and with Mōṣul (via Altūn Köprü and Irbil). A railway line is being built along this route. Then there is the eastward road to Sulaimāniye and on to Persia. Between Kirkūk and Sulaimāniye is the land of the Hamawand Kurds, who were redoubtable brigands in the Turkish period. The country round Kirkūk is still a little hilly but in the west of the town the Mesopotamian steppe soon begins, mainly inhabited by Arabs. The immediate vicinity produces a great deal of fruit. Here we have the most northerly palms in Mesopotamia.

The wealth of sulphur, naphtha, and bituminous products contained in the soil of the whole district of Kirkūk has been known and exploited since ancient times. The bituminous springs are specially well-known, two hours north-east of Kirkūk, called Bābā Gurgur where bluish flames rise out of the ground.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1892, p. 846, 854 *sqq.*; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix., Berlin 1840, p. 552 *sqq.*; (Ritter relies on the observations of the travellers Niebuhr, Shiel, Ker Porter and Ainsworth); H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii. Berlin 1920, p. 329 *sqq.*; E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*², London 1926, p. 119—130; H. C. Lukas, *Mosul and its Minorities*, London 1925; League of Nations, *Question de la Frontière entre la Turquie et l'Irak*, C. 400, M. 147, 1925, vii. p. 58; J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, Paris 1904. (J. H. Kramers)

KIRMĀN, the name of a Persian province and of its present capital. The name of the town was derived later from that of the province. The usual pronunciation is Kirmān, although, according to the tradition of Arab scholarship (Yāḳūt, iv. 263) the form Kermān is more correct; the name, in any case, goes back to the form Carmania, which is found in Strabo (xv. 2, 14), and which in its turn is said to be derived from the name of an ancient capital Carmana (Ptolemy, *Geography*, vi. 8; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 6, 48). According to Marquart

(*Erānšahr*, p. 30) the name Carmania replaced that of Yūtiya, which is found in the inscriptions of the Achaemenids (Beh., iii. 23) and corresponds to the *Οὔτιοι* whom Herodotus (iii. 93) places in the fourteenth satrapy. In Pehlevi the orthography *k-r-m-'n* is found. Legendary Arabic historiography (Ibn al-Kalbī) derives Kirmān from the name of Kirmān b. Falūdj, the descendant of Japhet, who is said to have settled in this region. Later popular etymology has connected the name with the noun *kirm*, signifying worm or dragon, and derives it from the legend of Haftān-Bōkht and the dragon of Kirmān in the romance of Ardeshīr (see Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i. 145).

1. The Province. From the geographical point of view Kirmān is as a whole well-defined. Situated to the south-west of the great central Irānian desert (Dasht-i Lūt, or, in the middle ages, Mafāzat Khurāsān), the province is bounded in the east by the steppes, and the mountains which separate it from Makrān, while, from the direction of Yazd to the north-west, and from Fārs, to the west, it is also bordered by desert and uncultivated lands. The chief feature which distinguishes Kirmān from Fārs, is, as Iṣṭakhrī observed (p. 163), that the cultivated part of Fārs is an uninterrupted territory while Kirmān consists rather of a certain number of fertile and cultivated areas, separated by desert plains through which the villages are scattered. This geographical situation quite naturally leads to the sub-division into five principal districts: that of Kirmān to the north (in ancient times Bardasīr), of Sīrdjān to the west, of Djīruft in the centre and of Bam and of Narmāsīr in the east (Maḳdisī, p. 460). On the south, Kirmān is bounded by the sea but this part is of little interest for the province; the only important port, Hormuz [q. v.] is sometimes counted as belonging to Kirmān and sometimes to Fārs; but this port has often been in different hands from its hinterland. The lords of Kirmān have only once extended their domination over the opposite coast of 'Umān. Chains of mountains stretch across the province from the north-west to the south-east; to the north the highest chain is found which forms a part of the Kūhrūd and has summits like the Kūh Hazār to the north-west of Bam, with an altitude of almost 15,000 feet. This chain separates the district of Kirmān from that of Sīrdjān; its continuation towards the south-east is called Djabal Pāriz or Bāriz. Further to the south-west there are other parallel chains. In the middle ages these mountains were inhabited by savage tribes like the Balūṣ (see BALŌČISTĀN) and the Ḳufṣ; the latter inhabit the mountainous region to the south of Djīruft, along the coast, on the Makrān side. Kirmān has no important rivers; the cultivated districts receive their water from the mountains; the most important of these streams is that which flows across Djīruft, called Khalīl Rūd (formerly Dīw Rūd) without ever reaching the sea. Thus Kirmān contains within itself all the geographical features which are typical of the whole of Persia.

The Arabic geographers, beginning with Yaʿḳūbī, treat Kirmān as an independent geographical area (*iḳlīm*). They classify three-quarters of its surface amongst the warm regions (*djurūm*); the cold districts (*ṣurūd*) are found mainly around Sīrdjān (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 165).

From the point of view of traffic, Kirmān lies on the great roads leading from Fārs to Sīstān and Khurāsān and to India, and on the route for commerce and pilgrimage, which leads from the sea (Hormuz and later Bandar 'Abbās) to the north-east of Persia and beyond. This situation has exposed the province during its history to invasions from all sides: — a circumstance which has made it frequently change its political ownership, and which has been adverse to the development of its prosperity.

At the present day the desert part of Kirmān is more extensive than in ancient times; in the first centuries of Islām there were still forests in which lions roamed around Djīruft (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 140). Now there are almost no trees except the date-palms which are found in large quantities around the villages and the towns. Irrigation is very laboriously practised by the subterranean *ḳanāt*. The principal agricultural products are corn, barley, and opium. The higher regions produce in autumn millet, cotton and beetroot. In the *djurūm* or *garmsīr* rice and maize are cultivated in summer and the environs of Bam and of Khabīṣ produce *ḥennā'*; besides, all sorts of fruits are found in great abundance — its dates especially are noted. The chief animal products are wool and goat skins (*kurk*) which are used for the manufacture of celebrated shawls. The mineral wealth of Kirmān, was exploited in the middle ages. Marco Polo speaks of the turquoises of Kirmān, the mines for which have now been abandoned. The mountains contain iron also, which formerly provided material for the armourer's art; to the west of Djīruft silver was found. Oxide of zinc, called *tūtiyā*, was prepared from the minerals found near Kubanān (Maḳdisī, p. 459 and 470 speaks of *al-tūtiyā al-Marzubī*, see de Goeje in *B. G. A.*, iv. 246). Ḳazwīnī (i. 172) seems to refer to the existence of anthracite.

History. Under the Sāsānids the province of Kirmān had been governed by a governor holding the title of *Shāh* (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 17); thus Bahrām V was before his accession Kirmān-Shāh [q. v.]; the semi-legendary tradition of the *Shāh-nāma* is also acquainted with a Shāh of Kirmān under king Kai-Khusraw (ed. Vullers, iii. 1279). Balādhurī, on the other hand, speaks of a *marzbān* of Kirmān (p. 391). Already, before Islām, Arab nomads had immigrated into Kirmān and according to Ṭabarī (Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, p. 57) it was Shāpūr I who, after his expedition against the Arabs, had driven out by force the people of the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il. While admitting with some reservation the historical truth of this, Nöldeke prefers to think there was an immigration of Arabs into Kirmān in the period before Islām. The capital of the province at the end of the Sāsānid period was Shīradjān (Sīrdjān).

640—750. The Arab conquest of Kirmān as recorded by al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje, p. 315, 391 *sqq.*) was begun by al-Rabī' b. Ziyād, who was sent by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, from 638 governor of Baṣra under the Caliph 'Umar; he conquered Shīradjān and made terms with the inhabitants of Bam and of Andaghār. Another Arab invasion was made about the same time by the governor of Baḥrain, 'Uthmān b. al-'Āṣ al-Thaḳafī; he killed the Marzbān of Kirmān in the island of Abarkāwān (which, however, belonged to Fārs). But its pacification was only temporary. In 29

(649—650) Yazdagird fled from Iṣfahān to Kirmān, where the majority of the inhabitants were still loyal. Then ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kuraiz sent Mudjāshiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī with another general to pursue him. The Arab army perished in the snow at Baimand before reaching Shīradjān, and Yazdagird was able to continue his flight to Khurāsān, where he met his death (the flight of Yazdagird has perhaps influenced the story of the end of the King Dārā whom the *Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers, iii. 1975, makes take to flight and perish in Kirmān). Mudjāshiʿ, appointed governor of Kirmān by Ibn ʿĀmir, succeeded at last in reconquering the chief towns as far as the mountains of the Kufṣ; a counter-attack by the Persians from Hormuz was defeated. The historical data recording the conquests of this period are uncertain. Further information is found for example in al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 286). After the conquest many inhabitants fled to Sistān or to Khurāsān or withdrew into the mountains where they for long retained their Zoroastrian creed. The mountaineers themselves kept for three centuries more their independence. This province being at a considerable distance from the centre soon became the theatre of the activities of the Khāridjīs. A certain number of the inhabitants had joined as *mawālī* the Azraḳī Khāridjīs who had seized Fārs and Kirmān about the year 693, under command of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [q. v.]; their centre was Djiraft. They remained there until about the year 699, when the general al-Muhallab succeeded in defeating them, after the separation of the Arab Khāridjīs and the *mawālī* had weakened them. During the succeeding century Kirmān was a hotbed of rebellions and a favourite asylum for rebels. Thus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath [q. v.] the enemy of al-Ḥadjdjādj took refuge there for some time after his defeat (after 701). Twenty years later, Kirmān was one of the provinces over which the usurper Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [q. v.] had established his dominion, which came to an end in 102 (720). From this time the Umaiyads (of whom we know several coins struck at Kirmān) seem to have exercised a sufficiently efficacious control over the province of Kirmān, which moreover had been exhausted by wars — for it was from here that their last army set out to face the attack of the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids under Ḳaḥṭaba. The principal sources for this period are al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī and al-Masʿūdī.

750—1041. Under the first ʿAbbāsids Kirmān was not the scene of important events; the province had to suffer during this time the incursions of the Zuṭṭ, coming from India, until they were driven out during the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim. There are ʿAbbāsid coins struck in Kirmān in the years 165 and 167. Soon afterwards the province began to play a rôle, mostly passive, in the different Persian national movements, which gave rise to several dynasties. The first dynasty was that of the Ṣaffārids; Yaʿḳūb b. Laith had obtained in 253/862, the governorship of Kirmān from Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the governor of Khurāsān. Yaʿḳūb had to quell the opposition of the mountaineers around Djiraft; he and his brother ʿAmr seem to have left a favourable impression in the province (Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 16 according to the *Chronicle* of Afḍal al-Dīn), but their reign was too short to leave more permanent traces. ʿAmr succeeded his brother in 879, and, on his death in 902, the rule of the ʿAbbāsids, or rather anarchy, was re-established in Kirmān. In 315/928 Kirmān received a new master in the person of Abū ʿAlī b. Ilyās [q. v.], a former brigand, from Khurāsān, who looked upon the Sāmānids as his suzerains (Maḳdisī, p. 472). He soon found himself in conflict with the Būyid Aḥmad Muʿizz al-Dawla, who attacked Kirmān in 935 and took Shīradjān. But Ibn Ilyās who had chosen for his residence Bardasīr (the present town of Kirmān) had himself appointed governor for and tributary to the Būyids. The quarrel which broke out some decades later between Ibn Ilyās and his son al-Yasaʿ brought about the ruin of them both and resulted in the occupation of the province by the Būyids in 357 (968). Soon after the descendants of ʿAḍud al-Dawla began to fight among themselves for the province and a very confused period followed, during which even the Ghaznawids were for some time masters of Kirmān (Masʿūd I conquered it in 1032; see also the article ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR). The Būyids were the first to fight with energy the mountain tribes of the Kufṣ and Balūč. Sources for this period: al-Ṭabarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Miskawaihi, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*.

1041—1222. The province was able to breathe at last when in 1041 a branch of the Seldjūḳs founded there a dynasty, which reigned until 1187. For the history of the members of this dynasty see the article SELDJŪḲS, III. The founder was Ḳāwurd Ḳarā Arslān Beg, the son of Čaghri Beg. In 440 (1048/1049) he seized the capital Bardasīr and subdued the mountaineers of the Kufṣ and of the Shabānkāra [q. v.], a Kurd tribe to the south-west who for some time had been terrorising the *garmsīr* of Kirmān. Ḳāwurd finally conquered the territory of ʿUmān on the other side of the Persian Gulf. He made two attempts to resist the Great Seldjūḳs, Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh; the second attempt cost him his life (466 = 1074) and nearly ended his dynasty. Kirmān prospered most during the long reign of Arslān Shāh (1101-1142) who was also ruler of Fārs, and this state of things continued under his son Muḥammad Shāh (1142—1156). Under the last Seldjūḳs of Kirmān anarchy again reigned until the Ghuzz [q. v.], who came from Khurāsān, completed the desolation of the province. A chief of the Ghuzz, Malik Dīnār, became in 581 (1185) the ruler of Kirmān; his residence was at Zarand. Soon the turn of the Shabānkāra came; their chiefs Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and Niẓām al-Dīn took Bardasīr in 597 (1200), to the great joy of the inhabitants. But as the Ghuzz continued to resist under ʿAdjam Shāh, the son of Malik Dīnār, some years of confusion followed; the result of this was that Saʿd b. Zangī, the Atābek of Fārs, made himself master of Kirmān in 600 (1203). In 607 (1210), the province was conquered in the name of Khwārizmshāh. In 1220 the half-independent governor of Kirmān was Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Zawzanī, who after the defeat of the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad refused to admit the son of this latter, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, when he was fleeing before the Mongols. Sources for this period: Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn Ibrāhīm; Afḍal al-Dīn (cf. *Bibliography*); Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*; Djuwainī, *Djihān Gushā*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*.

1222—1502. Soon afterwards in 619 (1222)

the famous Burāḳ Ḥādjib [q. v.] who was demanded from the Ḳara Khitāi and was at the time vizier of the already mentioned Ghiyāth al-Dīn, drove Shudjā' al-Dīn out by force and succeeded in playing a political game so cunningly, first against Ghiyāth al-Dīn, next against Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh, and finally against the Mongols, that he succeeded in keeping his power so that Kirmān never knew the terror of the Mongol armies. Burāḳ Ḥādjib who had received from the Caliph the honorary surname of Ḳutlugh Khān became thus the founder of the dynasty called that of the Ḳutlugh Khāns. It remained under the sovereignty of the Mongols until the year 1303. A notable figure of the dynasty was Turkhān Khātūn, the daughter of Burāḳ Ḥādjib; she reigned from 1258 to 1282, and contributed to the prosperity of the country by having the *ḳanāt*'s dug for irrigation. It was in her reign that Marco Polo visited the "kingdom" of Kirmān; it is evident from his account that at this time the ruler of Hormuz was also the vassal of the Sulṭān of Kirmān. The end of the dynasty was brought about by an act of disobedience of the last Ḳutlugh Khān (1303). The province had several Mongol governors, until in 1340 Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar, the husband of the last Ḳutlugh Khān's daughter, seized Kirmān. He took Shīrāz in 1354 and founded the dynasty of the Muẓaffarids. His brother 'Imād al-Dīn in 1363 succeeded him in Kirmān; some of the buildings of the latter still exist (the Pā Minār mosque in the town of Kirmān). Not long afterwards the province became the theatre for the quarrels of members of the dynasty which was finally exterminated by Tīmūr in 1393. The Tīmūrids who had at times to put down rebellious governors (Shaikh Uwais in 1408) were followed in their turn in the ownership of Kirmān by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (about 1350) who soon had to give place to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. As a rule Kirmān was from this time united with Fārs under the governorship of one of the relatives of Uzun Ḥasan. Sources: Djuwainī; Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Simṭ al-'Ulā* (cf. *Bibliography*); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*; 'Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*; 'Abd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*.

1502—1794. It was under the last prince of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Beg Bāyandarī that Shāh Ismā'īl seized the province of Kirmān (about 1502) which henceforth belonged to the dynasty of the Ṣafawids [q. v.]. In 1509 it suffered from an invasion of the Özbeks, but until the end of the Ṣafawid period Kirmān enjoyed tranquillity; the majority of the inhabitants, as throughout Persia, adopted the official form of the *Ithnā-'ashariya Shī'a*. One of the most noted Ṣafawid governors in Kirmān was Gandj 'Alī Khān (1596—1621) who built many caravanserais and bazaars. In 1720 the Afghāns under Maḥmūd Khān passed through Kirmān when they began their march on Iṣfahān, which brought about the downfall of the Ṣafawids. Then came the reign of Nādir Shāh (1735—1747) which was followed by a period of anarchy; the Afghān nomads and the Balūč ravaged the country. In 1172 (1758) Karīm Khān Zand conquered Kirmān under the last usurper. It was the overthrow of the dynasty formed by the latter which brought upon the province and especially on the capital, the most terrible catastrophe which it had experienced in its history. The son of Karīm Khān, Luṭf 'Alī Khān [q. v.] fleeing before the Ḳādjār Agha Muḥammad Khān had retired to Kirmān in 1794 where a part of the inhabitants remained faithful to him. In the same year the capital had to surrender and Luṭf 'Alī Khān, although he succeeded in escaping to Bam, was betrayed and handed over to Agha Muḥammad. The terrible vengeance of the Ḳādjār, who according to the authorities, sold 20,000 women and children into slavery and blinded 35,000 male inhabitants, deprived the province of all strength and prosperity; it did not begin to recover until a century had elapsed. — Sources: Khwāndamīr and the Persian histories of the Ṣafawid and the subsequent dynasties (see *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 586 *sqq.*, 592, 594).

From 1794. The Ḳādjārs [q. v.] governed Kirmān usually by governors who belonged to the dynasty. During the years 1839—1841 a certain Agha Khān made many fruitless attempts to free the province from the power of the Ḳādjārs. From this time there were no further notable events in the history of the province. In proportion as Persia became an important element, although passive for the moment, in world politics, Kirmān entered little by little into the sphere of influence of Great Britian. This situation found expression in the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907.

The principal towns and districts. The province of Kirmān is now divided into 19 districts. Three of the five chief towns mentioned by Maḳdisī (see below): Sīrdjān, Djīruft and Narmāsīr are no longer in existence and are now only names of districts. Many of the towns and villages named in ancient geographies have also disappeared or have not yet been identified.

The northern part includes the capital Kirmān [q. v.]. On the route from Kirmān to Yazd still stand Zarand and Bāfḳ and, to the northeast of this route, on the edge of the desert we still have Kūhbanān (the Cobinan of Marco Polo) and Rāwar. Khabīṣ, a historic site to the east of Kirmān, in a much lower country, is famous for its dates. Māhān (now Māhūn) to the south-east of the capital is noted for the sanctuary of the Ṣūfī Saiyid Ni'mat Allāh (who died in 1431) built under Shāh 'Abbās. From the time of Maḳdisī Māhān was inhabited by Arabs.

The principal town on the west side was the old capital Sīrdjān (often Shīradjān), situated very close to the province of Fārs. This town was larger than Shīrāz in the time of Maḳdisī, but it was destroyed in 1396, after a long resistance against the armies of Tīmūr. The site is marked at the present time by a limestone rock rising in the plain to a height of 300 feet, called Ḳal'a-i Sang. This rock, formerly the citadel, has been described by Sykes (*10,000 Miles*, etc., p. 431 and following), who found some inscriptions there. In the neighbourhood is the village of Saiyidābād. The plain is much more fertile than that of Kirmān and contains many villages.

Bam [q. v.] in the eastern part of the province is still in existence. The road from Sīrdjān to Bam passed by Rayīn and Darzīn; from this last place a road ran (and runs) to Djīruft. Narmāsīr (also Narmāshīr) situated at a short distance from Bam in a south-west direction, was formerly an important market for commerce with India; at the present time the name only marks a district. The village of Fahladj which is in this district was a fortress in the time of the Afghāns.

Djīruft, formerly the capital of the southern part of Kirmān, occupied a site now called Shahr-i Daḳiyānūs. In the time of Marco Polo the town had already been supplanted by its former quarter Kumādīn called Camadi by the Venetian; it was an important market. Basing his belief on a passage in Idrīsī (transl. Reinaud, p. 423) Sykes (*op. cit.*, p. 445) thinks that the earliest capital Carmana must be looked for between Djīruft and Fahladj. On the road from Djīruft to Hormuz are Walāshgird or Gulāshgird, which is still the name of a village.

Population. The inhabitants of Kirmān are described in general as possessing a dark brown colour and a slight physique because of the heat (Iṣṭakhrī). In the *garmsīr* indeed, the summer is very hot and unhealthy (Sykes). The most ancient inhabitants of Kirmān were probably represented in the Middle Ages by the mountain peoples called the Ḳufs in the mountainous district of the south and the Bāriz (*παρικάνιοι* in Herodotus, iii. 92), in the mountains to the south-east of the town of Kirmān, still called Bāriz Kūh. Maḳdisī (p. 471) says that the language of the Ḳufs and of the Balūṣ was unintelligible. These people were probably exterminated in the course of history or became mixed from the time of the Būyids and of the Seldjūḳs with the Irānian element. For the Balūṣ, who immigrated from the north-west (Balādhurī and Ṭabarī do not yet mention them) and who were established in Makrān from the twelfth century see the article BALŌČISTĀN. As regards the settled population it seems to be of Irānian stock; Strabo already says that their customs and their language are similar to those of the Medes and of the Persians (xv. 2, 14). From the time of the Sāsānids a part of the inhabitants was composed of Nestorian Christians; the bishop of Kirmān was under the authority of the metropolitan of Fārs. The conversion to Islām was slowly affected; according to Ṭabarī the mountaineers had been islāmised under the ʿAbbāsids; later they showed great sympathy for the Shīʿa (Maḳdisī). Yāḳūt (s. v. Ḳufs) insists upon the fact that while having no religion, they venerated ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The islāmised population was very much exposed to sectarian influences such as those of the Khāridjīs, and later that of the Ismāʿīlīs. From the theological point of view the inhabitants of Shīradjān belonged, according to Maḳdisī, to the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and those of Djīruft to the *ahl al-raʾy*. The advent of the Ṣafawids at last established the official form of Shīʿa, *ithnā-ʿasharīya* to which the great majority of the population still belongs. In the xixth century the sect of the Shaikhīs [q.v.] gained many adherents in the province of Kirmān, so that it became one of their most important centres. Sykes reckons their number at 7,000. The Bābīs are a little less numerous. Finally Kirmān is one of the districts where the adherents of the religion of Zoroaster were able to maintain themselves as a community under the spiritual direction of their ancient sacerdotal hierarchy. Tavernier (p. 390) says that in his time (about 1650) their number was still more than 10,000 in the town of Kirmān, after the great emigration to India. They had a temple at a distance of four leagues from the town; they were for the most part wool-merchants. Until the middle of the xviiith century there must have existed at Kirmān a school of *dastūr*'s whose influence was considerable. According to Khanikoff there were still 12,000 Parsis families at Kirmān before its destruction in 1794 by Agha Muḥammad Shāh. About the year 1900 their number is given by Sykes as 1,700 souls (see also the article PARSI).

The Parsis of Kirmān, like those of Yazd, speak the archaic dialect called *Gabrī*, which has been studied, e.g. by Houtum Schindler and Browne (cf. *Grundriss der Ir. Phil.*, i. 381 *sq.*) and more recently by O. Mann (*Die Mundarten von K'ānsar*, etc., ed. by K. Hadank, Berlin-Leipzig 1926). The other dialects spoken in Kirmān do not seem to have ever been specially studied; they belong to the southern group represented e.g. by the dialects of Fārs and of Kāshān (see Geiger in *Grundriss*, i. 2, p. 422). Maḳdisī remarks that the language of Kirmān resembles that of Khurāsān.

The nomads who form a strong minority of the population of Kirmān are probably the descendants of the Arab, Turkish and Kurd invaders.

The total of the population of the province was estimated at 750,000 about the year 1900 (Sykes).

II. The town of Kirmān situated in the north-east part of the province (30° 17′ lat. N. 56° 59′ long. E.) has been identified in all likelihood with the town and the district which Arab geographers call Bardasīr (Yāḳūt has Bardashīr) or Guwāshīr (see also Maḳdisī, p. 460). The two forms might represent the form Beh-Ardashīr, which is, according to Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwald, p. 46) the name of a town built by Ardashīr, the founder of the dynasty of the Sāsānids. The building of the Ḳalʿa-i Ardashīr, the ancient citadel to the east of the town, which, in the Middle Ages, must have been just outside the gate of the city, is also attributed to Ardashīr. But the town was thought to be less ancient than Bam and Djīruft (Sykes, following Afḍal al-Dīn). A district to the south-west of Kirmān still bears the name of Bardasīr. In the ninth century, when Ibn Ilyās had just occupied it, it was not yet very large, but in the xiiith century Yāḳūt describes it as the largest town of Kirmān. The name of Kirmān was given to it as capital of the province of that name. The official honorary name of the town is Dār al-Amān.

The town is situated at the meeting place of three valleys at a height of about 6,000 feet, 12 miles to the north of the Djūpar chain of mountains. The surroundings consist almost exclusively of steppes and possess very little cultivated land. Between Ḳalʿa-i Ardashīr, already mentioned, and the town is a ruined citadel at a lower elevation, Ḳalʿa-i Dukhtar, which must have been formerly in the town. All the plain to the east and to the south of the town has a large number of remains of buildings. There are found here very beautiful pieces of fayence and other archaeological remains. The town itself is surrounded by a wall of baked clay with four gates. A quarter outside of the walls to the north-east is that of the Zoroastrians, Maḥalla-i Gabr. The citadel is situated on the western side. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 140) speaks of a mosque built under ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but the most ancient mosque is at the present time the Masdjid-i Malik built by the Seldjūḳ Tūrān Shāh (1084—1096); this mosque was already in ruins in the xviith century, but has been restored. The two other important mosques are the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ built, according to an inscription, in 1349 by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muẓaffar

and the Masdjid-Pā-Minār, erected by the latter's brother ʿImād al-Dīn. A monument destroyed by an earthquake in 1896 was the Gunbad-i Sabz, a building of cylindrical form covered with mosaics of a greenish blue. According to information given to Sykes it was the tomb of one of the members of the dynasty of the Ḳutlugh Khāns, built in 640 (1242). After the destruction of the town in 1794, it was rebuilt under Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, but it only began to prosper under the governor Wakīl al-Mulk about the year 1860. (A plan of the modern town is given opposite p. 188 of Sykes, *10,000 Miles*, etc.). The number of inhabitants increased in the last part of the nineteenth century. Schindler in 1878 gives the figure as 41,170 and Sykes in 1900 as 49,120. The great majority are Shīʿis, next come the Shaikhīs (6,000), the Bābīs (3,000), and the Zoroastrians (1,600). The Jews form a very small group of seventy souls. Kirmān owes its very great industrial reputation to its shawls, but this industry has been surpassed by that of carpets in wool and in silk. The workers are almost exclusively men; Sykes estimates the value of the exports at £ 40,000 annually. Another important industry is the manufacture of felt.

Bibliography: The statements of the Arab geographers (quoted in the text) have been used by P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iii., Leipzig 1912, p. 211 *sqq.*; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. F. vol. iii., No. 2, Berlin 1901, p. 30 *sqq.*, 179 *sqq.*; Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie Persiens*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1890, vol. 121, Abh. viii.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 179 *sqq.* — The principal western travellers are Marco Polo; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan*, 1810; N. de Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur l'ethnographie de la Perse*, Paris 1866; Lovett, Smith and Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, London 1876; A. H. Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien 1897*, *Z. G. Erd. Berl.*, xvi., p. 323 *sqq.*; do., *Itineraries of Marco Polo*, *J.R.A.S.*, N. S. vol. xii.; G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, ii. 243 *sqq.*; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*[2], Cambridge 1926; Major P. Molesworth Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902; the author who was British Consul in Kirmān from 1894 to 1899 is the best authority on the modern province. Other geographical descriptions: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 256; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, volume viii.; K. Prellberg, *Persien, eine historische Landschaft*, Leipzig 1891.

The historical sources have already been given in the text. Three sources are of the nature of local chronicles: The history of the Seldjūḳs by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm ed. by Houtsma in vol. i. of the *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, Leiden 1886; Afḍal al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī, *ʿIḳd al-Ūlā li 'l-mawḳif al-aʿlā*, lith. Ṭihrān 1293 (cf. *Cat. of the Printed Pers. Books in the Brit. Mus.*, London 1922, p. 90); Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Simṭ al-ʿulā li 'l-ḥaḍrat al-ʿulyā*, written in 716 (1316) (cf. *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii., p. 849); E. A. Strandman, *Chuandamir's afhandling om Qarachitaiska dynastin med inledning och anmärkningar*, Helsingfors 1869. On pages 48—71 of the work mentioned by Sykes is a précis of the history of the province of Kirmān. For modern times see also E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, Cambridge 1910; Sir Percy Molesworth Sykes, *History of Persia*[2], London 1921.

A. H. Schindler, *Die Parsen in Persien*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1882, p. 54—88; Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*[2], 1884; Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i., Leipzig 1871; *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, London 1902—1906; do., *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920; do., *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924; de Gobineau, *Les religions et les philosophies de l'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1900; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, London 1875—1890, i., vi., vii., ix., espec. x., p. cixxxiii.—iv. (J. H. Kramers)

KIRMĀNĪ, Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAṭāʾ Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī of Kirmān, known as Khwādjū Kirmānī (the name *Khwādjū* is a diminutive form from *Khwādja*: cf. *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, i/ii. 185; another instance of this formation, not noticed there, is *pīrū* from *pīr*, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī* (ed. Nicholson) i. line 2169), a Persian poet, born, as stated in the epilogue of his *Gul u-Nawrūz*, Shawwāl 5, 679 (Jan. 28, 1281) at Kirmān. He died at Shīrāz, probably in 753/1352; the date 742, given by Dawlatshāh, is erroneous. Men of letters gave him the surname of *Nakhlband-i Shuʿarā* (or *N.i maʿānī*) (Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, p. 249; Vullers, *Lexicon*, ii. 1301). Biographical details are scarce about him. He belonged to a distinguished family, and seems to have travelled widely. That he stayed some time at Baghdād, appears from the lines from his *Humāy u-Humāyūn* quoted by Dawlatshāh, *loc. cit.* Kirmānī was a *murīd* of Rukn al-Dīn al-Samnānī († 736/1345) and lived some time as a mystic in Ṣūfīābād (in Khurāsān, cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 396).

His first patron seems to have been the Muẓaffarid ruler Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad of Yazd [713/1314 — 759/1358 (deposed), died 765/1364]. Afterwards, Kirmānī was in the service of Amīr Shaikh Abū Isḥāḳ (viz. Djamāl al-Dīn Shaikh Abū Isḥāḳ, prince of Shīrāz till 754/1353; killed by order of Mubāriz al-Dīn in 757/1356). The poet died at the court of Abū Isḥāḳ. A son of Kirmānī is mentioned in his *Kamālnāma* (see below).

Works. Khwādjū Kirmānī wrote a *Khamsa*, in imitation of Niẓāmī, as is the case with many of the later Persian poets, and a *Dīwān*. The *Khamsa* consists of:

1. *Humāy u-Humāyūn*, a romantic poem, in the metre of Niẓāmī's *Iskandarnāma* (i. e. *mutaḳārib*, because it treats of a subject from Irānian heroic tradition). It contains 3203 *dubaits*; it was composed, according to the epilogue, at Baghdād in 732. The prologue contains the *madḥ* of the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd and his wazīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad; it states, that the poet was induced to compose the work by the high dignitary Abu 'l-Fatḥ Madjd al-Dīn Maḥmūd. This *mathnawī* describes the adventures of Humāy, son of Shāh Hūshang, and his love of Humāyūn, princess of China. Notwithstanding the intrigues of the princess's father, the Faghfūr, the lovers are united, Humāyūn's father perishing in battle by the hand of Humāy.

2. *Nawrūz u-Gul*, also a romantic poem, in the metre of *Khusraw u-Shīrīn*, containing 2615 *dubaits*. It was completed in 742 (chronogram), dedicated to

Tādj al-Dīn Aḥmad ʿIrāḳī (a wazīr to the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn), and relates the love-story of Nawrūz, son of king Fīrūz of Khurāsān, and Gul, daughter of the emperor of Rūm. With the main narrative are interwoven three minor stories, told to the prince to console him in his love-sickness.

3. *Kamālnāma*, on ethics and religion, in the metre of the *Haft Paikar*, composed 744 (chronogram); this year is given as the date of completion of the *Khamsa* (Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 620). In the prologue, the Muslim saint Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm of Kāzerūn († 426/1035) is praised; in the epilogue the poet addresses Amīr Shaikh Abū Isḥāḳ, the ruler of Shīrāz, and also his own son Mudjīr al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ʿAlī. The poem is divided into *bāb*'s, in one of the manuscripts numbered from 1—12.

4. *Rawḍat al-Anwār*, mystical; a counterpart to the *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Dawlatshāh, p. 251); composed 743 at Kāzerūn, according to the epilogue. It is divided into 20 *maḳāla*'s. The dedication is to Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ṣāʾin (killed in battle 746/1345, as wazīr of Abū Isḥāḳ of Shīrāz). The *Rawḍat* passes for the first poem of the *Khamsa*.

5. It seems not to be possible, to determine with certainty which of the other works of Kirmānī should be reckoned as the remaining part of the *Khamsa*. It may be, that it is the poem entitled *Mafātīḥ al-Ḳulūb wa-Maṣābīḥ al-Ghuyūb*, which is found in the manuscript No. 332 of the Library of the king of Oudh. This poem, consisting of 28 *bāb*'s, appears, from the headings given in the catalogue, to treat of religious topics.

After the *Khamsa*, we have:

6. *Gawharnāma*; the aim of this poem, also a *mathnawī*, is the praise of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was wazīr to the Muẓaffarid ruler, and claimed descent from the renowned Niẓām al-Mulk. Besides the wazīr, his ancestors are also praised in the work. The date of its composition is 746 (chronogram).

7. *Dīwān*. Dawlatshāh (or his authorities) say, that the *dīwān* of Kirmānī numbers 20,000 verses (cf. also Sprenger, *Cat. ..... Oudh.*, p. 472); it contains *ḳaṣīda*'s, mostly panegyric, e. g. on the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn and Shaikh Abū Isḥāḳ; also on the persons, lauded in the *Gawharnāme*, and besides on other great men, as for instance Shīrwānshāh b. Minūčihr. A letter to a Shīrwānshāh, ruler of Shābarān and Shammākhī, from the part of the great wazīr Rashīd al-Dīn is extant (Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar dominion*, p. 83); the person, praised in the *Dīwān* of Kirmānī may have belonged to the family of Rashīd al-Dīn's addressee.

Further, the *dīwān* contains *ghazal's*, *muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, *rubāʿiyāt*, etc.

Finally, a *tardjīʿa* of this poet (refrain: *kih djihān ṣūrat ast u maʿnā dūst | war ba maʿnā naẓar kunī, hama ūst*) occurs in the Leyden manuscript 274, fol. 463 verso — 464 verso.

The little that is printed of Kirmānī's poetry will be found in the works, cited in the *Bibliography*. From these scanty extracts, it is impossible to form a judgment on his merits as a poet; therefore, the opinion of Browne, who had the opportunity of reading a great part of the Dīwān, may be repeated here: "his verse, while graceful and pleasing, lacks any conspicuous distinction or excellence".

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 249 etc.; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Atashkada* (Bombay 1299), p. 124 *sq.*; *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i. 818; *Z. D. M. G.*, ii. 205 etc.; Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii. 620 etc.; Sprenger, *Catal. Oudh.*, p. 471—73; Rosen, *Manuscr. persans de l'Institut*, etc., p. 118, 217; Cat. Bankipore (Persian poets: Firdawsī to Ḥāfiẓ), p. 213 *sqq.*; *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 248 etc.; Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar dominion*, p. 222 etc. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

KIRMĀNSHĀH, a town lying in a plain among the mountain ranges that border the Iranian plateau on the south-west, now the capital of a Persian province between Kurdistān on the north and Luristān on the south. The geographical position of the town is approximately 34° 20′ North Lat. and 47° East Long.; the plain is traversed by the Ḳara Ṣu which runs to the north-east of the town in a south-easterly direction, joining the river Gāmāsiyāb (formerly the Gāwmāsā Rūd) farther south; the latter is a tributary of the Kerkha [q.v.] and the most important water-course of the province.

It was probably in this district that the earliest kingdom of the Medes was established (A. Billerbeck, *Das Sandjak Suleimania und dessen persische Nachbarlandschaften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 162); and here also were the Parthian provinces of Καμβαδηνή and Μηδία ἡ ἄνω (Isidore of Charax, § 4, 5). It was the province called Māh under the Sāsānids (May in Moses of Khorene), and in the early centuries after the Arab conquest. De Morgan wished to identify the ruins of the ancient Cambadene to the north of Kirmānshāh. This town is itself not very old: it was founded in the Sāsānid period and only began to be an important town from the xvi[th] century onwards. The older Arab geographers know it only by the name of Ḳarmīsīn (other forms: Ḳirmāsīn, Ḳarmāsīn, Ḳirmāsīn, Ḳarmashīn): Maḳdisī (p. 28) says that it is another name for Kirmānshāhān, while Yāḳūt (iv. 69) regards Ḳarmīsīn as an arabicisation of Kirmānshāhān (Dimashḳī gives the same note with reserve but Ibn al-Faḳīh already explains the first form by the second). Ḳazwīnī (*Geography*, p. 290) however says that Ḳarmīsīn is near Kirmānshāhān. To explain Ḳarmīsīn, Ritter, ix. 374, calls attention to the name of the river Corma in Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 13). The name Kirmānshāhān seems first to appear in the tenth century, perhaps in the time of the Būyids, but the circumstances are unknown. A very widespread tradition found in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 108 makes Bahrām IV (388—399 A. D.) founder of the town: this king had acquired the title Kirmānshāh as governor of the province of Kirmān [q. v.] and the historians do record that he founded a town but it was more probably the little town of Kirmānshāh between Yazd and Kirmān (cf. Ṭabarī in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Arab.*, p. 71). Another tradition found more or less explicitly in almost all the geographers attributes the foundation to king Kawādh b. Fīrūz (488—531; cf. especially Maḳdisī, p. 257 *sqq.*). The country round the town contained and still contains many monuments of the time of the Sāsānian kings; they often resided there and their example was followed by later rulers, e.g. the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who built a palace there (Maḳdisī, p. 393). The new name of the town may perhaps be connected

with this event for it was under Aḍud al-Dawla that the Būyids became masters of the province of Kirmān [q. v.].

Ḳarmisin was peacefully occupied by the Arabs after the taking of Ḥulwān (in 640; Balādhurī, p. 301). The district of Māh, belonging to the province of Djibāl, was then granted as an appanage to the inhabitants of Kūfa and Baṣra. The upper part became Māh al-Kūfa with Dīnawar as capital; the lower part was Māh al-Baṣra with Karmisīn as its capital (Balādhurī, p. 306; Ḳudāma, p. 226). Dīnawar [q. v.] was however a much more important town than Ḳarmisin (cf. especially Schwartz, p. 479) and the geographers of these times mention it mainly as a stage on the great road Baghdād — Khāniḳīn — Ḥulwān — Ḳarmisin — Bīsutūn — Hamadhān. Another important road ran from Ḳarmisin to Nihāwand. The town is described in this period as pleasantly situated in a very fertile plain. It was ruled successively by the ʿAbbāsids, Būyids — in their time it must have formed part of the territory of the Kurd dynasty of the Ḥasanawaih [q. v.], although it is not mentioned in the Kurd chronicle of Sharaf al-Dīn — and the Seldjūḳs; in the Mongol period it had sunk to a mere village (Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī).

The importance of Kirmānshāh began under the Ṣafawids after it had become a frontier bulwark of Persia against the Ottomans who had established themselves in dangerous proximity in Mesopotamia, especially after the time of Murād IV. The Turks several times occupied it in their wars with Persia, for example in 1630 during Khusraw [q. v.] Pāshā's expedition. It then was a fortified town with a brick wall; see the description in Ewliyā Čelebi (iv. 353) who attributes its foundation to Shāh Ismāʿīl, which probably means that he fortified it for the first time. After the fall of the Ṣafawids (1722) the Pāshā of Baghdād succeeded in occupying Kirmānshāh but he was driven out by Ashraf Khān. In 1731, the Turks again occupied it to be expelled by the future Nādir Shāh. The treaties of peace of 1732 and 1736 left Kirmānshāh to Persia (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 404 *sqq.*). In 1754 Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī Khān became its governor for Nādir Shāh. He later made himself independent until Karīm Khān Zand took the town in 1766 after a siege of two years. Under the Ḳādjārs Kirmānshāh increased in importance; in 1790 it had about 6,000 inhabitants (Beauchamps, quoted by Ritter) but by 1810 there were already 12,000 houses (Kinneir, in Ritter). Under the governorship of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, who lived at Kirmānshāh as an almost independent vassal, the town became a formidable bulwark against the Turks. After the Turco-Persian peace of 1823 ʿAlī Mīrzā was sufficiently powerful to annex to his province the large district of Zohāb which ought to have been restored to Turkey. A complete list of the governors of Kirmānshāh under the Ḳādjārs to 1905 is given by Rabino (see *Bibliography*). As recently as April 1915 the town was occupied by Turkish troops; they conducted propaganda on behalf of the Central Powers there until they were forced to retire in March 1917.

Kirmānshāh at the present day is rather the name of the province; the town is called more correctly Kirmānshāhān. About 1905 it had a population of about 60,000 (Rabino) and owes its prosperity to its position on the great trade route of considerable antiquity (*al-djādda* in Maḳdisī) from Baghdād to Hamadhān (Kirmānshāhān is 100 miles from each of these two towns); the through traffic is enormous. The same road is used by the Shīʿa pilgrims who visit the sacred places of the ʿIrāḳ. Kirmānshāhān possesses no ancient buildings; the ramparts have been demolished and the most remarkable building is the arsenal, which is also the residence of the governor, built beside the great Top Maidān. The town contains a large number of caravanserais; there is not much local industry, the manufacture of carpets having disappeared. The majority of the citizens are Kurds, then come Persians, Turks, Jews and Christians. The surrounding plain is very fertile. Ewliyā (*loc. cit.*) and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Djihānnumā*, p. 302) make special mention of the cultivation of saffron.

The province lies between 34° and 35° N. Lat. and 44° 30′ and 48° 30′ E. Long., the capital is almost in the centre, in the western part are Kerind and Ḳaṣr Shīrīn [q. v.] and in the eastern Asadābād, Kangāwar (formerly Ḳaṣr al-Luṣūṣ), Bīsutūn [q. v.], Nihāwand [q. v.] and the ruins of Dīnawar [q. v.]. It is rich in monuments of the Achaemenids and Sāsānids, which are mentioned with more or less detail by the old geographers, such as the famous sculptures of Ṭāḳ-i Bustān, three miles east of Kirmānshāhān, to which the geographers give the name Shabdīz or Shibdāz from the horse of the king Khusraw and the plateau (*dukka*) where Khusraw Parwīz is said to have received the submission of the kings of the earth in a hall of audience with 100 columns (cf. also BISUTŪN).

It is one of the richest provinces of Persia. It exports wheat and rice and grows for its own use, maize, clover, castor-oil and cotton. It has a population of about 300,000 and is divided into nineteen districts (*bulūk*), many of which are named after the tribes which inhabit them. Rabino gives forty-four names of tribes for the province (cf. also Curzon, i. 557) who are for the most part Kurds. The largest Kurd tribe is that of the Kalhūr (mentioned in the Kurdish *Chronicle* of Sharaf al-Dīn) to the south-west who have given their name to a district. Another important Kurd tribe is that of the Sindjābī west of Ḳaṣr Shīrīn. Their southern Kurd dialect is called Lakkī by O. Mann (*Die Mundarten der Lurstämme im südlichen Persien*, Berlin 1910, p. xxii.) although the Lakk in the proper sense of the word live in Luristān. In the south of the province there are tribes of Lurs. The greater part of the seminomadic population are ʿAlī Ilāhī [q. v.]. Besides the two groups mentioned there are several small tribes of Arabs and Turks which have become allied to the great Kurd tribes.

Bibliography: The old geographers are quoted from the *B. G. A.* and other standard editions; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, *Abh. G. W. Gött. N. F.*, vol. iii., n. 2, p. 18; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1921, iv., p. 445 *sqq.*; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1840, ix. p. 369 *sqq.*; K. Preiliberg, *Persien, eine historische Landschaft*, Leipzig 1891, p. 66; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 186 *sqq.* The early European travellers (Kinneir, Ker Porter, Rawlinson, Beauchamps) have been utilised by Ritter; cf. also S. de Sacy, *Mémoire sur les monuments et les inscriptions de*

Kirmanschah in *Mémoire sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, Paris 1793; G. Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i. 557 *sqq.*; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York 1906, p. 230 *sqq.*; H. L. Rabino, *Kermanschah* in *R. M. M.*, 1920, xxxviii., p. 1—40; M. Sykes, *Historia of Persia*², London 1921; R. Stuart Poole, *B. M. Cat. Coins of Shahs of Persia*, London 1889, s. v. KIRMĀNSHĀHĀN.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

KIRMĀSTĪ, capital of a ḳaẓā of the same name in Anatolia, 15 miles S. E. of Mikhalidj (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxv. [1911], 101) and 40 miles S. E. of Brussa with about 5,000 inhabitants, 3,000 of whom are Muslims. The town has 14 quarters with 800 homes and lies on both banks of the Edrenos Čai (Rhyndacus). The origin of the name often wrongly written Kirmāslī, which points to a Greek *Κρημαστή or *Κρεμαστή, is uncertain, nor is it known what ancient town was here. Perhaps the Kremastis in the Troas (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 743) mentioned in Xen., *Hist.*, iv. 8, is to be connected with it. In the Byzantine period Aorata is said to have been here where the troops of Alexius Comnenus under Kamytzes were defeated in 1113 by the Saldjūḳs (cf. Anna Comn., ii. 279 *sqq.*). In any case there is close to K. a Byzantine castle in ruins which resembles that 6 miles farther up the Edrenos Čai at Kesterlek and presumably was intended with similar defences at Ulubad (Lopadium) and Brussa to keep back the advance of the Ottomans. In the town which has 6 mosques, including one large very old one with a türbe and 14 masdjid's, there are ancient remains (sarcophagi, inscriptions on the walls, ornaments) which do not seem yet to have been studied. The history of Kirmāstī under the Ottomans is quite obscure, as there are no records. Ewliyā Čelebi (v. 290) and European travellers (cf. W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i. 77, 80, ii. 93, London 1842) say practically nothing about it. The Muslim inscriptions have still to be studied and edited. Kirmāstī, which did not suffer from the Greek occupation, was recently (1925) renamed Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha in honour of the Turkish President. Kirmāstī is the birth-place of Seyyid-i Wilāyet (d. 929 = 1522 in Stambul), son-in-law of the historian Ashyḳ-Pasha-zāde (cf. Ṭashköprüzāde-Medjdī, *Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniya*, p. 352, 13), known from the *Menāḳib-i Tādj al-'Ārifīn* (i. e. Sheykh Ebu 'l-Wefā); cf. Pertsch, *Türk. HSS. Gotha*, p. 137, Nº. 166 and Tornberg, *Catal. Upsal.*, p. 211, Nº. cccvii.

Two hours' journey from Kirmāstī are two hot mineral springs, called Dumbüldak and Akardja.

Bibliography: (besides references in the text): Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, vi. 155 *sq.*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, 656, 17, 660, 1; Ewliyā, *Seyāḥetnāme*, v. 290 at top; W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 155, 437.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲIRSH. [See GHURŪSH.]

ḲIR-SHEHIR, (Turkish *ḳir-shehri* — "town of uncultivated lands"), a town in Asia Minor, capital of a Sandjaḳ in the province of Angora, 97 miles (33 hours) S. E. of this latter, on a river called simply Irmāḳ, a tributary of the Ḳizil-Irmāḳ which flows at a distance of two hours from the town and is crossed by the stone bridge of Kezik with thirteen arches (about 120 yards). Its height is 3,290 feet. The houses are scattered among gardens which extend in length to a distance of 10 miles and in breadth to that of 5 miles; these gardens bear in the North the name of Öz, in the West that of Cuḳur-Čāir, in the South that of Deinek, and in the East that of Kandām; it has an abundant harvest of fruit, especially of grapes. The population consists of 8,462 inhabitants of whom 7,794 are Muslims, 651 Armenians and 17 Greeks. There are 25 great mosques (Seldjūḳ mosque of Djedebey), 19 small mosques, 4 medreses, a civil preparatory school, a secondary school, 2 primary schools, a church. Several Muslim saints are buried there: the poet 'Āshiḳ Pasha (d. 733 = 1332), Akhi Ören, Shaikh Sulaimān. In the suburbs is held the fair of Yapraḳli; it has hot springs: Terme (θερμά) or Karghan-Kayan, ferruginous, used as a cure for anaemia, a quarter of an hour away; Ḳara Ḳurt, sulphurous wells, a cure for nervous disorders, 8 miles away. Manufactures of carpets of wool and mohair (*tiftik*) for the ṣalāt (*sadjdjāda*, q. v.) and for the room (*ḳalīče*), for curtains (*perde-lik*, *ilek-li gilim*), for wallets (*heibe*), in three qualities: striped (*palāmār*); the same in a finer quality; *kesme*, woven mats; chairs, arm-chairs, cupboards of walnut-wood. To the West the mountain of Emīr-burnu, in the middle of it facing south the immense cave of Göbek-Ḳaya.

The Sandjaḳ is divided into four Ḳaẓā's (Ḳir-shehir) to which are attached two nāḥiya, of which one is Ḥadjdjī Bektāsh [q. v.], Keskin (capital Ma'den), Medjīdiye (capital Boyāliḳ, Kurd village), Awanos (Abanos). It does not include any high mountains; it has a chain of hills called Baḳḳāl Dāgh which extends for 14 miles in length in the vicinity of the capital and terminates at Ḳurt Beli. Millstones are obtained from the hill 'Alī Körlü. Two lakes, one quite near the town at Shehili Baghlari, Dib-Siz Göl (the lake without a bottom), and the second in the canton of Medjīdiye, Yanar Gölü, near the village of Yanaroghlu, which has given it its name. Total population, 119,139 inhabitants, of whom 116,999 are Muslims, 1,794 Greeks, 346 Armenians. Agriculture is only slightly developed. Roads suitable for vehicular traffic are hardly made completed: towards Cesarea and Angora, 80 miles; towards Ma'den, 40 miles; towards New-Shehir, 55 miles.

Bibliography: 'Alī Djewād, *Djoghrāfiyā lughāti*, p. 645; *Sālnāme*, 1325, p. 791; Ḥadjdji-Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 620; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. i., p. 324.

(CL. HUART)

ḲIRṬĀS (A.), paper. This word is found in the Ḳur'ān (vi. 7) with its plural *ḳarāṭīs* (vi. 91) where they can only mean papyrus. The Egyptians wrote on the *ḳirṭās* manufactured from reeds called *bardī* (*Fihrist*, i. 21). Chinese paper, *waraḳ ṣīnī*, is made from vegetable fibre, *ḥashīsh*; microscopical examination has indeed shown that this paper is made, not from cotton but from various fibres (*J. A.*, 1925, ccvi., p. 159 *sqq.*); while the paper of Khorāsān is manufactured from linen fibre, *kattān*, by Chinese workmen in imitation of that of their own country (*Fihrist*, ibid.). More details are found in the article KAGHADH.

Ḳatāda in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vii. 90, translates *ḳirṭās* by *ṣaḥīfa* which tells us nothing.

(CL. HUART)

AL-KISĀ'Ī, 'ALĪ B. ḤAMZA B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. BAHMĀN B. FAIRŪZ, client of the BANŪ ASAD, grammarian and reader of the Ḳur'ān,

born at Kūfa, died at Ranbūya, not far from al-Raiy, about 189 (805). The following dates are also given for his death 179, 180, 182, 183, 185, 193 and 197.

After having studied in his native town, he came to Baṣra to study with al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (see this article) who advised him to go and study language amongst the tribes of the Nadjd, of the Ḥidjāz and of the Tihāma. On his return to Baṣra he found that al-Khalīl was dead and had been succeeded by the grammarian Yūnus b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī, who after several discussions on grammar gave up his place to him. Nevertheless he took up his permanent abode at Baghdād where he taught chiefly Ḳur'ānic diction, first in accordance with the method of his master Ḥamza al-Zaiyāt, and afterwards he followed a method of his own; he is the seventh *ḳadr*, and because of that he is counted amongst the seven canonical readers.

Hārūn al-Rashīd confided to him the education of his sons al-Amīn and of al-Ma'mūn. In spite of the opinion of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī who praised exceedingly his grammatical knowledge, al-Kisā'ī was especially weak in grammar, and his partisans admit that he only latterly concerned himself with this science. In any case he had numerous adversaries, whom he dealt with in a fashion neither honest nor just, notably Sībawaihi, al-Yazīdī.

Amongst his teachers were: Abū Dja'far al-Ru'āsī, Mu'ādh al-Harrā', Sufyān b. 'Uyaina, Sulaimān b. Arḳam, Abū Bakr b. 'Aiyāsh.

His pupils were: Abū 'Omar al-Dūrī, Abu 'l-Ḥārith al-Laith b. Khālid, Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Farrā', Abū 'Obaida al-Ḳāsim b. Sulaimān.

Of his numerous works, it appears that we have no more than one, *Risāla fī laḥn al-'āmma*, "a treaty on the mistakes of the vulgar language", which seems to be the oldest work composed on this subject and was published from the Berlin manuscript Nº. 7103, by Brockelmann in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, xii. (1898), 29—46 (cf. below Nöldeke, *ibid.*, p. 111—115).

Bibliography: *al-Fihrist*, p. 29, 65; *al-Aghānī*, v. 46, 54; xi. 106; xii. 23; xviii. 73; xxi. 106; Ibn al-Anbārī, *al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, Leiden 1913, p. 293—294 and Ind.; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *al-Ma'ārif*, Cairo 1300, p. 184; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaidarābād 1326, vii. 313; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Udabā'*, Cairo 1294, p. 81; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, s. v. "Ranbūya"; do., *Irshād al-Arīb*, Leiden 1911, v. 183; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 330; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, ii. 332; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 18; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, Leiden 1912, f. 482*a*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Būlāḳ 1282, ii. 232; do., *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, Cairo 1326, p. 236; do., *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir*, Ḥaidarābād 1317, iv. 15, 18, 44; Flügel, *Die Gramm. Schulen d. Araber*, Leipzig 1862, p. 121; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qorâns*, Göttingen 1860, p. 291, 297; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, p. 115; Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 150. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-KISĀ'Ī, the author of the *Kitāb Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, is identified by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv., Nº. 9437 with the grammarian and Ḳur'ān reader 'Alī b. Ḥamza (see the foregoing art.). This identification, first adopted by Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, 961*b*, but rightly disputed by Lidzbarski, following Pertsch and Ahlwardt, in his *De propheticis quae dicuntur legendis Arabicis* (Leipzig 1893, p. 25), was again accepted by Wellhausen in I. Eisenberg's dissertation, *Die Prophetenlegenden des Muḥammed ben Abdallah al-Kisâi* (Berne 1898), p. V., on the assumption that the work was not actually by this celebrated scholar himself but had been ascribed to him. The evidence of most manuscripts is however contrary to this view; they sometimes call the author (Abū 'Abdallāh) Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, sometimes Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, sometimes Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (sic). Besides it can hardly be doubted that the author is identical with the author of the *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Malakūt* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv. 8075) or simply *Kitāb al-Malakūt* (ibid., v. 10527) whom Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa calls Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Kisā'ī, and of the *Kitāb Bad' al-Dunyā*, whom he mentions by name without the *kunya* on iii. 991. This latter work is lost but perhaps it was only an independent edition of the first part of the main work, which in the manuscript is sometimes also called *Kitāb Bad' (Khalḳ) al-Dunyā wa-Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*. The period in which the author flourished is nowhere mentioned. Contrary to Eisenberg's view (Diss., p. ix.) nothing can be deduced as to this or the grammarian's authorship of the book from the statement of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv. 9477 that Sahl b. 'Abdallāh al-Tustarī [q. v.] wrote a *Mukhtaṣar Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*; for Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa does not say that this work was the basis of that of al-Kisā'ī. Al-Tha'labī [q. v.] does not mention al-Kisā'ī but an investigation of the sources and the relation of the two authors has still to be made, so that nothing can be deduced regarding the age of al-Kisā'ī. From the whole character of his literary activity one must agree with Ahlwardt in putting the author in the fifth century A. H.; while al-Tha'labī's work grew out of Ḳur'ān exegesis and is intended for learned circles, al-Kisā'ī is a typical representative of the class of *ḳuṣṣāṣ*; he relates the legends to edify and especially to entertain the reader. He therefore quotes only the oldest authorities, like Ka'b b. al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih, although he likes to appear scrupulously accurate; but his quotations are not of the slightest value for literary criticism. The work, which exists in numerous manuscripts (to those mentioned in *G. A. L.*, i. 350, may be added: Gotha, Pertsch, *Verz.*, Nº. 1839; Brit. Museum, Ellis and Edwards, *A descriptive List*, p. 34, Or. 5820; E. G. Browne, *A supplementary Handlist*, Nº. 1012; Princeton, Littmann, Nº. 28; Cairo, *Fihrist*, v. 113; Damascus, Zaiyāt, Nº. 74, 39), being a popular work was not always carefully treated by the copyists, but often arbitrarily abbreviated; it has also been translated into Turkish, s. H. L. Fleischer, *Catalogus codd. mss. or. bibl. Dresdensis*, Nº. 128.

Bibliography: Hottinger, *Promptuarium*, Heidelberg 1658, p. 209; Lidzbarski, *Diss.* (s. l.), p. 20—25; *Vita* (sic!) *Prophetarum auctore Muḥammed Ben Abdallah al-Kisa'i e codicibus, qui in Monaco* (sic!), *Bonna*, *Lugd. Batav.*, *Lipsia et Gothana* (sic!) *asservantur edidit* Isaac Eisenberg, i., Leyden 1922, ii. ibid. 1923. (BROCKELMANN)

KISĀ'Ī, ḤAKĪM MADJD AL-DĪN ABŪ ISḤĀḲ (or ABU 'L-ḤASAN) KISĀ'Ī, a Persian poet of the second half of the fourth century A. H. belonging to the first period of Persian poetry. He was

born in Merw on Wednesday 26th Shawwāl 341 (March 16, 953) and according to most authorities died in 392 (1002); one source however (Wālih, quoted by Ethé), says that he reached a very advanced age. A few of his poems have been preserved in the different *tadhkira*: they have been published by Ethé (*Die Lieder des Kisā'ī*, *S.-B. Bayr. Ak.*, 1874, p. 133—149). These poems illustrate the whole repertory of Persian poets of the time; the best known is the *ķaṣīda* in which the poet gives the date of his birth as above and says that he composed it at the age of 50; this *ķaṣīda* is pessimistic and ascetic in tendency. The tadhkira describes him as a poet who celebrated the family of the Prophet in numerous poems (a *ķiṭ'a* of this kind is given in Ethé's article). He is also said to have written *ķaṣīda*'s in praise of the Sāmānids and of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. He must have been a celebrated poet in the Sāmānid period; the later *tadhkira*'s however (such as Dawlatshāh) do not mention him.

The *Dīwān* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw contains several passages in which the latter speaks contemptuously of Kisā'ī. Ethé (*Grundr. d. iran., Phil.*, ii. 281—282) has concluded from this that Kisā'ī must have been still alive in the time of Nāṣir (c. 1040) so that he must have lived to a great age. Ethé further seeks the cause of the antagonism between the two poets in their theological views, Kisā'ī being a "Twelver" (*ithnā-'ashariya*) Shī'ī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw a "Sevener" (*sab'iya*). But Browne (*A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 160—164) holding that Nāṣir's invective is only intended to maintain his superiority as a poet, thinks that Ethé's conclusions cannot be accepted, even that regarding Kisā'ī's age, because there could be nothing astonishing in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's attempts to surpass one of the best known poets of the preceding generation.

Bibliography: 'Awfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne, ii. 33—39; *Čahār Maḳāla*, *Gibb. Mem. Ser.*, xi. 28, 131.

(J. H. Kramers)

ĶIṢĀṢ (A.), synonymous with *ķawad*, retaliation ("settlement", not "cutting off" or "prosecution"), according to Muslim law is applied in cases of killing, and of wounding which do not prove fatal, called in the former case *ķiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* (blood-vengeance) and in the latter *ķiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs*.

1. For *ķiṣāṣ* among the pagan Arabs see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 186 *sqq.*; Procksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*; the collection of essays: *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung, gestellt von Th. Mommsen*, Section v.—vii., and Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p. 284 *sqq.*

2. Muḥammad takes it for granted that the blood-vengeance of Arab paganism — in which in contrast to the unlimited blood feud, definite retaliation, although not always on the person of the doer himself, forms the essential feature of the vengeance (cf. Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and note 5) — is a divine ordinance with the limitation assumed to be obvious, that only the doer himself can be slain: Ḳur'ān xvii. 35; xxv. 68; vi. 152 (cf. ḲATL, i. 1; in these passages only the *jus talionis* can be understood by the right to kill another; already in xvii. 35 the avenger of blood is forbidden to kill any one other than the guilty one); ii. 173 *sqq.* (before Ramaḍān of the year 2): "To you who are believers the *ķiṣāṣ* is prescribed for the slain, the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave and the woman for the woman; but if anyone is pardoned anything by his brother he shall be dealt with equitably ... and pay him compensation as best he can. This is an indulgence and mercy from your Lord. But he who commits a transgression after this shall be severely punished. In *ķiṣāṣ* you have life, you of understanding ..." (the first verse says that a freeman can only be slain for a freeman, a slave for a slave and for a woman only a woman [but probably a slave or a woman for a freeman, but this is not expressly stated and must be deduced], naturally of course only the guilty one and that in all other cases the payment of compensation [*diya*] takes place. This is an extension of what is presumed in the earlier passages: the treatment of the freeman in relation to the slave is a matter of course according to old Arab views and that of the woman, which cannot be completely explained from them, represents an independent decision of Muḥammad's based on them [there is quite a different interpretation of the verse in Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 75 note 5]. The commentators had difficulty in reconciling the passage with later developments [cf. below 4]. Only one explanation, thrust into the background and later completely abandoned, interprets the verse quite correctly, but makes it abrogated by v. 49 [see below]. By "prescribed" is meant not a duty but a rule not to be transgressed; pardon is the abandonment of *ķiṣāṣ* with a demand for compensation instead; the law is described as an indulgence and mercy and life-giving in contrast to the often unlimited blood-feud of pagan times, because only the guilty one is slain and the life of the innocent thus preserved); v. 49 (after the first encounter with the Medina Jews but before the outbreak of open hostilities): "and we have prescribed for them (the Jews) in it (Torah): a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and *ķiṣāṣ* for wounds; but if anyone remits it, it is an atonement for him (i.e. for his sins) ..." (this verse of course does not cancel ii. 173). In the years 3—5 with iv. 94 *sqq.* there came the distinction between deliberate and accidental killing (of ḲATL, i. 1): in this the application of *ķiṣāṣ* is excluded; in ii. 190 (before the campaign of the year 6) *ķiṣāṣ* is used metaphorically in the sense of retaliation of like with like (in the case of disregard for the holy territory and month by the enemy).

3. The facts gathered from the *Sīra*, the records of the life of Muḥammad, are in agreement with this. In the so-called ordinance of the community at Medina, which belongs to the early Medina period it is laid down that if any one slays a believer and is convicted (proof of guilt in a trial before the authority — Muḥammad — is therefore required as a condition for the carrying out of *ķiṣāṣ*), talion takes place even if the avenger of the blood of the slain man declares himself satisfied; all believers must be against the murderer and can only take an active part against him. Here the *ķiṣāṣ* is brought from the sphere of tribal life into that of the religious-political community (*umma*) which finds an echo in the law, not however to be taken literally, that believers are one another's blood-avengers for their blood

spilt for the sake of Allāh, but is throughout recognised as a personal vengeance, as is also laid down in the case of the Medina Jews, no one is to be prevented from avenging a wound. A limitation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, logical from the standpoint of the *umma*, lies in the fact that the believer is forbidden in the ordinance of the community to kill a Muslim on account of an unbeliever. On two occasions when Muslims had killed heathens who had however treaties with Muḥammad, he did not allow *ḳiṣāṣ* to be made "because they were heathen" (this does not in any way follow from the ordinance of the community) and even paid the compensation himself; his utterance regarding the possibility of *ḳiṣāṣ* à propos of the second of these cases is however illogical. On two occasions, also for political reasons, he obtained the acceptance of compensation when the avenger of blood undoubtedly had the claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but in one case he cursed the murderer — again an illogical attitude. Muḥammad in his turn after the capture of Mecca in keeping with the regulation of the ordinance of the community, abandoned his claim to compensation for the slaying of a nephew of his, which had taken place during the heathen period. In this connection he is said to have laid down the principle that any blood-guilt attaching to a Muslim dating from the period of heathendom was to be disregarded (cf. ḲATL, i. 2). But Muḥammad also intensified the operation of *ḳiṣāṣ* and on two occasions had the murderer executed, when there were aggravating circumstances, without offering the avenger of blood the choice between *ḳiṣāṣ* and compensation; the proscription and execution of murderers who were also *murtadd*'s (q.v.; cf. ḲATL, ii. 5), is however to be interpreted differently; from everything it is clear that Muḥammad also supervised the carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*.

Taking the evidence of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sīra* together, it is evident that Muḥammad did not recognise the blood-feud, but allowed *ḳiṣāṣ* to survive as personal vengeance, only he subjected its application to certain limitations and endeavoured to free it from tribal customs of pagan times, all important advances by which it was brought nearer in character to a punishment. That Muḥammad at the same time, according to the demands of the individual case, sometimes gave decisions deviating from his own rules, is intelligible.

4. Among the traditions (*ḥadīth*'s) that one must be genuine according to which Muḥammad had a Jew, who had smashed the head of a Muslim *djāriya* (slave girl or young woman) with a stone, killed in the same way, because in this case there was no question of an avenger of blood. At a later period when Ḳur'ān ii. 173 (cf. above § 2) was interpreted in a new way, the attempt was made to see in it evidence that a man might be killed as *ḳiṣāṣ* for a woman, without observing that the tradition referred to an unbeliever while the Ḳur'ān passage was only concerned with Muslims. But this Ḳur'ānic prescription regarding the woman was very early neglected and interpreted differently; it is true that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 'Aṭā' and 'Ikrima are quoted as representatives of the Ḳur'ānic view that a man cannot be put to death for a woman (Zamakhsharī on Ḳur'ān ii. 173) but Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyab, al-Sha'bī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and Ḳatāda had held the opposite view (ibid.) and the latter opinion prevails in the law-schools without any opposition (Zamakhsharī's statements on the point are not quite accurate); at the same time it is remarkable that traditions expressing the rejected view are hardly to be found. From the point of view of the difference of opinion in the law-schools, the following is important. For the view that *ḳiṣāṣ* could be inflicted on several, on account of one individual, if they had committed the crime jointly, no unambiguous tradition could be found. Those who held this opinion had therefore to rely on a tradition which does not at all prove what it is said to, and were only able to quote in support (alleged) decisions of old authorities. Their opponents naturally pointed out this flaw. The question how the *ḳiṣāṣ* is to be executed is also disputed; the champions of the view that it is to be inflicted in the same manner as the slaying, quote the tradition mentioned above, while those who insist upon execution with the sword in every case rely upon a saying of Muḥammad's. There are also varying opinions as to whether a man can be put to death on proof by *ḳasāma* (cf. 5 below) and ancient authorities are quoted for both; the historical truth is perhaps that Muḥammad wished to apply *ḳasāma* in a case of bloodshed and when it could not be managed, paid compensation himself; besides it is said (certainly wrongly) that he confirmed *ḳasāma* as it existed in the period of heathendom. Among other traditions, mention may be made of the story that among the children of Israel there was only *ḳiṣāṣ* and no possibility of paying compensation (this is wrongly cited in explanation of Ḳur'ān ii. 174) and that Muḥammad granted the blood-avenger's request to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, laid great stress on forgiveness, and even asked him to do so (cf. above 3; in these historically certain cases, however, his attitude was influenced by purely political considerations); finally we are told that he who raises a claim for blood without cause is one of the men most hateful to God. Other traditions agree with the regulations mentioned and still to be mentioned and need not therefore be quoted, especially as the *ḥadīth*'s on this subject are collected in Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 107 *sqq.*

Summing up the results of the traditions as the expression of opinion of authoritative circles of Islām in the early period, we must notice in contrast to Muḥammad's period the important change in the treatment of women, which marks an undeniable advance, just as the request for forgiveness is evidence of a loftier point of view.

5. The *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* according to the *Sharī'a*. In the cases of illegal slaying noted in the article ḲATL, i. 5—7 *ḳiṣāṣ* comes into operation, i. e. the next-of-kin of the slain man, who in this capacity is called *walī 'l-dam* (avenger of blood) has the right to kill the guilty man under certain conditions. From what has been said above, it is obvious that this punishment still partakes for the most part of the character of personal vengeance; this is also clearly seen in the regulations — disputed in points of detail — prescribed for the case when the avenger in any way mutilates the murderer and only occasionally the idea of punishment by an authority for the sake of justice crops up [thus in all cases of culpable, illegal slaying in which *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot take place, *ta'zīr* intervenes; the competent authority is therefore regarded as the *walī* of one who has no *walī*; therefore anyone who kills a *dhimmī*, *mu'āhad* (an unbeliever

connected with the Muslim state by a treaty) or a *musta'min* (an unbeliever who enters a Muslim country after being given a safe conduct) must, according to Mālik, be put to death and the *walī* has no right to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*. On the other hand, however, it is laid down that anyone who kills a *waḳf* slave goes scot-free], but that this point of view is found at all is a step in advance, for Muhammad's decisions in this connection (cf. above 3) were only dictated by the demands of the individual case; in other matters also in certain points we see a loftier attitude adopted, at least in some of the schools.

For the application of *ḳiṣāṣ* the fulfilment of the following conditions are necessary: 1) The life of the person slain must be absolutely secured by the *sharī'a*; this is the case with a Muslim, *dhimmī* and *mu'āhad*, at least so long as they are in the *Dār al-Islām* [q. v.], and *Dār al-Ṣulḥ* [q. v.] (in the case of the slaying of a Muslim prisoner in the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [q. v.] it is unanimously agreed that there is no *ḳiṣāṣ* and for the slaying of another Muslim there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*, according to the Ḥanafī school; there are corresponding regulations for the *dhimmī* and *mu'āhad*) in contrast to the *musta'min*, *murtadd* and *ḥarbī* [but *ḳiṣāṣ* may be inflicted on a *murtadd* if he kills another *murtadd*, and Mālik makes *ḳiṣāṣ* the general rule if anyone kills a *murtadd*, without the authority of the Imām]. This point of view is to be distinguished from the conception of the illegality of the slaying (cf. ḲATL, i. 5) although the two ideas have a certain amount in common; the killing of a *musta'min* is illegal but there is no *ḳiṣāṣ* (apart from the special case just mentioned). 2) The slain man must not be a descendant of the slayer, nor the slave of the slave of one of his descendants, nor must there be a descendant of the slayer among the heirs of the slain man. 3) It is further taken for granted that the man when he committed the deed must be of years of discretion and be in full possession of his faculties. 4) The further conditions are disputed (cf. below). — Any alteration in these relations of the doer after the deed makes no difference to the old blood-guilt (it is however to be noted that the adoption of Islām by a *ḥarbī* wipes out all previous blood-guilt) with the exception of lunacy (in which case *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot be inflicted), nor does, for example, an alteration in the relations of the slain man after the doer has decided on the deed but before it is actually committed (but there are various views on this point). If one of several men who have slain someone jointly cannot be put to death for one or other of these reasons, the others also escape *ḳiṣāṣ*; this is also the case if a further reason for killing leads to the action of the slayer. If the slayer dies before *ḳiṣāṣ* is carried out, all claim by the avenger of blood ceases according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik; according to al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal compensation can still be claimed.

Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal further demand, before *ḳiṣāṣ* can be allowed, in addition to the conditions mentioned that the slain man is at least the equal of the slayer as regards Islām and liberty, so that they certainly uphold Muḥammad's intentions, while the Ḥanafīs — of course interpreting differently the evidence cited — take no account of this and therefore occupy an undoubtedly higher position. A particular view of Mālik's has already been mentioned. According to Mālik the slayer can further be put to death, if he has deliberately slaughtered his descendant and this view is also admitted in the Shāfi'ī school. Several may be put to death for the killing of one, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī, if they have done the deed together, provided the part taken by each was such that if he had acted alone, the result would have been the same (Mālik alone excluded *ḳasāma* [cf. below] on the basis of which, according to him, only a single individual can be put to death). There is unanimity on the point that anyone who has killed several people is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*; on the question whether compensation has also to be paid there are different views.

Ḳiṣāṣ can only be applied after definite proof of guilt is brought. The procedure of proof in a murder trial is essentially the same as in another case; in *Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* there is however also the old Arab institution of the *ḳasāma* (cf. ḲASAM and Goldziher, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, 8, p. 412 *sqq.*; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2, p. 187 *sqq.*) which Islām allowed to survive (cf. above); according to Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Shāfi'ī's earlier opinion, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be inflicted on the accused (but according to Mālik on one only) if the *ḳasāma* is performed and the other conditions are fulfilled, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the later view of al-Shāfi'ī, which became predominant in his school, he has only to pay compensation; among the Shāfi'īs, with the limitation that he may be put to death if in the course of the trial the accuser swears to his guilt twice with fifty oaths each time. If the person entitled to inflict *ḳiṣāṣ* does so without previous judicial proof he is punished with *ta'zīr*.

The execution of *ḳiṣāṣ* is open to the avenger of blood and according to Abū Ḥanīfa consists in beheading with the sword or a similar weapon; if the avenger slays in another fashion he is punished with *ta'zīr*, but not imprisoned; according to Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī the guilty person with certain limitations is killed in the same way as he killed his victim; both views are given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Ḳiṣāṣ takes place — among other conditions — only when the next of kin (*walī*) of the slain man or the owner of the slain man, if he was a slave, demands it; if there are several (equally nearly related) avengers of blood all must express this desire; if one of them remits *ḳiṣāṣ*, the refusal affects all. Views are divided on the case where the avenger of blood (or one of several) can give no definite expression of opinion. The *walī*, or the wounded man before he dies if the case occurs, is permitted to remit the *ḳiṣāṣ* and he is even urgently recommended to do so, either in return for the payment of compensation or for another equivalent or for nothing. There are many special regulations on detailed points and many differences of opinion between the schools of law.

6. *Ḳiṣāṣ fi-mā dūn al-Nafs* according to the Sharī'a. If any one deliberately (with *'amd*, opposite *khaṭa'*; cf. ḲATL, i. 5) and illegally (this excludes the wounding of one who tries to murder or injure or rob a fellow-man, if it is not possible to repel him otherwise; it is for example permitted to strike someone in the eyes or throw something in the eyes of a man who forces his way into another's house without

permission] has inflicted an injury, not fatal, which could be inflicted on the doer's person in an exactly similar way (what is meant by this is very fully discussed in the Fiḳh books) he is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* on the part of the wounded man, (except that Mālik makes it be inflicted by an expert). If the conditions necessary for carrying out the *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* are present with the following modifications: according to Abū Ḥanīfa, *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* is not carried out between man and woman or slaves among themselves, but it is according to Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik further allow no *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* between freeman and slaves. According to Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal this *ḳiṣāṣ* is inflicted for one on several, but not according to Abū Ḥanīfa. A sound limb may not be amputated for an unsound one; if the guilty person has lost the limb, there can of course be no *ḳiṣāṣ*. In the case where he loses it after committing the deed, there is a corresponding difference of opinion as in the case of his death before the execution of *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-Nafs*.

The further regulations correspond to those quoted in section 5.

7. If retribution is not permitted or if the person entitled to *ḳiṣāṣ* voluntarily remits his claim, compensation may nevertheless be demanded; for an unlawful slaying, the blood money (*diya*; q. v.) is to be paid to the avenger(s) of blood, in an unlawful but not mortal wounding, according to the particular case either the full *diya* or a definite part of it or a contribution defined by the law (*arsh*; q. v.) or a percentage of the *diya* laid down by the judge (the so-called *ḥukūma*) to the injured person; all this of course on the supposition that the slain or wounded man was a freeman. If he is a slave his value must be made good. If the culprit is a slave, his owner has to pay these contributions for him; he can however escape by handing over the slave (parallels in the Romano-Celtic institution of *in noxam dedere*; cf. e. g. Girard, *Nouvelle Revue Historique*, 1887, p. 440 *sqq.*).

8. Of the regulations of the Shī'a Fiḳh books, which need not be gone into fully here as they are essentially the same as the Sunnī, we need only mention that among the Twelver Imāmīs, for example, it is taught that if a man has killed a woman, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be carried out if the *walī* of the woman pays the relatives of the man the difference between the blood-money on each side; an isolated interpretation explains Ḳur'ān, ii. 173 in this way. Here we can scarcely have a late effect of the Ḳur'ānic rule regarding woman, as similar calculations are also made in other cases.

9. On the practical carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*, cf. ḲATL, ii. 10, in which we may note that breaches of his regulations are recorded of even the Prophet's companions.

Bibliography: The Fiḳh-books; the works already quoted under ḲATL: the article QIṢĀṢ in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*. For the Arabic expressions not further explained see the separate articles. (J. SCHACHT)

KISHM. 1) A long island in the Persian gulf (also called *ṭawīla* because of its shape), off the coast of Lāristān at the entrance of the straits of Hormuz, opposite Bender 'Abbās. In length it is about 77 miles. It is separated from the mainland by a strait, called Clarence Strait, the breadth of which varies from one to seven miles. It is composed of rocky and calcareous hills. The latter to the West form an elevation called Kishm Kūh (mountains of Kishm). Vegetation is rare; mines of sulphur and of salt are found here; the population, of Arab origin, amounts to 15,000 inhabitants. It was ruined by an earthquake in 1884. The chief pursuit is coral and pearl-fishing. Idrīsī (in Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 373) mentions a great whirl-pool in the sea near here; the name that it now bears is that of the capital, a small town with 5,000 inhabitants, situated at the eastern point; an old Portuguese port is still to be seen there; in the Middle Ages it bore successively the names of the island of the Banū Kāwān (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 107); Barkāwān (Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 183); Ibn Kawān, Abarkāfān, Abarkāwān (Balādhurī, p. 386); Lāft (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 32, 1.18; Yāḳūt, iv. 341) from the name of a place still found at the present time on the Northern side. The English founded, at Bāsīdū, the factory of Bassadore, soon afterwards abandoned. Other places are Guran and Sūzeh.

2) There was formerly a town of the same name in the upper basin of the Oxus which belonged for a short time to the Yabghū of Tokhāristān (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ii. 1590 10). It is found in Hiouen-tsang under the name of *Kie-lit-sit-mo*, corresponding to a hypothetical Sanskrit name *Krima; it lay four days to the East of Hwoh, identified by Yule with Warwāliz near Ḳunduz (J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 70, 231).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 38; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Browne, p. 137, 186, 234; Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, Fr. transl. (1745), v. p. 384; vi. p. 230 *sq.* (Kezem); L. Pelly, *Visit to Lingah*, *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1865, xxxiv. p. 251 (with map); Dubeux, *Perse*, p. 55; De Bruyn, *Voyages*, p. 322. (CL. HUART)

ḲISMET (A., T.); this word, the Arabic meaning "distribution" of which is a synonym of *iḳtisām* later came to mean lot, portion and developed as a third meaning "the lot which is destined for every man". It is this meaning of the Turkish that is best known. In Turkish however *ḳismet* is not so much an expression of theological doctrines concerning predestination (cf. ḲADAR) as of a practical fatalism which accepts with resignation the blows and vicissitudes of fate. The same sentiment is often expressed among Persian and Turkish poets by the words *falak* and *čarkh* to express the irrational and inevitable influence exercised by the spheres.

In Turkish, *ḳismet* is also another word for the judicial office called *ḳassāmlīḳ*, especially in the expression *ḳismet-i 'askariye*, i. e. the authority charged with the supervision and maintenance of the *waḳf* instituted by the Sulṭāns (cf. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Turkī*, s. v.).

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, Tübingen 1924; Else Marquardsen, *Das Wesen des Osmanen*, Munich 1916, p. 100. (J. H. KRAMERS)

KISRĀ, the Arabic form of the name of two Persian kings of the Sasanian dynasty, Khusraw [q. v.] has become a general name for all the Persian kings; then it was given a broken plural *akāsira* (other forms: *kusūr*, *akāsir*, *kasāsira*). The only remaining monument of the town of al-Madā'in (Seleucia-Ctesiphon) before its recent destruction

by an earthquake was called Ṭāḳ-Kisrā "vault of Chosroes" and Īwān-Kisrā "audience-chamber of Chosroes" (Pietro della Valle, Fr. transl., Paris 1661, part 2, p. 64—68; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, i. 519; Edw. Yves, *Voyage from England to India*, London 1773, p. 290; Beauchamp, in *Journal des Savants*, 1790, p. 797; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire othoman*, vol. ii., p. 433 *sqq.*; J. Cl. Rich, *Narrative*, ii., ch. xix., p. 159; J. Keppel, *Personal narrative*, i. 122 *sqq.*; J. Baillie Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, ii. 1—9).

(Cl. Huart)

ĶIṢṢA (A., plur. Ķiṣaṣ) does not occur in the Ķur'ān. The Ķur'ānic noun from the root *ḳ-ṣ*, perhaps an infinitive, is *ḳaṣaṣ* which occurs 5 times: iii. 55; vii. 175; xii. 3, 111; xxviii. 25; and in the title of xxviii. The root does not mean simply "narrate", as usually translated, but has a particular meaning and usage which have conditioned the whole after use of *ḳiṣṣa*. It will be for clarity in this connection to look shortly at the usual Ķur'ānic expressions meaning "narrative", "narrate". In Muḥammad's earlier career (for such broad considerations the order of the Ķur'ān is sufficiently significant), he used exclusively the root *ḥ-d-th*; thus *ḥadīth* (meaning strictly "a new thing", "news", "an event" as opposed to *ḳadīm*) occurs 23 times in all: e. g. lxvi. 3; lxviii. 44; lxxvii. 50; lxxix. 15; lxxxv. 17; lxxxviii. 1; *ḥaddatha*, xciii. 11; xcix. 4. In lxvi. 3, *ḥadīth* is combined with root *n-b-'* which occurs before that only twice: lxxv. 13; lxxviii. 2. In Muḥammad's later career root *n-b-'* preponderates by far: stem ii occurs 46 times and stem iv. 4 times, apparently in much the same meaning, but al-Rāghib in the *Mufradāt* (p. 499, l. 5 from below; Lane, p. 2753*a*) says that *nabba'a* is more intensive than *'anba'a*; stem x occurs once; the noun *naba'* occurs in the sing. 17 times and in the plur. 11 times. Of the root *kh-b-r* the verb does not occur and the 52 noun usages are curiously scattered from Sūras ii. to lxvii., with two isolated, and apparently early, in xcix. 4 (*'akhbār*) and c. 11 (*khabīr*). Of these 52 occurrences 45 are *khabīr*, "well informed".

The root *ḳ-ṣ* is much more difficult. Leaving aside *ḳiṣāṣ* [q. v.] "talio" (ii. 173, 175, 190; v. 49), the fundamental and primary meaning is given in xviii. 63, *fa-rtaddā 'alā āthārihimā ḳaṣaṣā*, "so they two went back in their foot-prints, tracing them", and in xxviii. 10 where the mother of Moses says to his sister, *ḳuṣṣīhi*, "trace him up". This meaning persists in all the Ķur'ānic usage; cf. the similar development of root *t-l-w*, "to follow, imitate, recite from, relate a narrative (*naba'*)", Ķur'ān, v. 30; xxviii. 2, etc. So *ḳaṣṣa* means "he traced out, step by step, the facts in the case of some one or something and (or) he made a statement upon it". The lexicons all add the explanation *'alā wadjhihi* which Lane (p. 2526*c*) renders, "in its proper manner"; perhaps better, "straight on, point by point" (*shai'an ba'da shai'in* in *Lisān*, viii., p. 341, l. 3 from below). This statement is made by Allāh to (*'alā*) the Prophet (mostly), Ķur'ān, iv. 162; vi. 57; vii. 6, 99; xi. 102, 121; xii. 3; xvi. 19; xviii. 12; xx. 99; xl. 78; by the Ķur'ān, xxvii. 78; by Moses to Shu'aib of Midian, xxviii. 25; Jacob tells Joseph not to recount his dream (*ru'yā*) to his brothers, xii. 5; Allāh tells the Prophet to state the case (*fa-ḳṣuṣi-l-ḳaṣaṣ*) to the people, vii. 175; messengers (*rusul*) make a statement of Allāh's signs (*āyāt*) to the people, vi. 130; vii. 33. It is combined with *naba'* (sing. or plur.): vii. 99; xi. 102, 121; xviii. 12; xx. 99; with *ḥaḳḳ*, iii. 55; vi. 57. It might be possible in all these cases to translate roughly "narrate", but that would obliterate the basal idea in the root of following up traces (*ittibā' al-athar*, *Lisān*, viii., p. 341—343) which, in these cases, are ideas and expressions (*Lisān*, p. 342, l. 4 from below). This is sometimes expressed as a *bayān*, "explaining"; so, while Baiḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i., p. 451, ll. 19 *sqq.*) exegetes Ķur'ān xii. 3 as a following of traces, the *Lisān* (p. 431, l. 4 from below; p. 432, l. 5 from below) explains it as a *bayān*.

It is significant that in the lexicons the usage for narrating is very subordinate and in the case of *ḳiṣṣa* sometimes vanishes. The fundamental ideas in the root are two, "to cut off, shear", as hair with scissors (not, apparently, in the Ķur'ān) and "to follow traces"; the *Lisān* quotes only traditions and never *shawāhid* of poetry in illustration of the usage *ḳaṣṣa 'alaihi 'l-khabar*, "he recounted the information to him". In the *Miṣbāḥ* the only meaning given to *ḳiṣṣa* is *sha'n*, *amr*, "affair", "matter", "case" — not *ḥadīth* or *khabar*. In the *Ṣaḥāḥ* the meanings are (i.) *amr* and (ii.) *ḥadīth*, and the plural *ḳiṣaṣ* is restricted to the *ḳiṣṣa* which is written. In the *Lisān* (p. 341, l. 5 from below) *ḳiṣṣa* is said first to be known (*ma'rūfa*) and then there is quoted, *fī ra'sihi ḳiṣṣa* ("there is a *ḳiṣṣa* in his head"), as meaning "the whole thing is merely talk" (*al-djumla min al-kalām*); cf. the judgement on *ḳaṣṣ* as *ḳawl*, "words", opposed to *'amal*, "works" (p. 343, ll. 2 *sqq.*; Lane, p. 2526*c*). Later in the *Lisān* (p. 342, l. 7 from below) *ḳiṣṣa* is given two meanings, *amr* and *ḥadīth*, and several traditions bearing on the *ḳāṣṣ* (evidently the religious exhorter and story-teller; see below) are quoted. In one he is said to be either an *amīr*, whose duty it would be to exhort his people in his *khuṭba's*, using stories of the past, or his appointee — such do not seek gain, or he who does it out of pride and hypocrisy, whose exhorting and talk have no reality in them. Cf. several forms of this tradition and remarks upon them by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī in his *Itḥāf al-Sāda*, a commentary on the *Iḥyā'* of al-Ghazālī, vol. i., p. 153. In another it said that the *ḳāṣṣ* may expect (divine) hatred (*maḳt*) because he will inevitably add to or take from his stories as he tells them. In these traditions, evidently of late origin, the connection of *ḳāṣṣ* with *ḳiṣaṣ*, "stories", is taken for granted but others held that the *ḳāṣṣ* was so called because he followed up (*ḳaṣṣ*) one story with another in his *kalām*, here apparently "patter" in contempt (above, p. 671*a*; *Lisān*, p. 343, l. 10). From all this it is plain how uncertain was the original meaning of *ḳiṣṣa*. Lexicographically the existence of the word is assured and it may be conjectured that, beside *ḳaṣṣ* and *ḳaṣaṣ*, infinitives, it was originally an *ism naw'*, "a kind of tracing out" — but what kind? So in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, *Salām*, *bāb al-siḥr*, trad. 44: *sāḳ al-ḥadīth bi-ḳiṣṣatihi naḥwa ḥadīth* .... "he carried on, or pursued, the *ḥadīth*, in his way of tracing it out step by step, just like the *ḥadīth* of ....". In later Arabic the word had two distinct meanings: (i.) "story" mostly of a religious and edifying kind, but used also much more widely and even, in Spanish Arabic, "history", if we can

trust the *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcala (Dozy, *Supplément*, ii., p. 352*a*, *b*, under *ḳaṣṣāṣ* and *muḳaṣṣiṣ*; cf., too, "historian" in Redhouse's *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 1458*a*); (ii.) "request", "petition", "claim", laid before a superior; a number of examples of this are given by Quatremère in his *Sultans Mamlouks*, I, i., p. 236, note 111; there was an official for the purpose of dealing with these called *ḳiṣṣa-dār*; see, too, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. xliv. This second meaning is almost certainly more original and goes back to the *s̲h̲a'n*, *amr* of the lexicons. It is worth notice also that *ḳaṣṣāṣ* similarly retained two separate meanings: (i.) the professional reciter of such tales = *ḳāṣṣ* above and (ii.) a police-agent, detective, "tracer". For the second meaning Dozy (*loc. cit.*) refers to the Breslau text of "The 1001 Nights", vol. vii., p. 313, l. 4 from below, derived here from one of De Sacy's Egyptian MSS., although the printed text of Zotenberg's Egyptian Recension is quite different (II Calcutta, ii. 246; I Būlāḳ, i. 500). In the grammatical usage *ḍamīr al-ḳiṣṣa* = *ḍamīr al-s̲h̲a'n* the meaning *s̲h̲a'n* is explicit; Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī in the *Mufaṣṣal*, p. 54, ll. 8 *sqq*., explains such a prefixed *huwa* as meaning "the case, and the event, is . . . ." (*al-s̲h̲a'n wa 'l-ḥadīt̲h̲ . . . .*).

In rubrics of Buk̲h̲ārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ ḳiṣṣa* occurs several times and always apparently in the sense *s̲h̲a'n* or *amr*, "the matter, affair, case of"; see ed. Būlāḳ, 1314, iv. 182; v. 72, 129, 171, 172, 174.

In the *Fihrist* (c. 400 A. H.) *ḳiṣṣa* does not seem to occur; certainly it is not there one of the normal words for "story" in any sense. These are: *ta'rīk̲h̲*, *k̲h̲abar*, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, *sīra*, *samar*, *k̲h̲urāfa*; *ḥikāya* in the *Fihrist* is used only in the exact sense of a verbatim reproduction (see ḤIKĀYA, above). Undoubtedly the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* had been at work for more than two centuries, but their labours had not reached literary form and recognition.

In a very few years more that had taken place. There are two books with which the word *ḳiṣṣa* is peculiarly connected, the so-called *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (commonly rendered "Stories of the Prophets") of al-Kisā'ī [q. v.] and of al-T̲h̲a'labī (d. 427 A.H.; cf. on both Lidzbarski, *De propheticis legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893). Yet in the rubrics of the first book *ḥadīt̲h̲* is the word used throughout except of the *Ḳiṣṣat Hārūt wa-Mārūt* (ed. Eisenberg, p. 45) and there is no mention of *ḳiṣaṣ* in the introduction. The second book begins: „This is a book which contains the *ḳiṣaṣ* of the prophets mentioned in the Ḳur'ān with commentary" and then quotes Ḳur. xi. 121, "and each (piece of information) We trace out (*or* give in detail, *or* explain, *naḳuṣṣu*) for thee of the information (*anbā'*) concerning the Messengers, that by which We establish thy heart". Five reasons are then given why Allāh recounted to Muḥammad such records of the past, apparently interest in the *ḳiṣaṣ*, for some people, required justification. Thereafter *ḳiṣṣa* is used regularly in the rubrics and it is probable that T̲h̲a'labī understood by *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* very nearly, "The Records, or Accounts of the Prophets", records from the Ḳur'ān and from *ḥadīt̲h̲*. While it is plain that T̲h̲a'labī was not regarded as a very careful traditionalist (see Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-Sāda*, vol., iv., p. 556, but contrast Ahlwardt's judgement on his Ḳur'ān commentary in the Berlin Cat., i. 293) yet a gulf still separated him from the utterly unscrupulous professional *ḳuṣṣāṣ* who made a living out of the pious gullibility of the masses and drew as freely on their imagination as did the popular entertainers with secular *asmār* and *k̲h̲urāfāt*. It is unnecessary to give details on these as Goldziher (basing on the *Kitāb al-Ḳuṣṣāṣ* of al-Djawzī, d. 597 A.H.) has already dealt with them in his *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol., ii., p. 161 *sqq*. (also his *Richtungen der isl. Koranauslegung*, p. 58 *sqq*., 61). They began as stirrers up of religious enthusiasm before the Muslim armies, like the poets in the old days, making free use of *sadj'*, or rhymed prose. Thus they naturally became popular exegetes of the Ḳur'ān and public homilists, passing into story-tellers for religious purposes. From these the professional class must have quickly developed and it is certainly strange that there is no mention of them in the first *Fann* of the eighth *Maḳāla* of the *Fihrist* where the varieties of story-tellers are dealt with in detail. Further, there is only one trace of them in the *Amt̲h̲āl* of al-Maidānī (d. 518 A.H.) in a *muwallad* proverb, *al-ḳāṣṣ lā yuḥibbu 'l-ḳāṣṣ*, "one ḳāṣṣ does not love another" (Cairo 1310, ii. 51; ed. Freytag, ii. 304, N°. 180). But in the *Iḥyā'* of al-G̲h̲azālī (d. 505 A.H.) there are a number of references. In Book I of the *Iḥyā'*, in the section which deals with the perversion of religious expressions, it is pointed how *d̲h̲ikr* and *tad̲h̲kīr* have been twisted by homilists (*wu''āẓ*) to apply to *ḳiṣaṣ*, poetry, *s̲h̲aṭḥ* (q. v., cf. also Macdonald, *Religious Attitude*, p. 173) and *ṭāmmāt* ("overmastering outpourings"; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii., p. 59*a*). *Ḳiṣaṣ* are a *bid'a* and evidently not one to be approved. The *ḳuṣṣāṣ* appeared only in the troublous times (*al-fitna*) after 'Umar, i.e. under 'Ut̲h̲mān and 'Alī. 'Alī excluded them from the mosques but made an express exception of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī because of the truly edifying and terror-striking character of his *kalām*. A *madjlis* for *d̲h̲ikr* may be more edifying even than reciting the Ḳur'ān, according to traditions from the Prophet, but such traditions do not apply to the *madjālis* of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* who give the name of *tad̲h̲kīr* to their *k̲h̲urāfāt* and are occupied with *ḳiṣaṣ* which breed nothing but controversies and which are quite different from the *ḳiṣaṣ* of the Ḳur'ān. So al-Damīrī in his *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo 1313, ii. 170), giving the story from Tamīm al-Dārī about *al-djassāsa*, the strange beast in attendance on al-Dadjdjāl in his island, says that Tamīm was the first who *ḳaṣṣa 'ala 'l-nās*. So there are *ḳiṣaṣ* the listening to which is for edification and there are *ḳiṣaṣ* which are the reverse. The difficulty is to distinguish, truth may easily lead to falsehood and the useful to the harmful. A long statement as to this is quoted from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (ed. with commentary of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-Sāda*, i. 240 *sqq*.). Again, in the Book on the *Ṣalāt*, in the section which considers how the pious should pass their leisure time on Friday, there is a warning against the frequenting of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (iii. 277 *sqq*.). It is worth noticing that the commentator Murtaḍā (d. 1205 A.H.) uses *ḳiṣaṣ*, *ak̲h̲bār* and *ḥikāyāt* quite indiscriminately. So, too, Ibrāhīm al-Baidjūrī in his ḥās̲h̲iya on Abū S̲h̲udjā''s *matn* on canon law, written in 1258 A.H., speaks of "lying *ḥikāyāt* like the *ḳiṣṣa* of 'Antar and of al-Dalhama" (Cairo 1307, i. 131, 22).

But Massignon in his *Essai* (pp. 141 *sqq*., 221) has shown that, in spite of this condemnation,

the labours of the mystics of Islām and of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* among them were what gave to Islām its permanent type as we know it to-day. Their spontaneous movement, preaching to the populace directly in rhymed prose pointed with religious legend, was the first apologetic and exegetic of Islām. They naturally shocked the canonists and theologians and religious authorities generally. They were sincere and terribly in earnest and the *ḳāṣṣ* who worried ʿĀʾisha by holding forth in the court of her chamber until she sent to Ibn ʿUmar who drove him away and broke a stick over his back, may have been like an over-zealous street-preacher with us (*Iḥyāʾ*, iii. 279). All depended on the character of the men, as the exception of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī by ʿAlī shows. In Ramaḍān the daily preaching in the mosques is still of this character. It cannot, then, be surprising that *ḳiṣṣa* has come to be one of the most popular words for "story" and especially for "religious legend". In the index of book-titles in Ahlwardt's Berlin Catalogue (x. 493ᵃ—496ᵇ) it occurs 216 times; of these 27 are in the form *ḳiṣṣat ghazwat* . . . ., on which confer the cases from Bukhārī above. These are mostly religious stories, but quite a large proportion are non-religious and of the Arabian Nights type. In the same index *ḥikāya* occurs only 48 times and there are very few uses of *ḥadīth* simply as "story".

Bibliography has been given in the article. (D. B. MACDONALD)

ḲIST (ξέστης, sextarius, sétier, Sester etc.), an Arab measure of capacity for fluids equal to about a pint. In the early period of Islām the use of measures of capacity seems to have been more general than in the later period for in the mounds of ruins in Egypt, we find numerous broken bottles with the official stamp indicating their capacity expressed in *ḳist*'s. We get an idea of the volume from statements such as a ḳisṭ of oil weighs 18 ūḳiya, a ḳisṭ of wine 20, a ḳisṭ of honey 27; assuming a troy ounce of $27_{.483}$ grammes and taking into account the specific gravity of the liquids above mentioned, we get a value of c. $0_{.54}$ litre for the early Arab ḳisṭ (the old French sétier $= 0_{.546}$ litre).

A multiple was the *djarra* (amphora) = 48 ḳisṭ (c. 25 litre). — Cf. also the article ḲAFĪZ.

Bibliography: Sauvaire, *Matériaux* in *J. A.*, 1886, vii. 126; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum*, London 1891, p. 22—24, 107—109; Casanova, *Collection Fouquet*, *M. M. A. F.*, vi/13; A. Grohmann in *Islamica*, i., p. 145 *sqq.*

(K. V. ZAMBAUR)

KISWA. [See KAʿBA, MAḤMAL].

ḲIṬʿA (A.), pl. *ḳiṭaʿ*, "piece cut off", "section", means in the geometry of the Arabs (*a*) a segment of a circle, the part cut off by a chord; (*b*) a segment of a cone, the part cut off by a plane; (*c*) a section of any other figure (parabola, ellipse, etc.). From the same verb *ḳaṭaʿa* come three other geographical expressions, *ḳuṭāʿ* (so written in the *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, etc.) or *ḳaṭṭāʿ* (so in the *Cod. Leidensis*, 339, 1, ed. R. Besthorn and J. L. Heiberg, and in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. van Vloten) = sector of a circle, i.e. an area bounded by two radii and the portion of the arc of the circle between them; *ḳāṭiʿ* or better *khaṭṭ ḳāṭiʿ*, a line cutting through the circle, i.e. a secant; *ḳaṭʿ* = section (through a body) e.g. *ḳaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ al-mustadīr* = conic section.

Bibliography: Besides the above mentioned works cf. *The Elements of Euclid* in the recension of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Rome 1594; and *Traité du quadrilatère, attribué à Nassirud-din el-Toussy*, éd. et trad. par Alex. Pacha Carathéodory, Constantinople 1891. (Here *quadrilatère* is the translation of *al-shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ* where *ḳaṭṭāʿ* is apparently an intensive form of *ḳāṭiʿ* i. e. "the polysecant figure").

(H. SUTER)

KITĀB (A., pl. *Kutub*), book. With the art of writing the Arabs had taken over from their Northern Semitic neighbours also the words for book and for writing and in the earlier phraseology *Kitāb* means simply something which is written, not necessarily a book and in fact the word is also applied to a "letter" simply. As we do not possess any Arabic book earlier than the Ḳurʾān and the only other remains, besides inscriptions on stone, are the poems of early poets to which we may add in some cases the tale or *Ḳiṣṣa* [q. v.] explaining the occasion on which the poem was composed, we cannot be certain whether books existed or not. The word *Kitāb* occurs rather frequently in the Ḳurʾān in several meanings but the outstanding meaning is the sacred book containing the revelation of God to his worshippers and in consequence the adherents of the three great religions known to Muḥammad, the Christians, Jews and Mazdians are named the "People of the Book" (*Ahl al-Kitāb*). For the first the *Indjīl* or New Testament is meant, for the Jews probably only the Pentateuch and Psalms, while I do not know whether any book of the Mazdians was known to him at all. However the Ḳurʾān knows of another Book i. e. the Book in which God has written the destiny of every man and in which during his life-time all his good and evil deeds are continuously recorded to be brought before him as witness for his reward or punishment on the Day of Judgment. The "Book" par excellence is however the Ḳurʾān itself; it is the revelation of God, untarnished by falsifications through ill-will or human error and according to its own assertion there is no book in the world equal to it, nor can it ever be equalled, being the true word of God. As the Kitāb is the word of God it has also the meaning in the Ḳurʾān of "a decree of God" or it becomes the "impression" which God stamps upon the hearts of man; and as anything written down is lasting so God himself has "written" or made incumbent upon himself to have mercy upon them. Finally it means a simple letter or message written to a distant person.

If we investigate the meaning of the word as applied in the verses of the Arabic poets before Islām we find it used in almost all the same meanings, though perhaps we have to be very sceptical when we find the word in the meaning of divine revelation, though ʿAdī b. Zaid, a Christian poet who lived shortly before Muḥammad, uses the verb in the meaning of predestination (*Djamharat al-Ashʿār al-naṣrāniya*, ed. Cheikho, p. 102 ult.), it may be that the poem was attributed to him by a later forger. I am, however, not so confident that such old references to ideas expressed in the Ḳurʾān are of necessity falsifications. More frequent are the references in old poems to

writings in a foreign script, and there is every evidence that the ancient poets were at least acquainted with the appearance of manuscript books adorned with illuminated title-pages. In a verse by Ṭufail al-Ghanawī (x. v. 3) the poet refers to a written safe-conduct which he calls a Kitāb. At the same time the word appears to have also the meaning of a book as a literary product and though I believe that poems etc. were committed to writing very early, some elapsed time after the Ḳur'ān had been fixed in writing in book-form before any other works were committed to paper or parchment and it is very difficult to say which Arabic work was first written in this form. The collectors of the traditions of the Prophet for a long time insisted upon the *Ḥadīth* being handed down orally, and the same was probably the case with the commentaries of the Ḳur'ān by Ibn 'Abbās. This must have been fairly comprehensive and al-Baghawī in the *Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl* states that he received the book through three different channels. The books on the *Maghāzī* or biographies of the Prophet also were very early committed to writing, but as all the earlier works are lost, except in extracts, it is difficult to say that they were books. This much however is certain, that the *Dīwān* of the poet Labīd existed in written copies before the end of the first century of the Hidjra from the verse of al-Farazdaḳ (*Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, i. 201, 6) where he states that he possesses his poems in a complete book. After this, books were written in the lands of Islām with feverish activity, to which the thousands of titles of lost works found in biographical works bear witness. Finally, one work has had the distinction of being simply called *al-Kitāb*, namely the great grammatical book of the Baṣrian Sībōēh (Sībawaihi) and it is certainly the most extensive work of early Islām which has come down to us.

The Arabic lexicographers try to find an etymology of the word from others meanings of the root in the language which can easily be consulted in the existing dictionaries, but it would be vain to seek the derivation there for a word which had been imported from the North with the art of writing. (F. KRENKOW)

KITĀBKHĀNA, library, is a Persian word for which we find also the Arabic *maktaba*, which is applied to public libraries founded and endowed by princes and private individuals for the benefit of scholars, sometimes for those of a special sect or for some particular study. With the zeal for literary pursuits and the ever increasing composition of books, after the period of conquests, men of literary tastes accumulated handsome private collections of books and from the example of the Kūfī philologist Abū 'Amr al-Shaibānī we can reasonably assume that it was a custom for authors to deposit copies of their works for reference in the mosque of their town or quarter. The earliest record of anything like a public library is connected with the name of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya who devoted his life to the study of Greek sciences, particularly alchemy and medicine. We are told that he caused such books to be translated, and when an epidemic occurred at the beginning of the reign of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, he commanded the books to be fetched out of the library (*khizāna*) to be made available for the people. However, the first public library on a large scale was the *Dār al-ḥikma* (Temple of Wisdom) inaugurated by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn in Baghdād. To make this library as comprehensive as possible he had valuable Greek manuscripts purchased in the Byzantine empire and translated by a number of competent scholars into Arabic. This library contained books in all the sciences cultivated by the Arabs and it flourished till the city was taken and sacked by the Mongols in 656 A. H. Equal in importance was the library of the Fāṭimid rulers of Egypt in Cairo, which contained untold literary treasures and we learn that in the year 435 = 1043/1044 the wazīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Djardjarā'ī gave instructions for a catalogue of the books to be made and the bindings to be renewed, and he appointed Abū Khalaf al-Ḳuḍā'ī and Ibn Khalaf al-Warrāḳ to superintend the work. This library remained intact till the death of the last Fāṭimid caliph al-Āḍid, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered it to be dissolved and the Ḳāḍī 'l-Fāḍil [q. v.] bought most of the books and deposited them in the library of the Fāḍiliya Madrasa which he founded, where they were soon neglected and by the time of al-Ḳalḳashandī most of them had disappeared. This library is stated to have contained 6,500 volumes on exact sciences, alone such as mathematics, astronomy etc. and among its treasures was a globe of copper stated to have been constructed by Ptolemaios and bearing an inscription stating that it had been acquired by Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. The third great library was that of the Umaiyad caliphs of Cordoba, which was also dispersed after the Almoravid conquest of Spain early in the fifth century of the Hidjra. Among the minor libraries was one founded by the Ghaznawī Sulṭān Mas'ūd, most of whose treasures were later transferred to Bukhārā. We are frequently told of valuable private libraries which were placed at the disposal of learned men as e. g. in the biographies of al-Ṣūlī [q. v.] we read of his large collection of books which were bound in tasteful leather-bindings in red and yellow leather. Al-Ṣafadī [q. v.] records in the biography of Ghars al-Ni'mat al-Ṣābī that he founded in Baghdād a library of about 500 volumes for the use of students and that this library was shamelessly robbed by the librarian who had been placed in charge. But even earlier we read of Abū Tammām detained by wintry weather in Hamadān selecting from the books, which he found there in the libraries, the contents of his celebrated poetical anthology, the *Ḥamāsa*. A great impulse was given to the foundation of libraries by the wazīr of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Malikshāh, Niẓām al-Mulk, when he founded in Nīshāpūr and Baghdād and other places colleges or Madrasa's for public instruction. These colleges were not only endowed with funds for the salaries of the professors, but also provided with the most precious manuscripts of works dealing with the sciences taught at these institutions. When early in the seventh century of the Hidjra the Mongols swept over Persia we read that in addition to the loss of human life and the destruction of other valuable property untold quantities of priceless books were wantonly destroyed. The Aiyūbid amīrs of Egypt and Syria emulated the example of the great Saldjūḳ wazīr in founding colleges, but from a remark of Kalḳashandī, neither they nor those in charge of these Madrasa's appear to have had a proper conception of the value of great public libraries (*Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, i. 467). For the centuries which

follow we still find learned men endowing mosques and colleges with their books, where they were deposited as *Wakf* or inalienable property, but the custodians with incredible dishonesty in most cases not only did not prevent, but actually connived at the loss of most of these treasures. How many a manuscript which once was deposited in these libraries for all eternity has found its way into private hands, or into the large libraries of Europe! In addition to this in most cases a fearful neglect set in soon after the foundation of the library and instead of being the source for enriching the knowledge of students the books became the breeding places of worms. As the control over the guardians of the libraries was rarely as strict as it should be, the books entrusted to their charge fell frequently into such a condition that they could no longer be used without falling to pieces. A striking example are the books which formed part of the Imperial library of Delhi, now deposited in the India Office in London; though the volumes may contain many a valuable work, worms and long neglect must almost drive the librarian to despair in his task of making the books again accessible to students. In more recent times this state of things has improved; the Khedival (now State) Library in Cairo has led the way in again collecting the treasures in books which have survived several centuries of neglect, and its treasures are available to students who can afford to visit Cairo. Inestimable are the treasures in valuable books deposited in various libraries in Constantinople of which catalogues have been printed, though these are in many cases very inaccurate. Many valuable libraries exist in Madina and in the 'Irāḳ and it is occasionally possible to those who possess Muslim friends in those countries to obtain information about rare manuscripts existing there. We also have incomplete catalogues of the Ẓāhiriya library in Damascus and the libraries in the great mosques in Fās and Tunis, but as yet it is very difficult for European students to make use of the treasures deposited in these libraries. In India also we find a new era as is testified by the care which is bestowed upon the books preserved in the State-Library in Haiderabad, the Khudābakhsh Library in Bankipore, the Library in Rampore and the Mulla Fērōz Library in Bombay. I have been told by those who have visited the Imām Yaḥyā in Ṣan'ā' in Yaman that his extensive library contains many very ancient manuscripts among which some are as good as lost to the other world for the present. The Shī'a shrines at Karbalā' and Nadjaf have also valuable libraries, but the hope that these together with manuscripts from other centres in the 'Irāḳ might be collected into one central State Library is probably very remote. The very fact that continually valuable ancient manuscripts are brought to Europe from the East is a proof that far more ancient manuscripts are preserved than might be expected from the neglect of many centuries, but the excellence of the paper and ink used in early times for writing has preserved many a volume which would have perished, and in addition it is also probable that at the dissolution of the large libraries their contents found their way into private hands from which they gradually reappear. Testimony for this is also that in the East exist many very valuable private collections of ancient manuscripts as e. g. the library of the Saiyid Ṣadr al-Dīn in Baghdād and of Aḥmad Taimūr Pāshā in Cairo, besides others known to us. Unfortunately the owners are in many cases, the two named excepted, very unwilling to give any information about their possessions. As it is more and more realised that the remains of ancient literature, whether Arabic or Persian, should be made accessible, the owners commence by having some of the rarer works made accessible by the press and when the value is fully recognised we may hope that within the next fifty years much may be in the hands of the students which is now guarded in Eastern libraries.

(F. KRENKOW)

Arrangement, administration and use of libraries. In the fourth (tenth) century there were already buildings devoted solely to libraries and erected specially for this purpose. For example Sābūr b. Ardashīr, the vizier of Bahā' al-Dawla, built in 381 (991) in Baghdād in the Karkh quarter a *Dār al-Kutub*, which contained over 10,000 volumes (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix. 246; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 799). The geographer al-Muḳaddasī (p. 449) found in Shīrāz a huge library which had been built by the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla (338—372 = 949—982). This library was a separate building and consisted of a great hall and a long vaulted building along the three sides of which were a series of rooms (*khizā'in*). Along the walls of the central vaulted room and along the side-rooms were cases of carved wood three ells high and three broad, with doors which were let down from the top. The books lay on shelves one above the other. The cases used in the Fāṭimid library in Cairo were somewhat different (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, i. 409); the bookcases (*rufūf*) were divided by partitions into separate compartments (*ḥādjiz*) each of which was closed by a door with hinges and locks. Open cases which also were divided into small compartments, are illustrated in a miniature by Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd of the year 634 (1237) in the Paris MS. of Ḥarīrī (MS. Arabe, 5847), which shows a library in Baṣra (Blochet, *Les enlumineurs des MSS. orientaux*, Paris 1926, Pl. 10). Unlike our custom, we find the books lying one above the other in the small compartments, as is still usual in the East. This explains the Oriental custom (which is only occasionally found in the west) of writing a short title of the works on the upper or lower edge.

The **books** were systematically arranged, classified according to the various branches of knowledge. Copies of the Ḳur'ān had usually a special place; in the Fāṭimid library for example they were kept on a higher level than the others. The various books were often present in several copies; this made it possible not only to lend the same work to several readers but the scholar was also enabled to read corrupt passages at once in a manuscript by referring to another copy. The Fāṭimid library of Cairo for example had thirty copies of the *Kitāb al-'Ain* of Khalīl, twenty copies of the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Ṭabarī and if the figure is not wrong actually a hundred copies of the *Djamhara* of Ibn Duraid.

The **catalogues** consisted either of several volumes in which (probably according to the various branches of knowledge) the titles of the books were arranged, or, as in the Fāṭimid library, a list of the books within was fastened to the door of each room.

Libraries usually had a director (*ṣāḥib*) and one or more librarians (*khāzin*) according to the size of the institution, also copyists (*nāsikh*) and attendants (*farrāsh*). We find that some of the most celebrated scholars were librarians: thus the historian Ibn Miskawaihi was librarian to the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd in Raiy (Ibn Miskawaihi, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, text, ii. 224, transl., v. 237); al-Shābushtī (d. 390 = 1000), the author of the book of monasteries, was librarian of the Fāṭimid library in Cairo under al-ʿAzīz (Ibn Khaldūn, *Wafayāt*, i. 338).

The books were acquired partly by purchase and partly by the copyists attached to the libraries copying manuscripts. Maḳrīzī has preserved for us the budget of a library (i. 459); according to this, the Caliph al-Ḥākim (386–411 = 996–1020) spent 257 dīnārs a year (c. £ 150) on the *Dār al-ʿIlm* founded by him. This was allotted as follows:

	Dīnārs
Mats from ʿAbbadān, etc.	10
Paper for copyists	90
Salary of the librarian	48
Drinking water	10
Wages of the attendant	15
Wages of the keeper of paper, ink, and reed pens	12
Repairing the door-curtains	1
Repairing books	12
Felt carpets for the winter	5
Blankets for the winter	4

Libraries were open to everyone free of charge. Paper, ink and reed-pens were supplied by the authorities. Some private libraries even provided for the maintenance of scholars who had come from a long distance. A deposit had usually to be made if books were taken outside the library buildings, at least Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iv. 509 *sq.*) (d. 626 = 1229) praises the liberality of the libraries in Marw where he always had two hundred and more volumes to the value of two hundred dīnārs in his house without a deposit. Instructive in this connection also is the waḳf document of 21st Ṣafar 799 (Nov. 24, 1396) by which Ibn Khaldūn bestowed his *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* on the library of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawīyīn in Fās; according to it, this manuscript was only to be lent out to trustworthy, reliable men for two months at most in return for a substantial deposit; for this period was long enough to copy or study the borrowed work; the director of the library was to take care that this rule was observed (Lévi-Provençal in *J. A.*, ccili. [1923], p. 164).

But at the same time we find in Muslim lands purely reading libraries. One of these was the library of the Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiya founded in Cairo in 797 (1395). By the will of the founder the Ustādār Djamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī (d. 799 = 1397) no book was to leave the rooms of the Madrasa. The manuscript of the *Tadjārib al-Umam* of Ibn Miskawaihi (Gibb Mem. Ser., vii/6) published in facsimile by Caetani belonged to this library: in the *waḳf* document on the first page of this manuscript dated 15th Shaʿbān 797 (June 5, 1395) it is written: "The above-named donor makes the condition that neither the whole work nor a single volume of it shall be lent from the library either against a deposit or without one". Nevertheless by the year 826 (1423) when the books were checked, it was found that 400 volumes (exactly a tenth of the total) were missing, whereupon the then director of the mosque was dismissed (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 64, 70; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 395).

If we think of the above statements, which are true even of the fourth (tenth) century, it can safely be asserted that Muslim libraries were in every respect centuries in advance of those of the west. There was a general need for public libraries felt in Muslim lands much earlier than in the west.

Bibliography: Quatremère, *Mémoire sur le goût des livres chez les Orientaux*, in *J. A.*, 1838, Ser. 3, vi. 35—78; and the supplementary notes by Hammer-Purgstall in *J. A.*, 1848, Ser. 4, xi. 187—198; von Kremer, *Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 164 *sqq.*; Ribera, *Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana*, Saragossa 1896 (not accessible to me); Grohmann, *Bibliotheken und Bibliophilen im islamischen Orient*, in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Vienna 1926, p. 431—442; M. Hartmann, *Das Bibliothekswesen in den islamischen Ländern*, in *Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, 1899, xvi. 186 *sqq.*; do., *Zur litterarischen Bewegung und zum Buch- u. Bibliothekswesen in den islamischen Ländern*, in Catalogue Nº. 4 of the Buchhandlung Rudolf Haupt, Halle 1905. — For a comparison with the western libraries cf. Milkau, *Die Bibliotheken* in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i/i., 2nd ed. 1912, p. 587 *sqq.* and the references given on p. 630. (HEFFENING)

ḲITĀL, one of the names of the xlviith Sūra of the Ḳurʾān.

ḲIṬFĪR is the name in Muḥammadan legend of the Biblical Potiphar. Ḳiṭfīr is corrupted from Fiṭfīr like Bilḳīs, queen of Saba, from Nikaulis, or as in the Yūsuf legend we have Ainam or Hainam from Muppim, Huppim. Ḳiṭfīr was then further corrupted to Iṭfīr (so generally in Ṭabarī and Thaʿlabī), Iṭfīn and almost unrecognisably to Ḳiṭṭīn (Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 377) and Ḳiṭṭifīn (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xii. 98). On the other hand al-Kisāʾī always has Ḳiṭṭifar, a direct borrowing from Potiphar. Ḳiṭfīr is quite arbitrarily called Ibn Ruḥaib. In the Ḳurʾān xii. 30, 51, the Egyptian who buys Joseph is called al-ʿAzīz. This is not considered a personal name but a title of honour, for after his elevation we find Joseph likewise addressed as al-ʿAzīz (xii. 78, 88). Joseph succeeded Ḳiṭfīr as Treasurer of Egypt, according to some in Ḳiṭfīr's lifetime after his dismissal from office, according to others only after his death, when Joseph inherited his office and his wife. Legend numbers Ḳiṭfīr, — along with Jethro's daughter who offered hospitality to Moses and Abū Bakr who magnanimously appointed ʿOmar his successor — as the three *afrasu*, most chivalrous and noblest in their dealings among mankind (Ṭabarī, Thaʿlabī). Cf. also ʿAZĪZ and YŪSUF B. YAʿḲŪB.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 378, 381, 382, 391, 392; the commentaries on Sūra xii.; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, p. 74, 75, 76, 80; al-Kisāʾī, ed. Eisenberg, p. 161, 162, 164, 168. (B. HELLER)

KITMĀN. [See TAḲIYA.]

ḲIṬMĪR. [See AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF.]

ḲIYĀFA is an infinitive of the Ist stem (form of name of office or trade, Wright³, i. 114a) of root *ḳ-w-f*, meaning "trace, follow traces, follow".

The root does not occur in the Ḳur'ān except as a variant in xvii. 39 (Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 539 sq.), but the cognate root *ḳ-f-w*, with the same meaning, occurs five times. Technically in old Arabia *ḳā'if* (pl. *ḳāfa*) was used not only of one who followed and interpreted actual tracks on the ground but also of one who professionally established kinship between individuals by likeness, primarily likeness of the feet. This ability was ascribed peculiarly to the tribe Mudlidj, who were called simply *al-Ḳāfa* (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 32 [11]); so *mudlidjī* meant *ḳā'if*. Other synonyms are *mudjazziz*, lit. "shearer" (*Lisān*, xi, 202 5 where cf. whole article for *ḳiyāfa* in general; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 185) and *ḳāṣir*, lit. "conjecturer, guesser" (Goldziher, p. 184, note 9, who refers to *Aghānī*, x. 38 17). In a story given from Muḥammad al-Anbārī by Freytag (*Chrestomathia*, p. 31 *sq.*) a *ḳā'if* in the infancy of the Prophet tells by his *firāsa* [q. v.], that he is a foster-child and foretells his future eminence. And the Prophet himself in tradition (Bukhārī, *Farā'iḍ*, b. 17; Muslim, *Raḍā'*, trad., 36, bāb: *al-walad li 'l-firāsh*) decides a case of kinship by resemblance (*shabah*). In the same passages are other traditions giving prophetic sanction to the practice and using as synonyms *ḳā'if*, *mudlidjī* and *mudjazziz*: it is plain from them that the *ḳā'if* paid special attention to the feet, as was natural in a race of trackers. From the fact that a poet in the *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag, p. 304) is named simply 'Iyās b. al-Ḳā'if the profession was evidently one of distinction. From the beginning, also, it had in it a certain mystery: it was an innate power belonging to certain individuals or the peculiar inheritance of a tribe. It, therefore, attracted the special attention of Mu'tazilites who felt driven to accept certain facts as to it but had, on their principles, to seek rationalistic and philosophical interpretations of them. Al-Mas'ūdī in his *Murūdj* gives to it and some allied phenomena a whole chapter (ii., Paris ed., iii. 333—346) and refers to other books of his where he has treated the same subject more completely. Ḳazwīnī in his *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 318) traces it similarly to psychical power in those who profess it and places their "souls" (*nufūs*) in the class of the *nufūs al-fāḍila*, "super-souls", among which are those of the prophets, the *walī*'s and *kāhin*'s: all these possess a certain instinct of insight. In canon law *ḳiyāfa* of necessity plays little part. The services of a *ḳā'if* are to be called in only when the paternity of the child of a female slave is in doubt as between a former and a present owner (Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islām. Gesetzes*, p. 187 *sq.*); for further details see Sachau, *Muh. Recht nach Schaf. Lehre*, p. 89 *sq.*; Baidjūrī, *Ḥāshiya* on the *Sharḥ* of Ibn Ḳāsim on the text of Abū Shudjā', Cairo 1307, ii. 184 (*in ambana kawnuhu minhumā 'urida 'ala 'l-ḳā'if*); Nawawī, *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, ed. van den Berg, iii. 450 *sq.* In present day folk-lore usage *ḳiyāfa* has become chiromancy and physiognomy, called also *'ilm al-sīmiyā* and *'ilm al-asārīr* (Bocthor, *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, vol. i., p. 154b; Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 370 and references there). Very strangely the word has come to mean in modern Egyptian colloquial, "style, fashion", *ṣāḥib ḳiyāfa*, "a stylish person" (Spiro, *Vocabulary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, p. 505, who gives no other meaning). This apparently connects with Turkish and Persian usage of *ḳiyāfa* in sense "appearance, form, gait, costume" (Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 1503b; Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 997a).

Bibliography: The principal treatments of this subject are in Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage*[2], p. 169 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 184 *sq.*; Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 370; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 420a; see further references in all these. (D. B. MACDONALD)

AL-**ḲIYĀMA**, "the Arising" (of man at the Resurrection), and *al-Sā'a*, "the Hour" (or Day of Judgement), come for theologians under the general term *al-Ma'ād*, "the returning", i. e. the return to life after death; and they rank them among *al-sam'iyāt*, things on which traditional teaching is based, as the prophetic office, or which for their authority go back to the prophetic office, as this Return and such causes of eternal happiness and misery, connected with it, as faith and obedience, unbelief and disobedience (Mawāḳif of al-Īdjī, Būlāḳ 1266, p. 544 *sq.*).

A schematic statement of the order of events in Muslim eschatology. I The Signs which will announce the coming of the End, especially the appearance of the Antichrist, al-Dadjdjāl (see above, i. 886 *sq.*), who will lead almost all men astray, followed by the descent of 'Īsā (see above, ii. p. 524 *sq.*), or the Mahdī [q. v.] (or 'Īsā is both), who will kill al-Dadjdjāl. A period of faith will follow. II The First Blast of the Trumpet; all living things will die. The Interval. The Second Blast of the Trumpet, bringing all living things to life again and uniting them at the Place of Gathering (*al-maḥshar*). The long standing there (*al-mawḳif*) in the presence of Allāh and the Sweat (*al-'araḳ*). III The Judgement begins. The questioning of each individual directly by Allāh. The Books of Record. The Weighing of the deeds of those as to whom there might be doubt. Adjustment of enmities and requital of wrongs between man and man, and man and beast. IV The Bridge over Hell into Paradise (*al-Ṣirāṭ*). The Intercession (see SHAFĀ'A). The Tank of Muḥammad. V The Fire (Hell and Purgatory; see DJAHANNAM above, i. 998 *sq.*); the Garden (Paradise; see DJANNA above, i. 1014 *sq.*); a Limbo (according to some theologians). — *Iḥyā'* of al-Ghazālī, Cairo 1334, iv. 436—453; *Itḥāf*, commentary on *Iḥyā'*, x. 447—530.

For Muḥammad, a revivalist preacher seeking to strike terror in his hearers, the doctrines of the Resurrection and of the Judgement were of the first importance, and the Ḳur'ān, in consequence, is full of references to them. The word *ma'ād* occurs once only (Ḳur. xxviii. 85) and evidently has not this application there: it may mean the place of Muḥammad's resurrection or Mecca to which he will return from exile (Baiḍāwī in loc.). But the verb is used very frequently; in Ḳur. iv. 10, 35; xxi. 104; xxx. 10, 26; lxxxv. 13, of Allāh's bringing men back at the resurrection, in contrast to his first production of them (*abda'a*); in contrast to his *anhata* in Ḳur. lxxi. 16, 17; in contrast to his *faṭara* in Ḳur. xvii. 53. The same verb is used of the repeated processes of creative power in the earth in Ḳur. xxvii. 65; xxix. 18 and of man being brought back to the earth at death and burial, Ḳur. xx. 57. *al-Ḳiyāma*, only in the phrase *yawm al-ḳiyāma*, occurs 70 times, e. g. ii. 79, 107, 169, 208; iii. 48, 71, 155;

[1]xvii. 39; lxxv. 1, 6 (last occurrences). On the meaning of *ḳiyāma* (*ḳiyām* with the feminine termination of emphasis) see *Mufradāt* of Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, p. 429, ll. 2 *sq.* *al-Sāʿa* occurs 40 times, generally in fixed phrases and always, when with the article, of the Hour; e.g. vi. 31, 40; vii. 186; xii. 107; xv. 85; xlvii. 20; liv. 1, 46; lxxix. 42 (last occurrences). In the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī (iv. 440 *sq.*; *Itḥāf*, x. 462—465) there is a long list of names of the Hour which occur in the Ḳurʾān or can be formed from Ḳurʾānic phrases. The following may be mentioned: *al-ḳāriʿa*, "the striker", Ḳur. xiii. 31; lxix. 4; ci. 1, 2 only; *al-ghāshiya*, "the coverer", Ḳur. xii. 107; lxxxviii. 1 only; *al-ṣākhkha*, "the deafener", Ḳur. lxxx. 33 only; *yawm al-faṣl*, "day of dividing", xxxvii. 21; xliv. 40; lxxvii. 13, 14, 38; lxxviii. 17 only; *al-wāḳiʿa*, "the event", lvi. 1; lxix. 15 only; *al-ḥāḳḳa*, "the certainty", lxix. 1, 2, 3 only; *yawm al-ḥisāb*, "day of reckoning", xxxviii. 15, 25, 53; xl. 28; *yawm al-baʿth*, "day of arousing", xxx. 56 only (*al-baʿth* alone xxii. 5 only); *yawm muḥīṭ*, "an encompassing day", xi. 85 only; *yawm al-dīn*, "day of judgement", i. 3; lxxxiii. 11 and very often; also *al-dīn* alone in meaning "the Judgement" very often; for meanings of *dīn* in the Ḳurʾān see above, vol. i., p. 975.

In the overwhelmingly theocentric theology of Muḥammad the doctrine of the Resurrection and Judgement was only second to that of Allāh's creation of the world, was a necessary consequence to it and could be proved by it. Allāh as Creator meant Allāh as Ruler and Allāh as Judge. But a Judgement meant a Resurrection and all the analogies of what we call nature pointed to the possibility of such a return and repetition of life, if under other conditions. So Muḥammad was primarily a preacher of this wrath to come and of the need of repentance and self-surrender to Allāh before it should come. For the Arabs of his time the Resurrection was, if anything, a harder doctrine than the Creation. Muḥammad proved the one by the other. He had also a foothold for this in the primitive Arab conception that the dead had a continued and conscious existence of a kind in their graves; cf. among the Hebrews, Job, xiv. 20—22. Through Muḥammad this belief passed into Islām and is the basis in Islām of the doctrine of the two Judgements (see below), of punishment in the grave (*ʿadhāb al-ḳabr*; see MUNKAR and NAKĪR), and of bliss in the grave, i.e. that the grave for each individual is a preliminary Hell or Paradise. This doctrine does not seem to have any sure Ḳurʾānic basis although texts from the Ḳurʾān (vi. 93; ix. 102; xlv. 32; xl. 11, 49; lxxi. 25) are used by the theologians in support of it (*Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī, p. 591; al-Taftāzānī on *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī, Cairo 1321, p. 109; al-Bukhārī in heading to section cited below). It is possible that there may be a reference to it in Ḳurʾān xxxv. 21 where Muḥammad seems to be warned not to preach to the dead in their graves, as (e.g.) he preached to the Djinn. But that it was taught by Muḥammad seems certain from the mass of traditions on the subject (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, ed. Constantinople 1329—1334, viii. 160—164, *Kitāb al-djanna*; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, Būlāḳ 1315, ii. 97—100, *Kitāb al-djanāʾiz*). In consequence of all this the Ḳurʾān from beginning to end is full of lurid descriptions of the Day with picturesque details of its certainty, its nearness and its overwhelming terrors — passing into descriptions of the Fire and, in contrast, of the Garden. In the Ḳurʾān it is a Judgement of individuals and not of peoples or of religious bodies in masses; this, as Wellhausen pointed out, shows the Christian, as opposed to Jewish, theological influence upon Muḥammad. Later traditions and still more the theologians were going to change all that in accordance with the "agreement" (*idjmāʿ*) of Islām. As examples of these multitudinous, longer or shorter descriptions, reference will suffice to Ḳur. vi. 22—31; xix. 67—74; xxii. 1—7; xxiii. 101-end; xxxix. 68-end; lxix.; lxxv., lxxxi.—lxxxiv.; xcix.—ci. Naturally the most picturesque details are in the earlier and more poetical *sūras*. The descriptions of the Garden changed also with Muḥammad's changing circumstances and age; cf. Josef Horovitz, *Das Koranische Paradies*, Jerusalem, 1923.

In these descriptions there are certain references and allusions which (i) tradition has developed more precisely and elaborately, of which (ii) the systematic theologians have made chary use in their short eschatological statements but which (iii) the writers for religious edification have expanded in intolerable and contradictory detail. Thus (1) the *ṣirāṭ* is only once in the Ḳurʾān (xxxvii. 23) *ṣirāṭ al-djaḥīm* — a mere allusion to "the road to Hell". This has become in tradition "the bridge", elaborately described, "over the back of hell" (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, i. 113, 116, *Kitāb al-īmān*; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ix. 128, 130, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*). (2) The noun *mawḳif* does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, but four times (vi. 27, 30; xxxiv. 30; xxxvi. 24) there are allusions to man standing in the presence of Allāh on the Day. This has become the awful scene which al-Ghazālī develops so fully in his *Durra* (ed. Gautier, 1878, p. ٢٨, 50 *sq.*). (3) Ḳur. lxviii. 42, "on the day when a shank (*sāḳ*) shall be uncovered" means, according to the commentators (e.g. Baiḍāwī, Fleischer's ed. ii., p. 350, l. 10), a day of stress and trouble when skirts will be tucked up for flight. In the traditions (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, i. 115 foot — *Kitāb al-īmān*; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ix. 130 — *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*) the *sāḳ* is that of Allāh and the uncovering of it is a sign between him and the true believers. (4) On the resurrection trumpet there is much more in the Ḳurʾān. The Ḳurʾānic formula is *nufikha fi 'l-ṣūr* (vi. 73; xviii. 99; xx. 102; xxiii. 103; xxvii. 89; xxxvi. 51; xxxix. 68; l. 19; lxix. 13; lxxviii. 18), except in lxxiv. 8, where it is *nuḳira fi 'l-nāḳūr*. In lxix. 13 a single blast, *nafkha wāḥida*, is enough, but in xxxix. 68 there are two blasts; at the first all in heaven and earth, save whom Allāh wills, swoon (*ṣaʿiḳa*); at the second they are restored and stand up. This whole passage has evidently been of the first importance in the forming of the later picture of the Day. In tradition the first blast of the trumpet is reckoned among the Signs of the Day (*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 201 *sq.*; 210, *Kitāb al-fitan wa-ashrāṭ al-sāʿa*). (5) The word for "balances" when used in the singular in the Ḳurʾān expresses the general idea of justice (xlii. 16; lv. 6, 7, 8; lvii. 25 and Baiḍāwī on these passages) but the plural, *mawāzīn* (vii. 7, 8; xxi. 48; xxiii. 104, 105; ci. 5, 6) is used only, in fixed phrases, of weighing men's good and bad deeds in the eschatological Balances on the Day. (6) There is a personal

account between Allāh and every man (ḥisāb and other terms; cf. C. C. Torrey, *Commercial-theological terms in the Korān*, Leyden 1892, p. 9 *sq.*) and there are books written by recording angels (*safara*, *kātibūn*; lxxx. 11—15; lxxxii. 10—12; lxxxiii. 7, 18). Each man has a book of his own deeds or there is simply the Book (x. 62; xxxiv. 3; xvii. 14, 15; xviii. 47; lxix. 19, 20, 25—7; lxxxiv. 7—12); Allāh himself is a witness (*shahīd*, often) or he is watching in a lurking place, like a hunter waiting for game (lxxxix. 13, *la-bil-mirṣād*); or *Djahannam*, personified, is such a *mirṣād* (lxxviii. 21), a dubious phrase which gives the commentators much trouble. (7) Again, *Djahannam* (occurs 77 times) is brought as though it were moveable (lxxxix. 24) and there is a description of it (lxvii. 7, 8) as braying and boiling and almost bursting with rage as though it were a wild animal. What this became in tradition is seen in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 149 *sq.*; *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, Cairo 1318, ii. 154—156; *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, Dihli 1327, p. 428—430. Al-Ghazālī develops the idea still farther, for pious edification, in his *Durra*, p. ٣٦, 56 *sq.* (8) In Ḳur'ān xliv. 9 there is a very obscure expression. "Then look for the day when the heaven shall bring plain smoke" (*dukhān mubīn*). Baiḍāwī (Fleischer's ed. ii., p. 245, ll. 22 *sq.*) gives as a possible interpretation a reference to smoke as one of the Signs of the Day; for the traditions on this see *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 130 *sq.*, 179, 208. (9) For a supposed Ḳur'ānic allusion to the descent (*nuzūl*) of 'Isā as one of the Signs of the Day see above 'Īsā, ii. 525 and add to the references there *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, i. 93—95, 107 *sq.*; viii., p. 175—208. (10) Another of the Signs to which allusion is made in the Ḳur'ān (xxvii. 84) is the Beast of the earth (*dābbatun min al-arḍ*); cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, i. 96; viii. 179. Baiḍāwī (*in loc.*) identifies it with *al-djassāsa*, "the searcher out", described in a tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (viii. 203—206) as in attendance, according to Tamīm al-Dārī, on the false Masīḥ al-Dadjdjāl, apparently the Antichrist, in a certain island; see, also, *Lisān*, vii. 337; Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1313, ii. 170. (11) On al-Dadjdjāl, who is not in the Ḳur'ān at all, see traditions in Muslim, viii. 161, 194—208; on p. 189 thirty lying Dadjdjāls will come before the end; Bukhārī, ix. 159 *sq.* See, also, DADJDJĀL, above i. 886; the name is evidently Aramaic, not Arabic. (12) The Tank (*ḥawḍ*) of Muḥammad also plays an obscure part in the picture of the Day, although it does not occur in the Ḳur'ān. There is doubt especially as to the end of the Ṣirāṭ at which it should be placed; in later collections of traditions (*Maṣābīḥ*, ii. p. 145; *Mishkāt*, 415) it is grouped with the Intercession and after the Reckoning and the Weighing. See, also, Bukhārī, ix. 46. (13) In the story of Dhu 'l-ḳarnain in the Ḳur'ān (xviii. 82—98) he builds a great wall to keep back Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj. But that will hold them only until the Day; then it will be made as dust (verse 98) and they will come out (Ḳur. xxi. 96). For this, among the Signs, in tradition see *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ix. 61; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim viii. 165 *sq.*, and often.

There is thus very little in the Ḳur'ān as to the Signs preceding the Last Day; but such picturesque and accidental references as there are have proved useful in the later development. The systematic theologians have been by far the most cautious in this. Nasafī in his *'Aḳā'id* gives only five: the appearance of al-Dadjdjāl; the Beast of the earth; Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj; the descent of 'Isā; the rising of the sun in the west. Taftāzānī in his commentary on this passage (p. 145) gives ten: the Smoke; Dadjdjāl; the Beast; the rising of the sun in the west; 'Isā; Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj; three eclipses, in west, in east and in Arabia; a fire which will break out in al-Yaman and drive men to the Place of Gathering; cf. a similar list in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 179. But the traditionalists have luxuriated in tendencious details. A section of tradition is devoted to *al-fitan wa ashrāṭ* or *āyāt al-sā'a*, "trials and signs of the Hour"; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, viii. 165—210; *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ix. 46—61; *Maṣābīḥ*, ii. 128—42; *Mishkāt*, p. 392—410. To give any full analysis of these would be impossible here. Reference may be made for this and for details on the Resurrection and Judgement to Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 539^a—44^b. This is largely based on Sale's "Preliminary Discourse", Section 4, p. 76—103 of ed. 1734, and he, in turn, was greatly indebted to the learning and research of Edward Pococke, in his *Porta Mosis*, ii. p. 235—313 of ed. Oxford 1654—55, who gives Arabic passages and terms at length. These details were then taken up by the writers for religious edification and an immense literature was based upon them. Even among mystics in Islām religious conversion has normally been wrought by fear of the wrath of Allāh; in consequence their books are full of pictures of the horrors of death, the resurrection and the judgement. This is the whole bearing of the last Book of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* (iv. 361—469) on "Taking thought of death and that which comes after it" (*Dhikr al-mawt wa-mā ba'dahu*), until it ends in a few pages on the Beatific Vision in Paradise and the wideness of Allāh's mercy, for luck! (*'alā sabīl al-tafā'ul*). His smaller treatise, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, on the same subject, goes still further in this direction.

Yet in this mass of traditions certain drifts of influence and development show themselves, theological and historical. Reference has already been made to the development of the doctrine of two judgements, a lesser on the death and burial of the individual and the greater on the Day itself. It is difficult to say whether this was in the mind of Muḥammad, but it was a natural development of the doctrine of the Punishment of the Grave which is so strongly represented in traditions. The doctrine, also, that the Fire itself will be a temporary place of purgation for "certain rebellious ones of the believers" would naturally grow out of this. It, too, is represented in tradition and has become fixed in theology (Taftāzānī on Nasafī, p. 114—19). On the whole question, see *Immortality in Mohammedanism* by the present writer in E. H. Sneath's *Religion and the Future Life*, New York 1922, p. 311 *sq.* This leads naturally to the relation of faith and works and of sins, greater and lesser, and that involves a classification of different ranks even among the saved believers. On the whole question, see ĪMĀN, above, ii. 474 *sq.* Some believers will enter Paradise without any punishment or even reckoning (*ḥisāb*); there will be 70,000 of these (Muslim, i. 136—138). Then there are the *shuhadā'*, whose spirits (*arwāḥ*) seem already to be in Paradise (Muslim, vi. 38)

and a man who is killed in defence of his property is a *shahīd* [q. v.] and his slayer is in the Fire (Muslim, i., p. 87). But the theological question which seems to have weighed most heavily in the Muslim world when traditions were being formed was that of Intercession (*shafā'a*, q. v.).

The historical influences are equally plain in these traditions. Some may go back to Muḥammad himself full of forebodings as to the future of his people; the times must be evil before they are better. Such are those which tell that the Hour will not come until no one in the world says, "Allāh! Allāh!" — i.e. there is no faith left (Muslim, i. 89—91). But others seem clearly connected with the later civil strife. The traditions prophecying the murder of 'Uthmān run into prophecies of the Hour (Muslim, viii. 170 foot) and show the deep feeling of despair produced among the pious by the civil wars and the growing unbelief. Again, when the dream of the speedy conquest of Constantinople faded, the belief rose that that conquest would be one of the Signs of the End. As soon as the cry of Muslim triumph was heard in that city their armies would be recalled to face Antichrist, al-Dadjdjāl (Muslim, viii. 187 *sq.*). Then 'Īsā would descend. So some traditions see the whole world plunged in unbelief before the end, and others make the crowning conquest of Islām introduce the end.

The theologians have seen quite clearly that it was impossible to construct out of these materials a consistent narrative of what would take place on the Day. So they have abandoned the attempt and contented themselves with saying that such and such things — the *Ṣirāṭ*, the Weighing, the Tank, etc. — are Realities (*ḥaḳḳ*) and leave generally untouched what kind of reality is meant. Philosophically, they knew very well, there are different kinds of reality (Nasafī und Taftāzānī, p. 110 *sq.*; Īdjī, p. 592). They thus abandon picturing the Day to such religious writers as have edification for their object and not fact. Apparently the distinction was quite clear in their minds, and it goes back to the fundamental principle in Islām of the economy of teaching ("Speak to the people according to their understanding" — a saying ascribed both to 'Alī and to the Prophet) which was the ultimate source of the medieval doctrine of the two-fold truth. The situation may be illustrated by al-Ghazālī's method which was at least three-fold. In the last book of the *Iḥyā'* and, still more, in the *Durra* his frank object is to strike terror; these are all Realities — very dreadful Realities! Yet his philosophical conscience troubles him and even in the *Iḥyā'* (Book of *al-tawba*, "Repentance", iv. 20 *sq.*) he teaches that words applied to concrete things in this world can be used of things in the world to come only by metaphor, as *amthāl*; and he defends this by Ḳur'ān xxix. 42. But in his *Iḳtiṣād* (Cairo 1320, p. 96—98) he is a sober scholastic — the *Mīzān* and the *ṣirāṭ* are *ḥaḳḳ* by revelation and the reason cannot deny them; in his *Maḍnūn* (Cairo 1303, intended for theological specialists) he develops to a certain extent the philosophical bottoming of these ideas — the Intercession (p. 28), the Reckoning and the *ṣirāṭ* (p. 36), the pleasures of Paradise (p. 38 *sq.*) which will be sensuous, imaginative, rational (*ḥissī*, *khayālī*, *'aḳlī*). The feeling left in the mind is that there are still more distinctions, explanations and refinements behind the two *Maḍnūn*'s, and that feeling is strengthened by his *Mishkāt al-anwār*; see the translation of this by W. H. T. Gairdner in "Asiatic Society Monographs", vol. xix. Further, al-Ghazālī developed the doctrine of a Limbo for those who, by reason of youth, mental affliction, historical and geographical situation and environment, had not been able to become Muslims and, therefore, had no works of obedience, in the technical sense, to their credit. There was nothing against them and punishing them in the Fire would be unjust; but there was nothing also for which they could be rewarded. He found a place for them, therefore, in the Ḳur'ānic *al-A'rāf* (vii, 44—46) which he explained as "Heights" whence those in the Limbo look down on both Heaven and Hell and their inhabitants. Such a conception was beyond doubt very far from Muḥammad's mind, but as a theological fiction it was sufficient for al-Ghazālī's purpose. For the four-fold classification of man which thus resulted see his *Iḥyā'*, iv., p. 20—28; *Itḥāf*, viii., p. 548—570; for this particular class see his *Faiṣal al-tafriḳa*, ed. Cairo 1319, p. 75 *sq.* and *Iḥyā'*, iv. 27 *sq.*; the *Itḥāf*, viii., p. 564—568 gives different views on the subject and there is an attack on al-Ghazālī's position in *Les Prolégomènes Théologiques de Senoussi* by J. D. Luciani (Alger 1908), p. 106 *sq.* On the whole subject see Miguel Asín, *La Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919, p. 99 *sq.* The treatment of eschatology by al-Īdjī in his *Mawāḳif* is of the dryest scholasticism, in startling contrast to the picturesqueness of the materials which he uses. Like al-Ghazālī he makes no use of the Signs; they were history, apparently, and not philosophical theology. He begins with the possibility of a Return to existence of a nonentity (*ma'dūm*) and fights that out with the different unbelieving philosophical schools: the different elements that follow suggest to him only dogmas to be demonstrated, and even the doctrine of the Intercession of Muḥammad interests him only by its connection with the Mu'tazilite heresies. For eschatological ideas as developed among the mystics see Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, ii. 664—698.

Bibliography has been given in the article.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ḲIYĀS (A.), infinitive III of *ḳāsa*, **deduction by analogy**. The term is used with a multitude of meanings; cf. the lexicons, especially Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v. Here we shall confine ourselves to *ḳiyās* as one of the "roots" of the *fiḳh*, i.e. the deduction of legal prescriptions from the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna* by reasoning by analogy. — The death of Muḥammad deprived the community of the means of obtaining revelations and at the same time of its guide in matters political and religious. At first they relied on the book of Allāh and the example of the Prophet. The Ḳur'ān and the *sunna* naturally became the guides of the community. The expansion under the first Caliphs, the growing interest in theological and juridical speculation, the whole new world, intellectual and material, raised questions previously unknown, the answers to which could not be found in the Ḳur'ān or in the *sunna*. Men thus found themselves forced to take decisions or to regulate their conduct from their own opinion. The beginnings of this process were certainly not theoretical in character.

In the second half of the first century A. H. *fiḳh* began to develop at the same time as *ḥadīth*.

This parallelism gave rise to a rivalry between the "historical" and "rationalist" schools, the *ahl al-ḥadīth* or *ahl al-ʿilm* and the *ahl al-raʾy* [q. v.]. The earliest founders of *madhhab*'s compiled their manuals of law, either by oral communication like Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150 = 767) or in writing like Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 = 795) without much worrying about questions of general principle. Al-Shāfiʿī (150—204 = 767—820) was probably the first to give an outline of the "roots" (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), of the value and function of the Ḳurʾān, *sunna*, *idjmāʿ* and *ḳiyās* in the theological and judicial system of Islām. "Ḳiyās" he says "is used in the cases which are not dealt with by the Ḳurʾān nor *sunna* nor *idjmāʿ*" (*Risāla*, p. 65). For him, „*ḳiyās* and *idjtihād* [q. v.] are two terms for the same idea" (*op. cit.*, p. 66). It might be added that there are other terms, more or less synonymous. We have already mentioned *raʾy*, a word which is often used as a synonym of *ḳiyās*, but which assumed the meaning of "pure reasoning", whereas Ḳiyās has always a more limited meaning in as much as it is applied to a particular method of reasoning, which otherwise ought to be applied to the other roots of *fiḳh* also. As more or less synonymous terms, we may mention *istiḥsān*, *istiṣlāḥ* [q. v.], *mafhūm* (see below), *tamthīl* (see below).

The attitude defended by al-Shāfiʿī was not long in arousing fervent discussions. Among its opponents may be mentioned in the first place Dāʾūd al-Ẓāhirī [q. v.], who, although rejecting the employment of *ḳiyās*, approached the method of analogy when he relied on the *mafhūm* of the sacred texts.

Al-Bukhārī, himself a Shāfiʿī, included in his collection of traditions a chapter entitled "That one must adhere to the Ḳurʾān and to the Sunna". The *tardjama* of bāb 7 begins thus: "Traditions relative to the disapproval of *raʾy* and to the practice of *ḳiyās*". Equally significant is the *tardjama* to the ninth *bāb*: "How the Prophet taught his community what Allāh had taught him, without *raʾy* or *tamthīl*". This last term is explained by *ḳiyās* in the commentary of al-Ḳasṭallānī.

Al-Dārimī collected in his *Sunan* a number of traditions disapproving of the use of *raʾy* and *ḳiyās* in cases in which neither the Ḳurʾān nor *sunna* settle the problem (*Introduction*, *bāb* 16, 21). Among traditions we may mention that which traces the origin of the use of *ḳiyās* to Iblīs (cf. Sūra vii. 11).

On the other side, the supporters of *ḳiyās* rely on the ḥadīth which tells how Muḥammad when he sent Muʿādh b. Djabal to the Yemen as ḳāḍī, asked him "How will you decide when a question arises"? He replied: "According to the Book of Allāh". — "And if you do not find the answer in the Book of Allāh?" — "Then according to the *sunna* of the Messenger of Allāh and if you do not find the answer neither in the *sunna* nor in the Book?" — "Then I shall come to a decision according to my own opinion (*adjtahidu raʾyī*) without hesitation". Then the Messenger of Allāh slapped Muʿādh on the chest with his hand saying: "Praise be to Allāh who has led the messenger of the Messenger of Allāh to an answer that pleased him" (Abū Dāʾūd, *Aḳḍiya*, b. 11; Tirmidhī, *Aḥkām*, b. 3; Dārimī, *Introduction*).

In spite of the opposition already mentioned, *ḳiyās* has found its place among the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. In some traditions (Nasāʾī, *Ādāb al-Ḳuḍāt*, b. 11) there is mention not only of the *Ḳurʾān* and *sunna*, but also of the "usage of pious individuals" (*al-Ṣāliḥūn*) taking precedence of *ḳiyās* among the *uṣūl*. "The usage of pious individuals" has taken the place usually accorded to *idjmāʿ* [q. v.] which is the third "root", *ḳiyās* occupying the last place.

Although it is admitted, *ḳiyās* is nevertheless surrounded by restrictions. Here are some examples. The opponents of *ḳiyās* quote Sūra iv. 62 "and if there are differences of opinion between you and your chiefs, try to settle them, relying on Allāh and his Messenger". "Allāh and his Messenger", according to them, means Ḳurʾān and *Sunna*. The verse therefore passes over *ḳiyās* in silence. Baiḍāwī replies to this objection "Settling the differences by referring them to the texts is done by *tamthīl* (see below) and by deduction" i. e. by *ḳiyās*.

This verse has given rise to a full exposition of the limitations of *ḳiyās* on the part of the commentator Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who lays down the rule that Ḳurʾān and *sunna* have precedence absolutely over *ḳiyās*. Only when it is impossible to use these "roots", the use of *ḳiyās* is permissible, cf. the tradition about Muʿādh (translated above) and the example of Iblīs, who argued instead of obeying the commandment of Allāh (see above). The text of the Ḳurʾān is established by *tawātur*, while *ḳiyās* is only *maẓnūn* and following one's *ẓann* (individual opinion) is what the *kuffār* do (cf. Sūra x. 67). If traditions require to be verified by the sacred text, *ḳiyās* does still more so. The Ḳurʾān is the word of Allāh, while *ḳiyās* is the work of the feeble intelligence of man.

See also the articles FIKH, SHARĪʿA and UṢŪL.

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ĶIZ, in Turkish, "girl"; the word is common to most dialects (Radloff, *Opit*, ii., col. 818); it is also found in the Orkhon inscriptions where *ḳiz-oghlï* "daughter" is opposed to *urï oghlï* "son" (W. Thomsen, I., E., 7, p. 99).

Ḳiz-ḳulesi, the "maiden's tower", is the name given to an old tower now surmounted by a lighthouse, built on a rock at the entrance to the Bosphorus, between Scutari and Ḥaider-pasha. Europeans wrongly call it "Leander's Tower", erroneously applying to it the legend of Hero and Leander, the scene of which is properly the

Straits of the Dardanelles. *Ḳiz-tashi* is the name given to Marcian's column at Constantinople, because this ancient monument was credited with the power of distinguishing virgins from others (Galland, *Journal*, ed. Schefer, ii. 125).

Ḳizlar Aghasi, "the Aga of the maidens", a title borne among the Ottomans by the chief black eunuch, the negro supervisor of the Imperial Harem. His official title was *dār ül-saʿādet al-sherife aghasi*, "the Aga of the noble Gate of felicity". He was entitled to be called *dewlet-lü ʿinâyet-lü* and "Highness". In the *Sūr-nāme* he appeared at the head of the officials of the *Mā-bain*, with the rank of *mushir* (marshal). (Cl. Huart)

ḲIZIL AḤMADLI. [See isfandiyār oghlu.]

ḲIZIL ARSLĀN, ʿOthmān b. Ildegiz, an Atābeg of Ādharbāidjān. His father, the Atābeg Ildegiz [q. v.], had been the real ruler in the whole Seldjūḳ empire. Ḳizil Arslān's mother was the widow of Sulṭān Toghril I and mother of Sulṭān Arslān b. Toghril [q. v.]. When Ildegiz died in 568 (1172), he was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Pahlawān; in 570 (1174—1175) the latter besieged Marāgha while Ḳizil Arslān advanced on Tabrīz and when the lord of these two towns, the Ḳāḍī Ṣadr al-Dīn, entered into negotiations and declared his willingness to give up Tabrīz, Muḥammad Pahlawān declared himself satisfied and gave the town over to his brother Ḳizil Arslān. In the beginning of 582 (1186), or according to another statement as early as Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 581 (Feb.–March 1186), Muḥammad Pahlawān died and Ḳizil Arslān took over the government. Muḥammad Pahlawān had been on good terms with Sulṭān Toghrul II who had long before succeeded his father Arslān. But Toghril was treated almost like a prisoner by Ḳizil Arslān. When he fled from Hamadhān to Semnān, Ḳizil Arslān pursued him and overtook him near Dāmaghān but had to retire after a desperate battle. While the Sulṭān returned to Hamadhān, Ḳizil Arslān appealed to the Caliph al-Nāṣir who promised to help him and sent his vizier Djalāl al-Dīn ʿUbaid Allāh b. Yūnus against Toghril. ʿUbaid Allāh was however defeated in the beginning of Rabīʿ I, 584 (May 1188) and the Sulṭān threatened Ādharbāidjān. Ḳizil Arslān then again occupied Hamadhān and had Sindjar b. Sulaimān Shāh (or b. Malik Shāh) proclaimed Sulṭān, while his nephew Ḳutlugh Ināndj b. Muḥammad Pahlawān rebelled in Iṣfahān. Ḳutlugh was soon driven out by Toghril but when he was pursued and an encounter took place fortune did not favour Toghril and he had to return to Hamadhān which Ḳizil Arslān had in the meanwhile abandoned. The latter then suddenly appeared on the scene, captured Toghril and interned him in the fortress of Kahrān in Ādharbāidjān, and then by arrangement with the Caliph set aside his protégé Sindjar and assumed the title of Sulṭān himself. But in the night before his coronation, or according to another authority, some time after it, he was murdered. This took place in Shaʿbān 587 (Aug.–Sept. 1191) or according to others in Shawwāl (Oct.–Nov.) of the same year; but see Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, *Acta orient.*, iii. 143. The murderer was never identified.

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(K. V. Zettersteen)

ḲIZIL-BĀSH (t. "Red Head"), the name given by the Turks to the confederation of seven Turkoman tribes, Ustādjlu, Shāmlu, Tekelü, Bahārlu, Dhu 'l-Ḳadr, Ḳadjar and Afshār, who placed the shaikhs of Ardabīl on the throne of Persia and helped Shāh Ismāʿīl to found the dynasty of the Ṣafawids [q. v.]. The latter had given them as a head-dress the red turban worn by the disciples of his ancestors.

This name was taken by J. Morier for the title of one of his novels, *The Kuzzilbash, a tale of Khurasan*, 3 vols., London 1828, the period of which is the reign of Nādir-Shāh.

The name of a religious sect found throughout Asia Minor and regarded as Shīʿī by the Muslims; it is closely connected with the Nuṣairīs of Syria. Its adepts call themselves ʿAlawī, i. e. followers of ʿAlī. Some are Kurds; the others are for the most part Turks and only speak Turkish. Unlike the Muslims, they do not shave the head and let their beards grow freely; they do not observe the canonical prayers (*ṣalāt*) or ablutions. They drink wine and do not observe Ramaḍān. They fast for the first twelve days of Muḥarram and lament the deaths of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. ʿAlī is an incarnation of God who had already manifested himself in other incarnations, such as Jesus. God is one in three persons; below him are five archangels, intermediary between the divinity and man, twelve ministers and forty saints. They have a reverence for the Virgin Mary and recite litanies in her honour. They celebrate a service during the night. The priest who officiates sings prayers in honour of ʿAlī, Jesus, Moses and David, accompanying himself on musical instruments. He holds in his hand a willow wand which he steeps in water; this consecrated water is then distributed among the houses. During the ceremony those present publicly confess their sins; the priest imposes penances, such as fines in money or kind. The lights are then extinguished (hence the Turkish expression *čerāgh-sönderen*, "extinguisher of torches", by which they are popularly known) and they abandon themselves to lamentations and weeping for their sins. The lights are again lit; the priest pronounces the absolution (which may be refused, at least for a certain time); he takes pieces of bread and a cup of wine or similar liquid and after consecrating it steeps the bread in the wine and distributes it among those present. Those whose neighbours cannot report favourably upon them are excluded from it. Among the Kurds a sheep is also sacrificed and its flesh is distributed at the same time as the bread and wine.

They have a hierarchy at the head of which are two patriarchs regarded as descendants of ʿAlī and invested with divine power; one of them is the Shaikh of Khubyār near Siwās, who lives in a *tekke* built in the wilds. He is recognised as Ṣūfī Shaikh by the government. Below him are bishops and at the bottom of the hierarchy, priests (*dede*), intermediaries between God and man. The Ḳizil-bāsh observe several Christian festivals, Easter, which falls on the same Sunday as that of the

Armenians, preceded by a week's fast, and that of St. Sergius celebrated on February 9[th]. They do not permit divorce. Like the Muslims they have a religious veneration for certain trees; they reverence the sun, moon and the sources of rivers. Their principal sanctuaries are the *tekke* of Khubyār, those of Sewidji, Pīr Sulṭān-Ḳ Vālidjak and Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh. Their religion seems to consist of survivals of pagan beliefs mixed with forms of Christianity covered by a cloak of Islām. They seem to number over a million (Kurds of Dersim, Malaṭya, Terdjān, Erzindjān, part of the wilāyets of Siwās and Bitlis, Turks of the wilāyets of Ma'mūret al-'Azīz, Siwās and Angora).

In Afghānistān, the name is given to immigrants of Turkoman stock who form with the Tādjīk and Hindkī the principal representatives of the bourgeois class; they came from Persia in the train of Nādir Shāh who settled them in Kābul and several other towns as garrisons. They keep themselves aloof from the rest of the population; at Kābul the court and government officials are recruited from them; at Herāt they are engaged in commerce and industry. They speak Persian, while using Turkish among themselves. Their number is put at 75,000.

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(CL. HUART)

ĶIZIL-IRMĀĶ (T. "Red River"), the ancient Halys (Ἅλυς), Alys (Ἄλυς), the largest river in Asia Minor. It rises in the mountains which separate the wilāyet of Siwās from that of Erzerūm, waters the towns of Zarra (4,530 feet high) and Siwās (4,160 feet high), then enters the province of Angora where it meets the mountain of Ardjish and the Ḳodja Dāgh range which force it to make an immense detour of over 160 miles. Its course is at first south-east, then it turns northwards, and finally it reaches the Black Sea below Bāfrā in the middle of marshes. It is nearly 600 miles long. Its waters of a dark yellow when they are in flood diminish enormously in the summer; its bed is wide and its banks high. Its principal tributaries on the right are the Khān-ṣūyu and the Delidje-Čāi; those on the left are the Ṣārīmsāķ-Čāi which flows by Ḳaiṣariye, the Dewrek-Čāi from Ṭosia, the Gök-Irmāķ which comes from the Ilghās-Dāgh (the ancient Olgassus) and waters the town of Ḳasṭamūnī [q. v.]. — According to Strabo (xii. 561), the river Halys (Ἅλυς) took its name from the mines of rocksalt, the produce of which was exported in the form of large blocks; these mines thirty miles to the north of Yūzghād near the village of Ṣārī-Ḳāmish, are worked among the red sandstone, covered with clay and marl of a reddish colour; this soil washed down by the heavy rains gives the river a reddish colour, whence its name.

In ancient times, this river marked the boundary between the autochthonous peoples of Asia and those who had come from Europe to colonise the country. Herodotos (i. 72) makes it a frontier between Lydia and Media. It seems to have been known to the Arabs by its ancient name, if it is it that is referred to by the name *Alīs* in a verse of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, iii., text, p. 45, transl. p. 109, gives by mistake "Alous", an error reproduced by Defrémery, *Mémoires d'Histoire Orientale*, ii. p. 221).

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(CL. HUART)

ĶIZIL-ĶUM (T. "Red Sand"), a desert between the Sīr-Daryā and the Āmū-Daryā, cf. above, p. 741, ĶARA-ĶUM. The country is less uniform, especially in the central part, than in the Ḳarā-Ḳum; the desert is crossed by several ranges of hills. The Ḳizil-Ḳum becomes more and more inhospitable as one goes southwards. The region called Adam-Ḳirilghan ("where man perishes") between the Āmū-Daryā and the cultivated region of Bukhārā consisting of sandhills (*barkhān*) is considered especially uninviting and dangerous. In the summer there is absolutely no life in the desert, in the winter a few springs are visited by the Ḳirgīz (Ḳazaķ). In the middle ages also, we are told, a campaign could be conducted from Djend against Khwārizm i. e. through the Ḳizil-Ḳum in winter only when the desert was covered with snow (Baihaķī, ed. Morley, p. 858 *sq.*). As usual, the desert sands are encroaching on the cultivated lands as a result of the nomad life of the inhabitants and the resulting destruction of the scanty supply of wood. In the second half of the xix[th] century several villages on the lower course of the Zarafshān have become buried in sand.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

ĶIZIL-ÜZEN (in Turkish *üzen*, "Red River"), the ancient Amardus, a river which flows through Ādharbāidjān and enters the Caspian Sea, forty miles east of Enzeli, after having received the Persian name of Sefīd-Rūd, "White River", at its junction with the river Shāh-Rūd at Mendjīl. Its source lies in the province of Ardilān, and it begins by crossing 'Irāķ-'adjamī to the north; its right bank tributary is the Zendjān, on the left it receives the Ḳara-gül at Miyāne, then it runs along the southern slopes of Elburz, describing a great arc 125 miles long and crosses this range through the defile of Rūdbār and the narrow valley of Rustam-ābād, a kind of couloir through which rush violent winds from the south in winter and from the Caspian in summer. It was known to the Arabs as Nahr al-Abyaḍ "White River" (transl. of the Persian *Sefīd-Rūd*); cf. Dimashķī, *Cosmography*, transl. Mehren, p. 145; at one time the Turks called it the Hūlān (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 304).

Bibliography: A. Chodzko, *Popular Poetry of Persia*, p. 479, N[o]. 2; Fr. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, i. 75 *sqq.*; Rawlinson, *J. G. R. S.*, x. 64; Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, ii. 98; H. L. Rabino, in *R. M. M.*, xxxii., 1915—1916, p. 262—263; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 169; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 1915, p. 217; M. de Kotzebue, *Voyage en Perse*, Fr. transl., Paris 1819, p. 186 (view of the bridge of Kaplān-ṭāgh as frontispiece); Fr. Sarre, *Reise von Ardebil nach Zendschan* (*Petermann's Mitteilungen*, xlv., 1899, p. 215—217).

(CL. HUART)

ĶOČ ḤIṢĀR, the name of several places in Asia Minor. The meaning — if it is not

simply a corruption of Ḳodja Ḥiṣār — is "castle of the ram" and it may be compared with proper names like Ḳoyun Ḥiṣār, Toḳlu Ḥiṣār, Keči Ḥiṣār.

1. Ḳoč Ḥiṣār in the sandjaḳ of Kanghri is a little town on the Dewrek Čai, twenty-five miles north of the town of Kanghri. It is on the high road from Constantinople to Boli, Amasia and Erzerūm, between Ḳaradja Wīrān and Ṭosia. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, this Ḳoč Ḥiṣār was captured by ʿOthmān in 708 (1308) and completely ruined, but this statement is not confirmed by any of the old Turkish chronicles. The country of Ḳasṭamūnī must at this time have still been under the dynasty of Isfendiyār-Oghlu. In the xviith century there was a fort outside the town.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 646, 673; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥet-nāme*, ii. 178; iii. 251; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 37, 16; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xviii. 406; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924, i., plate 26.

2. Ḳoč Ḥiṣār, a little town, the capital of a *ḳaḍā* in the sandjaḳ of Ḳonya ninety miles north-east of Ḳonya and 115 miles east of Ḳaisariya on the eastern shore of the great salt lake called Ṭuz Gölü in the central plateau of Asia Minor. The town surrounded by gardens and vineyards is an oasis in the great steppe; it lies on the unfrequented road from Angora to Aḳ-sarāy. A little is done in weaving kelims and sadjdjādas there: the *ḳaḍā* used to be called Eshkeshan.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 620; Ewliyā Čelebi, iii. 194; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xviii. 63, 970; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3715; i. 755.

3. Ḳoč Ḥiṣār, a little town, capital of a *ḳaḍā* on the right bank of the Ḳizil Irmāḳ [q. v.], 20 miles north-east of Sīwās on the road from Sīwās to Zārā and Erzerūm. The ruins of an ancient encircling wall still exist and in the neighbourhood are many artificial caves, dating from a very remote epoch.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 627; Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, ii., plate 36; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 695.

4. Ḳoč Ḥiṣār, a village ten miles south of Mārdīn, famous for the battle fought in 1515 between the Turkish General Biyiḳlī Muḥammad Pasha and the Persians under Ḳara Khān (cf. selīm I). The earliest Turkish historians do not mention the place in connection with the battle. Munedjdjim Bashī, iii. 460, calls the scene of it Eski Ḳoč Ḥiṣār.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3716; von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reich.*, ii. 433.

(J. H. Kramers)

ḲOČI BEG, also called Gūrīdjali Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Beg, the historian of the decline of the Ottoman empire.

Ḳoči Beg belonged to Gorča (Koryiza) in Macedonia (Greece, cf. H. Gelzer, *Vom Hl. Berg und aus Makedonien*, [Leipzig 1904], 201 *sqq.*) and was therefore probably of Albanian descent. Other statements, which as a rule make him a native of Gümüldjina are wrong. He came when still young to Constantinople, was brought up in the Serai and in the service of the Sulṭāns Aḥmed I to Murād IV. He was in particular favour with the latter, whose trusted adviser he became. In this capacity he wrote for his sovereign the famous treatise, *Risāle-i Ḳoči Beg*, in which with ruthless frankness he exposed the causes of the decline of the Ottoman empire. He finds the main reason for increasing decay in the neglect of and breaches of the old principles of the constitution. Ḳoči Beg, the Montesquieu of the Ottomans, gave an excellent political and statistical exposition of the decline of Turkey as a world power in his memoir, which clearly reveals all the disorders that had entered the body politic from Murād III to Murād IV. The document composed in 1040 (1630) did not receive special attention till a later period. It has been several times printed, first edition Stambul 1277 = 1860 (cf. *J. A.*, 1863, ii. 231, Nº. 134), and without place (London), edited by Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha 1279, 8°., 32 pp. and Stambul, 1303, 8°. 124 pp. — W. F. A. Behrnauer published a German translation in *Z.D.M.G.*, xv., 1861, 272 *sqq.* (cf. also *Z.D.M.G.*, xi. 111, and xvi. 271) and J. Thúry a briefly Hungarian one in *Török történetirók*, vol. ii., 1896, p. 406 *sqq.*, Budapest, 1896. The book entitled *Canon de Sultan Suleiman II, représenté à Sultan Mourad IV pour son instruction, traduit du turc en françois par M* [= Pétis de la Croix], Paris 1725, 12°, is said to contain a French translation. A Russian translation with Turkish text was given by Vasilij Dmitrievič Smirnov in *Kočubegj Gümüldžinskij (!) i drugie osmanskie pisateli XVII. věka*, St. Petersburg 1873. Ḳoči Beg according to the *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv. 63 presumably following Naʿīmā, composed for Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (1640/1648) a further treatise, *Risāle*, probably of a similar nature. He was the teacher of the great Ottoman historian Naʿīmā [q. v.]; he died at the beginning of the reign of Sulṭān Meḥmed IV (1648/1687) and is said to be buried in his native town. His brother **Khurrem Beg** is said to have fled to Russia and to have become a Christian there.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv. 63; J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv. 334, *sqq.*, v. 291 (with a good, succinct summary of the contents of the *Risāle-i Ḳoči Beg*); Behrnauer in *Z.D.M.G.*, *loc. cit.*; Brusali Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî Müʾellifleri*, iii. 119 *sq.* (with interesting notes on the family); Pertsch, *Berl. Türk. Hss.*, 244 *sq.* Nº. 215; Flügel, *Wiener Kat.*, ii. 255, Nº. 1045.

(Franz Babinger)

ḲODJA ILI, the name of a sandjaḳ in the old territorial division of the Ottoman empire. This sandjaḳ covered the north-west part of Bithynia, including the whole of the shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia. In the north it was bounded by the Black Sea, in the east by the Bosphorus and the Gulf of Nicomedia, in the south by the sandjaḳ of Brusa and in the east by that of Boli; on this side the Saḳaria forms the natural boundary but in the administrative division the eastern bank of this river was included in the sandjaḳ. The name Ḳodja Ili is connected with Aḳče Ḳodja, the famous *ghāzī* and companion-in-arms of ʿOthmān. In the last years of the latter's reign, Aḳče Ḳodja and his companions such as Ḳara Mursal had made *ghazā* into this territory and thus paved the way for the conquest of Iznikmid and other towns by Orkhān after his accession. When the town of Iznikmid fell into the hands of the Turks (c. 730 = 1329: the date is uncertain cf. izmid), Aḳče Ḳodja was already dead but Ḳodja Ili was given as a fief to his comrades-in-arms who had to defend the territory from the Greeks. Sulaimān

Pasha, son of Orkhān, was given the sandjaḳ of the newly acquired territory. The descendants of these feudal frontier-guards were still to be found at a later period in the country.

In the xvii[th] century Ḳodja Ili, along with Bigha, formed part of the *eyālet* of the Ḳapudan Pasha and the west bank of the Bosphorus was under the direct administration of Constantinople. In the centuries following, Ḳodja Ili was incorporated in the *eyālet* of Khudāwandigiār. After 1867 the old name was abandoned for that of the capital Ismid and in 1888 this territory became an independent *muteṣarrifliḳ* directly under the Minister of the Interior. A large area along the eastern shore of the Bosphorus was at this time included in the *wilāyet* of Constantinople. This *muteṣarrifliḳ* had five *ḳaḍā* (Ismid, Kara Mursal, Ada Bazar, Ḳandere, Geiwe); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa enumerates 19 of them.

Bibliography: ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 39; *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese, p. 13, 14; *Die früh-osmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, ed. Babinger, Hanover 1925, p. 16, 89; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Constantinople 1279, i. 34; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 661, 662; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3714; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv., p. 303 *sqq*. 371. (J. H. Kramers)

KŌH (P.), mountain; cf. the following compounds.

KŌH-I BĀBĀ, Kōh-i Bubuk, Kōh-i Mālik Siyāh, Kōh-i Safīd, Kōh-i Siyāh, Kōh-i Taftān. The dominant mountain system of Afghānistān is the Hindū-Kush, and the huge extension westwards which consists of the Kōh-i Bābā to the west of Kābul and of the double range divided and drained by the Harī Rūd River flowing due west towards and past Herāt. The southern component of this double range is the Kōh-i Safīd; the northern chain is called successively from east to west the Paropamisus, the Kōh-i Bubuk, and the Kōh-i Siyāh. The Safīd Kōh is also the name of the important range which divides the valley of Djalālābād on the Kābul River from the Kurram Valley and the Afrīdī Tīrāh. The altitude of its highest peak Sikārām is 15,600 feet.

Kōh-i Taftān is the name given to the system of parallel ranges on the Persian side of the western border of Balūčistān; they attain an extreme height of 13,500 feet and extend northwestwards into the Kōh-i Mālik Siyāh, lying to the west of the Sīstān basin.

The culminating peaks of the Kōh-i Bābā overlook the sources of the principal rivers of Afghānistān — the Harī Rūd, Helmand and the Kābul River — and nearly reach 17,000 feet (height of Shāh Fuladi: 16,870 feet). This range is a part of the continental divide of Asia, high, rugged, desolate, and almost pathless. Sir Thomas Holdich in *The Gates of India* describes it as a rolling, barren tableland, wrinkled and intersected by narrow mountain ranges whose peaks run to 13,000 and 14,000 feet in altitude. The winter is long and severe and the range is then impassable; the sparse Mongol population live a life of hard privation. The Harī Rūd flows due west to Herāt through a deep, narrow trench bounded north and south by the straight flat-backed ranges already named. These chains gradually decrease in elevation till they run out into the Persian plains towards Mashhad.

The central Afghān highlands are practically unexplored.

Bibliography: See s. v. AFGHĀNISTĀN. (R. B. Whitehead)

KŌH-I-NŪR, a diamond, now weighing $106^{1}/_{16}$ carats, but originally much larger; the early history of it is obscure, and authorities are not agreed as to whether it may be identified with the diamond mentioned by Bābur in his Memoirs; but about 1656 it was presented by Mīr Djumla [q. v.] to the Mughal emperor, Shāh Djahān, and was seen in 1665 by Tavernier in the treasury of Awrangzīb; in 1739 it was carried off to Persia by Nādir Shāh, who gave it the name it now bears. Nādir Shāh's grandson, Shāh Rukh, gave it in 1751 to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, whose grandson, Shāh Shudjāʿ, when in exile in Lāhōr in 1813, had to surrender it to Mahārādjā Randjīt Singh. On his death-bed in 1839, Randjīt Singh is said to have expressed a wish that the diamond should be sent to the temple of Djagannāth, in Orissa, but it remained in Lāhōr until the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849 by the East India Company, who presented it to Queen Victoria.

Bibliography: E. W. Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, chap. xi., London 1882; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, transl. by V. Ball, Appendix i., London 1889; N. S. Maskelyne, *The Koh-i-Nur* (*Nature*, vol. xliv., 555 *sq*.), London 1891. (T. W. Arnold)

KŌHĀT, the central district of the North-West Frontier Province of British India, lying between Peshāwar and Bannū, with the river Indus as its eastern boundary. The district is a broken hilly tract and the area is 2,694 square miles. As a whole it lies at an elevation of about 2,000 feet; the rainfall is very capricious, the average annual fall at the town of Kōhāt, the administrative headquarters, being 18.6 inches. There are three taḥṣīls, Kōhāt, Tari and Hangū. The tract is divided between the Bangash and Khaṭak branches of the Paṭhān race, the Bangash occupying the Mīrānzai valley and the western portion of the district, while the Khaṭaks are found on the eastern side down to the Indus. The total population at the 1921 census was 214,123, and the language commonly spoken is Pashto. The only town is Kōhāt; the district contains the military outposts of Thal and Fort Lockhart. A large and increasing trade with Tīrāh and Kābul passes through by the Khushḥālgarh–Kōhāt–Thal railway; imports and exports, apart from this through-traffic, are small, with the exception of salt which is the chief export. The thickness of the rock-salt at Bahādur Khel exceeds one thousand feet, perhaps the greatest amount of exposed salt in the world.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India. Provincial Series. North-West Frontier Province*, Calcutta 1908, p. 167 *sqq*. (R. B. Whitehead)

ḲOHRŪD, arabicised form of *Kōh-rūd*, "river of the mountain", a village seventy-five miles from Iṣfahān on the road from Kāshān [q. v.] in a valley in the midst of trees and orchards. The col which separates the two slopes of the mountain is here; Oliver St. John in 1871 from this applied the name to the chain of mountains which separates ʿIrāḳ-ʿAdjamī from Fārs and stretches into Balūčistān (chief peaks: Shīr-kūh

south of Yazd c. 12,000 feet high and Hazār-kūh south of Kirmān c. 13,500 feet high).

Bibliography: de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, p. 235; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, *G. M. S.*, xxiii., p. 67, 184; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 209.

(Cl. Huart)

K'ŌL. [See K'OY.]

KÖKBÜRI, Abū Saʿīd Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Begtegin, lord of Irbil, the most celebrated of the Begteginids. Kökbüri was born in Muḥarram 549 (April 1154) and was 14 when his father died. Although he was older than his brother Yūsuf, the Atābeg Mudjāhid al-Dīn Ḳaimaz succeeded in obtaining the succession of the latter to the throne under his guardianship, whereupon Kökbüri left Irbil and went first to Baghdād and then to al-Mawṣil. Here he was welcomed by the Zangid Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī b. Mawdūd, who took him into his service. Later Saif al-Dīn, or according to another statement, his brother and successor ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd granted him the town of Ḥarrān as a fief. As a faithful follower of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn he received from him Edessa in 578 (1182/1183) and later also Sumaisāṭ. In 582 (1185) he was imprisoned by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on an old charge but soon released again because the latter feared that the people of Mesopotamia would desert him, if he dealt too harshly with Kökbüri. After Yūsuf's death in 586 (Oct. 1190) Kökbüri received Irbil and Shahrazūr in exchange for his former possessions, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave to his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn ʿOmar. As Kökbüri left no family he willed his lands to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mustanṣir. He died in Ramaḍān 630 (June 1233). See also the articles BEGTEGINIDS and IRBIL.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N°. 558, transl. by de Slane, ii. 535; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi., xii., passim; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 387, 390, 390, 438, 449, 468; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 165.

(K. V. Zetterstéen)

KOKČA. [See BADAKHSHĀN, i. 552b].

ḲŪMIS, a province in Persia, the *Kωμισηνή* of the ancients (Polybius, *Excerpta*, x. 25) between ʿIrāḳ-ʿAdjamī, Khorāsān and Ṭabaristān; capital Dāmaghān; other towns Bisṭām and Biyār; the canton of Semnān is sometimes included in it. Through it passes the trade-route between Raiy (and now Ṭeherān) and Khorāsān. Muḳaddasī (p. 353) places it in the Dailam country. Industry flourished there; *kisā'* were made there, woollen blankets used both as cloaks and for beds (Dozy, *Dict. des noms des vêtements*, p. 383) which were exported abroad, cotton handkerchiefs with embroidered designs, small and large, single or double (*mawādjidj, muḥashshāt*), sometimes of the value of 2,000 dirhams; muslins for hanging down on the shoulders from turbans (*ṭailasān*) and fine woollen robes (Muḳaddasī, p. 367). In the time of the Seleucids and Arsacids it formed one of the six divisions into which the ancient satrapy of Parthiene was divided; it included the old capital of the Parthians, Hecatompyle, identified with Dāmaghān; it was the property of the family of Mihrān.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 203 (Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 464); Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie*, transl. Reinaud and de Slane, *B. G. A.*, i. p. 457; Iṣṭakhrī, p. 206, 210; Ibn-Ḥawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 271; Mehren, *Cosmography*, p. 250 (Qoumish); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 364 *sqq.*; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 71.

(Cl. Huart)

ḲONAḲ, a Turkish word (derived from *ḳon*, "to settle, to establish oneself", reflexive from *ḳo*, "to place"), meant at first a hostelry (Meninski), a caravanserai and then by extension of meaning a relay, a stage, the distance at the end of which one stops to spend the night; later it acquired the sense of large house, hotel, palace; the term is commonly applied to the mansion of the governor of a province, or the place where the administrative offices are installed (in Eastern Arabic, *sarāya*, from the Pers. *serāy*).

(Cl. Huart)

KONG, the word Kong is a corruption of *Kpon*, the native name for a place in the north of the present French colony of the Ivory Coast, near the watershed between the basin of the Comoe and that of the Nzi, a tributary of the Bandama.

The town was founded at a comparatively early date by some Senufo of the tribe called Falafala, who still retain rights over the soil but except for this privilege are now of very little importance. These Senufo were and have remained pagans.

From the xvth or xvith century onwards a number of Muslims who claim to be of Sarakolle origin, known by the name of Dyula, which they say is their real name, and speaking a dialect of the Mandingo language, settled in small groups in the region of Kong where they devoted themselves mainly to commerce. According to their traditions they came from Māsina and had founded several settlements on their way, notably one where now stands the town of Bobo-Dyulaso. At first these Dyula had no political influence in the country. Favourably received by the native Senufo to whom they brought an element of prosperity by their experience of the world and commercial aptitude, they gradually acquired an undisputed influence.

Towards the end of the xviiith century a chief of one of their factions called Sēku Watara seized by force the village of Kpon or Kong and made it the capital of a state which was not long in incorporating all the country between Bobo-Dyulaso in the north and the outskirts of the dense forest in the south, but did not go beyond the Comoe in the east or the Bandama in the west. The different provinces of the kingdom were governed through Dyula chiefs the majority of whom resided at Kong beside the sovereign, while others lived among the Senufo tribes who had become their vassals.

The kingdom of Kong does not seem to have played any considerable military part beyond its territorial limits, the Dyula being in general little warlike in disposition. But its influence was great both at home and abroad, not only from the political point of view but also as regards the development of civilisation. The old village of the Falafala had been transformed by Sēku Watara and his successors into a regular town, which had about 15,000 inhabitants when it was visited in 1888 by the explorer Binger. It was at once an important commercial centre and a focus of Muslim culture, the influence of which was felt in the

neighbouring provinces, especially in the south in the districts of Gimini and Dyammala. Alongside the wretched huts of the Senufo the Dyula had built houses with pylons and terraces in the style called Sudanese, resembling those of Dyenne and Timbuktu, and five mosques with double pyramidal minarets dominated the different quarters of the town. The number of literates, able to read intelligently and write Arabic correctly was relatively high. A well supplied market attracted to the town people from outside it and weaving, dyeing, and basket-making were busy industries.

The fame of Kong was wide spread in the Nigerian Sudan. Mungo Park heard of it on his first voyage in Africa revealed its existence and name to Europe and at the same time, relying on inaccurate information, gave currency to the idea of an important chain of mountains called mountains of Kong, alleged to lie near this town. In reality, the range of which he had heard is over 200 miles to the south-west of Kong and forms the extremity of the eastern branch of the massif of Futa-Djallon.

The first European to reach Kong and bring back an accurate report on the region was the French explorer Binger. Coming from Ramako, he reached Kong on February 20, 1888 and stayed there till March 11. In December of the same year Treich-Laplène, resident de France aux Etablissements de la Côte d'Or (now Colonie de Côte d'Ivoire) arrived in Kong, coming from the south via Bonduku and persuaded the king Karamoko-Ule Watara and his dignitaries to accept an agreement placing the State of Kong under a French protectorate. This treaty was signed on January 10, 1889 in the presence of M. Binger who had rejoined Treich-Laplène at Kong five days before. M. Binger at the head of a mission, which included three other Frenchmen, again visited Kong in 1892.

Two years later Captain Marchand went there and learned that the town was threatened by the conquering Samori. The latter, at war with the French, had informed the king and the notables of Kong that they had to submit to him. Karamoko-Ule had replied to this ultimatum with soft words and the despatch of a kind of tribute. Nevertheless he desired to remain faithful to the treaty concluded with France and he begged Captain Marchand to get the French government to send troops to protect his kingdom from Samori. This is how it came about that an expedition called the Kong column was concentrated at Great Bassam in August 1894 and sent under Lt. Col. Monteil from the Ivory Coast. Its advance was hampered by the hostility of the tribes of Baulé, a land south of Kong. Encountering Samori's army in March 1895, with his effectives much reduced, Lt.-Col. Monteil was obliged to retire without inflicting a decisive defeat on the enemy or being able to advance as far as Kong.

Once freed from the French offensive, Samori wished to punish Kong for having provoked it and decided on the gradual and systematic destruction of the town. The king, the notables and the greater part of the population fled to Bobo-Dyulaso, the remainder were massacred or reduced to slavery. The mosques were razed to the ground, the houses pillaged and set on fire and in 1896 there were only a few ruins left of the once great and wealthy town. The kingdom of which it had been the capital, broken up and dismembered, was annexed by Samori who had made his capital at Dabakala in the province of Gimini, SS. E. of Kong.

In January 1898 a detachment of French troops coming from the north occupied the site of the town and built a station there. This was besieged a little later by bands of Samori's soldiers and relieved at the end of February by Commandant Caudrelier. It was then that Samori left the district to take refuge on the Bandama and later fled to the south-west. He was taken prisoner soon afterwards on September 29, 1898 near the Liberian frontier by Captains Gouraud and Gaden.

Once peace was restored to the country, the French authorities endeavoured to bring back the people of Kong to their town and to make them rebuild their houses. Karamoko-Ule had died in the meanwhile. His successor agreed to return to Kong with several Dyula families and there gradually arose on the ruins of the ancient town, beside the French station, new houses some in the Sudanese style like the old ones, others of humbler style, simple huts with thatched roofs. A market was built and a mosque. But the majority of the survivors of the old population of Kong preferred to remain at Bobo-Dyulaso or in its vicinity and although it is slowly growing, the new town of Kong had only 3,000 inhabitants in 1925. The ancient kingdom however has been gradually restored and is administered as before under the suzerainty of a prince of the Watara family through Dyula chiefs, called chiefs of districts. But it is under the authority of the French administrator; the suzerainty of the prince is only nominal and the native Senufo tribes actually enjoy an independence such as they never had under the old regime.

Bibliography: Cap. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi*, Paris 1892, Chap. vi. and xiii. and end of appendix v.; M. Monnier, *France Noire*, Paris 1894, Chap. ix., x. and xi.; A. Mévil, *Samory*, Paris n. d. [1899], Chap. viii. and x.; Salvan, *Cercle de Dabakala*, p. 423—467 of *La Côte d'Ivoire*, publication of the Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Paris 1906.

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

ḲONYA (the ancient Iconium), a town in Asia Minor on the railway from Baghdād, the capital of the province of the same name, in a barren plain. It is 5,000 feet above sea level; of its 44,000 inhabitants, 39,3000 are Muslims, 1,500 Greeks, 3,000 Armenians, 50 Protestants, 150 Catholics. The streets are broad and unpaved. The houses are built of terre pisée, except public and special buildings, 44 mosques, 147 mesdjids, 5 libraries, 42 medreses, the Greek church, the Armenian church, 68 schools, 7 caravanserais and 8 baths; the exports are wheat, barley, maize, cotton and Angora wool; saltpetre and tobacco (manufactures of the state). It was formerly the capital of the Seldjūḳs of Rūm of whom monuments still survive. It was girt with walls by 'Alā' al-Dīn Kai-Ḳubād I and the stones of these walls have been used in the erection of modern buildings. Texier and von Moltke were still able to record that 108 towers of the walls were still standing. Ruins still exist of the palace of the Seldjūḳs and of the citadel (610 = 1213/1214). The mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn begun by 'Izz al-Dīn Kai-Kā'ūs I in 616 (1219–1220) and finished in 617 (1220–1221) by an architect of Damascus, Muḥammad b.

Khawlān; in front of it is the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kai-Khusraw I built by the architect Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār and containing a *minbar* in black wood adorned with arabesques, the work of an artist from Akhlāṭ, made in (550/1155). The college of Ḳaraṭai is adorned with faïence (649–1251/1252); the medrese called *Indje minareli*, "with the slender minaret", has been recently destroyed by an earthquake; mausoleums of Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 673 = 1274), of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī surnamed Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā (d. in 684 = 1285) who was minister of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kai-Khusraw III, and of Shams al-Dīn Ṭabrīzī. We may also mention the *Sirča-li medrese* "college of glass" of 640 (1242/1243) and some monuments of the time of the Ḳaramān dynasty. The tomb of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [q. v.] and of all his successors, the grandmasters of the Mawlawiya order, down to the present day is surmounted by a cupola in the form of a pyramid in eight tiers covered with tiles in blue enamel. A few remains of the Roman period are collected in the *bezestān* or "cloth market", and lions called Phrygian but probably Hittite.

The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa spent a week there in the reign of Ḳilidj Arslān II (May 18–26, 1190) a fortnight before he perished in the waters of the Calycadnus. It was the scene of a victory of Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, over the Ottomans (December 21, 1832). A kind of apricots called *ḳamar al-dīn* is grown there of which a tart called by the same name is made, as at Damascus; a kind of blue flower called *bāgh ilāyi*, "flower of the vineyard", is used to dye cloth blue. Lime water is obtained from the springs at Merām one hour's journey to the west (gardens and promenades at the foot of the mountains), which improves by being matured in jars.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv., 204; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa *Djihān-numā*, p. 615; ʿAlī Djawād, *Djeghrāfiyā Lughāti*, p. 643; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v. 3781; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ii, 281; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1882, p. 661; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 818; Cl. Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897, p. 132 *sqq.*, 158, 169, 183 (drawings and photogravures); Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, p. 28 *sqq.* and Pl. xvi—xxx. (photographs). (Cl. Huart)

KOPAK, a Persian and Transoxiana coin. *Kopaki dīnārs* are mentioned in the *Sharafnāma* (the life of Tīmūr), and Bābur (*Memoirs*, *G. M. S.*, p. 185) speaks of 300 tomān Kopakī (see also P. de Courteille's transl. i. 420). P. de la Croise, as quoted by Quatremère (*N. E.*, xiv. 74, n.) says that dinārs copghies are gold ducats worth 7.10 French money. See also Tavernier, *Hobson-Jobson*, and Murray's *English Dict.*, s. v. Copeck. Though the Transoxiana and Persian Kopak was a gold coin, the word may still be etymologically identical with the Russian Copeck, just as *dīnār* and *denarius* degenerated from being gold and became silver coins. (H. Beveridge)

KÖPRÜ (in Turkish "bridge"; East. Turkī: *Köprük*) also called Vezir-Köprü, "the vizier's bridge" (from the famous grandvizier Köprülü Muḥammad Pasha, of Albanian origin; see below KÖPRÜLÜ), capital of a ḳaẓā in the sandjaḳ of Amasia in the province of Siwās on the river Astawolus, a tributary on the right of the Ḳizil-Irmāḳ; it has 8,600 inhabitants, mainly Muslims, 17 mosques, 2 libraries, one of which is a waḳf founded by Köprülü-zāde Fāḍil-pasha, 6 medreses, numerous charitable buildings erected by Köprülü Muḥammad Pasha, 6 caravanserais, five baths, and three dervish monasteries. The houses are covered with red tiles and the chimney tops have a metal cap like the minarets of Turkish mosques. It contains the palace of al-Ḥādjdjī Yūsuf-agha and in the citadel, the mosque of the same; monasteries of the Ḳādiriya and and Khalwetiya dervishes; eleven caravanserais, two ʿimārets (poor kitchens) and eight schools. The best baths are those of Aḥmad Pasha. The Bezestan (central market) was built by Yūsuf-agha. The ports of the town are Bafra and Sinope on the Black Sea; a road suitable for vehicular traffic connects it with Ṣamsūn.

Köprü-ṣuyu is the name of a river which rises in the Tawshān-Dāgh and flows into the Ḳizil-Irmāḳ [q. v.] near Vezir-Köprü. It is also the name borne by the ancient Eurymedon which flows into the Mediterranean sea in the Gulf of Adalia; at its mouth is the little town of Köprü-bāzār.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djawād, *Djeghrāfiyā Lughāti*, p. 687; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3905; Ewliyā Efendi, *Travels*, transl. v. Hammer, ii. 217. (Cl. Huart)

KÖPRÜ ḤIṢĀR, "fortress of the bridge", a village in the province of Khudāwandigiār in Asia Minor on the Čürük-ṣū near Yeñi-Shehir. It was the site of a Byzantine castle taken by Sulṭān ʿOthmān in 688 (1289) after the capture of Biledjik where he slew his uncle Dündār by shooting him with an arrow.

Bibliography: Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, v. 3906; J. de Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, transl. Fr. de Hellert, i. 87—89; Cl. Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1897, p. 18 (view of the bridge). (Cl. Huart)

KÖPRÜLÜ, a family of Ottoman viziers. This celebrated family which provided the Ottoman empire with its most prominent statesmen at the period of its commencement of decline, was probably of Albanian origin. In his *Mémoires, contenant diverses relations très curieuses de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris 1684), Sieur de la Croix says the founder of the family was the son of a Greek or Arab priest, a statement adopted by L. von Ranke. It is more probable that the ancestor of the family was an Albanian who migrated in the xvith century from his native district to the town of Köprü Merzifūn in Anatolia. Köprü, now usually called Wezir Köprü, was at this time an important settlement, which had a long history (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, 625, 4 infra and 628, 9, where *Kede ghora* [= *Kara kedr* in J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 3] is given as the old name and also Ewliyā, *Seyāḥetnāme*, ii. 399), and only began to lose its importance at a later date (cf. M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, London 1818, p. 298). Near it lies Tashköprü which gave their name to the famous family of scholars, the Tashköprüzāde. To distinguish it from the latter Köprü was later renamed Wezir Köprü in honour of the Köprülü family. Here Meḥmed Köprülü, the grandson of this Albanian immigrant, was born, the first to make the family name famous and widely known. The number of important men who came from this family is not small. A certain Bahdjat Ḥusain (of Raigrad, d. 1094 [1683] at

Belgrade) composed a *Ta'rīkh-i Silsile-i Köprülü*, a history of this family, the original manuscript of which is in the Köprülü Library in Stambul (N°. 212). It contains details of the ancestry of the Köprülüs. Among the most important members of the family are the following:

1. Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, grandvizier of Turkey, or better, administrator of the Empire, born it is said in 991 (1583), died November 1, 1661 at Adrianople. In his youth he was a humble scullion and then cook in the Imperial palace; entering the service of the grandvizier Khosraw Pasha, he became his purse-bearer and then rose to be chief marshall in the service of the grandvizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [q. v.], a native of Merzifūn. He then rose steadily up the ladder of the higher offices of state. As a pasha of two tails (*tugh*) he was appointed governor of Damascus, Jerusalem and Tripolis and in 1061 (1651) became vizier of the cupola. Soon afterwards however he was granted the unimportant *sandjaḳ* of Küstendil and retired in chagrin to his native town. After a brief imprisonment at the hands of the rebel Wardār 'Alī Pasha against whom he had taken the field, he was liberated by the grandvizier Ipshir Pasha and appointed by him governor of Tripolis. Before he had entered upon the duties of the office he was deprived of it and retired again to Köprü. Then the grandvizier Meḥmed Pasha, "with the crooked neck" (*egri boyunu*) took him to Stambul where he was soon to become his most dangerous rival. By Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 3, 1066 (September 22, 1656) he had received the seal of the empire. He attacked religious zealots with great energy (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 5 *sq.*), had the ringleaders in previous risings executed without mercy and purified public life. In reorganising the shattered finances of the State, he was incorruptible and inexorable and in doing this made many enemies. He renewed the courage and lowered national feeling of the Ottoman people and endeavoured to revive the ancient glory of the Ottoman arms by a war with the Venetians. He fought in the Dardanelles in 1067 (1657) with Admiral L. Mocenigo, a battle which ended in the loss of the Ottoman fleet and the capture of the Venetian flagship. Meḥmed Pasha endeavoured to compensate for this by the conquest of Tenedos and Lemnos; and in the following year 1068 (1657) Transylvania was conquered. He next turned his attention to Persia where he occupied the town of Yanowa, then suppressed threatening risings in Northern Syria and in Egypt, built the new fortresses on the Dardanelles (cf. the article ḲAL'A-I SULṬĀNIYA) and planned fortifications for the frontiers generally (cf. J. von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 86 *sq.*). He succeeded in considerably enriching the state treasury. Before his death on 7th Rabī' I, 1072 (October 31, 1661) he recommended on his deathbed to the Sulṭān his 26 year old son Aḥmad as his successor in the grandvizierate. He was interred behind the School of Tradition beside the burned pillar.

A brother-in-law of Meḥmed Pasha was Khiḍir-zāde Muṣṭafā Pasha (died 1074 = 1663; cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 397), whose son the chief marshall Khiḍir-zāde 'Alī Bey was executed in 1114 (1702) (cf. Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, i. 261, and J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 49). From them was descended the literary historian Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād Bey, born 1306 = 1890 (cf. on the genealogy of 'Alī Emīrī in *'Othmānli Ta'rīkh we-Edebiyāt Medjmū'asi* of 30th vi. [p. 79 *sqq.*] and 31st viii., 1334 [1918] [p. 116 *sqq.*] and M. Hartmann, *Dichter der neuen Türkei*, Berlin 1919, p. 91 *sqq.*)

Bibliography: the histories by Na'īmā, J. v. Hammer, Zinkeisen, and especially Sir Paul Rycaut and Richard Knolles, also Andrea Valiero, *Historia della guerra di Candia*, Venice 1679, 527 (where it is stated, as in G. Brusoni, *Historia dell' ultima guerra trà Veneziani e Turchi*, Venice 1673, i. 292, that Meḥmed Köprülü was a *renegato Perugino di casa Ferretti*); the historical novel *Histoire des Grands Visirs Mahomet Coprogli Pacha et Ahmet Coprogli Pacha, celle des trois derniers Grands Seigneurs* etc. etc., Paris 1676, is quite fictitious (where for the first time we have the oft repeated fable that Meḥmed Köprülü was of French origin); M. Brosch, *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Grossvezire*, Gotha 1899; L. v. Ranke, *Die Osmanen und die spanische Monarchie*[4], Leipzig 1877, p. 74 *sqq.* (brilliant summing up of the personality of Meḥmed Pasha); 'Othmānzāde Aḥmad Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat ül-Wüzerā*, p. 104 *sqq.*; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 173 *sq.*; Aḥmad Rafīḳ, *Köprülüler*, Stambul 1331, 1 part, 143 p.

II. Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Aḥmad Pasha, son of the preceding, Ottoman grandvizier, born 1045 (1635) at Wezīr Köprü, died 26th Sha'bān 1087 (October 30, 1676) near Adrianople. Meḥmed is said to have been unable to read and write, therefore he wished his son to become a scholar. The young Aḥmad, while still a child, was entrusted to the famous historian and later Shaikh al-Islām Ḳara Čelebi 'Abd al-'Azīz [q. v.], became his *mulāzim* and when only 16, held the office of a *mudarris* in the mosque of Meḥmed the Conqueror. For ten years he had held this position before he decided to enter the civil service. Three years before his father's death he went as governor to Erzerum and in the following year to Damascus in the same capacity. From here he conducted a successful campaign against the Druses (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 93) but in consequence of his aged father's increasing dropsy he was recalled by the Sulṭān to the capital where he was given the rank of *ḳā'im maḳām* after an audience with the Sulṭān. On 7th Rabī' 1072 (October 30, 1661) he was given the imperial seal immediately his father died. He was then only 26. For fifteen years he filled the office of grandvizier with ability and strength and far surpassed his father in education and statesmanship. He undertook numerous campaigns during his tenure of office. His first was against Hungary, when he took Neuhäusel (Ujvár, September 29, 1663), besieged several fortresses, rased Zerinvár to the ground and finally suffered a severe reverse at St. Gotthard on the Raab on August 1, 1664 at the hands of Count Montecuccoli. At the end of May 1667 the Cretan war was begun which he conducted in person and ended with the occupation of Candia at the beginning of October 1669. Shortly before then he had placed two of his brothers-in-law in the two most important offices in the empire: Ḳaplan Muṣṭafā Pasha was made Grand Admiral (*Ḳapudān Pasha*, q. v.) while Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [q. v.] had been appointed *ḳā'im-maḳām* in the imperial camp (J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 227). The

Ḳapudān Pasha Saiyid Meḥmed Pasha is mentioned as a third brother-in-law (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 323) whether rightly or not is uncertain.

In the summer of 1672 (1083) he turned his attention to **Poland** and took Kamieniec Podolsk after a several days' siege, celebrated by the poet Nābī, on 3rd Djumādā I, 1083 (August 27, 1672). On the other hand the grandvizier lost the next battle, that of **Chotin** (Polish: Chocim, Turk.: Chotin); the fortress was lost in November 1673 (Radjab 1084); Aḥmad Pasha had to take to flight. While he was able to make up for the loss of the battle of St. Gotthard by a satisfactory peace of Vasvár (August 10, 1664), he had to prepare for a new war the next year, which ended with the recapture of Chotin and the taking of Ladyczyn. On the way to the imperial camp, Fāḍil Aḥmad Pasha died after eighteen days' illness on 22nd Shaʿbān 1087 (October 30, 1676) at the farm-place of Ḳara Bīñar near the bridge of Erkene (between Burghas and Adrianople). The body was brought to Stambul and he was buried beside his father. His early death is said to have been caused by over-indulgence in spirits and to dropsy caused thereby (cf. Pétis de la Croix, *Etat général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1695, ii. 81). As early as the siege of Candia he had been liable to epileptic fits, and already looked a tired old man, weary of life. He afterwards indulged in all kinds of vices, surrounded himself with women (he is said to have had 80 wives, including slaves) and liked to drink Polish brandy which the doctors had prescribed for him.

Aḥmad Pasha certainly surpassed his father in intellect and intelligence and still more in his love for the arts and sciences, which he encouraged even when in the field. In Stambul he founded a comprehensive **library** (cf. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii. 488) which is still in existence (*Catalogue, Defter*, 248 *sqq.*, 4°, n.d.) as a monument to his fame. His seal-bearer Ḥasan wrote his life under the title *Djawāhir al-Akhbār* and his campaigns were several times celebrated in verse and prose (cf. F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 211 *sqq.*). Contemporary European writers are unanimous in praising the sound judgment and keen penetrating intellect of this distinguished statesman.

Bibliography: the above mentioned **historians** and M. Brosch, *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire*, Gotha 1899; L. v. Ranke, *Die Osmanen* etc., Leipzig 1877, 75 *sqq.*; ʿOthmānzāde Aḥmad Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ül-Wüzerā*, 106 *sqq.*; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i. 222; Aḥmad Rafīḳ, *Köprülüler*, ii., Stambul 1331, 156 p.; Barozzi-Berchet, *Relazioni degli stati Europei*, ii. part (of which the *relazioni* of the *bailo* **Nani** are specially important); J. Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, London 1893 (C. describes him as a small bearded man with large eyes and a round face; cf. p. 195, 206, 267); J. Chardin, *Voyages*, i. 81 *sq.*, 87 (according to whom he limped, cf. Covel, p. 206); Sir Paul Rycaut, *Present state of the Ottoman Empire*, 135 *sqq.*; C. Magni, *Quanto di più curioso, e vago ha potuto raccorre* etc., Parma 1679, 465, 479 *sqq.*; Antonio Geropoldi, *Bilancio historico-politico dell' Impero Ottomano*, Venice 1686, 139 *sqq.* (to be used with caution).

III. **Köprülüzāde Muṣṭafā Pasha**, son of I and brother of II. He was born in 1047 (1637), the second son of Meḥmed Pasha. He was appointed vizier of the cupola in Djumādā II, 1091 (July 1680) and became successively *muḥāfiẓ* (commandant of a fortress) of Bender, Silistria, Baba Dagh, the Dardanelles, Chios, etc., then in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1098 (October 1687) was appointed the grand vizier's deputy (*ḳāʾimmaḳām*) and ultimately received the seal of the empire on 24th Muḥarram 1101 (November 7, 1689) after once again being *muḥāfiẓ* of the Dardanelles and of Candia. He was by this time 52 and was reputed to be a strict observer of the laws of Islām and an enemy of the Christians. His mind inclined more to learning than to military affairs. *Questo gran vesiro*, says a contemporary Italian *relazione*, *è un altro mufti interno, nemico del vino, nemico dei Christiani, zelante della sua fede, huomo scrupuloso, scarmo, bruno e brutto, stimato per un santone e dottore della sua legge, politico ma non ha nessuna pratica di guerra* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 547) which gives a very clear idea of his character and qualities. His aim was to make the grand vizier as independent as possible, wherefore he reduced the number of viziers of the cupola and dismissed officials whom he did not like. His wise measures to improve the finances of the State, such as publicly farming out the tobacco tax and regulating the currency, showed his clear insight into the needs of the kingdom. He had the superfluous silver of the imperial palace melted down and gave his own to the mint, contenting himself with pewter. In the summer of 1690, he went with the army against Serbia, recaptured Belgrade (October 18, 1690), took Essegg (Hung. Eszék) and fell on September 19, 1691 before Slankamen, near Belgrade. His body was not found. Like his brother he was called the virtuous, *Fāḍil*. He was a distinguished statesman, who clearly recognised the needs of his day and therefore introduced various innovations, the correctness of which time proved.

Bibliography: the historians mentioned and: ʿOthmānzāde Aḥmad Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ül-Wüzerā*, 116 *sqq.*; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv. 406 *sq.*

IV. **Köprülüzāde Ḥusain Pasha**, nephew of I, **Ottoman grandvizier**, usually called *ʿAmūdjazāde*, i. e. paternal nephew. Ḥusain Pasha was a son of *kičeri* (i. e. little) Ḥasan Agha, a brother of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha and had the opportunity of being trained for public life among his cousins. He filled the offices of grand admiral (*Ḳapudān Pasha*) and of governor of Chios. Entrusted with the defence of Belgrade in the summer of 1108 (1696), he attracted the attention of the Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II by his wise counsels and was promoted by him from the governorship of Belgrade on 1st Rabīʿ I 1108 (Sept. 17, 1697) to the grandvizierate (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 641 *sq.*). He proved an advocate of a moderate and peaceful policy and his first important act was to conclude the peace of Carlowitz on Jan. 26, 1699 with Austria, Russia, Poland and Venice. This peace restored to Austria almost all she had lost to the Porte since 1526 and formed the basis of later agreements between Austria and Turkey. Ḥusain Pasha was also the friend of learned men and poets to whom he often gave liberal and handsome gifts. Like his cousin, he tried to improve the treasury, the army and the fleet and notably to lighten the lot of the Christians by

reducing and remitting the poll-tax (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 44). He founded a large number of buildings for pious purposes, for example mosques in Stambul, Adrianople, Gradisca, and Lepanto, built schools, colleges, waterworks and wells of all kinds (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 47 *sqq.*). The execution of his cousin by Ḳiblelizāde ʿAlī Beg, because of a secret passion, it is said (cf. Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, i. 261; the story in Kantemir's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Hamburg 1745, p. 618 *sqq.*, is quite absurd) affected him deeply. An incurable disease finally forced him to tender his resignation, which was accepted 12th Rabīʿ II, 1114 (Sept. 5, 1702). He retired to his estate on the heights of Baluḳ Tepe near Adrianople and died almost immediately afterwards at his country house near Siliwri on 29th Rabīʿ II, 1114 (September 22, 1702). He was buried in a special tomb on the "Saddlers' market" in Stambul.

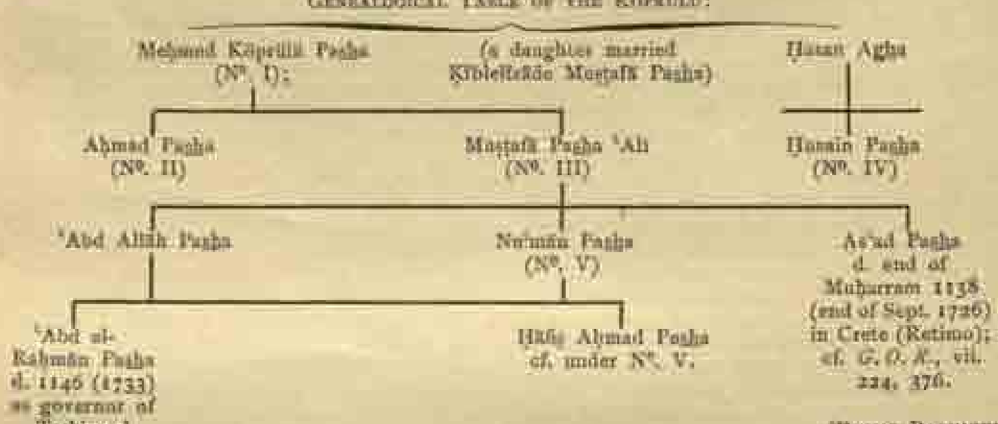
Bibliography: The historians above mentioned and: ʿOthmānzāde Aḥmad Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ül-Wüzerā*, p. 124 *sqq.*; Rāmiz Pashazāde Meḥmed ʿIzzet, *Kharīṭa-i ḳapudanān-i daryā*, Stambul 1285, 75 *sqq.*; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii. 202.

V. Köprülüzāde Nuʿmān Pasha, son of III, Ottoman grandvizier. He began his career by filling several governorships (Erzerum, Anatolia, Negropontc, Candia), became commandant of the Dardanelles, then again governor of Candia, Negroponte, Bosnia and Belgrade. He married ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān, daughter of Muṣṭafā II (June 1710; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 145) and immediately afterwards was appointed grand-vizier. His period of office did not in any way confirm the hopes that had been placed upon him on all sides as saviour of the empire. He opposed a war with Russia to assist the king of Sweden, was disgraced and on Aug. 18, 1710 sent back to Negroponte as governor. He later became governor in succession of Candia, Bosnia and Belgrade, Cyprus, Il-eli, Menteshe [q. v.] and finally died after a busy life on 7th Rabīʿ I, 1131 (Jan. 21, 1719) after a fever in Crete. His son was the *nishāndji bashi* and later several times governor (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 115, 153, 185, 264). Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pasha, the last Köprülüzāde mentioned in Turkish history as holding a public office. He died in 1183 (1769) as governor of Cairo. On him and on his descendants see *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i. 262 *sq.*

Bibliography: Dilāwerzāde ʿOmar, *Dhail* on the *Ḥadīḳat ül-Wüzerā*, p. 12 *sqq.*; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv. 586 *sq.*

The following genealogical table may help to show the connections between the various bearers of the name Köprülü (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 623):

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KÖPRÜLÜ:



(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲOPUZ (T.), a musical instrument, a kind of guitar with one string which the bards of Central Asia used to accompany their songs. The body of it was made out of a gourd.

Bibliography: Köprülü-zāde, Meḥemed Fuʾād, *Ilk mutaṣawwifler*, Constantinople 1919, p. 13; Aḥmad Wafīḳ Pasha, *Lehdje-i ʿothmānī*, ii. 933; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. turc-français*, ii. 498, 540; Radloff, *Opit*, i. 654, 662; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk oriental*, p. 422; Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughāt-i djaghatāi*, p. 231.

(CL. HUART)

KÖR OGHLŪ (T., "son of the blind man"), the hero of a popular romance in prose mingled with verse of which there are Persian and Turkish recensions. He was, it is said, a Turkoman of the Tekke tribe named Rūshān son of Mīrzā Serrāf who lived in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās II (1051—1077 = 1641—1666). He was born in the north of Khorāsān and lived there in the second half of the xvii[th] century of our era. In the valley of Salmās (Ādharbaidjān) are still shown the ruins of the castle of Čamli-bel built by him. He used to plunder the caravans on the road from Turkey to Persia via Erzerūm and Khoi. He is the national hero of the nomad tribes of Persia of Turkoman origin. Poetical versions of the story of his exploits are sung at the festivals to the accompaniment of music. His horse Ḳirāt shares his fame; the song lamenting his death is considered one of the beautiful elegies in existence. Nomadic singers called "ʿāshiḳ", "lovers", sometimes accompanied by jugglers and rope-dancers wander through the towns, villages and encampments of Transcaucasia and Ādharbaidjān and recite this epic in sections called *madjlis* or "seances". They are known as *Kör-oghlū-khwān* "reciters of Kör-oghlū". The Turkish recension puts the scene

of Kör-oghlū's exploits in Asia Minor, locating them around Boli (the ancient Claudiopolis in the province of Kastamūnī).

His name is derived from the fact that the lord of the district (in the Persian version, Sulṭān Murād, sovereign of a part of Turkestān and in the Turkish the Dere-beyi of Boli), furious at seeing that the head of his stables, the father of our hero, sent by him to pick the best out of the horses brought to him in tribute, had chosen a thin one, had his eyes gouged out. The area of the adventures of Kör-oghlū in the Persian version is very extensive for it includes successively Khorāsān, Ādharbāidjān, Eriwān, Nakhčewān, Anatolia, Kars, Syria, and Egypt. The Turkish version does not go beyond the district of Boli.

Bibliography: A. Chodzko, *Popular Poetry of Persia*, p. 3—344; I. Szamatolski, in *Aus türkischer Volks- und Kunstdichtung*, Berlin 1913, p. 8—26. (CL. HUART)

KORĀ, an ancient decayed town, situated at 26° 7' N. and 80° 22' E. on the old royal road from Āgra to Allahabad (Ilāhābād), now in the Fatḥpūr District of the United Provinces of British India. Under the Sulṭāns of Dihlī it was the capital of a province, and in Akbar's time it was the head-quarters of a *sarkār* in the *ṣūbah* of Allahabad.

A copper coin of Akbar is known of Korā mint. The place was also a mint-town of the later Mughal emperors from the time of Rafīʿ al-Daradjāt onwards.

Bibliography: *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad 1906, vol. xx., p. 154, 157—158, 251 *sqq*. (R. B. WHITEHEAD)

KORAH. (See ḲĀRŪN).

KORAN, the, (*al-Ḳurʾān*), the sacred book of the Muḥammadans contains the collected revelations of Muḥammad in a form fixed by committal to writing.

1. Even among Muslims there is no unanimity regarding the pronunciation, derivation and meaning of the word. Some pronounced it Ḳurān without hamza and saw in it a proper noun not occurring elsewhere, like *tawrāt* and *indjīl* or they derived it from *ḳarana*, to tie together. Others rightly began with *ḳurʾān* with hamza and explained it either as an infinitive in the sense of a past participle or as an adjective from *ḳaraʾa*, to collect. It is really very easy to see an infinitive in it as it occurs as such in Sūra lxxv. 17 (cf. Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, s. v.) The exact meaning must be sought in the usage of the Ḳurʾān itself where the verb *ḳaraʾa* frequently occurs. In Sūra xvii. 95 it certainly stands for "to read", but the most frequent meaning is rather "to recite, to discourse", which does not necessarily pre-suppose a written text. Thus Allāh says, lxxv. 17: "Move not thy tongue too quickly with it for it behoves us to collect and recite it". Similarly the word is used of Muḥammad who recites the revelations made to him, xvi. 100; xvii. 47; vii. 203; lxxxiv. 21; cf. the 4th form in lxxxvii. 6 or of the believers when they recite the revelations at prayer, lxxiii. 20. Cf. also, "if thou mentionest thy Lord, the unique, *fi 'l-ḳurʾāni* in reading aloud", xvii. 49. We thus come to the meaning, lecture, discourse, what is uttered, i. e. what Muḥammad heard from Allāh and repeated ("follow our recital", lxxv. 18; "We enable thee to repeat so that thou mayest not forget", lxxxvii. 6), and then later uttered before men. Schwally, Wellhausen, *Z.D.M.G.*, 67, 634; Horovitz, *Der Islam*, xiii. 67, on the other hand see in it a Syriac or Hebrew loanword *ḳeryānā*, *ḳiryānā* (lectio, reading, or what is read) and they rightly insist that *ḳaraʾa* is not genuine Arabic with the meaning "to read". We should have to imagine that Allāh actually read to the Prophet out of the heavenly book, but even then the further use of the word is no easier explained. It is in any case quite absurd for E. Meyer to explain the Ḳurʾān as a book read by Muḥammad, somewhat after the fashion of Joseph Smith, for the heavenly book, the contents of which were communicated to him, was really a concealed book and he heard the voice of Allāh and read nothing (xcvi. 1 notwithstanding). It was rather the case that the Ḳurʾān was first made intelligible to him by Allāh making it into an Arabic Ḳurʾān, i. e. translating it into Arabic.

The word is not found in the Ḳurʾān itself in the above sense of "collected revelations in written form" because they were only collected after the death of the Prophet. It is used either for the separate revelations which were made one by one to the Prophet (e. g. x. 16; xii. 3; lxxii. 1; cf. ii. 181, the Ḳurʾān sent down in Ramaḍān) or as a general term for the divine revelation which was sent down piece by piece (xvii. 107; xx. 1; lxxvi. 23; cf. xxv. 34; lix. 21) which he received from Allāh (xxvii. 6) so that he could communicate it to men (xxviii. 85).

The term *al-Kitāb* (the scripture or the book) is used as an alternative of Ḳurʾān. They often appear to be synonymous. The "scripture" is also sent down (e. g. xl. 1; xlv. 1; in "a blessed night", xliv. 1, i. e. like the Ḳurʾān of a single revelation). It is said in xv. 1, "these are the miraculous tokens (*āyāt*) of the scripture and of a perspicuous scripture", and in xxvii. 1, "these are the miraculous tokens of the Ḳurʾān and of a perspicuous scripture". On further consideration however there is a distinction between the two expressions. When we read xii. 1, "These are the miraculous tokens of the perspicuous scripture and we have sent them down as the Arabic Ḳurʾān", cf. xx. 112, or "we have made the perspicuous scripture into an Arabic Ḳurʾān", xliii. 1 *sq*., or, when the Ḳurʾān is called (x. 38) an exposition of the scripture of the Lord of Heaven, it is evident that *al-Kitāb* is the more comprehensive term and that it is "Ḳurʾān" in so far as its contents are revealed in a way intelligible to man. It was not the heavenly book itself that was sent down to Muḥammad, but portions of its contents in an Arabic form, and for this the word Ḳurʾān is used.

From its contents the Ḳurʾān is frequently called *Dhikr*, a word of several meanings, which in this case means admonition, warning, xxi. 24, 45; xxxviii. 87 etc. The *dhikr* also is sent down, xv. 6; xxi. 51; xxviii. 7 and is called "a noble scripture" in xli. 41; cf. "This is an admonition and a perspicuous Ḳurʾān" xxxvi. 69. How the conceptions flowed into one another is seen in xxi. 7, where the "people of a scripture" (*Ahl al-Kitāb*) are called on one occasion *Ahl al-Dhikr*. *Al-Ḥikma* the wisdom, may be mentioned here as it is not only associated with the scripture in ii. 123, 146; iii. 158; lxii. 2, but in ii. 231; iv. 113, there is a reference to its being

sent down, and in xxxiii. 34 to its recitation. On the loanword *furḳān* see that article. A term peculiar to the Ḳur'ān, the origin and original meaning of which is still obscure, is *Sūra*. It is used only for the separate revelations, while Ḳur'ān has sometimes a more comprehensive sense and is found in the Mecca as well as the Medina sections; for further details see the article SŪRA.

Smaller sections of the Ḳur'ān were called *āya*, plural *āyāt*. It means properly, like the related Hebrew word *ōt*, token, token of belief (ii. 249; iii. 36; xxvi. 197); and especially a token of Allāh's existence and controlling power, xli. 105; xxxvi. 33, etc., hence often "miracle" (iii. 43; xliii. 45 *sqq.*), and gives a very instructive glimpse into Muḥammad's ideas and consciousness. In Mecca the demand of his opponents that he should give proof by some miracle of his credibility as a messenger of Allāh caused him serious difficulties. The gift of performing miracles, possessed for example by Jesus, was denied him but the revelations offered him a very good substitute, of the divine origin of which he was firmly convinced (vi. 158; vii. 202; xx. 133; xxix. 49 *sq.*). They were the only convincing miracles and thus received the name *āyāt*. They were sent down from heaven (ii. 93; xxviii. 87) to the Prophet of Allāh (ii. 253; iii. 51; xlv. 5) and proclaimed by him to men (ii. 146; iii. 158; lxv. 1) as in former times by the Prophets (xxviii. 59): "Allāh proclaims his *āyāt*" (ii. 183); "the believers recite them in the night" (iii. 109); "the unbelievers dispute them" (xxix. 48, etc.) The only noteworthy point is that Muḥammad when he expresses himself more definitely does not use the word like *sūra* of the revelations but only of the smaller parts of which they consist; e.g. "a Sūra which we have sent down with perspicuous *āyāt*" (xxiv. 1), "a scripture which we have sent down so that they may reflect on its *āyāt*" (xxxviii. 28); "these are the *āyāt* of the wise scripture" (x. 1; xii. 1; xiii. 1; xxvi. 1; xxi. 1); "these are the *āyāt* of the Ḳur'ān and of a perspicuous scripture" (xxvii. 1; cf. xxvi. 1); "a scripture the *āyāt* of which are firmly linked together" (xi. 1; xli. 2) and especially "in the scripture are unambiguous *āyāt* and others which have several meanings" (iii. 5); and "if we abrogate an *āya* or consign it to oblivion, we put a better or a similar one in its place" (ii. 100); "if we exchange one *āya* for another", etc. (xvi. 103). Unfortunately one cannot see from such passages how large or small these component parts of the revelations were. Later scholars took them to be verses in the technical sense but this does not agree with xxx. 58 and other passages where the reference is clearly to divisions required by the sense without it being possible to define their length more exactly.

2. From what has already been said we can see how Muḥammad regarded the origin of his revelations. They came from heaven and were taken from a well-guarded tablet (lxxxv. 21), a concealed book only to be touched by the pure (lvi. 76), the "mother of the scripture" (the original scripture, xliii. 3; otherwise iii. 5). The book is called "an admonition on noble, lofty, pure leaves through the hands of noble scribes" (lxxx. 11 *sqq.*, cf. lii. 2, where Muḥammad swears by a scripture written on unrolled parchment, and lxi. 2: "by the reed-pen and what it writes", xcvi. 4 *sq.*: "with the reed-pen he taught men what they did not know"). The Prophet did not become acquainted with the whole of this book but only with isolated sections of it, which were given to him in Arabic dress: "Proclaim", it is said in xviii. 26, "what is communicated to thee of Allāh's scripture: no one may alter its words", and in iv. 162; xl. 78, he says expressly that Allāh told him of some of the Prophets but not of all. Nevertheless, we can obtain from the revelations given by Muḥammad an idea of the heavenly scripture, from which they are taken, for it is apparent that it contained a similar mixture of instruction dealing with the being of Allāh, the creation of the world and especially of man, good and evil spirits, the coming judgment, paradise and hell and the experiences of the older prophets, and in addition all sorts of regulations regarding the worship of Allāh, and the life of the community, including quite special laws (iv. 124, 126, 139; xxxiii. 6). The field of cosmology is touched on in the reference to the twelve months (ix. 36), the temptation of man by Satan in xxii. 4. But further perspectives are opened up when it is said that the heavenly book comprises all that has happened in the universe and will happen (x. 62; xxii. 69; xxvii. 77; xxxiv. 3; vi. 38, 59; xi. 8; cf. xx. 53 *sq.*; lv. 57; xxxv. 12; xvii. 60, etc.); even if the Muslims had remained in their houses at the battle of Uḥud, those who were destined to die would have been attracted to the places where they were to fall (iii. 148); (cf. my essay in the *Haupt-Festschrift*). The Ḳur'ān contains only a few and very obscure hints regarding the process of communication of the revelations; it is wrapped in a secrecy which Muḥammad either could not or would not illuminate. It is not from the Ḳur'ān but from reliable ḥadīths that we learn something about the half diseased ecstatic conditions, with which he was overcome (cf. the article MUḤAMMAD); the revelation lxxiii. 1; lxxiv. 1, at most might contain only a slight reference to them. The main thing was however, as already observed, not what he saw but what he heard, which is also emphasised in the descriptions of the visions (liii. 10; lxxxi. 19); that he had visions is evident from liii. 5 *sqq.*; lxxxi. 23 *sqq.* It was the voice of Allāh that with a few exceptions talked to him in the stereotyped "we" and stamped even what the Prophet had to say by a prefixed *ḳul* "say!" as a divine utterance. But he did not hear this divine voice directly — for this his conception of Allāh's superiority was too great — but through the intermediary of the "spirit" or of an angel, according to the later passage ii. 91, Gabriel. "The trustworthy spirit brought the revelation down into the heart of Muḥammad (xxvi. 192 *sq.*); "the spirit of holiness brought it down from Muḥammad's Lord with truth" (xvi. 104); "Allāh sends the angel down with the spirit of (? *min*) his word to whom He will" (xvi. 2); "The Lord of the throne sends the spirit of his word to whom he will of his servants so that he may admonish" (xl. 15); "We have revealed to thee a spirit of our word" (xlii 52), — all somewhat obscure expressions, which are not made any clearer by the fact that the spirit is in other passages (lxx. 4; lxxviii. 38; xcvii. 4) associated with the angels, but which at least show that the Prophet had formed some idea for himself of the

"How?" of the revelation. It is also certain that one particular revelation must have had decisive importance for him, without doubt the one by which a prophetic mission was imposed upon him. Ramaḍān was later chosen as the month of the fast because the Ḳur'ān was sent down in it (ii. 181): "the perspicuous scripture was sent down in a blessed night" (xliv. 2 *sqq.*), namely in the "night of all-power" in which the angels and the spirit at their Lord's command descended on account of every matter (to be settled) (xcvii. 1 *sqq.*) (Schaade proposes to read *ʿumamiyāt* — they bring down commands of all kinds) — apparently a late offshoot of the old Babylonian idea of a day on which the events of the year were settled. That Muḥammad was able to distinguish the words heard by him from his own thoughts is evident from xx. 113; lxxv. 16 *sqq.*; lxix. 44 *sqq.*; x. 16 *sq.*; vii. 202, just as it is in general certain that he was firmly convinced of the reality and truth of his revelations (see MUḤAMMAD). Like the earlier prophets (xx. 51) he had to fight with the whisperings of Satan (viii. 199; xxiii. 99; xli. 36) and that these sometimes endeavoured to mingle with the revelations seems to be indicated by xvi. 100. To protect himself from these he sought protection with Allāh, but a reliable tradition reports that at least once he allowed himself to be tempted by Satan to recognise the Meccan goddesses al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and al-Manāt to some extent. But he afterwards discovered his error, whereupon the revelation is said to have received the form now found in liii. 19 *sqq.*

It would certainly be wrong to identify those inspirations received under these mysterious conditions with what we now read in the Ḳur'ān. Even the oldest short Sūras which might have been heard by him in their present form very probably received their present form with rhymes etc., in a later recasting. At any rate this is evident in the later long sections, like the histories of the prophets or the reproductions of dialogues between Muḥammad and his opponents, where of course his answers can only be based on inspirations. An exact distinction between the auditions of the Prophet and their later formulation is however an impossibility, although it may be assumed that the former consisted essentially of fundamental ideas and suggestions which the Prophet afterwards developed.

3. A special feature of the revelations which much occupied Muḥammad himself and his opponents, was that they were communicated piecemeal, although they existed complete in the heavenly book (xvii. 107; lxxvi. 23): "The unbelievers say, why was the Ḳur'ān not sent down to him as a whole? We wished to strengthen thy heart thereby and we arranged it in this way" (xxv. 34). That the breaking up of the Ḳur'ān into small parts was in reality connected with the fact that the separate revelations were provoked in Mecca by the attacks of the opponents, in Medina by political and other conditions, was a fact Muḥammad did not clearly realise and yet this circumstance had a decisive influence on the form and contents of the Ḳur'ān. Its striking incompleteness is connected with this. Nowhere do we find an exhaustive treatment of the principles of belief or of laws but the Prophet as a rule goes quickly from one subject to another according as conditions demand. In the Ḳur'ān we thus find for example only a few scattered indications regarding the great pilgrimage so that it would not be possible to reconstruct the whole ceremony from the Ḳur'ān without the help of ḥadīths. In such cases one must always consider the possibility that ḥadīths antedate all sorts of later customs; and that this actually happened we see from the instructive example of the settling of the times of daily prayers. According to tradition, the angel Gabriel taught them to the Prophet; but the Ḳur'ān talks only of two obligatory periods of prayer, to which ii. 239 adds the afternoon prayer (cf. ṢALĀT); when there is mention of the five times of prayer in Muḥammad's letter to ʿAmr b. Ḥazm (Ibn Hishām 962), this is probably an indication of a later recasting of the text (cf. thereon Ibn Saʿd, iv., i. 159). That Muḥammad knew quite well that the full contents of the heavenly book had not been communicated to him is evident from the passages mentioned above, according to which Allāh had told him of some of the Prophets but not of others.

Of special significance for Muḥammad's own conception of the revelations is the distinction which he makes between them. Thus it is said in iii. 5 of the Ḳur'ān: "In it are unambiguous *āyāt* which are the mother of the scripture (its firm foundation, otherwise in lxiii. 3) and others which are ambiguous; those in whose hearts there is a tendency to err adhere to the ambiguous because they seek vexation and (arbitrary) exposition; yet no one knows the exposition except Allāh; but those who are strengthened in knowledge say we believe in it, everything comes from our Lord". The obscure passages which to the pain of the Prophet produced criticism and quarrelling, are ascribed to divine inspiration equally with the clear passages. But there are cases where the divine revelation not only abrogated principles of the earlier religions of revelation but even regulations which Muḥammad himself had proclaimed. How he reconciled this with the idea of an original scripture in heaven, the contents of which were revealed to him, is not easy to see, if he ever really reflected on the point at all; but in any case the idea itself that Allāh revoked and altered the announcements of His will caused him no difficulty. This is the doctrine, later thoroughly discussed by the theologians, of *nāsikh* and *mansūkh*, the abrogating and abrogated. There were special works on the subject, e.g. by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh b. Salāma (d. 410 = 1019) and ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir (d. 429 = 1038). The terminology goes back to ii. 100 where it is said with reference to the alteration of the direction of prayer, "if we abrogate an *āya* or consign it to oblivion, we offer something better than it or something of equal value"; cf. also xvi. 103: "if we put one *āya* in the place of another — and Allāh surely knows best what He sends down — they say 'thou art simply romancing'", but this verse may also refer to unintentional variations in the repetition of earlier pronouncements.

If Muḥammad did not have quite a clear conception of these points of view, he was all the more sensitive when the Meccans pointed out that his wisdom was communicated to him by mortal teachers, some of them foreigners (xvi. 105; xxv. 5 *sq.*; xliv. 13). His defence on this point is very weak and he really concedes the justice of the charge. What he learned in this way was probably

transformed into indubitable divine words when it re-echoed in his life of obscured mentality.

4. Among the most far-reaching of Muḥammad's conceptions is the idea that not only his mission but also the revelations of the earlier Prophets and the holy scriptures of the Jews and Christians were based on the original heavenly scripture so that they coincided in part with what he himself taught. The Ḳur'ān "was sent down in perspicuous Arabic language and it is in the scriptures of the ancients; is it not a sign that the learned men of the Jews knew it?" (xxvi. 195 *sq.*). The Ḳur'ān thus confirms what was earlier revealed (iii. 75; vi. 92; xxxv. 28; xlvi. 11, etc.). The law is given to Moses, the Gospel to Jesus, and in addition there is the Psalter which David received (iv. 161; xvii. 57). They all came out of the heavenly book and therefore the Jews and Christians are called *Ahl al-Kitāb*, the people of the (original) scripture. From such statements alone it can be seen that Muḥammad had no idea of the real contents of these books and that he can never have read them, so that it is labour lost to try to ascertain what is meant by the "leaves of Abraham", which are mentioned alongside of the leaves of Moses (liii. 37 *sqq.*; lxxxvii. 18 *sq.*), or the books which the Prophets brought according to xxxv. 23. The Ḳur'ān expressly confirms this position of the Prophet by the word *ummī* (from *umma*, like *laikos* from *laos*; according to Wensinck, *Acta Orientalia*, ii. 191, rather *ethnikos*, cf. however, ii. 73), i. e. a layman, who could not read the holy scriptures of the earlier religions of a revelation (ii. 73; iii. 19, 69). "Allāh has sent amongst the uninstructed a messenger from their midst, who proclaims his *āyāt* to them and teaches them the scripture and wisdom" (lxii. 2); "Thou didst not know what scripture or belief was" (xlii. 52; cf. xxix. 47). This idea of the essential identity of his teaching with the earlier books of revelation, is found all through the Meccan period and in Medina also he still adheres to it although with some modifications. He now regards the older religions in a more critical spirit and emphasises their differences from his own. The Jews only received a part of the "scripture" (iii. 22; iv. 47) and, what is more important, there are in their laws regulations which have only a limited validity like the observance of the Sabbath which is only binding on them (ii. 61; iv. 50, 153) or the forbidden foods which were intended as a punishment for the Jews (iv. 158; vi. 147; no doubt a medical interpolation; otherwise in v. 7). The main point however is that he defends himself against Jewish criticism by the assertion that in their scripture the Jews had forgotten (v. 16) or concealed (ii. 169), or actually corrupted all sorts of things. "They have perverted the words from their places" (iv. 48; v. 16, 45), and a similar charge is raised against the Christians because they worship Jesus as God and have introduced monasticism.

5. Although Muḥammad owed not only his general religious and moral ideas but certainly also the idea of God's revelation through prophets sent by Him to contact with Jews and Christians, or probably more correctly with the numerous sectarian offshoots of these religions settled in Arabia — his series of prophets, strange to Judaism proper, in which the regular prophets of the scriptures are lacking, recalls somewhat the Clementine writings for example — his teaching developed in the early period, not according to Biblical models but in the style of the pagan Arab soothsayers with their oracles, formulae for blessings and curses, etc. In the introductions to the oldest sūras, he swears by the most remarkable things, by the fig- and olive-tree and by Mount Sinai (xcv. 1), by the heavens and the signs of the Zodiac, by the dawn and by the ten nights, by the double and the single (lxxxix. 1 *sq.*) etc. He also uses a form found with these soothsayers which gives the older parts of the Ḳur'ān a distinctive character. While he rejects with indignation the assertion of his opponents that he is a poet (xxi. 5; xxxvii. 35; lii. 30; lxix. 41; cf. also the verdict of the poets xxvi. 224 *sqq.*) and his discourses really have nothing in common with the productions of Arabic poetry of the time, highly developed as regards language and rhythm, he used after the fashion of the soothsayers, rhymed prose, *sadj*ʿ, which consists in two or more short sections of the utterance being linked together by a rhyme. In view of the constant suffix forms and endings and wealth of the vocabulary of Arabic, such sentences can be formed without much trouble especially as the finer rules of the rhymes of poetry do not apply to *sadj*ʿ. Muḥammad also used the *sadj*ʿ form with great freedom, frequently repeated the same rhyming word and used "false" rhymes. In his later revelations he became still more negligent in their application (cf. the material collected by Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, 1905, p. 15 *sqq.*; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i. 36 *sqq.*) so that Muslim scholars assert, not quite without justice, that the Ḳur'ān is not composed in proper *sadj*ʿ. Nevertheless this form may be used with caution for critical excisions (e.g. lxxiv. 31—34; lxxxv. 10 *sq.*) or emendations (e. g. lxxiv. 43, *djaḥīm* for *saḳar*). Rhymed prose was of importance for the style of the Ḳur'ān as it enabled Muḥammad to use peculiar (e. g. xxxvii. 130; xcv. 2) or rare words (e.g. lxxiii. 18 *sq.*) or even had a definite influence on the contents (e. g. the nineteen angels lxxiv. 30, the eight, lxix. 17, the dual form, lv. 46 *sqq.* etc.). Among other artifices Muḥammad occasionally uses the refrain (e. g. sūra liv. and especially lv.) without however actually reaching a regular strophe formation. Among the rhetorical artifices may also be mentioned the frequent similes, as Muḥammad attributed a special value to them and reflects on Allāh's use of them (xiv. 30; xxiv. 35; xxix. 42; lix. 21; and notably ii. 24). The *amthāl* are as a rule simple comparisons which are not infrequently very effective and much to the point (e. g. xiii. 15, 18; xxiv. 39). In so far as they are taken from nature, it is made to appear in vii. 56; xiii. 18, as if Allāh had so formed the processes of nature as to express a moral lesson. In other cases the *amthāl* are taken from history, as warnings or inspirations (xiv. 47; xliii. 57; lxvi. 10 *sq.*); a remarkable simile is found in the "Light-Verse" (xxiv. 35) which is practically isolated in its strongly mystical colouring. On one occasion a simile is spun out into a regular parable (xviii. 31 *sqq.*), but it is rather spoiled by the confusion of the picture and the truth to be illustrated by it. That Muḥammad at any rate later heard something of the parables in the

Gospels is shown by xlviii. 29, from which however it can once more be seen that he possessed no real knowledge of the *New* Testament.

6. The language in which Muḥammad delivered his revelations was, according to the most natural assumption the Ḥidjāz dialect of the people of Mecca. The view put forward by Vollers that it was a purely popular speech, distinct from literary Arabic with its strict grammatical rules, so that the present text only came into existence as the result of a later revision, has been rightly refuted by R. Geyer and Nöldeke, as there is no support for it either in the oldest traditions nor in the evidence of language, although the inadequate reproduction in an alphabet of consonants does not exclude the possibility that the pronunciation on the lips of the Prophet may have offered all sorts of shades of variation. It might rather be asked whether Muḥammad may not have used the language in general use among poets; but this could only be settled if we had other specimens of language for comparison from the Mecca of the day. The style is quite different in the earlier and later parts of the Ḳur'ān, although it bears everywhere undeniably the stamp of the same individual. To Muslims the absolute perfection of the language of the Ḳur'ān is an impregnable dogma, the acknowledgment of which is not however easy to a reader with some stylistic training and a certain amount of taste. In the earliest revelations one is carried away by the wild fancy and grotesque presentation, sometimes also by a warmer feeling, so that it would be pedantic to lay much weight on faults in language or logic. In the later sections also higher flights are not lacking, for example when the Prophet expresses his admiration for the wonders of creation and of life; but as a rule his imagination soon exhausted itself and gave place to a prosaicness in which the slips in reasoning and style, a comprehensive catalogue of which has been made by Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 5 *sqq.*, make quite a bad impression. The Prophet becomes fond of wearisome repetitions of long stories interspersed with religious and moral platitudes which have an unpleasing effect (cf. for example, "the most beautiful tale", Sūra xii.) or crude psychological explanations, or polemics which prove little to those who do not share his premisses. As an example, the naive argumentation iii. 39 may be quoted, in which he sees in the fact that he was not present, when the events narrated took place, a proof that it must have been communicated to him by revelation. We should however not forget that the really effective element in his preaching lay not in his speeches but in the unusually suggestive power of his personality and also that many weaknesses in his style may be explained by the fact that (like the Alexandrine translators of the Old Testament) he had first to create a language for ideas new and remote to his countrymen, a task for which he had apparently no special gift.

7. What was the exact state of the Ḳur'ān at the death of Muḥammad is a question that cannot be answered with absolute certainty. One thing only is certain and is openly recognised by tradition (al-Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, i. 71) namely, that there was not in existence any collection of revelations in final form, because, so long as he was alive, new revelations were continually being added to the earlier ones. But, on the other hand, everything points to the fact that even then much of the later Ḳur'ān must have already been written down. In the early period of his mission his discourses were probably preserved as a rule in the memories of his hearers, after he had repeatedly delivered them, and, as the lasting importance of his words probably only gradually dawned on them, we must probably consider the possibility that a good deal has been lost, of the earliest revelations in particular. Passages like lxxxvii. 6 *sq.*: "We will enable thee to discourse and thou shalt only forget what Allāh wishes", or ii. 100: "If we make thee forget an *āya*" (the reading *nansa'hā* is of course a dogmatic correction), clearly suggest that the discourses in question were not written down. But it cannot have been long till they felt obliged to secure the revelations from Allāh by writing them down, and it is easy to understand that the material readiest to hand, like shoulder-blades, palm-leaves, stones, etc. were used, as we are told in the stories of the later collection of the Ḳur'ān. What we are told of the knowledge of the art of writing in Mecca and Medina (al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 471, 473; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i. 110), is not of much value, although the story is not without interest that among the wives of the Prophet, Ḥafṣa and Umm Kulthum could write and 'Ā'isha and Umm Salama could read but not write. There can be however no doubt that in a commercial city of the importance of Mecca with its international connections not a few were able to write more or less well — according to al-'Azraḳī, *History and Description of Mecca*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 102, 3, etc., documents and bills were prepared there before Islām — and there were certainly not lacking either there or later in Medina people who wrote down Muḥammad's revelations. Whether the Prophet himself could read or write is therefore of minor importance, however eagerly this question has been discussed by Muslims, but only from dogmatic points of view and as a rule with an erroneous application of the term *ummī* already mentioned. From the Meccan passage xxix. 47, it might be concluded that he only learned late in life, but the expression is obscure and probably only refers to the reading of sacred texts. All the more important therefore is the passage xxv. 6, where his opponents say, "These are nothing but old fables which he writes down (or causes to be written down?) and they are dictated to him morning and evening". But such remarks refer rather to the matter collected by the Prophet, than directly to his discourses themselves. But when Muḥammad (xi. 16) challenges his opponents to produce ten sūras like his own, this undoubtedly presupposes that sūras were available for comparison in writing. This is still more clearly shown by the already mentioned formal abrogation of earlier utterances, which would not have been necessary if these had only been orally transmitted. In the story of 'Omar's conversion (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 226 *sq.*) there is a reference to a page of writing, but not much stress can be laid on such details in tradition. When ruling in Medina, Muḥammad made several of his followers prepare a number of documents, several of which were preserved with a note of the writer (cf. also Wāḳidī, abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen, p. 35; on the Nakhla letter), and it is obvious that the same was the case with

the later revelations especially with such as refer to legal regulations. The traditions (Balādhurī, p. 472 *sq.*; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1782) give the names of Meccans and Anṣār who helped him as secretaries, including two in particular, Ubaiy b. Ka'b and Zaid b. Thābit. According to a curious story, 'Othmān's foster-brother, 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ [q. v.] often acted as Ḳur'ān-writer to him and he had the honour of having an enthusiastic exclamation of his on listening to the dictation of Sūra xxiii. adopted in it (Balādhurī, p. 473 and the commentators). According to other stories (cf. Wāḳidī, abbrev. transl. by Wellhausen, p. 55), he boasted before the Ḳuraish that he had often induced the Prophet to alter the wording of the revelations, whence it ultimately came to be said that he had falsified the Ḳur'ān (Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 35). Finally we may call attention to important evidence in a poem by Muḥammad's laureate Ḥassān b. Thābit after the battle of Badr (*Dīwān*, ed. Hirschfeld, p. 15, 1), in which he speaks of a *khaṭṭ al-waḥy* on smooth page, which here must almost certainly mean the writing of a revelation (see Nöldeke, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1900 on Labīd, *Mu'allaḳa*, verse 2). What was officially written down in this way formed with the earlier private notes and what people had retained in their memories the Ḳur'ān in an embryonic state. The conflict of this state of affairs with some traditions (principal, Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 113 *sqq.*) according to which various people already collected the Ḳur'ān in Muḥammad's life-time is only apparent. The explanation is that *djama'a* here, as usual elsewhere (e. g. *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, p. 275; cf. *Itḳān*, i. 72) means "to learn by heart and know". The same is true of a tradition, later popular among the Shī'is, to the effect that 'Alī wished to avoid paying homage to Abū Bakr until he *djama'a* the Ḳur'ān (Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 101, 11 *sqq.*; *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, ii. 176) which originally meant simply "had learned by heart", but was later misunderstood. Lastly a passage may be mentioned which would be of the greatest importance for the history of the Ḳur'ān in the time of Muḥammad if it could be trusted. In the Prophet's letter of instruction to 'Amr b. Ḥazm (Ibn Hishām 961; cf. Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muḥammads an die Stämme Arabiens, Mitteilungen des Seminars für orient. Sprachen zu Berlin*, vol. xix. 2, 83) it is laid down among other things that no one may touch the Ḳur'ān except in a state of purification; but Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 1, 319, note 1, is undoubtedly right in thinking that the regulations laid down in this document were in many cases formulated from a point of view of later date (cf. above, p. 1065b).

8. With the death of the Prophet the position was radically altered. The source of revelations ceased to flow, and the believers in cases of doubt had no one whom they might consult, as no one had inherited Muḥammad's prophetic gift. The discourses left by him thus acquired increased importance, for in them spoke the Prophet or rather God through him to his community, if they were able to interpret his words correctly. The task therefore naturally presented itself of collecting his valuable legacy in as complete and accurate a form as possible and preserving it from destruction. This obvious development is also confirmed by the traditions but unfortunately in a way which leaves much obscure. The most popular view (see Nöldeke-Schwally, ii. 11 *sq.*) finds the stimulus to the first collection of revelations in the circumstance that many who knew the Ḳur'ān (*ḳurrā'*, reciters; on the later meaning "pious ascetics", see Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 189) had perished in the battle with the false prophet Musailima. This aroused in 'Omar the fear that all knowledge of the revelations might be lost wherefore he, although with some difficulty, induced the caliph Abū Bakr to begin the collection of the scattered discourses. The work was entrusted to the already mentioned secretary of Muḥammad, Zaid b. Thābit. He collected everything that was written on different, often primitive (cf. above), materials, and what people retained in their breasts (i. e. memories) and wrote it on separate leaves (*ṣuḥuf*, pl. of *ṣaḥīfa*, written leaf), which he gave to Abū Bakr. After the latter's death, this book passed into the possession of 'Omar who bequeathed it to his daughter Ḥafṣa, the widow of Muḥammad. In this story the first thing that strikes one is that there is no reference to the official transcripts made by order of the Prophet himself, although they would at any rate have reduced the danger threatened by the death of the *ḳurrā'*. Caetani moreover (*Annali dell' Islām*, ii/i., p. 713 infra) has called attention to the fact that those who fell in the battle with Musailima were, according to the lists, which have been handed down, mainly new converts, none of whom could be expected to have an extensive knowledge of the Ḳur'ān. If the whole story is thereby rendered uncertain, it becomes more important to note that there are other traditions, according to which it was 'Omar himself who ordered and supervised the collection (*Itḳān*, i. 73) and indeed we are even told (Ibn Sa'd, iii/i. 212, 4) that 'Omar died before the task was completed. As it is easier to understand how such a pious work could have been antedated than that it could have been transferred from Abū Bakr to his successor, the second story is perhaps somewhat more probable, although the mechanical way in which 'Omar is said to have tested the genuineness of the separate parts (if they were known to two authorities) does not sound very trustworthy. Zaid's participation in the work remains the one thing certain in the stories and on the other hand the realistic feature that the *Ṣuḥuf* came into the possession of Ḥafṣa. But this very point raises other difficulties. If the *Ṣuḥuf* was to be an authorised standard codex it is difficult to understand why it was given to a woman. G. Weil thinks that Ḥafṣa was to take care of it but this could have been more safely done in other ways; and if it was to be a standard MS. from which copies could be made, it was quite inconvenient to leave it with Ḥafṣa, as not every one had access to the widow of the Prophet. There is never any reference to any authorisation. The whole business was done in a spirit of great freedom, as we hear of several variant versions of the Ḳur'ān from the pre-'Othmānic period. The only solution of the difficulty may be in the hypothesis suggested in the next section, that a distinction should be made between the simple material collection of the *Ṣuḥuf* and a regular arrangement and editing by Zaid of the sūras contained in them. If this is so, the "leaves" would lose any real importance and it is not

difficult to believe that they might be given to 'Omar's daughter as a gift of honour.

9. The men to whom particular editions are ascribed were the already mentioned Ubaiy b. Ka'b (Ibn Sa'd, II/ii. 103; III/ii. 59—62), 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (see IBN MAS'ŪD), Abū Mūsā 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī (see AL-ASH'ARĪ) who became famous in the story of 'Alī, and Miḳdād b. 'Amr (see Ibn Sa'd, III/i. 114—116). All these recensions gradually disappeared after the authorisation of 'Othmān's Ḳur'ān; but several very valuable items of information regarding the first two are given in the *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 26 *sq.* and in *al-Itḳān*, i. 80—82, which throw some light on the oldest phase of the history of the Ḳur'ān. They had the same sūras as 'Othmān's Ḳur'ān but in a somewhat different order and with the important difference that Ubaiy had two additional sūras (prayers recalling Sūra i.) while in Ibn Mas'ūd, Sūra cxiii. and cxiv. and probably also Sūra i. were not given. Besides these recensions there was a further one, on which 'Othmān's edition was later based, and which is associated with the Zaid already mentioned. If, as Schwally does, we tried to identify Zaid's edition with the *ṣuḥuf*, it would be difficult to understand the divergencies of the other recensions in view of the former's prestige. Besides, the name "the leaves" suggests rather a loose collection of separate leaves, and not a definite arrangement of the portions. This is definitely expressed in another tradition, according to which Zaid collected the sūras with much difficulty in no particular order (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, p. 195). These difficulties are not easily disposed of by the assumption that Zaid after collecting the *ṣuḥuf* prepared an edition of his own with a definite order of the Sūras, which added a fifth to the already mentioned four editions, one by which the others did not feel themselves bound. The Sūras in it were, as in Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubaiy, arranged on the principle of decreasing length; but it was only a general principle (taken from Jewish examples?) the details of which were left to the individual. Zaid's version later received authoritative importance, when it was used as the basis for 'Othmān's Ḳur'ān. A further light might be thrown by a phenomenon which, although in itself exceedingly obscure, seems to permit some significant deductions. We refer to the mysterious letters, discussed more fully below, which are found at the beginning of about a quarter of the Sūras. In this connection Nöldeke and following him H. Hirschfeld and more recently especially H. Bauer, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxv. 1 *sqq.*, have called attention to the fact that some of these letters are repeated before several sūras and that these sūras form little consecutive series. Thus ḤM is found before xl.—xlvi. (according to Bauer originally before xxxix. also; before xlii. with following 'SḲ), 'LR before x.—xv. (before xiii., 'LMR), ṬSM before xxvi.—xxviii. (before xxvii. however without M), 'LM seems to be an exception, as it is found not only before xxix.—xxx. but also before ii.—iii.; but we can easily see that the reason is that the order in this case is upset by the principle of decreasing length, by which the sūras already mentioned are placed at the head of the collection while the others being shorter are placed later. This remarkable phenomenon can have only one explanation, namely that these groups formed little separate collections, which Zaid found already formed and would not break up. Bauer has also called attention to the interesting fact that Ibn Mas'ūd did not feel himself bound by them but inserted the separate components approximately where they belonged from their length, with the exception however of the ḤM group which he left together, although in a different order. It seems therefore to have had a particular significance for him which is also indicated by the fact that he called this group *Dībādj al-Ḳur'ān* (see *Itḳān*, i. 71; cf. the article *Dībādj*, in Lane, *s.v.*); Ubaiy on the other hand paid no attention to the small series but arranged all the sūras according to their length, although in a very inexact fashion. We see then that there were links between the separate scattered sūras and the *ṣuḥuf*, small collections probably of a purely private character. This gives us definite evidence that the collection in its present form cannot go back to the Prophet himself.

10. On the other hand, it is a very difficult question whether the sūras which Zaid found were given the form in which we know them by the Prophet himself or whether other hands intervened. That the oldest, quite short, revelations are original units is generally recognised. This is also true of several longer ones, especially xii. which forms a connected story or of Sūra iv. with its refrains. Nöldeke moreover rightly utters a warning against assuming that whenever the thread of continuity appears to break, we have the work of a later hand, as abruptness and lack of co-ordination is really characteristic of Muḥammad's style. There are also certainly small pieces of later periods which the Prophet himself may have inserted for some reason in older pieces. In other cases, however, we have the impression that various accidents, which we can no longer know of, may have played their part in the shaping of the Sūras, among them perhaps the circumstance that several short discourses might have been written on the same piece of material, which would simply explain, for example, the transitions from xcvi. 5 to v. 6, or from lxxiv. 10 to v. 11. The most difficult thing is undoubtedly to suppose that Muḥammad himself composed the unusually long second Sūra in which we find in the middle of speeches of the second year A. H., without any explanation, pieces from the Meccan period (v. 19—37, 158—166) and also of the later Medina period. That the beginnings of the Sūras (with perhaps the exception of xlviii., lxxi., xcvii., cviii. which begin with *innā*) regularly coincide with the actual beginnings of the revelations is proved by the introductory conjurations or formulae like "These are the *āyāt* of the Book" or "This is the Book", or "See, a Sūra, which we have sent down, etc.". But the next question is whether such exordiums refer to the whole Sūra or only to what immediately follows, to which the rest may have been later joined; cf. e.g. the introduction xix. 1, which only fits the story of Zakariyā' and Maria while, on the other hand, the formula v. 36 is adopted in v. 42, 52, 55 and 57. In brief we are here unfortunately usually confronted with questions which cannot be answered with certainty, however important the correct answer would be for an understanding of the Ḳur'ān.

11. With the reign of 'Othmān we enter upon more solid ground. According to a statement of Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, iii. 86) the four

recensions mentioned above found acceptance, each in a particular region: Ubaiy's in Damascus, Miḳdād's in Ḥimṣ, Ibn Mas'ūd's in Kūfa and al-Ash'arī's in Baṣra; support is given to this statement by the fact that the two last named held offices in the provinces mentioned. That the existence of several divergent versions would produce uncertainty is easily understood. We are told in a widely disseminated tradition that the general Ḥudhaifa thought that the quarrels among his followers about the correct form of the sacred book, while on a campaign in Armenia and Ādharbaidjān, were dangerous and asked the Caliph 'Othmān to try to abolish this unfortunate state of affairs, so that believers might not quarrel like Jews and Christians over their scriptures. The Caliph recognised the justice of the request and asked Ḥafṣa to let him have the *ṣuḥuf* for a time so that copies might be made of them (*nansakhunnā fi 'l-maṣāḥif*). Ḥafṣa agreed and the Caliph entrusted the task to a commission consisting of Zaid, already mentioned, 'Abd Allāh b. Zubair [q. v.], Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ (Ibn Sa'd, v. 19—24) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith (*ibid.*, v. 1 *sqq.*). Other individuals are also named but the usual tradition appears the most reliable and in any case it may be considered practically certain that Zaid, on account of his previous services, shared in the work. From the attitude which 'Abd Allāh and his father al-Zubair soon afterwards took up towards the Caliph, one might perhaps suppose that the members were chosen, not so much by the Caliph in person, as by a wider circle. Besides it is not easy to see clearly what their work really was. If they had only to make copies of a standard text, reliable scribes would have sufficed so that the men named would at most exercise some sort of supervision over the work. According to the tradition, they were to retain the Ḳuraish dialect in cases of doubt, but this probably only reflects a later notion of the dialect of the Ḳur'ān. Further they could not have made clear fine distinctions of pronunciation with the imperfect Arabic alphabet. At any rate the most important point is that the version of 'Othmān was based on the *ṣuḥuf* or as just explained on Zaid's edition of them, so that we can in this way gain some idea of the contents and form of this basic manuscript. We are next told that of the copies then made, one was kept in Mecca, while three were sent as standard texts to Kūfa, Baṣra and Damascus, that is practically to the regions in which the four differing versions above mentioned were current. Mecca however is added and other authorities give a large number (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, ii. 112 *sq.*). The authorised edition was readily accepted everywhere; the people of Kūfa alone are said to have refused to give up their Ibn Mas'ūd. Against the accuracy of the whole story, it might perhaps be urged that a knowledge of the Ḳur'ān and interest in its correct form must really have been much too slight among Muslim soldiers in this period of the great wars of conquest to give rise to dissensions in the army. But on the other hand, it may be recalled that in the fighting which soon afterwards broke out between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, there is mention of Ḳur'ān-readers (*ḳurrā'*), not only among 'Alī's troops but also among the Syrians (al-Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgass, p. 175, 204; cf. the article ṢIFFĪN); the very fact that there were different versions of the Ḳur'ān in Syria and in al-'Irāḳ must have given rise to comparisons and disputes. Whether the Caliph, as we are told in the different traditions, had the extant differing versions burned, torn up or obliterated, has been doubted by Schwally and not without reason, especially as such steps would have been quite ineffectual against the Ḳur'ān-reciters who carried the sacred texts in their memories. In any case the alleged destruction cannot have been completely carried out, for according to al-Muṭarrizī (in Lane, s. v.), Sulaimān al-A'mash could recite the whole of the Ḳur'ān (cf. KHATM) according to both 'Othmān's and Ibn Mas'ūd's versions and the author of the *Fihrist* even asserts that he had seen a two hundred year old copy of the Ḳur'ān according to Ibn Mas'ūd (cf. the obscure statements in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, 1st ed., p. 276 *sq.*). Even without any such drastic measures, the new version must have gradually driven out the variants because of its official authority and the general desire for uniformity. It was in this way that there came into being the authorised Ḳur'ān, which has remained generally authoritative to the present day and in spite of all vicissitudes has formed, with the Sunna, the solid foundation for Muslim life and thought. It differed from Ubaiy's Ḳur'ān by the omission of the two sūras only found in his version, while it was a little larger than Ibn Mas'ūd's Ḳur'ān, which omitted Sūra cxiii. and cxiv. and probably also Sūra i. (see Nöldeke-Schwally, ii. 39 *sqq.*). While its order generally, with the already mentioned exceptions was based on the principle of decreasing length, the first sūra, the celebrated *fātiḥa*, stands outside of this arrangement, apparently because it was intended to serve as an introductory benediction and prayer. It is specially noteworthy because of its lack of any distinctively Muslim thought and the presence of Jewish and Christian terminology. Sūra cxiii. and cxiv. are not the shortest and are thus not in their proper place, but it is hardly necessary to lay much stress on this point. Although they are made into utterances of Allāh by the prefixed *ḳul*, these formulae for protection against evil powers (cf. xvi. 100; xli. 36) are very different in character from the rest of the Ḳur'ān. In these circumstances the omission of the three sūras in Ibn Mas'ūd becomes significant and the question arises whether they do not represent a secondary arrangement of the sūras about the origin of which nothing definite can be said, whether the work of the Prophet himself or others.

12. This leads to a further and very important question, whether all the revelations in the authorised Ḳur'ān come from Muḥammad himself or whether foreign matter has been added or passages forged for propagandist purposes. As a matter of fact, there has been no lack of such assertions, in the Muslim world and by modern scholars. The arguments brought forward on this point, within Islām, are however of no real importance as they are based on purely dogmatic premisses. For example, some of the puritanically-minded Khāridjis are said to have rejected Sūra xii. as a love-story unworthy of the Ḳur'ān (al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton, p. 95 *sq.*). But it so undeniably bears the stamp of the Prophet's style that the forger must have had an astonishing power of imitation: forgery is all the more improbable as

the Sūra was found in Ibn Mas'ūd and in Ubaiy and must therefore have been very old. The fact, that some reject as false passages those in which Muḥammad curses his opponents is due to the more refined religious ideas of the Mu'tazila and perhaps to Christian influence. But in general it is the Shī'is who have pronounced against the integrity of the 'Othmānic Ḳur'ān. This however was only a result of the fact that they missed very much in it pronouncements on the prominent position of 'Alī and his family and their claims to sovereignty and to the coming forth of the hidden Imām at the end of the world; and they roundly insisted that all this had been most maliciously suppressed by the godless 'Othmān. In support of this assertion, they very cleverly point to the undeniable lack of coherence in several sūras, but the situation is not improved by filling the gaps with references to 'Alī. But not only are odd verses said to have been suppressed but whole sūras, which glorified 'Alī, only two of which have been published, the sūras *al-Nūrain* and *al-Walāya* (see Nöldeke-Schwally, ii. 102 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 271). As there is no agreement among the Shī'is themselves regarding the genuine form of the book of revelations, the attempts made by them to produce the complete text have regularly failed, and they have therefore retired to the safe position, that the authentic form is secretly transmitted by each imām to his successor, to be communicated with the true exposition to the believers ultimately on the coming forth of the hidden imām. Till then, faute de mieux, they use the 'Othmānic Ḳur'ān and make shift with an exegesis which enables new interpolations to be made unrestrictedly, and arbitrary alterations in the text, which however they refrain from in all passages used liturgically.

Several modern scholars have endeavoured in a different fashion to prove the occurrence of passages in the Ḳur'ān which are not genuine. Thus de Sacy (*Journ. des Savants*, 1832, p. 535) suggested that 'Omar's doubt about the death of Muḥammad would have been impossible if the verse quoted against it (iii. 138) by Abū Bakr were genuine, so that it must have originated with Abū Bakr. G. Weil agrees but, as a logical result, he rejects a series of verses of similar content (iii. 182; xxi. 35 *sq.*; xxix. 57; xxxix. 31 *sq.*). But it is just this increase in the number of passages attacked (which even yet is not sufficient, cf. e. g. vi. 163 and notably xxiii. 53) which makes criticism unreliable and what is to be deleted is in perfect keeping with what Muḥammad says out of his purely human nature. The question is usually attacked from the wrong side, for the fault is not in the Ḳur'ān but in the tendencious tradition, which in reality is attacking the belief that crops up in a disappearance off and return of the Prophet; cf. especially the antitheses between the worship of Allāh and of Muḥammad. Weil's doubt regarding xvii. 1 and xlvi. 14 is no better founded, nor are H. Hirschfeld's objections to v. 73, 101; lxi. 6 and all passages in which the name of Muḥammad occurs. When Weil in particular asserted that 'Othmān falsified the Ḳur'ān by all sorts of omissions, this is refuted, like the Shī'a charges before mentioned, by the simple fact that nowhere in the oldest records is there any hint of such a thing although his opponents collected a long list of charges against him.

13. Another question is raised by the additional sūras in Ubaiy's recension, which, according to *Itḳān*, i. 82, are also found in Abū Mūsā's version and in the Ḳur'ān of Ibn 'Abbās: do we really have in the authorised Ḳur'ān all the revelations in existence at the death of Muḥammad? Although by the completion of the collection, the utterances that came from the heavenly book and Muḥammad's own words were rigidly limited there are references in the traditions to several utterances which really belonged to the Ḳur'ān but were not included for various reasons, including some that are said to have been in the Ḳur'āns of Ubaiy and Abū Mūsā; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, i. 234—261; ii. 44 *sq.* and thereon al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1627, ₁₀, and the glossary under *tl'*. We need not reject this statement offhand. It would really not be surprising if the difference between the two kinds of pronouncements was at first not rigid, especially in so far as they were only preserved by memory. But nowhere is the genuineness of the revelations said not to have been accepted conclusively proved; of some the falsity is much more probable and it must be further remembered that they would not contribute any real addition to the Ḳur'ān. The best known is the so-called "verse of the stoning" (*āyat al-radjm*) according to which incontinence in women not virgins can be punished by stoning. As regards matter it might well belong to Sūra xxiv.; but it is in direct contradiction to its second verse and on the other hand it cannot be included among those abrogated, as, according to the traditions, 'Omar punished this crime in this drastic fashion. It seems therefore to be a secondary verse intended to authorise the more severe punishment.

If a critical examination of the Ḳur'ān on these lines leads to a satisfactory result, it must not be taken to mean that the canonical Ḳur'ān gives an absolutely true and faultless reproduction of the utterances of the Prophet. On the contrary it undoubtedly contains not a few explanatory additions (cf. e. g. the probably secondary *kabīr*, ii. 216) and harmless interpolations (cf. e. g. A. Fischer in the *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, 1906, p. 33 *sqq.* whose arguments however are hardly cogent). Transferences of sentences may also have taken place, cf. the striking example quoted by Goldziher, xxiv. 60*a*, which breaks up the context. But this is something quite different from a deliberate and tendencious falsification of the revelations, against which protests would certainly have been raised at once.

14. The Sūras were originally separated from one another by the *basmala* ("in the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate") placed at the beginning of each (see vol. i., p. 672). It is only lacking in Sūra ix., probably because Sūra viii. was originally joined to it. In the text itself, the formula is found in xxvii. 30 at the head of a letter from Solomon to the queen of Saba', a proof that the Prophet regarded it as a regular form of introduction. In keeping with this, is the fact that it often occurs in his despatches (Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 23—37 passim) and according to Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 341, at the beginning of the ordinance of the community. But he also used the older formula: "in Thy name",

Allāhumma (Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 19, 14; cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 747 on the treaty of Ḥudaibiya). It therefore doubtless opened the sūras which the Prophet himself had caused to be written down and was then placed at the beginning of all the sūras. The order of the sūras in 'Othmān's Ḳur'ān was probably already the present one. That there were variations however is evident from the story of the revolution against 'Othmān (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 2963) in which we find the tenth Sūra quoted as the seventh, which agreed with the order in Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubaiy. According to the *Itḳān*, i. 79, Ibn 'Abbās also described the tenth Sūra as the last of the seven "long ones", but this perhaps refers not to its position in the Ḳur'ān but in relation to the actual long sūras. In any case al-Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr* (see *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv. 598) quotes a tradition going back to the Prophet himself, according to which the Ḳur'ān was divided as follows: the seven longest sūras, ii.—vii. and x., the *mi'ūn* (sūras of about 100 verses), the *mathānī* and *al-mufaṣṣal*, the short sūras which begin with xlix. The name *al-mathānī* apparently goes back to the very variously explained "seven *mathānī*" of xv. 87 in which Geiger and Nöldeke see the Aramaic *mathnīthā*, Hebrew *mishnā*.

15. Immediately following the *basmala* we have in 29 sūras the mysterious letters already mentioned (*al-fawātiḥ*) which have challenged the ingenuity of Muslim and modern European scholars alike. The sūras in which they occur belong with the exception of sūras ii. and iii. to the later Meccan period. There are 14 letters in all that occur, sometimes singly, sometimes from 2 to 5 together; some occur only once, others are repeated, before two, five or six sūras. All recollection of their real significance had been lost as the great variety of explanations proffered shows (see *Itḳān*, ii. 10 *sqq.*; *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv. 603 *sqq.*). Some Muslims see in them simply letters of the alphabet, intended to call the Prophet's attention to the approach of a revelation, while others tried to explain them from the old numerical value of the letters (cf. vol. i., p. 68 *sq.*); or they were read with the names of the letters *yā*, *sīn*, *ḥā*, etc., and all kinds of mystical names were found. The most popular explanation was that they were abbreviations which had to be expanded, thus for example *khy'ṣ* would stand for *karīm*, *hādi*, *ḥakīm*, *'alīm* and *ṣādiḳ*. But this offered such a wealth of possibilities that the attempts to solve the problem degenerated into a kind of game, which became all the more varied when some proposed to place the letters from different sūras together and read for example: *'lr*, *ḥm* and *n* as *al-Raḥmān*. It is no wonder then that in the end some, like al-Suyūṭī saw in the letters a mystery, the solution of which Allāh kept a secret to himself. Modern scholars have in part repeated these old suggestions. Nöldeke, abandoning his earlier view, suggested that the Prophet attached no special significance to these letters, but only intended to give a mystic reference to the heavenly original text. But in this case they should have been found before all the revelations and not only before a smaller part of them. The most popular theory more recently has been that of abbreviation, but this has developed into the same kind of guesswork as among the Muslims, and rarely convinces anyone except the ingenious inventor. Quite recently H. Bauer in the essay already mentioned has sought a safer basis for interpretation, starting from the fact that some sūras take their name from the introductory letters, viz. xx., xxxvi., xxxviii., l., xlii. and lxviii., the two latter however with variants. Now as the names of the sūras are catchwords taken from the sūras concerned (see below), he supposes that these letters are something similar. But this conclusion is by no means certain and his ingenious attempts to find the passages concerned in the sūras are, as a rule, not very convincing and it should be remembered also that he cannot apply this explanation to the letters that occur before several sūras, but has to be content with seeking an internal or external relation between these sūras and the letters. The same may be said against Goossens's attempt in *Der Islām*, xiii. 191 *sqq.* H. Hirschfeld revived Nöldeke's earlier explanation that the letters were originally marks put on by the owners of some of the manuscript copies made by Zaid to show they were their own property, except that he regards the group of letters not as single names (*e. g.* *ṭh* for Ṭalḥa) but names of several owners (e. g. *ṭh* for Ṭalḥa and Abū Huraira). In comparison with earlier suggestions, this strikes one as very moderate and unfanciful. Nor is it refuted by Nöldeke's argument that such abbreviations are not to be expected in the beginnings of written Arabic literature; for it is not at all improbable that the people of Mecca with their highly developed trade may have marked, e. g. in the annual trading-caravans the goods of individual citizens taking part in them in some such way, and that this custom was adopted in another branch of life, where it was necessary to guarantee the genuineness of a document or some such thing. It might also be possible that there was an imitation of the Jewish practice, cf. the article "Abbreviations" in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. In any case this hypothesis would agree very well with the above discussed connection of the letters with small private collections of copies of the revelations. But even this view does not lead to any final result, as the expansion of the letters to names offers so many possibilities.

16. Among the secondary elements in the Ḳur'ān are the names of the Sūras. These are catchwords which refer either to the beginning of the sūras (e.g. lxxiii.—cxi.) or to some subject dealt with in them (e. g. "The Cow" in ii. 63 *sqq.*; "The House of 'Imrān" in iii. 30; "Hūd" in xi. 52 etc.). That they were generally known in the first half of the eighth century is certain, as some of them are mentioned by John of Damascus (in Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, xciv. 769, 772); viz: "the Cow" (Sūra ii.), "the Women" (Sūra iv.), "the Table" (Sūra v.) and in addition a name no longer found, "the Camel", which might refer to vii. 71—75, xi. 67 *sq.* or xxvi. 155 *sqq.* This however does not prove that they were already adopted in the manuscripts at this time; and that they do not all come from Muḥammad himself, as John says, is evident from their varying (Sūra ix. for example is also called *al-Tawba*: cf. *Itḳān*, i. 66 *sq.* and the above notes on Sūra xlii. and lxviii.). Besides, they originally ran "the sūra in which the cow is mentioned" etc. and appeared in the manuscripts not as super but as subscriptions (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, p. 320). The two non-canonical sūras of Ubaiy had similar names, *Sūrat al-Khal'* and *Sūrat al-Ḥafd*.

The sūras were divided into "verses", which were called *āyāt*, following the linguistic practice of the Ḳurʾān already mentioned. They are generally arranged according to the rhymes, but as the divisions were originally not marked in the manuscripts, there is a difference of opinion about their divisions and numbering (see *Itḳān*, i. 83 *sq.*; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, p. 300).

17. Although the ʿOthmānic Ḳurʾān prevailed over its rivals, it did not provide for the Muslim world a real *textus receptus*, and yet one would think that, if ever one were necessary, it would be for such a book as the Ḳurʾān, as Allāh speaks in it everywhere. Even ʿOthmān himself, according to one story (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iv. 24), did not adhere to the text authorised by him, but read Sūra iii. 100 with an addition not now found in it; and if this is correct, it is no wonder that others took still greater liberties. Various circumstances contributed to the continual variations in the form of the text. First there was the carelessness of the few trained copyists; even the copies of the Medina standard codex (*al-Imām*) sent to the provinces are said not always to have been identical with it, and lists are given of Medina, Damascus, Baṣra and Kūfa readings, to which a few from Mecca are added. These refer however only to minor points, which are of interest for the history of the language and orthography, but not for the matter. The cause of variation in the text was of greater importance, namely, the different readings which the *Ḳurrāʾ* retained in their memories and would not always abandon, even when they had a written Ḳurʾān before them. These are primarily readings which were found in the rival versions and had thus gained currency. Finally there was a third factor, the deficiencies of the Arabic script. It lacked not only signs for the short and to some extent for the long vowels, the pronunciation of which was left to the reader (which meant, for example, also the choice between active and passive) and for double consonants, but different consonantal sounds were expressed by one character, e. g. *d* and *dh*, *k* and *kh*, etc., and in the degenerate Arabic script, very different letters had come to assume the same form, so that for example *r* and *z*, *b*, *t* and *th* and at the beginning or in the middle of a word *n* and *y* also were indistinguishable. In any case the sense was little affected by such however possibilities, e. g. xxxii. 9, where it was a matter of indifference whether one read *ṣalilnā* or *ḍalilnā*, but in other cases a different pronunciation was a matter of moment, e. g., v. 8, where the alteration of a case-ending modifies the rule about ablution before prayer. Such possibilities afforded a means by which perplexed spirits could get rid of various passages that offended them, e. g. xii 10 where in place of the troublesome *kadhabū*, *kudhibū* or *kudhdhibū* could be read. In this way there arose a perplexing confusion of readings and in place of the striving for uniformity that one would have expected, people became accustomed to unlimited liberty in these matters, so that they did not hesitate to substitute for particular words, their synonyms or to insert short explanatory additions. This freedom was all the more unbridled in its development, as the Umaiyad caliphs had little feeling on such questions and preferred to take care that passions were not aroused by state interference in such matters.

18. Gradually however, the situation came to arouse misgivings. As by this time the state of affairs just described had developed to such an extent that the preparation of a canonical text was not to be thought of, and there was, besides, no authority who could enforce the adoption of one, the endeavour was made to eliminate the worst defects by more general principles. Not every variant was allowed, but only those which were based on recognised authorities, preferably such men as had received their reading from the successors of the companions of the Prophet. At the same time the overwhelming mass of small details led the art of reading the Ḳurʾān, hitherto transmitted orally, to be replaced by critical writings. The first book of this kind is said to have been written by a Jewish convert to Islām Hārūn b. Mūsā (d. c. 800 A. D.). Of later works dealing with variant readings, special mention may be made of that of Abū ʿUbaid al-Ḳāsim (d. 837 A. D.; Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i. 106, 189) and of the celebrated Ṭabarī's *al-Djāmiʿ*. The measures taken were however too indefinite to be really effective and the attempt was therefore made to limit the number of authorities, for example by emphasising the importance of ten recognised teachers. The number seven however was especially popular in this connection and support was found in it in an alleged saying of the Prophet regarding the seven *aḥruf* in which the Ḳurʾān is revealed and which all possess divine authority. Although "seven" in this tradition is probably only a round number meaning "several" and it was quite uncertain what the word *aḥruf* really meant, the number was taken literally and *aḥruf* was given the unauthorised meaning of variant readings. The complete historical inaccuracy of this assertion was sharply criticised by several scholars, but it found wide acceptance, especially after Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid (d. 936 A. D.) had chosen seven from among well known teachers and declared them authoritative Ḳurʾān-readers, and with each of them two men were associated as transmitters (*rāwī*). The seven were Nāfiʿ, Ibn Kathīr [q. v.], Abū ʿAmr al-ʿAlāʾ, [q. v.], Ibn ʿĀmir, Abū Bakr ʿĀṣim, Ḥamza and the famous philologist al-Kisāʾī. The selection was quite an arbitrary one, but the method used elsewhere by Muslims, e. g. in the four madhāhib, of declaring several rivals authoritative and equally trustworthy had decided practical advantages as it averted endless and passionate disputes. There was of course no lack of protest by prominent scholars who rightly objected to the unjustifiable exclusion of other equally authoritative teachers. In the xith century A. D. however, the exclusive authority of the seven canonical teachers began to prevail and their readings were specially dealt with by several authors, among them Abū ʿAmr ʿOthmān al-Dānī (d. 1053 A. D.) whose *Kitāb al-Taisīr* displaced Ibn Mudjāhid's work, in Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳāsim al-Shāṭibī's (d. 1194 A. D.) versification. But a number of scholars with critical ability did not hesitate to take into consideration readings of other readers not included among the celebrated ten, especially those of Yaʿḳūb al-Ḥaḍramī. What degree of liberty in selecting readings was claimed by the older critics is seen from the rule laid down by Muḥammad al-Djazarī (d. 1429: cf. Brockelmann, ii. 201) who is followed by al-Suyūṭī (*Itḳān*, i. 94), "every reading which is in consonance

with the Arabic language — although only in some respect — and with the ʿOthmānic manuscripts of the Ḳurʾān — although only as a possibility — and whose chain of tradition is faultless, is considered a correct reading and must not be rejected but belongs to the seven *aḥruf*, in which the Ḳurʾān is revealed, whether it comes from the seven or the ten or from other recognised Imāms; but if it does not fulfil one of these three conditions it is to be branded as weak, arbitrary or false, whether it comes from the seven or from any one who is older than they". But this freedom was only exercised in learned works; in all public readings before the people the readings of the seven canonical readers were observed. At the present day only two methods of reading are in general use, that of Ḥafṣ, rāwī of ʿĀṣim and in Africa, except Egypt, that of Nāfiʿ. This is the extent to which Muslim textual criticism has prevailed. A proper critical edition of the Ḳurʾān making use of all available material is a task which still awaits modern scholarship.

19. This work on the text was considerably facilitated by the introduction of different means of restricting the ambiguity of the old script. Diacritical points were introduced to distinguish letters of the same form, marks indicating the pronunciation of the vowels, nunation, the feminine ending *-at*, the consonantal pronunciation of *alif*, and the sign for the doubling of a consonant. As is usual in such cases, all recollection of the period of their introduction had been lost among the Arabs. It is certain that they are based on an imitation of the Syrian practice and recent finds of coins, inscriptions and particularly of papyri have thrown some light on the question. These show that at the beginning of the viiith century the diacritical points were in use, at any rate to some extent; but they were certainly older and had perhaps been already introduced in the pre-Muḥammadan period. The vowel signs were originally dots in varying positions and were only replaced after the middle of the viiith century by the signs now in use, modelled on the semivowels, ʾ, *w* and *y* (for further details see i., p. 384; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, p. 305 *sqq.*). In some the use of these signs in the manuscripts of the Ḳurʾān aroused misgivings. According to the *Itḳān*, ii. 202, the Medinese Mālik b. Anas (d. 795 A. D.), for example, only permitted their use in copies intended for students and did not permit them in the large manuscripts used in public worship. Others, on the other hand, permitted their use without hesitation, as the signs from their form could not be regarded as a component part of the sacred book. To make the distinction clear, the vowel signs were originally distinguished by another colour, while the diacritical points were written in black as parts of the letters. On the incorporation of the names of sūras into the Ḳurʾān, see above; on the different marks for separating the verses, especially for every 5 and 10 verses, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, p. 324; see *ibid.* on the *sadjda*, the mark for the passages in the text where one should prostrate oneself.

20. In editing the Ḳurʾān, no attention at all was, as we have seen, paid to chronological order, a result of the composite character of many sūras, which also made an arrangement according to their contents impossible. Instead, the sūras were arranged, although only approximately, according to their length, which however only led to the inconvenient result that the very earliest sūras, being the shortest, were put at the end. But as chronological arrangement is of fundamental importance for the understanding of the text, the commentators were faced with a task, the necessity of which had already been recognised by the Muslims. The main thing was to establish whether the sūras arose in the Mecca or Medina period, or whether they were composed of pieces from both periods. This problem has on the whole been solved, although views differed on many points of detail (cf. *Itḳān*, i. 15 *sqq.*). In practice this question can be satisfactorily answered in most cases, if a series of criteria are used, some of which may be outlined here.

When Muḥammad disputes with his countrymen about the resurrection of the dead or the oneness of God, when he refutes the assertion that he is a magician, a poet or one possessed, when he fights against the custom of burying newly born girls alive, we know that we are in Mecca. The difficulties only begin, when we try to arrange the separate pieces of this group in their chronological order, for there is an entire lack of distinct references to definite events; and even if there were any, it would help very little as the chronological statements in the old traditions of Muḥammad's life in the Meccan period are quite unreliable. A rare exception is formed by Sūra xxx. with the mention of the defeat of the Byzantines by the Persians, probably in the year 614 A. D. More uncertain, although not improbable is the connecting of Sūra liii with the emigration of some of the Prophet's followers to Abyssinia. There is the further difficulty that Muḥammad, not unintentionally, delivered his orations in a kind of chiaroscuro and it is exceedingly rarely that personal names are mentioned (cxi. 1; xxx. 37). The traditions however are everywhere able to tell us exactly who the anonymous individuals that appear in the Ḳurʾān were, but these identifications are certainly due to horror of a vacuum and are often definitely wrong. We have therefore to rely essentially on internal criteria. G. Weil laid the foundations for a classification of the Meccan Sūras by dividing them into three classes. He was followed by Nöldeke, who in turn is followed by H. Grimme, although with certain variations in the order which are not of great importance, and show that generally accepted results are not to be obtained in this field. The most certainly recognisable is the first group, a series of short addresses full of exalted passion, glowing imagination and no little poetic power. These are such distinct features that it is certainly a mistake when Lammens, *Fatima*, p. 64, wants to transfer Sūras xciii. and xciv. to the latest Medina period. Characteristic of the group are also the already mentioned conjuration formulae; and the peculiar phrase occurring thirteen times *mā adrāka*, "thou surely knowest not"; *mā yudrīka*, xlii. 16, lxxx. 3, also belongs here, in which case xxxiii. 63 is perhaps a verse that has been separated from its context. Lastly Snouck Hurgronje, *De Gids*, 1886, ii. 259 *sq.*; iii. 109 called attention to the very important point that Muḥammad did not from the very first proclaim strict monotheism as the principal thing but the approach of the Last Judgment, from which he was to save his countrymen. The assertion

that there is no god but Allāh appears sporadically from lxxiii. 9 onwards: and it must certainly have taken some time before there was a definite breach with the idolators (Sūra cix.) and before he met them with the declaration of the oneness of God (Sūra cxii.). It is not till the second group that everything centres round monotheism and for this reason the polemical passages lii. 25 *sqq.* and liii. 19 *sqq.* directed against the daughters of Allāh are probably a little later than the adjacent verses. Starting with the assumption that the Ḳur'ān gives a complete picture of Muḥammad's preaching, the Muslims have discussed the question which Sūra is the oldest, probably containing his call to be a Prophet (see above). The majority decided for Sūra xcvi. 1—5 (see *Itḳān*, i. 29) and many modern critics have followed them in this. Properly understood, the passage really does fit this view very well; but it is not absolutely certain and, as already mentioned, we must deal with the possibility that it is just of the earliest revelations that much may have been lost before people began to learn them by heart or record them in writing.

Of the next two classes, the third is probably the easiest to define. It is the weakest part of the Ḳur'ān, in which Muḥammad's imagination apparently became exhausted, and he was content with tiresome repetitions of his earlier ideas and especially with the tales of the prophets. The form becomes discursive, and more prosaic, in which this group resembles the following ones. The passages belonging to it show clearly that Muḥammad would have become intellectually bankrupt if the migration to Medina had not aroused him to a new effort. The transition to this group is formed by the second. The opening enthusiasm gives place to calm and the Prophet's aim is to influence his hearers by proofs, which to tell the truth are often not very convincing, such as descriptions of phenomena of nature and in the life of man, in which occasionally we have a flash of the old poetic fire. Considerable space is occupied by the stories of the experiences of earlier prophets, which were intended to warn his enemies and to encourage himself, because he constructed them with great daring on the model of his own experiences. The introductory conjuration formulae become rarer and rarer and completely disappear in the third group. To the second group belongs the remarkable episode in which Muḥammad is fond of using for Allāh the name al-Raḥmān, unknown to the Meccans. In the Sūras of the first group it is found once only, in Sūra lv. 1, rarely in the third and nowhere in the Medina sections.

Instead of this simple grouping, which excellently characterises the Meccan sūras, H. Hirschfeld has proposed another, quite artificial, system, in which the sūras following xcvi. 1—5, are arranged under the following heads: declamatory, narrative, descriptive and legislative. The result is not so very different from Nöldeke's, but the system is mechanical and often arbitrary in its application, e. g. when xciii. 9 *sqq.*, where the change of rhyme alone proves nothing, is cut off and added to the legislative series.

21. In the revelations of the Medina period, the question is much easier to settle. Everywhere that we find Muḥammad attacking the Jews or the *munāfiḳūn* [q. v.], that he summons to the holy war ("on the path of Allāh") or where he lays down criminal or civil legislation, we are in Medina, whether we are dealing with whole sūras or small sections or single verses, e. g. vi. 147 *sqq.*; xxix. 1—10; lxxiii. 31—34*a*. The references to events known to us from the *Sīra* in the Medina period, the battles in Muḥammad's wars, his discourses etc., afford us a particularly safe means of arranging the sūras chronologically. There are also all kinds of details in which an investigation of the pertinent passages reveals at least their relative order, e. g. his opinions on wine and his varying utterances on the attitude to other religions and on the holy war. Such details are very suitable for the subjects of special studies and very often yield very important results. Snouck Hurgronje has clearly revealed one point of fundamental importance in *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 33 *sqq.* In the Meccan sūras it is often said that no prophetic admonisher had been sent to the Arabs before Muḥammad as to other peoples (xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 43; xxxvi. 5). Abraham occupies a prominent position among the prophets (xix. 42); he is however only a prophet like the others and has nothing to do with the Arabs. When he is called *ḥanīf* [q. v.], this is in contrast to the polytheists, just as Muḥammad himself is called a *ḥanīf*; and when there is a reference to the *millat Ibrāhīm* (vi. 162; xvi. 124), it may also be understood of monotheism, cf. the words of Joseph in xii. 38. Abraham on the other hand gains quite another significance in Medina, after the definite breach with the Jews had been made. In direct contrast to the previous neglect of the Arabs, we are now told that Abraham lived in Mecca and founded the sanctuary of the Black Stone with his son Ishmael: ii. 119—123; iii. 89—91, a legend (? invented by Arabian Jews!) which had never been heard of in Mecca (xxviii. 57; xxix. 67). When Abraham is now called a *ḥanīf*, the word is used not only in contrast to the polytheists but also to the Jews and Christians: iii. 60; iv. 124; cf. ii. 129; and the *millat Ibrāhīm* is now the original pure religion, which Muḥammad wishes to introduce (ii. 124, 129; iii. 89; iv. 124), for Thora and Gospel were only sent down after Abraham (iii. 58) and the Jews and Christians corrupted the original religion (see above). This certainly shows that passages like xiv. 30—40; xxii. 27, 77, could not have arisen in Mecca, but only later in Medina, which may perhaps also be true of vi. 162, and xvi. 124 above mentioned. Less certain is another criterion of criticism pointed out by the same Dutch scholar (*De Gids*, 1886, ii. 460). He sees in Muḥammad's polemics against the Christians a result of the breach with the Jews and therefore thinks that all passages in which they occur must be Medinese. In the great majority of cases this dating is certainly right, but there is at least o n e such passage which can only be Meccan. In one of the frequent verbal duels between the Prophet and his polytheistic countrymen xliii. 57 *sqq.* the latter endeavour to involve him in the difficulty that Jesus, whom he himself takes as a model, is actually worshipped as God by the Christians; and Muḥammad sharply repudiates this view for "Jesus was and only professed to be a man". Muḥammad was however in the Meccan period always convinced of the full agreement of his teaching with that of the Jews and Christians; but we must remember that,

as already mentioned, the main thing with him at first was not monotheism but the proclamation of the imminent judgment, an idea which he certainly adopted from the Christians; what they thought about Christ was quite subordinate to this and it is also possible that the very Christians with whom he was in contact at this time had heretical views with regard to ecclesiastical Christology. He would soon learn that there were differences on various questions among the "peoples of a scripture" (xxiii. 55; xxvii. 48; xlii. 18) and as strict monotheism had become to him the central element in religion, he had at once to reject orthodox Christology as a degeneration of pure Christianity. Passages like xix. 35—41 may thus have already originated in Mecca.

Just as the first revelation received by Muḥammad was sought among the Meccan sūras, so did the Muslims seek the last among the Medinese, especially as this question was of some importance for possible abrogations. But the Muslim statements vary rather much: cf. *Itḳān*, i. 33 *sq.* Sūra v. or ix. or cx. is given as the last sūra; ii. 278 resp. 281 or iv. 175 as the last verse, while others say v. 5 or ix. 29 *sq.* The last is connected with a tradition which says that Zaid in collecting the Ḳur'ān found these two verses last. Much more attractive is the view that v. 5 is the last, which is probably rightly connected with the farewell pilgrimage (cf. the emphasised "to-day"); as regards contents, it would be very suitable as a final verse, although the meaning is not that Muḥammad's mission was completed but that Allāh's cause had been victorious. The claims of the other verses suggested as the last verse are not capable of any further proof.

22. For the Muḥammadans, the Ḳur'ān is not the sacred book in the usual sense but something of much greater significance. It is, as already mentioned, the faithful reproduction of the original scriptures in heaven. This sounds rather strange, when we remember that this heavenly book, according to the passages above quoted, only became by Allāh's grace an "Arabic" Ḳur'ān, intelligible to Muḥammad and his people, as the scriptures of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* were closed to them; but this distinction gradually disappeared for the religious consciousness. After the conception of eternity and the uncreatedness of the word of God had become known to Muslim theologians through the polemics of Christian theologians (cf. C. H. Becker, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxvi. 186 *sqq.*), it was applied by them to the copy in heaven and then finally by the strictly orthodox school to the Arabic copies of the Ḳur'ān and expressed, epigrammatically in the sentence, "What lies between the two covers, is the word of God". The Mu'tazilis and the more free-thinking theologians raised a protest, it is true, but after al-Ash'arī himself, in the last version of his dogmatics, had championed the view that the written or recited Ḳur'ān is identical in being and reality with the uncreated and eternal word of God, the victory was won by the orthodox school.

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(F. BUHL)

KORDOFĀN is a province in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān which lies roughly between Latitudes N. 16 and 10 and Longitudes E. 32 and 27.

The word Kordofān or Kordofāl, as it is often pronounced locally and written in old documents, does not occur, we think, in any Arabic historian or geographer of the middle ages. It is generally supposed to be derived from a small hill of the same name some ten miles S.E. of al-'Obeid (Lat. N. 13° 11', Long. E. 30° 14'), but the meaning of the word, the language from which it is drawn, and the territorial limits to which it was applied before the last century, are all uncertain. In the

Ṭabaḳāt wad Ḍaifulla (1805) the name occurs in the lives of three holy men of the seventeenth century; one of them, called al-Kordofānī, came from Ḳurun which is south of Ṭeḳali and another from Zalaṭa which is west of Nahūd. Burckhardt, whose knowledge of it was mainly obtained from merchants in Shendi (1814), refers to Kordofān frequently as if it were a region comparable to Dārfūr or Sennār. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it seems, therefore, to have included a broad corridor running between the southern Nūba mountains and Dār Kabābīsh; to this day Arabs north of Lat. N. 14° 30′ speak of "going to Kordofān". After the Egyptian conquest in 1821 the name was applied to one of the greater administrative areas into which the Sūdān was divided and for the next sixty years it covered a region reaching from or near the White Nile westwards to Dārfūr, and from Dongola province south to the line formed by the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and the Baḥr al-ʿArab. After the Khalīfa's defeat in 1899 the province was re-constituted for a few years on the old lines but it has since been reduced by the formation, first, of the White Nile province and, later, of the Nūba Mountains province. As at present defined, Kordofān province covers an area of about 119,000 square miles with a population estimated in 1925 at less than half a million. Al-ʿObeid is the capital and the chief local centres are at Bāra and Sōderi (north), Umm Ruāba and Rahad (east) and Nahūd, Abū Zabad, al-Odaiya and Muglad (west). The capital of the Nūba Mountains province is at Talōdi.

In this vast area there is considerable variety of soil, rainfall, fauna, and flora, and the inhabitants are perhaps still more diverse, the region in these respects being typical of a series of African territories between the same parallels of latitude, though unlike some of these Kordofān has never formed the centre of an independent native state. The middle zone through which a railway passes to al-ʿObeid, is and has long been the most important economically and as a pilgrim route from Central and Western Africa. Before the Egyptian conquest the Dārfūr slave-trade, a trade then chiefly in small children, passed through this zone, and during the Egyptian rule it was the centre from which slaves were recruited for the army from the Nūba mountains. Gum, ivory, ostrich feathers and a little gold have also been traded through this region for many centuries, but only the first of these commodities is still of importance; to-day large quantities of the finest gum are exported from Kordofān to the world markets, also cattle to Egypt from the Baḳḳāra districts in the south-west, and from the eastern district grain (*dukhn*) to Arabia. The opening of the railway, the sinking of deep wells, and the clearing of motor roads have given a great impetus to the development of this country. North of this zone the rainfall is light, semi-desert conditions prevail over large areas, and the country is divided between various camel-owning tribes except for a few hills still occupied by much reduced communities of sedentary Nūba and a few oases, like Bāra, where gardens can be cultivated. In the southern third, on the other hand, and particularly in the Nūba mountains, natural conditions are much more favourable to the production of crops like cotton and the breeding of cattle and horses; this part of the country has now been tranquil for some years and is steadily increasing in wealth as communications improve.

The population is formed of the most diverse elements. In the north and centre Arabic is universally spoken and Islām of the usual African type is the religion of the people; in the south, Arabic is now spreading along the trade-routes, but most of the people on the hills have still kept their own languages and forms of religion. Most of the Arabic-speaking people whose conversion to Islām is not very recent, claim Arab pedigrees but it is impossible to say what amount of Arab blood is still flowing in any particular district here or elsewhere in the Sūdān. The Arabs filtered into the land in small bands and intermarried freely with the natives, Libyan, Nubian, Beja or what not, according to their own traditions which are confirmed by their customs and appearance. The Kabābīsh, for example, in the north of Kordofān, who are counted, probably with right, one of the most 'Arabian' of the tribes, infibulate their women according to the Sūdān 'Pharaonic' rite and observe the marriage customs which are characteristic from Dongola to Sennār, and the tribe is a recent amalgam of heterogeneous elements, different sections speaking different dialects of Arabic. The Baḳḳāra tribes, on the other hand, are, or until recently were, strongly opposed to infibulation and the more characteristic wedding customs of their Muslim neighbours, yet they can hardly be considered more Arab than the Kabābīsh. It is obvious that the term Arab when used in the Sūdān as an ethnic term must be understood with a difference. This difference must be still further accentuated in the case of the more mixed communities in the centre of Kordofān and on the more advanced Nūba hills where Arabic is spoken and Islām practiced as it is understood on the Nile. When one turns from these to the naked Pagans on the hills, one enters a sphere which is quite as heterogeneous as the sphere one has left: the term Nūba which is applied by the Arabs here to any black pagans suggests a relationship which has no existence in fact. In a recent study Meinhof has enumerated 27 languages spoken on the Nūba hills and has traced them to three distinct African language groups which reach back to remote prehistoric days. It may be added that Meinhof's list is probably incomplete and that the inhabitants of different hills also differ profoundly from one another in physical type and in the acquired knowledge and dexterity observable in primitive crafts and pursuits.

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B. Z. Seligman in *Harvard African Studies*, 1918, in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Ethics etc.*, s.v. Nuba, in *J. R. A. I.* for 1910 and in the *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, 1910, and to various notes by MacMichael, Newbold, Davies, Hillelson, the Seligmans and others in *Sudan Notes and Records* from 1918 onwards.

(J. W. Crowfoot)

KORKŪD, eldest son of the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd II, was appointed to the governorship of the province of Teke in Asia Minor; incurring the enmity of the grand vizier 'Alī Pasha, who preferred his brother Aḥmad Sulṭān to him, he decided to quit his father's territory after the grand vizier had seized certain estates in his province; obtaining sanction to set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca, he embarked in Muḥarram 915 (April 1509) with 87 persons in his train on five ships commanded by Ra'īs Akbash; after a voyage of five days, he landed at Alexandria and was accorded a magnificent reception in Cairo by the Mamlūk Sulṭān but the latter refused him passage through his territory for fear of displeasing the Ottoman Sulṭān; Korkūd thereupon resolved to come to terms with his father's vizier and was restored to his governorship. While he was on his way back to Cilicia his flotilla was attacked and defeated by the Knights of Rhodes; the prince was forced to land on the nearest coast. In passing through the province of Teke, he had his baggage plundered in the vicinity of Elmalu by brigands commanded by Kara-bîyîk, called Shāh Kulî (cf. *Der Islām*, xi. 88 *sqq.*) Suspecting intrigues on the part of his brothers, he went in disguise to Constantinople and stayed at the mosque of the Janissaries, but the latter took the side of Selīm and distrusted Korkūd's incapacity. The forced abdication of Bāyazīd made him abandon all hope of succeeding him (8th Ṣafar 918 = April 25, 1512). After the massacre of the imperial princes, Korkūd was in terror of his life; Selīm, setting out unexpectedly from Brussa under a pretext of going hunting, arrived five days later in front of Magnesia the capital of the province of Ṣārūkhān [q.v.] of which his brother was governor. Korkūd fled from his palace by a back-door accompanied by Piyāle, whom alone he trusted. After hiding for twenty days in a cave, they took refuge in the province of Teke in disguise but were betrayed to the governor Ḳāsim Beg by the Turkomans, who were surprised at the handsome trappings of the horse lent by Piyāle to one of them who was sent to procure them provisions. Korkūd, taken prisoner and separated from his companion, was strangled during the night by Kapydjibashi Sinān's men by order of Selīm (Nov. 1512).

Korkūd was a poet and musician. He assumed the poetic surname (*makhlaṣ*) of Ḥarīmī and composed melodies, one of which is still famous under the name *Ghadā'-i Rūḥ* "food of the spirit". He surrounded himself with men of letters and scholars and was the patron of musicians in whose company he delighted. At his court he had the poet Ghazālī of Brussa, called Deli Birāder "the mad brother" on account of his whimsical gaiety, who later wrote a funeral elegy on his patron (von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii. 201); this did not prevent him also mixing in legal circles and preparing a collection of fetwās entitled *Korkūdiya*. — His name means in Turkish "terrifying".

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(Cl. Huart)

KORKUD DEDE, the legendary councillor of Oghuz Khān and reputed author of the book of *Dede Korkud*. Korkud Dede is said to have been the sage adviser of the eponym of the tribe and first ruler of the group of peoples, to which the Anatolian Turks at first belonged, Oghuz Khān, for whom he composed a book in the simplest antique style with wise sayings and admonitions, intermingled with all kinds of traditions and counsels. Whether Korkud Dede was a historical personage or not can no longer be ascertained. A. Diwajew in the article discussed by W. Barthold in the *M. S. O. S.*, i. (1898), Pt. 2, p. 154 and iv. (1901), Pt. 2, p. 183, has dealt with the tomb of the saint Khorkhut Ata (*ata* = *dede*, "father") in the Russian district of Kazalinsk not far from the mouth of the Sîr-Daryā. There is perhaps some connection here. The book, usually called simply *Kitāb-i Dede Korkud*, is regarded as a part of the epic of Oghuz, the *Oghuz-nāme* and in its present form is believed to be barely older than the xvth century. It can be shown to have arisen in Eastern Anatolia. The *Kitāb-i Dede Korkud* was published in 1332 in Stambul (172 p.) from a modern Dresden copy taken from an older Berlin MS. (cf. W. Pertsch, *Katal. der Türk. HSS.*, N⁰. 203, p. 227 *sqq.*). On the contents cf. W. Barthold in *Zapiski vostočnago otdělenija imperat. russk. archeolog. obščestva*, viii., 1893/1894, 203—218; xi., 1897/1898, 175—194; xii., 1899, 937—958; xv., 1902/1903, 139 *sqq.*; cf. also 'Abd al-Ḳādir in the *Türkiyāt Medjmū'asî*, i, Stambul 1925, 213 *sqq.*

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(Franz Babinger)

KÖSE MIKHĀL (T., "Michael the beardless"), an Ottoman general, a Greek renegade, was lord of Kharman-Kaya, a fortified town situated at the foot of Mount Olympus in Mysia, to the east of Edrenos, when he was made prisoner by prince 'Othmān, the future Sulṭān, during a raid made by the Lord of In-Önü (698 = 1299). When 'Othmān had succeeded his father Er-Toghrul, he became the intimate friend of the sulṭān, who on his advice seized Lefke, Yeñidje, Ak-Ḥiṣār, Geiwe, Tekfūr-bînar, Modreni, Biledjik (699 = 1300). Converted to Islām (706 = 1306) he was entrusted with the direction of the campaigns of Orkhān, was a member of the council of war which accompanied

the young prince, and negotiated the surrender of Brussa (726 = 1326).

His descendants called Mikhāl-oghlu (sons of Michael) for a long time held from father to son, the command of the *aḳindji* (scouts). One of his sons had taken the side of Prince Sulaimān, son of Bāyazīd I; later he left him to offer his services to Muḥammad.

Yakhshi-Beg, his second son, supported Muḥammad against Mūsā and commanded his vanguard. Another Mikhāl-oghlu, Muḥammad Beg, nephew of Yakhshi-Beg, was on the contrary among the party of Mūsā in the quality of beyler-bey of Rumelia and, after the defeat of that prince, was imprisoned at Toḳat. Lastly a descendant of the same name was sent to ravage Transylvania at the time of Sulaimān I's expedition against the Hungarians in 927 (1521).

Bibliography: Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārikh*, Constantinople 1279, p. 19, 24, 28; Kara Čelebi-zāde, *Rawḍat al-Abrār*, Būlāḳ 1248, 341; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3921; J. v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, transl. Hellert, i. 64, 77, 102, 129, 147; ii. 143, 151, 152, 156; v. 15. (CL. HUART)

KÖSEM WĀLIDE also called MĀHPEIKER, the wife of the Ottoman Sulṭān Aḥmad I [q. v.] and mother of the Sulṭāns Murād IV and Ibrāhīm I. — Kösem (lit.: "bell-wether", "courageous") or Māhpeiker was a Greek by birth. In 1637 she was about 45, so must have been born about 1592. Contemporary accounts describe her as a woman, still beautiful even at an advanced age, with fine features, vigorous looking, with an expression of benevolence and superior intelligence. For nearly thirty years this statesmanlike princess exercised a great influence on the government of the country. While, even in the lifetime of her husband Aḥmad I, she took an active part in public affairs and through her beauty and intelligence was able to share in the government, at a later period she had firm control of the reins of government, when her minor son Murād IV ascended the throne. For five years she ruled as his guardian. On his death in 1049 (1640), when the weak and effeminate Ibrāhīm I (1640—1648) came to the throne, she was active in warding off trouble at home, began a war with Crete which dragged on and increased popular feeling against the incapable Sulṭān. Kösem Wālide strove in vain to prevent his deposition, although she had been thrust aside by him, as previously by Murād IV. Ibrāhīm was deposed on August 8, 1648 (18th Radjab 1058) and executed a few days later. Three years afterwards however, when the minor Meḥmed IV had ascended the throne and a rivalry arose between the old Wālide Kösem and Ibrāhīm's widow, Tarkhān Khadīdja, in the course of which Kösem was accused of trying to murder Meḥmed IV in order to put his brother Sulaimān in his place, she met a miserable end in a mutiny of the Janissaries in the palace on 16th Ramaḍān 1061 (September 2, 1651); she was strangled with a curtain-string. She was buried beside her husband. Kösem Wālide is still celebrated and honoured among the Turks on account of the numerous foundations which perpetuate her name. She was a noble, magnanimous, truly queenly woman of great intelligence and a good heart but of strong character. She devoted the annual income from five royal domains belonging to her entirely to building (1646) a house of rest called after her (*Wālide Khān*, collapsed on the morning of March 21, 1926), a Friday mosque bearing her name in Scutari and a mosque begun by her but finished by the younger Wālide in Stambul (*Wālide Djāmi'-i*) and to the carrying out of waterworks in Egypt, to the support of the poor in Mecca, to providing for debtors who had no means of payment, and to supporting widows and orphans (Na'īmā, *Ta'rīkh*, ii. 298, 310; J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 547, where details are given to show her benevolent disposition).

Bibliography: The histories of J. von Hammer and Zinkeisen, where the Ottoman (especially Na'īmā and Ḥādjdji Khalīfa) and European sources (*Relazioni* of the Venetian *baili*) are utilised; cf. also Aḥmad Rafīḳ, *Ḳadınlar Salṭanatı*, 2 vols., Stambul 1332 and 1924. (FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲOṢĒR. [See ḲUṢAIR].

KÖSHK (Ottoman Turkish pronunciation of the Persian *kūshk*; the Arabic derivative *djawsaḳ*, pre-supposes an unattested form **gōshak, gōsha*, "corner"), isolated pavilion in a park, kiosk. This name was given to the country houses of the caliphs (as opposed to their house in the town), such as the Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī of Sāmarra, the plan of which has been given by Ernst Herzfeld (*Mitteilung über die Arbeiten der zweiten Kampagne von Samarra*, *Isl.*, 1914, v. 203). There were in Cairo a certain number of these pavilions, also called *ḳaṣr* (pl. *ḳuṣūr*), at the cemetery of Ḳarāfa (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 452); these two expressions are synonyms, as is shown by a passage in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 212. (CL. HUART)

ḲOSHMA is originally a general term for poetry among the Turkish peoples. In the later usage of the word it was applied to the native Turkish popular poetry, in contrast to the classical poetry taken from the Persian and based on the laws of the Arabic *'arūḍ* [q. v.]. The term corresponding in Eastern Turki to the Western Turki *ḳoshma* is *ḳoshuḳ* or *ḳoshugh*.

In the oldest sources e. g. in the *Ḳutadghu Bilik* (composed in 1069/1070) *ḳoshuḳ* still has the quite general meaning of "poem, verse", e. g. in Radloff's edition, St. Petersburg 1891, p. 1, l. 2 from below: *bu kitābni ḳoshukul eimidi* "has composed this book, this poem"; ibid., p. 5, l. 4: *bu türkčä ḳoshuklar tüzättim saña* "I have polished (i. e. composed) these Turkish verses for thee". In Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī also, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* (1073/1074), i. 314, *ḳoshugh* is equated to the Arabic *shi'r*, *radjaz* and *ḳaṣīda*. The Persian musician and scholar 'Abd al-Ḳādir of Marāgha (xiv—xvth century, cf. E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, Index, s. v.), in his work entitled *Maḳāṣid al-Alḥān* does not yet discriminate between *ḳoshuḳ* and the quantitative quatrain *tuyugh* (see Ra'ūf Yekta, *Eski Türk musiḳīsine dā'ir tetebbu'ler*, *Millī tetebbu'ler medjmū'asi*, i. 461). On the other hand in a verse by 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (d. 1501; q. v.) quoted in Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, p. 432 s. v. and in Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte*, ii. col. 640 the *ḳoshuḳ* is definitely contrasted with the *tuyuḳ*.

Later we find poems and songs composed according to the rules of Turkish popular poetry expressly called *ḳoshma*, *ḳoshuḳ*. The characteristic

features of this poetry are the following: 1. Strophic structure. The strophes are usually quatrains. The *ḳoshma* poems contain at least two strophes. 2. Syllabic or accented syllable rhythm, i. e. the lines of the strophe have the same number of syllables and the value of the syllables as regards stress is either a matter of indifference or stronger and weaker syllables follow one another in definite order which is repeated. In the latter case after a definite number of syllables, we always have of necessity a caesura in the middle of the line. In the later *ḳoshma* strophes the most popular lines are hendecasyllabic divided into 6-5 with one caesura or 4-4-3 (with two caesuras). 3. There is rhyme or assonance of at least two endings in the strophe. The rhyme is usually grammatical and may extend to several final syllables according to its nature. It usually arises as a result of strict parallelism in the syntactical structure of the two halves of the verse. The rhyming in the *ḳoshma* strophe is usually *abab* or *aaba*. 4. Alliteration of the initial syllables of the lines is not maintained among all Turkish people (cf. T. Kowalski, *Études sur la forme de la poésie des peuples turcs*, *Mémoires de la Comm. Orient. de l'Acad. Polonaise*, N°. 5, Cracow 1922; in Polish with a French résumé, p. 157 *sqq.*).

In earlier times the ḳoshma songs were usually sung by the bards (*ozan*) to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially the *ḳobuz* [q.v.] beloved of the Turks, at court festivities or in the camp of the army. The ḳoshma poetry was always industriously cultivated among the people, in spite of the increasing popularity of the classical quantitative poetry. The popular forms like *ḳoya ḳaghî*, *dēyish*, *egi*, *ir*, *türkü*, *warsaghî*, *türkmānî*, some cultivated among the Ādharbāidjān and some among the Ottoman Turks all belong to the *ḳoshma*. The songs of popular mystics called *ilāhî* and *nefes* from the time of Yūnus Emre (xiii.—xiv. century) are composed according to the rules of the *ḳoshma* (see Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türk edebiyātînda ilk mutaṣawwifler*, Constantinople 1918, p. 334—335). The *ḳoshma* popular poetry, which sometimes produces really beautiful lyrics, was mainly cultivated by wandering singers (*'āshîḳ*, also called *saz shā'iri* or *ḳoyunḏju*). Many of them like 'Āshîḳ 'Omar, 'Āshîḳ Kerem, 'Āshîḳ Gharib, Derdli, Djewheri, attained great fame and the collections of their songs or life stories are among the most popular books among the Turks (cf. Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türk edebiyātînda 'Āshîḳ Ṭarzînîñ Menshe' we-Tekāmülü* in *Millî tetebbü'ler Medjmū'asî*, i.; do., *'Āshîḳ Djewherîye 'ā'id iki wethîḳa* in the periodical *Yeñi Medjmū'a*, N°. 84; G. Jacob, *Türkische Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1901, p. 17—18). There were even singers of popular songs in the corps of Janissaries; cf. J. Deny, *Chansons des Janissaires turcs d'Alger*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii., p. 33—175.

The term *ḳoshma* (but not the kind of poetry to which it was applied) seems to have fallen out of use and if the modern Ādharbāidjān poet Djawād who died recently called his collection of songs *Ḳoshma*, this is probably simply to be explained by an archaicising popular movement in modern literature. The name has survived in the form *ḳoshoñ* (*ḳoshoñ*) among the Altai Turks (Tatars). The Altai *ḳoshoñ* (on them cf. W. Radloff, *Über die Formen der gebundenen Rede bei den altaischen Tataren*, *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, iv., 1866, p. 85—114 and Kowalski, *Études* etc., p. 140—151) are very important in so far as from their structure and name we can make a definite deduction regarding the original meaning of the words *ḳoshma*, *ḳoshuḳ*, etc. They are pairs of strophes connected by a close parallelism between the two in form and content. From this we see that *ḳoshoñ* from *ḳosh-* "to join together", *ḳoshe* "two and two" etc., refers to the parallelism in thought and syntactical structure, which originally formed the essential feature of Turkish popular poetry.

The *ḳoshma* poetry was not without influence on literature. The modern Turkish poets for example took many of their forms from popular poetry.

Bibliography: (dealing particularly with *ḳoshma*): Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Ḳoshma Tarzî*, a comprehensive article in the periodical *Yeñi Medjmū'a*, N°. 78 (with references to the literature); do., *Türkiye Ta'rîkhi*, Constantinople, 1923, i. 51—52; do., *Türk edebiyātî Ta'rîkhi*, Constantinople 1920, i. 93; Kowalski in the above quoted *Études* etc., p. 140. — On the rhythmic structure of Turkish popular poetry cf. Th. Korsh, *Drevnieĭshiĭ narodnyĭ stich turetskich plemion* in *Zap. Wost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Archeol. Obshchestwa*, xix., ii.—iii., p. 139—167, St. Petersburg 1909.

(T. Kowalski)

ḲOṢOWA (from the Yugo-Slav *kosovo polje* — "plain of the blackbirds", from *kos* "blackbird" in Old Slav, Bulgar and Czech; the Turkish *ḳös owa* "plain of the kettle-drums", Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 117 is a literary invention), the name of a plateau in Upper Macedonia (Old Serbia) of an average height of 1,500 to 2,000 feet, surrounded by high mountains which form the watershed; it sends some streams to the east to the Adriatic by the Drina, to the south to the Aegean Sea by the Vardar, to the north to the Danube by the Ibar, a tributary of the Morawa. It was here that the Ottoman army under the command of Sulṭān Murād I Khudāwendigār defeated the Serbs in a great battle, which resulted in the ruin of the Serbian empire and the conquest of the country in 791 (June 15, 1389). The ḳrāl of Serbia, Lazar, had appealed to his allies in Bosnia and Albania; the Sulṭān on his side had brought from Asia the forces of his two sons Bāyazīd (from Kutāhiya) and Ya'ḳūb (from Ḳarasi) and those of the vassal princes of Ṣārūkhān, Menteshe, Āidīn and Ḥamīd. At dawn a Serb, Milosh Obilić, arrived in the Ottoman camp, professing to have deserted and begged the honour of being admitted to the presence of the Sulṭān; after prostrating himself, he suddenly jumped up and plunged his dagger in Murād's breast; he then fled, but was caught just as he was mounting his horse and cut to pieces by the Janissaries. The popular ballads of Christian origin, an echo of which is found in Coluccio Salutati's letter of congratulation to King Wladko, speak of twelve brave young men, bound together by an oath, who fought their way right through to the Sulṭān's tent and stabbed him twice with the dagger, one wound being on the neck and the other on the lower part of the body. The Turks attacked, furious with rage to avenge the death of their Sulṭān. The ḳrāl Lazar, abandoned by Wladko and the Bosnians, seized with panic, fell into the hands

of the Turks and was decapitated with the nobles who accompanied him by order of the dying Sulṭān. Three monoliths erected on the battlefield mark the places where Milosh twice escaped from the Janissaries and where he was killed (Ṣolaḳ-zāde). A mausoleum was built on the spot where Murād died; the body of the Sulṭān was however taken away and buried at Brussa. — In Sha'bān 852 (October 17, 1448, Eve of St. Luke) a Hungarian army, commanded by John Hunyadi and including also Wallachians and German and Bohemian arquebusiers, met at Ḳoṣowa an Ottoman army commanded by Sulṭān Murād II: the battle at first indecisive, turned in favour of the latter as a result of the treachery of the Wallachians and the flight of Hunyadi; it ended on the 19th with the glorious but fruitless defence of the German and Czech auxiliaries behind a barricade formed of waggons and artillery.

The name Ḳoṣowa was given to a wilāyet formed after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877: it was bounded on the east by Bulgaria, in the west by Montenegro, Bosnia and the wilāyet of Scutari in Albania, in the north by Serbia and in the south by the wilāyets of Monastir and Salonika. It was divided into six sandjaḳs: Üsküb (capital of the province), Prishtina, Prizrend, Yeñi-Bāzār (Novi-Bazar), Tashlidja (Plevlie) and Ipek; at a later date the sandjaḳ of Yeñi-Bāzār was changed into a ḳaḍā and a new sandjaḳ made called Senidje (Sienitza) with Ḳolashin as a ḳaḍā (*Sālnāme*, 1325, p. 932). This territory was ceded to the Serbs by the Treaty of London (May 30, 1913); it is now part of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Bibliography: Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i. 117 *sqq.*, p. 392 *sqq.*; 'Alī Djawād, *Djoghrāfyā lughāti*, p. 635 *sqq.*; *Sālnāme* 1325, p. 926 *sqq.*; Munedjdjim-Bashī, iii. 303—304; Ferā'ī-zāde, *Gulshani ma'ārif*, i. 451—457; Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Rawḍat al-Abrār*, p. 350; J. v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, i. 281 *sqq.*; ii. 334 *sqq.*; T. G. Djuvara, *Cent projets de partage de la Turquie*, Paris 1914, p. 450; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, i. 262—264, 451; Stojan Novakovitch, *Kosovo*, *Srbske narodne Pjesmi* (popular ballads), Belgrade 1871—1876; A. d'Avril, *La bataille de Kossovo*, Paris 1868; A. Pavitch, *Narodne Pjesmi* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences et arts d'Agram*, 1877); H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 174 *sqq.*

(CL. HUART)

ḲOSṬĀ b. LŪḲĀ, AL-BA'ALBAKKĪ. Our authorities for his life are Ya'ḳūb al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, p. 295), Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a (i. 244, who quotes a very large number of works, mainly medical), Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (p. 262), Abu 'l-Faradj (text, p. 274; transl., p. 197). These give as their sources Sulaimān b. al-Ḥassān, Ibn al-Nadīm al-Baghdādī, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Djibrīl and others not mentioned by name. There are also references in other passages of the Arabic biographical and bibliographical works mentioned above. For those which we have utilised below, see the indexes.

Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā belonged to Ba'albak (the Heliopolis of the Greeks) in Syria; he was of Greek descent and a Melkite i.e. an orthodox Christian. In this capacity for example he disputed with a Nestorian cleric regarding the duality of the natures in Christ (cf. G. Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur*, in *Strassburger Theolog. Studien*, vol. vii/i., 1905, p. 38 *sq.*). We know the years of birth and death of many Arab mathematicians but not of Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā. We have however the following chronological data for his life. For the Caliph Musta'īn (862—866) he translated the work "On the lifting of heavy burdens" (*Barulcus*) of Heron and the *Spherics* of Theodosius; he wrote an introduction to geometry for Abu 'l-Ḥasan Alī b. Yaḥyā who belonged to al-Mutawakkil's (847—861) court and died in 888—889. To Ismā'īl b. Bulbul, Mu'tamid's vizier (870/892) he dedicated his work on the use of the sphere with an axe. He was still alive in the reign of al-Muḳtadir (908—932), for he was on terms of intimacy with the latter's contemporary Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir (*The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, *Oriental. Transl. Fund*, 2nd ser., xxvii. and xxviii., text, p. 131, transl., p. 144). Suter supposes that Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā died about 912; as he can hardly have begun to translate before he was 25 years old, it would result from the above data that he was born about 820 and lived to be 70 or 80.

Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā was regarded as a talented and very brilliant physician and a sound scholar in many branches of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic and music. It was impossible to find him lacking in any aspect of his knowledge. According to the *Fihrist*, it was the general opinion that Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā ranked higher than the celebrated physician and translator Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ (d. 873). But, according to the same source, there were others who held the view that Ḥunain was the better. In any case both were brilliant scholars. Modern opinion ranks Ḳosṭā below Ḥunain. Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā could write Greek, Syriac and Arabic; he had a perfect knowledge of Greek and was an excellent translator, especially of medical works; this was natural as he was a physician. His Arabic style is famed as well as the way in which he arranged his works; his concise presentation is justly praised; its lack makes difficult the study of the works of others, notably those of Ibn al-Haitham.

Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā left his native district in the 'Abbāsid period and went to Asia Minor, the land of Rūm; here he acquired a number of Greek writings and returned with them to Syria. He was summoned to 'Irāḳ, probably by one of the Caliphs, to translate works there. At the same time he revised many existing translations; Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā thus rendered great services to the East in making accessible classical learning. The Muslims therefore say that the reason that many branches of philosophy are studied in Muslim lands is that Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā introduced them on his return from this journey. Towards the end of his life Sanḥarīb, an Armenian prince took Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā to his land, where he lived till his death. The Armenian Patriarch Abu 'l-Ghiṭrīf was a learned and distinguished man for whom Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā prepared many excellent works on the most different subjects. It is evidence of the great prestige enjoyed by Ḳosṭā that a cupola was erected in his honour over his tomb, as was only done for princes and high religious officials.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ celebrated Ḳosṭā's merits in verse (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii. 166).

Of his relations to his contemporaries,

we know that he wrote medical works for some of them or translated medical books, for example even for Christian officials. Among such were Abu 'l-Ghaṭrīf al-Baṭrīḳ, al-Baṭrīḳ al-Faḍl, al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, the secretary of the Chief Patriarch, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, the chief Ḳāḍī, Abū 'Alī b. Banān b. Ḥārith. It is probable that Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā also met the philosopher al-Kindī at the Caliph's court, as Ibn al-Ḳifṭī specially mentions that the two had met. Of a certain Abū 'Īsā b. al-Munadjdjim (astronomer or astrologer), we unfortunately know nothing; Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā sent him a letter from Armenia on the subject of Muḥammad as a prophet (for his relations with other men see the sources).

The literary activity of Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā covered the most varied fields, as in the case of the Banū Mūsā, Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunain and Thābit b. Ḳurra; it does not seem however to have been quite so comprehensive as in the case of the two latter; but it should be remembered that we are extremely well informed about the latter. Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunain, for example, himself prepared a list of his translations from Galen (G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāḳ über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-übersetzungen*, in *Abh. zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xvii., Nº. 2, and a record of Thābit's works was made by a relative.

A list of translations of Greek works was made by M. Steinschneider in *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. l., 1896; see the index of names under Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā as the order is that of the Greek authors. The titles of a series of very valuable medical treatises are given by Wüstenfeld and Leclerc (*op. cit.*). Only a few of these seem to have survived, for example that on the treatment of the body in jaundice (*K. fī Tadbīr al-Abdān fi 'l-Ṣafar* etc.), on phlegm (*K. fi 'l-Balgham*), insomnia (*K. fi 'l-Sahar*). None of these writings has so far been utilised. He also dealt with problems of hygiene, for example, baths (*K. al-Ḥammām*) and the standards for foods (*K. Ḳawānīn al-Aghdiya*).

In addition to these and similar works on philosophy, science and mathematics, Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā also wrote on dyes and colours: *K. fi Khiḍāb* (on the staining of *khaiṣh*, a coarse linen, and its alteration by sprinkling, *K. al-'Ilal fī Iswidād al-Khaiṣh wa-Taghaiyurihi min al-Rashsh*). Other works deal with fans and the causes of wind (*K. fi 'l-Marāwiḥ wa-Asbāb al-Rīḥ*), and on date wine and the drinking of it at feasts (*K. fi 'l-Nabīd wa-Sharbihi fi 'l-Walā'im*) and how to avert poisoning (*K. fī Daf' al-Sumūm*).

According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vol. v., p. 132, Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā is also the translator of the work on Byzantine agriculture (*Kitāb al-Falāḥa al-Rūmīya*) by Kostus son of Askūrāskīnā; a translation by Sergius b. Helīā is said to be better (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vol. v., Nº. 10377; cf. thereon M. Steinschneider, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. l., p. 382, 1896 and A. Baumstark, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, ii. 21).

In the field of philosophy his principal work deals with the distinction between soul and spirit, pneuma (*al-farḳ or al-faṣl bain al-nafs wa 'l-rūḥ*). The genuineness of the work has been disputed. The difference between soul and pneuma lies 1) in their nature: the soul is corporeal, the pneuma incorporeal; 2) in their qualities: the soul occupies no space, the pneuma does; the former cannot be but latter can be enclosed by the body; 3) in the condition after death: the soul is immortal and the pneuma mortal; 4) the pneuma is the instrument of the soul for communicating the functions of life to the body and for sensual perception. It controls most processes of the body, such as breathing, the pulse, sensation and movement. The pneuma goes to the eye in the hollow nerves. In its finest form, it is active in the higher processes of the mind, imagination, memory and reason. It is of special interest to explain, as Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā endeavoured to do, the physiological processes; here he shows his medical knowledge.

The work had a far-reaching influence. It is for example much used by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl in his great book on nature. — Johannes Hispanus translated it into Latin. The text was published by Gabrieli as: *La Risālah di Qusṭā ben Lūqā sulla differenza tra lo spirito e l'anima*, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 1910, xix., p. 622. It has been very fully discussed in connection with this edition by M. Horten in *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*[2], 1912, p. 179—189. Cf. also the edition by C. S. Barach, *Bibl. philos. mediae aetatis*, 1878, ii., p. 117 (cf. Baeumker, *Jahresbericht* in Stein, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 1892, v., p. 557). G. Graf, *Psychologische Definitionen aus dem grossen Buch der Natur von 'Abd Allāh*, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Supplement 1913, p. 74.

Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā dealt very fully with occult subjects; his most important work in this field, which survives in a Latin translation, is "On natural affinities" or more fully "Letters on incantations, conjurations and appendages for the neck (amulets)", in which he assumes such things to be facts and discusses them more fully (cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*); he interprets them however by autosuggestion and in the case of amulets thinks they have effect because they have an encouraging and strengthening influence on the spirit. It was probably through such studies that he came to deal with the subject of sand-figures in his *K. fī 'Amal al-Āla allatī tursamu 'alaihā al-Djawāmi' wa-tu'malu minhā al-Natā'idj*, "On the use of the instrument on which the *djawāmi'* are marked and with which the *natā'idj* are obtained".

In mathematics Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā, like many others, dealt with the difficult and obscure passages in Greek works. His treatise on the proof of the wellknown rule of the two errors (*Kitāb fi 'l-Burhān 'alā 'Amal Ḥisāb al-Khaṭa'ain*) is pure algebra, that on numerical problems (*K. fī Istikhrādj al-Masā'il al-'adadīya*) on the *al-Talāḳī* calculation (coincidence) are on the way to algebra. *K. fī Ḥisāb al-Talāḳī 'alā Djihat al-Djabr wa 'l-Muḳābala*. From a treatise by Ibn al-Haitham (*Fī Masā'il al-Talāḳī*, "On the problem of coincidences; cf. on this method of calculation, E. Wiedemann in *S. B. P. M. S., Erl.*, 1927; St. Petersburg. Rosen, *Catalogus*, Nº. 192, 7°) we see that it dealt with problems like the following: two men A and B came to the market and wished to buy an article. Neither has sufficient money: A says to B, give me $\frac{1}{3}$rd of what you have then I can buy the article. No, says B to A, give me $\frac{1}{4}$ of what you have then I can buy it. — From the title in Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā it is evident that he solved the problem with equations, while Ibn al-Haitham took a more roundabout way. We know practically

nothing of any geometrical work by Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā. He wrote an introduction to geometry in the form of questions and answers (*K. Mudkhal ilā ʿIlm al-Handasa ʿalā al-Masāʾil wa 'l-Djawāb*); he also dealt with cones and spheres etc. To this part of his work probably belonged the treatise, on the part which cannot be divided (like the point) (*K. fi 'l-Djuzʾ alladhi lā jutadjazzaʾ*). We know more however of his astronomical work. He wrote a treatise (Oxford, Uri, 879, Nº. 2), "On the form (structure) of the spheres (*K. Haiʾat al-Aflāk*)". It must have been composed at the same time as, or very little later than, the famous *Astronomy* of al-Farghānī (d. 861); from the scientific point of view it is on a much higher level than the latter and goes more into details; excellent diagrams make the subject clearer. It also deals with problems not in al-Farghānī, for example the measurement of the degrees between Tadmor and al-Raḳḳa and a method hitherto ascribed to al-Bīrūnī of measuring the circumference of the earth. Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā's work seems to me to have been used as a foundation by numerous later writers.

Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā devoted a good deal of attention to the construction of astronomical instruments; the first work to be mentioned in this connection is his *K. fi 'l-ʿAmal bi 'l-Kura dhāt al-Kursī*, "On the use of the sphere with an axe" (cf. KURA). It survives in several manuscripts some complete, others incomplete, and has also been copied or utilised in other works. Another astronomical work is "On the use of the great astronomical cones", *K. al-ʿAmal bi 'l-Kura al-kabīra al-nudjūmiya*. Whether works dealing with other instruments e.g. on a ball-shaped astrolabe, *K. fi 'Amal al-Aṣṭurlāb al-kurī*, are by Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā need not be discussed here (cf. H. Seemann and Th. Mittelberger, *Das kugelförmige Astrolab*, *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturw.*, part viii., 1925, p. 46). In keeping with the spirit of his age Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā also wrote an introduction to astrology (*K. al-Mudkhal fi ʿIlm al-Nudjūm*). The „Paradise of History", *K. al-Firdaws fi 'l-Taʾrīkh*, composed in Armenia perhaps was similar in nature.

Of writings on physics may be mentioned those on the burning glass (*al-Marāya al-muḥriḳa*) and on the *Ḳarasṭūn* [q.v.] and the book on weights and measures (*al-Awzān wa 'l-Makāyīl*) which was certainly used by the Archbishop Eliyā for his book of the same name (cf. Th. Ibel, *Über die Wage* etc., Inaug. Diss. Erlangen 1906, p. 97). Of special importance is the translation of Hero's Βαρουλκος (*Kitāb fi Rafʿ al-Ashyāʾ al-thaḳīla*, "On the raising of heavy bodies"); it has been edited with French translations by Carra de Vaux, *J. A.*, ix., 1893, i. 386—472 and ii. 152—269, 420—514 and German by L. Nix and W. Schmidt in *Heronis Opera omnia*, ii/i.; further bibliographical references were given in these editions and also in C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 204. Not the least important point about this work by Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā is the insight into Greek mechanics that it gives us.

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KOTEL (from the Armenian *koghal*, "wall, side"; Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, p. 223) in Persian means a mountain pass, a neck between two peaks. This word, which does not appear in any Persian dictionary, is borrowed from Eastern Turkish, which took it from the Armenian; it is found in the *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Ilminsky, p. 99, l. 23; p. 100, l. 1; p. 172, l. 18; p. 166, l. 22; cf. Radloff, *Opit.*, ii., col. 1277; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk-oriental*, p. 463. (CL. HUART)

KÖY, the word used in western Turkish for village. It is the form in which Turkish has borrowed the Persian *gūy* (cf. Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Türkische*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxlii., Nº 3, p. 103) or perhaps more correctly *kūy* (Vullers, *Lexicon*; *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ*, p. 759) meaning originally path, street. In the geographical nomenclature of the Ottoman empire we find many place-names compounded with *köy*, like Boghāz Köy, Ermeni Köy, etc. It seems that these names are not found before the end of the Seldjūḳ period. Köy in the sense of an open village is opposed to *ḳaṣaba* meaning a small town. In eastern Turkish place-names we always find the word *kend* used for a village. Sometimes this last word seems to have been replaced by köy (cf. e.g. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 221 sqq.: Ḳāḍī Kend, near al-Mawṣil, becomes Ḳāḍī Köy). (J. H. KRAMERS)

ḲOYUN BABA, lit. "father of sheep", a Turkish saint. He is thought to have been a contemporary of Ḥādjdjī Bektash [q.v.] and is said to have received his name from the fact that he did not speak, but only bleated like a sheep five times a day at the periods for prayer. Sulṭān Bāyazīd II, called *Walī*, built a splendid tomb and dervish monastery on the site of his alleged grave at ʿOthmāndjïḳ (near Amasia, in Anatolia) which was one of the finest and richest in the Ottoman empire. Ewliyā Čelebi in his *Travels* (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ii. 180 sq.) describes very fully the great Bektashi monastery there, at which he was cured of a malady of the eye and was initiated into the order. Cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 608, on Ewliyā's pilgrimage to the tomb of Ḳoyun Baba. Nothing is known regarding the life of this remarkable saint not even whether he really existed. That he is represented as a disciple and contemporary of Ḥādjdjī Bektash means nothing, as almost all early Ottoman saints are credited with having enjoyed this privilege. The sanctuary itself does not seem to have been examined; but see Maercker in *Z. G. E.*, xxxiv., 1899, p. 376.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 625, 24 (brief mention of the tomb); Ewliyā, *Seyāḥetnāme*, ii. 180 sqq.; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 230 and 608 (extracts from Ewliyā). (FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲOYUNDJİḲ, a little village, which was built on the great group of artificial mounds, that cover the ruins of the royal palaces of Nineveh, opposite the town of al-Mawṣil, to the east of the Tigris. The name of this village is not found in the middle ages nor in the Turkish authors of the xviith century; it has been thought, however, that the name is connected with the dynasty of the Kara Ḳoyunli, which reigned in this region

in the xvth century (von Oppenheim). After being for the most part destroyed by Kurds in 1836, the village was moved to the alluvial plain between the mounds and the Tigris, after archaeological excavations had begun in 1845.

The Arab authors of the middle ages, from Ibn Khordādhbih, know the site of Nineveh under the name of Ninawā (the vocalisation of Yāḳūt, iv. 780; nowadays it is also pronounced Nainawā) and connect the place with the story of the prophet Yūnus b. Mattai. Al-Maḳdisī also calls it Nūnawā (Niebuhr likewise speaks of Ḳal'a Nunia; perhaps the name was changed under the influence of the Arabic word meaning the fish of Yūnus) and he mentions near it the mound of Tell al-Tawba, on the top of which was a mosque surrounded by houses of *mudjāwirūn*. This last place is the present village of Nabī Yūnus, to the south of Ḳoyundjiḳ and also within the bounds of the ancient Nineveh. This village is separated from the ruins by the little stream of Khawṣar (the name is already found in al-Maḳdisī) and was called Nunia in the time of Niebuhr. Ibn Djubair (ed. Wright–de Goeje, p. 236) says that the ancient walls and the gateways can still be distinctly seen and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says the same thing in almost identical words. In the xiiith century Ninawā was inhabited by Christians (Abu 'l-Faradj Barhebraeus, *Ta'rīkh mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, p. 393). The mounds of Ninawā have always been an inexhaustible quarry for building materials for the inhabitants of al-Mawṣil.

Excavations were begun in 1842 by the French consul Botta, already famous for his work at Khorsābād. A. H. (afterwards Sir Henry) Layard then took in hand the excavations, first from 1845 to 1847 and again from 1849 to 1851, employing Arab and Nestorian workmen. A great many of the objects discovered were taken to London. Since then excavation has definitely ceased, all the trenches have been filled up so that now the ruins present the same appearance as before the discoveries.

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(J. H. Kramers)

ḲRĀN, a modern Persian silver coin, now worth about fourpence. When Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh (1211—1250 = 1797—1834) of Persia reorganised the currency at the close of the 30th year of his reign, he instituted a new silver unit, the *ḳrān* (from *ḳarn*, a century, decade, any period of years, in this case thirty) to take the place of the old silver ri'āls, 'abbāsīs and ṣanārs which ceased to be coined; 1 tūmān = 10 ḳrāns = 200 shāhīs.

The *ḳrān* at first weighed two mithḳāls (9,2 grammes = 142 grains) but was soon reduced by Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh to $1^1/_2$ mithḳāls (6,9 grammes = 106,5 grains) and again by Muḥammad Shāh to 30 nakhods (5,75 grammes = 88,7 grains). At the beginning of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign, the *ḳrān* was further reduced to 28 nakhods (5,37 grammes = 83 grains) and in order to check the export of Persian silver to Russia and India it was again reduced to 26 nakhods (4,983 grammes = 77 grains) in 1857. The standard of fineness was normally .960, but both weight and fineness varied considerably at the different provincial mints with the probity of the provincial authorities. In 1877 (1294) the provincial mints were abolished and all the coins were henceforth struck at Ṭehrān with modern European machinery under the supervision of an Austrian mintmaster, Bergrath von Pechan. Since this date the two-ḳrān piece (*do hazār dīnār*) has been the common silver coin; the one ḳrān is not uncommon. Five ḳrān pieces, half and quarter ḳrāns have also been occasionally struck but are rarely seen in currency. The weight of the ḳrān continued to be reduced (in 1327 = 1909, it was 4,54 grammes = 71 grains, just half its original weight) and the fineness has also suffered. On the coins the denomination is as a rule expressed in multiples of the dīnār (1 ḳrān = 1,000 dīnārs) except that the quarter ḳrān is called a *rubʿ*. On a few 2 ḳrān pieces of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, on those of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (1324—1327 = 1907—1909) and of the first two years of Aḥmad Shāh (1327—1345 = 1909—1926) however the name *ḳrān* is found on the coins.

Bibliography: Carl Ernst, *Die Münzreform in Persien*, in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna 1878, p. 403—421; *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, London 1887, p. lxiv.–lxvi.; J. Rabino, *Banking in Persia* in *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, London 1892, p. 1—56; G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i., p. 471—473; H. L. Rabino, *Coins of the Shahs of Persia* in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1911, p. 182—196.

(J. Allan)

ḲRĪM (the Crimea), a peninsula on the northern shore of the Black Sea. The name (of uncertain origin) was at first given in the xiiith century to the town of Solghat or Solkhad, now called Staryi Ḳrīm ("Old Ḳrīm"), then the residence of the Mongol governor, in the interior of the country south-west of Kafa [q. v.] and north-east of Sudak. Towards the end of the xivth or beginning of the xvth century, the old name was driven out by the new one as is shown by the words of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*madīnat Ṣolghāt — wa-ḳad ghalaba 'alaihā ism 'l-Ḳirim*, quoted by Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordi*, St. Petersburg 1884, p. 401). The old name, the origin of which is likewise unknown (cf. the very artificial Turkish etymology in Muḥ. Riḍā, *al-Sabʿ al-Saiyār*, ed. Kazem-Bey, Kazan 1832, p. 78) and which must be presumed to have been in existence before the Mongol period, cannot be found before the xiiith century. In Greek legends of saints and lists of bishoprics, we find the fortress of Fulla or Fullai mentioned, the residence of the Khazar governor of the eastern part of the peninsula along with Sugdaia (Sudak); it is assumed that the position of this fortress corresponded to the site of Solghat.

There are only scanty references in the Arab geographers to the peninsula; Idrīsī's statements (transl. Jaubert, ii. 400) about the harbours are, as the forms of the names show, probably taken from the reports of Italian sailors; apparently the trading relations of the Italian cities even then

extended to the northern shore of the Black Sea. The first Muḥammadan campaign to the Crimea was undertaken shortly before the Mongol conquest by the Turks of Asia Minor under Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaiḳubād (616—634 = 1219—1236) (*Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, iii. 328 *sqq.*). In the reign of the Khān of the Golden Horde, Berke, about 1265, ʿIzz al-Dīn Kai Kāwus, who had been driven out of Asia Minor and liberated from Byzantine imprisonment by Berke, was given the towns of Solkhad and Suṭaḳ (Sudak) as a fief (*Recueil*, etc., iv. 298; cf. above, i., p. 708); in the rule over these towns he was followed by his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd (*Recueil*, iv. 335). Tatar coins were struck in Ḳrîm, as the town is always called on the coins, from 686 (1287/1288). In Arabic sources of the Mongol period the name is always written al-Ḳirim and is vocalised by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, ii. 359) as "Ḳiram". In the report of the first Egyptian embassy to the court of Berke (text in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, etc., p. 54), Ḳrîm is described as a "village" (*ḳarya*) inhabited by different peoples (Ḳipčaḳ, Russians and Alans); on the other hand Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls it a "large and beautiful town". In 686 (1287/1288) an architect and 2,000 dīnārs were sent from Egypt to build a mosque in Ḳrîm to bear the name of the Egyptian Sulṭān (Maḳrīzī, text in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, p. 423); among the ruins of Old Ḳrîm there have actually survived ruins of a mosque built in the Egyptian style. The mosque built by Khān Uzbeg in 714 (1314/1315) is in quite a different style of architecture.

Even the earliest rulers of the house of Girāy (cf. above, ii., p. 171 but better perhaps Girei) lived in the town of Ḳrîm and struck coins there. During the civil troubles of the second half of the ixth (xvth) century under Mengli-Girei, the town is said to have been completely destroyed; but we find coins struck in Ḳrîm as late as 923 (1517) in the reign of Muḥammad Girei (O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, p. 71). On the ruins of Old Ḳrîm, which have been several times explored and described but have suffered severely from depredations, cf. especially P. Köppen, *Krîmskiy Sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1837, p. 340 *sqq.*; W. Smirnow, in *Zap.*, i. 278 *sqq.* Excavations were begun there in 1925 under the auspices of the *Association for Oriental Studies* and continued in 1926.

Under Ottoman suzerainty (from 880/1475) the name of the former capital was extended to the whole peninsula and its population (*Ḳîrîm Khalḳî*, *Ḳîrîm Tatarlarî*: cf. W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii. 745). The peninsula with its population of different stocks (this was the only place where remnants of the Goths had survived) and its monuments of ancient and early Christian culture became in this period almost completely influenced by Islām and Turkish culture. For the history of the Crimea in this period and the pertinent literature see the articles BAGHČE SARĀI and GIRĀY.

After the final incorporation of the Crimea in Russia (1783), the Muslim population was expressly guaranteed complete religious liberty. The text of the edicts then published was later incorporated in the articles of the Russian code relating to religious liberty. A special office of *Mufti* for the Crimea was created, completely independent of the Mufti of the Volga area in Ufā, and as in Ufā a "spiritual authority" was appointed. On the other hand under the influence of Greek ideas then favoured by the government, Greek culture was encouraged at the expense of Turkish. The kingdom of the former Tatar Khāns was now called the "Tauric territory" (1784, abolished 1797), later (from 1802) "Tauric gouvernement". The capital of the gouvernement was Aḳ Mečet, which had been burned by the Russians in 1736 and now received the name of Simferopol; other towns arose on other sites with Greek names, notably the naval base of Sebastopol. Old Ḳrîm was now called Leukopolis (Lewkopol) but this name never became popular. Russian and Greek immigration and the migration of a large part of the Tatar population to Turkey has wrought a complete change in the character of the population. The Muslims (according to the census of 1913, *M. I.*, 1913, p. 761 only 206,113) are now small in numbers compared with the Christians (less than one third of the total population).

After the revolution of 1917 the Muḥammadan population, as everywhere in Russia, endeavoured without particular success to constitute themselves into an independent community on a religious basis, acting independently of the authority of the state. The territory north of the isthmus of Perekop was later separated from the former "Tauric gouvernement" and joined to the Ukraine republic. The peninsula now forms the "Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Ḳrîm".

Even before the Revolution, the educated "Ḳrîm Tatars" disclaimed this name given them by the Turks; (the name of "Tatars" also occurs in native documents). They wished to be known simply as Turks and their language to be called Turkish (it is really very much influenced by the literary language of the Ottoman empire). At the present day the language of the literature, produced mainly in Simferopol, is called "Turkish", even officially, in contrast to the "Tatar" literary language of the Volga territory.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

KROYA, a town and fortress in Albania, once the headquarters of Skanderbeg [q.v.]. Kroya (Turk. Aḳ-Ḥiṣār) sometimes also called Akče Ḥiṣār or Aḳ Seray has had a stirring history. It is believed to be built on the site of the ancient Eriboea. Its history in the middle ages has still to be investigated. It is said to have been founded by the Neapolitan noble Carlo Thopia, whose ancestors held the land between Tirana and Durazzo about the middle of the xvth century. The remains of the ancient defences seem to be of Italian origin. Kroya only acquired renown when the Albanian patriot George Kastriota,

called Skanderbeg (d. January 17, 1468), made it his headquarters, after escaping from imprisonment among the Turks and becoming a Christian again. It was from Kroya that Skanderbeg in 1443 issued his call to a war for the liberation of Albania which he waged with skill and success for many years. When in 1450 Kroya was surrounded by Murād II, Skanderbeg forced the Sulṭān to abandon the siege. He was also able to hold out against Meḥmed II and after his death Kroya was stormed by the Turks on July 14/15, 1478, after the neighbourhood had been cruelly devastated. The town became completely Muslim and is now the capital of a district mainly inhabited by Mirdites; the population can barely be over 10,000. Kroya is noteworthy as a centre of the Bektashis who had a monastery there. The saint Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ Dede [q. v.] has one of his graves there and indeed the number of graves of Bektashi saints around Kroya is considerable. Their origin have not yet been studied. The people pay special reverence to the tombs of Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza Baba and of Baba ʿAlī (with a monastery, *tekke*). The number of tombs is given as 306, of course quite an arbitrary figure. The Bektashi order is said not to have been introduced, till the end of the xviiith century by a certain Shaikh Memi but was suppressed by ʿAlī Pasha of Janina, a statement which is unreliable (cf. Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 72 *sqq.*). The fact is that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants still profess the Bektashi system.

Bibliography: The details of the taking of Kroya by the Ottomans are very differently given by the contemporary chronicler Benedetto Dei (extract given in *Della decima e della altre gravezze, della moneta, e della mercatura de' Fiorentini fino al secolo XVI*, ii., Lisbon and Lucca 1765, p. 270 *sq.*) so that they require critical examination; Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 71 *sqq.*; *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, vii. 60; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, p. 215 *sqq.* (with pictures); F. W. Hasluck, *Geographical distribution of the Bektashi* in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1915, xxi., p. 121 *sq.*

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲUBĀʾ. [See AL-MADĪNA].

ḲUBAN (called in Noghai Turkish, ḲUMAN, in Čerkes, Pšizz), one of the four great rivers of the Caucasus (Rion, Kur, Terek and Ḳuban). It is about 450 miles long. It rises near Elburz at a height of 13,930 feet. Its three constituents (Khurzuk, Ulu-Kam, Uč-Ḳulan) join together before reaching the defile through which the Ḳuban enters the plains (at a height of 1075 feet). The Ḳuban at first runs through the wooded outer spurs of the mountains and then, taking a westerly direction, flows through the plains with forests on either bank. Its left bank tributaries are Da'ut, Teberda, Zelenčuk, Urup, Laba, Bēlaia, Pshish, Psekups, Afips, Adagum, etc. Its lower course breaks into two branches, one of which (Protoka) flows into the Sea of Azov and the other (the main one) into the Black Sea (although it also sends off a channel to the Sea of Azov). The lower course of the river frequently changes its bed. As late as the xvth century for example, it discharged the bulk of its waters into the Sea of Azov. The Ḳuban with its tributaries drains an area of 20,000 sq. miles.

The administrative district of the Kuban — before 1918 the province (*oblast'*) of the Ḳuban Cossacks — also included the valleys, further north, of the Baisugh, Čelbaš, Sasika and the left bank of the Yeya, all flowing towards the Sea of Azov or ending in lakes and marshes. This territory between the chain of the Caucasus and the sea stretched to the north as far as the province of the Don Cossacks and to the east as far as that of the Terek Cossacks. The area of this great province, which is divided into 7 arrondissements (Yeya, Temrük, Kawkazski, Ekaterinodar, Maikop [in Turkish: "much oil"], Laba, Baṭṭāl-pashinsk), was estimated at about 32,000 sq. miles.

Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, Paris 1827, p. 89, estimated the tribes of the Ḳuban at about 100,000 families. According to the *Russian Encyclopaedia*, the native population about 1861 was 200,000 men (?) but as a result of expatriations en masse, this number had fallen to 90,471 about 1883. Russian colonisation which was begun by the Cossacks about 1861 had reached 1,500,000 by 1894. In 1916, official statistics put the whole population of the province at over 3,000,000. The number of "highlanders" and "Sunnis" included in this total had also increased and reached 139,000. The native elements indicated by these official terms which lack precision, included the remainder of the Čerkes and Abaz tribes [q. v.] (related to the Abkhāz, q. v.) and Turks of Ḳara-Čai. The latter (about 15,000 in 1900) lived in the villages (*a'ul*) of Kart-Djurt, Uč-Ḳulan and Khurzuk, etc. in the upper waters of the Ḳuban and spoke a northern Turkish dialect (Noghai). They were at one time under the Čerkes princes of Ḳabarda and in 1822 submitted to the Russians.

After 1920, the territory of Ḳuban was reorganised on an ethnic basis; besides the *Kabarda-Balkar* region (on the Terek) two autonomous (within the Soviet system) areas were created on the Ḳuban: 1. *Ḳara-Čai-Čerkes*, east of Urup with its capital Baṭṭāl-pashinsk; it has about 150,000 inhabitants of whom 45% are Turks, 25% Čerkes and 13% Cossacks; 2. *Adighe*, a strip of territory along the Ḳuban and Laba; its capital is Tokhtamukai and it contains about 70,000 Čerkes. The new divisions do not correspond to old administrative divisions.

The basin of the Ḳuban has been inhabited since the bronze age. The oldest tombs at Maikop go back to the second (according to Rostovtzeff, to the third) millenium B. C. Scythian tombs of the fourth-fifth centuries B. C. are very numerous (Kelermes, Voronezhskaia) and Sarmatian tombs from the second century B. C. to the first A. D. The Greeks called the Ḳuban Hypanis, Vardanes, Anticites. In Byzantine authors we find Κωφῆς, Κοῦφις (Marquart, *Osteurop. Streifzüge*, p. 32). The spread of Christianity among the Adighe (Čerkes) according to local legends dates from the emperor Justinian (527—565); cf. Shora Nogmow, *Istoria adigheiskago naroda*, Tiflis 1861, p. 43.

The Arabs were not well acquainted with the district. According to a bold conjecture of Marquart (ibid.), p. 37, 161, 164, Ḳuban is to be read for Dūbā (*Kūbā), which according to Gardīzī (quoting Djaihānī, c. 301 = 914) formed the southern boundary of the Madjār (Madyars) and to the south of which (on the left bank) lived (Ibn Rusta, p. 139) the Twiās, probably an Alān

tribe [q. v.] (cf. the southern Ossete tribe of Tual-ta and the name of the Alāns: Ās). On the other hand Masʿūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii., p. 45—46) says that the immediate neighbours of the Alān were the Kašak living between the Caucasus and the Black Sea. The Kašak (a parallel form is al-Kāsakiya, Masʿūdī, *Kit. al-Tanbīh*, p. 157) are the Čerkes, whom the Russian chronicles call Kasogi and with whom the Russian principality of Tmutarakan (on the peninsula of Taman in the xi.—xiith century) had continuous relations.

The later history of the territory of Ḳuban is at first the story of the struggle between the Russians and Ottomans and more particularly the Khāns of the Crimea for the possession of the fertile plains southeast of the Sea of Azov and later of the struggle of the Russians with the warlike tribes of the left bank of the Ḳuban.

In the xvith century, Moscow's interest in the northern Caucasus was stimulated by the marriage of Ivan the Terrible with the Ḳabardian princess, Maria Temrākovna (in 1561). Soon afterwards Sulṭān Selīm II sent Ḳāsim pasha to Astrakhan and Dewlet-girai of the Crimea invaded Ḳabarda.

In 1589 the Cossacks appeared before Azov, a former Venetian and Genoese colony which the Ottomans had taken in 880 (1475). A long series of struggles began for the possession of Azov (cf. AZAḲ) and the Čerkes principality of Kabarda (to the east of the Ḳuban on both sides of the middle course of the Terek). Down to the beginning of the xviiith century the Khāns of the Crimea had the upper hand and by about 1717 the Čerkes had been converted to Islām (Nogmow). By the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1739 the two Ḳabarda were proclaimed independent to constitute a buffer state between the two powers. By article 21 of the treaty Küčük-Ḳainardjī [q.v.], 1774, Great and Little Ḳabarda were placed under the suzerainty of the Khān of the Crimea whose independence was recognised (art. 3). In 1782 the Turks occupied Taman but by the edict of April 8, 1783, Catherine II. proclaimed the annexation by Russia of the Crimea, Taman and the "Tātārs of Ḳuban". On Dec. 28, 1783, the Porte recognised the course of the Ḳuban as the frontier. Between 1787 and 1791, the movement in the western Caucasus led by the religious leader Shaikh Manṣūr caused the Russians considerable trouble but the Russo-Turkish treaty of Yassi (a town which owes its name to the Ās = Alān; cf. Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa², i. 1282—1284) confirmed the frontier of 1783. The treaty of 1829 (art. 4) moved it southwards to the roadstead of St. Nicolas (between Poti and Batum) but the territory within these bounds was only effectively occupied 32 years later after a stubborn and heroic resistance of the tribes of the Ḳuban.

The line of defences of the Caucasus had been planned under the Empress Anna (1730—1740). In 1777 the line started from Azov and went by Stavropol, Georgiewsk to Ekaterinograd (on the Terek). In 1792 it began at Bughaz (north of Anapa) and following the Ḳuban for a while, left it to go to Georgiewsk (1794) and then 1798 to Ekaterinograd (cf. the map in the *Akti kawk. arkheogr. kommissii*, Tiflis 1868, i.). In 1834 General Weliaminow established a military cordon on the left bank of the Ḳuban as far as Gelendjik (on the Black Sea). In 1838 Noworossiisk (Tsemes) was founded on the site of the old Turkish fortress of Sudjuk-Ḳalʿa. After things provoked by the operations of the allies in the Crimean War, General Yewdokimow in 1861 carried out an enveloping manoeuvre with the object of making the highlanders descend into the plains and of driving the rebels towards the coast to force them to migrate to Turkey. According to native sources (H. Bammate, in the *Revue Politique Internationale*, Nov.-Dec. 1918), 75,000 (?) refugees left the Caucasus in 1864; Russian sources give the number of emigrants at 13,586 from 1871—1884. In 1864, the Russians reached the passes of the chain of the Western Caucasus.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles ABKHĀZ, AZAḲ, ČERKES. Archaeology: Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Oxford 1913, p. 634—638 gives a complete bibliography; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922. All the passages in classical authors relating to the Caucasus in B. Latyschev, *Scythica et caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus graecis et latinis*, in *Zap. Russ. Arkh. obshč.*, 1890—1906. Similar passages in the Arabic geographers have been transl. by N. Karaulow, *Sbornik materialow ... Kawkaza*, Tiflis, xxix., xxxi., xxxii., xxxviii. (map). For the general bibliography see Miansarow, *Bibliographia caucasica et transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874—1876 and Dubrowin in vol. iii/i. of *Istoria voini na Kawkaze*, St. Petersburg 1885—1888. There is an account of the Russo-Turkish wars and geogr. information in the *Grande Encyclopédie russe*, ed. Brockhaus and Efron. Statistics for 1916 in the official publication *Kawkazski Kalendar' pour 1917*. Situation after 1923 in the publication of the Foreign Office, *Soviet Russia, A description of the various political units*, London 1924, and in the *Encyclopédie soviétique*, i., Moscow 1926, under rubric Adighe (N. F. Yakowlew). On the Čerkes [q. v.] language cf. also Prince N. S. Troubetzkoy, *Langues caucasiques septentrionales*, in *Les langues du Monde*, ed. by A. Meillet, Paris 1924, p. 336, 341 and N. Yakowlew, *Tables phonétiques de la langue cabarde* and *Glossaire des exemples*, fasc. i. and ii. of the *Travaux de la section des langues du Caucase septent. de l'Institut Oriental*, Moscow 1923. For the Turkish dialect of Ḳara-Čai cf. W. Pröhle, *Karatschaiisches Wörterverzeichniss*, Keleti Szemle, x., 1911. (V. MINORSKY)

ḲUBBA (now Kuba), a district in the eastern Caucasus between Bākū and Derbend [q. v.]. The district of Ḳubba with an area of 2,800 square miles is bounded on the north by a large river, the Samūr, which flows into the Caspian, on the west by the "district" of Samūr which belongs to Dāghistān [q. v.], on the south by the southern slopes of the Caucasian range (peaks: Shāh-Dagh, 13,951 feet high, Bāba Dagh 11,900) which separate Ḳubba from Shamākha (cf. the article SHIRWĀN), on the S. E. by the district of Bākū and on the east by the Caspian. The area between the mountains and the flat coast land is called Ushāf (Vullers, i. 499: *ushāf*, "ad venerationem principis destinatum nemus"). The plain between the rivers Yalama and Belbele is called Muskūr; Shāharān lies further south (cf. SHIRWĀN). The other cantons are Barmak (so-called after a member of the Barmecide family, who sought refuge here in the reign of Hārūn

al-Rashīd), Shīshpāra, Tip, Khinalugh, Budugh, Yukhārī-bash, Sīrt, Anakh-dara, and (sometimes) Kabistān (*Akh*, iv. 650).

The population in 1896 was 175,000, 36,7 % Tāt [q. v.] speaking the Iranian dialect of *Tāt*, 25,5 % of Ādharbāidjānī Turks, 24 % of highlanders of the Kūra group (the Kūrines) and 8 % highlanders of the group (S. E. Dāghistān group) formed of Khinalugh, Djek, Kriz and Budugh, to whom the Udi of Shekki [q. v.] seem to be related. Muslims form 94 % of the population (76,5 Sunnīs, and 17,5 Shī'īs). Jews, Russians and Armenians together number several thousands. The town of Ḳubba (16,300 inhabitants), only founded about 1750, lies on the right bank of the river Ḳudiāl; on the left bank is the Jewish quarter of the town. Near the mouth of the Ḳudiāl is the roadstead of Nisābād (called Nisowaia by the Russians) which played an important part in Russian military operations in Transcaucasia.

The history of the district of Ḳubba, which at first must have formed part of the ancient Caucasian Albania, is mixed up with that of Shīrwān: Shābarān (now a ruined site on the river Ḳulhan, Russian Gilkhin) had been an important centre inhabited by Christians (Muḳaddasī, p. 376) before Shamākhī became the capital of Shīrwān. On the banks of the river Ḳulhan may still be seen ruins with a wall running from the sea to Bābā Dagh. Near the town of Ḳubba is the tomb of Shīrwān-shāh Kā'ūs b. Kaiḳubād (d. 774 = 1373).

It was only in the xviiith century that Ḳubba enjoyed a period in independence. In the time of Shāh Sulaimān Ṣafawī [q. v.] a member of the family of the *Ūsmī* of Ḳaitaḳ (cf. DĀGHISTĀN) called Ḥusain Khān arrived at the court of Iṣfahān. He became a Shī'ī and gained the favour of the Shāh who appointed him Khān of Ḳubba and of Sāliyān (at the mouth of the Kura). Ḥusain Khān built the castle of Khudād. His grandson Ḥusain 'Alī b. Aḥmad, with the help of Peter the Great, regained the ancestral estates of the *ūsmī* but his position was threatened by the alliance of Surkhai, prince of the Ḳāzī-Ḳumūkh, with *Ḥādjdjī* Dā'ūd, religious chief of Muskūr, who with the help of Turkey played a considerable part in Dāghistān from 1712. Nādir Shāh restored Sāliyān to Ḥusain 'Alī. After the death of Nādir, local dynasties arose everywhere. At this time Ḥusain 'Alī moved his capital from Khudād to Ḳubba where he built a town and annexed Shābarān and Ḳulhan. He died in 1171 (1758). His son Fatḥ 'Alī Khān who succeeded him sought the help of the empress Catherine II, who in 1189 (1775) sent General de Medem to Derbend, under a pretext of avenging the death of the academician Gmelin, who had died on June 27, 1774 in captivity with the *ūsmī* of Ḳaitaḳ. With the help of the Russians, Fatḥ 'Alī reestablished his authority over what he could regard as his hereditary fief (Dāghistān, Ḳubba, Sāliyān). He also took Shīrwān and the Khān of Bākū appointed him his son's guardian. The influence of Fatḥ 'Alī Khān gradually extended beyond the bounds of the district. In 1193 (1778) he sent 9,000 men to Gīlān to restore Hidāyat Khān, who had been driven out by the Ḳādjārs [q. v.]. In 1202 (1788) he seized Ardabīl whereupon the Shāh-sewān [q. v.] recognised his authority. The Khāns of Ḳara-Dagh and of Tabrīz sought his support. Fatḥ 'Alī is credited with ambitious designs on Ādharbāidjān. To reconcile his plans with those of the king Iraklī of Georgia, Fatḥ 'Alī met the latter at Shamkūr (Shamkhor) but soon afterwards fell ill and died in 1203 (1789).

The political and military work of Fatḥ 'Alī Khān crumbled away under his successors. His young son Shaikh 'Alī Āghā (from 1791) had a very adventurous career. This young Khān relied on the support of the Ḳādjārs but Count Zubow took Derbend on May 4, 1796 and entrusted the government to his sister Perī-Djahān Khānum. Taken prisoner by the Russians, Shaikh 'Alī Āghā escaped and renewed the struggle. On the accession of the emperor Paul, Russian policy suddenly changed and the Russian troops were withdrawn. Shaikh 'Alī returned to Derbend. In 1801 he and the other Khāns sent a delegation to Alexander I, but by 1805 we again find Shaikh 'Alī rebelling against the Russians to whom he caused continual trouble till 1226 (1811). The khānate of Ḳubba was occupied by the Russians in 1806 and by the treaty of 1813 Persia renounced her claim to the eastern Caucasus. From its incorporation in the Russian empire, Ḳubba formed a "gouvernement" of Shīrwān (later of Bākū). Since 1919 Kubba has been part of the republic of Ādharbāidjān, at first independent and then Soviet; this is not to be confused with the Persian province of the name [q. v.].

Bibliography: cf. the articles DĀGHISTĀN, DERBEND, SHEKKI and SHĪRWĀN. See especially the work of the local historian 'Abbās Ḳulī Āghā Bākī-Khānow (a descendant of the Khāns of Bākū, who were related to Fatḥ 'Alī Khān), the *Gülistān-i Iram* of which a Russian version by the author himself (1794—1846) was published at Bākū in 1926 (*Travaux de la société scientifique de l'Azerbaidjan*, part 4). The principal documents are in the collection by *Akti Kavkazskoi Arkheograficheskoi Komissii*, publ. by A. Bergé, Tiflis 1866 *sqq.*, i.—xii., index under Derbend—Kubba. (V. MINORSKY)

ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA, the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, often erroneously designated the Mosque of 'Omar. In the first place, it is not a mosque but a shrine or oratory erected above the sacred rock (*ṣakhra*) and similar to the other domed edifices scattered over the *ḥarām* area; in the second place, it was not built by 'Omar but by the fifth Umaiyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Jew, Christian and Muslim alike revere the sacred rock which they regard as the *omphalos* of the world. It is even said to be 18 miles nearer heaven than any other spot. Muslims set it next to the Ka'ba in order of sanctity.

Although there is no specific mention of the ṣakhra in the O. T. it is referred to nevertheless in the Talmud and Targums. Here Melchizedek set up his altar; here Abraham sacrificed; here was the Bethel of Jacob; here was the threshing floor of Arawna the Jebusite (II Sam., xxiv. 16 *sqq.*); here David worshipped, and here were the altars of Solomon, Zerubbabel and Herod. But Muḥammadan tradition has greatly magnified all this legendary material. Angels visited the Rock 2,000 years before Adam was created, and Noah's ark rested here after the Deluge. It is said to be actually one of the rocks of Paradise, and that here on the Resurrection Day the Angel of Death, Isrāfīl, will blow the last trumpet. Previous to this the Ka'ba will come from Makka as a bride unto the Ṣakhra. They assert that it rests on a

palm-tree beneath whose shade Āsiya, Pharaoh's wife, and Miriam, Moses' sister, will give the faithful a cooling draught from one of the rivers of the Garden. All the sweet waters on the earth are believed to originate somewhere beneath it. The Rock itself is, by others, reported to be miraculously hung between heaven and earth, but since this wonder was too remarkable for human eyes to behold, it has been purposely hidden by the surrounding building. Beneath the Rock is a cave (*maghāra*) the floor of which when stamped upon by the foot emits a hollow sound pointing to the presence of a cavern beneath, perhaps a well, the so-called "Well of the Spirits" (*Bi'r al-arwāḥ*) where the souls of the departed are believed to assemble twice weekly. This hollowness of walls and floor has no doubt given rise to the legend of its being suspended in mid-air. Tradition states that all the prophets of God up to the time of Muḥammad have come to pray here at the Rock which is daily surrounded by a body-guard of 70,000 angels (Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii. 220). God is said to have ordered Moses to institute the ṣakhra as the ḳibla, and Muḥammad intended doing likewise only he was told by God to take the Ka'ba at Makka as the ḳibla. The change took place in Radjab A. H. 2.

When 'Umar conquered Jerusalem he (guided by Ka'b al-Aḥbār, the converted Jew) found the ṣakhra scandalously covered with filth. This he ordered to be removed by the Nabataeans, and after three showers of heavy rain had cleansed the Rock, he instituted prayers there (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, p. 139 *sqq.*). In the years 69—72 (688—691), 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān built the Dome of the Rock. The political situation at the time was the immediate cause of this undertaking. The rival claimant to the Caliphate, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair, was favoured by the inhabitants of the Ḥaramain (Makka and Madīna). Fearing lest his Palestinian subjects who visited the Ka'ba on pilgrimage should return infected with the spirit of revolt, 'Abd al-Malik determined on a plan to divert the Makkan pilgrims from the seditious area and lead them instead to Jerusalem. After sending out feelers in the shape of circulars stating his intentions, and after receiving warm support, he proceeded with his project, the embellishment of Jerusalem (de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 75). Then he declared to his people: "This Rock (Ṣakhra) shall be unto you in the place of the Ka'ba" (Ya'ḳūbī, ii. p. 311). For the expenses of the building he is said to have set apart a sum equal to the revenue from Egypt for seven years, and as a treasure-house for this money he commanded to be built after his own design the edifice in the neighbourhood that is now known as the *Ḳubbat al-Silsila* (Dome of the Chain). This building is said to have pleased him so much that he ordered the Dome of the Rock to be modelled after it. The Ṣakhra was surrounded by a latticed screen of ebony and curtains of brocade. At this time also a precious pearl, the horn of Abraham's ram, and the crown of Khosraw were suspended to the chain which hung in the centre of the Dome, but with the coming of the 'Abbāsids these were transferred to the Ka'ba (Palmer, *Jerusalem*, p. 86). In those days the building was so full of incense that a person who had been there was known at once by the odour which clung to him. Another reason why 'Abd al-Malik built the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra is given by al-Muḳaddasī, who says that the Caliph "noting the greatness of the Dome of the Ḳumāma [the Christian Church of the Anastasis (*Ḳiyāma* corrupted to *Ḳumāma* ordure)] and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected, above the Rock, the Dome which now is seen there" (Le Strange, *Pal. Explor. Fund's Q.*, 1887, viii., p. 103). For long, controversy has been waged regarding the true founder and builder of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra. It seemed too wonderful an achievement for the Arabs. Fergusson argued that it was the work of Byzantine architects under Constantine and that it marked the site of the Holy Sepulchre. Conder was the chief opponent of this view. No doubt 'Abd al-Malik employed Greek architects in the construction, and there was abundance of Greek columns and capitals at hand among the ruins of the churches destroyed by the Persians, which could easily be incorporated into the structure. Fergusson's argument, besides being fallacious, is contrary to the evidence of Arab historians.

That the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra was erected by 'Abd al-Malik is indicated by the famous Kūfic inscription in yellow and blue tiles above the cornice round the base of the Dome: "Hath built this dome the servant of Allāh, 'Abd al-Malik, commander of the Faithful, in the year two and seventy — Allāh accept him". When the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn repaired the place in 831 A. D. and built the octagonal wall, some of the tiles were removed and others containing this Caliph's name inserted in place of 'Abd al-Malik's. But the forgery is easily detected, the tiles are of a darker blue while the letters of the name are closer together (a chromo-lithographic facsimile is to be found in de Vogüé, *ibid.*, pl. xxi.).

In the year 846 A. D. on the night of the great earthquake, the keepers of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra testified that the Dome was cleft in twain so that they could see the stars and feel the rain on their faces. Then a still small voice said: "Put it back again"; and soon the dome resumed its former position. During another earthquake in 407 (1016), the dome fell down on the Ṣakhra (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix. 209). Six years later it was restored by Ḥākim (see de Vogüé, *ibid.*, pl. xxxvii.). There is a fragmentary inscription (pl. xxiii.) inside on the tile-work dated 418 A. H. (1027 A. D.) marking further repairs. The author of the *Muthīr al-Gharām* ("The exciter of desire", i. e. to visit Jerusalem) says: "In the year 452 (1060) the Great Lantern (*tannūr*) that hung in the Dome of the Rock fell down and there were in this lantern five hundred lamps". This was taken as a bad augury (Le Strange, *ibid.*, p. 130). In 1099 the Crusaders entered Jerusalem and the building, endowed by Baldwin II, became the *Templum Domini*, the Church of the Knights Templars. It was redecorated inside and outside with Christian paintings and images of the saints. A marble altar was set up on the Ṣakhra, and a large golden cross on the summit of the dome. A large iron screen of French workmanship with four gates was erected between the pillars of the inner ring. The cave beneath was transformed into a Chapel. They believed it to be the Holy of Holies, and called it the Confessio (Joannes Phocas, *P. P. T. S.*, p. 20). The building thus became the type of "Temple" Churches built

in Europe. The dome was the symbol of the order and appeared on the Grand Master's seal. A polygonal type of building reminiscent of the Dome of the Rock appears in Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin* as the Jewish Temple (de Vogüé, *ibid.*, p. 78, note).

In 1187 Saladin captured the Holy City. The Golden Cross on the dome was knocked down amid the cheers of the Muslims and all impurities, such as the marble casing on the Rock, removed. In the cave below, prayers were made in his presence, led by the ḳāḍī of Damascus. (For a contemporary account see Ibn al-Athīr, *ibid.*). The lengthy inscriptions copied down by John of Wurzburg must have been destroyed at this period since no trace of them now remains. Instead there can now be seen inside the Cupola the inscription set up by Saladin to record his restoration (text in de Vogüé, *ibid.*, p. 91 *sq.*). There have been other restorations since. In 1447 part of the roof was destroyed by fire, caused it is said by certain young noblemen hunting there for pigeons with a lighted candle. A complete renovation took place under Sulaimān the Magnificent (1520–1566). Until recent years little was done to remedy the ravages of time (*Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, 1865, p. 32). Nowadays the authorities are anxious to maintain the building in a condition worthy of its past splendour.

The building itself is of harmonious proportions and stands, along with some minor edifices, on an irregular platform, 10 feet in height, paved with limestone slabs. The Ṣakhra is almost on a level with this pavement, the highest point being only five feet above it (or *c.* 2,440 feet above the Mediterranean). Six flights of steps leading up to the platform end in elegant columns or arcades called *Mawāzīn*, or "Balances", because here on the Resurrection Morn all things will be duly weighed in the balances of Justice. The building is in the shape of a regular octagon, with side 66 feet in length. The diameter within is 152 feet; that of the dome at its base being 66 feet. The dome, 99 feet high, is wooden, covered outside with lead, and inside with stucco, beautifully gilded and richly ornamented. The exterior of the building was formerly covered with marble but this has partly been displaced by the Ḳashānī porcelain tiles added by Sulaimān the Magnificent in 1561. Indeed during the xvith century, the whole edifice was restored and embellished so that the external incrustation of the walls, the beautiful stained glass windows, and numerous other decorative effects throughout are characteristically Turkish. Ḳur'ānic passages wonderfully inscribed in interwoven characters form a frieze round the building. There is a perfect harmony in the colour scheme. The fenestration is remarkably fine, especially in the case of one window near the Western Doorway. In the interior four massive piers and twelve columns surround the Ṣakhra in the centre. The dome rests on these. Another series of supports consists of an octagonal screen composed of eight piers and sixteen columns, two columns occurring between each pair of the six-sided piers. In this way the interior is divided into three concentric parts. The outer octagonal aisle is 13, the inner, 40 feet wide. The doors face the four cardinal points: North, *Bāb al-Djanna* (Gate of Paradise); South, *Bāb al-Ḳibla* (South Gate); East, *Bāb al-Nabī Dā'ūd* (Gate of the Prophet David) or *Bāb al-Silsila* (Gate of the Chain); West, *Bāb al-Gharb* (West Gate). The teak (*sādj*) doors have very artistic old locks and are covered with bronze plates stamped with a Kūfic inscription (dated 216 A. H.). The building consists of basement (16 feet high) with the aforementioned doors; a storey of plain masonry (20 feet high) with seven round arches on each side, 38 of which are pierced for windows, the rest being blind, and, lastly, the wonderfully proportioned dome above. The pavement is laid with marble mosaic fastened down by clamps run in with lead.

The Rock, about 56 feet long by 42 feet wide, is almost semicircular in form, the curved sloping side lying to the East, and the higher straight side to the West. Geologically it forms a portion of one of the harder grey beds of the Jerusalem plateau, and has been left practically in its rough unhewn state throughout the ages. In visiting this sacred spot the devout pilgrim has to be careful to keep the Ṣakhra on his right hand, so that he performs the circumambulation of the holy relic in the opposite direction from the circuit of the Ka'ba. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (in his *'Iḳd al-Farīd*, transl. in part by Le Strange in *Pal. Quart. Stat.*, 1887, p. 99) states: "Now when thou enterest the Ṣakhra make thy prayer in the three corners thereof, and also pray on the slab which rivals the Rock itself in its glory for it lies over a gate of the gates of Paradise". This slab is a portion of the marble pavement near by the Bāb al-Djanna and is supposed by some to mark the place where the prophet Elias knelt in prayer. Others believe it covers the Tomb of Solomon (*Ḳabr Sulaimān*). All, however, assert that it was originally part of Paradise, and is generally termed the Flagstone of Paradise (*Balāṭat al-Djanna*). A tradition has it that Muḥammad drove into this slab nineteen golden nails which are destined to drop out periodically. When all have fallen through, the end of the world has come. The Devil almost succeeded in removing them but the angel Gabriel intervened in the nick of time. Nowadays three nails remain in place, while one has sunk a little. It is with humble step and slow, therefore, that the pious pilgrim treads this holy place lest by dislodging one of the nails he should hasten the day of judgment.

On a detached piece of a marble column on the S.W. of the Ṣakhra, covered by a rude shrine which also contains hairs from the prophet's beard, is to be seen the *Ḳadam Muḥammad* (or Footprint) which he left behind him on the night of his ascension to heaven on his steed *al-Burāḳ*. During the Crusades when the Christians occupied the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra this was known as the Footprint of Jesus. The round hole in the middle of the Rock was where the prophet's body pierced its way upwards. And near by is shown the very Saddle of al-Burāḳ in the shape of several marble fragments. There is also pointed out on the West side of the Rock the impression of the Handprint of Gabriel (*Kaff Saiyidnā Djibrīl*) where he held down the Rock when it was about to rise with Muḥammad. Directly opposite are preserved the banners of Muḥammad and 'Umar, and the buckler of Ḥamza. The cases containing these relics are dust-covered. Once a year this dust is carefully gathered and sold in minute quantities as a panacea of miraculous power. A slight depression in the pavement on the East side of the Rock is pointed

out as the Footprint of Idrīs. In the N. E. corner is the recess known as the Prophets' Ḳibla (*Ḳiblat al-Anbiyā'*). There are also several ancient Ḳur'āns and a dwarf screen known as Taḳlīd Saif 'Alī (the imitation of the sword of 'Alī).

The entrance to the cavern beneath is by means of the Bāb al-Maghāra, at the S.E. corner of the Rock, the pilgrim humbly descending the eleven steps with the following prayer on his lips, known as the "Prayer of Solomon": "O God, pardon the sinners who come here, and relieve the injured". The average height of the cave is six feet, and on the roof may be seen the impress of Muḥammad's head. The floor is paved with marble and the sides are whitewashed. It is said to be able to hold 62 persons (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 100). A projecting piece of rock known as the Tongue of the Rock (*Lisān al-Ṣakhra*) is so-called because it greeted 'Omar on one occasion. There is also to be seen the slender column supposed to uphold the Rock. The guide points out on the right the Miḥrāb Sulaimān (Solomon's prayer-niche); on the left, the Maḳām al-Khalīl (Abraham); on the N. corner, the Maḳām al-Khiḍr with the Miḥrāb Dā'ūd opposite.

On the S.E. of the Ṣakhra a staircase leads upwards to the gallery of the dome whence the crescent on the summit may be reached. The eulogy pronounced on it by Muḳaddasī (*P. P. T. S.*, iv., p. 46) still holds good at the present day: "At dawn when the light of the sun first strikes on the Cupola, and the Drum catches the rays, then is this edifice a marvellous sight to behold, and one such that in all Islām I have never seen its equal".

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(J. WALKER)

ḲUBILAI (usually written Ḳūbīlāī but also "Ḳubilāi"), Mongol emperor (1260—1294), brother and successor of Khān Möngke. He was probably born in 1214; when Čingiz Khān returned in 1225 to Mongolia from his campaign in Western Asia, Ḳubilai, who was then eleven years old, had just gained his first trophy of the chase; after the Mongol fashion, Čingiz Khān himself smeared his thumb with flesh and fat (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, xv. 141, text). In the reign of his brother he was governor of China from 1251 and devoted himself to the conquest of the kingdom of the Sung dynasty, which was only completed in his own reign (in 1279), whereby the whole of China, for the first time since the tenth century, was again united under one ruler. After a victory over his brother Arigh-Buga who was proclaimed Emperor in Mongolia (cf. the article BERKE), Ḳubilai remained in China and transferred the capital of the Mongol empire to Peking (Khānbaliḳ, q. v.). In spite of great achievements at home (Imperial Canal, new code of criminal law, Academy) and abroad (great, although unsuccessful campaigns at sea against Japan and the island of Java, such as had never been undertaken in the history of China, before or after), his reign was for China a period of oppressive foreign rule. Ḳubilai was, like most Mongol emperors, favourably disposed to Islām and the Muslims; only for a time (seven years, 1282—1289, of which the first four years are described as a period of severe persecutions) as a result of the events connected with the assassination of the minister Aḥmad (see KHĀNBALIḲ) did the Muslims fall into disfavour with him.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲUBU, a district with self-government under the suzerainty of the Dutch Government in the southern part of the delta of the Kapuas river; for administrative purposes it belongs to the Pontianak division of the residency of "Westerafdeeling van Borneo". In the north it is separated from the kingdom of Pontianak by the Great Kapuas river, in the east it is bounded by the districts of Tayan and Simpang, in the south and west by the China Sea. The ruling family is of Arab

descent, the founder of the kingdom was Saiyid Aidrus al-Aidrus who settled not far from the mouth of the river Tĕrĕntang with a few Arab, Buginese and Malay followers about 1780, soon after his brother-in-law, the Arab adventurer Sharīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳadrī, had founded the sultanate of Pontianak. The capital and kingdom received its name from an entrenchment (Malay: *kubu*) thrown up as a defence against raids by pirates. He put himself under the protection of the Dutch East India Company who recognised him as ruler with the title *tuwan* (lord). The land is of little importance: it consists for the most part of a swampy wooded plain which is only in parts drained (mainly in the Ambawang district in the north-west) and fitted only for primitive tillage and growing coconuts. The population is not numerous and is very scattered. It consists almost entirely of immigrants; besides Arab half-breeds and a number of Chinese they are mainly Buginese. There are very few Dayaks. The predominant religion is Islām but its observances are for the most part neglected; only here and there one finds a mosque which is falling to pieces. The ruler, whose capital is quite an insignificant settlement, governs with three notables (*wakīl*), members of his family, each of whom is allotted a certain territory as an appanage.

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ḲUBŪR, pl. of the Arabic *ḳabr*, which, besides its usual meaning of "tomb", has also that of "box, sheath or needle case", although it is not given in any dictionary; cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, p. 17. In North Africa one finds *ḳubra*, pl. *ḳabūr*, "bolsters" (Beaussier). This plural passed into Ottoman Turk. as a singular, and was borrowed later by Arabic dialects of Africa (*ḳubūr*, pl. *ḳabūrāt*, "leather pistol-belt worn round waist" [Beaussier]). It has the same meaning of case, sheath, to which one can add that of quiver; it is commonly used (by an abbreviation of *ḳalem-ḳubūru* "case for reeds") for a case for holding cut reeds, a pen-holder, vulg. Ar. *dawāya* (class. *dawāt*), Pers. *ḳalem-dān* (illustrated in Huart, *Calligraphes*, p. 16; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 288).

(Cl. Huart)

KUČAK (Mīrzā) Wiṣāl, surname of Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Persian poet of the xixth century, born at Shīrāz, a clever calligrapher and musician, died in 1262 (1846). Author of numerous poems (*dīwān* lithographed at Ṭeherān 1275) the *Bazm-i Wiṣāl*, the completion of the *Farhād u-Shīrīn* of Waḥshī (lithographed at Ṭeherān 1263) and of a translation into Persian of the *Aṭwāḳ al-Dhahab* (golden collars) of Zamakhsharī. His sons, Wiḳār, Maḥmūd Ḥakīm (the physician), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Farhang, Dāwarī, Yazdānī and Himmet had inherited the paternal talent.

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ḲUČAN, a town in Persia, in the northern part of the province of Khorāsān [q. v.] on the upper course of the Atrek [q. v.], perhaps the ancient Asaak or Arsaka, in the older Arab geographers Khabūshān, later Khudjān, e.g. Muḳaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 319, 5 and Baihaḳī, ed. Morley, p. 761; also Yāḳūt under Ustuwā (I. 243, 20) according to Samʿānī (*G.M.S.*, xx., f. 31ᵇ); according to Yāḳūt, ii. 487, 21, the usual local pronunciation was Khushān; Samʿānī, f. 211ᵃ, here also has only the form Khūdjān (Samʿānī had himself been there). The origin of the pronunciation Ḳučan is traced by Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, p. 183) to the Mongols. The ruins of the ancient Khabūshān (this name is still borne by a large village) lie 3 farsakh west of the later town, which was destroyed in the xixth century by a series of earthquakes. Towards the end of the viith (xiiith) century Ghāzān, afterwards Īlkhān, when governor of Khorāsān built a Buddhist temple in Ḳučan (C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, The Hague and Amsterdam, 1834/1835, iv. 148, quoting Rashīd al-Dīn). In the reign of ʿAbbās I [q. v.] a Kurd principality (tribe of Zaʿfarānlū) was founded with a hereditary Īlkhānī at its head. Like most towns of Persia of some size, Ḳučan also has the tomb of an Imāmzāde, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī, son of ʿAlī b. Mūsā, who is buried in Meshhed. On the hill now called Nādir-Tepe near Ḳučan, Nādir Shāh was killed in 1160 (1747). In the reign of Nādir Shāh (after his campaign of 1740 against Bukhārā) a few leaves of a copy of the Ḳurʾān written by the Timurid Baisangher Ghiyāth al-Dīn [q. v.] preserved in Samarḳand (according to others in Shahr-i Sabz i.e. Kash) were brought to Ḳučan. Shāh Naṣir al-Dīn in 1883 had two of the leaves brought to the Museum in Ṭeherān. In the suppression of a rebellion of the Īlkhānī by ʿAbbās Mīrzā [q. v.] the town suffered severely, and the great earthquakes of 1852, 1871, 1893 and 1895 were still more disastrous to it. When Curzon visited it in 1889, the population was under 12,000; but we are also told that 12,000 perished in the earthquake of 1893 and about 10,000 were left. The present Ḳučan was only rebuilt after the last earthquake about 8 miles east of the ruined town.

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KÜÇÜK BAIRAM. (See ʿĪd al-Fiṭr.)

KÜÇÜK ḲAINARDJE (T., "small hot spring"), a town in Bulgaria, 45 miles to the South of Silistria, was until the treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) a part of the Ottoman

Empire. It was in this town that a treaty of peace between ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, the Ottoman Sulṭān and Catherine II, the Empress of Russia, was signed on the 12 Djumādā I, 1188 (July 21st, 1774). The Russian army having appeared before Shumla and the troops of the grand vizier Muḥsin-Zāde Muḥammad Pasha, having abandoned it in a body, the latter decided to send plenipotentiaries to Field-Marshal Romanzoff; he chose the reʾīs-efendi Munīb and Kʾaya-beg Aḥmad Rasmī; Prince Repnine, the Russian Ambassador, represented the Empress. After a discussion which lasted for seven hours, the plenipotentiaries came to an agreement on July 17; but the signature was postponed for five days in order to make it coincide with the date of the treaty signed by Peter the Great after his defeat on the Pruth (July 22, 1711); and the town of Kučuk Ḳainardje was chosen because it was the place where the General Weissmann had perished. The treaty consisted of twenty-eight articles which established the political independence of the Tatars of the Crimea, of Bessarabia, and of Ḳubān, while reserving religious supremacy to the Sulṭān (a phrase which gave rise to the idea of the Caliph-Pope, which became so widespread throughout European literature, see also KHALĪFA). It restored to the Khān of the Crimea all the lands conquered by the Russian Army, except the two ports of Kerč and Yeñi-ḳalʿa; the restoration of the conquests of the Russians except the two Ḳabarta, Azof and Ḳil-burun. It restored prisoners to liberty without ransom; and provided for the free navigation of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. It established freedom for commerce, security for travellers and in particular for the pilgrims from Jerusalem (this article later allowed Russia to intervene in the affairs of the Holy Land). The Porte acknowledged the Empress of Russia's title of *pādishāh* and her right to build a church at Pera. The question of Poland, which had been the chief cause of the war, was not dealt with in the treaty. By two additional secret clauses (Martens, *Recueil des traités*, ii. 287) the Porte promised to pay as war indemnity the sum of 15,000 purses = 7,500,000 piastres, worth at this time four million roubles, within three years. Russia on her side undertook to order her fleet to evacuate the Archipelago as quickly as possible. This treaty contributed largely to strengthen Russian influence.

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(CL. HUART)

KUČUM KHĀN, a Tatar Khān of Siberia, in whose reign this country was conquered by the Russians. Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 177) is the only authority to give information regarding his origin and his genealogical relation to the other descendants of Čingiz Khān. According to this source, he reigned for forty years in "Turan", lost his eyesight towards the end of his life, was driven from his kingdom by the Russians in 1003 (1594/1595), took refuge with the Manghit (Nogai) and died among them. References to Kučum are also found in the work of the Ottoman Turk Saifī said to have been written in 990 (1582) (Leyden MS., Nº. 917; transl. without a reference to the MS. by Ch. Schefer as an appendix to his translation of the history of Central Asia, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, by ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī, Paris 1876, p. 303 *sq.*). Kučum's kingdom and its capital are there called "Tura"; the Russians had taken this town during Kučum's absence. Kučum afterwards returned and drove out the Russians after a long siege (1—2 years) but the latter carried off his son a prisoner to Moscow. These stories seem to show that Saifī's work was probably composed later than the year given in the title (Schefer, *loc. cit.*, Preface, p. iv., even gives the year 990 A. H. as date of death of the author).

The name "Isker" for the capital of Kučum (near the confluence of the Tobol and Irtish) seems to be found only in Russian sources; it is only from the latter also that the principal events of his reign can be chronologically arranged. Kučum did not inherit his kingdom from his father but had expelled his predecessor Yādigār; in 1563 Yādigār is still mentioned as king of Siberia, while in 1569 we find Kučum. In 1581 Isker was conquered by Russian Cossacks under Yermak; the Cossacks owed their victory to the use of fire-arms, then still unknown in Siberia. Kučum's son Makhmet-Kul (Muḥammad Ḳulī) was sent a prisoner to Moscow. It was not till Yermak fell in an unexpected attack (1584 or 1585) that Isker was evacuated by the Russians; but by the year 1587 we find troops, who had just arrived, building the Russian town of Tobolsk near this town. Kučum did not suffer his last defeat at the hands of the Russians till August 20, 1598. He is said to have been slain by the Nogai, with whom he had taken refuge, out of revenge for his father's raids on them. The document used by Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*[2], Leipzig 1893, p. 146 *sq.*) dealing with an embassy from Kučum to Bukhārā and the order by ʿAbd Allāh Khān [q.v.] his governor in Khwārizm to send teachers of religion to Siberia, cannot be genuine. Khwārizm was at this date an independent kingdom and not under the rule of the Khān of Bukhārā. The form "Kučūm" adopted by Radloff is also not to be found in any historical sources.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲUḌĀʿA, a group of tribes. When Islām was first preached, the genealogical division of the Arab race into three main bodies, Moḍar Maʿadd, the Rabīʿa and Yemen, had just been completed. The poets refer to it as a well known principle. Agreement had not been reached regarding the fourth group, claiming descent from a common ancestor, called Ḳuḍāʿa. This group comprised several important tribes, settled in the northern Ḥidjāz and leading a nomadic life between Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt.

Without protest, the Ḳuḍāʿa had allowed themselves to be classed with the Yemen group. Wellhausen (*Das arabische Reich*, p. 113) observes that this grouping was not old. This is quite correct but decides nothing. If the Ḳuḍāʿa had allowed it, it was because their interests coincided with those of the Yemenis. They might have perhaps stopped there if the matrimonial alliances of the Sufyānid caliphs with the Banū Kalb [q.v.]

had not upset the political equilibrium of the Arab tribes. Kalb formed the main nucleus of the Ḳuḍā'a and the old genealogical fiction was intended to secure it the unconditional support of the Yemeni tribes of Syria. At any cost the Ḳuḍā'a Yemen bloc had to be broken up. Several Ḳuḍā'a tribes had for long lived alongside of the Moḍaris and contracted temporary alliances with them. This could be usefully exploited. Evidence of the importance attached to the discussion of these questions is the fact that they were raised in the presence of the Prophet.

Now nothing could be more unstable than the grouping of the Beduin tribes. To understand how down to the Omayyads and in spite of the institution of the *dīwān*, the ethnographical connections of the Ḳuḍā'a had remained floating, it is sufficient to read in the *Naḳā'iḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, N⁰. 104 (verses 23—24; cf. Djāhiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv. 107 below). They were unable to produce charters or base their arguments on historical documents. Vague traditions and especially poetry were appealed to. Did not the poetry contain the "archives of Arabia", *dīwān al-'Arab?* In this connection the author of the *Aghānī* (vii. 77—78) speaks of verses fabricated by the Ḳuḍā'a, anxious to connect themselves with the Yemen group. Apocryphal poetry is the curse of the whole of pre-Muslim history. A vast and disastrous activity was displayed in this field. But it would be a great mistake to charge this exclusively to the genealogists of Ḳuḍā'a. In fact the Ḳuḍā'a seem the least deserving of suspicion, because under the Omayyads they were better able than some others to do without alliances. The supremacy assured to the Kalbis in Syria freed them from the necessity of seeking allies among the Moḍaris, to say nothing of their antipathy to the Ḳaisis with whom they were soon in open conflict. In their verses Djarīr and Farazdaḳ appeal to an old alliance between Tamīm and Kalb. The latter tribe had probably lost all recollection of it. But they could not be displeased to see their importance recognised by the best poets of Tamīm, the great Moḍari tribe, whose friendship was also sought by Ḳais.

The Ḳuḍā'a were only represented in small numbers in Egypt. In 102 A.H. a Kalbi governor of Egypt reconstituted a distinct group with various Ḳuḍā'i clans, which he had found scattered among the Moḍari and Yemeni tribes in his province. Besides Kalb and its numerous subdivisions, the following are the main tribes of the Ḳuḍā'a group: Ṣāliḥ (the predecessors of Ghassān in Syria), Tanūkh, Djarm, Balī, Djuhaina, Ḳain (Banu 'l-Ḳain or Balḳain), Bahrā', Mahra, Khushain (to be retained in the text of al-Kindī, p. 73, 11.). For these tribes the reader is referred to the separate articles on them. Their proximity to the Syrian frontier or their settlement in Syria had encouraged the spread of Christianity among them. We therefore find them at the Arab invasion at first taking the side of the Byzantines.

Bibliography: Ibn 'Abdrabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, ii., p. 71—73; Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, p. 313 etc.; Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, p. 229, 230, 233, 234, 254—255; al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuv. Guest, p. 70—71; *Aghānī*, xi. 160; xix. 25; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, ed. Müller, p. 94, 113, 170, 172, 206, 220, 251; Wüstenfeld, *Register genealog. Tabellen*, p. 137, 444; H. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazid*, i., p. 274—277, reprint from *M. F. O. B.*, v.[2] 593 etc.

(H. LAMMENS)

ḲUDĀMA b. DJA'FAR ABU 'L-FARADJ AL-KĀTIB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, an Arab author. Born a Christian, he adopted Islām under the Caliph al-Muktafī (289—295 = 902—908) and served in the central administration at Baghdād in which he obtained the office of *Madjlis al-Zimām* in 297 under the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt. The date of his death is not known. Most writers (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 323; Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Ix., lxxxiv; de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, vi., 22; Derenbourg, *Mss. de l'Escurial*, ii, 2.) give 337 (958) but according to Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, vi. 204, that date is due to Ibn al-Djawzī who is not to be relied on for such matters. The only certain thing is that he was still alive in 320 as in that year he was present at a disputation between Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī and the logician Mattā. One result of his official activities was the for us most important book, the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* which he seems to have compiled soon after 316; only the second volume of it survives in the Köprülü library in Stambul; de Goeje published extracts from it in *B. G. A.*, vi. The work first begins by discussing of the provincial division of the empire and the organisation of the postal services and gives the yield in taxation for each district. The author then gives a survey of the adjoining foreign countries and their inhabitants and next gives a very full account of the financial system, taxation and administrative law. A short history of the Arab conquests is simply copied from al-Balādhurī. He devoted his leisure to belles-lettres and produced a work on style and rhetoric, *Kitāb Naḳd al-Nathr al-ma'rūf bi-Kitāb al-Bayān*, edited by his pupil Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aiyūb and a poetics *Kitāb Naḳd al-Shi'r*. Both works are preserved in the Escurial MS. N⁰. 242 of Derenbourg's Catalogue; the latter is also in the Köprülü library i. 445, 2 (see Rescher, *M. S. O. S.*, xiv., 17) and has been printed from it at Stambul in 1902.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 130, *sq*.; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 203—205; de Slane, *Notices sur Codama et ses écrits*, *J. A.*, Series 5, xx. 185 *sqq*.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 228.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

ḲUDATKU BILIK [See YŪSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀDJIB.]

AL-**ḲUDS**, the usual Arabic name for Jerusalem in later times. The older writers call it commonly Bait al-Maḳdis (according to some: *Muḳaddas*, cf. Gildemeister, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi. 387 *sq*.; Fischer, *ibid*., lx. 404 *sqq*.) which really meant the Temple (of Solomon), a translation of the Hebrew Bēt-hammiḳdash (e.g. Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 263, 2) but it became applied to the whole town. They also frequently use the name Īliyā', from Aelia (see below). They likewise knew the old name Jerusalem, which they reproduce as Ūrishalim (or -am) (variants in Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 402). The name al-Balāṭ also occurs in Muḳaddasī, a word of uncertain meaning derived from *palatium*, but which probably means "royal residence". For other names of rarer occurrence see Gildemeister, *op. cit.*

When the Roman soldiers of Titus became masters of the whole city after a long and strenuous siege at the end of September 70 A. D., the splendid temple had already been burned down, according

to Sulpicius Severus by order of Titus, according to others against his desire (see Willamowitz, *Kultur d. Gegenwart*, I./viii. 170; Windisch, *Theol. Tijdschr*., 1914, p. 519 *sqq*.) and for the last few nights the city had looked like a sea of fire. The Roman soldiers, maddened by the stubborn defence, continued the destruction after the capture of the city and plundered without mercy. But it is certainly wrong to think of the conquered Jerusalem as being razed absolutely level with the ground. The eastern part of the city had suffered most, notably the area of the Temple, but a considerable piece of the city wall with a prominent tower was left at the south-east corner and on the western side Titus left the city wall and the three great towers of the palace of Herod intact, to serve as a shelter for the Roman camp. Many of the old houses must also have been still standing, or at least have been in such a condition that the Jews, who were gradually returning, could find some sort of shelter in them.

For the first half century after the fall of Jerusalem we are completely without information about the unfortunate city. Risings continually flamed up in the country round but nothing is said about the capital. At the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, peace was ultimately restored but later (132—135 A. D.) another revolt broke out when the Emperor forbade circumcision and wanted to build a new city upon the ruins of Jerusalem. After the rising had been suppressed with difficulty, he carried out his plan and a purely pagan city arose which was called Colonia Aelia Capitolina. While on the north side it observed the boundary marked by the so-called third wall, it left out the southern half of the original city and in the south-west a part of the upper town; these remained the bounds for the whole period following except for a brief interruption under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The new city had the usual buildings, baths, theatre, sanctuaries etc. (see *Chronicon Paschale* and on it, Vincent and Abel, *Jerusalem*, ii. 6 *sqq*.) and was divided into 7 parts, each under an administrative official. The Emperor had a sanctuary built in honour of the Capitoline Jupiter as the principal god, for which the great masses of ruins there formed a rich quarry (cf. Eusebius, *Dem. evangel*., viii. 3). According to Dio Cassius, lxix. 12; Hieronymus, *Comm.* in *Esaiam*, xi. 8, etc., this temple was built exactly on the site of the old Jewish temple, which Vincent and Abel, *op. cit*., ii. 15 *sq*., doubt, but without sufficient reason. That the "rock" which had formed the old altar for burnt offerings remained practically untouched is evident from its later history, but unfortunately we do not know if it was actually used in connection with the worship in the new sanctuary. With the help of a few coin-types we can form some idea of the appearance of the temple of Jupiter, and we also know that two statues of Hadrian (probably one of the Emperor and one of Antoninus) were erected near it. If this temple of Jupiter raises questions which are difficult to answer, this is still more true of the temple of Aphrodite built in Jerusalem on the site of which was later built the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre (on presumed remains of this temple, see Schmaltz, *Mater Ecclesiarum*, p. 351). According to Eusebius, wicked men, inspired by demons (pagan deities) had done everything they could to conceal and to pollute this place by covering τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον with earth brought for the purpose and building a temple of Aphrodite with its impure cult. Whether this was the real reason for the building of the temple of Aphrodite is very doubtful. For even if we grant the possibility that a recollection of the place of the Crucifixion and of the tomb of Christ had been preserved among the earliest Christians, it is unlikely that Hadrian to whom the building may, with most probability, be credited paid so much heed to the Christians that he would deliberately insult them so deeply (cf. P. Mickley, *Die Konstantinskirchen im heiligen Lande*, 1923, p. 36 *sq*.; Dalman, *Palästinajahrbuch*, ix., 102 *sq*.). At most it can only have been an accident. On the other hand we may ascribe to Hadrian's rebuilding of the city the broad pillared way which runs through Jerusalem from north to south on the mosaic map of Madeba of the vith century (see Guthe, *Z.D.P.V*., xxviii. 120 *sq*.; Gisler, *Das Heilige Land*, 1912, p. 214 *sqq*.), of the pillars of which a series of remains have been unearthed (cf. Vincent and Abel, *op. cit*., ii. 22). It debouched on the north into an open square with a single pillar standing alone, after which the North Gate in the middle ages was known as the "Gate of the Pillar" (*Bāb al-ʿAmūd* or *Bāb ʿAmūd al-Ghurāb*). Jews were forbidden under pain of death to enter the new city. This prohibition remained in force under Antoninus Pius, but they were again allowed to practise circumcision. As the Christians were not affected by the prohibition, their numbers must have increased in the centuries following Hadrian's reign. Their place of worship in this period was the Church of Sion on the southern peak of the next hill, which was therefore regarded as the mother of the other churches in the Holy Land. It was at first a small building, which was not replaced by a large basilica until a later date. In the same period pilgrimages to Palestine, especially to Jerusalem, began to become more numerous (cf. Windisch, *Z.D.P.V*., xlviii. 145 *sqq*.). The faithful came thither from all countries, and especially when the earlier obstacles and dangers had been diminished by the conversion to Christianity of Constantine I, numerous bodies of pilgrims followed the example of the queen-mother, Helena, who visited Palestine in 326. The appearance of Jerusalem about this time (c. 333) is described to us in the work of the so-called pilgrim of Bordeaux, the exact character of which cannot however be readily defined. We learn that the two Hadrian statues were still standing and perhaps also the Temple of Jupiter, although the words are not clear (*et in aede ipsa ubi templum fuit quem Salomon aedificavit*). If this was the case, the temple must have very soon afterwards been taken down when the Emperor began to build his church. The *lapis pertusus* over which the Jews were allowed to weep and pour oil on one day of the year, is probably the stone on which the altar for burnt offerings had stood, which therefore must have been lying exposed in those days. If it did not take place earlier, the complete desolation of the site of the temple must have begun at this time, when the Christians, remembering Christ's words (Matt. xxiv. 2), rejected any thought of rebuilding the temple; Eucharius (*Itinera Hierosol. Latina*, i. 52) expressly mentions it. But this was not true, at least about 348, of the outer enclosures of the site which Cyril (*Patr. Graec*.,

xxxiii. 889) mentions as still in existence, and at a still later date there is a reference to the outer wall at the S.E. corner with a high tower. The name given it, "Tower of David", which is found about 350 in Epiphanius, is based on an erroneous transference of David's citadel to this site and indeed this period in general with the many pilgrims asking about sites mentioned in the Bible, proved very productive of local traditions with no authority or even quite false.

In his great buildings the Emperor Constantine was only concerned with Christian associations. Besides the basilica on the Mount of Olives mentioned by the pilgrim of Bordeaux, his main work was the building (completed in 335) of the large and splendid church on the spot where Christ had been crucified and which was therefore consecrated to the victorious Cross. Proof that it was the true site was according to Eusebius the τας ἀκτίνας πέρας at the light emanating from the Holy Sepulchre when they began to dig out the soil.

It was the Emperor's intention to build a great sanctuary for the whole of Christendom, which was to surpass all others in the splendour and costliness of its materials. Eusebius gives a very rhetorical picture of this building and therefore one that is not easy to visualise. The sepulchre, discovered by a miracle, was adorned by the Emperor with beautiful pillars and rich decoration. East of it lay an open paved square, which was enclosed on three sides by pillared halls. On the east side was a great basilica through the eastern exits of which one entered the outer gateway and reached the street of the market through them. The basilica had a sloping roof. Eusebius also speaks of a hemisphere, which some take to be a cupola on the roof, others an apsis. Eusebius does not mention a building over the Holy Sepulchre (Mickley, *op. cit.*, p. 38 *sq.* however finds a reference to it in the *hemisphairion* just mentioned, which he supposes is mentioned in the wrong place in the text). The Sepulchre was originally, it appears, in the open air and it was the sons of Constantine who first built over it the so-called *anastasis*, the rotunda form of which, later maintained, is first mentioned by Cyril in 350. In the account of the building there is no mention of the principal relic, the remains of the Holy Cross; but they were in existence barely 15 years later; they were perhaps old pieces of wood found in excavating for a cistern. They were later preserved at the S.E. corner of the basilica in a silver case. Constantine's reign brought some relief to the Jews as they were permitted, as already observed, to enter the city and weep on the stone on the site of the Temple. Futher scope was given them in the reign of Justinian who not only completely abolished the old prohibition but gave them permission to rebuild the Temple, which however they were prevented from doing by flames bursting forth, according to Ammianus. After the Emperor's death Constantine's regulations were again enforced. The more peaceful period that now began gave the Christians leisure to devote themselves to their own theological and hierarchical disputes, which had for the Jerusalem Christians the satisfactory result that they were freed from the suzerainty of Caesarea, as, at the Council of Chalcedon (451—453), the bishopric of Jerusalem was recognised as an independent patriarchate, comprising Palestine, Prima, Secunda and Tertia. The Emperor's family devoted continual attention to the embellishment of the town. Thus the Empress Eudocia, who visited Jerusalem in 460, built a church of St. Stephen and a church at the pool of Siloah. A still more dazzling epoch came with the reign of Justinian who was fond of building. He had churches and hospitals built in the country round, including a nosokomium in the capital (cf. Cyril in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxxvi. 305). He also bestowed a splendid church of Theotokos on the city of which Procopius gives a florid but by no means lucid description (*De Aedificiis Justiniani*, v. 6). According to him the church was supported by pillars and had a roof of cedar trunks. From a statement by Theodosius it seems to have been in the shape of a cross. One very important statement in the description of Procopius is that the ground was not large enough for the intended building, so that the Emperor had great substructures made on south and east until the ground reached the level of the adjoining rocks. This is in favour of the assumption often made that this church was the predecessor of the mosque of Aḳṣā, the oldest parts of which undoubtedly belonged to a church. The part of the site of the Temple which lay in ruins and which would not be built upon for the reasons already mentioned must therefore have stretched so far south that the remaining area was too small for so large a church (cf. R. Hartmann, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxxii., 185 *sqq.*). Others like H. Dressaire, *Echos de l'Orient*, 1912, p. 146 *sqq.*, 234 *sqq.*; K. Schmaltz, *op. cit.*, p. 385, look for the site of Justinian's church in the Jewish quarter southwest of the Temple area.

A sudden end was put to this idyllic state of affairs by the devastating invasion of the Persians in 614 A.D. When they were before Jerusalem, the Patriarch Zacharias, who, like Jeremiah of old, saw in the attack a punishment for the immorality prevailing in the city, advised surrender but the people would not listen to him, although the Byzantine troops in Palestine were leaving the city to its fate. With the help of their siege machinery, the Persians entered the town and bathed the city in the blood of old men, women and children. The churches were destroyed and the crucifixes trodden under foot. The Jews, who had as a rule been on good terms with the Persians, are said to have used the occasion to avenge themselves on the Christians. The Patriarch was sent into banishment with other dignitaries and the palladium, the Holy Cross, to the horror of Christianity was carried off by the victors (cf. K. Schmaltz, *op. cit.*, p. 69; P. Peeters, *La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses*, *Mélanges de l'Université de Beyrouth*, ix. 1 *sqq.*; Eutychius in Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, ii. 242). The change only came when Heraclius began his marvellous campaign of conquest which led him far into Persian territory. Kawādh II. Sheroë, who ascended the throne on the assassination of his father in 628, sought peace and withdrew all the Persian troops from Byzantine territory. After his brief reign, complete confusion reigned in Persia so that the war could not be continued. The Holy Cross was sent back in its case which the Persians by God's providence had never opened and restored to its former place on September 14, 629; in the meanwhile a monk named Modestus had been showing great energy and succeeded in restoring the destroyed church, including the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre built by Constantine, which was restored to its former size and decorated as far as the modest means allowed. The remains of the Cross did not however stay in Jerusalem, but were sent in 633 by Heraclius to Constantinople, when he was doubtful of being able to defend Syria. Nevertheless a piece seems to have remained in Jerusalem, as the continuation of the festival of the elevation of the Cross shows (Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, ii. 227).

But scarcely had the Christians in the Holy Land begun to breathe a little more freely again after this severe visitation, than events occurred which were destined to have far more fatal consequences. The politico-religious community formed by Muḥammad, little heeded outside of Arabia up to the time of his death, became a few years later with startling suddenness a danger threatening the neighbouring countries.

Although Jerusalem lay outside the regular orbit of the Prophet's interests, he mentioned it several times in the Ḳur'ān, a natural result of his indebtedness to Jews and Christians. As he had no idea of the actual appearance of the town, the cursory mention of the *miḥrāb* (Sūra, iii. 32 *sq.*; xix. 12) is of no importance, but Jerusalem became of real significance for him in the period when, following the example of the Jews, he turned at prayer in the direction of the holy city. The tradition is certainly right which says that the earlier *ḳibla* mentioned in Sūra ii. 136, 138, which he exchanged for the sanctuary at Mecca after the breach with the Jews, was Jerusalem, whether he already used this direction in the Meccan period or only introduced it after his migration to Medina in order to win over the Jews there (cf. the article MUḤAMMAD). In the former case which is more probably right, Jerusalem must from the very beginning have been of very considerable significance to him as a religious centre. According to the usual explanation, moreover Sūra xvii. 1 with the expression *masdjid al-aḳṣā* indicates Jerusalem as the goal of the Prophet's nocturnal journey, not however the later mosque of the name but the site of the old Temple of Solomon. The correctness of this interpretation is however not certain for there is a certain amount of support for Horowitz's (*Isl.*, ix. 159; following Schrieke, *ibid.*, vi. 1 *sqq.*) suggestion that Muḥammad was rather thinking of a place in heaven in this phrase (see MUḤAMMAD). But the traditional view, which must have arisen very early, gained the greatest importance for Jerusalem, for on it is based the classing of the sanctuary at Jerusalem among the three most holy places of prayer in the world; indeed it is sometimes even given the preference over the other two.

The Muslim armies that crossed the frontiers of Arabia after the death of Muḥammad entered Palestine as well as the lands of the Euphrates. With the defeat of the Imperial troops at Adjnādain (q. v. and add to the *Bibl.*, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, v. 225) in July 634, after which the Byzantine general Aretion had to take shelter in Jerusalem, Byzantine rule in Palestine began to totter and its fate was settled on the Yarmūk in August 636; the fortified towns then surrendered one after the other to the victorious Arabs. Two different accounts of the taking of Jerusalem have been handed down. According to the most usual version, the Arab general Abū 'Ubaida in 17 (638) asked the Caliph 'Umar to come to his headquarters at Djābiya (q. v.) as the people of Jerusalem would only capitulate on condition that 'Umar himself concluded the treaty with them. According to the other story, which de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, 1864, p. 110 *sqq.*, rightly prefers, the Caliph came to Djābiya of his own accord to arrange the affairs of the conquered regions and from there (according to Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 139) he sent Khālid b. Thābit to Jerusalem to besiege the town and the terms made by the latter for the surrender were then approved by 'Umar. These terms, which are preserved in several versions (e. g. Ṭabarī, i. 2404 *sq.*; cf. Balādhurī, p. 139; Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 167; cf. de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 122 *sq.*) were quite mild. The Christian inhabitants were granted security for their lives, property, churches and crucifixes, while the Jews were not to live among them; the churches were not to be used as dwellings, and not to be torn down or reduced in size, and the Christians retained their religious liberty; in return they were to pay the *djizya* and assist in warding off the Byzantine troops and raiders. The statements on the date of the taking of Jerusalem also vary, Ṭabarī for example gives Rabī' II of the year 16.

Further details of 'Umar's conduct at the capture of Jerusalem are given by various Christian and Muslim authors. Theophanes (ed. de Boor, i. 339) who wrote towards the end of the viiith century, records under the year 627 that the Caliph on the conclusion of the treaty, so favourable to the Christians, entered the holy city wearing soiled robes — according to this author a sign of his devilish hypocrisy — and demanded to be led to the site of the Temple which he then made a place of pagan worship. Writing in the tenth century, the Egyptian Christian Eutychius (*Annales*, ed. Pococke, ii. 285 *sqq.* and in Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, ii. 243) tells somewhat more fully how 'Umar refused to perform his *ṣalāt* in the basilica of the Church of the Resurrection and instead said his prayers on the steps at the entrance in order, as he explained, to prevent the Muslims from using the authority of his example to turn the church into a mosque and that he gave the Patriarch Sophronius a document confirming this. At his request, Sophronius then pointed out the "Rock" covered with debris on the site of the Temple as a suitable site for his masdjid. The Caliph at once began to clear off the rubble and as the Muslims followed his example the rock soon came into sight. At the same time he gave instructions that the masdjid should be so planned that the worshippers had the rock behind and not in front of them. It is apparent that the story is intended to confirm the alienable right of the Christians to their churches by the authority of the great Caliph. There is naturally no such tendency in the Muslim historians — the earliest is al-Mugharrab in the tenth century with whom Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī, Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Mudjīr al-Dīn (see below) are in substantial agreement — who on the contrary show the Christians in a less favourable light. According to them the Patricius, who appears here more correctly in the place of the Patriarch, at first tried to deceive 'Umar when he demanded to be taken to David's *masdjid*, by showing him the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of Sion

But the Caliph saw through the deception, as the Prophet had described to him the place as he had seen it on his nocturnal journey; he was ultimately taken to the site of the Temple, which he recognised as the right place, but it had first of all to be cleared of debris. In another story, recorded as early as Ṭabarī, i. 2408, Kaʿb b. al-Aḥbār [q. v.] a Jewish convert to Islām plays a part which gives the story a point directed against the Jews. When ʿUmar entered the Temple area he summoned Kaʿb to obtain his opinion regarding the choice of the place for the masdjid; but when the latter proposed that the place of prayer should be placed behind the Rock (north of it) the Caliph declined as he saw in the proposal a concealed attempt to plan the masdjid for the benefit of the Jews, so that the ḳibla would actually strike the site of the old Temple.

If we examine these traditions more closely, we see that they all agree that ʿUmar had a Muslim place of worship erected on the deserted Temple area. That we are on firm historical ground here is corroborated by Bishop Arculfus about 670 (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer, 1898, p. 226 *sq.*; cf. Arculf, transl. by Mickley, 1917, 19 *sq.*) who describes this masdjid as a very simple building (*Saracini quadrangulam orationis domum quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias vili fabricati sunt opere ipsi frequentant*), but it could however hold 3,000 men. In reality this was a very practical settlement of the situation that had arisen from the conquest of Jerusalem; the Caliph acquired a site long held sacred, without coming into conflict with the privileges granted to the Christians, as they would not build a church on the site of the Temple for reasons already stated. It is further clear that what Eutychius tells us about ʿUmar's praying on the steps of the basilica of the Sepulchre is an unhistorical invention intended to avert any encroachments by the Muslims. But this bias of the story only becomes evident from a further story of Eutychius, according to which the Muslims "of our day" (i. e. the first half of the tenth century) overrode ʿUmar's regulations, when they took possession of the half of the forecourt on the steps to the Constantinian Basilica and built a masdjid there, which they called the Masdjid ʿUmar, because ʿUmar had prayed there. Schmalz (*op. cit.*, p. 361) thinks a few remains of columns from this mosque can still be seen.

Under the Umaiyads the political conditions contributed in a peculiar way to increase the prestige of Jerusalem. Their interest in Muḥammad's foundations was not considerable so that it was not difficult for them to abandon the holy cities in Arabia when the prescribed visits to them met with difficulty for any reason, and Jerusalem in particular, the holiness of which the Prophet, according to the usual exposition of Sūra xvii. 1, had recognised, formed a welcome substitute, all the more so as it was much easier to reach from Damascus than Mecca or Medina. Evidence of the esteem in which Jerusalem was held, was early shown by Muʿāwiya who had himself proclaimed Caliph here. A Syriac source published by Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix. 90, records that in July 971, Seleuc. (660 A. D. = Ṣafar-Rabīʿ A. H. 40) many Arabs assembled in Jerusalem to make him king and that he ascended to Golgotha and prayed there and next went through Gethsemane to the Tomb of Mary, where he again prayed. Arabic sources (Ṭabarī, ii. 4; Masʿūdī, v. 14; Ibn al-Athīr, iii. 388) say that homage was paid to him in Jerusalem in the year 40, and this must have happened only after ʿAlī's assassination on 17th Ramaḍān, which is less probable than the Syriac story. ʿAbd al-Malik (65—86 = 685—705) took a further step in this direction. When the anti-caliph Ibn Zubair had become master of Mecca, ʿAbd al-Malik feared, not without reason, that the Syrians who made the pilgrimage thither, might be persuaded or forced to join him. He therefore forbade them to go there and when the people appealed to the definite command of the Prophet, he ordered them to go on pilgrimage to the holy Rock in Jerusalem and referred them to a tradition recorded by the famous traditionist al-Zuhrī, according to which Muḥammad classed Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem as places of pilgrimage of equal value, nay, from what is apparently the original form of the ḥadīth, the last town was to be placed above the other sanctuaries (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 167; Balādhurī, p. 143; Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 818; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 390; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 35 *sq.*). To express this esteem for the town in fitting and splendid form, the Caliph had a cupola built on the Rock upon which the Prophet had placed his foot on his journey to heaven, the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [q. v.] around which the *ṭawāf* was to be performed. That (Muḳaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 159) the Caliph in building it intended to surpass the beautiful cupola of the Church of the Sepulchre is probably quite in keeping with his general aims. Others make Walīd I the builder of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra, but this is at once contradicted by an inscription that survives, in which however the name of ʿAbd al-Malik has been altered to that of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Maʾmūn but in such a way that not only does the difference in colour betray the alteration but the date 72 (691) has fortunately remained intact. According to later writers (Ibn Taghribirdī, ʿUlaimī, etc.), ʿAbd al-Malik also built the Aḳṣā Mosque, which was given its name from Sūra xvii. 1; but if the mosque was built out of the Church of Justinian (see above) this can only mean that the Caliph in converting the church into a mosque committed a direct breach of the promise made by ʿUmar. In any case the Christians in Jerusalem retained their churches, such as the Church of Sion, the Church of Gethsemane (corrupted by the Arabs to "al-Djismāniya") and notably the Church of the Resurrection, the name of which al-Ḳiyāma (i. e. *anastasis*, the Arabs turned in ridicule into al-Ḳumāma, "ordure"). On the south side of this church, there stood in the time of Arculfus a square church of the Virgin which later disappeared. The last Umaiyad Caliph Marwān II razed the walls of Jerusalem to the ground in 128 (746) after a rising in Palestine and two years later it was visited by an earthquake recorded by al-Musharraf and later writers, which was followed by another soon after the ʿAbbāsids had seized the empire. The Caliph al-Manṣūr had the damage repaired, perhaps on his visits to Jerusalem (Ṭabarī, iii. 129, 372) in 140 (758) or 154 (771). But afterwards another earthquake so damaged the building that it had once again to be restored in the reign of al-Mahdī, perhaps when he visited the city and prayed there in 163 (780) (Ṭabarī, iii. 500) (cf.

Muḳaddasī, *op. cit.*, 168). On this occasion the Caliph had the building made broader and shorter perhaps in order to emphasise the mosque form more strongly. Of work on the Dome of the Rock there is no mention in these years. But that something was done a little later under the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (198—218 = 813—833) is evident from the falsified inscription already mentioned and from another of the year 216 (831) put up by the Caliph's brother who was then governor of Egypt and Syria (Ṭabarī, iii. 1100).

With the gradual dissolution of the 'Abbāsid empire Palestine also became involved in political troubles and the land once again became a bone of contention between powers in Egypt and in Western Asia. In 265 (878) it passed to the Ṭūlūnids and in 292 (905) to the Fāṭimids. In this period the hitherto quite tolerable relations between Muslims and Christians became worse. How the Muslims, contrary to the treaty with 'Umar, in 936 cut off half the outer court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by building a masdjid has already been mentioned. Yaḥyā of Antioch (Vincent and Abel, ii. 243) tells of a very serious outbreak of fanaticism in 355 (966). The Muslims, who were joined by the Jews, set fire to the doors of the Basilika and the Church of the Resurrection, so that the dome of the latter fell in, entered the Church and looted all they could and afterwards sacked the Church of Sion. The Patriarch, who had hidden himself was dragged out, put to death and his corpse burned. The destroyed churches were restored under his successor, but not long after they were finished an even more terrible blow struck them when that strange character the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in Ṣafar of the year 400 (October 1009, see Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, ii. 249; on the other hand according to Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 147 in 398 = 1008) ordered this sanctuary to which the eyes of all Christendom turned, to be destroyed. The order was carried out as thoroughly as the solidity of the building permitted, but afterwards the Patriarch Nicephoros succeeded in appeasing the Caliph so that he allowed the Christians to worship on the ruins of the Church. Clermont-Ganneau has with great acuteness connected with these events a Kūfic inscription found in 1897 on a large block beside the central gate of the old east wall of the basilica, forbidden those under protection (*al-dhimma*, i. e. Christians and Jews) to enter the masdjid (the mosque of 'Umar above mentioned) (*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, iv. 285 *sqq.*; cf. *M. D. P. V.*, 1897, 70 *sqq.*). Ḥākim's successor, al-Ẓāhir, was forced to conclude a peace with the Byzantine Emperor Romanus III by which he permitted the latter to rebuild the Church of the Resurrection at his own expense. A new earthquake in 1034 destroyed the sore tried church, which was now left in ruins on account of the poverty of the Christians, until it was restored in 1048 by the liberality of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos. But it was only the Church of the Resurrection, that was rebuilt while Constantine's Basilica never rose again. Only the Chapel of St. Helena, the site of the finding of the Cross was preserved. Another earthquake in 407 (1016) severely damaged the Dome of the Rock (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 205) and the Caliph al-Ẓāhir had to have the dome over it rebuilt as an inscription testifies (see 'Alī al-Herewī, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. 602).

The Seldjūḳs put an end for a time to Fāṭimid rule in Palestine, and their leader Ṭughril Beg was recognised as Sulṭān in Baghdād in 447 (1055). Jerusalem also felt the effects of this when the Turkish general Atsiz on his campaign against Filasṭīn in 463 (1070) conquered the city as well as Ramla and the adjoining country, which, as the Seldjūḳs posed as protectors of the Caliphate, resulted in the 'Abbāsid Caliph being again after a long interval mentioned in the *khuṭba* in the mosque there. When Jerusalem soon afterwards rose in rebellion, Atsiz in 469 (1076/1077) had to besiege it again and after its capture, there was a wholesale massacre from which only those escaped who took refuge in the Aḳṣā Mosque (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 46, 64, 68 *sqq.*). The Seldjūḳ Sulṭān Tutush in Damascus had Atsiz put to death and in 484 (1091) Jerusalem was given to Suḳmān, the son of a Turkoman officer. In 489 (1096) the Fāṭimid Sulṭān al-Musta'lī again succeeded in taking the city and in holding it successfully next year against Riḍwān, son of Tutush. The triumph of the Fāṭimids was however of short duration only, for a couple of years later the Crusaders arrived and made their victorious entry into the Holy City on July 15, 1099.

For the tenth and eleventh centuries, the period of the events outlined above, we have valuable material available in a series of Arabic descriptions of Jerusalem and its holy places. Even as early as the end of the ninth century we have the brief account by the geographer and historian Ya'ḳūbī, who however deals mainly with questions of administration and population only (*B. G. A.*, vii., 328 *sq.*). The next is Ibn al-Faḳīh who wrote in 290 (903). After relating the legends and ḥadīths associated with Jerusalem he gives a good description of the Ḥaram with its gates and sanctuaries, notably the Mosque of the Rock and al-Aḳṣā. His measurements are of interest because some of them agree very well with present day measurements (*B. G. A.*, v. 94 *sqq.*). Soon after Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ibn 'Abd-rabbihi (p. 348) in *al-'Iḳd al-farīd* (Cairo 1331, (v. 274 *sq.*) gives a description of the Dome of the Rock, which in many ways recalls that of his predecessor but the figures show considerable divergence. He likewise mentions different sanctuaries in Jerusalem and gates of the Ḥaram. The information in al-Iṣṭakhrī's version of an older work now lost (c. 340 = 951/952) is very concise; the same applies to Ibn Ḥawḳal's version of the same book (367 = 977/978). There are references to the al-Aḳṣā Mosque, unsurpassed in size, to the Ṣakhra with the Rock and the cave below, and to David's Miḥrāb (*B. G. A.*, i. 57, ii. 112). All these writers are thrown into the shade by the great geographer al-Muḳaddasī, or al-Maḳdisī, who was born in Jerusalem (375 = 985/986). He begins with a list of the great attractions of Jerusalem and the advantages of living there but also mentions the disadvantages. He then describes the Aḳṣā Mosque rebuilt after the earthquakes, the new parts of which stood out clearly from the older parts. There were 15 doors on the north side (a remarkably large figure, which does not agree with the other statements), the central one being a great iron door; there were 11 doors on the east side. Along the north side ran a court with marble pillars, built by the Ṭāhirid 'Abdallāh (d. 230 = 844). Over the centre of the building from north to south was a pyramidal roof with the beautiful

dome above it. Next comes the description of the platform in the centre of the Ḥaram with the Dome of the Rock, practically agreeing with that of Ibn al-Faḳīh. It was an octagonal building with four doors, to which staircases led. The interior was divided into three concentric halls with marble pillars. In the centre was the "Rock" which is described exactly as in Ibn al-Faḳīh, 33 ells long and 27 broad and below it the cave which could hold 69 people. The "rock" was separated from the rest by a circular colonnade. Upon this rested a drum with a window, which supported the beautiful dome to the top of which was 100 ells high. The dome consisted of three wooden frameworks, the lower of which was covered with gilt copper, while the second consisted of iron bars and the third of wood covered with metal plates. Most of this agrees with the present Dome of the Rock so that the rebuilding in 413 (1022) must have followed the earlier form. Muḳaddasī gives 1,000 royal ells as the length of of the ḥaram, 700 as the breadth; it had 700 marble pillars and 45,000 lead slates, and it could be entered in 13 places by 20 doors which were numbered (*B. G. A.*, iii. 166 *sqq*). Besides these Arabic descriptions we have that of the Persian Nāṣir-i Khusraw who visited Jerusalem in 438 (1047). He was a good observer, who mentions the conditions of soil and vegetation, the number of inhabitants (20,000 males), the bazaars, and architecture of the houses, the good hospital, the cemetery, at the east wall, the aqueduct leading from Solomon's pool etc., and describes the Ḥaram and its sanctuaries in great detail; but his statements unfortunately do not seem always to be accurate, so that they are sometimes more confusing than useful. In place of the 15 doors on the north side of the Aḳṣā mentioned by Muḳaddasī, he only gives five, but gives 10 on the east; among the former he also mentions the great iron door (*Sefer-nāme*, ed. Schefer, 1881, p. 67—99). To the eleventh century also belongs al-Musharraf's work, *Kitāb Faḍā'il Bait al-Maḳdis wa 'l-Shām* (exists in a unique MS. in Tübingen, see Seybold, *Die Arabischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen*, 1907, i., p. 62 *sqq.*) which after a survey of the earlier history of Jerusalem deals with 'Umar's conquest of the city and 'Abd al-Malik's buildings on the Ḥaram, the advantages of the city, the traditions associated with it and the religious merit that is acquired by praying there; it has been much used by later writers.

The Franks celebrated their entry into Jerusalem by a frightful massacre, particularly on the temple site, in great contrast to the restraint shown by 'Umar when he became lord of the city. The valuable treasures in the Dome of the Rock were also carried off. Jerusalem now became the capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the first ruler of which was Godfrey de Bouillon, "protector of the Holy Sepulchre"; but he died soon afterwards on July 18, 1100, and his brother Baldwin I succeeded him. The patriarchate hitherto Greek now became Roman. The Crusaders were anxious to have the churches restored in their original form. Their main concern was with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the most sacred place to Christianity. The Rotunda of the Resurrection retained its old form. But instead of rebuilding the Constantinian basilica with a court-yard surrounded by cloisters on the old lines, a remarkably shortened church was built immediately on to the east side of the Rotunda in Late Roman style, which was intended to serve as a choir for the daily services founded by Godfrey (see Dalman, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, iii. 39 *sq.*). In this way the plan was simplified, but again somewhat complicated by the fact that a cross nave and two irregular side-naves were built in front of the choir. The south side of the cross-nave was the main entrance to the sanctuary. A dome was built over the spot where the cross nave intersected the shortened main nave and a bell-tower south of the Rotunda of the Resurrection. In the church thus formed and consecrated in 1149 the kings of Jerusalem were interred. Among the other churches restored we may specially mention the Church of Sion or of the Apostles which was in ruins. A splendid building and one very characteristic of the Crusaders arose not far to the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

In the eleventh century merchants from Amalfi had built, along with a church of St. Maria Latina, a monastery to be used as a hostel by poor pilgrims. The first patron was John the Merciful, a patriarch of Alexandria, but later it was John the Baptist. In addition to the monks and nuns, the order of the Knights of St. John was instituted here, who devoted themselves not only to tending the sick and wounded but also to the defence of the holy places and fighting the infidels. After the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, a splendid hostel with over 1,000 beds and a noble church were built. The Crusaders were however not content simply with restoring the sacred places of Christendom. While 'Umar had left the Christians the undisturbed use of their churches and reserved only the area of the temple for Muslim worship, the Crusaders took over the mosques there and turned them into churches. The Dome of the Rock, which from an insufficient knowledge of its history, they called Templum Domini remained practically unaltered. But a golden cross was placed on the top of the cupola and the "Rock" hitherto uncovered in its centre was overlaid with slabs of marble, on which an altar was built. Considerable alterations were made on the Aḳṣā mosque which was now called Templum Salomonis or Palatium Salomonis (on the latter name cf. as early as the pilgrim of Bordeaux: *sub pinna turris ipsius sunt cubicula plurima, ubi Salomon palatium habebat*). These changes were made because the building, after first being the palace of the Latin Kings was handed over to the newly founded order of the Templars. They put a number of living rooms in the mosque and added a number of buildings which were to be used as latrines and granaries (Idrīsī, *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 125; Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 364 *sq.*) and they also built a Crusaders' Church in and by the mosque but it was never completed (see John of Würzburg, Ch. 5). Apart from these changes, under Frankish rule Jerusalem remained much as it was before the conquest. A strong wall surrounded the town, before which deep ditches were dug at several places. Four gates facing the four points of the compass, with others at intervals, gave admittance to the city.

Among the descriptions of Jerusalem in the Frankish period the best although short is that in the Book of Roger by Idrīsī in 1154. He mentions the four main gates, describes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Ḥaram with the Dome of

the Rock, and the Aḳṣā Mosque, Gethsemane, the Church of Sion and several churches in the vicinity of the town. As he does not appear to have been there himself, his statements are probably based on information supplied by men sent by Roger. A little later in 1173 'Alī al-Herewī (from Herāt) visited Palestine; his description (not yet printed) was translated by Schefer (*Archives de l'Orient*, 1886, i., p. 587—609). He describes the Dome of the Rock with its four pillars, 12 columns and 16 windows, the iron work round the rock, the cave of the Spirits, the Aḳṣā and its portico with 16 marble columns and 8 pillars, gives their measurements, mentions the stables of Solomon, and the cradle of Jesus, the Tower of David, with the *Miḥrāb* mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, Siloah and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There are also numerous descriptions by pilgrims, only a few of which can be mentioned here. In 1102 and 1103 i. e. shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem, the Saxon Saewulf was there and left a short account of his visit (*Recueil de voyages et des mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*, 1839, iv., p. 839—846) in which he describes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Maria Latina, the site of the Temple, the Church of St. Anne, Gethsemane, and the Mount of Olives. The Russian Abbot Daniel's journal of the year 1106 is also of value (transl. by Leskien in *Z.D.P.V.*, vii. 25 *sqq.*). He gives brief but vivid descriptions of the country and the buildings and had an eye for all sorts of details which are rarely mentioned elsewhere. He describes in order the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David, the Dome of the Rock (the holy of holies), the house of Solomon (al-Aḳṣā), Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives and the situation and natural features of the city. The next important authorities are John of Würzburg (*Descriptiones terrae sanctae ex saec. viii., ix., xii. et xiv.*, ed. Tobler) and Theodoric, (*Theodorici Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed. Tobler, 1865). On the Jewish side there is Benjamin of Tudela (1165), who does not however deal with the Christian sanctuaries.

The period of the Crusades is one of the least inspiring periods in the history of Christianity. Its pitiable collapse is in striking contrast to the splendid enthusiasm with which it was opened, but even this was overcast by the deep shadow of the inhuman bloodshed at the taking of Jerusalem. The Crusaders owed the advantages they won in the first period less to their own ability than to the political weakness of the caliphate at that time and the newly founded kingdom of Jerusalem soon broke up in confusion in which selfish individual interests were openly displayed and Christians occasionally fought with their fellow-Christians and freely concluded alliances with their Muslim opponents. Therefore when powerful personalities appeared on the side of the enemy in 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī and his son Nūr al-Dīn and still more when the highly gifted Aiyūbid Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) became master of Egypt in 1169 and began to conquer Syria after the death of Nūr al-Dīn, the fate of the Christians in Palestine was sealed. The for them disastrous battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [q. v.] resulted in Saladin's advance on Jerusalem. When he appeared with his army before the town, the inhabitants who had appointed Balian of Nābulus commander-in-chief declined the favourable conditions offered them and decided to fight to the last. Saladin however moved his camp to the weaker north side of the city and when his siege artillery began to demolish pieces of the wall, the defenders lost courage and endeavoured to reopen negotiations with Saladin. After Saladin had several times refused to see the envoys, Balian informed him that the inhabitants, if their surrender was not accepted, were resolved to put all noncombatants in the city to death along with the Muslim prisoners, to burn all that might be looted and to destroy the sanctuaries on the site of the Temple. This made such an impression on Saladin and his emirs that the terms were accepted (1187). The inhabitants were allowed to leave the city on paying a poll-tax and Saladin's attitude was so lenient that not only was the amount of the ransom reduced but many people were allowed to depart, although they could not pay the necessary money. He also ordered armed soldiers to accompany the columns of emigrants to protect them from attack, while at the same time in some parts of the country Christians were preventing their co-religionists from passing through (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 361—366; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, p. 451 *sqq.*). It was mainly the Latin Christians who left Jerusalem while the Greek Christians, the so-called Syrians, were allowed to stay in the city without becoming slaves. It is quite evident from several sources that even after the retaking of Jerusalem by the Muslims, a considerable number of Christians remained there and in Palestine generally (cf. Rotermund, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxxv. 24 *sq.*). But Jerusalem lost its Christian character and Saladin actively removed the traces of the period of Christian occupation. The golden cross on the Dome of the Rock was thrown to the ground amid the applause of the Muslims and laments of the Christians and replaced by a crescent. The wall round the Rock with the altar was removed. Saladin, as an inscription shows, had the cupola regilt (de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 91 *sq.*) but otherwise the building was allowed to remain as it was. The restoration of the Aḳṣā Mosque cost great labour, as it had not only to be cleared of all trace of Christian worship but the architectural alterations of the Christians had also to be removed. An inscription mentions that the *miḥrāb* and the mosque were restored by Saladin's orders (de Vogüé, p. 101). The armoury of the Knights Templar in the southwestern part of the Aḳṣā was transformed and given the name "Mosque of the Women". Saladin had a very elaborate and beautiful *minbar* ordered by Nūr al-Dīn for the Aḳṣā, which was in Ḥalab, brought to the place for which it was intended. The cross over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was removed and the bells broken as in the other churches. He spared the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself but forbade the pilgrims to visit it; this prohibition was however removed in 1192. The great hostel of the Knights of St. John was presented as a *waḳf* to the Mosque of 'Umar and the church there turned into a hospital under the name "Mūristān". The convent of the Church of St. Anne, which the nuns had to leave, was turned into a large handsomely endowed school, the name of which, al-Ṣalāḥiya, recalled its founder (the church however had already been used as a school before the conquest by the Franks; Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, i. 429). The dwelling of the Patriarch northwest

of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was turned into a hostel for pilgrims (*khanka*). The walls round Jerusalem, which had suffered during the siege, were renovated under the personal supervision of Saladin — a deep ditch was dug in front of them — and the towers between the Gate of the Pillar (see above) and the Gate of the Miḥrāb on the west side were rebuilt (Mudjīr al-Dīn, p. 338). On this occasion a part of the west hill hitherto outside the walls was incorporated in the city (cf. Rotermund, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

After the death of Saladin (589 = 1193) his brother usurped his son's inheritance and seized the power in his own hands and then divided it among his own sons, of whom al-Muʿaẓẓam received Damascus and Palestine. This anti-Christian ruler, fearing that the Christians might establish themselves in Jerusalem ordered it to be destroyed in 1219, and this was done so thoroughly that only the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David and the Mosques on the Ḥaram were spared. He further showed his reverence for the sanctuaries on the Ḥaram by building a new wooden tower for the Aḳṣā and restoring the arcades on the south side of the Dome of the Rock. From him also probably dates the porch on the north side of the Aḳṣā (see de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 103, and thereon Hartmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxxii. 204). He also built a school for the Ḥanafīs beside this mosque. After his death the Emperor Frederick II, then excommunicated, achieved by his statesmanship, what the arms of the Crusaders had failed to do, by concluding a treaty with al-Muʿaẓẓam's brother, al-Kāmil, in 626 (1229) whereby Jerusalem — except the Muslim sacred places on the Ḥaram — and a narrow corridor to the sea were ceded to him for ten years. The Emperor crowned himself there in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, without the assistance of any of the priesthood. In this way the Latins again came into possession of the city for a brief period. When the period had expired, a son of al-Muʿaẓẓam who ruled in Kerak and, like his father, hated the Christians fell upon the holy city, destroyed the citadel and forced the inhabitants to capitulate. The Christians were relieved by the disputes which broke out between the Aiyūbids in Damascus and those in Egypt; they realised the value of their support and the rival princes began to make great promises to win it. The Christians preferred to support Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl of Damascus and in this way they came once more into undisturbed possession of the holy city (1244). The Egyptian Aiyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn however summoned the Khwārizmians to his assistance and they at once carried fire and sword through Syria, slew a large number of fugitives from Jerusalem, plundered and murdered in the city, desecrated the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the tombs of the kings were ruined, and other churches. He had now full freedom of action and, when his allied enemies were defeated at Gaza, he seized Jerusalem and henceforth the town remained in Muslim hands. This was the real end of the Crusades, the permanent political result of which was a burning hatred between Christians and Muslims such as had only rarely flamed up before. Not long afterwards, the Aiyūbids were succeeded by the Mamlūk Sulṭāns in Egypt, under whom Syria and Palestine formed one province, after Ḳuṭuz had won great fame in 1260 by defeating the advancing Mongols in the battle of ʿAin Djālūt [q. v.].

In the Mamlūk period, Jerusalem fell into the background after being for a time the centre of interest in the east. What we know of its history in this period we owe mainly to the compiler Mudjīr al-Dīn ʿUlaimī, who, as an appendix to the earlier history of the town, tells us what various Mamlūk Sulṭāns had done for it. The frequently necessary repairs of the sanctuaries there gave these princes an opportunity of displaying their pious interest and the mosaics on the outer wall of the Dome of the Rock, which had suffered from the wind and rain, in particular needed frequent repairs, which need not be detailed here. We are told of several Sulṭāns that they lightened the taxes which the town had to pay and that other Sulṭāns gave splendid copies of the Ḳurʾān to the mosques. The great Sulṭān Baibars I [q. v.] had the Aḳṣā restored and in 662 (1263) built a Khān northwest of the town which was intended for the relief of the poor. Al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn (678—689) restored the roof of the southwestern parts of the Aḳṣā beside the Mosque of the Women. Al-Manṣūr Lādjīn (696—698) restored the miḥrāb of David on the south wall of the Aḳṣā. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in his third reign (709—741 = 1309—1340) paved the back part of the Aḳṣā with marble slabs, had two windows pierced right and left of the Miḥrāb, restored the arcades on the north side of the raised part of the Ḥaram, and the Gate of the Cotton-Merchants, gilt the domes of the two sanctuaries on the Ḥaram in such brilliant fashion that in Mudjīr al-Dīn's time, c. 180 years later, they still looked like new (an inscription in the Dome of the Rock mentions this gilding and a renovation of the outer roof; de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 91); the aqueduct which brought the water from the Sulṭān's Pool to the town was also repaired in the same reign. In 851 (1447/1448) lightning set the roof of the Dome of the Rock on fire and a portion of it was consumed whereupon Sulṭān Djaḳmaḳ (842—857) had it repaired. This ruler was hostile to the Christians and ordered all the new buildings in the Sion monasteries and in the Holy Sepulchre to be destroyed. He took away from the monks the so-called Tomb of David and the site where, according to Church tradition, the Apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost and took away a balustrade from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and carried it to the Aḳṣā Mosque. The able Sulṭān al-Ashraf Ḳāʾit-Bey (873—901 = 1468—1495) who took a great deal of interest in the sacred places of his kingdom, built, as an inscription tells us, the well between the raised part of the Ḥaram and its west wall and rebuilt the school which bears his name at the Gate of the Chain in the Aḳṣā and extended it (Mudjīr al-Dīn, p. 387). In his reign also several aqueducts which led water into the town were restored (*ibid.*, p. 621, 655, 661 *sq.*).

Of the geographical works of the Aiyūbid and Mamlūk period, Yāḳūt's great dictionary the *Muʿdjam al-Buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld, 1866—1873) is in the first rank with its great use of older sources. In the main article on Jerusalem (iv. 590 *sqq.*) he gives a description of the town, its water supply, its climate, its wealth in fruit and the Ḥaram sanctuaries, and details the famous men who have lived there. To the xivth century belong

the geographical works of al-Dimashḳī (*Cosmography*, ed. Mehren, 1866) and Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 1840) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels* (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti[2], 1869–1879). To the xvth century belongs Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī's (d. 872 = 1468) work, which exists in two synopses, on Palestine and Syria (R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī's Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, 1907). In the section on Jerusalem he deals with Ḳur'ānic passages and traditions relating to Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock, the four rites used there, the pious foundations, bazaars, schools, khāns and baths and the Church of the Resurrection. There are also several works dealing specially with Jerusalem, which are based on Musharraf mentioned above. To the xivth century belongs Ibn Hilāl Djamāl al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī's work composed in 752 (1351) not yet published, the *Muthīr al-Gharām ilā Ziyārat al-Ḳuds*, extracts of which were given by Le Strange in *J.R.A.S.*, New Ser., 1887, xix., p. 297—305, which refer to 'Umar's entry into Jerusalem and 'Abd al-Malik's buildings. Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Itḥāf al-Akhiṣṣā bi-Faḍā'il al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* written in 875 (1470) quotes it, sometimes word for word; a synopsis is given by Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 258 *sqq.* with the translations of several passages. It is a mixture of topographical information and worthless traditions. Of more importance is Mudjīr al-Dīn's work written in 1495 entitled *al-Uns al-Djalīl bi-Ta'rīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl* (pr. Cairo 1283, extracts translated by H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et de Hébron*, 1876). The book begins with a series of legends followed by accounts of 'Umar and 'Abd al-Malik taken from earlier writers; then come notes on al-Ḥākim's destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the taking of the city by the Franks and by Saladin and the period following him till 1244. The next section contains a description of the sanctuaries on the Ḥaram and its gates, the schools, the houses, mostly built on ancient remains, the churches, the streets and city-gates and cemeteries, the survey, of which a resumé was given above, of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns who had devoted attention to the city, and a list of the higher officials who had held office there. His simple and lucid description of the seven-naved Aḳṣā with its pillars and columns, its gable roof and its dome shows that in those days it had practically the same form as at present. This is also true of the cupola of the Dome of the Rock supported by 12 columns, and 4 pillars and the surrounding octagon with 16 columns and 8 pillars; the measurements given practically agree with the present ones. The pilgrim's descriptions of this period are numerous (see Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, N⁰ 41—172) but give little that is new. Among the more valuable are Burchardus, *De Monte Sion*, 1283 (in Laurent's *Peregrinationes medii aevi quattuor*, 1864, second ed. 1873, who also gives Ricoldus, *De Monte Crucis* and Willbrand von Oldenburg, cf. Kotermund, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv. 1 *sqq.*). Felix Fabri, 1480 and 1483 (C. D. Hassler, *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium*, 1843—1849, cf. thereon the map by Bernhard von Breitenbach in *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv. 129) and the Bohemian M. Kabátník, 1491 (transl. in *Z.D.P.V.*, xxi. 47 *sqq.*). An interesting account of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre about 1436 has been published by R. Durrieu in *Florilegium dédié à M. de Vogüé*, p. 197 *sqq.*

In 1517 Selīm I, the Ottoman Sulṭān put an end to the Mamlūk dynasty, and Jerusalem with the rest of Syria now passed to the Ottoman Turks, who were little capable of restoring the lands they ruled to new life. One of the most notable of these Sulṭāns, Sulaimān I (1520–1566), was not only a great soldier but took a considerable interest in building and Jerusalem also benefited from this. He had the mosaic on the outer wall of the Dome of the Rock, which demanded continual repairs taken away and replaced by tiles of faïence, the blue colours of which, alternating with white, green, and yellow, gives the mosque its characteristic appearance. In the lower parts marble slabs were used instead, while at the top a dark blue band with an inscription in white ran round the octagon. Perforated sheets of gypsum, filled with panes of variegated glass, were put in the windows. The Sulṭān also had the city-walls renovated and gave them the form they still have to-day. At some places they rest not upon the rock but on the débris of earlier walls. On this occasion a part of the west hill was again cut off from the unwalled town. In Sulaimān's reign in 1545 the dome of the bell-less bell-tower on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre fell down in an earthquake. In 1555 the little building in the rotunda over the tomb was removed and replaced by a new one regular in shape. The whole Church was now divided among the different denominations, who jealously watched one another. These feuds and the hostile attitude of the Muslims for long delayed the very necessary restoration of the dome of the Anastasis and the bell-tower, until finally in 1719 the work was taken in hand. In rebuilding, by order of the Turkish government, the existing forms were retained and the attempted alterations at the Anastasis had to be removed. In 1808 a fire broke out in the Armenian chapel, which destroyed most of the western part of the church. The Greeks succeeded in asserting their claim to do the restoration and they entrusted the work to an architect from Mytilene, named Kommenos Kalfa, who, by the unfortunate way in which he performed his task, has acquired a kind of Herostratic renown. The Sulṭān who had given authority to the Greeks by a firmān was Maḥmūd II (1808—1839); he also, according to an inscription, renewed the gilding of the Dome of the Rock and had its outside restored. This is the not very edifying end of the story of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But for the unfortunate rivalry among the different denominations, it would possibly have been decided much earlier to remove the ugly new buildings and the plaster covering the old walls, so that the Church of the Crusaders could be restored by using the old materials.

In the xixth century Palestine was again disturbed from the state of vegetation in which it had lapsed. Napoleon invaded the country and fought the Turks on the old battle-ground of the plain of Yizre'el, but his plan of taking Jerusalem was abandoned. Next Muḥammad 'Alī seized the country and Jerusalem surrendered to him in 1831. The European Powers put a stop to the further advance of his adopted son Ibrāhīm Pasha and when the discontent with Egyptian rule in the land continued to increase, France withdrew her protection from Muḥammad 'Alī and with the support of England and Austria, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Madjīd once

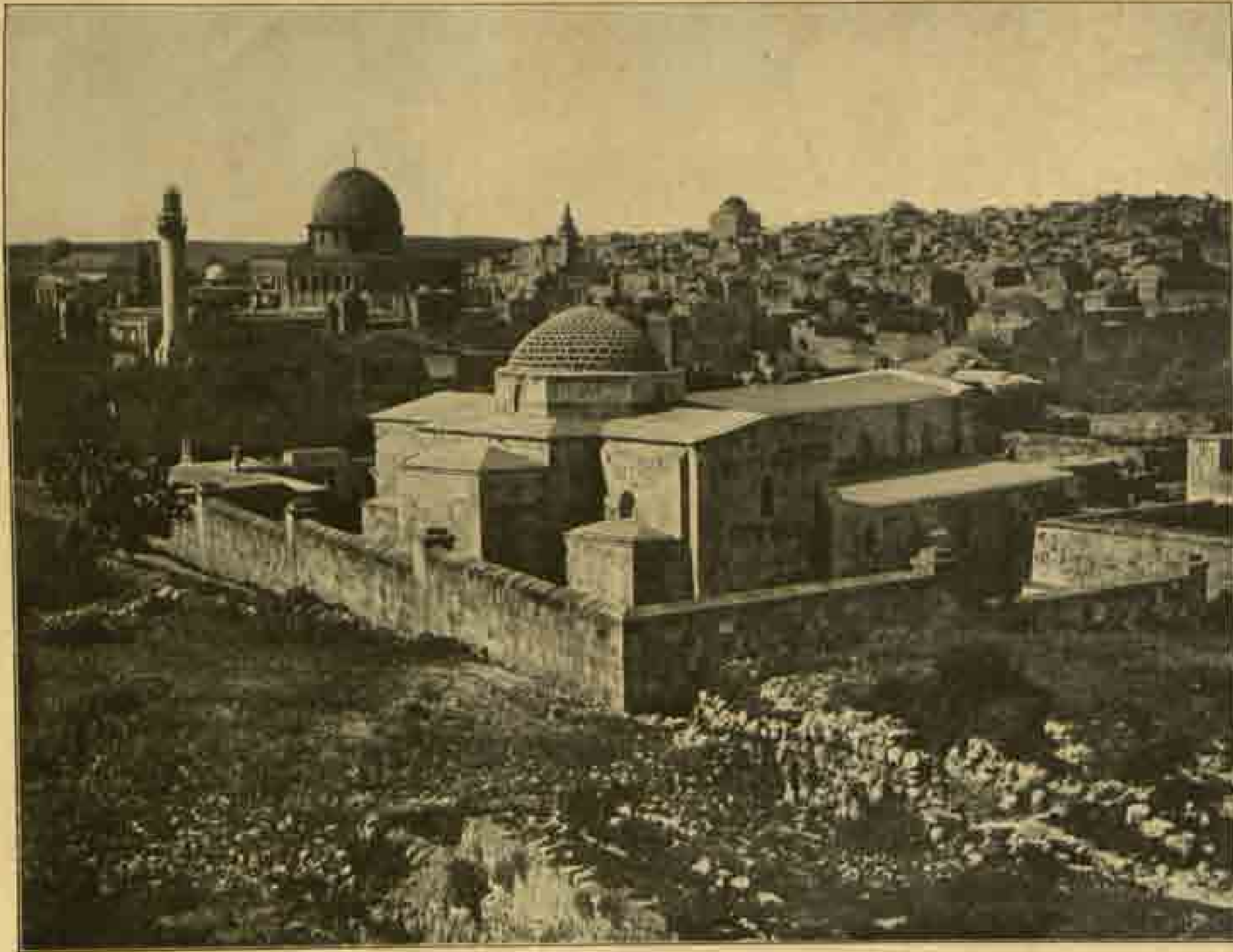
more came into possession of Palestine and Jerusalem in 1840 and the Turks held it till the World War, which deprived them of the country and opened up a new epoch in the history of Jerusalem. Palestine is now governed under an English mandate and Jerusalem is the capital of the central district, Jerusalem—Jaffa.

In the course of the xix[th] century, a new life began to invigorate Jerusalem, which altered more and more the mediaeval character of the city. Ibrāhīm Pasha's government introduced progress in various directions, which however threatened to be checked when the city passed to the Turks again but was gradually revived when increasing security began to attract Europeans thither. The number of visitors increased very much and many strangers settled in the city. It was a great step forward when European consulates were instituted, who afforded foreigners legal protection. It was significant of the altered conditions that the prohibition to non-Muslims to enter the site of the Temple was abolished after the Crimean War and that bells, forbidden since the time of Saladin, were restored to the churches. Postal and telegraph services and other modern institutions, the most recent of which was the railway from Jaffa, were introduced and hostels on modern lines were erected. A new era in building began in this period, partly in the city itself, where ruined houses were restored or replaced by new ones, and partly in the vicinity. Schools, pilgrim hostels, hospitals including one for lepers, an orphanage etc. were built. Several churches were built or old ones restored, including the Church of St. Anne presented by the Sulṭān in 1856 to Napoleon III and the Church of the Redeemer on the Muristān, which was given in 1869 to the King of Prussia. The number of Jews who migrated there, which nearly doubled between 1881 and 1891 (*Z. D. P. V.*, xvi. 196) has greatly increased since the World War. Ibrāhīm Pasha allowed them to build synagogues, which they have continued to do and several synagogues with high cupolas were built having Talmudic schools attached to them. The Jews have now built a building for a medical faculty, as the beginning of a university. The excavations undertaken in Jerusalem in recent years throw light mainly on the earliest history of the city and are therefore not dealt with here; we need only mention the excavations conducted by the Russian Palestine Society as they are of importance for Constantine's buildings.

The most striking feature about Jerusalem and one that makes quite a painful impression on the visitor is the conflict of different creeds and denominations, for all of which it is a holy city. Not only Christians, Muslims and Jews are more or less at enmity with one another, but the various Christian denominations are also rivals and each is striving to extend its influence at the expense of the others. How, down to the Crusaders, the Greek Orthodox Church formed the main body of Christians and after the expulsion of the Latins came into their own again has already been mentioned. They were the subjects of successive Muslim rulers, but had their own self-government and elected their own Patriarch, whose supremacy over the Orthodox Church however passed to the Patriarch in Constantinople after the Turkish conquest. The fact that they restored the Church of the Holy Sepulchre burned down in 1808, gave them a considerable advantage but cost so much that they found themselves in a difficult position. They were rescued by the Russians, but the result was the Russian Church and government gained an increasing influence, which was still further extended by the building of hospices and splendid churches. The Roman Catholic Latins whom the Crusaders brought into the land were expelled after Saladin's conquest, the Latin Patriarchate abolished in 1291 and his palace fell into the hands of the Muslims. In 1305 Robert of Sicily bought for the Roman Church the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the coenaculum but the Dome of the Rock remained in possession of the Greeks. Only the Franciscans were able to remain there, even after they were expelled from the Sion monastery in 1551 and in spite of the most oppressive conditions; they have been untiring and beneficial in their activities. France under Louis XIV endeavoured to exercise a protectorate over the Holy Land but this disappeared under Napoleon who had no interest in it. In 1848 the Roman patriarchate was revived and since that date Roman Catholic influence in Jerusalem has considerably increased. To strengthen the Protestant element, the Anglo-German bishopric of St. James was instituted in 1841 at the suggestion of Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia but it never had any vitality and was abolished in 1887.

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(F. Buhl.)



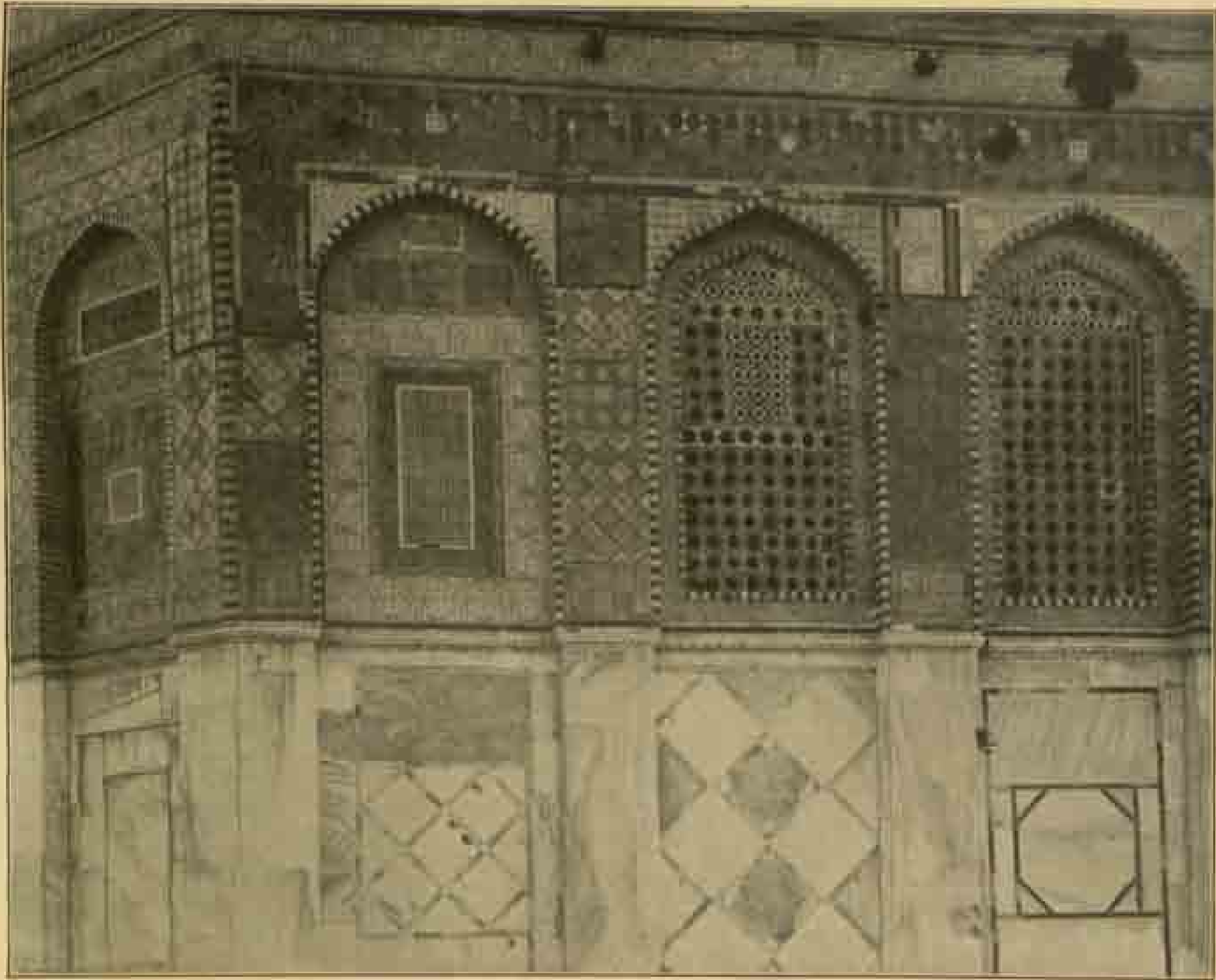
View of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives



The Temple area with the Dome of the Rock.



The Rock in the Dome of the Rock



Details of the Faience covering the Dome of the Rock



Façade of the Aḳṣā-Mosque



Main Entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre



The Pool of Hezekiah

KUDSĪ, poetical name of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Khān. He adopted this name (meaning holy) because he was a native of Mashhad. He came to India in the 5th year of Shāh Djahān (1631—1632). There is a notice of him, with some extracts, in vol. i., p. 351, of the *Bādshāhnāma*. He is highly praised by the author of the *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, who gives the couplets which Kudsī composed for the Peacock-throne (see also *Bādshāhnāma*, i., part ii., p. 80). He wrote a poetical *Shāhjahānnāma* and a poem in praise of Kashmir. He died at Lahore in 1056 (1646). Rieu (ii. 684b) is mistaken in saying that he died in Kashmir (*Bādshāhnāma*, ii. 504). He wrote odes and quatrains, as well as *Mathnawīs*; for a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of Shāh Djahān, he was weighed against rupees.

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KUDUMMUL, a small volcanic island in the Red Sea in 17° 52' N. Lat., called Korumbie on the English Admiralty charts. The island has a rich flora, which has been studied by the botanist Ehrenberg, and is noteworthy for its iron deposits, which are mentioned as early as the geographer Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 630 A. H.). The rocky island of Kudummul which lies near Ḥamiḍa on the Arabian coast once marked the boundary between the land of the Kināna and Yemen.

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AL-**KUDŪRĪ**, whose full name was ABU 'L-ḤASAN (var. AL-ḤUSAIN) AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. DJA'FAR B. ḤAMDĀN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ AL-ḲUDŪRĪ, a Ḥanafī lawyer, born in 362 (972), died at Baghdād on the 5th Radjab 428 (April 24, 1037). He studied law under Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Djurdjānī and ḥadīth under Muḥammad b. 'Alī Suwaid al-Mu'addib, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Djawshanī. Amongst his pupils may be noted the celebrated traditionist and historian al-Khaṭīb [q. v.] al-Baghdādī. Al-Kudūrī had to hold several public disputations in defence of the Ḥanafī school against his contemporary the Shāfi'ī lawyer Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'inī.

The two following of his works have been preserved:

1. *al-Mukhtaṣar*, a manual of law of great clearness composed, it appears, for his son Muḥammad and containing 12,500 questions: *a*) the chapter on marriage has been translated by G. Helmsdörfer, Frankfurt 1832; *b*) the chapter on the Holy War (*al-Siyar*) has been edited with a translation and notes in Latin by Rosenmüller (in *Analecta Arabica*), Leipzig 1825—1826. The *Mukhtaṣar* was published at Delhi in 1847, at Constantinople in 1291, 1309, at Kazan in 1880.

2. *Kit. al-Tadjrīd* dealing with the differences between the Hanafis and the Shāfi'is, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Nº. 1194; Bibl. Khed., *Fihr.*, iii. 17.

Bibliography: a biography at the beginning of the *Mukhtaṣar* published at Constantinople in 1309; Ibn Ḳutlubogha, *Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 5, Nº. 13; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 21; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, Leyden 1912, fº. 444b; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaiy al-Laknawī, *Kit. al-Fawā'id al-bahiya fī Tarādjim al-Ḥanafiya*, Cairo 1324, p. 30; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 169; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, v. 451, Nº. 11625, and Ind. Nº. 3635; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 174—175. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-**KŪFA**, a once celebrated city south of the ruins of Babylon, on the western arm of the Euphrates (cf. AL-FURĀT), which later disappears in the swamps west of Wāsiṭ. After the battle of al-Ḳādisiya [q. v.] the Arabs by command of 'Omar built a strongly defended camp on this site in order to control more easily the people of the newly conquered province, while the old capital Ctesiphon was ruthlessly destroyed, and the capital of the Lakhmid dynasty, Ḥīra, only a few Arab miles south of Kūfa gradually lost its former importance. For military reasons this settlement which was called *al-Kūfa* and the somewhat older Baṣra were placed on the west side of the river, so that communication between the capital Medina and the army headquarters should not be affected by any natural obstacles. While Baṣra was built quite near an already existing village, al-Khuraiba, which later became a suburb of Baṣra, Kūfa was an entirely new settlement founded by Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ according to some in 17 (638), to others not till 18 or even 19. According to the Persian tradition, however, there had been on the same site a town built by the mythical king Hūshang of the Pīshdād dynasty, which fell in time completely into ruins and Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ had to rebuild it: not much importance need be attached to this story. The usual meaning of the Arabic word *kūfa* is "a round sandhill". The name therefore would indicate that the oldest part of the town was built on an eminence of this kind; other explanations however are given, cf. Yāḳūt, iv. 322. According to the Arab geographers Kūfa occupied an extensive area in the wide plain on the bank of the Euphrates; its position was considered more healthy than that of Baṣra, and the principal products of the country round were dates, sugar-cane and cotton. The importance of Kūfa grew with the eastward advance of the Arabs; the general in supreme command there was also the political representative of the Caliph and governed the province. The two sister towns of Kūfa and Baṣra had usually separate governors; but sometimes they were combined; on this, see the article AL-'IRĀḲ. With the great importance which Kūfa gradually attained for the ruling Arabs as well as the subject Persians, the number of inhabitants grew very rapidly. In addition to the families of Arab soldiers, merchants, artisans and other workers mainly of Persian origin settled in vast numbers. The original camp consisted simply of tents and other primitive dwellings with a mosque and a few other public buildings, but in course of time it grew into a permanent settlement of clay huts. Finally (according to the usual statements) in the governorship of Ziyād b. Abīhi, i.e. after about 50 (670), a regular town with brick houses was built. The people of Kūfa, who were

partly members of different Arab tribes, particularly South Arabian Beduins and partly all kinds of Persian elements, cannot be denied military ability. At the same time the Kūfans were distinguished by brilliant intellectual gifts and their considerable achievements in the field of Muslim learning. Among their most striking characteristics however was a remarkable fickleness and lack of reliability, which in the long run proved highly disastrous in political life, and was responsible in a high degree for the civil wars which interfered so much with the prosperous development of the Caliphate. Even ʿOmar to whom the town owed its existence had occasion to complain of the insubordination of the Kūfans, who were never satisfied but had always some objection or other to the governors appointed by the Caliph. When he was induced to yield to their wishes, their demands became more and more intolerable, and during the last six years of his reign, he had to change the governor in Kūfa no less than three times. When the opposition to ʿOthmān long prepared in secret finally broke out in 34 (655), the Kūfans were the first to proclaim their fidelity to ʿAlī. After the battle of the Camel in 36 (656), where ʿAlī was victorious over his combined enemies, he went to Kūfa, and now it looked as if this town would become the seat of the Caliphate. But when ʿAlī encountered Muʿāwiya in the plain of Ṣiffīn, the ʿIrāḳīs were outwitted by the Syrians; victory slipped from the Prophet's son-in-law, when just within his grasp, and after he had declared himself satisfied with the arbitration, the Khāridjīs abandoned him. After the assassination of ʿAlī in the year 40 (661), the Kūfans had to acknowledge Muʿāwiya as commander of the faithful. The stalwart governors of the new caliph, first Ziyād b. Abīhi and next his son ʿUbaid Allāh, who received in 55 (674/675) the governorship of Baṣra, which after the death of Muʿāwiya was combined with that of Kūfa, were able in a masterly fashion to keep the turbulent people of Kūfa in check, and when Ḥusain b. ʿAlī [q. v.] decided to accede to the appeal of his many followers in al-ʿIrāḳ and set out from Mecca for Kūfa, ʿUbaid Allāh's energetic measures easily suppressed the rebellious tendencies of the Kūfans. In Muḥarram 61 (October 680) Ḥusain fell at Karbalāʾ. After the death of the second Umaiyad Caliph, Yazīd I, civil war broke out once more. As ʿAlī's younger son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, was not inclined to put himself at the head of the Shīʿī party in Kūfa, the Kūfans paid homage to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair, who had already been proclaimed Caliph throughout the Ḥidjāz, and for years disputed the supremacy with the Umaiyad Marwān and his son ʿAbd al-Malik. In 66 (685) the unscrupulous adventurer al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbaid [q. v.] succeeded in taking Kūfa and a regular reign of terror began, which lasted about a year and a half. All who did not openly profess the doctrine of the Shīʿa, which was general among the Persians especially, were ruthlessly persecuted until the Arab population appealed for help to Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair who had been appointed Governor of Baṣra by his brother, the anti-Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair. In a battle at Ḥarūrāʾ near Kūfa (67 = 687) al-Mukhtār was defeated and slain and Muṣʿab took a bloody revenge on the rebels. From this time the Persian elements in the population were more and more suppressed and in the end the old hereditary points of conflict between the different Arab tribes played a much greater part in the political history of ʿIrāḳ than the national differences between Arabs and Persians. After Muṣʿab had fallen, fighting the Umaiyads (72 = 691), Kūfa had to submit and ʿAbd al-Malik was able to enter the town unopposed. From 75 (694) till 95 (714) the administration of the whole of the ʿIrāḳ was in the hands of the energetic Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [q. v.] who in order to break all resistance founded a new capital in Wāsiṭ, from which he could easily control both Kūfa and Baṣra. During the long governorship of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105—120 = 724—738) peace and quiet generally prevailed in al-ʿIrāḳ. In 127 (745) however the Khāridjīs seized Kūfa and it took the troops of the Caliph Marwān II two years to drive them out. Soon afterwards the ʿAbbāsids appeared in the field. The Umaiyad governor of Khorāsān, Naṣr b. Saiyār, was defeated and in 132 (749) the long prepared rising in Kūfa broke out. The ʿAbbāsids had no difficulty in occupying the town; Kūfa was made the capital and remained so for nearly two decades although the ʿAbbāsid rulers usually lived, not in Kūfa itself, but sometimes in Hāshimīya, farther north on the Euphrates and sometimes in Anbār. After the foundation of the new capital Baghdād [q. v.] by the second ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr, Kūfa gradually sank in importance, but it retained for a considerable time a large garrison, and the renown for learning, which the inhabitants had won by the first half of the second century A. H. remained down to the fifth century. In spite of the altered political conditions, ʿAlid sympathies and the old fondness for all sorts of new movements and rebellious tendencies remained undiminished. In 199 (815) a descendant of ʿAlī named Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, also called Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, appeared in Kūfa and tried to assert his claim to the caliphate. The governor was expelled and the pretender won numerous adherents. Although he died in the same year, the dangerous rising was only put down by great efforts. In the reign of al-Mustaʿīn [q. v.] Kūfa was again disturbed by the ʿAlids. In 250 (864/865) the ʿAlid Yaḥyā b. ʿOmar raised a rebellion against the government with all sorts of rabble. The governor had to flee and the rebellion rapidly spread; order was however soon restored. After some time, another ʿAlid set up in the always turbulent city but his rule was of only short duration. In 256 (870) ʿAlī b. Zaid, likewise a descendant of ʿAlī proclaimed himself there and drove the governor out. He then routed the commander of the government troops, al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, who had been sent to suppress him; but on the advance of a new army he had to vacate Kūfa. When western ʿIrāḳ and Syria were devastated by the Ḳarmaṭians, Kūfa did not escape; in 293 (906) they entered the city and in 312 (924/925) it was conquered and sacked by the famous Ḳarmaṭian leader, Abū Ṭāhir. It was similarly sacked in 315 (927) and 325 (937). The increasing collapse of the caliphate in the fourth century contributed to the decline of Kūfa, although the Būyids, who seized the capital Baghdād in 334 (945) and thus gained political supremacy, as Shīʿīs took a special interest in Kūfa or rather its suburb Nadjaf, because the latter was believed to contain the holy tombs. But in time the power of the Būyids also weakened: in 375 (985/986) the

Ḳarmaṭians once more occupied Kūfa, and eleven years later it was granted as a fief by Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.] with other places to the 'Uḳailid al-Muḳallad b. al-Musaiyib. It then passed to the Banū Mazyad; but when the latter in 495 (1101/1102) built a new capital, Ḥilla, which rapidly grew, to the north of it, the former capital gradually lost any importance. When Ibn Djubair visited it about 90 years later, the old walls had been taken down and Kūfa showed other signs of decay. From the Mongol period onwards it rapidly fell into oblivion. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town, it was for the most part deserted, mainly as a result of the raids of the neighbouring Beduins of the tribe of Khafādja. From his description it appears however, that the mosque was still fairly well preserved. Of the old government buildings (*ḳaṣr al-imāra*) which Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ had built, only the foundations were left. Its decline at this time is corroborated by the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī written in 740 (1339/1340). Later we only find Nadjaf in its vicinity mentioned, which retained a certain importance as a Shī'ī place of pilgrimage and is now usually called *Mashhad 'Alī*, "the tomb of 'Alī". Niebuhr gives the following description of the country round Kūfa: "The land around is all desert and the town has no longer any inhabitants. The most noteworthy object here is the great mosque in which 'Alī was mortally wounded; but even of this little is left but the four walls".

On the services of Kūfan scholars to Arabic philology, see the article ARABIA, *Literature*. There was also considerable activity in Kūfa, as in Baṣra, in other fields of Muslim learning during its palmiest days. Especially after the battle on the Ḥarra in 63 (683) many of the old companions of the Prophet, who were regarded as authorities on Muslim tradition, emigrated to al-'Irāḳ and settled in the most important towns. Only two of these traditionists need be mentioned here: the celebrated 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who was one of the earliest converts and was sent to Kūfa as a guide and teacher, and the no less distinguished 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bī (d. circa 104 = 722).

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KŪFIYA (in the dialects of Syria, *keffīye*, Cuche, *Dict.*, p. 577; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, p. 27; G. Fesquet, *Voyage en Orient*, p. 185), an Arabic word borrowed from the Romance languages (Ital. *cuffia*, Span. *cofia*, Port. *coifa*, French *coiffe*, *coiffe*), the name of a silk handkerchief, which the Bedouins of the Syrian desert, as far as the region of Mecca, wear as a head-dress; it is kept on the head by a cord of camel-hair dyed black and fastened at intervals with cords of bright colours called *'agāl* (class. *'iḳāl*). This handkerchief is square-shaped, yellow, or yellow and green in colour and is placed on the head in such a way that one corner hangs behind, while two others fall down in front of the shoulders; the square is first of all folded in two to form a triangle, what is called a gore in dressmaking. The corners on the shoulders may be brought over the face to shelter it against the rays of the sun, against the cold wind, against the rain, or to conceal one's features when one does not want to be recognised. The woof of the ends hanging down much below the edge of the material are twisted into cords like a long fringe (J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, i. 228). The head-dress used also to be worn by the Mamlūk Sulṭāns of Egypt.

Bibliography: R. Dozy, *Noms des vêtements*, p. 390; Lane, *Thousand and one Nights*, i. 130, 614; [A. Socin] *Palestine and Syria* (Baedeker), p. xiv, 1912; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, ii. 195; Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii. 292, 293; R. P. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 32, note 3 (black, occasionally white, in colour); M. Tilke, *Orientalische Kostüme*, Berlin 1923, pl. 29.

(CL. HUART)

KUFR. [See KĀFIR.]

KUFRA, a group of oases in the Eastern Sahara, halfway between Cyrenaica and Wadai. It was for long only known from the account by Rohlfs, who succeeded in reaching it in 1879. Since then it has been visited by two other Europeans, Marshal des Logis Lapierre (1918) and Mrs. Rosita Forbes (1920—1921). The group of oases to which the name Kufra is given extends from S. E. to N. E. for a length of about 120 miles between 24° and 26° N. Lat., and 31° 34' E. Long. The most southerly is about 850 miles S. E. of Tripoli and 600 miles S. of Benghāzī. They number five, separated from one another by *serir* or stretches of banks of gravel; Taiserbo in the N. E., Būseima in the centre, Erbehna (the Ribiana of Mrs. Forbes) in the S. E. and Sirhen, N. E. of Būseima and to the S. E. Kufra properly so-called, the Kebabo of Rohlfs, the largest of all. The total area of the group according to Rohlfs is about 7,000 square miles of which Kufra has 3,400 and Taiserbo 2,500.

Kufra lies in the bottom of a depression, the height above sea-level of which varies from 800 feet at Taiserbo to 1,400 at Kebabo. The soil consists mainly of marl and sand covered with dunes in the north, which perhaps are connected with those of the Libyan desert. One chain of dunes extends from the north of Taiserbo, another surrounds Būseima. In the central and southern parts, the depression is crossed by calcareous ranges lying upon Numidian sandstone. The hills Djebel Erbehna, Dj. Būseima, Dj. Sirhen, Dj. Nesi (north of Kebabo) assume a tabular form like that of the *gūr* of the South Algerian Sahara.

There are neither springs nor streams in Kufra, but everywhere at a depth of 3 to 10 feet an abundant water-bearing stratum can be tapped. At various parts the waters form on the surface of the ground brackish lagoons or even permanent

lakes, of which the most remarkable are that of Erbehna and especially that of Būseima, which measures about 6 miles in length. They may be regarded as relics of a former period in which the lacustrine character of the oases was much more marked than to-day.

These subterranean waters make up for the scarcity of rain and are sufficient to nourish an abundant and varied vegetation. In the dry beds grow the *ālid (cornulaca monacantha)*, and the *diss* which provide excellent camel food; around the lakes and marshy hollows fields of cereals, wheat, *dura (sorghum vulgare)*, vegetables, orchards of olive, fig, orange and citron trees form a verdant girdle but usually a very narrow one. The breadth of this zone does not exceed 1,000 yards at Būseima. Date palms constitute the principal wealth of the oases. According to Rohlfs there are 4 millions of them, many of them however growing wild. There are none however in the oasis of Sirhen. As to the fauna, it is represented by gazelles, many varieties of birds (crows, falcons, and cranes) and reptiles like lizards and non-venomous snakes.

The population of Kufra does not exceed 5,000. Almost all belong to the tribe of Zāwiya, Arabicised Berbers who supplanted the Tūbu, the former owners of the oases. The majority of them are semi-nomadic and only have temporary camping-places. There are only settled groups at Kufra where the village of Djōf has 250 inhabitants and where some 300 individuals live about the Sanūsī zāwiya of al-Istāt. The geographical situation of Kufra gives it a certain commercial importance. It is a stage on the caravan route leading from Cyrenaica to Wadai, a route used since the beginning of the xix^{th} century, the period when Sulṭān Sabūn made it known to enable travellers to escape the brigandage of the people of Tibesti. According to Muḥammad al-Ḥashā'ishī there was a market at Djōf where business was entirely done by barter. But as in all the markets of the Sahara, the principal traffic was in slaves, a trade which gradually tends to disappear.

We know very little of the history of Kufra. According to Rohlfs it was a settlement of the Garamantes and there are still to be seen there buildings similar to those noticed in Fezzān by Duveyrier, which seem to date back to a remote antiquity. In the historical period, the land was occupied by the Tūbu, who have left numerous traces of their occupation, cemeteries, houses, fortified villages on the tops of hills. Their Sulṭān lived at Djranguedi, in the oasis of Taiserbo. The people were pagans, whence perhaps the name Kufra (*kufara*, pl. from *kāfir*, infidel) given to the region where they were settled. They were dispossessed about 1730 by the Zāwiya and the Ḥasāūna, tribes from Tripolitania. The Tūbu had almost completely disappeared by the beginning of the xix^{th} century, and are now represented at Kufra by only 300—400 individuals. Towards the middle of the same century the Sanūsiya appeared, who founded a settlement at Taiserbo, then built the zāwiya of al-Istāt in the oasis of Kebabo, near the village of Djōf. They bought up the best land and the richest gardens. At the time of Rohlfs' journey they already held a quarter of the palm-trees of the oasis and had begun to plant new groves. Already very important in those days, the zāwiya of al-Istāt is now the residence of the grand master of the brotherhood. In 1895 Sīdī al-Mahdī, son and successor of Sīdī Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, the founder of the order, left Djaghbūb [q. v.] and came to settle in Kufra.

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ĶŪHISTĀN (P.) or ĶUHISTĀN is the arabicised form of the Persian name Kūhistān meaning a mountainous country (derived from *kūh*, "mountain" with the suffix *-istān*) and corresponds to the Arabic designation al-Djibāl. As the Iranian plateau is very mountainous, we find many more or less extensive areas in it to which the name Ķūhistān has been given, as Yāḳūt has already remarked (iv. 204). Many of these names have disappeared in course of time. Thus Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 228) says that the term Ķūhistān is used for Media, which other geographers always call al-Djibāl. In the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī we even find Ķūhistān used as the old name of Mā warā' al-Nahr (ed. Vullers, p. 531), but this is probably a case of an erroneous identification made by Firdawsī himself (cf. also Vullers, *Lexicon*, s. v. *Kūh*).

The principal districts that are or have been called Ķūhistān are as follows:

1. Ķūhistān-i Khurāsān. This is the mountainous and partially arable region which stretches south of Nīshāpūr as far as Sīstān in the south-east. It is surrounded on all sides by the great salt desert of the Central Iranian plateau and consists of scattered groups of oases; one feature of its geographical unity is the fact that no part of it belongs to one of the great centres of civilisation that surround it. These are in the north Nīshāpūr, in the north-east Herāt, in the south-east Sīstān, in the south-west Kirmān with Yazd, and in the west Media. Although Ķūhistān has always been connected with these by caravan routes and is therefore not absolutely cut off, its isolated position, combined with the relatively low productivity of the soil, has caused it to be little known and neglected and its inhabitants have usually been ruled by a number of independent lords. If it has been reckoned a district of Khurāsān, this is only because Nīshāpūr and Herāt are relatively the nearest places to it. Kūhistān has therefore never been a very clean cut geographical term; a modern traveller like Curzon, although he describes the different districts, does not even mention its name.

The orography of Ķūhistān is still little known. The mountain chains which in the north run more east to west, assume the direction N.W.—S.E. as one moves southwards. These chains, which have passes rising to over 3,000 feet, enclose cultivated areas of which the principal are, beginning in the north: Turshīz and Turbat-i Ḥaidarī [q. v.] now called Turbat-i Shaikh Isḥāḳ and to the east Djām; next comes the district of Djunābād (formerly Yanābid) and more to the east, that of Khwāf with the old town of Zawzan;

then comes Tūn, with the district of Ṭabas on the west of it, which latter extends so far to the west that in the middle ages it was not included in Ḳūhistān; next come to the south of these, Ḳāin and Birdjand, to the south of which there are no more oases of any importance until we reach Sīstān by the Neh route. The rivers of the region are of little importance; irrigation is done by canals and *kahrīz*; Maḳdisī (p. 322, reading of the Constantinople MS.) says that the only running stream he knows in Ḳūhistān is near Ṭabas; the latter is also the only town which he includes, with the neighbouring district of Kurī, in the *djurūm* or warm regions.

It is probable that various places in Ḳūhistān have a history going back to pre-Muḥammadan times, but so far we have no information on this period. To realise this, it is sufficient to glance at the second map given by Herzfeld in his article *Khorasan* in *Der Islām*, vol. ix. The journey of this writer in 1925 confirmed his first impression. Moses of Chorene does not mention this region in his *Geography*. In the period of the early Arab conquests we find Ḳūhistān under the rule of the Ephthalites. Historians say that it was first conquered in the caliphate of ʿOmar by ʿAbdallāh b. Budail al-Khuzāʿī; the latter setting out for Kirmān took al-Ṭabasain — it is by this dual (for Ṭabas and Kurin, according to al-Balādhurī) that the Arabs always refer to the district of Ṭabas — later called the "two gates of Khurāsān" (Ṭabarī, i. 2704); a deputation of the inhabitants is said to have concluded a treaty with ʿOmar (Balādhurī, p. 403). In 31 (653) when Ibn ʿĀmir undertook the conquest of Khurāsān, his advance guard under al-Aḥnaf passed through Ḳūhistān and defeated the Ephthalites there (Ṭabarī, i. 2885, and Balādhurī, p. 403, who give other traditions also). In the years following, Ḳūhistān was the centre of a great national revolt under a chief called Ḳāren (a village in Ḳūhistān still bears this name), a rising which was put down by Ibn Khāzim (Ṭabarī, i. 2905; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 135). In 51 (671) it was again necessary to reconquer it; this was done by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād from "the Turks" or rather Ephthalites (Ṭabarī, ii. 156). Henceforth Ḳūhistān formed from the administrative point of view a part of Khurāsān and more particularly of the provinces which the Arab geographers still call by the old name of Abarshahr with its capital Nīshāpūr (cf. particularly al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, *B. G. A.*, vii. 278, who gives a rather limited definition to Ḳūhistān, for he mentions al-Ṭabasain, Djām and Zawzan separately). These remote countries become in the early centuries of Islām the principal refuge of Zoroastrians driven from their homes by the new religion (cf. particularly Inostrantsev's work quoted in the *Bibliography*). In the ninth century the province was under the rule of the Ṭāhirids (Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 35) and later of the Ṣaffārids. The Arab geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries know it very well. In this period Ḳāin was the capital and the commercial centre of Ḳūhistān, especially for through trade between Kirmān and Khurāsān. The province was further noted for a very fine linen woven there, which Abū Nuwās mentions under the name *Ḳūhiya* (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, Cairo 1332, i., p. 79); this industry flourished at Tūn in particular. Prayer-carpets also were made there. In the year 1052, Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through Ḳūhistān, going from Iṣfahān. He went by Ṭabas, Tūn, Ḳāin and Sarakhs and describes them as large flourishing towns. In the time of the Saldjūḳs, Ḳūhistān, the old asylum of the Zoroastrians, became a refuge for the Ismāʿīlī heretics, who for this reason were often called "*al-malāḥida al-ḳūhiya*". They built here strongholds on the model of the famous citadel of Alamūt; there are still many ruins of these castles which have not yet been examined (Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, p. 273). The Khwārizmshāhs had on several occasions to send military expeditions to punish the *malāḥida* (cf. e. g. Djuwainī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djihān Gushā*, ii. 47, 49). The coming of the Mongols who exterminated the Ismāʿīlīs at the same time brought about the ruin of Ḳūhistān. The region lost all importance and the geographers — like Abu 'l-Fidāʾ — only quote their predecessors of several centuries before. It is improbable that this is the district referred to by Marco Polo under the name of Tunocain, which Le Strange (p. 352) proposes to identify as Tūn-u Ḳāin. During the following centuries the region must have very often been in a state of anarchy (cf. Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, i. 430) when power was in the hands of chiefs of Arab origin. The Ṣafawids exercised some authority there but after them, power lay in the hands of the amīrs of Ṭabas and of Ḳāin. At this time Ḳūhistān inclined towards Afghānistān rather than Persia, until the Ḳādjārs succeeded in bringing it under their sway towards the middle of the xixth century. The chiefs of the ruling families kept their positions as governors for the Shāh and received pompous titles from the Persian court. About 1900 the amīrs of Ḳāin no longer lived in this town but in Birdjand; they claim descent from the Arab tribe of Khuzaima. Some members of this family have also ruled Sīstān. The rulers of Ṭabas also govern the district of Djunābād (capital Djunain).

The settled population of Ḳūhistān is of a very ancient stock; their homes are also of a very archaic type. Their dialect seems to offer few peculiarities. Ivanov distinguishes in Ḳūhistān the dialect group of Turshīz and Djunābād and that of Ḳāin, Tūn and Birdjand. Many villages around Ḳāin and Birdjand are inhabited exclusively by saiyids. In some places we also find descendants of the Ismāʿīlīs, who recognise the authority of the Agha Khān. There are also small colonies of Bahāʾīs, while the Sunnī Afghān element is relatively strong. The nomads are for the most part Arab Sunnīs, still speaking Arabic; they live along the main routes; a few Turkish tribes are found only in the north, as far as Turbat-i Ḥaidarī. Finally in the south there are Balūčīs, who move in summer towards Sīstān.

The towns are very small. Ḳāin, the old capital, had in 1900 about 4,000 inhabitants (Sykes). The land around this town is more fertile than that of Birdjand. The commercial relations with the Gulf of Persia are greater than with Meshhed (export of silk, opium, saffron and hides). For the other towns like Ṭabas, Ṭabas Sunnikhāne Turbat-i Ḥaidarī, Turshīz and Zawzan, cf. the special articles.

Bibliography: All the Arab authors in the *B. G. A.*; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 95; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 79; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*

al-Buldān, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, p. 444; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, p. 466; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 352—363; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 260 *sqq.*; Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, i. 341; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i. 199—203; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900; Sykes, *Twenty Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 28 *sqq.*, 394 *sqq.*; E. Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxx., 1926, p. 272 *sqq.*; von Hammer, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1818, p. 99 and passim; Inostrantsev, *The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musulman World in the middle of the 8th century*, transl. by L. Bogdanow in *Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute*, N⁰. 1, Bombay 1922, p. 33, 71 (quoted by Herzfeld); W. Ivanov, *Notes on the Ethnology of Khurasan*, in *The Geographical Journal*, lxvii., 1926, p. 143—157.

2. The Arab geographers appear to have known two towns of the name Kūhistān in the province of Kirmān. One of them was called Kūhistān Abī Ghānim and was in the district of Djuruft, between this town and the Djabal al-Ḳufs (Maḳdisī, p. 52, 461, 467; Yāḳūt, iv. 206; Le Strange, p. 318). The other Kūhistān was situated on the road from Sīrdjān to Bām, 6 farsakhs from the former town (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 66; Ḳudāma, p. 196; Maḳdisī, p. 473; Le Strange, p. 311).

3. Kūhistān of Kābul in Afghānistān is a district N.E. of the town of Kābul and includes the districts of Pandjshīr, Nidjrau, Tagau, etc. The population is composed of an element called Tādjiks, who speak Persian and Pashtō and other elements called Kuhistānī who speak Pashai (a Dardic dialect) and Parāčī (Iranian) (cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xiv., Oxford 1908, p. 241).

4. The northern part of the native state of Swāt in the north-west of India is also called Kūhistān. It is the mountainous region around the upper course of the river Swāt; it stretches eastwards as far as the Indus and westwards as far as Pandjkora so that a distinction is sometimes made between Kūhistān of Swāt and Kūhistān of Pandjkora. The people of the valleys (estimated to number 20,000) have suffered since the xvth century from Afghān invasions. Under the rule of the Afghāns they became very zealous Sunnī Muslims: the religious chiefs (*ākhund*) have an enormous influence in the country. Another consequence of the Afghān invasions has been the expansion of Pashtō all over the country. This language has gained ground at the expense of the old local dialects. The latter — to which the general name of Kūhistānī is given — are very numerous and belong to the Dardic group which according to recent research (Morgenstierne) seems to belong to the Indian group of languages. The principal dialects are: Gārwī (Swāt Kūh.), Tōrwālī (Swāt and Pandjkora Kūh.) and Maiyā (Indus Kūh.).

Bibliography: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo koosh*, Calcutta 1880; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India XXIII*, Oxford 1901, p. 183 *sqq.* On the languages see: Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, viii/ii. 507; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, *Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning*, series C, 1—2.

5. Lastly Kūhistān is the name of a barren and mountainous region in the eastern part of the district of Karachi. The population is nomadic and consists of Sindīs and Balōčīs. The population in 1901 was estimated at 12,877 (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vol. xv., p. 353).

(J. H. Kramers)

AL-KUḤL

al-Kuḥl is, in the first place, a name for a mineral, stibnite (antimony sulphide) and secondly for galena (lead sulphide), for both of which the name *ithmid* is also used. The word *ithmid* comes from the Greek *στίμμι* and according to J. Ruska the words antimony and bismuth are derived from *ithmid*. In Persian *al-kuḥl* is called *surma* from the place it comes from. Arabic synonyms are *al-nuḥās al-muḥarraḳ* (burned copper) *al-iṣfahānī*, *kuḥl djilā'*, *kuḥl sulaimān*, *kuḥl aswad*, etc.

Although the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. van Vloten, p. 262) says of *kuḥl* that it is a substance of lead (*usrub*) and the *Petrology* of Aristotle says that *ithmid* contains lead, according to E. Seidel (*Mechithar*, p. 185, N⁰. 215) the *ithmid* corresponding to it is almost always antimonite. Confusions naturally occur. According to M. Meyerhof *al-kuḥl* is pure antimony.

In the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (ed. Le Strange, *G.M.S.*, xxiii./ii., p. 197) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī for example gives places where it is found, at Iṣfahān, on Damāwend and in Spain. The latter is said to be particularly rich in the second quarter of the month. Stibnite is still found in Persia and in Spain. In Persia there are mountains called Kūh-i Surma and al-Ḳazwīnī mentions a Djabal al-Kuḥl near Basṭa (text, p. 171).

It is to be noted that stibnite can be crushed to a much finer powder than galena; the former is much less hard than the latter. From its principal use *al-kuḥl* comes to mean also the cosmetic made from it and then cosmetic in general. As it has to be crushed to a very fine powder, it means a fine powder in general.

As a cosmetic for the eyes, *al-kuḥl*, after being ground up with other materials, is used to dye black the eye brows and eyelashes, or the edges of the lids, especially by women. It probably came to the Arabs from the ancient Egyptians. Stibnite has been several times found in their cosmetics (X. Fisher, *Archiv für Pharmakologie*, ccxxx., 1892, p. 9). But the Egyptian cosmetics are usually of pulverised galena, with other materials added. According to M. Meyerhof (*Der Basar der Drogen etc. in Kairo*; *Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient*, 1918, part 3/4, p. 210) sulphur antimony and sulphur of lead (kuḥl) are sold to this day in Cairo as in ancient times as a cosmetic for the eye. The best still comes from Persia (*al-iṣfahānī*). That brought by the pilgrims is very popular (*al-makkī* and *al-ḥidjāzī*). Surma is used as a cosmetic in Ṭeherān also. The imitation cosmetic contains galena (*kuḥl al-ḥadjar*) with isinglass (*anzarūt*). In place of galena, graphite, smoke-black, especially that from the cheaper kind of frankincense, from burned almond shells etc. is used.

Besides the already mentioned black substances, some of other colours were used as cosmetics (*kuḥl*). In his pharmacological principles al-Muwaffaḳ mentions a very black and one not quite so black, a black violet and even a pinkish and one quite white and also a yellow. The adjective *kuḥlī* is therefore used not only for black, but

also for all dark colours, e. g. dark blue, purple, the dark red of the carbuncle.

As a cosmetic, *al-kuḥl* is applied by means of a small probe (*mīl* or *mirwad*), the point of which is sometimes moistened with rose-water. The cosmetic is kept in a box (*mukḥula*). From a picture in Lane, this resembles an old tear-glass. Al-mikḥula however is also a sundial or a truncated pyramid (cf. E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 29 *sqq.* and 403; E. Wiedemann and J. Würschmidt, *Über eine arabische kegelförmige Sonnenuhr*, *Archiv. f. Gesch. der Naturwissensch. und Technik*, 1916, vii., p. 359).

Al-kuḥl is very much used as an unguent for the eyes. Ibn al-Baiṭār and others give particulars on this subject.

Numerous imitations of *kuḥl* are given by al-Djawbarī in his work: *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār* in the section: "Revelation of the secrets of ophthalmists"; *al-kuḥl* is in this connection not used as a cosmetic but as an unguent for the eyes.

Women painted with *kuḥl* are particularly praised by the poets, or such as do not find it necessary to resort to it. E. von Lippmann quotes passages from al-Mutanabbī, Ḥāfiẓ and Firdawsī.

The name alcohol for anything ground down into the finest and softest powder was transferred quite arbitrarily by Paracelsus in the sense of quintessence to the spirit of wine as the noblest component of wine, a name which gradually came into general use for it.

The Muslims were not able to obtain our alcohol by distillation before about the xiiith century, as they were not able to condense the vapours escaping from solutions of alcohol for lack of suitable apparatus. Alcohol was probably first obtained in the xiith century in Western Europe. (On this cf. the researches of E. von Lippmann, printed in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, Berlin 1923, p. 56—127).

We have for a later date (second half of the xvith century) from the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar a description of the preparation of *arak* (cf. the *Aīn-i Akbarī* by *Abu 'l-Faḍl Allāmī*, transl. H. Blochmann and J. Jarrett, 1893, i. 69 and E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Zuckers* in *Die deutsche Zuckerindustrie*, 1921, p. 302; see also E. von Lippmann, *op. cit.*, p. 124).

From *al-kuḥl* is derived *al-kaḥḥāl*, ophthalmist, on this see — in addition to a number of articles on separate points by M. Meyerhof — the full and comprehensive treatment of the subject by J. Hirschberg in *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde*, Bk. ii., *Gesch. d. Augenheilkunde im Mittelalter*, forming part of Graefen Saemisch, *Handbuch der allgemeinen Augenheilkunde*, vol. xiii., Leipzig 1908. — The following is J. Hirschberg's summing up:

Very different estimates have been placed on the value of the work of the Arab ophthalmists. Want of knowledge of their works has led to their being undervalued in many quarters. But as early as 1490 A. Benedetti (Professor in Padua) said: "The most brilliant ophthalmists at the present time are in Asia, Syria and Media; in other lands, including Italy, they are exceedingly few in number". The greatest authority on the history of ophthalmic medicine, J. Hirschberg, then goes on to say that the name of the Arabs will never disappear from the records of the study of ophthalmic medicine and surgery (*op. cit.*, p. 243).

Bibliography: All our knowledge of the history of antimony, stibnite and *kuḥl* and their uses as cosmetics is excellently summed up by E. O. von Lippmann, in *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, etc., Berlin 1919, p. 629, and notices of their use in Muslim lands are very thoroughly utilised; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 446; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-latinum*, ii. 286/287 has a detailed article; Hille, *Über den Gebrauch und die Zusammenstellung der orientalischen Augenschminke (al-Kuḥl)*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1851, v., p. 236—242; V. Seidel, *Der Mochithar aus Her*, *ärztliches Werk über drei Arten der Fieber*, Leipzig 1908, p. 215; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxvi.: *Über Charlatane bei den Muslimen nach al-Gauharī (Enthüllung der Geheimnisse der Augenärzte)*, *S. B. P. M. S. Erlg.*, 1911, xliii., p. 220; do., *Beiträge*, xl.: *Über Verfälschungen von Drogen*, etc., *S. B. P. M. S. Erlg.*, 1914, xl., p. 176 and 186; *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, ed. and transl. by J. Ruska, Heidelberg 1912, p. 119, 175. — References to *al-kuḥl* are found in the different cosmographies e. g. that of al-Ḳazwīnī, the works on pharmacology, e. g. those of Ibn al-Baiṭār and al-Muwaffaḳ, in the books on ophthalmics, etc.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲUILU ḤIṢĀR, a town in Asia Minor, in the province of Siwās in the sandjak of Ḳara Ḥiṣār Sharḳī, the capital of a ḳaḍā on the right bank of the Gilgit, on a rocky hill, height 3,900 feet; inhabitants 1,809, of whom 905 are Muslims, 604 Greeks and 300 Armenians. The capital of the ḳaḍā has been moved to the village of Mishār. Near it is Köse-dāgh, a mountain covered with vast forests.

Bibliography: 'Alī-Djawād, *Djoghrāfiyā Lughātī*, p. 644; Sāmī-bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3787; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 237, 795 (Koïlat-Hissar).

(CL. HUART)

KŪKA, capital of Bornū, situated in 12° 55' N. Lat. and 13° 30' East Long. (Greenwich). The town was founded in 1814 by the Shaikh Muḥammad al-Kanomī, 9 miles east of Lake Chad in a sandy plain dotted with *kuka*'s (*adansonia digitata*) called *kūka* in Kanūri, whence the name Kuoukawa or Kikoa, "town of the kūka's", given it by the natives. It was visited by Denham and Clapperton (1822—1823). Sacked in 1846 by the Wadians, it was rebuilt almost immediately. It had already recovered its prosperity by the time of Barth and Vogel's journey. Rohlfs (1868), Nachtigal (1871) and Monteil (1892) also made stays of some duration there. During all this period, Kūka was one of the most flourishing towns in the Sūdān. It was again destroyed in 1894 by Rabah, who transferred the capital of Bornū to Dikoa.

Kūka really consisted of two towns: an eastern and a western. The latter contained nearly two thirds of the population and was inhabited by Arab traders. It was traversed for its full length by a broad avenue called Dendal which ended in the market place which lay between the two towns. The most common type of dwelling was an enclosure divided into several courts in which stood huts of earth covered with straw or cubical earthern buildings. The eastern town was the residence of the Sulṭān and the chief officials. The population was estimated by the travellers mentioned above at 50,000—60,000. An almost equal number were encamped in the immediate vicinity.

Kūka in those days was a very important commercial centre where the products of the Sūdān (cloth-stuffs, hides, salt, natron, ostrich-feathers, kola nuts) were exchanged for European products brought from Tripolitania. There was also a considerable trade in camels, horses and slaves. Unlike the custom in the other markets of the Sūdān, coined money was rather plentiful here and business was done with a standard coinage (Maria Theresa dollars). The principal merchants were Arabs, agents of houses in Tripoli and Murzuḳ. Kūka in conclusion, had a reputation as a literary centre; although education was confined to reading and writing and the knowledge of a few sūras of the Ḳur'ān, there were not less than 2,000—3,000 students.

Since the destruction of Rabah's empire and the occupation of Bornū by the English, the town of Kūka has been rebuilt but has not regained its former prosperity, chiefly in consequence of the moving of the capital of the British and the native administration to Maidugari, a healthier site.

Bibliography: Denham and Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels* . . ., London 1828; H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen*, vol. ii., Chap. viii.; Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, Leipzig 1874, vol. ii., Chap. xvii.; Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, vol. i., Bk. iii.; Monteil, *De Saint Louis à Tripolis par le Tchad*, Paris 1894, Chap. xii.; J. Marquart, *Benin*, Leyden 1911, passim; A. Schultze, *Das Sultanat Bornū*, Essen 1910 (English transl., with Appendices, by P. A Benton, Oxford 1913). (G. Yver)

ḲŪLA, a town in Asia Minor in the province of Aidin in the sandjaḳ of Sarūkhān, 130 miles east of Maghnisa (Magnesia), capital of a ḳaḍā; it is 2,200 feet above sea-level, has 6,100 inhabitants, of whom 5,655 are Muslims and 345 Greek Orthodox; it has 38 schools, four of which are secondary, 30 mosques, 2 Orthodox Churches, 3 baths and 2 caravanserais. It manufactures Smyrna carpets. The town is built of black lava except the mosques, the walls of which are white; it lies at the head of a valley running southwards out of the volcano of Ḳara-Ṣu. Its citadel is in ruins and it retains numerous marble remains from antiquity.

Bibliography: 'Alī Djewad, *Djoghrāfiyā Lughāti*, p. 639; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 633; Sāmī-bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3766; Texier, *Asie-Mineure*, Paris 1882, p. 275; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 565. (Cl. Huart)

al-ḲULAI'A. [See al-qolēa.]

KULAIB b. Rabī'a, a chief of the Banū Taghlib of the pre-Muḥammadan period, whose murder by his brother-in-law Djassās b. Murra al-Shaibānī was the cause of a long and bloody war between the two sister-tribes Taghlib and Bakr [q. v.] which was known as "the war of Basūs" [q. v.]. His genealogy was: Kulaib b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Zuhair b. Djusham (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, c. 22). Kulaib's real name is said to have been Wā'il and the name of Kulaib ("little dog") to have given to him because of his habit of taking a small dog with him and making it bark by beating it in all the places which he wished to reserve as his own private property; the people who heard the barking of the dog refrained from using the place. This story, the point of which, however, eludes us, is evidently a later invention: the name Kulaib is frequently met with in Arab nomenclature and does not look like a surname.

Kulaib is represented as having all the characteristic traits of the tyrant, of which the independent and critical spirit of the Beduins has always had a profound horror; he is said to have been proclaimed "king" (on the use of this title cf. Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p. 210) after the brilliant victory won at Khazāz over the united Yemenī tribes and to have ruled not only over the Banū Taghlib but also over the Banū Shaibān, the most important section of the Banū Bakr. After a short time he is said to have abused his power and to have usurped the rights of hunting and of pasturage at the expense of his subjects (the usurpation of the *ḥimā* is the regular grievance of the Beduins against "tyrants"; the same reproach was made against the caliph 'Uthmān). Indeed it was because the she-camel Sarāb, belonging to a Tamīmī woman al-Basūs or to one of her clients of the tribe of Banū Djarm, trespassed upon the private property of Kulaib, that the latter put her to death (or killed its young one and injured the mother) and this act of violence was the cause of his murder by Djassās, whose mother was the sister of al-Basūs.

The details of the story are given in our sources with some variations, most of which are found as early as the work of Abū 'Ubaida who is, as is well known, the source of almost all our information on the *aiyām al-'Arab* (q. v., i. 230). Certain features, especially in the *K. al-Aghānī*, have been borrowed from Ibn al-Kalbī, and the account of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī has also been preserved. It is evident that we are no longer able to ascertain if the history of Kulaib (and in general that of the war against the Banū Taghlib and the Banū Bakr) contains a nucleus of historical truth along with a mass of features undoubtedly legendary. This is a problem which can only be solved in connection with the general question of the historical value of the whole of the traditions of the pre-Islāmic period. Considered by itself the episode of Kulaib has nothing improbable about it. We might be tempted to recognise in it a fairly clear memory of an attempt to form a political organisation among the Banū Taghlib and the Banū Bakr of a kind superior to the ordinary Beduin tribes; the attempt, similar to that which gave the royal crown to the chiefs of the tribe of the Banū Kinda, must have been suggested by the example of the kingdom of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra, not far from which the Banū Taghlib and the Banū Bakr have their homes. The story of the tyranny and the death of Kulaib must have taken form at a very remote period; this is evident from the verses of 'Abbās b. Mirdās and of al-Nābigha al-Dja'dī (both contemporary with the beginning of Islām) given in our sources; in that of al-Nābigha in particular, the history of the killing of the camel is already told in detail. An allusion to the power of Kulaib is found as early as the *mu'allaḳa* of the Taghlibī 'Amr b. Kulthūm (v. 65). We have, moreover, contemporary documentary evidence of the accounts relating to the fate of Kulaib in the numerous allusions contained in the elegies on his death, which were attributed to his brother Muhalhil (one of the earliest Arab poets; cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Shi'r*, ed. De Goeje, p. 164—168; Muḥ. Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Hell, 13 lines 11—16 etc.), but naturally their authenticity is more than doubtful.

The story of the murder of Kulaib is developed in a quite arbitrary fashion in the romance cycle of the Banū Hilāl (cf. Mittwoch, *Proelia Arabum Paganorum*, Berlin 1899, p. 11).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article AL-BASŪS: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, i. 384—397; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd*, 1293, iii. 93—95; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, p. 905—907; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Fākhir*, ed. Storey, p. 76—78; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Amthāl*, ed. Stambul 1300, p. 55—56; al-Maidānī, *Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl*, ed. 1310, i. 254—255; *Khizāna*, i. 301—304; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 150—151.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

KULBARGA. [See GULBARGA.]

ḲULDJA, a town in the upper Ili [q. v.] valley. A Muhammadan kingdom is first mentioned in this region in the viith (xiiith) century: its founder, who is said to have previously been a brigand and horse-thief, is called Ōzār in Djuwainī (*G. M. S.*, xvi., p. 57) and Būzār in Djamāl Ḳurashī (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 135 *sq.*). According to the latter, he assumed the title of Toghrul Khān as ruler. The capital of the kingdom was Almalīgh, first mentioned in this connection and later a great and wealthy commercial city. We owe our information about its site mainly to the Chinese (in Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, Index); it lay south of Lake Sairam and the Talki pass, north of the Ili, probably northwest of the modern Ḳuldja.

Like the other rulers of these regions, the king of Almalīgh had dealings with Čingiz Khān. He was surprised and killed while hunting by Küčlük, the governor of the kingdom of the Ḳara Khiṭai [q. v.]; but Küčlük could not take the town of Almalīgh. Ōzār's son and successor Suknāḳ (or Sughnāḳ)-Tegin married a granddaughter of Čingiz-Khān (a daughter of Djūčī). On his death (651 = 1253/1254, cf. Djuwainī, p. 58; 648 = 1250/1251 in Djamāl Ḳurashī) he was succeeded by his son whose name (Dānishmand-Tegin) like the names of the other rulers of this line are given only by Djamāl Ḳurashī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 140 *sq.*). Almalīgh in his time (beginning of the viiith = xivth century) was still ruled by this dynasty. How long this line continued to reign is not known. The silver and copper coins struck at Almalīgh in the viith (xiiith) century apparently belonged to them.

As a great commercial city on the main route through Central Asia to China, Almalīgh is frequently mentioned by European travellers and missionaries.

Like the towns on the Čū [q. v.], the Talas and elsewhere, Almalīgh was completely ruined by the constant civil wars and other fighting in the viiith (xivth) century (cf. Bābur, ed. Beveridge, p. 1; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, p. 364). Muḥammad Ḥaidar mentions the ruins of the town with the tomb of Tughluḳ Timūr Khān (d. 764 = 1362/1363; cf. DUGHLĀT); these ruins lie between the Khorgos, the boundary river between Russia and China and the village of Mazār and have been fully described by N. Pantusov (*Kaufmannsky Sbornik*, Moscow 1910, p. 161 *sqq.*). Inscriptions from graves of Nestorian Christians have also been found there.

The town now called by the natives Ḳuldja or Ghuldja (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 336 gives the meaning "Elk"; cf. also Ḳuldja Bāshī, name of a mountain between the Čū and the Ili, Masalskiy, *Turkest. Krai*, p. 42) was founded in 1762, after the conquest of the Kalmück empire by the Chinese, under the name Ning-yüan-čöng; whether, as Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*, ii. 321) says, a town of Ḳuldja had already been in existence for a considerable time, is doubtful. Somewhat later than this "Tatar" Ḳuldja, in 1764, the town of Hoi-yüan-čöng was founded, also called "Chinese Ḳuldja", "New Ḳuldja" or "Great Ḳuldja", the headquarters of the Chinese commander-in-chief (*dzandzün*). The Chinese government transferred 6,000 families from Kashgharia into this region which had been almost completely desolated in the war with the Kalmücks; these immigrants came to be called "Tarančī" (agriculturists). In 1851 a treaty of commerce was concluded in Ḳuldja between Russia and China, whereby Ḳuldja was opened to Russian trade. In 1862 Radloff visited both Old and New Ḳuldja and gave a very full description of them in his *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 305 *sqq.*, 336 *sqq.*; the population of Old Ḳuldja is then said to have been "at least 80,000" but this must be exaggerated.

This prosperity was almost completely destroyed by the Muḥammadan rebellion of 1863—1866. New Ḳuldja was taken after hard fighting in 1865 and completely destroyed; so far as we know, this town is still in ruins. After some fighting among the insurgents, the rule ultimately passed to a Sulṭān of the Tarančī; he is usually called Sulṭān Aʿlā Khān or Abu ʾl-Aʿlā (in Russian accounts frequently corrupted to "Abil-Oglya"). In 1871 the sulṭānate was occupied by the Russians and the Sulṭān deported to Wyernīy where he received a pension of 5,000 roubles a year till his death. Ḳuldja was administered by Russia for ten years and was only restored to China by the St. Petersburg treaty of 1881. The population of Ḳuldja (i. e. the older town "Old Ḳuldja") in 1872 was only 7,693 of whom 4,098 were Muslims. The Chinese removed the administrative offices to Suidun (about 25 miles N.W. of Ḳuldja), but Ḳuldja still remains the most important town in the Ili territory; it also contained a Russian consulate. At the beginning of the xxth century Ḳuldja is said to have had about 30,000 inhabitants (N. Bogoyavlenskiy, *Zapadnïy zastyennïy Kitai*, St. Petersburg 1906, p. 108 *sq.*).

Bibliography: On the site of Almalīgh see particularly Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 69 *sq.*; ii. 33 *sqq.* A collection of references from Christian sources has been made by I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient*, etc., Göteborg 1906, p. 17 *sq.* (*Almaleck*). On the Christian epitaphs see especially P. Kokowtzow in *Zap.*, xvi. 0190 *sqq.* On the rising of 1860—1862, W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 304 *sqq.*; Dyakow in *Zap.*, xviii. 233 *sqq.*; *ibid.* (p. 236) for the bibliography (compiled by L. Kotvič). On the period of Russian rule see N. Pantusov, *Svyedyeniya o Kuldjinskom rayone za 1871–1877 godï*, Kazan 1881; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, St. Petersburg 1880, i. 427 *sqq.* On conditions after the restoration of Chinese rule see D. Fedorow, *Opït voenno-statisticheskago opisaniya Iliyskago kraya*, Tashkent 1903; Rec. by W. Barthold, *Zap.*, xv. 0131 *sqq.*; S. N. Veletskiy in *Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshč.*, 1915, ii. 149 *sqq.*

(W. BARTHOLD)

ḲUL-OGHLÎ in Turkish "son of a slave". The Janissaries being the slaves (*ḳul*) of the Sulṭān, the children whom they had by native women, especially in the Barbary States, were given this name. They occupied a special position among the population. While slaves born of the Christian women-slaves were regarded as Turks, and enjoyed the same rights as their fathers (service in the ranks of the Janissaries, and admittance to all the offices of state), those who were born of alliances between Janissaries and women of the country (Moors) were classed with the relatives of their mothers. They could not be enrolled in the Janissaries and could only claim admission to a limited number of offices. They became mixed with the native population, but being related to the Turks they had not to suffer the same vexations as other classes of society. They were in general fine men with white skins and well marked muscular development; they were of a sluggish temperament and a peaceful character.

Bibliography: P. Rozet, *Alger* (*Collection de l'Univers Pittoresque*), p. 13.

(Cl. Huart)

KULTHŪM b. ʿIyāḍ al-Ḳushairī of the tribe of Ḳais was chosen by the Caliph Hishām to avenge the disastrous defeat inflicted by the Ṣufrī Berbers on the Arabs on the "Day of the Nobles" (*Ghazwat al-Ashrāf*) in the beginning of 123 A.H. He set out at the head of 30,000 men, to whom were added the garrisons of al-Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib, and joined Ḥabīb b. Abū ʿUbaida who was trying to stop the advance of the Khāridjīs near Tlemcen. The tactless attitude of the Syrians and particularly the arrogance of Baldj, nephew of Kulthūm and his successor-designate, dissatisfied those they had come to assist. The Berber leader Khālid b. Ḥamīd (or Ḥumaid) retired before the Arabs to Wādī Sebū in the centre of the Maghrib, and a battle was fought at Nabdūra (var. Nafdūra, Baḳdūra). The wise advice of Ḥabīb was not heeded. The Arab cavalry concealed by Baldj succeeded after great efforts in piercing the Berber lines but the latter reformed behind them and overwhelmed the Caliph's troops. Ḥabīb and the other leaders were killed. Kulthūm fought with the greatest bravery reciting verses of the Ḳurʾān to encourage the others, but finally he fell. One third of the army was killed and a third taken prisoners (Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 123 = Oct.—Nov. 741). Baldj's cavalry's only hope was to take refuge in Ceuta, whence after much suffering they were able to cross to Spain.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, vi 111, 119; *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 217, 238—239; *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*, ed. and transl. Desvergers, p. 12—13 of the text; 36—38 of the transl.; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i. 41—43; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, Madrid 1868, p. 15—25; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 229—232; *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, p. 32—35; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo, v. 117; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, i. 321; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii. 12; Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Ḳairawānī, *Kitāb al-Muʾnis*, p. 39; Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i. 245—248; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i. 291—296; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, i. 231—232.

(René Basset)

AL-ḲULZUM, a seaport on the Red Sea (Arab. *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum*, [q. v.], *Baḥr al-Hind* or *Baḥr al-Ḥabasha*). The name is a corruption of the Greek Κλύσμα (as in Arabic almost always without the article, i. e. τὸ κλύσμα, the "sluice" at the mouth of the canal, which led from the Nile to the Red Sea). This canal begun by Pharaoh Necho finished by Darius of Persia, was later restored by Ptolemy II Philadelphos and by Trajan. After the latter it was called under the Roman Empire and even down to the eighth century occasionally ὁ Τραιανὸς ποταμός or ὕδατα τοῦ Τραιανοῦ (Ptol., iv. 5, 24, ed. Müller, p. 713; Bell, *The Aphrodito Papyri*, Nº 1346 10 and 1465) or *Augustus amnis*, and from it in 341 A.D. we find the Eastern Delta called ἡ Αὐγουσταμνικὴ ἐπαρχία (Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, v., p. 615; on the date: Eduard Schwartz, *N. G. G. W.*, 1904, p. 354 *sq.*). In the Muslim period, when the making of the canal was wrongly ascribed to Hadrian, labour was repeatedly spent on it (J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux*, i., p. 84, under Khalīdj al-Ḳāhira). ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23 (643/644) for example had it repaired to facilitate the transport of corn for Mecca from Fusṭāṭ to the Red Sea (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii., p. 466; John of Nikiu, ed. Zotenberg, p. 577); it was called after him *Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn* (al-Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 198; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, p. 465; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed. Vollers, iv., p. 120). According to Abū Ṣāliḥ (in Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries*, p. 88) its mouth was at al-Ḳulzum, according to Masʿūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iv., p. 97) and others (more accurately) at *Dhanab al-Timsāḥ*, 1 *mil* from the town, where the Meccan pilgrims from Egypt crossed the canal by a large bridge. The Caliph al-Manṣūr in 775 had it partly filled in, fearing an attack from his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who had rebelled against him in Medina, so that in Abū Ṣāliḥ's time it ended at al-Sadīr at the entrance to the Wādī Tūmilāt. New but fruitless attempts to make it navigable again were made by the Caliph al-Rashīd (Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 98 *sq.*). He is however said to have abandoned the attempt out of fear of the Greeks. Henceforth the bulk of its water flowed into the Birkat al-Djubb (al-Idrīsī, p. 164) till it was completely filled in in 1899 for sanitary reasons.

The town of al-Ḳulzum owed its importance mainly to this canal; for according to the descriptions of the Arab geographers, it was a desolate and miserable site without water and vegetation; neither trees nor fruits could flourish there. In antiquity and in the early Muslim period its only importance was as a point of departure for shipping on the Red Sea, the commonest name among the Arabs for which was derived from it. The cornships of al-Fusṭāṭ after they had passed the canal sailed from here to al-Djār and Djidda. Of the Jewish merchants called al-Radhāniya, Ibn Khurdādhbih (ed. de Goeje, p. 153) says that they came from the lands of the Franks to al-Faramā; thence they carried their wares 35 farsakh on camels to al-Ḳulzum, where they were loaded on ships which took their course to India and China. According to the same geographer, al-Ḳulzum with al-Ṭūr and Aila formed a district of Egypt (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

The country round al-Ḳulzum was inhabited at an early date by Arabs. They are already mentioned in the *Acta* of the hermit Sisoes (Coptic: *apa Djidjōi*) and John Kolobos who lived there. In the *History* of the latter, Ḳulzūm (sic)

appears for the first time in the Arabic Synaxarium as the name of the ancient Klysma.

When under the last ʿAbbāsid governor in Egypt, ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāḳ, the Budjā rebelled in Nubia, invaded al-Ṣaʿīd and laid waste many towns, al-Mutawakkil sent against them an army under Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḳummī which went from Ḳūṣ straight through the desert to the emerald mines, while seven ships with stores sailed from al-Ḳulzum to Ṣanga near ʿAidhāb and provided the victorious army from there with the necessary supplies.

In the autumn of 971 the Ḳarmaṭian leader Ḥasan b. Aḥmad on his campaign against the Fāṭimid Djawhar took the towns of al-Ḳulzum, al-Faramā', and Tinnis; after his defeat before Cairo (Dec. 24, 971) he retired under cover of night via al-Ḳulzum to Arabia.

Reynald de Châtillon (in Maḳrīzī, Arnāṭ) at the beginning of his naval expedition against the holy cities in the winter of 1182/1183 sent two ships from ʿAden, which were to watch the citadel of al-Ḳulzum and prevent the garrison from procuring water (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, transl. Blochet in *R.O.L.*, 1900/1901, viii., p. 550 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Athīr on the year 578 in *Recueil des hist. or. des crois.*, i. 658). But soon afterwards the *Ḥādjib* Ḥusām al-Dīn Luʾluʾ built a fleet by order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in al-Ḳulzum which sailed for ʿAidhāb and put a sudden end to the desperate enterprise (G. Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon*, 1898, p. 259—279; Moritz, *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 119 *sq.*). When al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren, p. 213) includes al-Ḳulzum among the lands under al-Karak (cf. R. Hartmann in *Isl.*, 1911, ii., p. 141), this is perhaps a memory of these events of a century before.

In the time of Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and Dimashḳī, al-Ḳulzum was already a deserted town. Maḳrīzī found among old documents in the palace of Cairo accounts of the expenditure on the civil and military administration of the town and district and concluded from them that it must once have been most flourishing. According to Idrīsī the Beduins had occupied and plundered it. The only water-supply he knew of in the vicinity was the well at al-Suwais, which yielded only a scanty supply of brackish water. Al-Muḳaddasī (tenth century) already mentions al-Suwais (i. e. Suez), which gradually took the place of al-Ḳulzum, a mile from it (cf. Maspero-Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 107 *sq.*).

The view occasionally expressed in later Arab geographers and astronomers (Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Ulūgh-Bey) that al-Ḳulzum once consisted of two towns, which goes back to a statement of al-Idrīsī taken from Ibn al-Wardī (Gildemeister in *Z.D.P.V.*, viii., p. 119 note) and the hypothesis, based on it, of two towns of al-Ḳulzum in different places, were already shown to be untenable by Quatremère; but it has recently been repeated of the ancient Klysma, as Naville found an inscription near Heroonpolis (or Hero, in Tall al-Mask͟hūṭa) according to which the distance was *ab Ero in Klysma M[ilia] viii.* (Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London 1885), while it is elsewhere correctly put at 68 Roman miles (Müller on Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, i. 2, p. 685 *sq.*). In this connection, Dillmann has rightly pointed out that it is very doubtful whether the milestone has not been moved from its original position, as all other references leave not the slightest doubt as to the location of Klysma.

The name al-Ḳulzum still survives for the mound of ruins, Kōm al-Ḳulzum north of Suez; perhaps also in the name of the well of Kizmil (for Ḳilzim?) near Suez (Littmann in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx., p. 511; suppl. to p. 14, note 2; Moritz art. KLYSMA in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, xi., p. 881).

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AL-ḲŪMĀ, *al-Ḳūma* and *al-Ḳawma*, one of the seven kinds of poetry created by the moderns. Invented by the people of Baghdād under the ʿAbbāsids, it was at first used as a call to announce during Ramaḍān the last moment of the night, at which it is still permitted to eat or drink. The singers said to their colleagues at the end of each night: *ḳūmā li-nasaḥḥir ḳūmā* "arise! to take thy meal before the dawn of day, arise!" Later, verses were made in this style for vendors of flowers, wine, etc. It does not seem to be true that Abū Nuḳṭa invented the *ḳūmā*. It is more probable that the form was already in existence before the reign of the Caliph al-Nāṣir.

According to the prosodists, this kind of poem which is always in the vernacular, should have as metre in each hemistich *mustafʿilun fāʿilun*; but, according to the specimen given by al-Ibs͟hīhī (*al-Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1292, ii. 275), *al-ḳūmā* is a poem composed of strophes of two verses rhyming in the first, second and fourth hemistich; the metre is *mustafʿilun fāʿilān* or *fāʿilān* or *fāʿlān* and rarely *fāʿilātān*. *Mustafʿilun* may be *mutafʿilun* = *mafāʿilun* and rarely *mustafʿilun* = *mufta'ilun*.

Bibliography: see the article KĀN WA-KĀN.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

KUMAIT b. Zaid, an Arab poet of the tribe of Asad, born in Kūfa about 60 and died in 126. Of his compositions, the most famous next to the *Mudhahhaba* (see below) are the *Hāshimiyāt* so called because they sing the praises of the Banū Hāshim, the family of the Prophet. But not the whole of the Banū Hāshim are considered worthy of the honour and praise of the poet; besides Muḥammad we find only ʿAlī and his descendants. Verses i. 79 and ii. 105 *sq.* in which ʿAbbās and his sons are commemorated were perhaps only added in the ʿAbbāsid period. The *Hāshimiyāt* consist of four long and two short ḳaṣīdas; a fragment, the larger part of which is a typical ḳaṣīda opening and four quite short songs, three of which have only two verses each. These poems are not all of the same period; the oldest seems to be II which should be dated about 96—99 A. H.; III is not much later; I cannot be earlier than 105, IV than 118, IX—XI are composed not earlier than 122, and VI is perhaps as late as 125/126. In his ḳaṣīdas Kumait follows the model of the old poets. Although as a townsman, he is remote from the life of the desert, he describes the camel which carries him to the person celebrated, the wild bull and the *ḳaṭā* bird, and he devotes many panegyrics to the ʿAlids in the traditional style for Bedain saiyids. He borrowed much from the Ḳurʾān as well as from the old poets, and a Kūfan philologist of the second century A. H., Ibn Kunāsa, composed a *Kitāb Sariḳāt al-Kumait min al-Ḳurʾān* (see *Fihrist*, p. 70). The *Hāshimiyāt*, the poetical value of which was not highly esteemed by Arab critics, were much thought of in Shīʿa circles; for modern scholarship, their importance lies mainly in the fact that they reflect ideas current in the moderate wing of the Shīʿa at the end of the first and beginning of the second century A.H. While Kumait regards the first caliphs as usurpers (vi. 10), he declines to curse them, like the fanatical Shīʿīs; if they did wrong in withholding Fadak from the daughter of the Prophet, they will be forgiven on the day of judgment. ʿAlī is the waṣī of the Prophet, who handed over to him the wilāya at the pool of al-Khumm (vi. 6; the verse seems to be oldest evidence of this Shīʿa belief); guidance is to the ʿAlids alone and they will again consolidate the foundations of Islām. The poet however cannot summon himself to assist by deed the ʿAlids, whose praises he sings so enthusiastically, and in X and XI he reproaches himself for not obeying the call of Zaid. But he is not afraid to make fierce attacks on the reigning dynasty; he reproaches the Umaiyads with having no right to the leadership of the community and with abusing their position for their own ends. When however these attacks came to the ears of the Caliph Hishām — a longish poem directed against the ʿAbd Shams is also preserved in *Djamhara*, p. 187 *sqq.* — Kumait tried to atone for his indiscretion by panegyrics on the Umaiyads. Such opportunism is not uncommon among poets and Kumait himself calls his conduct *taḳīya* (iv. 86; the expression according to Goldziher, *Z. D. M. G.*, lx. 219, is here used for the first time in the Shīʿī sense) and such forced tributes to the Umaiyads do not affect his real feelings for the Banū Hāshim. — The *Mudhahhaba*, Kumait's poem directed against the Yemen tribes is notable for its length — the expression "longer than a poem by Kumait" became later proverbial. It is said to have had 300 verses, of which about a third survive from different parts of the poem. There is no trace of a hostile attitude to the Yemenis in the *Hāshimiyāt*, although the poet lays stress on the fact that the Prophet like himself belonged to the Khindif group. Between 97 and 101 Kumait had even composed a panegyric on the Muhallabis, the champions of South Arabian influence and the revulsion only came later, probably not till 118 after the composition of the fourth poem of the *Hāshimiyāt*. Kumait is said to have been induced to attack the South Arabians by a lampoon by a Kalbī poet on the ʿAlids and it is said to have been Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḳasrī, governor of al-ʿIrāḳ, who was dependent on the support of the South Arabian tribes, who brought Kumait's anti-Umaiyad verses to the Caliph's notice, to have him rendered innocuous. It is certain at any rate that Kumait continued to lampoon Khālid even after his death; he brought his own destruction on himself by this. Yemeni troops, who heard him reciting his lampoons on Khālid, wounded him so seriously that he died in consequence.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the article): *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xv. 113 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, p. 368 *sqq.*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Khizāna*, i. 68 *sqq.*; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i. 22; *Die Haschimijjat des Kumait*, ed. by J. Horovitz, Leyden 1904; Th. Nöldeke in the *Z. D. M. G.*, lviii. 888 *sqq.*; C. Brockelmann in the *G.G.A.*, 1905, p. 245 *sqq.*; M. J. de Goeje in *J.A.*, series x., vol. v., p. 157 *sqq.*; H. Lammens in the *M. F. O. B.*, ii. 47; C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het zaidietische imamat*, Leyden 1919, p. 14 *sqq.*, 32.

(J. Horovitz)

KUMĀN. [See ḲIPČAḲ.]

KUMBARADJI. [KHUMBARADJI.]

KUMĪS, a Turkish word meaning "a drink of soured mare's milk", which has passed in this form into Russian and western European languages; it is explained in Radloff's *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, vol. ii., St. Petersburg 1899, p. 853 under *ḳimis*. The word is found as early as the *Kudatku-bilik* where it is mentioned in the first place among the products of cattle-breeding (kumis, milk, hair, fat, curds and cheese [W. Radloff, *Das Kudatku-Bilik*, Pt. ii., St. Petersburg 1910, p. 379]). Wherever the Turkish horsemen went they carried *kumis* with them. According to Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-Tawārīkh* (cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 48), MS. in Constantinople, Köprülü 1121, f. 60a, Baibars I just before his death 676 (1277) drank kumis (*al-ḳumīs*) for several days in the "variegated castle" (*al-Ḳaṣr al-Ablaḳ*) in Damascus. In the court ceremonial of Özbeg princes in the xii. (xviiith) century, fully described by Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-Asrār fī Manāḳib 'l-Akhyār* (*Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii., 362, Ind. Off., Nº. 575; Text publ. by W. Barthold in *Zap. Vostoč. Otdel.* (?) *po otdel. etnografii*, vol. xxxiv., 1909, p. 205 *sqq.*) "the drinking of kumis" (*āshāmīdan-i ḳumis*) is treated as an important affair; it is described minutely, how the *kumis* has to be poured from skins (*ṣāba*) into cups (*ayāgh*), how the cups are to be taken, who is to take the first, who the other cups etc. In every place where the nomadic people have passed to a settled life, the customs associated with the taking of *kumis* have gradually fallen into disuse. (W. Barthold)

KŪMIYA. In the Middle Ages, one of the most important tribes of the Maghrib; they were at one time called Ṣaifūra and were descended through Fātin from Mādghis al-Abtar. Tradition says that the brothers of Kūmiya, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, were Lemāya and Maṭghara from whom were descended numerous families, some of whom still exist at the present day. The most important representatives of the Kūmiya, who live in the N.W. of Algeria between Tlemcen and Areshkūl (Rashgun) are the B. ʿĀbid, from whom was descended the first Caliph of the Almohad dynasty, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [q. v.], born at Tādjera between Honain and Nedroma; the Nedroma who gave their name to an important town; the Ṣaghāra, now represented by the Mātila; the B. Ilūl, of whom a section the Masifa still exist. The Kūmiya showed themselves devoted to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was one of them. They formed the second *djund* in the Almohad army; but they exhausted themselves in supplying the dynasty with soldiers for the wars in Spain and North Africa. Subjected to *kharādj* [q. v.] by the Zenāta, some of them joined another group, the Ulhāṣa and formed the powerful confederation of Trāra in the N. E. of Algeria.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Nédromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901, and the writers there quoted. (RENÉ BASSET)

ḲUMM, a town in Persia in ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī near a stream, not however sufficient for local needs, which comes from Djurbādhakān (Gulpāigān). It was conquered by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī in 23 (644); it rebelled in the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and refused to pay taxes, under the leadership of Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān. Against it the Caliph sent ʿAlī b. Hishām al-Marwazī who demolished the wall surrounding it and levied a war indemnity of 7,000,000 dirhams. The treaty was broken in the caliphate of al-Muʿtazz (252—255 = 866—868) who sent a force against it, an army under Mūsā b. Boghā, governor of ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī; most of the inhabitants were massacred and the chief notables carried off as hostages.

In the time of al-Iṣṭakhrī it was walled. Its water supply came from wells and huge cisterns substantially built. Its inhabitants have always been fanatical Shīʿīs and it is one of the strongholds of the followers of ʿAlī. It has many tombs of saints and pious men (444 according to Aḥmad Rāzī), including the mausoleum of Fāṭima, daughter of the seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim and sister of the eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā. The later Ṣafawids are buried there.

In the time of Iṣṭakhrī (*B. G. A.*, i. 230) one stage distant was a little town inhabited by Mazdaeans (*Ḳaryat al-Madjūs*). The family of the Persian poet Niẓāmī, born at Gandja, originally came from Tafrish, near Ḳumm.

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KŪMŪKS, a Turkish people in the northern part of Daghestān (q.v., especially p. 888 *sq.*, where also information is given regarding the Lezgian people of the Ḳāzī Ḳūmūk or Ghāzī Ghumūḳ and the political conditions under which one section of this people has become separated from its kinsmen and turkicised). The princes (Shāmkhāls) of the Ḳāzī Ḳūmuk in the tenth (xvith) century gradually extended their territory from their old capital in the mountain village of Kumukh in a north easterly direction to the coast; they spent the winter in the coast plains in the village of Būināḳ and the summer in Kumukh. Since 1049 (1639/1640) the Shāmkhāls have ruled only in the coast territory with their capital in Būināḳ or Tārkhū (Tarḳi); they did not come back to Kumukh. The burial-place of the last Shāmkhāls was the village of Tümengi-Kazanīshī (Russ. Kazanishči). At the present time the Kūmūks are the leading element in the republic of Daghestān, the capital of which is Makhač-Ḳalʿa (Russ. Petrowsk). They number over 100,000. The dwellings of the Kūmūks stretch from Sulaḳ in the north to the river Bashlī-čai (north of Derbend) in the south; they speak an archaic dialect, connected with Komanic and quite different from the language of their northern neighbours, the Nogaians, which became a literary language in the second half of the xixth century.

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ḲUNDUZ, the name of a river, town and district in Northern Afghānistān. The district is bounded on the east by Badakhshān, on the west by Tashkurghān, on the north by the Oxus, and on the south by the Hindū Kush, and is inhabited chiefly by Özbegs, who overran it from the north in the sixteenth century. The river rises in the Hindū Kush, flows northward and is one of only two rivers in northern Afghānistān which reach the Oxus. The town is the trade centre of a considerable district which produces the best horses in Afghānistān.

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ḲUNFUDA, a seaport on the Red Sea, 45 miles from Ḥalī. The town is in the form of a large rectangle enclosed by a wall, strengthened at several points by towers and pierced by three gates. Practically the only stone buildings are at the harbour, where is the bazaar with its one-storied warehouses in an irregular line, and the chief mosque and smaller mosques with low minarets. On a little island about a quarter of a mile away is a small castle which used to be the residence of the representative of the Sharīf of Mecca. The town is now estimated to have a population of 10,000, but S. Langer in 1882 put it at only 2,000. The harbour, which is enclosed by a number of sandy islets and is only accessible to Arab vessels of medium size, has great disadvantages, notably that the boats cannot land there. Trade and commerce are moderate: Ḳunfuda exports the myrrh collected in ʿAsīr and also hides and honey; the harbour used to be frequented by slave-dealers who brought their Abyssinian slaves for sale here, but England's sharp control has made slave smuggling practically impossible. Trade with the

interior is limited to the exchange of provisions and every day necessities and is confined to modest bounds. The much more important harbour of Ḥudaida further south has long since attracted about all the trade. The poverty of the inhabitants is revealed by the primitive huts, built of poles and thatch with gable roofs, which are typical of the whole coast plain.

Ḳunfuda is perhaps a very old settlement, in any case it is a district of great interest to classical students, the land of the Debae. Pliny's "regio Cassanitarum" has been identified by A. Sprenger and B. Moritz with the Ḳanawnā mentioned by al-Hamdānī but this town lies at the mouth of the Wādī of the same name. Gold, for which this region was celebrated in antiquity, is still found here; the Āl Khatārish still get gold from the streams. Ḳunfuda however seems to have been the northern limit of this ancient gold area. The name appears to be comparatively modern. The Portuguese know it in the form Confadā. Niebuhr calls Ḳunfuda a large but badly built town. In his day it derived a certain importance from the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Djidda had to pay toll here to the Sharīf of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the Imām of Ṣan'ā'. The town of Ḳunfuda passed to the Sharīf with the whole strip of coast from Djidda to Ḥali which the Sharīf of Mecca won about 1772 and even had a certain revival of prosperity when Muḥammad 'Alī conquered the Sharīfs and made Ḳunfuda his base of operations for the campaign against Central Arabia and 'Asīr. It was only in 1870 that Turkey was able to revive Muḥammad 'Alī's plans and Ḳunfuda became the base of operations against the tribes of the hill country of 'Asīr, after the conquest of which in 1871, Ḳunfuda with its hinterland became a ḳaḍā of the sandjaḳ of 'Asīr. The World War freed this area from Turkish rule, which was however never very strong here. Kunfuda was linked up to the outer world when Turkey instituted a telegraph line connecting it with Luḥaiya and Ḥudaida and Ṣan'ā' on the one side and with Djidda on the other.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—1891, p. 181, 188, 217; *Terceira decada da Asia de Joam de Barros*, Lisbon 1563, i., ch. 3; E. Rüppel, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt a/M. 1838, i., p. 170—179; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Berlin 1846, viii/i., p. 921 *sq.*, 930 *sq.*, 934, 939, 940, 982, 1015, 1025, 1026; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 375; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 52; S. Langer, *Irrfahrten an der südarabischen Küste*, in *Ausland*, 1882, p. 352; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii., p. 3, 235; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, in *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1902, p. 594; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, *Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, Leipzig 1909, ii., p. 540; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien*, *Hamburgische Forschungen*, Braunschweig 1916, i., p. 88; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, i., p. 173, 174; B. Moritz, *Arabien, Studien zur physikalischen und historischen Geographie des Landes*, Hanover 1923, p. 97, 109, 110.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

ḲUNŪT, a religious technical term, with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among the lexicographers. "Refraining from speaking", "the prayer during the *ṣalāt*", "humility and recognition that one's relation to Allāh is that of a creature to his creator", "standing" — these are the usual dictionary definitions which are also found in the commentaries on different verses of the Ḳur'ān where *ḳunūt* or derivatives from the root *ḳ-n-t* occur. There is hardly one of these for which the context provides a rigid definition of the meaning (cf. Sūra ii. 110, 239; iii. 15, 38; iv. 38; vi. 121; xxx. 25; xxxiii. 31, 35; xxxix. 12; lxvi. 5, 12).

The Ḥadīth gives more definite contexts. "The best *ṣalāt* is a long *ḳunūt*" (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 164, 165, *Bāb Afḍal al-Ṣalāt Ṭūl al-Ḳunūt*; Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 168). Here in the unanimous opinion of all the commentators (see Nawawī on the passage) *ḳunūt* means "standing". In the well known *ḥadīth*: "alike to the fighter on the path of Allāh is he who fasts, who stands, who *ḳānit bi āyāt Allāh*" (Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 110), *ḳānit* has obviously the meaning of "to recite standing" (cf. Abū Dā'ūd, *Shahr Ramaḍān*, bāb 9: "And he who recites 100 verses of the Ḳur'ān standing, is enrolled among the *ḳānitūn*"). *Ḳunūt*, however, usually seems to be connected in meaning with *du'ā'*, e. g. in the oft quoted tradition which tells how Muḥammad in the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* appealed to Allāh for a month against the tribe of Ri'l and Dhakwān, as they had slain the *ḳurrā'* at Bi'r Ma'ūna (*Witr*, bāb 7); in this case the meaning is certain from the explanation *yad'ū 'alā* (Bukhārī, *Witr*, bāb 7; *Djihād*, bāb 184). In the parallel tradition, Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 28, trad. 3 there is added "and till then we were wont to perform the *ḳunūt*". Some sources (see Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 323) add that this was in the month of Ramaḍān.

The rite also appears in parallel traditions in a more precise form; it is said that the *ḳunūt* took place in the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* (Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 59) after the *rukū'* (Bukhārī, *Witr*, bāb 7). It is still more precisely defined in a *ḥadīth* in al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 32: "...that he heard how the Prophet when he raised his head after the first *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, said: "O Allāh, curse this and that man (i. e. some of the *munāfiḳūn*); thereupon Allāh revealed: "It does not concern thee whether He turns to them with favour or punishes them" (Sūra, iii. 123). The following is another example of *ḳunūt*: "When the messenger of Allāh lifted his head after the second *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, he said: "O Allāh, save Walīd b. Abī Walīd and Salima b. Hishām and 'Aiyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a and the weak ones in Mecca. O Allāh, tread heavily on Muḍar and send them years of famine, like the years of Joseph" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 28). According to another tradition, which also goes back to Abū Huraira (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 126) the *ḳunūt* consisted of prayers and blessings for the Muslims and curses upon the unbelievers.

We are also told that the *ḳunūt* was regularly performed at the morning and evening *ṣalāt* (*ṣubḥ* and *maghrib*; Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 177; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 30). Tirmidhī gives the following note on this tradition: "The learned differ in their views about the *ḳunūt* at the *ṣalāt al-fadjr*. Some of the scholars of the *ṣaḥāba* and later generations

advocate this *ḳunūt*, such as Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī". Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) and Isḥāḳ say: "There is no *ḳunūt* uttered at the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* except in a calamity, which affects the Muslims as a body". In such a case the Imām has to pray for the Muslim armies. *Ẓuhr* and *ʿishāʾ* are also mentioned as *ṣalāt*'s into which the *ḳunūt* was inserted (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 126; Nasāʾī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 29).

There is further a difference of opinion as to where in the *ṣalāt*, the *ḳunūt* should be inserted. ʿĀṣim is said to have asked Anas b. Mālik about the *ḳunūt*. Anas replied: "The *ḳunūt* took place ..." I asked: "Before or after the *rukūʿ*?" He replied: "Before the *rukūʿ*". I said: "But I have been told on your authority: after the *rukūʿ*". Anas replied: "Then they lied. The apostle of Allāh only uttered the *ḳunūt* prayer after the *rukūʿ* for a month. I think, after he, etc. etc." (here follows the story of Biʾr Maʿūna, see above; Bukhārī, *Witr*, bāb 7). It is even said that the *ḳunūt* is a *bidʿa*. Abū Mālik al-Ashdjaʿī records a tradition on the authority of his father, that the latter had performed the *ṣalāt* under the direction of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī and that none of these uttered the *ḳunūt* prayer. He adds "it is therefore also a *bidʿa*, my son" (al-Nasāʾī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 33).

Nevertheless it continued to be known as the name of the prayer (*duʿāʾ*) at the *ṣalāt*. In the books of tradition a formula is given for the *ḳunūt al-witr* (it occurs often and in different forms, though it is not always called *ḳunūt* but is given names like *duʿāʾ* etc.): "O Allāh, lead me amongst those whom Thou guidest, and pardon me among those whom Thou pardonest, and care for me among those for whom Thou carest and bless me with what Thou distributest, and protect me from the evil that Thou has decided upon; for Thou decidest and none decides about Thee. Disgrace will never come upon him for whom Thou carest. Thou art blessed and exalted, O our Lord" (Tirmidhī, *Witr*, bāb 10). The same formula is found as an element in the *ṣalāt* in Nawawī, *Minhādj*, ed. van den Berg, i. 83, 455 *sq.*; Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *ḳ-n-t*, who gives another.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orient. Studien, Theod. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i., p. 323 *sq.* and the references given there.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KUNYA (A.), properly meaning a metonymical appellation, is however also the technical term for the naming of a man (or also of a woman) after his eldest son, i. e. Abū ..., a name which is omitted from very few Arab personal names (cf. also LAḲAB) and in many cases is even the only one known to us. The origin of the custom lies in the value placed by Semitic peoples upon children, especially sons; which again points to the importance placed on the punctilious performance of funeral rites, a duty that was incumbent on the eldest son in particular. There is negative evidence of the connection between the kunya and funeral rites in the fact that slaves as a rule had no kunya and that they, when not adopted into the family, were buried without ceremonies.

In Arabic literature the kunya, if not absolutely a title of honour, is at least regularly thought more highly of than the simple name. According to the *Lisān*, s. v. the champion who challenged to single combat between the hostile armies called himself by his kunya. When a warrior is appealed to for help by his clan, he is called by his kunya (Ḳais b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Kowalski, Leipzig 1914, fragment, iv., l. 38). ʿĀʾisha said on one occasion to Muḥammad: "All thy wives have a kunya but I alone have none". Thereupon he replied: "Assume the kunya Umm ʿAbd Allāh!" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 151). From this tradition we see — a fact otherwise unknown — that childless people could have a kunya. In other cases it did not express paternity but some other characteristic. Abū Huraira [q. v.] "he of the kitten" is said to have received this kunya from his kindness to cats. History does not record why the first Caliph was called "Father of the Camel-foal". The Abū of the kunya often indicates a physical peculiarity e. g. Abū Shāma "he with the birthmark". In other cases the kunya is given in malicious or good natured irony e. g. Abū Djahl [q. v.], Abū Lahab [q. v.]. Finally we may note the many geographical names in the form of a kunya e. g. Abū Simbel [q. v.], Abū Ḳubais [q. v.], Abū Habba [q. v.], Abū ʿArīsh [q. v.].

In the Oriental dictionaries of all kinds, the kunyas are usually classed together in one group. There are also dictionaries which deal exclusively with kunyas.

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Der Gebrauch der Kunja als Ehrenbezeichnung*, in *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 267; A. J. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, in *Verh. Ak. Wet. Amsterdam*, N. R., vol. xviii., N⁰. 1, p. 26 *sq.*; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et Sobriquets*, in *J. A.*, 1907, esp. p. 189–202.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KUR, Russian *Kura*, in the Arab geographers *Kurr*, the largest river in the Caucasus, over 600 miles in length, according to Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, *G. M. S.*, xxiii/i., p. 218) 200 farsakh. Iṣṭakhrī (*B. G. A.*, i. 189) describes the Kur as navigable and full of fish; even at the present day very little would require to be done to make the river accessible to modern steamers from Mingečaur (a little below the mouth of the Alazan) to the Caspian Sea. The Araxes, regarded as a separate river in ancient times, always appears in Muslim sources as a tributary of the Kur. According to Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (*op. cit.*), the Kur in those days in addition to its mouth in the Caspian Sea also sent a branch out which flowed into the Sea (*buḥaira*) of Shamkūr. This statement (only found here) must be due to a misunderstanding. In Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī there is no reference to any such sea. He only mentions the town of Shamkūr (Russ. Shamkhor), two farsakh from Gandja on the road to Tiflis (*op. cit.*, p. 181 *sqq.*), which in his day as now was in ruins. The navigation of the Kur has only once played a part in political history, at the destruction of the town of Bardhaʿa by the Russians in the year 332 (943/944). In addition to the references to this event given under the article BARDHAʿA see D. S. Margoliouth, *The Russian Seizure of Bardhaʿa in 943 A. D.* (*Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1918, p. 82 *sqq.*); A. Yakubovskiy, *Ibn Miskawaih o pokhode Rusov v Berdaa v 332 g. = 943/4 g.* (*Viz. Vremennik*, 1923—1926, vol. xxiv., p. 63 *sqq.*)

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 179; E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888, p. 41 *sq.*

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-**KURA**, the sphere. The Arabs studied the properties of the sphere, following Euclid, Archimedes and Theodosius. They also dealt with certain principles of spherical trigonometry, which form the foundations for astronomical theory, the principle of the transversal (*s̲h̲akl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*), the principle of the four magnitudes (*al-s̲h̲akl al-mug̲h̲nī*) and the principle of the shadow, i. e. of the tangent (*al-s̲h̲akl al-ẓillī*) following Menelaus and Ptolemy. (On the translations cf. M. Steinschneider in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1896, l., p. 161 *sqq.*; the mathematical principles are discussed by H. Bürger and K. Kohl, *Axel Björnbo Thābits Werk über den Transversalensatz* in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin*, 1924, part 7, p. 1—91; references are given there to the earlier literature also).

2. *Al-Kura d̲h̲āt al-kursī* (the globe with the axe) is used in two senses:

a) The globe of the heavens (instead of *al-kura* we also find *al-baiḍa* in this sense, the egg, *e. g.* in *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 235, in al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, 1913, i., p. 138; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, iii., *S.B.P.M.S.*, *Erlg.*, 1905, xxxvii., p. 239 *sqq.*). The constellations are painted on a globe. It is placed in a ring which stands on 3 or 4 legs. Such globes have been prepared and described perhaps as early as by Hipparchus, at any rate by Ptolemy. Ptolemy's description is given in the Arabic translations of the Almagest and in separate treaties. One such globe, erroneously ascribed to Ptolemy, was seen in Cairo in 435 (1043/1044) by Ibn al-Sandhadi (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, p. 440). — The globes were made of wood covered with paper or with different metals. Hollow globes could also be made of metal, which were then fastened to wooden spheres. ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳaiṣar al-Taʿāsīf used a gilt wooden globe (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 470. H. Suter, Nº. 358). The making of such globes and the errors that occur in them have been fully discussed by al-Bīrūnī (*Beiträge zur Gesch. der Mathematik*, etc. in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und Medizin*, part 4, 1922, p. 79—93; cf. also H. Schnell, *ibid.*, in a later part).

The astronomical instrument prepared by al-Idrīsī for King Roger was apparently an armillary sphere.

b) *Al-Kura d̲h̲āt al-kursī* is also an arrangement by which one follows the movements of the heavens. The horizontal ring is directed to the horizon, it is notched at right angles in two opposite points, a meridian ring is placed in the notches and allowed to go to its lowest position in a groove. The globe itself turns round an axis which is placed in round holes at two opposite points on the meridian ring. Divisions are marked on the horizon and on the meridian ring. By turning the meridian ring in its grooves the axis of the globe can be inclined at will to the horizon and the instrument can thus be used for all latitudes. A quadrant with divisions which can be placed on the globe enables many kinds of measurements to be taken. With this globe, the magnitudes of importance in astronomy, *al-ẓill*, *al-maṭāliʿ*, the props of the earth etc., can be obtained.

The oldest Arabic work on the subject is by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [q. v.] and exists in Arabic in several editions, *e. g.* that of al-Marrākus̲h̲ī; it may go back to classical originals, as is probable in view of the author's relations to the Greeks. It was also translated into Latin, and into Spanish by Alfonso of Castile (*Libros del Saber*, vol. i.).

If the globe is left out and a series of other rings its added to the horizon and meridian rings, which correspond to circles in the heavens, we get the armillary sphere (*ālat d̲h̲āt al-ḥalaḳ*), the instrument with the rings with which the ancients, the Arabs and notably Alfonso of Castile occupied themselves a great deal.

Bibliography: B. Dorn, *Drei astronomische Instrumente*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, series 7, vol. ix., Nº. 1, p. 31; L. Am. Sédillot, *Mém. sur les instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Acad. R. des Inscriptions*, etc., Paris 1844, series 1, vol. i., p. 1—229; F. Nolte, *Über die Armillarsphäre*, *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch.*, etc., part 2, p. 1—50. Nolte also gives the earlier literature.

3. *Al-Kura al-muḥarriḳa*, the burning-glass (lit. the strongly burning globe). Even the ancients knew the property possessed by rock crystal and glass globes of concentrating sunlight falling upon them on one point and setting alight an inflammable material there. But we find no indications that any scholar of antiquity studied the theory of this phenomenon. Ibn al-Haitham and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī investigated this theory *very* brilliantly. Ibn al-Haitham starts from the values given in a table of Ptolemy's and collected by himself also, of the angle of incidence, angle of divergence and angle of refraction of a ray of light falling on a smooth surface of glass, and investigates the path of the rays when they strike the surface of the globe at different distances from the axis drawn bewteen the sun and the centre of the ball. It is proved that after refraction they all meet on the opposite surface of the globe in a little section from which they emerge with their direction altered. They cut the axis at different distances from the ball: the majority however meet at a point distant less than half the radius of the ball, this is the burning point. If drawings are placed in the cone of rays formed by the rays coming from it, for example a red circular surface with a black ring upon it and looked at it through the front of the ball remarkable figures are seen; these were also studied very fully by Ibn al-Haitham and Kamāl al-Dīn; they were able even then to reach the same results as Schellbach at a later date.

Bibliography: J. Würschmidt, *Die Brennkugel* in *Monatshefte für den naturwissenschaftl. Unterricht*, 1911, iv., p. 98—113; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xix., *Über die Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln nach Ibn al-Haitam und Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī* in *S.B.P.M.S.*, *Erlg.*, 1910, xlii., p. 15—58; cf. also the references in the articles ḲAWS, ḲUZAḤ and KAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-FĀRISĪ.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲUR'A (A.), "lot, drawing lots" is regarded by the lexicographers as a synonym of *sahma*, just as most verbal stems of the root *ḳ-r-ʿ* are equated to those from *s-h-m*. The reason for this is that lots were cast in pre-Muhammadan times with arrows (*sahm*). Muḥammad, it is true, forbade drawing lots with arrows as a means of prophesying and as a game of chance (Sūra ii. 216; v. 92) but this prohibition is in turn much limited by two other passages in the Ḳurʾān in which drawing lots is described as at least permitted (Sūra iii.

39; xxxvii. 141). While in these passages the root *s-h-m* is used to describe the drawing of lots, in later times the root *ḳ-r-'* is generally used for the permitted forms of drawing lots; its primitive meaning seems to be "to beat, to strike" a synonym of *ḍ-r-b*. (Even in the earliest period we find the combination *ḍarab aḳdāḥ* "to strike arrows").

In addition to these two passages, Bukhārī in the last *bāb* of the *Kitāb al-Shahādāt* quotes five other incidents in the life of the Prophet, from which it appears that in certain circumstances he regarded the drawing of lots as permitted. On all these occasions lots were drawn to decide between two or more parties who had an equal right to a thing, but could not come to an agreement, as to which the legal right or the disputed article should be allotted (Ḳasṭallānī, iv. 416, 3 *sqq*.). Although there is no compulsion to draw lots to secure a decision, the drawing of lots was very popular, because it appeared more fitted than the verdict of a perhaps biassed judge to appease the disputants and to exclude any injustice (*Hidāya*, p. 814). Therefore, for example in the Shāfi'ī law book *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn* decision by drawing lots is said not to be admissible in two only of the eleven cases in which it could possibly be used.

The drawing of lots was and still is most frequently used (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. 294) in the division (*ḳisma*) of pieces of land and articles between two parties having equal claims. In this case, strips of paper with the names of the disputants are used which are rolled up in a ball of clay or wax and drawn by some person or persons who were not present at the writing and rolling up of the names. This lottery by balls is also called *ḳur'a* (*Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ii. 1199; Ḳūhistānī, *Djāmi' al-Rumūz*, Kazan 1309, i. 297; Ḳasṭallānī, iv. 416, 12 *sqq*.).

As, among the Turks, the drawing of lots was specially used in connection with the calling up of recruits, the word in Ottoman Turkish has the restricted meaning of calling up for military service, so that *ḳur'aya girmek*, for example, means "to reach the age for military service".

From the purely legal meaning of the word, *ḳur'a* later came to be applied to a practice in the field of magic and superstition. Just as the proper meaning of *ḳisma* was extended from the division of things in dispute to that of one's fate or lot, *ḳur'a*, also originally used as a division, came to be applied to a consultation of fate by individuals themselves when in doubt or out of curiosity when in difficult positions. In contrast to fortune-telling, which relates to all future things, *ḳur'a*, like an oracle, confines itself to answering "yes" or "no" to the questioner at a time when he wishes to know whether he should enter upon an undertaking or whether an event will occur, i. e. to advising in a case, in which, like the division of disputed articles, there are only two solutions, to which the questioner has to some extent an equal claim.

There is no doubt that this modern use of drawing lots is really forbidden by the law. It is an attempt to learn the future and what is concealed (Baiḍāwī, *Dukhūl fī 'Ilm al-Ghaib*) and is, so far as its object is concerned, identical with the method of divination by arrows, practised in the temple of Mecca before Islām and strongly condemned by the Prophet in Sūra v. 4 (Freytag, *Einleit. in das Studium d. arab. Sprache*, Bonn 1861, p. 154 *sqq*.). But, from the fact that arrows were not used and especially because the well known legal term *ḳur'a* for permitted decision by lots was transferred to this really illegal form of casting lots, it looked as if with the alteration in the name of this kind of fortune-telling the thing itself had been altered, especially as quotations from the Ḳur'ān and the citing of names of the prophets were used to give it an appearance of sanction.

The ḳur'a is still one of the most usual methods of consulting the fates, especially in the Arabic speaking parts of the world of Islām. Along with the still more common augury by pricking (*fa'l*) and by drawing on sand (*raml*) it is to be regarded as an augury from dice, inasmuch as in the *ḳur'a* the starting-point is almost always numbers or letters, which are obtained either directly by throwing dice or in a similar way. According to the way in which this number is obtained or the course taken from this number to the oracle, finally uttered in the form of verses, three different literary forms of the *ḳur'a* are distinguished: 1) *Ḳur'a al-dja'fariya* (this should be read for *djauhariya* in Ahlwardt, iii. 565) which is traced to Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ, has most clearly retained the character of an augury from dice, inasmuch as in it a definite poetical interpretation corresponds to each of the possible combination of three letters of the dice. It is to this variety of *ḳur'a* that the definition of "science of drawing lots" given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa seems to refer (ed. Flügel, iv., p. 513, N°. 9413). 2) The *Ḳur'at al-Anbiyā'* is the simplest form, as in it the answer is given according to which of the names of the Prophets the finger falls upon. The most detailed and complicated, but for this very reason the most popular form, which is traced to the Caliph Ma'mūn is 3) *ḳur'a al-ma'mūniya*, which begins with a number of questions out of the daily life of men written in separate circles out of which the one concerned has to be chosen. But before the oracle delivered in verse is learned from the mouth of a king, one has to run through a series of figures which include constellations and birds of fate and end in towns (hence also called *ḳur'at al-mulūk* or *ḳur'at al-ṭuyūr*). This kind of *ḳur'a* offered the greatest scope for the imagination and experienced the greatest development and variations; it is just on this account however that it has almost completely lost any character of fortune-telling but looks more like a harmless and entertaining game. This also explains why the word *ḳur'a* in popular usage ultimately came to be used by an erroneous generalisation for all kinds of oracles (e. g. *Ḳur'at al-Raml* in Pertsch, Gotha, N°. 73, 4, and *Ḳur'a li-Ikhrādj al-Fa'l wa 'l-Ḍamīr* or *Ḳur'a fī 'Ilm al-Raml* in the Cairo Catalogue, v., p. 350 *sq*.).

Although the last kind of *ḳur'a* in particular seems to be comparatively modern — the oldest manuscript only dates from the xith century A. H. —, the idea that there is old material in it, dating back to Hellenistic times, is not to be dismissed offhand. The reference in the *Fihrist* (i., p. 314, 25—26) to Greek authors and the fragments of Greek books of fate that have survived from the period of the Diadochi, which contain almost word for word the same answers as the Arabic books now in use make such a supposition very probable.

Although the importance of the Arabic *ḳur'a*

for similar literature in the west has been exaggerated, it is certain that the Arabs had a not inconsiderable influence on the Hebrew books of fate and either through these or directly on mediaeval European books of fate.

Bibliography: There are a few works lithographed (cf. Doutté) but the bulk of Kur'a literature is in manuscript. In addition to the catalogues printed down to the middle of the xixth century which were used by Flügel in his *Loosbücher der Muhammedaner*, Leipzig 1861, the following three catalogues may be mentioned: Ahlwardt, Berlin, iii., Nº. 4235—4244; Pertsch Gotha, Nº. 24, 3, 93, 20, 1304, 09, 10; de Slane, Paris, Nº. 2637—2641, 2706, 2715 *sq.*, 2758; Ibn Sula, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xiii. 23; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii., p. 163 (*Bāb al-Kur'a fi 'l-Mushkilāt*), Ḳasṭallānī, *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, Būlāḳ 1304, iv. 413 *sqq.*; *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn*, ed. v. d. Berg, iii. 119 *sq.*, 324; ii. 328, 404 *sq.*, iii., 99 *sq.*, 102, 122 *sq.*, 379, 395 *sqq.*, 440, 461 *sqq.*; Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Calcutta, 1818, p. 813 *sq.* (*Faṣl fi Kaifiyat al-Kisma*); *The Hedaya*..., transl. Ch. Hamilton, 2nd ed., London 1870, p. 565 *sqq.*; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, p. 375 *sqq.*; Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, Berlin 1893, ii., § 328, 533; Bolte, *Zur Geschichte der Losbücher* (appendix to: *Georg Wickrams Werke*, ed. by Joh. Bolte, iv., 1903, p. 276—348); do., *Zur Geschichte der Punktier- und Losbücher* (in *Jahrbuch f. historische Volkskunde*, i. Berlin 1925, p. 185—214). (G. WEIL)

KURAIBĪYA, the name of a group of the Kaisānīya [q.v.] This reading of the name is probably to be assumed in al-Ash'arī's *Maḳālāt al-Islāmīyīn* (without diacritical points in the MS. mentioned below) and is also found in 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī; the author of the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* has *Karibiya* as have 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī and al-Maḳrīzī. In favour of the former reading is also the form *al-K-r-n-bīya* (transl. *Karenbiyya*) given by Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, which may be due to a corruption of the text. This group is said to be called after a certain otherwise unknown Abū Kuraib (in al-Ash'arī without diacritical points; in 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, in the printed text as well as in the Leyden MS., Or. 335, f. 90a; *Ibn Kuraib*; al-Khwārizmī, al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī and al-Maḳrīzī: *Abū Karib*; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī: *Ibn K-r-n-b*) al-Ḍarīr. It was probably he who spread the Messianic views regarding Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya [q.v.], which are characteristic of the Kuraibīya. The floruit of Abū (Ibn) Kuraib is therefore to be placed in the period after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafīya (probably in 81 = 700).

According to al-Ash'arī, the Kuraibīya believed that their imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, was still alive and was living in the mountains of Raḍwā [q.v.] west of Medina, with a lion on his right hand and a leopard on his left, guarding him, while his food came to him morning and evening, until the time for him to appear again. In their view the reason why the imām was kept hidden in this way was that Allāh had a special plan for him. Al-Baghdādī describes his stay in Raḍwā in similar terms; according to him, there was a spring of water and another of honey beside the imām, which provided his daily food. Al-Shahrastānī and al-Manṣūr bi'llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (*al-'Iḳd al-Thamīn*, B. M. MS. Or. 3976, f. 8b *infra*) also mention this, without referring explicitly to the Kuraibīya. The last-named author also mentions the idea that the imām holds intercourse with the angels in Raḍwā (as does Ibn Ḥazm) and that in his concealment he is considered "the eye of Allāh watching over his creatures".

Most of these traits go back to older Messianic ideas. They are nearly all found in verses by Kuthaiyir [q. v.] and al-Saiyid al-Ḥimyarī (cf. *al-Aghānī*[2], vii., 4, 11 *sqq.*; viii., 30, 25 *sqq.*) from whom the writers on heretical sects seem to have taken their information.

Al-Ash'arī mentions Kuthaiyir as a champion of the views of the Kuraibīya and quotes the same verses by him as al-Baghdādī (p. 28 *sq.*) and al-Shahrastānī (cf. also *al-Aghānī*[2], viii., 31, 6 *sqq.*).

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ḲURAISH. 1. Before the Hidjra. About the time of the Hidjra all the clans of this tribe, which then held pride of place in Mecca, thought they could claim a common ancestor. Was he called Fihr or Ḳuraish or perhaps al-Naḍr, surnamed Ḳuraish? They did not take the trouble to examine closely the problem of the name. Did the names given to the eponymous ancestor refer to a historical personage? Were they not "names without substance" like those which the Meccans according to Ḳur'ān liii. 23 gave to their divinities? The only authority, the *nassāba*, the Meccan gene-

logists, could give was that they had found them in the old onomasticon of Tihāma and in poems of doubtful authenticity. Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 79) summing up the statements of his predecessors, thinks the explanation which derives the name of the celebrated Meccan tribe from the word *ḳuraish* "shark" *ḳirsh* i. e. worthless. He further adds that the poetical fragment cited in support of this etymology is *maṣnū'*, apocryphal, and I think it can be recognised as a Bedouin satire directed against the rapacity and aggressive spirit of Muḥammad's fellow-tribesmen.

In any case, there is nothing of which we know less than the very modest beginnings of the imperial tribe of Ḳuraish. The groups of Semites, leading a nomadic life in the desolate country round Mecca, have always been looked upon as the most disinherited of western Arabia. In the confused mass of starving Beduins of the southern Ḥidjāz, the Ḳuraish formed in their early days one of the poorest branches of those who claimed to belong to the main stem of the Kināna. Numerically inconsiderable, lost among the Kināni tribes, the primitive clan of the Ḳuraish led a precarious existence "in the depths of wild ravines and among the bare mountains encircling the sacred territory" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*), — made up of shepherds and robbers, by turns the auxiliaries and the scourge of Meccan commerce. They hired to the Meccans their camels and lent their services as guides and caravan-leaders; in a word they played the part assumed by the Banū Hudhail [q. v.] in the time of Abū Sufyān and again at the present day. No more scrupulous than the latter, they never hesitated about stripping pilgrims and isolated convoys. They steadily prepared and watched for an opportunity of driving out of Mecca the Banū Khuzā'a who ruled there and of seizing their treasure which they coveted.

A condottiere called Ḳuṣaiy [q. v.] gave them a place in history and laid the foundations of their political career. He was of foreign origin and came from the steppes of the north, on the Syrian frontier. A fiction connects him with the genealogical tree of the Fihr-Ḳuraish through Ghālib-Lu'aiy-Ka'b and Kilāb. This adventurer reunited the scattered groups of the tribe and succeeded by a coup de main in installing them in the heart of Mecca. The *Sīra* gives only a confused explanation of how, led by Ḳuṣaiy, the Ḳuraish were not long in securing political supremacy over the Khuzā'a, a predominance which they soon strengthened still further by gaining possession of the sanctuary of the Ka'ba. If we may base a conclusion on such slender foundations as the traditional genealogical lists, and calculate from the number of generations mentioned in them, this revolution must have taken place in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D., a hundred years before the birth of the Prophet. At the latter date then, barely a century separated the Ḳuraish, now Meccans, from the period when their ancestors had led a nomadic life.

Some ten clans were considered as Ḳuraish in these days: Omaiya, Nawfal, Zuhra, Makhzūm, Asad, Djumaḥ, Sahm, Hāshim, Taim and 'Adiy. The three last named owe their fame mainly to Islām, even Hāshim, although, like Omaiya it was related to Ḳuṣaiy, the noble who brought them to Mecca. This noble descent did not bring great fortune to the Hāshimis. The Omaiyads and Makhzūmis gained predominance over the other families through their wealth and influence. The ten clans began by occupying the centre of the town, the bottom of the valley *al-Baṭḥā'*, into which issued the water of Zamzam, the hollow in which stood the little house of the Ka'ba. This gained them the name of "Abṭaḥī, Biṭāḥī" or "Ḳuraish al-Biṭāḥ". They kept it even after the impoverished clans like the Hāshim, had had to abandon this central position which was considered the quarter of the Ḳuraish aristocracy.

The "Ḳuraish al-Ẓawāhir" were held in much less esteem. The *Ẓawāhir* or suburbs of the town and the *shi'b* ravines of the hills which surrounded the town were left to the Beduins, to foreign camp-followers and to slaves. It seems that the "Ḳuraish of the suburbs" were mixed with these foreign elements. As regards bravery, they were creditably distinguished from their fellow-tribesmen of the Baṭḥā'. They provided the Meccan republic with its bravest soldiers and never failed to make the most of it. The main occupation of every one in the centre as well as in the suburbs was trade. "They were merchants": this phrase reappears with monotonous regularity in the notices of the more illustrious Ḳuraish.

The *Sīra* and *Ḥadīth* preserve the memory of several confederations (*ḥilf*) or secondary groupings formed among the principal clans of the Ḳuraish. They have been discussed in the article ḤILF. The *ḥilf al-fuḍūl* seems to be associated with a historical event of which the Meccan chroniclers have exaggerated the importance. This pact must date from the last years of the sixth century, since the Prophet in his youth was present at its conclusion and never failed in consequence to recall it, "the most glorious which history records" (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, i. 82).

Outside of Tihāma, the Ḳuraish seem to have had trading colonies at Tabāla, Djurash, Nadjrān, stages on the road to the ports of the Indian Ocean. Much the most important of these was Ṭā'if [q. v.] in the mountains of Sarāt. It was a country resort for the rich bankers of the Ḳuraish, who acquired country houses and farms there.

If we examine orthodox tradition, the Beduins before the Hidjra are represented as never missing an opportunity of recognising the political and religious superiority of the Ḳuraish. The latter was practically guaranteed to them by the possession of the Ka'ba, a kind of national sanctuary and centre of an annual pilgrimage for the western half of the Peninsula. The Christian Arabs themselves do not seem to have entirely escaped this religious influence. The prerogative of *ḥilm* was not disputed to the Ḳuraish. They owe to it the fact that they were able, in spite of their small numbers and their barren territory, to exercise a kind of spiritual supremacy among the jealous Beduins. It is again the *ḥilm*, as we shall see, which explains their glorious destinies on the vast theatre on which the sudden expansion of Islām was soon to place them. *Ḥilm* meant the equilibrium of the intellectual faculties, all intent on the business of life to the neglect of scientific speculation. Nothing is more common than the mention of this ruling quality in the notices of the notables of the Ḳuraish. This prerogative, which in the opinion of Arabs, denotes men born to govern, has even been said to have been proclaimed by the Prophet. "A Ḳuraish", he said

"is worth two men of any other tribe". And according to al-Zuhrī [q. v.], himself a Ḳurashī, this saying referred to their acuteness "the rare quality of their intelligence". In them the Beduins admired the diplomatic ability, the style of speaking, the ready rejoinders always à propos, the precision of their eloquence. They were able to condense into a few telling sentences, when the Beduin as a rule would lapse into his usual prolixity. The purity of their dialect was less generally granted. It was Islām and in particular the influence of the Ḳur'ān which gained the Meccan dialect its triumph over its rivals in Nadjd, although the latter had been refined and perfected by several generations of poets.

Although they did not love them, the nomads felt for the Ḳuraish that respect which is inspired in the inferior for the prestige of a superior organisation, capital and the possession of great wealth. In Mecca alone were the Beduins familiar with the idea — rudimentary, it is true, — of a form of government and political solidarity concepts foreign to their individualist mentality, and it impressed them by its novelty. But in this intellectual superiority which impressed them more than they would have cared to acknowledge, the Beduins declined to acknowledge poetic talent, which they claimed as a monopoly of the nomads. They placed the Ḳuraish rhymers far behind those of Ṭā'if and particularly of Medina, not to speak of the poets of Nadjd and not without justice. We know no poet of Mecca before the Hidjra whose name is worthy of record. The Ḳuraish had for the first time in the person of 'Omar b. Abī Rabī'a [q. v.] a poet worthy of a place in the Arab Parnassus already quite crowded.

The Beduins also did not like the exclusiveness of the Ḳuraish and the control they exercised over their everyday life. Acting as guides, and convoys to Meccan caravans, and in debt to the financiers of Mecca, they alleged they were exploited by the "sharks" of the Ḳuraish. It is the eternal complaint that divides capital and labour everywhere. Their grievances united them in the contempt they professed to feel for this corporation of merchants, "cowardly and avaricious". Their poets boast of having pierced the wineskins, then broken the skulls of these greedy hagglers, "eaters of pollenta" (*sakhīna*), the favourite dish of the Meccans. They boasted of being able to humble the pride of the Ḳuraish, proud in the shadow of their sanctuary, trembling with fear outside the sacred territory. The Meccan custom of relying on the bravery of the "Aḥābīsh" and other Beduin mercenaries, of sending negroes to fight for them was not calculated to raise them in the esteem of the nomads, and a quarter of a century after the death of the Prophet, we still find the Arabs refusing to allow the Ḳuraish the virtue of bravery.

We may put to the credit of Muslim tradition the story of the general supremacy of the Ḳuraish being accepted without demur by the Arabs before the Hidjra. This legend was put about to make the seizure of the caliphate by the Ḳuraish appear less shocking. Considering the individuality and mentality of the Beduin, it may have been rather a question of moral supremacy. Did it extend much beyond the frontiers of the Ḥidjāz and the districts bounding on Nadjd? We do not think so. The great Ḳaisī confederacies — like the Hawāzin and the Ghaṭafān — possessing pasturage on both sides of the common frontier could not escape this supremacy. Since the decline of the Ḥimyar principalities, Mecca had become the largest and most powerful city of western Arabia. The spectacle of this power solidly based on a close alliance of economic and religious interests could not fail to impress the Beduins, who were intelligent observers and very susceptible to the prestige and influence of the capital.

The activities of the ancient Ḳuraish consisted as we have seen of commercial and financial speculations within and beyond Arabia. In the article MECCA we describe the trade-routes that ran to it, and the agreements concluded by its people with their neighbours in Arabia and foreign countries; next we examine the form of government, the part played by capital and lastly the organisation of the great caravans on which the prosperity of the Ḳuraish metropolis depended. The reader may be here referred to this article.

II. After the Hidjra. With the preaching of Muḥammad the story of the Ḳuraish becomes practically that of Islām. The two histories become one. The *Sīra* does not discriminate between them. On the other hand, after the death of the Prophet, the destinies of the Ḳuraish develop independently of those of Mecca. After having bitterly opposed the new religion, the Ḳuraish notables gained control of it as being in their best interests. The first eight years of the Hidjra were filled with fighting with the Prophet, who had taken refuge in Medina. In the year 8 (*al-fatḥ*), the surrender of Mecca without a blow being struck put an end to the institutions by which the tribe had hitherto been governed and brought about its break up and dispersal throughout the Arab world. To the casual observer, nothing seemed to have changed. In reality Mecca had lost its autonomy; it was now politically dependent on Medina and governed by an agent of the Prophet. The Ḳuraish were under no delusions. The exodus began; the principal families gave the signal for it and came to settle in Medina, which had become the capital of Islām, because Muḥammad was there.

The death of the Prophet raised the problem of his successor, the question of the caliphate. Two illustrious Ḳuraishīs, Abū Bakr and 'Omar seem to have foreseen this eventuality and to have been prepared for it. Upon whom was the political guidance of Islām to fall? Muḥammad had left no stipulations on the subject. But his constant partiality for his fellow-citizens, who had fled from Mecca, had aroused the protests of the Anṣār, which are preserved in the poems of Ḥassān b. Thābit [q. v.]. There seems no reason to doubt that if death had not suddenly taken him, if he had thought it prudent to express his opinion, it would have been to the "emigrants" of the Ḳuraish in preference to the Anṣār that he would have entrusted the destinies of Islām. Throughout his career as a prophet, he had never ceased to proclaim himself a true Ḳurashī. In spite of the Hidjra, in spite of the resounding rupture and the eight years of war with Mecca, he never for a moment thought of linking his cause with the fortunes of Medina. If this idea had arisen in his very susceptible mind, he would not have been long in rejecting it, when he saw the political incapacity of the Anṣār and their lack of preparation. As if he wished to suggest

to them the superiority of the Kuraish, the Prophet made the Medinites turn in prayer towards Mecca, now the sacred city of Islām and made its conquest a task for the zealous converts.

That the Kuraish had the exclusive right to this succession must have been the attitude adopted by Abū Bakr and 'Omar before the Anṣār assembled in the *saḳīfa* of the Banū Sā'ida. What we can gather from the arguments put in the mouth of Abū Bakr is that, speaking in the name of the Kuraish refugees, he insisted upon their priority in adopting Islām, the superiority of their noble blood, their prestige with the Arabs and their relationship to the Prophet. From these premises, the speaker thought he could deduce that his fellow tribesmen had a monopoly of the supreme power. He concluded by proposing a division to the Anṣār: "let us have the duties of an amir and you those of vizier". But after having appealed to the Kur'ān (ix. 101) where the supremacy of the Kuraish is said to be implied, why was an explicit decision of the Prophet not put forward? One word would have sufficed instead of all this rhetoric. For a childlike people like the Anṣār, accustomed for ten years to anticipate the slightest wish of Muḥammad, his will would have finished the debate. If Abū Bakr did not pronounce this word, if none of his acolytes appealed to it, we must believe there was no such decision.

The *Sunna* took this into account when it tried to collect all the pronouncements possible ascribed to Muḥammad and all recorded by the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Let us quote the most characteristic of these ḥadīths: "The Kuraish are the heads of this government", "The Imāms are Kuraish". "Power will remain with the Kuraish so long as two Muslims exist". "The kingship (*mulk*)" — and still more explicitly — "the caliphate remains in the Kuraish". In the last sentence we have the classical formula as approved by the Sharī'a and accepted by all orthodox tradition. The latter however had not dared appeal to the Kur'ān. This book simply makes no reference to the Kuraish monopoly. In reply to the verses quoted in their favour by the Meccans, the Anṣār readily quoted a multitude of others, proclaiming the unworthiness and faithlessness of their Kuraish rivals.

It cannot however be denied that the Prophet had a preference for the Kuraish nor that he had a low opinion of the fitness of the Anṣār for governing. But he was too wise to give voice to such sentiments. He knew too well the causes of dissension that were already at work in the young community to do anything to make matters worse. In the course of his wars with the Meccans, he had let drop remarks like the following: "In good as in evil, the Kuraish are always in the first rank". It is by recording exactly such utterances, and giving them a political significance, which they did not really have, that tradition has formulated *ḥadīth* unambiguously reserving the caliphate for the Kuraish. If they had the slightest knowledge of it, the Anṣār would not have been able to dispute the Kuraish monopoly nor to propose to Abū Bakr to recognise it on condition that the supreme dignity was held alternately by a Meccan and a Medinite.

This seems also to be the conclusion to be deduced from the attitude of the Khāridjis. If in the first century of the Hidjra, we want to find strict and logical believers, placing Islām above caste prejudices and ambitions, we have to look for them in the ranks of these dissenters. Their implacable logic never ceased to protest against the privileges claimed by the Kuraish and to give more weight to their protests, they gave themselves caliphs chosen from different Arab tribes.

Although they did not hold the same views as the Khāridjis, the 'Alids and Shī'is came inevitably to the same conclusion. This is how in the first century A. H. their most authorised interpreter, Kumait [q. v.], argued the claims of the 'Alids; if contrary to the Shī'ī theory, the supreme dignity in Islām is no longer the exclusive privilege of the family of the Prophet, it ought to become the common patrimony of all the Arab tribes, not only of Muḍar but also of Rabī'a and Yemen and above all of the Anṣār. These extreme legitimists therefore were ignorant of the alleged veto laid by Muḥammad on non-Kuraish.

The creation and monopoly of the Kuraish, the caliphate — while greatly benefiting the Kuraish individually — only served to precipitate the break up and dispersal of the tribe, a phenomenon, the beginnings of which we have already seen just after the *fatḥ* (8 A. H.). Their cohesion and the prosperity of the capital Mecca depended entirely on commerce. Now in a quite unexpected fashion, at least for the Beduins, the conquests of Islām upset all the economic conditions of Western Arabia. The direct route from India via Mesopotamia was opened up again by the reunion under one rule of the valley and mouth of the Euphrates, and international trade avoided the difficult detour by the Arabian desert. Nothing could be less like the Mecca of Abū Sufyān than that of the Caliph 'Omar. The continental blockade established by the Prophet after the battle of Badr, was slackened; then his death suddenly stopped business going to Mecca. One after another the neighbouring fairs, e. g. that of 'Okāẓ were suppressed — at least there is no further mention of them after the *fatḥ* of Mecca. Deserted by commerce, the barren valley of Mecca, strangled as in a vice between two ranges of bare hills, could not maintain its former inhabitants, all brokers, caravaneers and traders for generations past. Gradually shops and offices closed and their owners came to Medina, now the capital of the caliphate, to rejoin their fellow-citizens who had made new positions for themselves there.

The old Kuraish had foreseen this decline. They had talked of it to Muḥammad when their ardent fellow-townsman had urged them to adopt Islām. These shrewd conservatives were reluctant to upset the religious and social institutions to which they attributed the prosperity of their town. "Allāh will not fail to provide", the Prophet replied, "He will furnish them ample compensation; he will enrich them of His abundance when He thinks the time has come" (Kur'ān ix. 28; xxviii 57). Among the less prominent Kuraish families a small number were ready to await the promised compensation on the spot. Apart from the period of the annual pilgrimage, the town did not begin really to revive until the day when under the Omaiyads the Kuraish officials, enriched by the exploitation of the provinces, came to enjoy their retirement in Mecca, spent their wealth there and as a result attracted thither poets and musicians whose presence was to turn the sacred city into a city of pleasure.

But the attraction exercised by the new capital in Medina was not at first very great. After the election of Abū Bakr, the old members of the *Dār al-Nadwa* or grand council of the Ḳuraish flocked thither, all the merchant princes of Mecca. They understood the necessity of becoming reconciled to the old friends of the Prophet, now the arbiters of power, while waiting the time when they could supplant those novices in the art of ruling. The reiterated appeals of the Ḳur'ān to emigrate in the direction of Allāh and his Prophet, had for long fallen on deaf ears. It required the revolution, the economic crisis produced by the triumph of Islām and the prospect, depressing to business men of "eating their capital" by letting it lie unproductive in their strong boxes. This prospect led them to discover the economic advantages and the spiritual merits of the "Hidjra", the migration of the Muslims. But these "emigrants" of the eleventh hour were not destined to find a suitable milieu for their business enterprise among the Anṣār. The Omaiyad and Makhzūmī financiers did not succeed in setting up their offices once more in the oasis of Yathrib. The future had something better in store for them.

This was the period of the conquests which by opening up the eastern provinces to them was to introduce them to a stage of new and manifold activities. Henceforth they were to command armies, to govern provinces and for several centuries, to rule the whole Arab empire. One marvels at the number of remarkable men who sprang from this city of shop-keepers and tried their skill in careers hitherto unknown to them, such as governors and generals. What is no less surprising than the novelty of these rôles is the aptitude and decision of character with which they filled them — and this prevents us from regarding the Ḳuraish founders of the caliphate as mere novices. The fact is that for them, commerce on a large scale as it had been practised in Mecca before the Hidjra had been for them a long preparation for a political career.

When therefore Muḥammad thought of entrusting the destinies of Islām to them, his patriotism had not exaggerated the capacity of his fellow-citizens. He had the ability to foresee that the prestige of Mecca, the influence which it had exerted in the centuries before Islām, had gone to give the Meccans intellectual predominance. "In the period of paganism, the Ḳuraish had completed their education. It was to fit them to govern the Arabs, at a time when the latter were dominating the world. They ceased to be Meccans but they remained Ḳuraish" (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 94).

This brings us to say that after the creation of the caliphate, the history of the tribe of Ḳuraish is separate from that of the town of Mecca. It develops at first in Medina, — which by the first century A. H. had become as Ḳuraish as Mecca, — then beyond Arabia, in Syria, Damascus, Baghdād and in the conquered provinces. The history of the Ḳuraish *diaspora* becomes merged in that of the Omaiyads, ʿAbbāsids, various families of Sharīfs or descendants of Muḥammad. Of these princely lines, those descended from ʿAlī and Fāṭima, after the overthrow of the ʿAlid caliphate in the ʿIrāḳ, alone returned to Arabia, to settle, not in Mecca but in Medina. They found there several Hāshimī families, among others the descendants of Djaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib [q. v.]. The Ḥasanids were the stock from which descended the dynasty of Grand Sharīfs of Mecca. The Ḥusainids held for some time the amirate of Medina. Another ʿAlid dynasty, that of the Zaidīs, descended from Zaid, grandson of Ḥusain b. ʿAlī, is still ruling in Yemen. All these ʿAlid families soon multiplied enormously within and beyond Arabia. They produced the innumerable sharīfs and saiyids who filled the Muslim world. In Arabia some returned to the nomadic life and there we have the spectacle of Ḥasanid sharīfs leading bands of brigands, and infesting the main routes.

In the xiiith century A. D. the Spanish traveller Ibn Djubair (*Riḥla*, ed. Wright, p. 73—74) testifies to the great number of Ḥasanids, Ḥusainids and Djaʿfarids scattered over the Ḥidjāz, as well to the depths of poverty into which many of them had sunk. Even before this time, if we may believe a text quoted by Snouck Hurgronje (*Mekka*, i. 42) we would have to admit that as a result of the continual revolts of the ʿAlids and the rigorous measures they provoked against them, the Ḳuraish element in the population of Mecca had been practically exterminated. Yaʿḳūbī (*Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 327) who discovers everywhere in Syria the presence of Arab tribes notes in Southern Lebanon, towards Ṣaidā, a Ḳuraish group, but does not mention whether it was important or not. The geographer Hamdānī mentions others in Nadjd, at Tabāla and at other parts of the Yemen. Those of Hamdān were renowned for their bravery (*Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 119, 122, 165, 194, 258). Among the tribes settled in the east of Mecca, Burckhardt (*Voyages en Arabie*, transl. Eyriès, iii. 307) mentions Ḳuraish. According to him: "of this famous tribe there are only left 300 men capable of bearing arms. In spite of their great name and ancient fame, they are little thought of by the other Beduins. They camp in the neighbourhood of Mount ʿArafāt".

At the present day, apart from the Sharīfs, as regards true Ḳuraish we find only the Shaibī at Mecca, the guardians from time immemorial of the keys of the Kaʿba, at least if we do not accept their problematical descent from the anti-caliph ʿAbdallāh b. Zubair [q. v.]

Bibliography: This is given in the article MEKKA. (H. LAMMENS)

ḲURAISH B. BADRĀN, ʿALAM AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ, an ʿUḳailid. After the death of Badrān in 425 (1033/1034) Ḳuraish was recognised as lord of Naṣībīn. In the struggle between his two uncles, Ḳarwāsh [q. v.] and Abū Kāmil, he took the former's part. After the death of Abū Kāmil in 443 (1052) al-Mawṣil and Naṣībīn were united under the rule of Ḳuraish. Soon afterwards 444 (1052/1053) he became involved in a war with his brother al-Muḳallad and another ʿUḳailid, Kāmil. The war did not last long and the situation remained unchanged. In 446 (1054/1055) Ḳarwāsh recaptured the town of al-Anbār, which really belonged to the ʿUḳailids but had been seized in Ḳarwāsh's time by al-Basāsīrī [q. v.] governor of Baghdād, and had the *khuṭba* read there in the name of the Seldjūḳ Toghrilbeg. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the same year however al-Basāsīrī advanced on al-Anbār and laid siege to the town, which very soon surrendered to him. When Toghrilbeg entered Baghdād 447 (1055) al-Basāsīrī left the capital, but when he

reappeared at the head of a large army and declared for the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir. Ṭoghrilbeg sent his cousin Ḳutulmush against him. The powerful Amīr Dubais b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad had joined al-Basāsīrī whereupon Ḳuraish who had long been devoted to the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān joined the latter. At the end of Shawwāl 448 (beg. January 1057) al-Basāsīrī and Dubais inflicted a severe defeat on the troops of Ṭoghrilbeg near Sindjār; Ḳutulmush escaped but Ḳuraish was wounded and had to surrender. Ṭoghrilbeg himself then took the field and seized the town of Takrīt which belonged to the ʿUḳailids. After his brother Yāḳūtī had joined him at the beginning of 449 (1057), al-Mawṣil also was occupied whereupon the Sulṭān himself set out for Naṣībīn and sent his general Hazārasp with another army against Dubais and Ḳuraish. They were defeated and had to sue for peace. While Dubais returned to his own territory, Ḳuraish joined al-Basāsīrī who had settled in al-Raḥba. In 450 (1058) the two latter regained Mawṣil, but again abandoned it on the approach of Ṭoghrilbeg from Baghdād. The Sulṭān, who did not find them in al-Mawṣil set out after them and followed them to Naṣībīn; when however he had to turn his attention to his brother Ibrāhīm whom he suspected of rebellious intentions, al-Basāsīrī and Ḳuraish advanced against him. The followers of the Sulṭān tried in vain to defend the capital; in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda of the same year (Dec. 1058) al-Basāsīrī entered Baghdād and the caliph al-Ḳāʾim had to take refuge with Ḳuraish, who brought him to safety. Al-Basāsīrī could only hold out for a year, when Ṭoghrilbeg put an end to his rule. Ḳuraish died in 453 (1061) as lord of Naṣībīn and al-Mawṣil at the age of 51.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 376, 397, 402, 412 *sq.*, 430—434, 439—445; x. 10; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iv. 264—267; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 88, 92, 96—101, 105; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. 12 *sq.*, 15 *sq.*, 24. Cf. also the article AL-MUḲALLAD B. AL-MUSAIYAB in Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 745; transl. de Slane, iii. 415 *sqq.*

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ḲURAIẒA, BANŪ, one of the three Jewish tribes of Yathrib, related to the Banu ʾl-Naḍīr. The two tribes together bore the name of Banū Dārih, and were said to have settled in Yathrib much later than the other Jews. In what proportion their original Palestinian stock had intermixed with the Arabs, it is not possible to say, but al-Yaʿḳūbī's statement that both tribes were only hebraized Djudhām (Ḳuḍāʿa), is not credible.

The Banū Ḳuraiẓa consisted of two branches: Banū Kaʿb and Banū ʿAmr; they resided outside the city on the southern side, along the Wādī Mahzūr, with the sister-tribe of Hadal, having the Aws Allāh on the N.W., the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal on the N.E. and the Ḥarra on the E. Landowners and cultivators, the Ḳuraiẓa had brought agriculture to a high degree of development, and lived prosperously on the products of the soil and their commerce. At the time of Muḥammad's arrival in Madīna, they had 750 warriors, and possessed large stores of arms and armour.

Allied, like the Naḍīr, to the Banū Aws, they had fought on their side in the battle of Buʿāth [q.v.], which took place on their territory a few years before the Hidjra.

In Muḥammad's communal constitution they, like the other Jewish tribes, are not mentioned by name, but appear only as allies of different sections of the Aws (art. 25, 30, 31 and 47).

Their attitude towards the Prophet was hostile from the first, like that of the other Jews (see above article ḲAINUḲĀʿ, and ap. Ibn Hishām, p. 352, a list of Muḥammad's Ḳuraiẓī enemies), but no definite break took place until the siege of Madīna (Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda, 5 A. H.), when the Ḳuraiẓa, who in the beginning had contributed spades and baskets to the digging of the trench, withdrew their support. According to tradition Ḥuyaiy b. Akhṭab, sent by Abū Sufyān, had succeeded in gaining the support of their chief, Kaʿb b. Asad, despite a written treaty of alliance with Muḥammad. The Prophet sent Saʿd b. Muʿādh, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda and two others to ascertain their attitude; they returned after a stormy interview, confirming the Ḳuraiẓa's defection.

The latter seem to have planned an attack on Madīna, together with the Ḳuraish and Ghaṭafān; it was not executed through lack of mutual confidence, and their only exploit was an unsuccessful night-expedition of eleven men. Having failed to reach an agreement with the Ḳuraish, who refused to give them hostages in exchange for military support, the Ḳuraiẓa finally abandoned the campaign, thus hastening its end.

This traditional version is open to many doubts: the existence of a particular treaty with Muḥammad does not seem plausible, as his relations with the Ḳuraiẓa were already defined by the communal constitution, it was probably invented to justify the action taken against them. Their support of the Ḳuraish appears to have been of a purely negative character, on the other hand it is easy to see how the important position they occupied on the side of the town not defended by the trench practically put Madīna at their mercy. One of the fortresses incorporated in the line of defence, Rātidj, belonged to Jews (tribe unknown), and formed a dangerously weak point in the Muslims' position. All these circumstances caused much anxiety and hatred of the Jews during the siege, suggesting immediate action against them: on the very day of the Ḳuraish's departure Muḥammad was ordered by Gabriel not to lay down arms until he had punished the Ḳuraiẓa; the siege of their fortresses began the same evening (23rd Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda), and lasted 15 or 25 days, with an active exchange of arrows, stones and strong language, but no casualties.

Having at last decided to surrender, the Ḳuraiẓa asked for the same conditions as obtained by the Banu ʾl-Naḍīr, but were told they must yield without condition, giving up all they possessed. They turned to their ally and protector Abū Lubāba b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir, hoping through his intercession to emigrate, but he gave them to understand that the situation was desperate, and that inevitable surrender would be followed by destruction. His repentance for having revealed to them their lot, seems to show that Muḥammad did not intend the Ḳuraiẓa to suspect how they would be treated; the Prophet's conduct on this occasion is far from clear and certainly not blameless.

Having surrendered without attempting any resistance, the Ḳuraiẓa were separated from their women and children, and put under custody. The Aws interceded on their behalf, and obtained that

their fate should be decided by their own chief, Sa'd b. Mu'ādh; the latter, however, not daring to cross what he knew to be the Prophet's wishes, decreed that all males who had reached puberty should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. On the morrow, in the market-place, from 600 to 900 men were beheaded, the execution lasting all day. It is worthy of note that only four chose to save their lives by conversion.

The women and children were sold at auction, mostly in Madina, the remaining in Syria and Nadjd, and the price divided in the usual way of spoils. Their land was partitioned into five portions: one went to Muḥammad, and the various families, divided into four groups, drew lots for the rest. Among the captives Muḥammad chose for himself Raiḥāna bint Zaid al-Naḍarīya.

The exceptional cruelty shown to the Ḳuraiẓa, as compared with the other Jewish tribes, is due to the fact that they had remained alone and defenceless, and to their wavering, feeble, and altogether unwarlike behaviour. This last circumstance makes it all the less probable that they ever took an active part in the hostilities against Madina.

Several passages in the Ḳur'ān are referred to the Ḳuraiẓa; see especially viii. 60 and xxxiii. 26—27.

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For references to Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Dā'ūd, etc., see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, Leiden 1927, under Ḳuraiẓa.

(V. VACCA)

KURAMA, according to Radloff (*Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, vol. ii., p. 924) "a Turkish tribe in Turkistan"; the same authority gives the Kirgiz (i. e. Ḳazaḳ) word *ḳurama* (from *ḳura*, "to sew together pieces of cloth") with the meaning "a blanket made of pieces of cloth sewn together". In another passage (*Aus Sibirien* [2], Leipzig 1893, i. 225) Radloff himself says that the Kurama are "a mixed people of Özbegs and Kirgiz" and their name comes from the fact, asserted by the Kirgiz, that "they are made up of patches from many tribes" (*ḳura* to "patch together"). According to Radloff, the Kurama are "a settled tribe" between Tashkent and Khodjand, to be more accurate, on the river Angren (a corruption of Āhangarān) south of Tashkent. In Russian sources we find it stated as early as 1875 that the Kurama first arose in the xviiith century; the same view has been put forward by Aristow (*Zamětki ob etničeskom sostavě tyurkskikh plemen*, etc., St. Petersburg 1897, p. 112) and more recently by I. Zarubin (*Spisok narodnostei Turkestanskogo Kraya*, St. Petersburg 1925, p. 12). But as early as 1045 (1635—1636) in the description of the wars between the Ḳazaḳ and Özbegs on the Angren we find the "leaders of the Kurama" (*sardārān-i Ḳūrama*) mentioned (Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-Asrār*, Ind. Off. 575, f. 119a). Under the rule of the Khāns of Khoḳand in the xixth century the word Kurama is used not only as an ethnographic but also as a geographical term and the name of an administrative division. The road from Khoḳand to Tashkent over the Kendir-Dawan pass was called the Kurama road (*Rāh-i Ḳūrama*, e. g. *Ta'rīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusow, Kazan 1885, p. 238). The Kurama were ruled by a Beg who lived in the fortress of Kurauti (in the written language Kirāwčī; on Russian maps also Kelyauči). This use of the word Kurama was retained for some time under Russian rule. In the division of the territory (*oblast*) of Sir-Darya into districts (*uězd*), what later (after 1886) became known as the "district of Tashkent" was called the "district of Kurama" (*Kuraminskiy uězd*). The centre of government of the district was intended to be the little town of Toi-Tübe founded in the reign of Madali Khān (1822—1842; cf. KHOḲAND) (here are the ruins of a mediaeval fortress examined in 1885 by Professor Veselovskiy); but the district headman (*uězdniy načal'nik*) actually lived at Küyluk on the Čirčik. Under Russian as under Khoḳand rule the district of Kurama was of considerable economic importance as a centre of rice-growing. Russian ethnographers put the Kurama in a class by themselves as descendants of nomads (Kirgiz, i. e. Ḳazaḳ) who have become agriculturists (Sarts, q. v.). In spite of the adoption of the Sart mode of life, the Kurama never quite lost their particular characteristics inherited from their nomadic ancestors.

To this day this can be noticed among them; unlike the Sarts, the Kurama live, like the Ḳazaḳ, in yurts; their wives as with the Ḳazaḳ are unveiled. In other respects however the Kurama have advanced further from their nomadic ancestors than they had at the beginning of Russian rule. At that time Radloff and other students could still distinguish among them the division into families. According to Radloff there were five of these: Djalair, Tellu (this name is still borne by a village inhabited by the Kurama), Tama, Djagalbaili and Taraklī. This division is now quite lost; where traces of it still exist, marriages between members of one family are no longer — as among the Ḳazaḳ — considered illegal. The fact that the Kurama are a mixed people can still be recognised; besides the mixture of different stocks among them there has been, according to Zarubin (*op. cit.*) a mixture of different social ranks. The Kurama themselves do not use this name although they do with the addition of another ethnic (Kirgiz-Kurama, Sart-Kurama). The number of the Kurama in the district of Tashkent (formerly Kurama) was in 1917: 52,335; in 1920: 49,697 (but in recent years there has of course been a decline in numbers of the population in Turkistān generally on account of the great famine). There are further some 9,330 Kurama in the district of Khodjand. The word with the meaning of "mixed people" is also found in the area where Turkoman languages are spoken, but these Kurama have no connection with those on the Angren.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned above): Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kraï*,

Petersburg 1886; i. 328; V. Masalskiy, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, Petersburg 1913, p. 306 and 607; Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. Br. 1900, Index, esp. p. 10 *sq.*; N. Mallickiy in *Protokoli Turk. Kruzhka Lyub. Arkh.*, 1898, iii., p. 176 *sq.* (W. BARTHOLD)

KURĀNĪ (also GURĀNĪ), SHAMS AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL, MOLLĀ, a celebrated Ottoman jurist and author. Mollā Kurānī belonged to Shehrizūr [q. v.] in Kurdistān. He studied in Cairo, where he met Mollā Yekān (i. e. Meḥmed b. Ermaghān b. Khalīl, cf. Ṭashköprüzāde-Medjdī, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmānīya*, i. 99 *sqq.*; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii. 438 *sqq.*) who brought him to Asia Minor and introduced him to Sulṭān Murād II. He was appointed professor at the Kaplidja and later at the Bāyazīd mosque of Brussa and then entrusted with the education of prince Meḥmed, afterwards Sulṭān, who was then governor in Maghnisa (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 244 *sqq.*). When Meḥmed came to the throne, Mollā Kurānī declined the vizierate offered him, but took the office of *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* (855 = 1451). When deprived of this office, he went as ḳāḍī and administrator of the pious foundations to Brussa, but came into conflict with the Sulṭān, whom he always met boldly, was dismissed and returned to Egypt. Sulṭān Ḳāʾitbey received him with honour and distinction. Meḥmed II recalled him in 872 (1467) and in 885 (1480) made him Shaikh al-Islām in Stambul. Here he died in 893 (1488) after a long illness. Sulṭān Bāyazīd II paid his debts amounting to 180,000 *aḳče* [q. v.] out of the treasury. Mollā Kurānī, who is described as a tall man with a long beard, was buried at Yüksek Ḳaldirim in Galaṭa in the court of a mosque founded by him (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i. 207; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 89, Nº. 445). A quarter of Stambul bears his name but it is usually pronounced *Gūrānī*. Mollā Kurānī wrote a number of poems and important works of exegesis, of which the most important are *Ghāyat al-Amānī fī Tafsīr sabʿa al-Mathānī* and *al-Kawthar al-djārī ʿalā Riyāḍ al-Bukhārī* on Bukhārī's work on *Ḥadīth* and other works on Ḳurʾānic studies. Mollā Kurānī was a Shāfiʿī but became a Ḥanafī at the request of Murād II.

Bibliography: Ṭashköprüzāde-Medjdī, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmānīya*, i. 102—111; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, ii. 441—449 (with numerous anecdotes); Brūsalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Müʾellifleri*, ii. 3; *ʿIlmīye Sālnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 334 *sq.*; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 532, ii. 244, 589; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 228 *sq.* (with list of some of his works, more fully in Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *op. cit.*); Rifʿat, *Dawḥat al-Mashāʾikh*, Stambul n. d., p. 20 *sq.*

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ḲURBĀN, sacrifice. The word goes back to the Hebrew *ḳorbān*, perhaps through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. Mingana, *Syriac Influence on the Ḳurʾān* in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. xi., Nº. 1, p. 85; S. Fraenkel, *De vocabulis in .... corano peregrinis*, p. 20). The language of the Ḳurʾān, as is well known, shows a preference for religious technical terms ending in *-ān* and some of them are not always used with their original significations. This is true of *ḳurbān*, which occurs three times in the Ḳurʾān. In Sūra iii. 179 and v. 30 it obviously means sacrifice. In Sūra xlvi. 27, however we read: "Did those help them, whom they had taken for *ḳurbān* as gods to the exclusion of Allāh!" Here the word must be more or less synonymous with "gods". Probably it has a meaning which is connected with the Arabic *ḳ-r-b* (see below); the commentators take the same view and the word is explained as "mediators" (cf. the article SHAFĀʿA).

The word hardly seems to occur in classical *ḥadīth*. The *Lisān* mentions two traditions which are striking enough: "The characteristic of the community (i. e. the Muslims) lies in the fact that their *ḳurbān* is their blood", i. e. that instead of sacrifice they have offered the blood of their martyrs. And the other: "The *ṣalāt* is the sacrifice of every pious man". We may suppose there are apologetic tendencies in both traditions.

The term also came to be applied in Muslim ritual to the killing of an animal on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and the whole celebration on this and the following *tashrīḳ* days is called *ʿĪd al-Ḳurbān* (cf. ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ). In Turkish speaking countries *Ḳurbān-Bairam* (cf. BAIRAM).

In Christian-Arabic the word means the eucharist. — In conclusion it should be pointed out that there seems to be a genuine Arabic word *ḳurbān*, plur. *ḳarābīn*, which means the courtiers and councillors in immediate attendance on a king; the word probably comes directly from *ḳ-r-b* "to be near" (see above). (A. J. WENSINCK)

KURBUḲA, ABŪ SAʿĪD ḲAWĀM AL-DAWLA, lord of al-Mawṣil. In the war waged by Tutush b. Alp Arslān, Barkiyārūḳ's uncle [q. v.], against the two rebellious governors Aḳ Sonḳor and Būzān which ended with the capture and execution of these two, the amīr Kurbuḳa who had been sent to their help by Barkiyārūḳ was also taken prisoner. After Tutush had fallen in Ṣafar 488 (February 1095) (cf. BARKIYĀRŪḲ), Kurbuḳa was released by his son Riḍwān, and with his brother Altūntāsh collected a band of adventurers and occupied Ḥarrān. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Ḳuraish lord of Naṣībīn then applied to him for help against his brother ʿAlī who had been appointed governor of al-Mawṣil by Tutush; Kurbuḳa made an alliance with Muḥammad but had him murdered after he had seized Naṣībīn and set out against al-Mawṣil, which ʿAlī had to surrender after a long siege (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 489 = Oct.-Nov. 1096). After the capture of al-Mawṣil he disposed of his troublesome brother Altūntāsh and occupied al-Raḥba. In 491 (1098) Barkiyārūḳ sent him with a large army to retake Anṭākiya [q. v.] which had just been conquered by the Christians. Edessa, which had also just been taken from the Muslims, was besieged by Kurbuḳa on the way but he had to give up the siege and soon afterwards appeared before Anṭākiya. When the Christians made a bold sortie against the besiegers, he inflicted a disastrous defeat on them in spite of their superior numbers; Kurbuḳa's own conduct is said to have contributed towards the disaster, as his arrogance irritated his commanders so that they only awaited a favourable opportunity to abandon him. In the battle between Barkiyārūḳ and his brother Muḥammad in Radjab 493 (May—June 1100) which ended in the defeat of the former, Kurbuḳa commanded Barkiyārūḳ's left wing. In the following year he was sent to Ādharbāidjān. Here he conquered the greater part of the country but when he was nearing the town of Khuwaiy, he fell ill and could not continue the campaign. He died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda

495 (Aug—Sept. 1102) after appointing Sonkordja his successor.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, x., see index; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii. 290, 292, 308, 316, 322, 336; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 140, 151, 152, 154, 164—169. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KURČI (from the Eastern Turkish, *kür*, "guard, defence", and suffix *-či* forming nouns indicating trades), he who bears arms, the sword, chief huntsman (Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. Turk. Or.*, p. 425), armourer; sword-cutler; troop of cavalry; captain of the watch; leader of a patrol; gendarmerie; governor of a fortress or of a town (Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughat-i Dhaghatāī*, p. 232); sentry, sentinel, guard, inspector (Vambéry, *Čaghataische Sprachstudien*, p. 316).

Under the Ṣafawids, this word, borrowed by Persians, was applied to the bodyguard employed to protect the king's person, who accompanied him to war. After the battle of Čaldirān, those who were taken prisoners were led before Selim I and massacred (J. von Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottomane*, iv. 200).

Bibliography: Raphael du Mans, *Estat de la Perse*, p. 25, N°. 8 (Ch. Schefer).

(CL. HUART)

KURDISTĀN, "land of the Kurds". The name can be regarded from two points of view: historical and ethnographical.

I. From the historical point of view the term Kurdistān seems to have been invented by the Saldjūks as a name for the province including the lands between Ādharbāidjān and Luristān (Senna, Dainawar, Hamadān, Kirmānshāh etc.) as well as certain a joining areas to the west of Zagros (Shahrizūr, Khuftiyān = Kōi-sandjak?). The capital of the province of Kurdistān was at first Bahār (N. E. of Hamadān) and later Sulṭānābād of Čamčamāl (near Bīsutūn). Its 16 cantons are enumerated by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* (ed. Le Strange, p. 108).

This author also refers to western Kurdistān as Wilāyat-i Arman and Djazīra (Arbil and 'Amādiya forming part of the latter). In the Mongol period, we have in general little information about the mountainous region containing Hakkāri, Bohtān and Armenian Anti-Taurus. It is possible that in the west the term Kurdistān was at first applied to the region of Darsim, for according to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 163, in official documents (*parwānadjāt wa-aḥkām*) as well as among the Kurds themselves, the term *wilāyat-i Kurdistān* was applied particularly to the fief of Čamishgazak. But by the time of Tīmūr, the *Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 686, speaks of the Amīr of Bidlīs as the most important man in all *bilād-i Kurdistān*. In the history of Selim I (*Selīm-nāma*, MS. of the Bibl. Nat. Pers. 285, fol. 109, v.) its author Ḥakīm Idrīs says that after returning from Tabrīz, Selīm ordered him to go through the whole country "starting from the beginning of the land of the Kurds (*bilād-i Akrād*), i. e. from Urmia and Ushnū to Āmid and Malāṭiya" in order "to win over the princes and rulers of the country of Kurdistān (*ta'līf-i mulūk wa-ḥukkām-i mamālik-i Kurdistān*) and to ratify treaties and the protection granted them" (*'uhūd wa-imān-i ishān*). Thus the use of the name became generalised and applied to the system of feudal Kurd fiefs, in Turkey as well as Persia; cf. the map in the *Sharaf-nāma*, and the *Travels* of Ewliyā Čelebi, iv. 74—75: *Kurdistān diyārī*. Gradually the affairs of Kurdistān were dealt with by the pashas of Diyārbakr, Vān, Baghdād, Erzerūm etc. (cf. Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 3840). Towards the middle of the xixth century the administrative term "wilāyat of Kurdistān" is applied to the *livā'* of Diyārbakr, Mush and Darsim; but as a general rule, official Ottoman nomenclature was based on the names of capitals and took no note of ethnographical terms (I have been unable to consult Mükrimin Khalil Bey's article on the scope of the term "Kurdistān" in *Yeni-Turk*, 1925, N°. 21).

As regards early European maps (cf. the specimens in Khanzadian, *Rapport sur l'Unité géographique de l'Arménie, Atlas Historique*, Paris 1920, and the geographical analysis in the Report of the Commission of Enquiry by the League of Nations, c. 400, m. 147, 1925; vii., p. 23—28 and the map, N°. 3), they seem to be based on the *Djihān-numā*, on memories of the ancient Corduene and perhaps on Armenian statements about the Korčaikh (cf. KURDS: Origins).

II. Whatever may have been the geographical application of the term "Kurdistān", it is evident that it has nothing to do with the actual dissemination of Kurdish people (cf. the article KURDS). The word Kurdistān in its common acceptation means simply the regions inhabited by Kurds, cf. the Persian expression *Kurdistān-i Khorāsān* referring to the Kurd colonies in Khorāsān. Now the country continuously occupied by Kurds is a strip of territory running from S. E. to N. W. Its length is about 600 miles (Luristān-Malāṭiya) and its breadth averaging 120 to 150 miles is greatest (250 miles) on the line Mawṣil-Ararat (cf. *Djihān-numā*, p. 445—449).

Before 1914, the Kurds were divided among Turkey, Persia and Russia. As a result of the treaty of March 16, 1921 concluded between Moscow and Angora, the majority of the Transcaucasian Kurds are now in Turkish territory. On the other hand by the final settlement of the Mawṣil problem, Turkey lost the Kurds of this wilāyet who are now in 'Irāḳ. In consequence the position at the present day is as follows:

A. In Persia where the position is best known, the Kurds occupy the provinces of Kirmānshāh [q. v.] and Senna [q. v.] as well as the southern part of Ādharbāidjān (cf. SAWDJ BULĀK) and the canton of Bidjār. The Kurds also occupy the mountainous region of the districts of Urmia (especially the cantons of Ushnū, Mergewer, Dasht, Tergewer, Brādōst), Salmās [q. v.] (the cantons: Somāi [q. v.], Čahrīk), Khōi (the cantons: Kotūr, Alānd) and Mākū (where the Kurds live on the slopes of Ararat). We find colonies of Kurds in Khorāsān (the khānats of Kūčān, Bodjnūrd and Daragaz), in Kirmān, Fārs, northern Luristān, Pusht-i Kūh, Warāmīn (near Teheran; cf. Brugsch, *Reise*, ii. 496), Ḳazwīn, Mandjīl (cf. Rabino, *R. M. M.*, xxvii., p. 259) etc. The number of Persian Kurds may be put at not more than 500,000.

B. As regards Turkey, it is at present (1927) impossible to evaluate fully the repercussions of the war on the geographical distribution of various peoples, such as the flight of the Kurds before Russian troops, the deportation of the Armenians, the expatriation to the 'Irāḳ of the Nestorians of Djūlāmerg, the punitive expeditions of the Turks into Darsim (1921) and to Kharpūt and Diyārbakr (1925). The map given by Sir Mark Sykes

(*The Caliph's Last Heritage*, p. 533) gives an approximate picture of the distribution of the Kurds in Turkey before the war. The principal centres of Kurds lie just along the Turco-Persian frontier (the cantons of Bāyazīd, Bargrī, Maḥmūdiya, Albāḳ, Gawar and Shamdīnān). Kurds mingled with Christians inhabit the region round and south of Lake Wān as far as the Tigris. Between the Tigris and the Euphrates we find the Kurds mainly to the north of a line joining Feshābūr (below Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar) to Sumaisāṭ (above Biredjik). On the west the Kurds are found considerably across the Euphrates (Ritter, xi. 144). According to Trotter (1878) the limit of their expansion to the south-west was the line Diwrigi-Erzerūm-Ḳars-(Eriwān). The Kurds are particularly numerous in the country south and west of Bidlis, in the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and in the fork formed by the *two* sources of the Euphrates. It should however be noted that between Arzindjān and Diyārbakr Kurds proper alternate with Zāzā [q. v.], an Iranian people, whose physical appearance, language and religion however prevent us assimilating them directly to the Kurds. On the high plateau of Erzerūm, the Kurds alternate with Turks and Muslim immigrants from the Caucasus (Čerkes, Osetes etc.). They are found, particularly south and southwest of Erzerūm. In the lands recently incorporated in Turkey, Kurds occupy the western slopes of Ararat (the cantons of Surmali and Kaghizmān). There are outlying Kurd colonies far to the west in Cilicia, in the district of Siwās (the ḳaḍās of Ḳangāl, Ḳoč-ḥiṣār, Zara and Diwrigi where before the war there were 20,000 Kurds), south of Angora (G. Perrot, *Les Kurdes de l'Haïmaneh*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, I/ii., 1865, p. 607—631) etc. According to statistics in Albaltin, *Nowī Wostok*, Moscow 1925, vii. 116, the number of Kurds in Turkey is 1,500,000. Turkish sources seem to put at 96,000 the number of tents of Kurds (nomads?): the publications of the Department for the Supervision of the Tribes (*ʿashāʾir müdīriyeti*) are not yet accessible in western Europe.

C. The Kurds of al-ʿIrāḳ (in the former wilāyet of Mawṣil) according to the census of 1923—1924 number 494,007; they occupy the whole of the liwāʾ of Sulaimāniya (189,900), form a considerable majority in the liwāʾ of Arbil (170,650 out of 191,780) and a majority in Kirkūk. The ethnographical position and the migrations of the tribes are summed up in maps Nº. 6 and 8 prepared by the Commission of Enquiry of the League of Nations (c. 400, m. 157, 1925, vii.).

D. In Russian Transcaucasia the Kurds of Eriwān and of Kars in 1910 numbered 125,000 including 25,000 Yazīdīs. Of the Kurds (speaking Kurdish) only a small number are incorporated in the Soviet Republic of Armenia. On the other hand the old Russian censuses did not reckon separately the Kurds of the cantons of Zangazūr, Djawānshīr, Djibraʾīl and Aresh in the government of Elizawetpol (= Gandja). These Kurds of Gandja (cf. the evidence of Arab authors on the presence of Kurds in Arrān) now form a separate canton (*ujezd*) in the Soviet Republic of Ādharbāidjān but it seems that their language is the ordinary Turkish of Ādharbāidjān (cf. Čursin, *Azerbaidjanskiye Kurdī* in *Izw. Kawk. Istor.-Arkheol. Instituta*, Tiflis 1925, iii).

E. As regards Northern Syria, the Kurds long settled there in the wilāyet of Aleppo (especially at Kilis) before the war numbered 125,000 according to the Russian Consul Zimmermann (cf. also Cuinet, ii. 124; Hartmann, *Das Liwa Haleb*, Berlin 1894, p. 83, 92, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100 and 105). According to the *R. M. M.*, lii., p. 317 there are 20,000 Kurds in Syria under the French mandate (to the north of the ʿAlawīs and at Beilān). There is also a Kurdish quarter in Damascus. On the Kurds of Sindjār, where the administrative position is not quite clear, see the article YAZĪDĪS.

F. The Kurds had also advanced far to the west. In Balūčistān (q.v.; i., p. 636a) there is an important Kurd tribe settled among the Brahōī (and speaking Brahoī?). Recent researches (Tedesco) have ascertained a certain affinity between Kurdish and Balōčī. As regards Afghānistān, the *Sharaf-nāme*, i. 327, noted the move to Gharčistān of a part of the Čigani tribe. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, p. 5 thinks it possible there are people speaking Kurdish west of Herāt.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles ARMENIA, BOHTĀN; SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ, SENNA, SHAHRIZŪR, SHAḲĀḲ, SHAMDĪNĀN, SŌMAI and SULAIMĀNIYA. There is an excellent bibliography of Kurdistān to 1856, in Lerch, *Izslědowanija*, St. Petersburg 1856, i., p. 5—19 (it is not included in the German translation).

The only general description of all the lands inhabited by the Kurds is in the monumental work of Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 1838, viii., p. 392—400 (Kurds of Khorāsān), 1840, ix., p. 412—762, 1000—1048 (Persian Kurdistān), 1843, x., p. 690—734, 769, 1008 (the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates), 1844, xi., p. 128—146 (Western Kurds), 709, 749, 1007, 1026 etc.

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(V. MINORSKY)

KURDS, an Iranian people of Nearer Asia, living in Persia, Transcaucasia, Turkey and al-ʿIrāḳ (cf. KURDISTĀN). Before 1914 the number of Kurds living in compact bodies or isolated colonies (Khorāsān, Asia Minor, Cilicia, southern Syria) was estimated at two to three millions.

Although many travellers have passed through Kurdistān and there are a large number of important works dealing with the Kurds from the linguistic, historical, ethnographical and political point of view, we still lack a general study devoted to this people. Its preparation is rendered difficult by the fragmentary and sporadic character of our information and by the diversity of the methods employed by the writers on the subject.

A. Origins.

The classification of the Kurds among the Iranian nations is based mainly on linguistic and historical data and does not prejudice the fact there is a complexity of ethnical elements incorporated in them. The type of the latter varies visibly from place to place. It is probable that the expansion of the Kurd element took place from east (Western Persia) to west (Central Kurdistān) but there is nothing to have prevented the existence in Central Kurdistān, before the coming of the Kurds, of a nationality of different origin but bearing a similar name (Ḳardū) which later amalgamated with the Iranian Kurds.

On two Sumerian Inscriptions dating from about 2,000 B.C., Thureau Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, v. 99; vi. 67) found a country *Kar-da-ka* mentioned (in which word the editor tells me privately the initial is *k* and not *ḳ* and the function of the element *ka* is uncertain). This country was beside the "people of Su" (cf. *Z. A.*, xxxv. 230, note 3) which Driver locates south of Lake Van; there is an old fortress Sūy in the region of Bidlis (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 146). A thousand years later Tiglath Pileser waged war on the people called Ḳur-ti-e in the mountains of Aza, which Driver (*ibid.*, p. 400) identifies with the modern Ḥazō (Sasun). The reading Ḳur-ti-e is not certain however.

Herodotos in the fifth century mentions no name like this, but, according to him (iii. 93), the thirteenth nome of the Achaemenid empire included next to the Armenians a Παχτυική which Nöldeke (*Gramm. d. neusyrischen Spr.*, Leipzig 1868, p. xviii.) and Kiepert (*Alt. Geogr.*, § 81) have connected with the name of Bokhtān (= Bohtān).

The retreat of the Ten Thousand described by Xenophon (401—400 B.C.) made famous the name of Carduks (Καρδοῦχοι) whose country lay to the east of the Kentritēs (Bohtān). From this time onwards we continually find the name on the left bank of the Tigris near Mount Djūdī [q. v.]. In classical authors the country became Corduene (on the numerous forms of this name probably produced by the difficulty of reproducing the Semitic *ḳ*, cf. Driver, *op. cit.*). In Aramaic the district was called Beth-Ḳardū and the present town of Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar, Gazartā of Ḳardū. The Armenians had the name Korduḳh, the Arabs (Balādhurī, p. 176; Ṭabarī, iii., p. 610), Bāḳardā (Ḳardā). According to Yāḳūt (iv. 56) who relies on the authority of Ibn al-Athīr, the canton of Bāḳardā formed part of Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar, contained two hundred villages (al-Thamānīn, Djūdī, Firūz-Shābūr) and was situated on the left bank

of the Tigris opposite Fīnīk on the right bank (cf. the full analysis of the texts in M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, p. 33—35). Later, the name which was only applied to the district disappears from Muslim terminology and is replaced by Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar, Bohtān etc. To the Armenians and Arabs the territory of Ḳardū in the strict sense had a very limited application. We do not know the exact frontiers of the province of Corduene; its three towns, Sareisa, Satalka and Pinaka (= Finīk) lay on the Tigris, but the statement of Strabo (ix. 12, 4) is remarkable, according to which the term Γορδυαῖα ὄρη was sometimes applied to the mountains between the modern Diyārbakr and Mūsh.

Now, who were the Καρδοῦχοι whose name undoubtedly survived in the later names (the termination -χοι must represent the Armenian plural in -*kh*, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the Greeks learned this name from an Armenian)? According to Xenophon (iv. 3, 4) the Karduchoi recognised neither the authority of King Artaxerxes, nor that of Armenia. When in the first century B.C., Corduene was conquered by Tigranes II he had its king Zarbienus executed. In 115 A.D. the king of Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 239 and *Arm. Gramm.*, 1897, i/ii., p. 518—520, the province of Corduene was only superficially armenicised.

There is nothing really surprising in finding at the time of Xenophon an Iranian tribe settled to the north of the Tigris, but we have nothing but the evidence of the name from which to judge the ethnology of the Karduchoi. The name has Semitic analogies (Accad. Assyr. *ḳardu*, "strong", "hero", *ḳarādu* "to be strong"); on the other hand there is a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a people Khaldi, better known under the Assyrian form Urarṭu Urarṭu, in Hebrew Ararat, among the Greeks Ἀλαρόδιοι, Χάλδοι and sometimes Χαλδαῖοι. This people appeared in Armenia towards the end of the 12th century B.C. and afterwards established a powerful kingdom in the region of Lake Vān which lasted until the beginning of the sixth century. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mater. z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttingen 1907, p. 123, sees in them Khaldī immigrants from the west; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i/ii., 1913, § 474 seeks their original home on the central Araxes. As a result of the arrival of the Armenians, towards the viith century, the Khaldi were dispersed and driven towards the mountains (*Cyropaedia*, iii. 1—3). But their name survived in the toponymy of the region north of Lake Vān (the Byzantine theme Χαλδία near Trebizond the town of Khilāṭ = Akhlāṭ, etc.; cf. Belck and Lehmann, *Z.A.*, 1894, ix., p. 84; de Goeje, *ibid.*, x., p. 100; Streck, *ibid.*, xiv., p. 112). Parallels for the name *Khaldi* have been sought on the other side of the Caucasus: the Georgians are called *Kharthw-eli-kharth-ul-i* (in Svanian *khvard*; in Mingrelian, *khort-u*); cf. Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Iustiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, p. 398.

Whether we identify the Ḳardū as Semites or as indigenous people, it is certain that the land of the ancient Karduchoi is at the present day one of the principle centres of the Kurds. It has therefore been concluded that the Karduchoi were identical with the Kurds and this view was still considered axiomatic at the beginning of the 20th century; cf. *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 464.

Going a step further the Kurds were directly connected with the Χάλδοι; Reiske in his commentary on Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Ceremoniis*, B. 12 (713, 11) said "Chaldi et Kordi vel Curdi, Gordyaei idem". A similar opinion is expressed in the title of Lerch's work (1856), *Recherches sur les Kurdes Iraniens et sur leurs Ancêtres, les Chaldéens Septentrionaux*.

A new form was given to the problem by the researches of M. Hartmann, Nöldeke and Weissbach, who showed the philological necessity of distinguishing between the stems *Kurd* and *Ḳardū*. These scholars at the same time proposed to recognise the Kurds in the Κύρτιοι, Cyrtii mentioned by classical writers in Media and Persia (Strabo, xi. 13, 3 and xv. 3, 1). This hypothesis is confirmed by the presence in Fārs of numerous Kurdish tribes in the Sāsānian period (cf. *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān*, translated by Nöldeke, Göttingen 1879, p. 37, 48 and the testimony of Arab writers).

The justifiable distinction between the names *Kurd* and *Ḳardū* does not, however, decide the important question, how the Cyrtii (= Iranian Kurds) came to colonise lands west of the Zagros, the country of the ancient Ḳardū and the mountains of the Anti-Taurus as far as northern Syria. The problem still requires careful research. In the first place the Median and Persian conquests must have brought about considerable displacements of the Iranian peoples. We have an example in the migrations of a part of the Asagartiya whose original home was in Sīstān. In the Assyrian period we find these Sagartians in Media (*Zikirtu* or *Zakruti*, cf. Streck, *Z.A.*, xiv. 146) and in the time of Darius (Bahistūn inscr. 2, 90) their capital was already in the Assyrian plain at Arbela, where Darius had their chief Čitrantakhma executed, whose portrait on the rock of Bisutūn suggests a Kurdish type (L. W. King, *The Sculptures of Behistun*, London 1907). Between 220 and 171 B.C. we find Cyrtii mercenaries taking part in the wars between Rome, the Seleucids and the kings of Pergamon (*Livy*, xlii. 58, 13; xxxvii. 40, 9; Polybius, v. 52, 5; cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa², s.v. *Cyrtii*, and A. J. Reinach, *Les Mercenaires de Pergame*, *Revue Archéologique*, 1909, p. 115—119). A very interesting state of transition is seen from the Armenian *Geography* of the viith century, in the case of the province of Korčēkh (according to Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 418: Korčēkh is from **kortēk-aikh* where *kortē* means "Kurd" as *atrpatē* means "inhabitant of Atropatene"). In the time of Faustus Byzantinus (ivth century) Korčēkh was only a canton near Salmās [q.v.]. As a province, Korčēkh stretched from Djūlāmerg to Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar and included the following cantons: Kordukh, the three Kordrikh (Kordikh), Aitaankh, Aigarkh, Mothokankh (Othorankh), Orsirankh (Oriankh), Karathunikh (Sarapunikh), Čahuk and Little Albak (Hartmann, *Bohtan*, p. 95; Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 255—259).

We see the changes that were gradually brought about. Of the three districts, Kordukh, Kordikh and Tmorikh, which Faustus mentions in place of the ancient Corduene, Kordukh had become a mere canton of Korčēkh and Tmorikh disappeared altogether to the advantage of Kordrikh (Kordikh) of which simply upper, middle and lower cantons were distinguished.

Hübschmann (*l. c.*, p. 385) confines himself to

distinguishing between the Kordrikh (Kordikh) or the Κύρτιοι but in general the linguistic distinction established by M. Hartmann and Nöldeke does not preclude the existence of hybrid and corrupt forms (M. Hartmann, *l. c.*, 92: "es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander"). Nöldeke even distinguishes a third group of names: Aramaic Kartewāyē (Arabic Kartāwiya?), meaning the true Kurds; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, etc., p. 207, note 1639.

We thus find that about the period of the Arab conquest a single ethnical term *Kurd* (plur. *Akrād*) was beginning to be applied to an amalgamation of Iranian or iranicised tribes. Among the latter, some were autochthonous (the Ḳardū; the Tmorikh, Ṭamurāyē in the district of which Alki = Elk was the capital; the Xelaiva: [= al-Khuwaithiya] in the canton of Khoit of Sāsūn, the Orṭāyē [= al-Arṭān] in the bend of the Euphrates); some were Semites (cf. the popular genealogies of the Kurd tribes) and some probably Armenian (it is said that the Mamakān tribe is of Mamikonian origin).

In the twentieth century the existence of an Iranian non-Kurdish element among the Kurds had been definitely established (the Gūrān-Zāzā group). In several districts a social stratification based on the political domination of newcomers had been established (at Sulaimāniya [q. v.], at Sāwdj-Bulāk [q. v.], at Ḳoṭūr where we find remnants of the Kuresinli [?] in subjection to the Shakāk). Systematic investigation may discover traces of ancient peoples overlaid by a Kurdish element giving an appearance of unity.

Genealogies and popular Etymologies. The Muslim sources and Kurdish traditions do not help us to solve the problem of the origin of the Kurds. Mas'ūdī already (*Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, iii. 251) speaks of their descent from those Persians who escaped from the tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk. This legend is best known from the version of the *Shāh-nāma* (Macan, i. 27—28; Mahl, i. 71; Vullers, i. 36, verses 29—38). In 1812 Morier (*Second Journey*, p. 357) mentions the celebration at Damāwand (on 31st August) of a festival commemorating the delivery of Persia from the tyranny of Ḍaḥḥāk, known as the *'Aid-i Kurdī*, "The Kurd festival". On the other hand the Kurds sought Arab genealogies for themselves. Some (*Murūdj*, iii. 253) claimed as their ancestor Rabī'a b. Nizār b. Ma'add, others Muḍar b. Nizār, both eponyms of the districts of Diyār-Rabī'a (Mōṣul) and Diyār-Muḍar (Raḳḳa). They said the Kurds had separated from the Arab stock as a result of feuds with the Ghassānids and, having retired to the mountains, intermingled with strangers and forgot their mother tongue. Of more interest is a series of ancestors among whom we find Kurd b. Mard (cf. *al Mardī* the neighbours of the Kurds) b. Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Ḥarb b. Hawāzin (Mas'ūdī, *ibid.* and *al-Tanbīh*, p. 88—91; Kurd b. Isfandiādh b. Manūshahr; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 185—187; Kurd b. Mard b. 'Amr). All these genealogies may contain a few grains of historical fact (iranisation of Semites, intermingling of the tribes of Zagros and of Fārs).

Nor is there any lack of popular etymologies. The attempt has been made (*Murūdj*, iii. 249) to connect the name with the Arabic root *karrada*; the Kurds would thus be the children of young slaves and the demon Djasad ("driven out" by Solomon). Very frequently (cf. Driver, *J. R. A. S.*, 1923, p. 403) the name *Kurd* is connected with the Persian word *gurd* (hero) although this root really had a *g* in Pahlawī and goes back to the root *var* "to protect" (Horn, *Neuper. Etymol.*, p. 200).

In later times the names of tribes were often explained by those of their eponyms. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 158, makes all the Kurds (the Badjnawī and Bokhtī tribes) come from Badjan and Bokht; the former of these names may be connected with that of Bazn-āw, a tributary of the Tigris (Andreas in Hartmann, p. 131) while the second recalls the Πακτυϊκή of Herodotos, or the "dragon-king" (Kurd?) Haftān-Bokht killed by Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān: cf. Nöldeke, *Ṭabarī*, p. 11. According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, Milān and Zīlān, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east; the Zīlān were regarded as an inferior race (cf. M. Sykes, *Jour. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1908, xxxviii., p. 470).

Bibliography: F. Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg 1880, p. xxii.; W. Tomaschek, *Sasun und d. Quellengebiet d. Tigris*, *S. Ak. Wien*, 1895, CXXXIII/IV.; M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1896/2, 1897/1, p. 90—103; Nöldeke, *Kardu und Kurden*, in *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert*, Berlin 1898, p. 73—81; Hübschmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen*, in *Indogerm. Forsch.*, 1904, xvi., p. 255—259; Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. Καρδοῦχοι and Κύρτιοι; Driver, *The name Kurd and its philological connexions*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1923, p. 393—403.

II. History.

We have detailed notices of the Kurds from the time of the Arab conquest onwards. During the five first centuries of the Hidjra the Kurds frequently played a considerable part in events and often took the initiative in them. Several Kurd dynasties arose at this time. Waves of Turk and Mongol invaders seem to have submerged the Kurds from the vith to the xth century A. H. But the period of the wars between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Ṣafawī Shāhs produced a state of affairs in Kurdistān favourable for the growth of a feudal system, of which a faithful picture is given in the *Sharaf-nāma* (1003 = 1596). The Turco-Persian frontier became gradually stabilised and the Persians fell back behind the wall of the Zagros and its northern extension. Then Turkey began the work of strengthening the authority of the central power within her eastern provinces. Towards the end of the sixth century the last Kurdish principalities disappeared in Turkish territory (Hakkāri, Bidlīs, Sulaimāniya) and in Persia (Ardalān). But the great tribes still exist and their cadres assure the preservations of the Kurdish element with its social and ethnical peculiarities. Persia hardly ever interferes in the domestic affairs of her Kurdish tribes while Turkey tries to use the Kurds as a political support for the central authority. Sometimes the Kurds are overwhelmed with favours and sometimes they have to resist attempts to abolish the remnants of their ancient autonomy. Several risings of the Kurds took place in the sixth century and towards the beginning of the xxth century a Kurd movement added one

more to the nationalist agitators within the Turkish empire. The revolution of 1908 drew the Kurds into politics; newspapers, magazines and Kurd societies began to multiply. During the war of 1914—1918 the idea of an autonomous Kurdistān was first mooted by the Powers, but the plan has only been partially realised and only so far as the part of the old wilāyet of Mawṣil attached to the new state of ʿIrāḳ is concerned.

The Kurds after the Arab conquest. We shall find it useful to begin by collecting the information given by Arab authors regarding the distribution of the Kurd tribes.

The term Kurdistān being unknown before the time of the Saldjūḳs, information regarding the Kurds is usually to be found in the Arab authors under such heads as Zawzān, Khilāṭ, Armaniya, Ādharbāidjān, Djibāl, Fārs, etc. (cf. Driver, *Dispersion of the Kurds in Ancient Times*, *J.R.A.S.*, Oct. 1926, p. 563—572).

Masʿūdī (about 332 = 943) and Iṣṭakhrī (340 = 951) are the first to give systematic information about the Kurds. In the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (iii. 253) Masʿūdī enumerates the following tribes: at Dainawar and Hamadhān: Shuhdjān; at Kangawar: Mādjurdān; in Ādharbāidjān (so the text should be emended): Hadhbānī and Surāt (probably Shurāt = "Khāridjīs [q. v.]; cf. the story of Daisam below); in Djibāl: Shādandjān, Lazba (Lurri?), Mādandjān, Mazdāngān, Bārisān, Khālī (Djalālī), Djābārḳī, Djāwānī, Mustakān; in Syria: Dabābila etc.; at Mawṣil and Djūdī the Christian Kurds: al-Yaʿḳūbiya ("Jacobites") and the Djurḳān (Djuraghān). To this list the *Tanbīh* of the same author (p. 88—91) only adds Bāzindjān (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 115), Nashāwira, Būdhīkān and Kīkān (at the present day found near Marʿash) but he gives a list of the places where there were Kurds: the *rumūm* (*zumūm*?) of Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjistān, Khorāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 282: a Kurd village in the canton of Asadābād), Iṣfahān (a section of the Bāzandjān tribe and a flourishing town described as Kurd, Yaʿḳūbī, p. 275; Iṣṭakhrī, p. 125), Djibāl, notably Māh Kūfa, Māh Baṣra, Māh Sabadhān (Māsabadhān) and the two Īghār (i.e. Karadj Ibn Dulaf and Burdj), Hamadhān, Shahrizūr, with its dependencies Darābād and Samghān (Zimkān), Ādharbāidjān, Armenia (at Dwin on the Araxes the Kurds lived in houses built of clay and of stone: Muḳaddasī, p. 277), Arrān (one of the gates of Bardaʿa was called Bāb al-Akrād and Ibn Miskawaihi says that at the invasion of the Rūs in 332 [1043] the local governor had Kurds under his command), Bailaḳān, Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), Djazīra, Syria and al-Thughūr (i. e. the line of fortresses along the Cilician frontier).

Iṣṭakhrī, p. 98 particularly mentions 5 *rumūm* in Fārs, this term being applied to districts over which the Kurds were distributed (in spite of de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, iv., p. 250, it is preferable to keep the reading *ramm-rumūm* [from Persian *ramm*, "flock", "crowd"] for it is improbable that *zūm* could have given a plural *zumūm*). Each *ramm* had its town, its Kurd chief in charge of the *kharādj* and responsible for public safety. These *rumūm* were: 1. **Djīlōya**, or Rāmidjān, bordered by Iṣfahān and Khūzistān; 2. **Lawālidjān**, between Shīrāz and the Persian Gulf; 3. **Dīwān**, in the *Kūra* of Sābūr; 4. **Kāriyān** in the direction of Kirmān; 5. **Shahriyār**, alongside of Iṣfahān also called Bāzandjān after the principal tribe, a part of which had been transferred to the province of Iṣfahān. As a supplement to the list of *rumūm*, Iṣṭakhrī, p. 114, gives a list of 33 nomad tribes (*ḥaiy*, plur. *aḥyāʾ*) of Fārs, based on the records of the *Dīwān al-Ṣadaḳāt* and reproduced by Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 185—187 and Muḳaddasī, p. 446: Kirmānī, Rāmānī, Mudaththir, Muḥammad b. Bashar, Baḳīlī (Muḳaddasī: Thaʿlabī), Bandādmahrī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, Sabāḥī, Isḥāḳī, Adharkānī, Shahrakī, Ṭahmādahnī, Zabādī, Shahrawī, Bandadakī, Khusrawī, Zandjī, Safarī, Shahyārī, Mihrakī, Mubārakī, Ishtāmharī, Shāhūī, Farātī, Salmūnī, Ṣīrī, Āzāddokhtī, Barāzdokhtī, Muṭallabī, Mamālī, Shāhkānī, Kadjtī, Djalīlī, in all 500,000 families living in tents.

The *Fārs-nāma* (c. 500 = 1107) says, p. 168, that the Kurds of the old large *ramm* of Djīlōya, Dīwān, Lawālidjān, Kāriyān and Bāzandjān, who formed the most brilliant element in the old army of Fārs, all perished in the wars at the time of the introduction of Islām, with the exception of a single ʿAlak, who became a Muslim and left descendants. Other Kurds were transferred from Iṣfahān to Fārs by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. It is difficult to admit that 500,000 (?) families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regroupings among the tribes of Fārs and of their denationalisation. The old *ramm* of Djīlōya (Kūh-Gīlū) is now inhabited by Lurs; we do not know how long they have been there. For the rest Iṣṭakhrī's list mentions a tribe al-Lazriya (variant: Lazba?) among the Kurds of Fārs. On the other hand the *Fārs-nāma* distinguishes from the Kurds the Shabānkara [q. v.] clans, who had become very powerful in Fārs at the time of the last Būyids. The *Masālik al-Abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī speaks of the Shabānkara under a separate heading and the *Sharaf-nāma* does not mention them among the Kurd dynasties. One of their clans however (Rāmānī) bears the name of one of the "Kurd" tribes of Iṣṭakhrī. Everything then suggests that the Kurds of Fārs differed considerably from the tribes of Kurdistān (cf. SHŪL and LUR).

The term al-Zawzān which corresponds broadly to central Kurdistān (*zōzān* in Kurdish "summer pasturages") is not well defined. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 250, the king of Zawzān was called al-Dairānī (= Derenik, Armenian king of Waspurakān). Muḳaddasī, p. 137 regards Zawzān as a *nāḥiya* of Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar. Later this region which had a mixed Kurd and Christian population extended in area. According to Ibn al-Athīr (in Yāḳūt, ii. 957) al-Zawzān began at two days' journey from Mawṣil and stretched to the borders of Khilāṭ; on the Ādharbāidjān side it extended to Salmās. Many strong places belonged to the Bashnawī and Bokhtī Kurds; the former held Ḥarūr, Bashīr [and Fanak]; to the latter belonged: Djurdhaḳīl (Gurgīl) residence of their *malik* Atīl (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 117: Nadh Atil?), ʿAlūs, Bāz al-ḥamrā. To the lords of Mawṣil (the Zangī) belonged: Alkī (= Elk), Arwakh, Bakhamkhā (= Bekhēr in Barwārī), Barkhō, Kingawar (?), Nirwa (east of ʿAkrī) and Khawshab. The text of Yāḳūt is not very certain; in any case the reference here may be to Kurd strongholds gradually annexed by the Hamdānids and the Zangī (see below).

The Kurds under the Caliphs and Būyids. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii. 249) has preserved traditions from the pre-Muḥammadan period of feuds between the Arab princes of Ghassān [q.v.]

and the Kurds. The Muslim Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of Takrīt and Ḥulwān in 16 (637). Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ marched on Mawṣil where the districts with a Kurd population were occupied (al-Mardj Bā-Nuhadhrā, Bā-'Adhrā, Ḥibtūn, Dāsin etc.); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ii. 408. The conquest of the region was completed by 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanam and 'Utba (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 331). The *Batrīḳ* of al-Zawzān in 19 (640) obtained confirmation of his authority on payment of *kharādj* (*Futūḥ*, p. 176). In Susiana in 18 (639) the Arabs fought against the Kurds, who had taken up the cause of al-Hurmuzān, Persian governor of Ahwāz (*Kāmil*, ii. 425). In Fārs likewise the Kurds supported the Persians in 23 (642) at the defence of Fasā and Dārābdjird (*ibid.*, iii. 32). 'Omar had to send several expeditions against the Kurds of Ahwāz (*Futūḥ*, p. 382, 389; *Kāmil*, iii. 37). On the other hand in the reign of 'Omar the Kurds invaded the region of the central Kuhistān (Ṣaimara, Māsabadhān) the language of which was still Persian in the time of Ya'ḳūbī (*B. G. A.*, vii. 236). The Arabs had reached Shahrizūr before Islām (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 130), but the final occupation of Shahrizūr, Dārābādh and Ṣamghān in 22 (643) was only achieved after bloody fighting (*Futūḥ*, p. 334; *Kāmil*, iii. 29). In the south Abū Mūsā, governor of Baṣra, had to put down risings of the Kurds at Bērūdh and Baiasdjān in 25 (645), but the Kurds, forcibly converted to Islām, apostatised en masse (*Kāmil*, ii. 66, 76). Under the caliph 'Alī, the Kurds, along with the Persians and Christians, took part in the rebellion of al-Khirrīt near Ahwāz and in Fārs, but the chief was defeated at Rām-Hurmuz (*ibid.*, iii. 309).

Al-Mukhtār, who had seized Armenia and Ādharbāidjān in the reign of the Omaiyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik, appointed in 66 (685) a governor at Ḥulwān whose task was to fight the Kurds (*Kāmil*, iv. 187) but the death of al-Mukhtār prevented the plan from being carried out. Under the same caliph the rebel 'Abd al-Raḥmān made an alliance in 83 (702) with the Kurds of Sābūr in Fārs (*ibid.*, iv. 352). In 90 (708) the Kurds ravaged Fārs and were punished by al-Ḥadjdjādj. In 129 (746) the Kurds of Sābūr resisted the ally of the Khāridjīs, Sulaimān who had rebelled against the caliph Marwān II and had besieged Sābūr (*ibid.*, iv. 387, 341; v. 283). The caliph Marwān himself was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii., i. 31) whose blue eyes and fair complexion he had inherited (Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, London 1891, p. 429).

Under the 'Abbāsid Caliph Manṣūr the invasion of Armenia by the Khazars, 147 (764) resulted in numerous risings. A few years later the Kurds (*intiṣhār al-Akrād*) are again mentioned in connection with the rising at Mawṣil and its repercussions in Hamadhān (*Kāmil*, v. 448; vi. 9). Dja'far, son of Manṣūr, was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii. 442).

In the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, a Kurd rebellion is mentioned under 225 (839): it broke out in the district of Mawṣil, led by Dja'far b. Fahardjīs, a scion of a noble Kurd family. Defeated at Bābaghēsh, Dja'far took refuge in the mountains of Dāsin where he defeated the troops of the Caliph. A new army commanded by the Turk Aitākh put an end to the rebellion (*Kāmil*, vi. 360—361). A Kurd rising broke out in 231 (845) in the regions of Iṣfahān, Djibāl and Fārs; it was speedily suppressed by the Turk general Waṣīf.

The Kurds of Mawṣil in 252 (866) joined the Khāridjī Musāwir who had seized Mawṣil. In 262 (875) they played a considerable part in the Zandj slave-revolt (cf. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, London, p. 146—175: *A Servile War in the East*) led by an 'Alid Khāridjī (?) 'Alī Muḥammad called al-Khabīth and in the rising of Ya'ḳūb al-Ṣaffār, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty [q. v.]. At Ahwāz, Ya'ḳūb appointed a Kurd lieutenant Muḥammad b. 'Ubaidallāh b. Hazārmard, who, cherishing ambitious plans, engaged in secret negotiations with al-Khabīth. With reinforcements sent by the latter, Muḥammad marched on Sūs but was defeated by Aḥmad b. Laithōya; the latter, also a Kurd and commander of the Kurd levies, had been sent by the Caliph to put down Ya'ḳūb's rising (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. de Slane, iv. 304—308). When Aḥmad had departed, Muḥammad, after securing from al-Khabīth further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized Shustar where, according to the arrangement he was to have had the *khuṭba* read in the name of al-Khabīth, but instead he did it in the names of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid and his adversary Ya'ḳūb al-Ṣaffār. His Zandj allies deserted Muḥammad and Shustar was reoccupied by Ibn Laithōya. Muḥammad retired to Rām-Hurmuz but he was dislodged from it by al-Khabīth's generals. As a result of difficulties with the Dārmān Kurds, Muḥammad again sought the help of al-Khabīth. The latter sent him troops which Muḥammad sent into battle but suddenly left them in the lurch and attacked them. To avoid a breach with al-Khabīth Muḥammad agreed to proclaim him Caliph. The death of Ya'ḳūb (265 = 879) and of al-Khabīth (270 = 883) put an end to these exploits (*Kāmil*, vii. 264).

About 281 (894) the Kurds were among the partisans of the Arab Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (cf. ḤAMDĀNIDS) when he established himself in Mawṣil. The Kurd rebellion raised in 284 (897) by Abū Lailī did not last long (*ibid.*, vii. 325, 337). In 293 (906) the Hadhbānī Kurds led by their chief Muḥammad b. Bilāl laid waste the region of Niniveh. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamdān, the new governor of Mawṣil, pursued them but suffered a reverse at Ma'ṯalla. With reinforcements sent by the Caliph he resumed next year the pursuit of 5,000 Hadhbānī families. The Kurds began negotiations to gain time and retired to Ādharbāidjān. 'Abdallāh returned to Mawṣil and with new troops set out once more against the Hadhbānī who had entrenched themselves at Djabal al-Salaḳ (probably Lāhidjān, cf. SAWDJ-BULĀḲ). The Hadhbānī were forced to surrender and their pacification was followed by that of the Ḥumaidī tribe and of the people of Djabal Dāsin (*ibid.*, vii. 371). In the reign of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir, the Kurds plundered the environs of Mawṣil but were punished by the Ḥamdānid government; the Djalālī tribe put up a particularly stubborn resistance (*ibid.*, viii., 118). Under the year 337 (943) Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, *G.M.S.*, vi. 105 speaks of the expedition of the Ḥamdānid Ḥusain against Ādharbāidjān; on this occasion he had as an ally Dja'far b. Shakkōya chief of the Hadhbānī who were settled at Salmās.

About this time Daisam b. Ibrāhīm appeared on the scene and his adventurous life is closely

associated with the Kurds. He himself was the son of an Arab by a Kurd woman. His followers were Kurds with the exception of a small body of Dailamis. Daisam was a Khāridjī. He seized Ādharbāidjān after Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj and in 327 (938) used his Kurds to drive out Lashkārī b. Mardī, one of the lieutenants of the Ziyārid Washmgīr. But the Musāfirid Marzubān, a noted Shī'ī, succeeded in taking Ādharbāidjān from Daisam and the latter took refuge with his friend Hādjīk b. al-Dairānī (the Armenian king of Waspurakan Khačik-Gaghik, son of Deranik). Then the people of Tabrīz appealed to Daisam but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the Musāfirids fell back to Ṭarum. In 337, Marzubān was made prisoner by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla who sent a representative to Ādharbāidjān. Marzubān's brother Wahsūdān then thought of Daisam to whom his Kurds had remained faithful and sent him against Rukn al-Dawla's representative. Daisam was defeated but held out in Ardabīl and Bardha'a. When Marzubān returned from his captivity, Daisam had to take refuge first in Armenia and then in Baghdād where the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to Ādharbāidjān, he went to the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil and Syria to ask for assistance. In the absence of Marzubān, Daisam returned to Salmās in 344 where he had the *khuṭba* read in the name of Saif al-Dawla of Syria. Once more driven out by Marzubān, Daisam sought refuge with his Armenian friends. Ibn al-Dairānī (Deranik b. Khačik) had to hand him over to Marzubān much against his will. Daisam was blinded and died in prison in 345 (*Tadjārib*, ed. Amedroz, i. 345; ii. 148—151; *Kāmil*, viii. 289, 361, 375—377).

During Marzubān's captivity in Raiy, several independent governors set up in the northwest of Persia. One of them (about 340/951) was Muḥammad Shaddād b. Ḳarṭī of the Rawādī tribe out of which later sprang the great dynasty of the Aiyūbids. The principal fiefs of the Shaddādids were Dabīl and Gandja. The Shaddādids were allies of the Byzantines and of the Saldjūḳs. In 463 (1072) Abū Suwār bought Ani for his young son Manūčehr. From this time onwards the dynasty was divided into two branches: that of Gandja and that of Ani. In 1124, Ani was taken by the Georgians but between 520 (1126) and 557 (1161) and again from 1165 to 1174, Ani was again held by the Shaddādids. The Shaddādids were enlightened princes and left a number of remarkable buildings. Cf. the articles ARRĀN, DWIN, GANDJA, SHADDĀD; the Armenian bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia*, i. 363—367; cf. also Barthold in the appendix to his Russian translation of *Muham. Dynasties*, by Lane-Poole, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 294; Barthold, *Pers. nadpis' na .... mečeti Manūče*, Aniyskaya Seriya, N°. 5; N. Marr, *Ešče o slove "čelebi"* *Zapiski*, 1911, xx., p. 120; E. D. Ross, *On Three Muhammadan Dynasties*, Asia Major, ii/ii., 1925, p. 215.

In 349 (960) a pretender appeared in Ādharbāidjān. He was called Isḥāḳ b. 'Īsā and was supported by Faḍl, chief of the Ḳaḥṭānī (?) Kurds, while his adversary the Musāfirid Djastān b. Marzubān relied on Hadhbānī support. Isḥāḳ was soon disposed of (*Tadjārib*, ii. 179). The Kurds and the Dailamis also played a considerable part in the quarrels between Djastān and his brother Nāṣir al-Dawla and between Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān and his cousin Ismā'īl b. Wahsūdān (*Tadjārib*, ii. 219, 229; *Kāmil*, viii. 420—423).

About 348 (959) the second Kurd dynasty arose in al-Djibāl (Lane-Poole, *Mohamm. Dynasties*, N°. 57) founded by Ḥasanwaih (Ḥasanōya) b. Ḥasan (*q. v.*; cf. also the *Sharaf-nāme*, i. 20—23), chief of the Barzikānī (Barzīnī) tribe who had assisted the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla on his expedition to Khorāsān. Rukn al-Dawla showed great tolerance to the Kurds and when someone complained to him of their excesses he used to say: "Even the Kurds must live" (*Tadjārib*, ii. 281). Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 519) praises the noble character of Ḥasanwaih, his prudent policy and the purity of his morals. When Ḥasanwaih died in 369 (979) in his capital Sarmādj (south of Bustān), 'Aḍud al-Dawla overran his possessions (Hamadān, Dīnawar, Nihāwand) to bring it under his authority, but in the end he granted investiture to Badr b. Ḥasanwaih (369—405 = 979—1014) [*q. v.*] who remained loyal to 'Aḍud al-Dawla and even fought against his own brothers who had taken the side of the rebel Fakhr al-Dawla. The Caliph gave Badr the title of *Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla*. The historians give an extremely favourable verdict on Badr; he had his tribe educated, distributed taxation fairly and protected the peasants (*Tadjārib*, [Abū Shudjā'], p. 287—299, 327; [Ibn Muḥassin], p. 429, 449—454; 'Utbī, *Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, transl. Reynolds, p. 424). Badr's successor Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir?) only reigned a year and in 406 (1015) was driven out by the Būyid Shams al-Dawla. Ḥasanwaih's uncle Wandād, chief of the 'Aishiya section, died in 349 (960), his brother Abu 'l-Ghanā'im in 350 (961) and a little later his son Abū Sālim Daisam, the last of this collateral branch was dispossessed of his castles (Kasān or Ḳasnān [Kaslān? near Bābā Yādigār on the Zohāb], Ghānim-ābād, etc.).

'Aḍud al-Dawla had to deal with the Kurds on several occasions, but he was much more severe with them than his father Rukn al-Dawla. In 368 (978), the Kurd Ibn Bādōya with the help of the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib became an independent ruler at Ardamusht (= Kawāshī near Djabal-Djūdī, Yāḳūt, i. 199) but soon allowed himself to be seduced by the promises of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (*Tadjārib*, ii. 392). In 369 (979) the latter sent an expedition against the Kurds of Shahrizūr whom he wished to separate from the Banū Shaibān Beduins who had business and matrimonial ties with them. The town of Shahrizūr was occupied and the Arabs went back to the desert (*Tadjārib*, ii. 398; *Kāmil*, viii. 516).

Another expedition was sent in 370 (980) against the Hakkārī Kurds who were besieged and surrendered, relying on a promise that their lives would be spared. But the leader of the expedition crucified them along the side of the road for five farsakhs between Ma'althāyā and Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, viii. 521).

Even in the lifetime of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the Ḥumaidī chief, Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥusain b. Dushanī (or Abū Shudjā' Bādh b. Dustak) known as Bādh has attained considerable notoriety. At first a shepherd, he gradually rose to be lord of Ardjīsh, Āmid and Maiyāfāriḳīn. A rising in Naṣībīn brought him into conflict with Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. Bādh defeated the latter's forces at Bā-Djulāiyā (on the Khābūr al-Ḥusainiya in the canton of Kawāshī = Ardamusht) seized Mawṣil and was planning a march on Baghdād to end Būyid rule

when he was defeated by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. He fell back on Maiyāfāriḳīn and, by an arrangement with the captain of the army sent against him, secured possession of Diyārbakr and the western part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (374 = 984). Bādh did not relinquish his designs on Mawṣil and in 379 (990) having collected a large number of Bashnawī Kurds, encamped under the walls of this town and engaged in negotiations with its inhabitants. But the Ḥamdānid princes who had just regained possession of their hereditary fief, secured the help of the Banū ʿUḳail Arabs and attacked the invader. An accident put Bādh *hors de combat* and he was slain. His body was crucified, but the people of Mawṣil obtained his burial with the usual rites because he had fought against the unbelievers (*Kāmil*, ix. 25, 27, 38, 49; *Tadjārib* [Abū Shudjāʿ], p. 83—84, 176—178; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Pococke, 321—323).

In 380—390, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla made an attempt to improve his position and with this object, made an alliance with Fūlād b. Mundhir, who was supported by the Kurd cavalry mobilised at Shīrāz. After the failure of the enterprise he sought refuge with the Kurds but the latter betrayed him and he took refuge with Fakhr al-Dawla, who was notorious for his hatred of the Kurds (*Tadjārib* [Abū Shudjāʿ], p. 184; on Ibn Fūlād see ʿUtbī, *loc. cit.*, p. 424—425).

The Kurd dynasty of the Marwānids (Lane-Poole, Nº. 47) is closely connected with Bādh. After the defeat at Mawṣil, Abū ʿAlī b. Marwān b. Dustāk, the son of Bādh's sister and his ally, withdrew to Ḥiṣn-Kaifā [q. v.] where Bādh's Dailamī wife lived. He married her and took one of the strongholds that had belonged to Bādh. He twice took prisoner Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥamdānī who had defeated Bādh, but treated him generously. Ibn Marwān established himself in Diyārbakr and by his conciliatory attitude won the sympathy of the inhabitants. The Marwānids reigned from 380 (990) to 489 (1096). Their power extended not only over Diyārbakr (Āmid, Arzan, Maiyāfāriḳīn, Ḥiṣn-Kaifā) but also to Khilāṭ, Melāzgerd, Ardjīsh and the canton to the northeast of Lake Vān. On the west they held Urfa for a time. Abu ʿAlī Ḥasan in 381 (991) invaded Syria and took it from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. He was killed in 387 (997) by the people of Diyārbakr who had rebelled. His brother Abū Manṣūr Mumahhid al-Dawla who after the death of Bādh had seized Maiyāfāriḳīn reigned there till 402 (1011) (Abū 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales Moslemici*, ed. Reiske, ii. 569). His brother Abū Naṣr Aḥmad (Ibn Khallikān, i. 157—158) succeeded him and reigned from 402 to 453. In 416 (1025), he seized Urfa but the Byzantines re-established their power in 422 (1031) (Abu 'l-Faradj, p. 342). He earned the reputation of being a just and enlightened ruler, and able, though given to pleasure. In 442 (1050) Abū Naṣr had to pay homage to the Saldjūḳ Tughril. His son and successor Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr, called Niẓām al-Dawla (453—472), shared the power with his brother Saʿīd (d. in 457). He added to his possessions Ḥarrān, Suwaidā etc. His successor was Manṣūr b. Saʿīd, who nominally reigned from 472 to 489 but by 478 (1085) the Saldjūḳ general Fakhr al-Dawla b. Djahīr had taken almost the whole of his lands, which were placed under the authority of the Atabeg of Mawṣil (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iii. 77—79, 87, 121, 125, 249). On the Marwānids cf. the special study by Amedroz, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 123—154.

On the eve of the Turkish invasion we find frequent reference to exploits and expeditions of the Kurds. In the reign of al-Ḳādir (381—422) the historians record the exploit of the Kurd Aḥmad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk who killed the Emperor Basil II's general and thus stopped the Byzantine advance (*Tadjārib*, [Abū Shudjāʿ], p. 247). Between 366 and 388 the Kurds took part in the struggle between the Būyids and the Ziyārids for the possession of Djurdjān (ʿUtbī, p. 298—302; Ibn Isfandiyār, *G. M. S.*, p. 226—228). A few years later we find Maḥmūd of Ghazna using Kurds against the Ḳarakhānids (ʿUtbī, p. 336).

The Kurds took part in the civil wars of the Būyids, in the struggle of the Banū ʿUḳail for the possession of Mawṣil, etc. In 411 (1020) they fought against the Turkish troops who mutinied in Hamadān. In 415—420 we find them fighting in Fārs and Khūzistān against the last Būyid, Abū Kālīdjār (*Kāmil*, ix. 100, 134, 226, 232, 239, 247, 249, 254, 265; *Tadjārib*, [Ibn Muḥassin], p. 348, 376, 381). Thus the Kurdish element was exhausting itself in continual fighting when the Turkish hordes arrived who were destined to modify radically the ethnical aspect of the Near East.

The Turkish Conquest. When in 420 (1029), the Ghuzz precursors of the Saldjūḳs reached Raiy, Tāsh Farrāsh, the Turkish general of the Ghaznawids went to meet them with 3,000 horsemen including a number of Kurds. The leader of the Kurds being captured by the Ghuzz sent a message to his men to cease fighting. This caused a tumult and Tāsh was killed (*Kāmil*, ix. 268). In the same year the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed many Hadhbānī Kurds. The Kurds made an alliance with the ruler of Ādharbaidjān (Wahsūdān II) and the Ghuzz had to retreat. Another body of Ghuzz after a raid into Armenia returned to Urmia and the lands of Abu 'l-Haidjā Hadhbānī; the Kurds attacked the Ghuzz but suffered a defeat. In 432 (1041) the Musāfirid Wahsūdān II b. Mamlān massacred a large number of Ghuzz at Tabrīz; the Ghuzz of Urmia went into Hakkārī, a dependency of Mawṣil, and ravaged the country, but while they were involved in the mountains the Kurds attacked them, killed 1,500 men and took many prisoners and much booty (*Kāmil*, 270—272).

On the approach of Tughrilbeg's troops, the Ghuzz took fright and pushed onwards. Kurdish guides led them through al-Zawazān to Djazīra. One section of the Ghuzz under Manṣūr b. Ghuzoghlī remained to the east of Djazīra while the other under Būḳā marched on Diyārbakr and going on pillaged the districts of Ḳardū, Bāzabdā, Ḥasaniyya (Yāḳūt, ii. 270: a town between Mawṣil and Djazīra) and Fīshābūr. The Marwānid Sulaimān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, ruler of Djazīra, persuaded the Ghuzz to wait till the spring before traversing his lands to join the other Ghuzz who had settled in Syria. Then by a ruse he seized Manṣūr and with the help of the Bashnawī Kurds of Finik, pursued the Ghuzz. But the latter did not cease their depredations; they ravaged the district of Diyārbakr and seized Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, ix. 272—273).

Meanwhile the dynasty of the Ḥasanwaihids had perished and the power in Djibāl had passed

to a new family the Banū ʿAnnāz (cf. Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis Muham. Dynastien*, p. 19; *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 22: ʿAiyār) which is often called Abu 'l-Shawk. Previously in 340 (951), during a Turkish rising in Hamadān, the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla had had recourse to the services of Ibn Abi 'l-Shawk, chief of Ḥulwān (*Taghrībīr*, ii. 2). The real founder of the dynasty seems to have been Abū 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAnnāz (*Kāmil*, ix. 158) who ruled 380—401. His son Abu 'l-Shawk slew the last of the Ḥasanwaihids, Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir) in 406. The possessions of the Banū ʿAnnāz included Shahrizūr, Kirmānshāh (occupied in 431; *Kāmil*, ix. 300, 316), Bilawār, Ṣamghān, Daḳūḳa, Khuftidhakān. In 437, Tughril sent his brother Ibrāhīm Yanāl to pacify Djibāl. Ibrāhīm drove the Būyid Garshāsp out of Hamadān and he sought refuge with the Djūzakān Kurds. At Kirmānshāh there was a garrison of Abū 'l-Shawk composed of Dailamis and Shādjandjān Kurds. Kirmānshāh was occupied and Abū Shawk died in 438 (1046) at Sīrwān. Ibrāhīm took Ṣamīrān (Shamīrān? Ṣaimara?) and subjugated the Djuzkān. Saʿdī, son of Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to the Saldjūḳs. The dynasty lasted till 520 (1116) (Münedjdjim-bashi, quoted by Sachau, *loc. cit.*).

The defeat of the Emperor Romanus IV at Melāzgerd (463 = 1071) delivered all Armenia into the hands of Alp Arslān. Under the Great Saldjūḳs there arose in Fārs the turbulent dynasty of the Shabānkāra [q.v.], but it is very doubtful if this dynasty, the fortunes of which can be traced from 421 to 756, was strictly Kurdish (cf. above). On the other hand the small Kurd dynasties were ruthlessly wiped out in favour of Turks. In 493 (1100) the last Marwānid disappeared in the region of Khilāṭ where the Turk Suḳmān Ḳuṭbī founded the dynasty of the Shāh Arman which lasted a century until the coming of the Aiyūbids. Under the date 495 (1101) Ibn al-Athīr (x. 238) mentions the killing of two thousand Kurds of Surkhāb b. Badr, a scion of the Banū ʿAnnāz by the Turkomans of Saighūr Ḳarabulī. Other Turkomans later took all the lands of Surkhāb except Shahrizūr, Daḳūḳa and Khuftidhakān. In spite of these crushing blows the Kurds are often mentioned in the xith and xiith centuries. In his struggle with Ḳawurd of Kirmān, Malik Shāh employed Kurdish and Arab forces, whom he later rewarded with fiefs at Kirmān (*Kāmil*, x. 53) where there were already colonies of Kurds (cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 88; Ibn Khallikān, i. 316). Raids of Kurds took place at Dudjail, Mārdīn etc. in 406, 498, 503. In Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh's campaign against Syria 504 (1110) there took part the lord of Marāgha, Aḥmadīl b. Wahsūdhān, a Kurd of the tribe of Rawādī (cf. *Kāmil*, x. 391) and the "Shāh of Armenia" Suḳmān. The campaign was a fiasco and the Kurds left to lay siege to the Turk Suḳmān (*Recueil des Hist. des Croisades, Docum. Orientaux*, iii. 542, 599).

During this period we often find the Kurds mentioned in Syria, where they came into contact with the Franks (cf. Derenbourg, *Ousâma b. Munḳidh*). Under Sandjar the province of Kurdistān was formed of the western part of Djibāl. Sulaimān, the nephew of Sandjar, became its ruler with Bahār (N. E. of Hamadān) as its capital. The province was in a flourishing state. In the reign of Sandjar also the Kurds took part in the troubles of 515. In 516 a punitive expedition passed through the Hakkārī, Zūzān and Bashnawī districts (*Kāmil*, x. 374, 377, 426), but shortly afterwards the Kurds seized the stronghold of the Christian patriarch at Ṭūr ʿAbidīn (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, ii. 221).

The Atābaks of Mawṣil. The Atābaks, the immediate neighbours of Central Kurdistān, played an important part there. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Zangī several times invaded Kurd territory. In 528 (1134), he took Ṭanza (on the left bank of the Bokhtān) and to punish the Ḥumaidī who had supported the Caliph Mustarshid when he was besieging Mawṣil, seized their fortresses, al-ʿAḳr, Shūsh etc. (Shams al-Dīn in *Recueil*, iii. 666—667; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiya*, ibid., ii. 87). Abū 'l-Haidjā, lord of Arbil, Āshib etc. submitted to Zangī (he must have been a Hakkārī?; at this period this tribe lived south of the territory which now bears its name; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 203). After the death of Abū 'l-Haidjā, Zangī intervened in the quarrels among his successors, seized Āshib and dismantled its defences; the fort of Djalāb received the name of ʿAmādiya (= ʿImādiya, in honour of ʿImād al-Dīn). In 534 (1139) Zangī took Shahrizūr from Ḳifdjāḳ b. Arslān Tāsh the Turkoman. In 537 (1142) he sent a new expedition against the Hakkārī and took the fortress of al-Shaʿbānī (= Āshib?) which he rebuilt. In 538 Irūn and Khīzān were taken (Shams al-Dīn in *Recueil*, iii. 685). ʿAlī, lord of al-Rābiya (cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 284, Rābiya-bulak?), Faraḥ and Alkū (Elk?) joined Zangī of his own accord. The last expedition of Zangī was against the Bashnawī of Fanak (Finik) but the siege of this town was raised on the death of the Atābak 541 (1146) (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiya* in *Recueil*, ii. 86, 114, 129, 188). Karādja Tādjīn *Muḳtī* (?) of Hakkārī, who was sent in 547 by the Atābak of Mawṣil against the Atābak of Ādharbaidjān, seems to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe.

Later after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589) the Zangids consolidated their position in Central Kurdistān. In 607 (1211) ʿImād al-Dīn, a younger son of Arslān Shāh Zangī, received as a fief the strongholds of Ḥumaidī (ʿAḳr and Shūsh). In 615 (1218) the same prince seized ʿAmādiya and "the remainder of the fortresses of the Hakkārī and Zawzān" which were ceded to him by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī of Arbil (Abu 'l-Faradj, p. 433, 438). It must have been these events that caused the Hakkārī to be driven back towards the lands at the sources of the Great Zāb.

The Urtuḳids, Atābaks of Diyārbakr several times came into conflict with the Kurds (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iii. 583; Usāma, i. 321). The ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, freeing themselves from the tutelage of their protectors negotiated with the Kurds (cf. the case of ʿIsā Ḥumaidī in 528 and *Kāmil*, xi. 7, 188) and sought to weaken the Turks. In 581 (1185) under the Caliph al-Nāṣir, a minor incident resulted in a war between the Kurds and the Turkomans (*Kāmil*, iii. 342) which extended over a vast area (Syria, Diyārbakr, Djazīra, Mawṣil, Shahrizūr, Khilāṭ and Ādharbaidjān). Two years later the rivals stopped fighting in order to join against the Christians of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia, but new feuds soon broke out between the Kurds and Turkomans. After many fierce battles the Kurds fought their way back into Cilicia. The Turks practically exterminated the Kurds of Cilicia and Syria. As

the Kurds on leaving their old homes had entrusted their goods to their Christian neighbours and as the Christians concealed some Kurds, the Turks finally fell upon the Christians at Thelmuzen (?) and Arabkhil (= Arabgir ?) (Michael the Syrian, in *Recueil, Doc. Armen.*, p. 395).

The Aiyūbids. The Kurdish origins of this remarkable dynasty are well established (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 55—82). The Armenian historian Hayton (Hethum) says on this point: "Postea vero Saraceni amiserunt dominium Egipti et Medi, qui Cordins vulgariter dicebantur, regni Egipti dominium occupaverunt", *Recueil, Doc. Arm.*, ii. 225, 343). The grandfather of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Shādhī b. Marwān was a Rawādī Kurd (Rāwadi, Rawanda, a clan of the Hadhbānī) of Dwin [q. v.].

The important fact is that it was from Dwin that the Shaddādi dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of Shādhī. Aiyūb [q. v.] and Shīrkūh [q. v.], sons of Shādhī, were born in the old home (the village of Adjdanakān). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q. v.] was born at Takrīt but Kurd traditions were certainly familiar to him through his father and uncle. The persistence of Iranian names in the Aiyūbid family is significant. Nevertheless the scene of the main activities of the dynasty was Egypt and Syria. The families of the old Saldjūḳ Atābaks, even when they became vassals of the Aiyūbids continued to rule in Diyārbakr (Urtuḳids), Mawṣil (Zangids) and Arbil (the Begteginids, at first deputies of the Zangids). By the treaty of 585 (1187), with ʿIzz al-Dīn Zangī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn annexed only Aleppo and Shahrizūr (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiya*, *Recueil*, ii. 334; *Kāmil*, xi. 340; Bahāʾ al-Dīn, *Recueil*, iii. 85). In 585, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave Shahrizūr to his Mamlūk Keshtoghdī (?) a relative of Yaʿḳūb b. Ḳiḍjāḳ. The only independent way by which the Aiyūbids penetrated into Kurdistān was that of Khilāṭ. This district was at first conquered by Taḳī al-Dīn in 587 (1191) (*Kāmil*, xii. 40) but it was only after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that his nephew Awḥad Aiyūb installed himself there in 604 (1207). Later Khilāṭ passed to his brother Ashraf, who assumed the title "Shāh Arman", and finally to the third brother Muẓaffar who ruled there till 642 (1244). The peace of this fief was several times broken by invasions of Georgians, of the Khwārizmshāh and of the Mongols. The Georgian troops who were operating round Khilāṭ at this time were commanded by the Armenian princes Zakare and Iwane whose genealogies make them descendants of the *Khel Babirakan*, i. e. of the Kurd tribe of Bāpirakān; cf. Marr in *Zap.*, 1911, xx., p. 120.

The Aiyūbid forces were composed mainly of Turks but the Kurdish element was by no means negligible. In 583 (1187), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn addressed an appeal for a holy war to the Kurds on the upper Tigris. The Djazīra forces were disbanded in 584 (1188) but the Diyārbakr detachments and particular tribes are often mentioned. These Kurds were sometimes on bad terms with the Turkomans (Bahāʾ al-Dīn, *Recueil*, iii. 86, 313, 381).

Kurds were numerous in the civil and military service of the Aiyūbids but very often they acted against the dynasty's interests. When Shīrkūh died, there were Kurds who opposed the appointment of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his successor (Ibn Khallikān, iv. 494).

An important part was played by the family of Abu ʾl-Haidjā (Hadhbānī) hereditary chief of Arbil (?). He directed the defence of ʿAkkā against the Crusaders and was appointed *isfahsālār* of the army and governor of Jerusalem. In 1196 he was transferred to Baghdād: he conducted an expedition against Hamadān and died at Daḳūḳā. His nephew Ḳuṭb al-Dīn built the Ḳuṭbiya madrasa in Cairo. Another Kurd, of the tribe of Hakkārī, Saif al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Mashṭūb, succeeded Abu ʾl-Haidjā at ʿAkkā. His descendants had exciting careers; his son Aḥmad ended his days in the prison of Ḥarrān; his grandson, the Ḳāḍī ʿImād al-Dīn plotted against al-Kāmil and had to go into exile.

Khwārizm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn. In 614 (1217) the Kurds of Zagros inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Khwārizmshāh sent from Hamadān to Baghdād. Djalāl al-Dīn's operation against Khilāṭ (623—626) disorganised the life of the country and the Kurds were decimated by famine (*Kāmil*, xii. 207, 308). Defeated and pursued by the Mongols, Djalāl al-Dīn took refuge among the Kurds of Diyārbakr and in 628 (1231) was killed, probably by one of them (Djuwainī, ed. Muḥammad Kazwīnī, ii. 190; *Kāmil*, xii. 325; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 62). In 634 (1237) again the remnants of the Khwārizm hordes traversed and plundered the region of Kharpūt (Abu ʾl-Faradj, *o. c.*, p. 477). After the death of Djalāl al-Dīn, the Mongols laid waste the region of Diyārbakr and Khilāṭ. Another horde had descended from Marāgha on Arbil; this latter region was three times invaded. In 645 (1245), Shahrizūr was laid waste and in 650 (1252) Diyārbakr.

The Mongol Īlkhāns. The Kurds are rarely mentioned under the Īlkhāns. As these rulers — at first pagans and later Muslims — were on good terms with the Christians and the latter had sufficient causes of complaint against their Muslim neighbours, the Kurds so recently involved in the wars of the Aiyūbids had to remain confined to their mountains and to hope for success for the enemies of the Mongols.

The province of "Kurdistān" formed in the time of the Saldjūḳs, the capital of which was Bahār (near Hamadān) was conquered by Malik b. Tūdān, father of the celebrated Amīr Čobān. Leaving Hamadān in 655, Hūlāgū marched on Baghdād. At Kirmānshāh the Mongols began to murder and plunder (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 225, 255, 267). Before the capture of Baghdād, Hūlāgū sent troops to take Arbil. The governor of this stronghold, Tādj al-Dīn Ṣalāba (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet p. 261), submitted to the Mongols but the Kurd garrison refused to follow his example. Arbil was taken with the help of the Atābak of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ (d'Ohsson, iii. 256). The taking of Baghdād resulted in the depopulation of Shahrizūr [q. v.] and its Kurd inhabitants, according to Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii. 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in Algeria of two Kurd tribes: Lawīn and Babīn (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii. 461 and iii. 413).

Returning to Ādharbaidjān, Hūlāgū set out for Syria in 657. In the Hakkārī country, the Mongols put all the Kurds they found to the sword (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 328). Djazīra, Diyārbakr, Mayāfāriḳīn (held by the Aiyūbid Kāmil) and Mārdīn were taken in succession.

After the death of the Atābak Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' who had remained faithful to Hūlāgū, his son Ṣāliḥ went over to the side of Baibars, Sulṭān of Egypt and received confirmation of his investiture from him. The Kurds around Mawṣil at once fell upon the Christians. The garrison of Mawṣil consisting of Kurds, Turkomans and Shūls, courageously resisted the Mongols.

In Syria also the Kurds threw in their lot with the Mamlūks. In his letter to the Khān Berkai, Baibars boasts of the number of his troops, who were Turks, Kurds and Arabs (d'Ohsson, iii. 385). In the time of Abaḳa, the Armenian Hayton tells how after an invasion by Egyptian troops (before 677/1278) the Kurds took 5,000 houses of Kurds (Gordins) living in Northern Syria (*Recueil, Doc. Armén.*, ii. 179). But after the defeat of the Mongols in 680 (1281), a body of Muslim troops, made up of Turkomans and Kurds, laid waste Cilicia. The rare cases in which Kurds are found allied to the Mongols were generally in distant Fārs. Under Ūldjaitū there were Kurds in the troops that invaded Gīlān in 706. A little later a Kurd, Mūsā, who had proclaimed himself the *mahdī* of the Shī'is was executed by Ūldjaitū. In 712, Badr al-Dīn, the Kurd lord of Raḥba resisted the Mongols.

The Kurd provinces were governed by the Mongol Amīrs. The fighting in Arbīl never ceased. The "Kayači", Christian highlanders, forming part of the Mongol army and stationed in Arbīl, brought a charge against their chief Zain al-Dīn Bālū and came into conflict with the Kurds whom the Arabs supported. Incidents began in 1297 but the situation came to a height in 1310. With great difficulty the Mongols drove the Christians out of the citadel. The Mongols had summoned the Kurds to help them in the siege but their amīrs who were friendly with the Christians, wanted to use the Kurds to prevent the massacre of the Christians by the Arabs. The massacre took place but the Kurds had no share in it (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, transl. Chabot, Paris 1895, p. 152—177).

The country between Marāgha and Arbīl was a kind of high road for the Mongol armies; at this time the country south of Lake Urmia was still for the most part occupied by Turks and Mongols (cf. SAWDJ-BULĀḲ).

The capital of the province of "Kurdistān" under Ūldjaitū was moved from Bahār to Sulṭānābād (of Čamčamāl). The extent to which the province had suffered may be judged from the statement of the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (p. 107) according to which its revenues were reduced to one tenth of what they were under the Saldjūḳs.

When the Ilkhāns had disappeared, two families of Mongol chiefs of the tribes of Suldus [q. v.] and Djalā'ir [q. v.] became rivals for power. By virtue of the division of the fiefs between "the two Ḥasans" (in 738/1338), (Persian) Kurdistān and Khūzistān returned to the children of the amīr Akrundj or Akrush (?). In 784—785 the Djalā'ir Bāyazīd carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistān and 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, N°. 86 and d'Ohsson, iv. 747).

Table of the Kurd tribes in the time of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns. The Mongol conquest had completely eclipsed the political part played by the Kurd tribes but in Egypt where the Mamlūk Sulṭāns were cherishing secret plans against the Ilkhāns, much interest was taken in the fate of this Muslim element. The *Masālik al-Abṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī (d. 749 = 1348) shows how exactly the chancelleries of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns were informed about Kurd affairs. According to al-'Umarī there were Kurds near al-'Irāḳ and al-Diyār al-'Arab and in Syria and Yemen. The mountain country (al-Djibāl) inhabited by the Kurds began near Hamadān and ended in Cilicia (*bilād al-Takfūr*); to the west of the Tigris the Kurds of al-Djazīra and Mārdīn were at the mercy of all their neighbours. At Mārdīn however a certain Ibrāhīm al-'Ars Bālū (?) had shortly before proclaimed himself independent and had attained considerable power. The author then gives a list of twenty tribes living between Hamadān and the part of al-Djazīra that lies between Mawṣil and Kawār (cf. Kāwar in the *Sharaf-nāma*).

1. The Gūrānī, who were warriors and agriculturists (*djund wa-ra'iya*).

2. The Gilālī (cf. the mountain called Galāla among the Sōrān; *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 286 and Rich, *Narrative*, i. 123: *Ghellali*). A portion of this tribe migrated to Syria. Their prince Sharaf al-Dīn was governor of Arbīl under the Mongols but was killed by a Mongol.

3. The Zangalī (= Zangana?).

4. The Kūsa and the Mabir (??) of Shahrizūr [q. v.] migrated to Syria and Egypt.

5. The Sabūlī (Sūlūnī?), lived in Shahrizūr and Ushnū. Near them lived the Ḳarṭāwī (? cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 207).

6. The Ḥasnānī (Khushnāwī?), several thousand in number divided into three branches, one of which living at Karkār alongside of the Ḳarṭāwī (?) levied tolls on the pass Darband-i Karabolī (the defile of the Little Zāb; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 263).

7. Near Karḥīn (= Kirkūk?) and Daḳūḳ lived a tribe of 700 men.

8. A tribe living "between two mountains" (*bain al-djabalain*) on the territory of Arbīl in winter sought the good graces of the Mongols and in summer assisted the invasions of Egyptian troops.

9. The Māzandjān(?) to the number of 500 lived near Arbīl and Māzandjān, Nērwa and Bēkhma (these two latter cantons are situated on the Great Zāb east of 'Aḳr). The chiefs of Māzandjān also ruled the related tribe of the Ḥumaidī (of which there were 1,000 men). The chief of the Māzandjān called Kak had received the title Mubāriz al-Dīn from the 'Abbāsids. The Mongols divided his lands into two and Kak remained *nā'ib* of Arbīl. He was dispossessed for a time under Arghūn but according to the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā'*, his sons and his grandsons retained their fief ('Aḳr and Shūsh).

10. Near Tell-Ḥaftūn was the land of the numerous Sohrī tribe (Sōhrān).

11. Their neighbours were the Zarzārī ("children of gold"). They also possessed Malāzgird (= Rubār-i Barāzgird) and Kunāḳ (the southern part of Shamdīnān).

12. The Djūlāmerg, of Omaiyad origin, numbered 3,000 men.

13. The Kurds of the district of Markawān (read Margawar) were allies of their Djūlāmergī and Zarzārī neighbours.

14. Near Djūlāmerg was the canton of Gawār.

15. Near Djūlāmerg beside 'Aḳr and 'Amādiya was the canton of Zibārī inhabited by 500 men.

16. The Hakkāri lived at ʿAmādiya and numbered 4,000 men.

17. Near the Hakkāri beside Mardj were the Djabal al-ʿAmrani and the cave of Kahf Dāwūd where lived the Besiitki (??).

18. Near Djūlāmerg towards Mawṣil lived the Bokhti, rivals of the Ḥumaidi.

19. The Dāsini had been very numerous but their chief Badr al-Dīn came down to more accessible country and there were no more than 1,000 Dāsini in the province of Mawṣil. 500 Dāsini lived at ʿAḳr.

20. The Dumbūli (?) inhabited the high mountains.

To this information given by the *Masālik* the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* basing on *al-Tathḳīf* composed by Taḳī al-Dīn about 748 (1347) adds a list of 25 Kurd chiefs with whom the chancelleries of Cairo were in correspondence.

Timūr and the Turkoman dynasties. After the Mongols, the rival Turkoman dynasties extended their power over Kurdistān. This period, of which little is yet accurately known, was of considerable importance for the Kurds. The Ḳara-Koyunlu dynasties penetrated into the heart of Kurdistān, involved the Kurd tribes in political and religious quarrels (cf. the extreme Shīʿa of the Ḳara-Koyunlu) and provoked considerable movements of the population: it was at this period that the Mukri Kurds seized the country south of the Lake of Urmia (cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ). In contrast to this, the conquest by Timūr which temporarily swept aside the Ḳara-Koyunlu had only a transitory character.

Many incidents in the history of Ḥiṣn Kaifā and Djazira between 796—897 (1393—1491) are recorded in the Syriac Chronicle (written at Haitham) publ. by Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838.

Timūr had to deal with the Kurds in his campaigns of 796 and 803. After overrunning Baghdād and Diyārbakr Timūr attacked Djazira which was destroyed. The dependencies of Djazira were likewise conquered. Timūr next crossed the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and gave a favourable reception to Sharaf al-Dīn of Bidlis "renowned for his kindness and justness throughout all Kurdistān". In 803 Timūr returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāidjān and on the way was attacked by the Kurds.

After the death of Timūr, Ḳara-Yūsuf Ḳara-Koyunlu returned to Kurdistān and sought refuge at first with Shams al-Dīn of Bidlis. He gave him his daughter and with his assistance re-established his power. In 820 Ḳara Yūsuf by a *nishān* confirmed the princes of Bidlis in their possessions. When in 824 (1421), Shāhrukh, son of Timūr arrived in Armenia, homage was done to him by Shams al-Dīn of Bidlis, Malik Muḥammad Hakkāri, Malik Khalīl of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, the amirs of Khizān etc. The Kurds of Khoi also remained loyal to Shāhrukh's governor (*Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdain*, *N. E.*, xiv., p. 153).

The Aḳ-Koyunlu (the Bayandur dynasty) whose principal centre was in Diyārbakr, conducted a systematic policy of exterminating the great Kurd families (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 164: *istiʾṣāl-i khānawādahā-yi Kurdistān*) and in general persecuted tribes who had compromised themselves by their attachment to the Ḳara-Koyunlu like the great tribe of Čamishgezek. Uzun Ḥasan's generals Ṣūfī Khalīl and ʿArab-Shāh conquered Hakkāri, which was later taken for a brief period by the Dumbili tribe from Bohtān. In 875 (1470) (cf. Behnsch, *op. cit.*, p. 14) Djazira passed entirely into the power of the Aḳ-Koyunlu who appointed their own governor Čalabī Beg, whose merits are recognised even by the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 123. The Aḳ-Koyunlu general Sulaimān b. Bīzan drove out of Bidlis the Ibrāhīm Khān who was later put to death by Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan.

The Ṣafawī Shāhs and the Ottoman Sulṭāns. Shāh Ismāʿīl had invaded Armenia at the beginning of his war with the Aḳ-Koyunlu. After the battle of Sharūr 907 (1502) he won all the country between Baghdād and Marʿash. Ismāʿīl I's policy with regard to the Kurds did not differ from that of the Aḳ-Koyunlu. Like the latter the Shāh relied on the Turkoman tribes but being a zealous extreme Shīʿī (cf. KHAṬĀʾĪ) he was still more predisposed against the Sunnī Kurds. When eleven Kurd chiefs presented themselves at Khoi to pay homage, Ismāʿīl imprisoned most of them and appointed in their stead governors chosen from the Ḳizil-bash tribes.

Henceforth, for about three centuries Kurdistān became the arena for the struggle between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Shāhs of Persia. The defeat at Čaldirān (1514) was a terrible blow to the prestige of the new Persian dynasty. In spite of the temporary successes of the successors of Shāh Ismāʿīl, their conquests never attained the importance of his early victories and Persian territory west of the Zagros melted away. Ismāʿīl's attempt to thrust Persian governors upon the Kurds was a marked contrast to the Ottoman policy instituted by the able Ḥakīm Idrīs, himself a Kurd, which aimed at giving Kurdistān a feudal organisation securing the predominance of the Kurd nobility.

The battle of Čaldirān deeply affected Kurdistān. Malik Khalīl (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 155) the dispossessed prince of Ḥiṣn Kaifā had regained possession of Siʿird and was trying to regain his hereditary fief. Muḥammad Beg of Ṣāṣūn was fighting against the Persians. Aḥmad Beg of Maiyāfāriḳīn, Ḳāsim Beg of Agil, Djamshīd Beg of Pālū, had declared in favour of the Ottomans. The governor of Djazira had succeeded in repulsing the Persians of Mawṣil. Saʿīd Beg Sohrān had taken Arbil and Kirkūk. Some twenty other chiefs were wavering in their loyalty to the Persians. A personal visit by Idrīs to all these chiefs won 25 of them over to the Sulṭān.

When Salīm had left Tabrīz, Ismāʿīl sent reinforcements to Diyārbakr and Ḥiṣn Kaifā. Idrīs summoned to his flag the Kurd levies and defeated Kurd Beg, a former Persian Governor of Kurdistān. The Kurds of Diyārbakr resisted the Persian attack until help arrived from Bïyïklï Muḥammad Pāshā. Bïyïklï and Idrīs met at Ḥiṣn-Kaifā and defeated the Persians. Then reinforced by 5,000 Kurds (from ʿAmādiya?) the Turks relieved Diyārbakr and took Mārdīn, except the citadel which remained in Persian hands. The Persian commander then executed a successful diversion from Baghdād and Kirkūk and the people of Mārdīn drove out the Kurds and invited the Persians to re-occupy the town. The two armies met on the Naṣībīn-Urfa road. The Persians were defeated and Bïyïklï forced Sulaimān Khān who was still at Mārdīn to surrender. The occupation of Naṣībīn, Dārā,

Maiyāfāriḳīn, Diyārbakr and Sindjār followed and Idrīs completed the administrative organisation of the sandjaḳ. In the province of Diyārbakr eleven sandjaḳs were put under Turkish officials, eight under Kurds (*Ekrād beyligi*). The wālis confirmed the investitures of the new begs but the latter were always chosen from the same family. Five hereditary *ḥukūmat* (*kürd-ḥukūmeti*) retained their dynasties with the transmission of power direct from father to son (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, ch. ii. and iv., quoting ʿAin-i ʿAlī Muʾadhdhinzāde who wrote at the beginning of the xi[th] [xvii[th]] century). A similar system was later applied throughout Kurdistān from Malāṭiya to Bāyazīd and Shahrizūr (cf. below the *Sharaf-nāma*, and the very interesting remarks of Ewliyā Čelebi [iv. 176—180 and 271—316]: on the 37 sandjaḳs joined to Wān by the law of Sulaimān I and the order of march of the local army). Only the province of Kirmānshāh remained to the Persians. Idrīs was liberally rewarded and the firmāns of investiture were sent him with the spaces left blank for him to fill in the names of the recipients (von Hammer, *G. O. R.*², i. 749).

In 936 (1530) Shāh Ṭahmāsp recovered Baghdād from Dhu 'l-Faḳār, a Kurd of the tribe of Mūṣillū (Mauṣillu?). A long series of wars began again. Sulṭān Sulaimān led an army against Persia in 1533, 1534, 1535, 1548, 1553 and 1554. In this last year the Baghdād troops conquered the Kurds of Balḳās and Shahrizūr while the Persians were occupied in Georgia (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii. 236).

By the peace of 999 (1590) ʿAbbās I had to cede to the Turks the western provinces including Ādharbāidjān, Shahrizūr and Luristān (*ibid.*, ii. 559) but in 1010 (1601) fighting was resumed and by the peace of 1021 (1612) Persia regained possession of the lost provinces, except Shahrizūr (*ibid.*, ii. 745). Shāh ʿAbbās transported 15,000 Kurds to the frontier of Khorāsān to serve as a bulwark against the Turkomans.

Towards the end of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, Turkish efforts were concentrated on Baghdād. During Ḥāfiẓ Pāshā's first campaign (1623) his army included the Kurdistān troops. The Kurds fought bravely. The Persians having defeated the attackers, sent punitive columns to Mārdīn. After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās, the grand vizier Khusraw Pāshā advanced on Baghdād in 1039 (1629). Saiyid Khān of ʿAmādiya, Mīrza Beg Sohrān and the mixed Kurdo-Arab tribe of Badjilān took the side of Khusraw Pāshā while Aḥmad Khān Ardalān threatened the Turkish flank. Khusraw Pāshā advanced as far as Senna [q. v.] and Hamadān. On their way back the Turks defeated at Čamčamāl and Dartang a Persian force. Baghdād still held out however and when Khusraw Pāshā had retired Aḥmad Khān Ardalān re-occupied Shahrizūr (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, iii. 17, 23, 49, 86, 93). Not till 1048 (1638) did Murād IV finally take Baghdād and in the next year the treaty was signed with Persia *grosso modo* which fixed the Turco-Persian frontier down to the xix[th] century (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*, i. 686). Persia was now completely behind the Zagros chain.

The great struggle between the Ṣafawīs and Ottomans made the Kurds conscious of their political importance. The *Sharaf-nāma* has preserved for us an accurate picture of the feudal life of the Kurd tribes and principalities at the height of its development about 1005 (1596).

Sharaf-nāma. This book by the chief of Bidlīs, Sharaf al-Dīn (cf. BIDLĪS) finished in 1005 (1596) occupies an exceptional place among the sources for Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds in the strict sense (vol. i. in Véliaminof Zernof's edition) is divided into four parts (*ṣaḥīfa*): the first of these deals with those Kurd dynasties which have actually enjoyed the privilege of royalty (*salṭanat*); the second with those whose members have sometimes had coins struck and the *khuṭba* recited in their name; the third enumerates the families of hereditary governors (*ḥukkām*) and the fourth is devoted to a detailed history of the chiefs of Bidlīs. Part i. gives five dynasties, the Marwānids [q. v.] of Diyārbakr and Djazīra, the Ḥasanwaihids [q. v.] of Dainawar and Shahrizūr, the Faḍlūyids of the Great Lur; the princes of little Lur [cf. LUR] and the Aiyūbids [q. v.].

As the distinction between the second and third class of princes is rather subtle and the order in which Sharaf al-Dīn enumerates the dynasties is quite arbitrary it is better to arrange these dynasties according to the geographical position of the fiefs, taking Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar as the centre. This list will be followed by that of the Kurd tribes in Persia. The fiefs of the second class (including Bidlīs) will be marked with an asterisk (*).

Sharaf al-Dīn distinguishes as far as possible between the tribes and the families of their chiefs and it is necessary always to bear in mind the bases of feudal organisation in Kurdistān. Chiefs of varied origins rule the Kurdish, Kurdicised and Christian tribes, with the help of warlike Kurd tribes (*ʿashīrat*), which are sometimes settled, sometimes nomad or rather semi-nomad.

Group A. Between Djazīra and Dersim.

1. The chiefs of Djazīra* claimed Omaiyad origin but gave as their ancestor Khālid b. Walīd. In such confused genealogies we have a combination of memories of the Kurd alliances of the Omaiyads with the local cult of the descendants of the famous general Khālid b. Walīd [q. v.] whose tombs are shown near Siʿird (Hartmann, *Bohtān*, p. 19, 124). These chiefs were at first Yazīdis and only later became converted to be orthodox Sunnis. After the death of Sulaimān b. Khālid his three sons divided his possessions: Djazīra fell to Mīr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Gurgīl to Mīr Ḥādjdjī Beg and Fink to Mīr Abdāl. These three branches each kept their own fiefs in later times.

The *Sharaf-nāma* refers to the possessions of this family as *wilāyet-i Bokhtī* (i. 320) and enumerates in detail but without system the 14 nāḥiya forming this important fief: Gurgīl, Arwakh, Pīrūz, Bādān and Ṭanzī (Kalhūk) occupied by the tribe Kīrsī; Fink; Tūr, Haitam (Hethum) and Shākh inhabited by Christians; Nīsh Atil; Aramshāt the tribe of which (Brāspī) is the chief among those of Bokht; Kewar or Kamis(?); Dair-dih which belongs to Ṭanzī.

In spite of the careful study by M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, *Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1896, 2 and 1897, 1, p. 1—163, the localisation of some of these places is not quite certain.

The fief of Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar lay between the right bank of the Bohtān and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohtān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bokhtī were the

Sindiyān (cf. under ʿAmādiya) settled on the Khābūr.

2. The ancestors of the rulers of Khīzān, Isbāyerd (Sparhet, Ispert; in Ewliyā Čelebi: Isba'ird) and Muks (Mukus) were three brothers who came from Balidjān (Khnis) in the time of the Saldjūḳs (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 217). The tribe of the principal fief was Namiran; this fief lay along the right bank tributaries of the Bohtān and stretched as far as Marwānān.

3. Shirwān (on the right bank of the Bohtān below Khīzān and north-east of Siʿird). The ancestors of the "Shirawī" chiefs were in the services of the Aiyūbids and came to Shirwān at the same time as the "Malikān" to Ḥiṣn-Kaifā. The Shirawī played even the rôle of viziers by the Malikān (*op. cit.*, i. 155). The capital of Shirwān was Kufrā. The other dependencies were Awil, Shabistān (also called Garni = Kirnik?) and Irūn.

4. Bidlis.* The Rūzagī (Rōzagī) tribe is said to have taken its name from the fact that 24 clans, assembled one day (*rūzī*) in the village of Ṭāb in the canton of Khait (now the ḳaḍā of Mōdki west of Bidlis), formed a confederation which later became divided into two sections: Bilbāsī and Ḳawālīsī. Sharaf al-Dīn (i. 361) enumerates the 24 (read 25) clans of the Rūzagī, of which five were old settlers and the others newcomers: Bilbās (10 clans) and Ḳawālīsī (10 clans).

The Rūzagī took Bidlis and Ḥazō (Ṣāṣūn) from the Georgian king Tavit (David the Couropalate, p. 984—1001?). Later they brought from Akhlāṭ two brothers of Sāsānian origin. One became chief at Bidlis and the other at Ṣāṣūn. 18 chiefs of the line of Ḍiyā al-Dīn had ruled at Bidlis before 1005 (1596). The only interruptions took place under the Saldjūḳs (534—576), under the Aḳ-Koyunlu (871—900), under Shāh Ismāʿīl (913—920?) and between 941 and 986. In this last year Sulṭān Sulaimān wanted to exchange the hereditary fief of Amīr Shams al-Dīn for that of Malāṭiya. Shams al-Dīn had to leave Bidlis but fearing new intrigues went to the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who treated him with generosity. Shams al-Dīn died in Persia in 965. His son Sharaf al-Dīn, born in exile in 940, was carefully educated at the court (the Shāh even had him taught painting). He ruled several Persian provinces in succession, and was appointed chief of all the Persian Kurds. After the accession to the throne of Ismāʿīl II, Sharaf al-Dīn fell under suspicion and was sent to Nakhičewān. From there he succeeded in reaching Wān and received from Murād I investiture for Bidlis, to which Mūsh was added in 991. For the year 1065 (1655) Ewliyā Čelebi (iv. 81—121) gives us a detailed description of Bidlis. The last prince of Bidlis, Sharaf Beg was dispossessed by the Turks in 1849 (Lynch, *Armenia*, ii. 149).

5. The rulers of Ṣāṣūn (Ḥazō) were called ʿIzzīn from their ancestor ʿIzz al-Dīn, brother of Ḍiyā al-Dīn of Bidlis. The ʿashīrats of Ṣāṣūn were at first Shirawī, Bābūsī, Sūsānī and Ṭamūkī. The Rūzakī (cf. BIDLIS) arrived afterwards; later after the annexation of Arzan the clans of that district: Khālidī, Dair Maghānī, ʿAzīzān, who had at first belonged to Ḥiṣn Kaifā, came to join those of Ṣāṣūn.

6. The Suwaidī chiefs claimed a Barmecide origin. Their ancestors were adopted by the Suwaidī tribe. The hereditary fief of the Suwaidī was Gandj (this should be read for *Kīdj* in Veliaminof-Zernof, i. 260).

7. The Pāzūkī tribe which Sharaf al-Dīn places among the tribes of Persia (i. 328) is said to have been of Suwaidī origin. According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 328, it had no definite religion and showed signs of heresy (*rafḍ wa-ilḥād*). The tribe was divided into two branches, Khālid-beglu and Sheker-beglu, and one was under the Amīrs of Bidlis. Khālid received as fiefs Khnis, Malāzgerd and the canton of Ukhān (?) of Mūsh. They grew so proud that they thought of proclaiming their independence. After the battle of Čaldirān the Suwaidī dispossessed the Pāzūkī from many of their fiefs (*ibid.*, i. 257). In the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Ḳilidj Beg appointed chief of the Pāzūkī received Zagam (near Tiflis). Later Pāzūkī were transferred to Alashkert where the tribe increased.

8. The Mirdāsī chiefs (*Mirdāsī* in the *Selīm-nāma*) claimed to be descended from the ʿAbbāsids. Their ancestor was a religious man who came from Hakkārī to Agil and whose disciples the Mirdāsī became. The tribe themselves said they were of Arab origin, being Banū Kilāb from around Aleppo who migrated about 420 as a result of troubles with the Fāṭimids (cf. Lane-Poole, *The Muham. Dynasties*, Nº 45: the Mirdāsids of Aleppo). The main one of the three branches, the Buldaḳānī, lived at Agil; it maintained good relations with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu but under Shāh Ismāʿīl, Agil was occupied by the Persians. Of the two other branches of the Mirdāsī, one ruled at Pālū, at Bāghīn (below Kighi) and at Kharpūt and the other first at Bardandj and later at Djarmūk (south of Arghana-maʿdan).

9. The rulers of Čamishgezek claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent, but their names rather show a Turkish origin (Saldjūḳ). Their ʿashīrat was called Malkishī (Malik-Shāhī?). There were about 1,000 hearths of Malkishī in the Persian service (in Persia?). The lands of the Malkishī were so numerous that the name *Kurdistān* had become synonymous with Čamishgezek (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 163). They kept them in the Mongol period, under Tīmūr and Ḳara Yūsuf but the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu did all they could to weaken the tribes faithful to the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and sent the Turkish tribe to Kharbandalu against Čamishgezek. Shaikh Ḥasan drove out the Kharbandalu and submitted to Shāh Ismāʿīl. The latter put a Persian governor in his place. Selīm I restored the hereditary amīr Pīr Ḥusain.

Group 8. Between Djazīra and Kilis.

10. Ḥasan-keif* (cf. ḤIṢN-KAIFĀ). The local chiefs (*malikān*) claimed to be of Aiyūbid descent, which seems very probable. Their ancestor was alleged to have received the fief of Ḥiṣn-Kaifā from the ruler of Mārdīn. The first chief mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma*, is Malik Sulaimān who died in 736 (1335). The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu seized Ḥiṣn-Kaifā but Malik Khalīl who had taken refuge in Ḥamā, later regained possession of his fief. At a later date the Ottomans dispossessed the sons of Malik Khalīl. Among the dependencies of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions Siʿird, Bishērī, Ṭūr (which sometimes figures among the possessions of Djazīra, cf. *ibid.*, p. 117, 127, 157) and Arzan.

11. Sulaimānī, rulers of Marwānid origin (Omaiyad), established themselves at first at Khūsh in

the canton of Ghazali (between the Kulp and the Batmān-ṣu before they join) and gradually captured many strongholds and territory as far as the Tigris. They ruled a powerful confederation of tribes, the majority of which were nomads and in summer moved to the Ala-Tagh (Niphates). The chief of these tribes was Bānūkī, but the more enterprising was Basiyān, 1,000 families of which migrated to Bāyazid under their chief Shāhsawār. A number of these tribes professed Yazīdī doctrines. The Sulaimānī lived on bad terms with their neighbours of Ṣāṣūn. They were divided into two branches, that of Kulp and Batmān and that of Maiyāfāriḳīn.

12. Zraḳī (the modern pronunciation attested by Addai Scher, *J. A.*, 1910, p. 119—139); according to Sharaf al-Dīn, Zraḳī, is a contraction of the Arabic Azraḳī. The ancestor of the family who was an Arab holy man from Syria of ʿAlid origin arrived in Mārdīn in the time of Ortoḳ (d. 516 = 1122; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 379). The family formed connections by marriage with the Ortoḳids and later with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. There were four branches of Zraḳī, the principal branches were those of Tardjīl (west of the Baṭmān-ṣu) and ʿAtāḳ. The two other branches were that of Darzīnī (an old Christian convent Dei-Zīr?) and that of Kurdikān (between Diyārbakr and Maiyāfāriḳīn) the latter descendants of the marriage of a Zraḳī chief and a gipsy woman (*dukhtar-i lōlī*).

13. Kilis. The ruling dynasty believed it was related to those of Hakkārī and ʿAmādiya. Their ancestor Mand (Mantasha) had rendered services to the Aiyūbids who gave him the canton of Ḳuṣair (near Antioch). He united under his rule the Yazīdīs of Ḳuṣair and those living between Ḥamā and Marʿash as well as the Kurds of Djūm and Kilis. Under the Mamlūk Sulṭāns and under Selīm I disputes broke out between the Yazīdīs (Shaikh ʿIzz al-Dīn) and the family of Mand, which ended in favour of the latter, but the hereditary rights of this North Syrian fief do not seem to have been on a very solid basis.

Group C. Between Djazīra and Khoi.

14. Hakkārī* (cf. HAKKĀRĪ and SHAMDĪNĀN). Sharaf al-Dīn does not seem to know the old quarters of the tribe around ʿAmādiya from which the Zangid Atābegs had driven them northwards. The emirs claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent.

The first Amīr mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* is ʿIzz al-Dīn Shīr (probably simply an arabicisation of the name Yezdān-Shīr) who held out against Tīmūr in 789 (1387) in the fortress of Vān. Under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu the tribe of Dumbulī (of Djazīra) took possession of Hakkārī but the Christians of Dīz (*Āsūrī* = Nestorians) went to Egypt to bring back the scion of the ancient family Asad al-Dīn Zarrīn Čang ("Golden arm"). The restored dynasty received the name of *Shambō* (M. Garzoni, *Grammatica della lingua kurda*, Rome 1787, p. 4: *Sciambò*). In the time of Ismāʿīl I, the Shambō chiefs lived in the castle of Bāī (in Shamdīnān); a member of the family ruled at Wosṭān (southwest of Vān) but the possession of the nāḥiya of Kawāsh west of Wosṭān was disputed to the Hakkārī by the Rūzakī. Hakkārī rule extended to Albāḳ in the north. The last representative of the Hakkārī house, Nūr-Allāh Beg, was dispossessed by the Ottomans after the rebellion of Badr Khān Beg of Bokhtān and in 1845 Halime Khānim surrendered Bash-ḳalʿa to the Turks. The tribe of Pinyānish (*ibid.* i. 97, 100) which still exists is mentioned as living near the Hakkārī.

15. The Maḥmūdī fief lies north of Hakkārī on the rivers which feed the lakes of Vān and Arčak. The rulers (Marwānid or ʿAbbāsid of Bokhtan) who originally professed the Yazīdī faith (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 307), settled there in the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu period and soon came into conflict with the Hakkārī and Dumbulī.

16. The Dumbulī are a tribe of Bokhtān (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 118, 310: *Dumbul-i Bokht* which for long remained Yazīdī). The Dumbulī later came into Ādharbāidjān where they received as a fief Sukmanābād (Sögmanābād) north-west of Khoi (now: Zūrawā). Under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu the Dumbulī had seized the castle of Bāī (in Shamdīnān) and a part of Hakkārī (*ibid.*, i., p. 193). To their *ulkā* of Sukmanābād Shāh Ṭahmāsp added Khoi. Under Sulṭān Sulaimān the Dumbulī received Ḳoṭur [q.v.] and Bārgirī, later they annexed Abaghā, Sulaimān-Sarāī (the modern Sarāī) and Čāldirān. Zain al-ʿAbidīn Shirwānī in his *Bustān al-Siyāḥat* (beginning of the xix[th] century) says that all the Dumbulī are Shīʿīs (cf. the allusion in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 312) and speak Turkish (!).

17. Brādōst. The ruling family was of Gūrān or Ḥasanwaihid descent [q. v.]. Its lands lay west of Urmia. One branch ruled at Ṣōmāī [q. v.]; another at Tergewer and at Ḳalʿa Dāwūd. The remnants of the Brādōst tribe now live south of Shamdīnān on the Rūbār-i Brādōst (a tributary of the Great Zāb, the sources of which lie west of Ushnū).

18. Ustūnī. The chapter which is wanting in the manuscripts must certainly refer to the first dynasty of Shamdīnān, whose headquarters were Sutūnī in the nāḥiya of Harkī (cf. SHAMDĪNĀN).

19. The history of the Zarzā (cf. the Zar-zarī of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī) announced in the preface to the *Sharaf-nāma* is lacking in the text.

20. Tarzā. The paragraph is lacking in the manuscripts and we know nothing of the tribe.

Group D. South of Hakkārī.

21. ʿAmādiya* [q.v.]. We have seen that the town of ʿAmādiya was built on the site of an ancient castle under ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (521—541). The local dynasty of Bahdīnān mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* seems to have settled in the country after the end of the Zangids (vii[th]—viii[th] century). The chiefs of ʿAmādiya were known for their fervour in religious studies. The *Sharaf-nāma* gives their names for the Tīmūrid period. Later (under Ismāʿīl I) the Bahdīnān annexed the Zākhō district inhabited by the Sindī and Sulaimānī which had at one time formed a separate fief (*wilāyet-i Sindiyān*). In this way the fief of Bahdīnān incorporated the greater part of the mountainous country north of Mawṣil (Mount Gāra, etc.).

22. Tāsinī (Dāsinī). The chapter dealing with this important Yazīdī tribe is lacking in the manuscripts but in the text we find a reference which shows that the Amīrs of ʿAmādiya took Dohūk from the sandjaḳ-i Tāsinī (i. 109) and that in 941 (1534) Sulṭān Selīm I gave the sandjaḳ of Arbil and the whole wilāyet of Sohrān to Ḥusain Beg Dāsenī, a Yazīdī chief" which provoked a bloody war with the Sohrān (i. 274—277). The latter ended by regaining their patrimony

and Ḥusain Beg was executed at Constantinople. On the region called Dāsen, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 202—207.

23. Sohrān ("the red ones"), descendants of Kalūs, an Arab shepherd of Baghdād who had fled to the village of Hūdiyān in the nāḥiya of Āwān (in the Sohrān territory). His son was proclaimed Amīr of Balakān (east of Rawāndūz) and seized the castle of Āwān. The capital of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, *Narrative*, i. 157) was Ḥarīr (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawāndūz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1005 A. H. but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (*Narrative*, i. 157) benefited by their decline.

24. Bābān. This name is really applied to several successive dynasties. Their principal fief lay south of the Little Zāb and has as its capital Shārī-Bāzār but in 1199 (1784) the Bābān built a new capital Sulaimāniya (q. v. for details).

25. Mukrī, who now occupy the region south of Lake Urmia (for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ) had broken off from the tribe of Bābān.

26. Bāna. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn chiefs bore this name because they had adopted Islām of their own free will (*ikhtiyār*) (for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ).

27. Ardalān: see the articles, ARDILĀN, SHAHRAZŪR, SENNA, SIḤAR.

28. Gāl-Bāghī (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii., suppl. 36—45; the addition is dated 1092). Their chief ʿAbbās Āghā of the Turkish tribe of Ustādjalu received a "spring of water" in Marīwān (cf. SENNA) from Bīge-beg Ardalān (900—942). ʿAbbās Āghā later settled at Bilāwar, a former fief of the Kalhur. His followers were recruited from different tribes. Shāh Ṭahmāsp confirmed him in his rule over Bilāwar and the "Twelve Omāḳ".

Later the Porte gave ʿAlī-Khān Gālbāghī the sandjaḳ consisting of Kirind, Shaikhān, Čakarān (?), Khorkhora, Zend, etc., while Yār Allāh received the *tīmār* of Erekle (?), Rangrasān and Sahbāsān (?).

29. Kalhur (Kalhurr). The chiefs claimed to be descended from Gūdarz, son of Gīw, in the Persian epic. The *ʿashīrat* of the Kalhur is called Gūrān (i. 317) but some manuscripts talk of "Kalhur and Gūrān" (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii., suppl. 6). There were three branches of the Kalhur: those of Palangān (cf. SENNA), Dartang (cf. ZOHĀB) and Māhī-dasht (cf. KIRMĀNSHĀH).

The possessions of the chiefs of Darna and Dartang (now Ridjāb in the district of Zohāb) according to Sharaf al-Dīn, i. 319, corresponded to the older Ḥulwān [q. v.]. About 1005 the power of Ḳubād Beg stretched from Dainawar and Bilāwar to Baghdād. Māhīdasht and Bilāwar (south of the Murwārī pass) formed the patrimony (*ulkā*) of the third branch of the Kalhurs. The Māhīdasht branch was nomadic. All this perhaps explains the scantiness of the information given by Rashīd al-Dīn. The Gūrān now keep their old patrimony but the Kalhur tribe occupies the region south of the great Baghdād-Kirmānshāh road.

Group E. The Persian Kurds.

The plan of the section (*firḳa*) of the *Sharaf-nāma* devoted to the *Akrād-i Īrān* is not very clear. The author was writing at a time when the Perso-Turkish frontier was not settled.

The principal tribes of Persia were three in number: Siyāh Manṣūr, Čigant and Zangana. Their eponyms were three brothers who came from Luristān or "Gūrān and Ardalān". Besides those tribes and the lesser ones mentioned by Sharaf al-Dīn there were 24 tribes (*yirmi dört*) of Karabagh (in Transcaucasia), about 30,000 men under one ruler, and the Gīl tribe in Khorāsān without counting tribes of minor importance.

The tribe of Siyāh Manṣūr. In the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp its chief had become *Amīr al-umarāʾ* of all the Kurds in Persia (over 24 tribes).

A part of the Čigant emigrated to Gharčistān.

The tribe of Zangana (Zengene) distinguished itself in al-ʿIrāḳ and Khorāsān.

From 1650 to 1730. "Great Kurdistān", as it has been described by Sharaf al-Dīn, and in so far as it consisted of a series of autonomous Kurd chieftainships had been already reduced in size by the introduction of Turkish rule in the sandjaks of Diyārbakr and Vān. Not only did the treaty of 1049 (1639) put an end to Persian expansion westwards but Turkey during the reign of the Ṣafawī epigones succeeded in re-occupying the western provinces of Persia as well as Transcaucasia (von Hammer, *G.O.R.*², iv. 235). Practically all the Kurds in this way were reunited under Ottoman rule. Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralisation.

As early as the reign of Murād IV, we find Malik Aḥmad Pāshā, appointed governor-general of Diyārbakr in 1638, making an expedition against the Yazīdī of Sindjār. Later (1065 = 1655) the same Pāshā after his transfer to Vān subdued all the Kurds in this region.

In 1666 a Kurd, the son of a shaikh, declared himself *Mahdī* but was captured by the rulers of Mawṣil and ʿAmādiya. The affair ended harmlessly by Sulṭān Muḥammad IV taking the *soi-disant* Mahdī into his personal service (v. Hammer, iii. 589).

In the reign of the feeble Shāh Ḥusain, the Kurds of al-ʿIrāḳ, in 1719 besieged Hamadān and carried their depredations up to the capital itself. In 1722 by order of Shāh Ṭahmāsp II an attempt to retake Iṣfahān, which had been occupied by the Afghāns, was made by the Kurd chief Fandun (Ferīdūn ?) but it was confined to an attack on the Armenian quarter. The Afghāns drove off Fandun who went back to his lands and submitted to the Turks (Hanway, *A Historical Account of the British Trade*, 1753, vol. iii). Fortune deserted the Ṣafawīs. Even ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān Ardalān submitted to Ḥasan Pāshā (J. v. Hammer, iv. 211; cf. however, *R. M. M.*, xlix., p. 87). His example was followed by the chiefs of Djawānrūd, Darna, Djil, Harsin and finally by the *sipahsālār* ʿAlī Mardān Bakhtiyārī [Failī?] (v. Hammer, iv. 227).

The Afghāns. During the bloody and transitory period of Afghān rule in Iṣfahān, Ashraf defeated the Turks (battle of Andjīdān in 1726) who had in their ranks 20,000 Kurds under Bebek Sulaimānoghlu (Sulaimān Bābān?). The Turks attributed their defeat to the conduct of the Kurds, upon whom Ashraf had lavished promises; indeed shortly before some of the Kurds had gone over to the Afghāns. In spite of his initial success, in the next year 1140 (1727) Ashraf had to repurchase his sovereign rights by ceding to the Turks the whole of western Persia including the Kurd and Lur cantons.

Nādir Shāh. Towards the end of the reign

of Sulṭān Aḥmad III affairs began to change. By the treaty of 1144 (1732) the Persians regained their western provinces and soon Nādir invaded Ottoman territory and advanced up to the gates of Baghdād. The Turks tried in vain to check his advance with Kurdish troops until in 1733 Topal ʿOthmān Pāshā appeared on the scene with Kurd reinforcements he had raised in Mawṣil. Nādir was defeated. In 1734, he operated with success in the Caucasus and took Tiflis which had a garrison of 6,000 Kurds. By the peace of 1149 (1736), the old frontiers of 1049 (1639) were restored. In 1743, Nādir again invaded Turkish territory but in spite of Kurd and Arab help was driven back to Senna where he was finally defeated (ibid. iv., 317, 398—399).

Nādir was not popular with the Kurds although there is an epic poem in the Gūrānī dialect on his struggle with Topal ʿOthmān Pāshā. Among the Ardalān, Nādir replaced Subḥān Werdī Khān by his brother which provoked a popular rising (*R. M. M.*, xlix., p. 88). In 1727 during a revolt of the Turkomans the Kurds of Khorāsān (Čamish-gezek and Ḳaračorlu) refused their help to Nādir who punished them and transported them to Mashhad. Nādir was assassinated in 1747, while on his way to punish once more the Kurd rebels of Khorāsān (Jones, *Histoire de Nādir*, London 1770, p. 118—120). The Kurds (Dumbuli etc.) played their part in the anarchy which followed the death of Nādir but the Porte refrained from intervention.

The Zand dynasty. After the death of Nādir Shāh, Karīm Khān Zand [q. v.], one of the best rulers Persia has ever had, ruled the greater part of the country. The Zand were a Kurdish tribe of secondary importance (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 323) living between Hamadān and Malāyir in the district formerly called Ighār. Under Nādir they had been transported to Khorāsān but after his death they went back to their old homes (*Taʾrīkh-i Zandiya*, ed. Beer, p. xi., xviii.). With the death of Luṭf ʿAlī Khān in 1209 (1794) the dynasty came to an end. The Zand tribe was certainly too weak to be a serious support to the dynasty but Karīm Khān, like his predecessors had brought several Kurd tribes from Kurdistān to Shīrāz (Aḥmadāwand, *R. M. M.*, xxxviii.; Kōrūnī, who live in a particular quarter in Shīrāz. O. Mann, *Die Tājīk Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, xxix.).

The Ḳādjārs. On the death of Aghā Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār (1211 = 1797) Ṣādiḳ Khān Shaḳāḳī seized the crown jewels and for some time tried to gain the throne (*The Dynasty of the Kajars*, transl. by Harford Jones Brydges, London 1833, p. 20, 27—32, 37, 50, 78, 106; R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia*, London 1866, p. 107, 115, 125). In 1221 (1805) the Persians had intervened on behalf of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pāshā of Sulaimāniya [q. v.] (cf. Rich, *Narrative*, i., 384; Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and the Mukrī Kurd song in the collection made by O. Mann, Nº. xvi.). In 1236 (1821) as a result of troubles caused by the Kurd tribes of Haidarānlu and Sipkān the Persians invaded Turkish territory as far as Bidlis and Mūsh; at the same time they advanced as far as Sherābān near Baghdād by the Kirmānshāh road. The peace of 1238 (1823) signed at Erzerūm restored the frontier of 1049 (1639) but the Persians refused to evacuate the district of Zohāb peopled by Kurds. The fate of Sulaimāniya remained in suspense. A new war was about to break out in 1842 when Great Britain and Russia intervened to mediate and in 1246 (1847) a new treaty was signed at Erzerūm by which Zohāb was to be divided into two parts while Persia gave up all claim to Sulaimāniya in favour of Turkey. During 1848—1852, a mixed commission composed of representatives of four powers went over the frontier, but the attitude of the Ottoman delegate Darwīsh Pāshā prevented an agreement being reached. Darwīsh Pāshā not only had the canton of Ḳoṭūr occupied by soldiers but in a secret memoir (published at Constantinople in 1286 and 1321) developed the thesis that all the Kurd cantons south and west of Lake Urmia belonged to Turkey.

Turkey in the xixth century. In 1826, the ruler of Siwās, Rashīd Muḥammad Pāshā was given the task of pacifying the Kurds and installing Turkish governors in Kurdistān. About 1830 a great Kurd rising broke out in several places. Its leaders were Badr Khān and Saʿīd Beg, Ismāʿīl Beg and Muḥammad Pāshā of Rawāndūz. About 1820 (1830?) he had declared himself independent and attacked the tribes of Khoshnāw; in 1831 he seized Arbīl, Altun-Köprü, Kōi-Sandjaḳ and Rāniya. The following year he extended his power towards Mawṣil; at Alḳosh 172 Christians were put to death. ʿAḳra, Zībār and ʿAmādiya, were next taken. In 1833 the troops of Rawāndūz penetrated as far as Zākhō, and Djazīra to re-establish Badr Khān in power there. The Yazīdīs were severely punished on several occasions. Their chief ʿAlī who refused to become a convert to Islām was executed (cf. the popular ballad commemorating this event, *J. A.*, 1910, p. 134—136), and a whole body of Yazīdīs were massacred on the hill of Ḳoyundjiḳ. In 1835 Ottoman troops were sent against Muḥammad Pāshā from Baghdād, Mawṣil and Siwās and in 1836 the Mīr of Rawāndūz was captured by a ruse. Risings and their suppressions continued for several years longer (cf. Poujoulat, *Voyages*, i. 373; Moltke, *Briefe*, Berlin 1841, p. 259—284).

The defeat at Nizīb (1839) inflicted on the Ottomans by the Egyptians released new troubles in Kurdistān. In 1843 began the rising of Nūr-ullāh Beg of Hakkāri and of Badr Khān of Djazīra. The Nestorians of Hakkāri had lodged a complaint in Mawṣil against the oppressions of Nūrullāh Beg. In reply the latter laid waste the Nestorian canton of Barwārī. The massacres went on for several years and the number of victims is said to have reached 10,000. The Powers made representations at Constantinople and in 1847 a large army under ʿOthmān Pāshā attacked the Kurds. Badr Khān and Nūrallāh, defeated in several battles, surrendered and were deported from Kurdistān (cf. Layard, *Nineveh*, chap. vii.; *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1900, v. 649—653; Addai Scher in *J. A.*, 1910, *loc. cit.*; on Kurd-Nestorian affairs in general see: Grant, *The Nestorians*, New York 1841; Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852; Perkins, *A residence of 8 years ..... among the Nestorian christians*, New York 1852; Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul*, Stuttgart 1857; Riley, *Christians and Kurds*, in *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1889; Heazell, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913; Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914; Rockwell, *The pitiful plight of the Assyrian Christians*, New York 1906; H. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925).

The Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1804—1805, the Russians came into contact with the Kurds and this new influence soon made itself felt. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1828—1829, 1853—1858, 1877—1878, each had far reaching effects in Kurdistān (the question has been specially studied by Averianov, *Kurdī v voinakh Rossii*, Tiflis 1900). As early as 1829 the Russians had raised a Kurd regiment. As a result of the expatriation of Christians, the Kurds after the war began to spread considerably farther north and west. During the Crimean campaign, the Russians raised two Kurd regiments. On the other hand when the Turkish troops had left for the north, a considerable rising was stirred up in Bohtān by the popular Yazdān-Shīr, nephew and a former rival of Badr Khān.

The war of 1877—1878 was at once followed by a rising among the Hakkārī Kurds of Bahdinān and Bohtān directed by the sons of Badr Khān and later by the rebellion under Shaikh ʿUbaidallāh of the Naḳshbandī order. The Kurd invaders in 1880 ravaged the Persian districts of Urmia, Sāwdj-Bulāḳ, Miyando-āb and Maragha and threatened Tabrīz itself. The chief victims were Shīʿīs. Russia sent a detachment of troops to protect the Araxes frontier. Persia mobilised considerable forces including the Māku [q. v.] cavalry. Turkey, which had barely finished the war with Russia, endeavoured to avoid complications. Finally the Shaikh returned to Shamdinān whence he was sent to Constantinople. He soon escaped from the capital and via the Caucasus returned to Shamdinān but he was again captured and in 1883 died in Mecca.

The Hamidiya troops. The weakening of Turkey after 1878, art. 61 of the treaty of Berlin securing for the Armenians reforms and security against the Kurds and Circassians, the stubborn re-action of the Ottoman government against reforms, and from 1885 the development of the Armenian revolutionary movement with branches in Russia, Switzerland and London brought complications into the hitherto quite peaceable relations of Kurds and Armenians in as much as the latter had hitherto submitted to the authority of the Kurd feudal chiefs. About 1891 Shākir Pāshā, later appointed to bring into operation the reforms in Anatolia, conceived the idea of creating irregular Kurd regiments, like those of Russian Cossacks. The object of the reform was to train the Kurds and attach them to the Ottoman government. The attempt was not considered satisfactory for later the *Hamidiya* levies were transformed into regulars (*Khafīf suwārī*). The creation of the *Hamidiya* in any case by the part given to the Kurds and the ambitions aroused, made a considerable stir. There was even bloodshed between the tribes.

Armeno-Kurd relation. At the same time relations between the Armenians and the Kurds (these "brothers of land and water" according to a phrase recorded by the European consuls) were changing for the worse. The summer of 1894 was marked by bloody encounters at Ṣāsūn which ended by the devastation of five villages and the whole of the canton of Talori (Dalvorikh) inhabited by Armenians. The events at Ṣāsūn were the first of a long series of Armenian demonstrations and their sanguinary suppression in which the Kurds took an active part. In 1895 an attempt of a rising had been made among the Hakkārī Kurds but was speedily suppressed; it was not directed against the Christians. From the beginning of the xixth century to the world war the relations between Armenians and Kurds seem to have been fairly peaceful. On the question in general see Abowian, *Kurdī* in the *Kawkaz* newspaper, Tiflis 1848, Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, 51 (where the "father of Armenian literature" gives a very sympathetic picture of the Kurd character); Creagh, *Armenians, Koords and Turks*, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, *Zapiska k karte rasprediėleniya armiansk. naselieniya*, *Zapis. Kawkaz. Otd. Geogr. Obshch.*, Tiflis 1895, xviii.; Vambéry, *Armenier u. Kurden*, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1890, lxxxvi., p. 216—231; Rohrbach, *Armenier u. Kurden*, *Verhand. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1900, p. 128—133; Contenson, *Chrétiens et Musulmans*, Paris 1901; Lynch, *Armenia*, passim; Mayewski, *Opisaniye Wanskago i Bitlis. wilayetow*, Tiflis 1904 (the authoritative work); N. Marr, *Yeshche o slove "čelebi"*, *Zap.*, 1910, xx.; Zarzecki (consul of France at Wān), *La question kurdo-arménienne*, *La Revue de Paris*, No. of April 15, 1914 and the diplomatic correspondence, publ. in the "Livres jaunes", the "Blue books" and the Russian Orange book of 1914.

The xxth century. At the beginning of the xxth century a new figure appeared on the Kurd horizon outside of the usual centres of Kurd movements: Ibrāhīm Pāshā b. Maḥmūd b. Timawī b. Aiyūb, chief of the tribe Millī (Milān) in the canton of Sharīwerān (between Diyārbakr and Aleppo). Ibrāhīm Pāshā had made himself an almost independent position. When the constitution of 1908 was proclaimed he openly rebelled and retired to the mountains of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz where he was killed (M. Wiedemann, *Ibrahim Pascha's Glück und Ende*, *Asien*, 1909, viii. 34—37, 52—54 and M. Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, p. 317—327).

A considerable agitation was aroused among the Kurds when the question of the Turco-Persian frontier was re-opened. After the check to the Russians in the Far East (Russo-Japanese War), Turkey in 1905 occupied the disputed cantons of Urmia and Sāwdj-bulāḳ inhabited by Kurds. The latter were drawn into the very complicated political game. Turkish occupation only ceased at the beginning of the Balkan War (in October 1912) but only to make room for Russian troops sent into the districts of Khoi and Urmia. Scions of noble Kurd families travelled in Russia. On November 17, 1913 a protocol of delimitation was signed at Constantinople and just before the World War, a four Power Commission (Turkey, Persia, England and Russia) succeeded in settling the frontier of the disputed regions by re-establishing generally the *status quo* of the beginning of the xixth century (cf. Minorsky, *Turetsko-persidsk. razgranicheniye*, *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obsh.*, Petrograd 1916, lii., p. 351—392).

The War of 1914—1918. In the course of the war from 1914—1918 the Kurds were between two fires. On the activities of Ismāʿīl Agha Simko cf. the article SHAKĀK. — On the interallied plans (March 1916) regarding Kurdistān, cf. the documents in *Razdel Aziatskoi Turtsii*, Moscow 1924, p. 185—187, 225.

After 1917—1918 the situation was radically changed. Kurd committees were formed every-

where (cf. Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919; this publication is in the British Museum). Sharīf Pāshā assumed the rôle of Kurd representative in Paris and on March 22, 1919 and March 1, 1920 presented to the Peace Conference two memoirs on Kurd claims with a map of "Kurdistan intégral" (cf. *L'Asie Française*, 1919, N°. 175, p. 192—193). At the same time, on December 20, 1919, an arrangement was reached between Sharīf Pāshā and the Armenian representatives and the two parties made conjointly declarations to the conference (cf. the text of the agreement in the newspaper *Payām-i Ṣabāḥ*, Constantinople, Feb. 24, 1920; cf. also *Le Temps*, Paris, March 10, 1920). The Treaty of Sèvres of August 10, 1920 having created Armenia (Art. 88—93) of the four wilāyets (of Trebizond, Erzerūm, Wān and Bidlīs), provided in articles 62—64 for "a local autonomy for the land where the Kurd element predominates, lying east of the Euphrates, to the south of the frontier of Armenia and to the north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia". If the Kurd population within the limits mentioned shows to the Council of the League of Nations "that a majority of the population of these regions desires to be independent of Turkey and if the Council then thinks that this population is fit for independence", Turkey agrees to conform to the recommendation and in this case the allied Powers will raise no objection to the voluntary adhesion to this "independent Kurd state" of the Kurds living in the wilāyet of Mawṣil. As a result of later events the Kurd question reduced itself to the fate of the Kurds in the wilāyet of Mawṣil. The Turkish representatives held that "the Kurds differed in nothing from the Turks and that although speaking different languages, these two peoples formed a single bloc as regards race, faith and customs" (Conference at Lausanne, speech of ʿIṣmet Pasha at the meeting of Jan. 23, 1923). By the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on December 16, 1925 the wilāyet of Mawṣil was allotted to ʿIrāḳ but with a stipulation reserving to the Kurds the fulfilment of their desires, notably that "officials of Kurd race should be appointed for the government of their country, for the administration of justice and for teaching in the schools and that the Kurd language should be the official language of all these services".

During the long negotiations concerning Mawṣil serious troubles broke out in the region of Kharpūt and Diyārbakr as a result of the insurrection of Shaikh Saʿīd Nakshbandī. Shaikh Saʿīd was captured on April 16, 1925 and executed at Diyārbakr. Since the settlement of the Mawṣil question, the Angora government has enforced a policy the tendency of which is to eliminate from Kurdistān feudal and tribal influences; cf. Gentizon, *L'insurrection kurde*, *La Revue de Paris*, Oct. 15, 1925.

Bibliography: The writer has to thank Mr. G. R. Driver, who with the greatest disinterestedness put at his disposal a large quantity of historical material on the Kurds. A history of the Kurds, the preliminaries of which have been outlined above would necessitate a great deal of preparatory work and research in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Aramaic, and Georgian sources. A systematic ransacking of sources like the *Selīm-nāma* of Ḥakīm Idrīs and his son Abu 'l-Faḍl and the *Ta'rīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* would yield a rich reward. The basis of our knowledge of Kurd history is certainly the *Sharaf-nāme* (down to 1005 = 1596). The text was published (mainly from a manuscript collated by the editor himself) by Veliaminof-Zernof, *Scheref-nameh*, vol. i. (history of the Kurds), St. Petersburg 1860; vol. ii. (variants of volume i. and general history of Turkey and Persia from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to 1005 = 1596), St. Petersburg 1862. The French translation by F. Charmoy: *Chèref-nâmeh ou Fastes de la nation Kourde* in 2 volumes and four parts, St. Petersburg 1868—1875, includes commentaries (including a translation of the relevant chapters in the *Djihān-numā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa) but is now in many respects out of date and lacks an index. Cf. also the works of H. Barb, *Über die Kurden-Chronik von Scheref*; *Geschichtliche Skizze d. 33 verschiedenen kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter*; *Geschichte v. 5 Kurden-Dynastien*; *Gesch. v. weiteren Kurden-Dynastien*; *Geschichte d. kurdischen Fürstenherrschaft in Bidlis*, which appeared respectively in the *Sitzungsb. A. W. Wien*, x., 1853, p. 258—276; xxii., 1857, p. 3—28; xxviii., 1858, p. 3—54; xxx/i., 1859; xxxii., 1859, p. 145—250. The lost history of Kurdistān by Muḥammad Efendi Shahrazūrī (d. 1073 = 1662 at Madīna, cf. *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s. v. *Kurd*) has not yet come to light again (1927). For the histories of the house of Ardalān cf. SENNA where should be added the history (to 1254 = 1834) of Khusraw b. Muḥammad b. Minūčihr, cf. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, i., p. 305, N°. 498. On the *Risālat Anṣāb al-Akrād*, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of Petrograd cf. Romaskewič, in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, new ser., Petrograd 1918, p. 392. The newspaper *Zār-i Kurmāndjī* (of Rawāndūz) has published in Kurdish a short history *Gaundayi Bahāristān* (1926) and announces the early publication of the *Ta'rīkh-i Kurdān* of Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Beg. General information on Kurd history will be found in G. Campanile, *Storia della regione di Kurdistan e delle sette di religione ivi esistenti*, Naples 1818; Quatremère, *Notice sur le Masālik al-Abṣār*, *N. E.*, xiii., 1838; Rich, *Narrative* (cf. SULAIMĀNIYA); Charmoy in the preface to his translation of the *Sharaf-nāma*; Lerch, *Izslědovaniya ob iranskikh Kurdakh*, St. Petersburg 1856, i., p. 20—33; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrisch. Akten*, 1880; Tomaschek, *Sasun*, *Sitzb. A.W.W.*, p. 133-134, 1895; Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnuje*, *Sitzb. A.W. Wien*, p. 133, 1895; Rawlinson and Wilson in the *Encyclop. Britannica*, 1911, xv. 949—951; Addai Scher, *Episodes de l'histoire du Kurdistan*, *J. A.*, 1910, xv., p. 119—140: the events of 1202, 1508, 1510—1512 (Djazīra), 1523, 1689, 1712 (ʿAmādiya), 1820—1836 (Rawāndūz); Soane, *To Mesopotamia .... in disguise*, London 1912, Chap. xvi.; Minorsky, *Kurdî*, St. Petersburg 1915; Driver, *Studies in Kurdish History*, *Bull. School of Orient Studies*, London 1922, ii./3, p. 491—513. — In November 1926, Mr. Cl. Huart made several communications to the Institut des Inscriptions on the history of the Kurds but the death of the author has delayed their publication.

C. Anthropology, Sociology and Ethnography.

It is sufficient to compare the photographs of the Milli ("Arab type"), Girdi ("Mukri type"), Kočkiri ("Biblical Jew type"), Shamdinān ("Nestorian" and "Hakkāri" types) Kurds, that figure in Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, on p. 321, 343, 373, 425—429 or the types of northern Kurds given by Lynch, *Armenia*, ii., fig. 109 ("Turkoman" type) and fig. 114 (original and very marked type) to be able to say at once that any idea of finding a general formula for the "Kurd type" is quite illusory.

In consequence it is only as personal opinions that one can quote the generalisation of even the most careful observers like Duhousset, *Études sur les populations de la Perse*, Paris 1863, p. 12—16; Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur l'ethnogr. de la Perse*, Paris 1866, p. 107; Chantre, *Aperçu sur les caractères ethniques des Ansariés et des Kurdes*, *Bull. Soc. Anthrop. de Lyon*, 1882, i., p. 162; v. Luschan, *Early inhabitants of Western Asia*, *Annual Report Smithsonian Inst. for 1914*, p. 561—562; do., *Die Wandervölker Kleinasiens*, *Verh. d. Gesell. f. Anthrop.*, 1886 and *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, Berlin 1922; *Das Volk d. Kurden*, *Globus*, lvii., 25, p. 355—363; Pisson, *Races des hautes vallées du Tigre et de l'Euphrate*, *Revue Scient.*, 1892, xlix., p. 557—560, 581—588.

All these characterisations with their contradictions evidently refer only to individuals that the authors had seen but no one has ever examined all the Kurd tribes. Scientific measurements have been rarely taken; cf. Duhousset, *o. l.*, tables 7—8; Khanikoff, *o. l.*, p. 138, and the Russian works of Dr. Eliseyew, *Anthropol. exkursiya*, *Izw. Geogr. Obsh.*, xxiii. and *Po bělu Světu*, St. Petersburg 1896, iii. 319, 332, of Dr. Danilow, A. A. Iwanowski (*Yezidi*, in *Russki Antrop. Journal*, 1900, Nº. 3 with Russ. bibliography) and Dr. Pantukhow (cf. C. H., *Einige Notizen über die Kurden und Karapapachen nach Pantjuchow*, *Ausland*, 36, p. 719).

We now possess a fairly complete list of the names of Kurd tribes and their approximate distribution. But a complete survey, taking into account the facts of history and based on information collected on a uniform system would require a vast amount of preliminary work. We have the minute examination of the material available in 1856 in Lerch's work, *Izslědovaniya ob iranskikh Kurdakh*, St. Petersburg 1856, i., p. 59—121 (this part of Lerch's book is omitted in the German translation *Forschungen über die Kurden*, St. Petersburg 1857—1858). Among later compilations may be mentioned: Jaba, *Recueil de notices et récits kourdes*, St. Petersburg 1860, p. 1—7; Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1871, i.; col. Kartsew, *Zamětki o kurdakh*, in *Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, Tiflis 1897, xix., p. 339—368 (with a map) and the very fullest (305 names) by Sir Mark Sykes, *The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire*, *J. R. Anthrop. Inst. of Gr. Brit.*, 1908, p. 451—480 (with a map) reprinted in his *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, p. 553—592; Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel 1919, p. 29—74. For the Persian tribes see the articles KIRMĀNSHĀH, LAK, MĀKŪ, SAWDJ-BULĀK, SENNA and URMIA; for the Kurds in Transcaucasia see E. Kondratenko, *Ethnogr. kurtī Zakawkazya*, *Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, Tiflis 1896, appendix to vol. xviii.

Three things are characteristic of the mode of life of the Kurds: the historical tendency of the Kurds to group themselves on territorial fiefs around strongholds occupied by their chiefs, who are often of origin foreign to the local tribes; the existence of a warrior caste which supports the chief and conserves the ethnic agglomeration formed; the presence among the Kurds of shepherds (nomads and semi-nomads) as well as of agriculturists (settled or semi-settled).

Completely nomad tribes living in tents the whole year round and spending the winter in the warm plains of Mesopotamia in the vicinity of Arabs are now rather rare (cf. the list given by Sir Mark Sykes). The majority of the Kurds are semi-nomadic or settled. The former, following the climatic conditions of the country, live in villages during 5 to 8 months of the year and in summer after the harvest go to the mountains where they occupy strictly defined areas. Even the stages of migration of tribes like the Djāf (cf. SENNA) are rigorously fixed. More often the Kurds of this class confine themselves to ascending the heights adjoining their villages (called *Serdu* in the region of Sāwdj-Bulāk).

The settled Kurds seem very often to represent the older population who were conquered by the *'ashīrat* soldiers or accepted this domination to secure protection against their neighbours (cf. the article SAWDJ-BULĀK). Strabo, xvi. 3, 1 noted the presence of agriculturists among the Cyrtii of Fārs. At one time the nomad tribes of Mūsh found shelter in winter in the Armenian villages of the plains but gradually (since 1842) exclusively Kurd villages arose beside the Armenian villages; cf. *Correspondence respecting the condition of population in Asia Minor and Syria*, *Blue Books*, Turkey 1879, No 10; 1880, Nº. 4 and 23; 1881, Nº. 6 [Trotter's reports were translated into Russian in *Izw. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, Tiflis 1882, vii., appendix); Lynch, *Armenia*, 1901, ii. 423; Mayewski, *Wanskii i Bitlis. Wilayeti*, Tiflis 1904 (lists of Armenian and Kurd villages). The general tendency of the Kurds is towards a settled existence. In northern Mesopotamia the Kurds have shown themselves fairly skilful agriculturists and for this reason have an advantage over the Bedain Arab element; cf. the *Handbook* (Nº. 57) "Turkey in Asia" publ. by the Foreign Office, p. 104: "Northern Mesopotamia seems destined to become Kurdish land".

The statements of an ethnographic character (costume, occupation, games, etc.) differ from tribe to tribe in Kurdistān and a premature generalisation might prove misleading. Only the Kurds of Erīwān (living far from the great Kurd centres) have been made the subject of a complete monograph by Egiasarov (a professor of law speaking Kurdish from his infancy), *Kratkii ethnogr. očerk Kurdov Erivan. gubernii*, *Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, Tiflis 1891, xiii/2; cf. also Khalatianow, *Kurdi, čerti yikh kharaktera i bita*, *Sborn. mater. po Kawkazu*, Tiflis 1894, xx/1, p. 64—90. For the Kurds of Sulaimāniya see the remarkable work of Rich, *Narrative of a residence*, and Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*, chap. xvi.; for the region of Mukri and Urmia: Arakelian, *Kurdī v Persii*, *Izw. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsh.*, xvii/1, 1904; de Morgan, *Miss. scientifique*, *Études géogr.*, ii.; Nikitine, *Quelques observations sur les*

Kurdes, Mercure de France, I, ii., 1921, p. 662—674; *La vie domestique kurde, Revue ethnogr. et des traditions populaires*, 1923, p. 334—344.

In the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 98, 131, 173—174, 381; ii., add., p. 44) we find curious features showing the part played by women among the Kurds; they enjoyed less liberty than among the Turkomans but interfered actively in affairs and even (among the Kalhur) ruled their tribes. On Halime-khānim of Hakkāri cf. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 717; on ʿĀdila-khānim of Alabča (d. 1924 with the title "Khān bahādur" conferred by the British government) cf. Soane, *To Mesopotamia*[2], 1926 and Minorsky, *Kurdî*, St. Petersburg 1915, p. 37. Cf. also Rich, *Narrative*, ii. 285 and *passim*; Jaba, *Recueil*, p. 89, 90; Hyvernat, *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, 1892, p. 174.

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D. Religion.

The Kurds themselves believe that their ancestors were *madjūs* (Zoroastrians), cf. M. Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, p. 425, and perhaps the name Bahdinān (ʿAmādiya) may be a relic of Mandaean terminology (*bihdin* "orthodox, layman"). Aramaic Christian sources however rather suggest that the Kurds at first professed some kind of paganism. In the third century Mār Mārī of Urfa (d. 226) made converts to Christianity at Shāhgert (Shahrgert between Dakūkā and Arbil, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 270) of the king and the people who "worshipped trees and sacrificed to the idol of copper" (Raabe, *Mār Mārī*, p. 26). Ishōʿyabh built a convent near Thamānīn (near Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar) at the "spot where the Kurds had sacrificed to devils". The Kurds whom Mār Sabhā (d. 485) converted to Christianity were worshippers of the sun, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 75.

Statements regarding the attempts at evangelizing the Kurds are very scanty but it is a fact that Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 254, mentions among the Kurds al-Yaʿḳūbiya and al-Djūrḳān Christians living near Mawṣil and Djabal al-Djūdī (cf. Marco Polo, Ch. xxiv.). After their conversion to Islām, the Kurds frequently supported the Khāridjī movement (the rising of the Zandj slaves in the region of Baṣra, that of Daisam in Ādharbāidjān; cf. Masʿūdī, *ibid.*, v., p. 231; the Kurds scattered through Ādharbāidjān are known as *shurāt* = Khāridjis). There were also Kurds who denied the authority of the Caliphs ʿOthmān and ʿAlī (Masʿūdī, *ibid.*, iii. 233). According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 14, all the Muslim Kurds followed the Shāfiʿī Sunni rite (Ewliyā Čelebi, iv. 75, says the same). It is however certain that there were Shīʿis among the Kurds under Persian rule. In the reign of Öldjäitü there was even a Kurd *mahdī*. The Shakāki [q.v.] living among the Shāh-sewan Turks became Shīʿis; cf. also the evidence of the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 316 on the Dumbulī following Shīʿa doctrine (the meaning of the term *ṣuʿūnī* which the same author, i. 117 applies to four tribes of Djazīra in contrast to the three Yazīdī tribes is not very clear).

On the other hand the testimony of the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 14, is very convincing on the spread among the Kurds of Yazīdī doctrines (the Dāsenī, Khālidī, Basiyān tribes and parts of the Bokhtī, Maḥmūdī and Dumbulī, not to speak of the Sindjār which the *Sharaf-nāma* does not mention); cf. YAZIDIS.

Of the Pāzūkī tribe, the *Sharaf-nāma* remarks (i. 328) that it has no definite religion; from its close connection with the Ṣafawīs, one might suppose that it held extreme Shīʿa views.

At the present day the great majority of the Kurds are still Shāfiʿī Sunnīs. Even in Senna only the former ruling family of the Wālī Ardalān was Shīʿī. The Shīʿī tribes of the provinces of Kirmānshāh are for the most part extremists; cf. Minorsky, *Notes sur les Ahl-i-Haḳḳ*, *R. M. M.*, 1920, xl., p. 59; for the district of Mawṣil see the articles SARLI and SHABAK. As a general rule extremist views, more or less Shīʿī, find adherents rather among the Irānian tribes of Kurdistān who are not true Kurds (Gūrān, Zāzā). On the other hand the Kurds are much under the influence of Shaikhs of the various Sunnī orders (especially the Naḳshbandī and Ḳādiriya whose head-quarters are at Awrāmān, Sulaimāniya, Mukrī, Shamdīnān, Khurpāt, etc.). Their influence was apparent in the risings of Badr Khān (cf. Layard, *Discoveries*, London 1853, p. 375), ʿUbaidallāh (1880), Shaikh Saʿīd (1926) etc.; cf. SHAMDINAN and the articles by Nikitine there mentioned.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted, cf. N. Marr, *Yeshčë o slove "čelebi"*, *Zap.*, 1910, xx. (the author studies the cultural part played by the Kurd nation in the history of Nearer Asia and thinks he can find among the Kurds (Yazīdīs?) survivals of pagan beliefs; cf. ČELEBI); S. Reinach, *Charme pour obtenir la pluie* (in Kurdistān), *L'Anthropologie*, 1906, xvii., p. 633; Volland, *Aberglauben in Armenien und Kurdistan*, *Globus*, 1907, xci., Nº. 22, p. 341—344 (on cups covered with magical inscriptions); Driver, *The religion of the Kurds*, *Bull. School of Orient. Studies*, 1922, ii/ii., p. 197—215; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme*, *R. H. R.*, 1922.

E. The Kurdish Language.

Kurdish, like Persian, is a western Irānian language but its descent is different from that of Persian. The history of the separation of western Irānian into a northern and a southern branch has been traced by Andreas, Salemann, O. Mann (*Die Tajik Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. i.—xxvi.), Meillet, *M. S. L.*, 1911—1912, xvii.; Lentz, *Die nordiranischen Elemente in d. neupers. Literatursprache bei Firdosi*, *Z. für Indologie und Iranistik*, 1926, iv. But P. Tedesco, in

his *Dialektologie d. westiranischen Turfantexte*, *Le Monde Oriental*, 1921, xv., fasc. 1—3, has shown that "western" Īrānian (distinguished from Eastern Īrānian: Soghdian, Saka) shows a considerable interpenetration of its northern and southern branches and this result has been corroborated by the work of W. Lentz quoted above.

In spite of this confusion and the co-existence of heterodox elements in the modern languages Kurdish as a whole shows a character clearly distinct from that of Persian. This fact would be more obvious if our Kurdish documents were not of much later date than the period in which the Persian literary language established its supremacy. The main characteristics of Kurdish compared with Persian are as follows:

a. Its specific pronunciation, the frequency of the Semitic ع and ح even in Īrānian words like *ʿasp* (horse), *ḥawt* (seven); the velar *l* (a little different from the Slav and Turkish ł), the rolled *r* distinguished from the weak *r*; the bilabial *w*; two consonants tolerated at the beginning (e. g. *brā*, *shtik*), and the sonant *n* and *r* acquiring a vocalic character (almost *bʾn̥ kʾr̥t*).

b. The fundamental difference in the phonetic treatment of the same Īrānian material is illustrated by the following examples:

Persian	Kurdish
dil	*zird*
ādhar (ātash)	*āhir* and *āgir*
māhī	*māsī*
namāz	*nuwēž*

c. Morphological differences: the survival of the oblique case; determinative suffix ("definite article") in *akā*; different personal inflections: 3 pers. pron. poss. *-ī/-ian*, plur. of the present: 1st person in *in*, 2nd and 3rd *in*; a form of *iḍāfat* (especially in the plural) in *t* (*-d*) (cf. the Ossetic plural in *tä*), e. g. *yār-ī te* "thy friend", *yārid te*, "thy friends"; the old passive in *-ya* (cf. Salemann, *Zum mittelpers. Passiv*, St. Petersburg 1900; Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, p. 102) and a passive in *re*.

d. Syntactical differences: survival of the passive construction of transitive verbs in the preterite, particularly complicated in verbs compounded with prepositions (*kūistān-iān lī brīwin* "they have cut us off from the mountains" literally: "the mountains [by them|from we have—been—cut").

e. Lexicological differences: Not only, like the majority of the dialects of the north-west, does the Kurdish oppose *kar-*, *kap-* (and *vāč-*) respectively to the *kun-*, *uft-* (and *gō-*) of the south-west but it has *hāt* for *āmad*, *ānī* for *āward*, *kūt* for *shikast*, *nārd* for *firistād* etc. The many borrowings from literary Arabic form an element connecting Kurdish with Persian but Kurdish also borrows from spoken Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Aramaic and Armenian. In addition, Kurdish and Armenian may have borrowed from the same indigenous sources not yet identified.

While then the Īrānian dialects of the north-west and south-west are not separated by an abyss, for all practical purposes Kurdish has its own well-marked type, which differentiates it not only from Modern Persian but from the other dialects of the north-west (Samnānī, "central" dialects, etc.).

Kurdish itself moreover includes very different dialects. The majority of the Kurdish dialects are included under the term Kurmāndjī. According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, the Kurdish nation consists of four sections: Kurmāndj, Lur, Kalhur, and Gūrān. Of these tribes the Lurs [q.v.] as far as their physical appearance and their language are concerned gravitate towards the south-west group (O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910) and form a unity apart. The Gūrān (cf. ZOHĀB) like their relatives the Awrāmī (cf. SENNA), *Zāzā* [q.v.] etc. speak dialects of the north-west differing considerably from Kurdish (cf. "three" in Gūrānī: *yeri*, in *Zāzā*: *hirye* agreeing with the Samnānī *heirā*, while Kurdish has *sē*); the Zāzā, according to Andreas (recorded by Christiansen) are related to the old Dailamites and this hypothesis is corroborated by traditions still alive among the Awrāmī (E. Soane, *In Disguise to .... Kurdistan*, p. 377).

According to the *Sharaf-nāma* the Kalhurs occupied the region between Senna, Kirmānshāh and Zohāb. The term Kalhur seems therefore to correspond in the *Sharaf-nāma*, p. 13, to the Kurd group "non-Kurmāndjī" of the districts of Senna and Kirmānshāh. These dialects have been studied by O. Mann but this part of his collections has not yet been published. According to the prospectus of his *Kurdisch-persische Forschungen* (the publication of which has been taken up by K. Hadank) one volume is to include the southern dialects of the province of Kirmānshāh; Kirmānshāhī, Kalhurī, Lakkī, Pahrawandī, Nānakalī and Kulyāī, the latter in the district of Sunkur [q. v.]; another volume will be devoted to the dialects of the province of Kurdistān [cf. SENNA] and to those of Kirind [q. v.] and Garrūs (otherwise Bīdjār, east of Senna). The people who speak these dialects usually call them Kurdī or by the name of the tribe concerned. On the borders of Luristān (in Lakistān) the southern Kurdish dialects are known as *Lakkī* (cf. O. Mann, *Kurze Skizze der Luridialecte S. B. A. W.*, 1904, xxxix.; Čirikow, *Putewoi journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 227). There are Lak at Salmās [q. v.] and in the Province of Fārs (but the Kurd dialect of Kalān-Abdū, described by O. Mann, *Die Tājik Mundarten*, p. 135 is not Lakkī). The southern Kurd dialects of western Persia have lost the important features of Kurdish (e. g. the passive formation of the preterite in transitive verbs). The existence of these non-Kurmāndjī dialects may prove to be of some importance in settling the problem of the Kardū-*Κύρτιοι*.

We do not know the origin of the name Kurmāndj. Is it a compound of Kurd with the name of another tribe of Media? In the Kurmāndjī area properly so-called two groups of dialects are distinguished: the eastern group (or rather south-east) and the western. Their exact boundaries are not yet defined. Eastern Kurmāndjī is spoken in the Mukrī region [cf. SAWDJ-BULĀḲ] and in the region of the tributaries of the Tigris: the Little Zāb, ʿAdaim [q. v.] and the Diyāla [q. v.]. It is a very pure dialect and rich from the morphological point of view. The western branch includes the remainder of the Kurmāndjī dialects with their local peculiarities (Diyārbakr, Mārdīn, Bokhtān, Bahdīnān, Hakkārī, Urmia, Erīwān, Erzerūm and the Kurd colonies in Asia Minor and Khorāsān). The Kurds of Northern Syria seem to use various dialects full of borrowings from Turkish (cf. Le Coq's collection).

Ewliyā Čelebi, iv. 75, enumerates 15 Kurdish dialects (*lisān*).

Garzoni, *Grammatica*, distinguishes the dialect of ʿAmādiya from those of Bidlis, Djūlāmerg, Bokhtān and Sulaimāniya. Cf. also the scheme of classification in Soane, *Grammar of the Kurmanji*.

Bibliography: A list of all studies of Kurdish from 1783 to date is given in Lerch: *Issledovaniya*, iii., p. i.—xxxi. and in the *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.*, i/2., 253—254. The only scientific Kurdish grammars are: Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg 1880, and Socin, *Die Sprache d. Kurden* in *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, i/2, p. 249—286; these two are mainly concerned with Western Kurmāndjī. In Eastern Kurmāndjī the fundamental work is: O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, Berlin 1909, i., p. xxxiii.—cvi.: *Grammatische Skizze*; cf. also Soane, *Notes on the Phonology of Southern Kurmanji*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, p. 199—226. The only Kurdish dictionary in existence is that of A. Jaba–F. Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879; it sums up all that had been published before this date (the supplement by H. Schindler appeared in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxviii/1) but it is not sufficient for practical purposes. On the manuscript of a voluminous Kurdish dictionary compiled by E. B. Soane and belonging to the School of Oriental Studies, cf. E. D. Ross in the *Times*, Feb. 19, 1926.

The following is a list of the specimens of Kurdish dialects that are so far available:

I. Persian group: A. Senna-Kirmānshāh: Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, St. Petersburg 1857—1858, bibliography, a fragment of the *Gulistān* in the dialect of Senna; H. Schindler, *Beiträge z. kurdischen Wortschatze*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1884, xxxviii., words and phrases in Zangana and Kalhuri; do., *Weitere Beiträge*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1888, xlii., p. 73—79, analysis of a Sennāʾī vocabulary; Soane, *Southern Kurdish Folk-Song in Kermānshāhī*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 35: cf. also De Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, *V*, cf. the review by O. Mann, in *Die Mundart d. Mukri-Kurden*, i., p. xxi.

B. Scattered Dialects: A. Querry, *Le dialecte guerrouci*, *M.S.L.*, 1895, ix., p. 1—23, Garrūsī of the Khodjāwand in Māzandarān; O. Mann, *Die Tājīk-Mundarten*, Berlin 1909, p. 135—155, Kurdish dialect of Kalūn Abdū in Fārs; W. Iwanow, *Khurāsānī Kurdish*, to appear in the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society: this dialect is near to the Kurmāndjī of Erzerūm; cf. also Bérézine, *Etudes*, phrases in Khorāsān Kurdish; H. Schindler, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxviii/i., Amarlu dialect in Khorāsān, and various books of travels; Brugsch, *Reise d. preussischen Gesandschaft*, 1863, ii. 496—498: Kurds of the environs of Ṭeherān.

II. Eastern Kurmāndjī: Chodzko, *Etudes philologiques sur la langue Kurde*, *J.A.*, 1857, p. 297—356, dialect of Sulaimāniya collected in Paris; O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, Berlin 1906, i., complete grammar, text, Berlin 1909, ii., translations, essay on the ballads of the Eastern Kurds; E. B. Soane, *Notes on a Kurdish dialect (Sulaimania)*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 891—940; do., *Grammar of the Kurmanji Language*, London 1913, xvi. 289; Bittner, *Die heiligen Bücher d. Jeziden*, *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.*, lv/iv., 1913; Soane, *Elementary Kurmanji grammar*, Baghdād 1919, 194 pages; do., *Kitāb-i Awwalamini Qiraat-i Kurdi*, Baghdād 1920; L. O. Fossum, *A practical Kurdish grammar* (Mukri), Minneapolis 1919; cf. also: Bérézine, *Recherches sur les dialectes musulmans*, Kazan 1853; H. Schindler, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1884, xxxviii.; de Morgan, *Mission scientifique V*, 1904; von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, ii., under Bābā = Bābān.

III. Northern and Western Kurmāndjī. Eriwān: S. A. Egiazarow, *Kratkii etnografičeskii očerk Kurdow*, *Zap. Kawkaz. otd. Geogr. Obshčestwa*, xiii/1, Tiflis 1891, compte-rendu *W.Z.K.M.*, vi., p. 178; Khačaturow, *Kurdskie tekstī*, *Sbornik materialow dlya opisaniya Kawkaza*, Tiflis 1894, xx., p. 1—16, the language of the Baruklī Kurds, near Mount Ararat; Adjarian, *Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet*, *M.S.L.*, 1911, xvi., p. 349—383. Erzerūm-Bāyazīd: Jaba, *Recueil des notice et extraits kurdes*, St. Petersburg 1860; Jaba-Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879, based principally on texts from Bāyazīd but utilising all available materials; Jaba, *Dialogues kurde-français*, manuscript in my possession. Urmia-Hakkārī-Shamdinān: F. Müller, *Kurdisches und syrisches Wörterverzeichniss*, *Orient und Occident*, publ. by Benfey, iii., p. 104; S. Rhea, *Brief grammar and vocabulary of the Kurdish language of the Hakkārī district*, *J.A.O.S.*, 1872, x., p. 118—155; Makas, *Kurdische Studien*, Heidelberg 1900, p. 16—18; *Ein Gedicht aus Gawar*, on other materials from Gawar, cf. M. Hartmann in *Bull. Acad.*, St. Petersburg 1900; Nikitine, *Kratkii russko-kurdskii voyennī perevodčik*, Urmia 1916; Noel, *The Character of the Kurds as illustrated by their Proverbs* (Hakkārī), *Bull. School Orient. Studies*, i/iv., 1921, p. 79—90; Agha Petros Ellow, *Assyrian, Kurdish and Yezidi*, Baghdād 1920, 87 pages; Nikitine and Soane, *The Tale of Suto and Tato*, *Bull. School Oriental Studies*, 1923, iii/i., p. 69—106; Nikitine, *Kurdish stories*, *ibid.*, 1926, iv/1, p. 121—138. Bahdinān-Bohtān: M. Garzoni, *Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua kurda*, Rome 1787, materials collected at ʿAmādiya; on the peculiarity of this dialect, cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 107; A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1890, ii.-a and ii.-b, text and translation in the dialect of "Bohtān" collected at Zākhō; Jardine, *Bahdinan Kurmanji*, Baghdād 1922, materials collected at Zākhō and presented as the "Kurmanji of the Kurds of Mosul division and surrounding districts of Kurdistan"; Dufresne, *Un conte kurde de la région de Sʿīrd*, *J.A.*, 1910, p. 107—128, in the dialect of Bohtān but dictated by a "Saʿīd Hikkari effendi"; Yūsuf Ḍiyā al-Dīn pāshā al-Khālidī, *al-Hadiya al-Ḥamīdiya fi 'l-Lughati 'l-Kurdiya*, Stambul 1310, the author was Ḳāʾim-maḳām at Mōtkī (Mōdkī), cf. the compte-rendu *J.A.*, series ix., vol. 2, p. 545 and M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*; P. Beidar, *Grammaire Kurde*, Paris 1926: the dialect of Zākhō-Djazīra. Ṭūr ʿAbdīn-Mārdīn-Diyārbakr: P. Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, St. Petersburg 1857—1858, texts collected at Roslawl from prisoners of war natives of the environs of Diyārbakr; Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1887, i.-a and i.-b, texts and translations, dialect of Ṭūr

'Abdîn; Makas, *Kurdische Studien*, Heidelberg 1900, p. 1—16: *Eine Probe des Dialektes v. Diyarbakir*; do., *Kurdische Texte*, St. Petersburg-Leningrad 1897—1926, collected in Budapest, dialect of Mardin. Northern Syria: von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, Berlin 1903, not for sale, i., p. 1—81, texts collected at Zendjirli, + 1—92, phototype of the *Nawbahār* and *Mawlid-i Nabī*; ii. 1—115, transcription of texts of vol. i. and phrases in Zāzā, Lōlō (?) and Bābā = Mukri. Cf. also Bérézine, *Études sur les dialectes musulmans*, Kazan 1853; Soane, *The Shādī branch of Kurmanji*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 895; Soane, *Grammar of the Kurmanji*, 1913.

Folklore, Literature, Newspapers.

The collections of Kurdish stories made by Jaba, Lerch, Prym-Socin, von Le Coq, O. Mann, Makas and Nikitine give a fair idea of the Kurds as story-tellers. The themes are often taken from folklore common to the Nearer East (fables, fairy-tales, stories of fools; cf. Mirza M. Djewad al-Kazi, *Ein Kurdisches Märchen*, *Globus*, 96, p. 187); more numerous and more interesting are the stories of the loves of popular heroes, of the wars of the clans etc. Prym-Socin and Makas have given detailed commentaries on the subject matter of stories of this category. O. Mann illustrated the ballad of the siege of Dimdimkal's in 1017 (1608) from the evidence of the official history of 'Abbās I. Many popular subjects are treated both in prose and verse. Some cycles with their variants form regular epics like the *Mem-u Zīn*, the story of a pair of lovers at the court of the emir of Bohtān, of which we have Aḥmad-khānī's version and very numerous popular variants: Lerch, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii. 242—255; Prym-Socin, Nº. xxi.; Mann, Nº. ii.; Makas, Nº. i. Cf. also: B. Chalatianz, *Kurdische Sagen*, *Zeitsch. d. Vereins. f. Volkerkunde*, 15, 1905, p. 322—330; 16, 1906, p. 35—46 and 402—414; 17, 1907, p. 76—80.

Jaba's informant (*Recueil de notices*, p. 7—9) furnished him with a list of 9 Kurd poets but the data must be taken with some caution. These poets are:

'Alī of Ḥarīr (in Shamdīnān) who lived 400—471 (1009—1078), which almost makes him contemporary with Firdawsī (?). He is the author of a Kurdish *dīwānča*.

Shaikh Aḥmad Malā-i Djizrī, a native of Djazīra where his tomb is still to be seen. He is said to have flourished between 540 and 556 (1145—1160) in the time of a chief 'Imād al-Dīn. But the *Dīwān* of Malā-i Djizrī publ. in phototype by M. Hartmann, *Das Kurdische Diwan des Schêch Aḥmed*, Berlin 1904, mentions the name (fol. 221) of the Persian poet Djāmī, who died in 898 (1492) so that he cannot be earlier than the end of the xvth century. An ode dedicated to *Khān-i Khānān*, who is the Shāh of Kurdistān (f. 171) who rules at Tabrīz and who is greater than the Shāh of Khorāsān (f. 177) may refer to some Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu [q. v.] ruler.

Faḳī Ṭeirān (707-777 = 1302-1375), born and buried at Muks, was really called Muḥammad and used the *takhalluṣ* of Mīm Ḥaiy. He wrote the *Ḥikāyata Shaikh Senāna* (*Ṣan'ān*), "Stories of Barsīsa", the *Ḳawl-i ḥasp-i rash* ("The words of the black courser of the Prophet") and other poems.

Malā-i Batē (Mullā Aḥmad), born and buried in the village of Batē in Hakkārī (820—900 = 1417—1494), is the author of a *Dīwān* and a *Mawlid*. The latter has been published in phototype by H. von Le Coq (*Kurd. Texte*, i. 49—96).

Aḥmad Khānī of Hakkārī flourished between 1000 and 1063 (1591—1652) and was buried at Bāyazīd near the mosque bearing his name. He wrote the poem *Mem-u Zīn*, analysed by Jaba-Lerch, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii. 242—255 and publ. in 1338 (1920) at Constantinople by the publishers of the *Zīn* newspaper. His rhymed Arabic-Kurdish glossary *Naw-bār* ("Firstlings") has been published by Yūsuf Ḍiyā al-Dīn, who gives it the date of 1094 (*al-Hadiya al-Hamīdiya*, p. 279—297), and in facsimile by Le Coq, i. 1—47. Aḥmad Khānī also wrote many poems in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish.

Ismā'īl of Bāyazīd, an imitator of Aḥmad Khānī (1065-1121 = 1654-1709), is the author of a Kurmāndjī-Arabic-Persian glossary *Gulzār* and many ghazals and poems. Sharīf-Khān, born and buried in Djulāmerg (1101—1161 = 1689—1748), belonged to the family of the Amīrs of Hakkārī. He is the author of a large number of verses in Kurmāndjī and in Persian. Murād Khān of Bāyazīd (1150-1190 = 1737-1784) wrote lyric poems.

On the collections of Kurd poetry belonging to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg, cf. Lerch, *Issliêdovaniya*, iii., p. xxvi. In 1322 (1904) appeared in Cairo the *Mawlid al-Nabī bi 'l-Lugha al-Kurdīya* of Kurdī-zāda Aḥmad Rāmiz.

In the Kurdish newspaper (cf. below) we find biographical information about and specimens of the poetry of the following poets: Shāh Partau of Hakkārī whose *dīwān* was finished in 1221 (1806); Nālī who is very popular in the region of Eastern Kurmāndjī, flourished towards the middle of the xixth century; a selection of his poems appeared at Constantinople in the anthology entitled *Shu'arā* (by Amīn Faiḍī); Ḥādjdjī Ḳādir Kōī, very conscious of his Kurdish nationality (xixth century); 'Abdullāh Beg Miṣbāḥ al-Dīwān ("Adab"), d. in Sāwdj-Bulāḳ during the world war; Shaikh Razāy (Riḍā) of the family of Ṭalabānī (on the Sirwān), d. about 1910; Ṭāhir Bey Djāf, son of 'Othmān Pasha of Alabča, d. about 1920. The contemporary poets are: 'Alī Kāmil of Sulaimānīya, 'Abd al-Ḳādir Zahāwī of Baghdād, Aḥmad Beg Fattāḥ Ṣāḥibḳirān of Sulaimānīya, Muṣṭafā Bey Djāf (a satirical poet), Aḥmad Beg Djāf, son of 'Ādila Khānim Kirkūkī ("Aṯhir"). Other poets, whose names are found in the newspapers are: Shaikh Nūrī Bābā 'Alī, 'Alī Beg Sālār Sa'īd, Mullā Raḥīm Mukrī ("Wafā'ī"), Kāka Mīm (= Amīn) Mukrī, Kāk Muṣṭafā Irānī (= "Murshid-i Kāmil"), 'Abd al-Khālik, Sālim etc.

Jaba's authority (*Recueil*, p. 12) gives several authors of textbooks in Kurdish ('Alī of Taramākh [after 1000 = 1591] wrote an Arabic grammar in Kurdish and Malā Yūnis of Halḳatīn wrote three grammatical works on *taṣrīf*, *ẓurūf* and *tarkīb*). To the same category belongs the "canonical Muslim prayer" written down about 1783 and published by C. Huart in *J. A.*, 1895, Nº. 1, p. 86—109, as well as the works already mentioned by Aḥmad Khānī etc. But as a rule Kurd authors writing on general subjects prefer Arabic, Persian or Turkish.

Among those who wrote in Arabic were the celebrated jurists and theologians: 'Īsā Hakkārī, d. 585 (1189); Tādj al-Dīn Shahrazūrī, d. at

Damascus in 643 (1245) (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii. 188, 430); ʿAbdullāh al-Kurdī of Sindjār (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 142). On the Aiyūbid prince Abu 'l-Fidā', historian and geographer, see the article on him. Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 49, quotes the Arabic ode of Husain Bashnawī, a poet at the court of the Marwānids and mentions (xi. 7—8) the existence among the Kurds of men versed in local traditions. The *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 341—342) mentions among the natives of Bidlīs Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Mawlānā Muḥammad Bar-ḳal'ī and Shaikh ʿAmmār Yāsir (cf. *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Nassau-Lees, p. 479) and speaks of the *ʿulamā'* and *fuḍalā'* of ʿAmādia. On the Kurd theologians of the modern period see the review *Rōzh-kurd*, Nº. 2, p. 23.

Many historical works have been written by Kurds in Persian (cf. above). The *Dīwān* of the Kurd poetess Māh Sharaf-khānim, d. 1264 (1847) (cf. SENNA), was published with a biographical notice at Ṭeherān in 1926.

Among writers in Turkish of Kurdish origin was reckoned the very celebrated poet Fuḍūlī [q. v.] of Baghdād, d. 968 (1556). But Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Fuḍūlī, Ḥayātī we-Eṭhari*, Stambul 1924, p. 13—14 says that Fuḍūlī was a Turk of the Bayāt tribe. The Bayāts are certainly Turks, but it may be noted that Khurshīd Efendi, *Siyāḥat-nāme-i Ḥudūd*, Russ. transl., p. 193—194 mentions the Bayāt clans (*ṭīrḥa*) of Kifrī and Tuz-Khurmatlī among the Kurds. Modern Turkish literature has quite a number of writers of Kurd origin (cf. J. Deny on the origin of the sociologist Ḍiyā Gök Alp, *R. M. M.*, 1925, lxi., p. 3).

The publications of the Christian missionaries form a special category in Kurdish literature. The Gospel has been translated into several dialects: the Kirmānshāhī version was published in London in 1900. The Gospel according to St. Mark in Mukrī was published at Philippopolis in 1909. M. Fossum has published a Protestant catechism in Mukrī and in his grammar has given a rhymed translation of "Onward, Christian Soldiers" adapted to local conditions. Several of these publications are printed in the Armenian alphabet (Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, p. xxix.) and seem to be intended for the Armenians (of Diyārbakr) whose usual language is Kurdish. In April 1914 the Protestant missionaries of Urmia published the first number of the magazine *Kurdistān* (in Mukrī).

The first Kurd newspaper that we know of is *Kurdistān* published successively in Cairo, London and Folkestone, by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Beg, son of Badr Khān Beg of Bohtān. The Preussische Staatsbibliothek has Nos. 1—31, 1315—1320 (1892—1902); cf. *W. Z. K. M.*, xii., p. 112 and Makas, *Kurd. Stud.*, p. 19. After the Young Turk revolution, the Kurd students (*ṭullāb*) who had formed an association called *Hīwī* (Unity) founded the monthly review *Rōzh Kurd* (The Kurd Day) of which the first two Nos. embellished with portraits of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Karīm Khān Zand appeared in Stambul on June 6 and July 6, 1329 (1912) under the editorship of ʿAbd al-Karīm of Sulaimānīya; later this review got the name *Hatāwī Kurd* (The Kurd Sun). The magazine *Kurdistān* published by the missionaries of Urmia has already been mentioned above. The renewal of Kurd activity after the war of 1914—1918 was marked by the production of several newspapers in Constantinople, Egypt and Kurdistān (Diyārbakr, etc.). The earliest was the weekly *Zīn* ("Life") founded in 1919, which, though published in Turkish and in Constantinople, was dedicated to the propagation of the idea "Kurdistān for the Kurds". Nº. 32 appeared on 1st Djumādā I, 1338 = Jan. 23, 1920. As to Kurdish newspapers, in default of a complete list we may mention *Kurdistān*, a bi-monthly published in Cairo by Aḥmad ʿAzīz (i. e. of the tribe of Badr Khān); Nº. 2 is dated 15th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 1335; Nº. 11, 15th Rabīʿ I, 1336. The first newspaper published in Sulaimānīya was *Pīshkawtin* ("Progress"), later replaced by *Bāng-i Kurdistān*, which was edited, before the English evacuation, by Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Pasha (13 Nos. between Aug. 2 and Oct. 1922); *Rōzh-i Kurdistān*, organ of the "king of Kurdistān" (Maḥmūd I = Shaikh Maḥmūd), publ. at Sulaimānīya by Muḥammad Nūrī, Nº. 1 dated 15th ix. 1922 and Nº. 15 8th iii. 1923; *Bāng-i Ḥaḳḳ*, publ. by Shaikh Maḥmūd after his flight (Nos. 1—8, iii.; Nº. 3—12, iv., 1923); cf. Edmonds *A Kurdish Newspaper*, *Journal Centr. As. Soc.*, 1925, i., p. 83—90; *Ziyānawe* ("Resurrection"), official (*ḥukūmāti*) weekly of Sulaimānīya (Nº. 1-18, viii., 1924); *Diyārī-yi Kurdistān* ("The Gift of K."), a weekly review in three languages publ. at Baghdād by Ṣāḥibḳirān-zāde and Rashīd Shawkī, Nos. 1—11, March 1925; *Zār-i Kurmāndjī*, a weekly review publ. at Rawāndiz by Saiyid Ḥusain Mukrī and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Gēw, founded 12th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, 1344. (V. MINORSKY)

ḲURḲŪB, a town in Khūzistān, on the road from Wāsiṭ to Sūs (Susa). The statements regarding distances given by the Arab geographers are now collected and arranged in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, 1921, iv., p. 396 *sq.*; cf. also p. 431. The town was noted for its carpets; there was also a *ṭirāz* of the Sulṭān there. A material called *sūsandjird* was made there, cf. de Goeje's glossary in *B. G. A.*, iv., *s. v.* Al-Iṣṭakhrī says that the *sūsandjird* of Fasā [q. v.] is better than that of Ḳurḳūb; the latter was a mixture of silk and cotton while in the former wool was used.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 241, 246; Schwarz, *loc. cit.*, ii. 98, where all the important quotations from the Arab geographers are given.

(M. PLESSNER)

ḲURRA B. SHARĪK B. MARTHAD B. ḤĀZIM B. AL-ḤĀRITH AL-ʿABSĪ AL-ḲAISĪ, governor of Egypt, belonged to the tribe of Ḳais b. ʿAilān and was therefore a north Arabian. His native town was Ḳinnasrīn in Syria. We do not know whether he had already held a high office before his appointment as governor of Egypt, but it is exceedingly probable, especially as the Umaiyads were particularly careful only to appoint to this important office men of proved ability. As conditions then were, only a tried man in whom the caliphs had entire confidence could be considered for the governorship rendered vacant by the departure of prince ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Ḳurra entered al-Fusṭāṭ on the 3rd or 13th Rabīʿ I, 90 (Jan. 20 or 30, 709) and assumed complete control of the country, including its financial administration. He remained in office till his death on 23rd Rabīʿ I, 96 (Dec. 6, 714). Later biased historians have given us a very erroneous picture of the man. He is put alongside of the notorious al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, which meant that he was of the lowest moral character and is described as

a brutal tyrant and heretic. The historian loves to dwell on the story that he did not hesitate to have a drinking bout with music in the newly built mosque of ʿAmr. We get a very different picture of this undoubtedly important figure from contemporary documents, yielded by the finds of papyri in the last fifty years. They reveal him as a conscientious and faithful official, strict towards his subordinates, lenient towards the people, the ruthless exploitation and oppression of whom by the minor officials he did his best to check. He devoted all his energies to a just and wise rule, always keeping the future of the land in view. That there were occasional hardships is easily understood, they never became a system with him, as with other amīrs of the land. The serious economic damage which the famine of 86/87 (705/706) inflicted on the land with its terrible increase in prices, which was not made good even in 88, forced Ḳurra to devote his whole energy to increasing agricultural production in Egypt. A measure as effective as it was farseeing was the recultivation of fallow lands, and great public works, of which the name *Iṣṭabl Ḳurra* for the *Birkat al-Ḥabash* still reminds us, which Ḳurra restored to cultivation in its entirety. He is said to have planted fields of sugar-cane. In these circumstances quite a different light is thrown on the fact that Ḳurra found himself forced to depart from a very old tradition in the distribution of taxation and to make newly converted Copts pay the *djizya*, from which they had hitherto been exempt, by making them share in the cumulative quota of their community. Ḳurra's name is also connected with the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr in al-Fusṭāṭ (old Cairo). In the year 65 Maslama b. Mukhallad had carried out the first and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān the second extension of this notable building and Ḳurra was ordered by the Caliph al-Walīd I to remove the whole mosque and erect a new one on its site. The work under the direction of Yaḥyā b. Ḥanẓala took from Shaʿbān 92 till Ramaḍān 93 to complete.

Bibliography: al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt*, ed. Rh. Guest, *G. M. S.*, London 1912, xix., p. 63, 65; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *al-Nudjūm al-ẓāhira*, part ed. by T. G. J. Juynboll, Leiden 1855, i., p. 78, 233, 241—244; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i., p. 302; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1201, 1208, 1266, 1305; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv. 433, 434, 460; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, i., *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, 1875, xx., p. 39 *sq.*; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, Strassburg 1900, p. 100 *sq.*; do., *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i., *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, Heidelberg 1906, iii., p. 15—19; *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, iii., Series Arabica, ed. A. Grohmann, Vienna 1924, i/3, p. 46. Ḳurra's name is also found on two bottle stamps in the collection Fouquet in P. Casanova, *Catalogue des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la collection Fouquet*, *M. I. F. A. O.*, 1893, vi., p. 367, i., Nº. 96 and 96bis and on one in University College collection (London) in Flinders Petrie, *Glass Stamps and Weights*, London 1926, Nº. 87. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

ḲURṢ. [See AḲRĀṢ.]

KURSĪ, an Arabic loan-word from the Aramaic *kursyā* (Syriac form; Hebrew: *kissē*; Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 128; S. Fraenkel, *De vocabulis peregrinis*, p. 22), throne. It is only found twice in the Ḳurʾān (ii. 256; xxxviii. 33); its occurrence in the first of these has given the verse the name of the Throne Verse (*āyat al-kursī*); the reference is to the throne of God, which is large enough to embrace the heavens and the earth. In the second passage the reference is to the throne of Solomon. The use of two different words, *ʿarsh* and *kursī*, for the throne of God, very early troubled the exegists; some have seen in the second the stool placed in front of a throne on which a sovereign rests his feet: cf. the sculptures of Persepolis (Abū Mūsā, Ashʿarī, according to Suddī etc., in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii. 7) while others took it to be only a synonym of *ʿarsh* (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, *ibid.*), and one school interpreted it allegorically, saying that the *kursī* of God is simply his knowledge (Saʿīd b. Djubair according to Ibn ʿAbbās, *ibid.*). The use of this word in the second passage for "a throne on which one sits" shows clearly that it is a synonym of *ʿarsh*.

The idea of an erection square in shape (which is also the origin of the word *ʿarsh*) is retained in the different meanings assumed by the word. The four sides of the rectangle intended to enclose the letters forming a word or a number of phrases is so called. In Persian, these four sides are called *khuṭūṭ-i kursī* and the rectangle itself, *kursī-bandī* (Huart, *Calligraphes*, p. 352). The Persians use it to describe a frame on which a carpet of wool or felt is stretched and under which a brazier is placed; the legs are slipped under the carpet to warm them in winter time (the *tandir* of the Turks; Polak, *Persien*, i. 65; Fraser, ii. 188). The Arabs apply the name to the following objects: At Mecca, a kind of gangway or movable staircase on 4 wheels (now 6) which had nine steps and was placed against the wall of the Kaʿba so that its upper end was level with the threshold (Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p. 91; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 309; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 455); a lectern on which the Ḳurʾān is placed (Maḳḳarī, i. 404); the stand for an astrolabe; the carriage of a ballista; a seat with a back for 3 or 4 persons; a table on which a plate is placed (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 195); a stand on which a turban is laid at night (*kursī al-ʿimāma*; Dozy, *Vêtements*, p. 343, Nº. 1; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 50, 221); a holder into which is put the lower end of a pointed instrument (*J. A.*, 1850, i. 251); the card for pulling a ṭonbūr (*Description de l'Égypte*, xiii. 251).

The Moors give the name to lockets, silver boxes, square or triangular, which they wear in necklaces, on account of their shape (Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, s. v.; Beaussier, p. 584). It is also the support for the pan and percussion apparatus in a flint lock, the bezel of a ring, conning bench (naut.) (Beaussier, *l. c.*); a chair of a particular shape on which a woman sits when about to give birth to a child (*kursī al-wilāda*) (Lane, ii. 275). Figuratively it is the capital of an empire, royal residence, see of a patriarch or a bishop (Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 456; Cuche, *Dict. ar.-fran.*, s. v.). (CL. HUART)

ḲŪṢ, a town in Upper Egypt on the east bank of the Nile. The form Ḳūṣ (Ḳūṣ in al-Farghānī and Ibn Rusta) comes from the Coptic Kôs (or Kôs Berbir) which a popular etymology later connected with the Coptic verb meaning "to bury". In the Roman period the town was

called Apollinopolis Parva and sometimes Diocletianopolis. In the early centuries of Islām, Ḳūṣ seems to have been of much less importance than the adjoining town of Ḳifṭ [q.v.]. Some of the early geographers like Ibn Khurdādhbih do not mention it although it is found in the tables of al-Khwārizmī (ed. by von Mžik, p. 9) and al-Farghānī (ed. Golius, p. 36), who place it in the second clime. It is only after the beginning of the fifth century of the Hidjra that Ḳūṣ began to supplant Ḳifṭ (Maḳrīzī, Būlāḳ 1270, p. 236) to become, in the eighth century, the largest town of al-Ṣaʿīd and the second city in importance in all Egypt (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 110—111). This development is no doubt to be attributed to the changes caused by the Crusades in the great trade-routes from west to east. We can see the beginning of this prosperity in Ibn Djubair (ed. Wright and de Goeje, p. 64—65) who passed through it in 1183 and describes it as an emporium for all the goods from Central Africa and the Yemen. It was also the rendez-vous of pilgrims from Egypt and the Maghrib who went from there to the Ḥidjāz through the port of 'Aidhāb (Ibn Djubair, p. 67). Later this route was supplanted by that of al-Ḳuṣair (Abu 'l-Fidā'). Yāḳūt (iv. 201) already calls it the third town of Egypt. In the first centuries of the Mamlūk period, the governorship of the *mudīriya* of Ḳūṣ (al-Ḳūṣiya) was extremely important and coins were struck there. At the same time it was a place of exile for individuals of importance, for example several of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs at the Mamlūk court. Ḳūṣ was also noted as a centre of Muslim learning. The town had 6 madrasas and produced a number of scholars. A section of the inhabitants however always remained Christian. The Copts had several churches there. From 800 A. H. the town began to decline, especially after the plague of 806 in which 17,000 are said to have died. In the xixth century Ḳūṣ was half an hour's journey from the Nile. It is still an important market for simples, aromatic herbs and all kinds of vegetables. The Christian element is still considerable (cf. *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, xiv. 134).

Bibliography: al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, iii. 50; al-Maḳdisī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 47, 194; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 61; Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, i. 192 *sqq.*; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1305, xiv. 128 *sqq.*; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1919, p. 155 *sqq.* (J. H. Kramers)

KUSAILA b. Lemzem al-Awrabī, successor or colleague of Sakardīd al-Awrabī in the chieftainship of the great tribe of Awraba which occupied the country west of Tlemcen (the passage in al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, text, p. 50, which makes Kusaila reign at Ṭubna in the time of Mūsā b. Nuṣair, is certainly a mistake unless there were two Kusailas). During the Arab conquest, he led the resistance against Abu 'l-Muhādjir, successor to 'Oḳba, was defeated by him in 55 (674—675) at the "springs of Tlemcen" (now Al-Urīt), abjured Christianity and became a Muslim. He was able to win the favour of the conqueror and gained his confidence, which exposed him to the hatred of 'Oḳba, when the latter again was given the governorship of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib. He took a delight in humiliating Kusaila, in spite of the sage warnings of Abu 'l-Muhādjir. Therefore when after his epic cavalry campaign in the west, the Arab general, on his return to Ḳairawān made the mistake of dividing his army, Kusaila, who accompanied him as a living trophy, came to an arrangement with the Greeks and Berbers who were following the Muslim march. The latter were surprised near Tahūda (63 = 682—683) and almost all including 'Oḳba and Abu 'l-Muhādjir died fighting. Kusaila entered Ḳairawān as a conqueror whence he governed Ifrīḳiya for five years, Arabs as well as Greeks and Berbers. When the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik was suddenly relieved of the difficulties, caused by the civil wars in the east, he sent an army to Zohair b. Ḳais, at Barḳa, with which the latter fought Kusaila at Mems, west of Ḳairawān. He defeated and slew him and regained the lost territory (69 = 688/689).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, vi. 108—109, 146—148; *Histoire des Berbères*, i. 211—213, 286—289; *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*, ed. and transl. Desvergers, text p. 2, 4—5, transl. p. 16, 20—23; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, i. 15—17; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, text, p. 74; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, i. 176—178; al-Nuwairī, ap. *Histoire des Berbères*, i., app. ii., p. 334—336, 337; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Cairo, iv. 54—55; Ibn al-Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-Īmān*, Tunis 1320, i. 47—50, 51—53; Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Ḳairawānī, *Kitāb al-Muʾnis*, p. 29—30; Aḥmad al-Dirʿī, *Riḥla*, Fās, n. d., p. 44—47; transl. de Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le sud de l'Algérie*, Paris 1846, p. 226—231; Maḥmūd b. Saʿīd Maḳdīsh al-Ṣafāḳusī, *Nuzhat al-Anẓār*, Tunis 1321, i. 71, 73, 75; al-Urthilānī, *Nuzhat al-Anẓār*, Algiers 1326, p. 97—100; W. Roth, *'Oqba ibn Nafi'*, Göttingen 1859, p. 59—61; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i. 160—162, 174—177, 181, 194—196; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, i. 204—211. (René Basset)

ḲUṢAIR or al-Ḳuṣair, a seaport on the African coast of the Red Sea. There is no reason to doubt that all the references of Oriental and European writers to Ḳuṣair on the Red Sea are to the same place; the contradictions between different authors are simply due to inaccuracies as, in the first place there is not sufficient ground for supposing that there were two places called Ḳuṣair and secondly Ḳuṣair is unanimously described as the harbour of Ḳūṣ. If we were to have two places called Ḳuṣair, they would have to be so far apart that one of them could not be described as the port of Ḳūṣ; but the place marked on our modern maps as Ḳuṣair fulfils the condition of having been the port of Ḳūṣ perfectly so far as its position is concerned. The references therefore must be to this place which lies a little north of Lat. 26°. Yāḳūt is unreliable because he makes Ḳuṣair lie near 'Aidhāb and then puts the distance from Ḳūṣ at 5 and from 'Aidhāb at 8 days' journey. Even in Egypt where they are used to great distances, two places 8 days' journey apart would not be described as near one another. A glance at the map shows that if it is five days from Ḳuṣair to Ḳūṣ, it cannot be 8 from Ḳuṣair to 'Aidhāb. The distance could not be covered in 18 days if the first statement is correct. As a matter of fact from 'Aidhāb to Ḳūṣ is according to al-Maḳrīzī 17, according to al-Idrīsī 20 days' journey so that it cannot be only 5 to Ḳuṣair.

Even if we put ʿAidhāb farther north, as C. H. Becker (cf. ʿAIDHĀB) and S. Lane-Poole have rightly done, the contradiction between these figures is not disposed of.

The significance of the harbours on the Red Sea for European trade with India and China and for the pilgrims to Mecca has often been described. At the same time the relative importance of the different harbours varied considerably in the course of centuries (cf. BAḤR AL-ḲULZUM). While Ḳuṣair flourished particularly in the ʿAbbāsid period, ʿAidhāb later became the principal port and still later al-Ṭūr. After Selim I had conquered Egypt, he tried again to revive Ḳuṣair and built a fortress there. The further history of the town to 1876 with a very full description of its condition in the seventies was given by C. A. Klunzinger, who was Egyptian medical officer there. He calls particular attention to the disastrous effect on its fortunes of the building of the railway to Suez and then of the Suez Canal. While in the fifties the traffic at Ḳuṣair along with that of Suez was "steadily increasing" (v. Neimans), the port is now only important for traffic to and from Egypt; through traffic through the Red Sea has no longer any inducement to touch Ḳuṣair; the decline of the town is most clearly seen from the figures given by Sāmī Bey at the end of the century in the *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*.

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ḲUṢAIR ʿAMRA. [See ʿAMRA.]

ḲUṢAIY, an ancestor of Muḥammad in the fifth generation and restorer of the pre-Islāmic worship of the Kaʿba in Mecca. His genealogy is unanimously given in all sources as Ḳuṣaiy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾaiy b. Fihr-Ḳuraish (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, O.-T.), and his life and exploits are recorded by our sources in three recensions which only differ from each other in trifling details; these go back to Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146), Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150) and ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djuraidj al-Makkī (d. 150). Ḳuṣaiy is represented, like the usual legendary type of hero who founds a city, as having passed his childhood and youth far from his native land and in obscurity: a younger son of Kilāb b. Murra, a descendant of the Ḳuraish whose supremacy in Mecca had been replaced by that of the Banū Khuzāʿa, he loses his father soon after his birth and is taken by his mother Fāṭima bint Saʿd b. Sayal who had married again, her second husband being a member of the tribe of Banū ʿUdhra, to his tribe in the north of the Arabian Peninsula (in the neighbourhood of Sargh according to al-Kalbī in Ibn Saʿd, i/i., 36, 25, a place on the Syrian frontier of the Ḥidjāz, near Tabūk [Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 77], or right into Syrian territory near Yarmūk [al-Bakrī, p. 773]): here his original name of Zaid was changed to Ḳuṣaiy from the root ḳ-ṣ-y, "to go away". Having learned his true origin from his mother, he returned to Mecca where as a result of his marriage with Ḥubbā, the daughter of the Khuzāʿī chief Ḥulail b. Ḥubshiya, who controlled all the arrangements for the worship of the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage, he soon acquired an important position in the city. On the death of his father-in-law, Ḳuṣaiy managed to succeed him in his offices, either after a long struggle with the Khuzāʿa, or as a less reliable tradition has it by means of a tricky bargain like that of Jacob and Esau, which he made with (Abū) Ghubshān, son of Ḥulail or only some more distant relative of his (cf. Ibn Duraid, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 277, line 7 with 282, line 2; the two complete genealogies are given in the source used by Ibn Duraid, the *Djamharat al-Ansāb* of Ibn al-Kalbī). The detailed narrative of the events which brought Ḳuṣaiy to fame is given in the article KHUZĀʿA [q. v.].

Becoming master of Mecca and guardian of the Kaʿba, Ḳuṣaiy rebuilt the latter and organised its worship; he united the clans of the Ḳuraish, who were previously scattered, into a solid body which assured them the mastery of the town for the future; indeed it is even said that it was on this account that the name Ḳuraish (from *taḳarrush*, to combine) replaced the old name Banu 'l-Naḍr; Ḳuṣaiy is said to have been called Mudjammiʿ, the "re-uniter". On his death the sacred offices that had become his perquisites, were inherited by his four sons ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, ʿAbd Ḳuṣaiy, the second of whom through his son Hāshim was a direct ancestor of the Prophet. The house which Ḳuṣaiy had built himself quite close to the Kaʿba was henceforth the centre of the civil and religious functions of the Ḳuraish under the name *Dār al-Nadwa* [q. v.]; the interesting description of the working of the Dār al-Nadwa goes back to Muḥammad b. Djubair b. Muṭʿim, d. circa 100 (cf. Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre d. Mohammad*, iii., note clx). To Ḳuṣaiy is also attributed the discovery and digging of the well of al-ʿAdjūl (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn [*Chron. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii.], p. 107 infra; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 48; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 19—20; Bakrī, p. 646, cf. 766).

From what has been said above it is evident that the Ḳuraish regarded Ḳuṣaiy as their true founder and the founder of the Kaʿba. The antiquity of this tradition is attested by a verse of al-Aʿshā (Bakrī, p. 489) and by several of Ḥassān b. Thābit. Later historiography has tried to harmonise this old native tradition with the genealogical system which later became established and according to which Ḳuraish = Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, N.) as well

as with the tradition quite different in origin and character of the Abrahamic cult of the Kaʿba (*q. v.*, ii., p. 587ª) and its vicissitudes under the Djurhum [q. v.] and the Khuzāʿa. Ḳuṣaiy is therefore to Mecca "what Theseus was for Athens and Romulus for Rome" (Caetani). In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say whether he should be regarded as a historical personage transformed into a hero or the mythological transfiguration of a hero. His name is found, although by no means commonly, in the Arab onomasticon: a Nahīk b. Ḳuṣaiy al-Salūlī, a contemporary of Muḥammad, is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v. 14—15; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. Cairo, vi. 257; another contemporary of Muḥammad, whom Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v. 205 calls Ḳasīl (?) and Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, v. 212, 241 Fuḍail or Ḳasīl b. Ẓālim al-Sinbisī, according to the *Djamharat al-Ansāb* of Ibn Kalbī occurs in the Escorial manuscript (f. 58 r) of the latter as *Ḳuṣaiy*. Lastly the same work (MS. British Museum, f. 162 v) mentions a tribe Ḳuṣaiy b. Mālik b. Thaʿlaba b. Buhtha b. Sulaim. The fact that this name is to be recognised in the קצי of the Nabataean inscriptions and probably also in the Κασαις of a parchment from Dura on the Euphrates (cf. Cumont, *Les fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, p. 320) does not justify us in concluding that it is of northern origin, since as we have seen, it is found among different tribes. The tradition which makes Ḳuṣaiy pass his childhood in Syria is in favour of the hypothesis which makes the worship of the Kaʿba introduced, or at least renewed, as a result of influences from the north; perhaps in some statements of tradition (e.g. al-Kalbī quoted by Ibn Saʿd, I/i. 39, 1—11) we have an echo of an actual fact, namely that on the old cult of Hubal, "the idol of the Khuzāʿa" (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, p. 28), there was super-imposed that of al-ʿUzzā and Manāf-Manāt, for which we have definite evidence in Northern Arabia in particular.

In any case the figure of Ḳuṣaiy soon became legendary; his story, as we have seen, has the characteristic features of the legends of eponymous heroes; his alleged sons are only symbols of the part played by Ḳuṣaiy in the religion of Mecca. If it is not quite true that he was the object of regular divine worship (the name ʿAbd al-Ḳuṣaiy borne by one of his sons does not necessarily imply the divine character of the father), he was undoubtedly venerated according to the ancestor worship, which certainly existed in pre-Muḥammadan Arabia, although we know very little about it. The eponymous hero of the people of al-Ṭāʾif, Thaḳīf is analogous in character to Ḳuṣaiy. The latter's memory remained particularly associated with the Dār al-Nadwa, which Lammens, developing a suggestion by M. Hartmann, has shown was not the "senate of Ḳuraish", as tradition has it, but rather a place for the celebration of rites essentially social and religious in their origins. Its proximity to the Kaʿba, with which it is however never confounded, suggests that it was one of these private dwellings built beside Semitic temples, which, without being identified with the temple itself, came in time to acquire a religious character and certain religious functions. We have an example of this type of house in the "house of Lysias" in the precincts of the temple of the Palmyran deities at Dura (Cumont, *Les fouilles de Doura*, p. 36—37).

Whatever the origins may be, it is certain that at the beginning of the sixth century A. D. the control of the Kaʿba and of the *ḥadjdj* was in the hands of a clan claiming descent from Ḳuṣaiy and that the Ḳuraish were agreed that he was the founder of their tribal unity. It is to be noted on the other hand that even if this clan included among its members some of the recognised chiefs of the Ḳuraish, among others the Banū Umaiya, it was far from having complete political and financial control in its hands; the Banū Makhzūm for example, one of the most powerful families in Mecca, were not descended from Ḳuṣaiy. It seems probable then that the Meccan republic was constituted on the initiative and under the direction of the Banū Ḳuṣaiy, but that the latter were forced to admit into their social organism other clans having the same rights and privileges as themselves, although the prestige of noble blood and supremacy in religious matters always remained the exclusive prerogative of the Banū Ḳuṣaiy; it is a process which presents striking analogies with that which may, we think, be noted in the formation of national unity among the Israelites, as a result of the fusion of the tribes of Judah and Levi with the Ephraimite tribes.

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ḲUṢDĀR, or ḲUZDĀR, is the name of a town in 27° 48′ N. and 66° 37′ E. and of the district in which it is situated, a long, narrow valley, important by reason of its central position at the point of convergence of roads from Ḳalāt on the north, Kurāčī and Bela on the south, Kačhī on the east, and Makrān and Khārān on the west. Yāḳūt describes it as a small town in a fertile district, which he calls Ṭūrān, producing grapes, pomegranates, and other fruits, but not dates. It is a city of India, or rather, he says, of Sind, situated at a distance of eighty farsakhs from Bust. It was conquered by the ʿArabs shortly after their conquest of Makrān, and Ibn Ḥawḳal says that it was governed by an ʿArab residing at Kaikānān, who admitted the name of the ʿAbbāsid *Khalīfa* into the public prayers, but Yāḳūt quotes a traveller who describes the district as the abode of the Khawāridj, and its capital as the seat of their *Khalīfa*. In A. D. 977—978 it was taken by Subuktigin, and its ruler was captured, but was restored on condition of his agreeing to pay tribute and causing the *Khuṭba* to be recited in Subuktigin's name. At a later date he was again attacked by Subuktigin,

owing to his failure to remit tribute. Ḳuṣdār is now the principal town of the Jhalawān division of the Kalāt State in Balūčistān.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, i., Register in vol. iv.; *The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*, translated by Sir William Ouseley, London 1800; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; al-ʿUtbī, *Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī*, MSS.; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908.
(T. W. HAIG)

ḲUSHAIR, an Arab tribe forming part of the great group of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [q. v.] whose fortunes we find them almost continuously sharing in the period before as well as after Islām. They had particularly close associations with the tribes of ʿUḳail and Djaʿda [q. v.] whose genealogical table makes them brothers. Their genealogy is Ḳushair b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Tradition makes the mother of Ḳushair Raiṭa bint Ḳunfudh b. Mālik of the tribe of the Banū Sulaim [q. v.]. During the pre-Muḥammadan period, the Banū Ḳushair settled in al-Yamāma were involved in all the wars of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa especially in those against the Tamīm, the Shaibān, whose chief Ḥādjib b. Zurāra was made prisoner by Mālik b. Salama al-Khair b. Ḳushair, called Dhu ʾl-Ruḳaiba, at the battle of Djabala, and against the kings of al-Ḥīra (cf. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, p. 70, 404—405). After Muḥammad's successes in Central Arabia, the Ḳushair joined with the other tribes of the ʿĀmir in sending him envoys and coming to an arrangement with him; it is to this time that tradition dates their conversion to Islām (cf. the texts in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii/i., 297 [9 A. H., § 78]). Later they took part without particularly distinguishing themselves in the wars of conquest in Syria and the ʿIrāḳ, and settled particularly in the eastern parts of the Arab empire. In the Omaiyad period, they were very numerous and powerful in Khurāsān, of which several Ḳushairīs were governors (among others Zurāra b. ʿUḳba whose family possessed a very highly esteemed breed of horses). This Ḳushairī colony had as its founder and common ancestor Ḥaida b. Muʿāwiya b. Ḳushair, a half-mythical personage who is said to have lived to a fabulous age and to have had a thousand descendants (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, ii. 56, Nº. 1890; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, in Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Phil.*, ii. 97). On the other hand we find in Mubarrad, ed. Wright, p. 273, a similar longevity attributed to Dhu ʾl-Ruḳaiba, the Ḳushairī chief mentioned above, and indeed almost all the Ḳushairīs of note settled in Khurāsān, recorded by history, belonged to the clan of Salama al-Khair to which Dhu ʾl-Ruḳaiba belonged, and which seems to have been the aristocracy of the tribe.

The Ḳushair did not number many poets of note among them; the best known is Yazīd Ibn al-Ṭathrīya who lived between the end of the Omaiyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period.

The genealogical sources and in particular Ibn al-Kalbī also mention other ethnical groups bearing the name Banū Ḳushair, two of which belonged to the southern tribes of the Aslam and the Azd (Anṣār).

Bibliography: Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb* (MS. British Museum, Add. 23, 297), f. 134r—71; Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, D. 117 (*Register*, p. 140—141); Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 181; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *K. al-Maʿārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 43.
(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

ḲUSHAIRĪ, ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. HAWĀZIN B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ṬALḤA B. MUḤAMMAD, born in 376 (986), died in 465 (1074), was in dogmatic theology the pupil of the Ashʿarī Abū Bakr b. Fūrak and in mysticism a follower of al-Sulamī and ʿAbū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ, whose daughter Fāṭima (d. 480 = 1087) he married. He was persecuted by the other Ashʿarīs, by Ḥanbalī jurists and the Saldjūḳ officials from 440 (1048) to 455 (1063). His best known works are the two manifestoes, the *Risāla ilā Djamāʿat al-ṣūfiya bi-Buldān al-Islām*, written in 438 (1046) to adapt Ṣūfism to Ashʿarī metaphysics and the *Shakāya ilā Ahl al-Sunna bi-Ḥikāya mā nālahum min al-Miḥna* written in 446 (1054) to clear the memory of al-Ashʿarī from the charge of heterodoxy laid against his atomist metaphysics (publ. in Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, first ed. Cairo, n. d., ii. 276—288). We also have from Ḳushairī's pen a mystical commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *Laṭāʾif al-Ishārāt* and a manual of mystic paths, *Tartīb al-Sulūk*, the esotericism of which is deliberately obscure. The *Risāla*, a classical manual of Muslim mysticism was criticised from the Imāmī point of view by Ibn al-Dāʿī (*Tabṣira*, lith. Ṭeherān 1312, p. 405—409) and published with the *Sharḥ* of al-Anṣārī at Cairo in 1290 in 4 volumes. — This is the only useful edition; the little editions in one volume (1318 A.H., etc.) are swarming with typographical mistakes.

Bibliography: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiya*, first ed. Cairo, n. d., iii. 243—248; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 432—433; R. Hartmann, *Al Kuschairîs Darstellung des Ṣûfîtums*, Berlin 1914.
(L. MASSIGNON)

KUSKUSU (Couscous), a dish prepared with semolina. Throughout northwest Africa (Tripolitania, Sahara, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) it is the basis of the food of the people. It is sometimes called *ṭaʿām* i. e. food par excellence. The Beduins of Eastern Algeria also call it *maʿāma*, which has the same meaning; those of Western Algeria, *maʿīsh*; those of the South and of the Sahara, *ʿaish*, also with the same sense. In Tunisia, the name *ṭaʿām* has even become applied to feasts at which this dish is particularly used, feasts known elsewhere as *zarda* (Eastern Algeria), *waʿda* (Western Algeria) and *mausem* (Morocco). In the Judaeo-Arabic of Africa *kuskusu* is called *ftīt*.

Kuskus may be prepared at any time. Some however prepare it in the nights of Monday and Friday, which according to the sunna are peculiarly auspicious nights. The ceremony of preparation, which has been given a kind of religious character, at which certain rites have to be performed, always begins with an invocation or pious formula. The women preparing it must not hear or see anything which might be a bad omen. Those near her avoid speaking of anything except saints or agricultural prosperity, the wealth of the produce of the land or of the family in which she is.

To make kuskus, the woman sits on the ground, puts in front of her a wooden dish called *djafna* or *ḳaṣʿa* according to the district. Beside her is the bag of semolina and a vessel of slightly salted water. Some add to the salted water two or three drops of water of Nīsān (the rain that falls at the beginning of May, which is kept in a flask) which

has peculiar virtues. She then takes a handful of semolina, puts it in the *djafna*, sprinkles salt water over it with the hollow of her hand and rolls it under her fingers in the dish to right and left until little pellets are formed like lead drops. She goes on in this way, handful by handful. From time to time she stirs the *djafna* to separate the little pellets from the large and rolls the latter to make them smaller.

In the meanwhile she is boiling on a brazier, in the *ḳedra* (a kind of earthenware saucepan) water and meat, if the kuskusu is to be prepared with meat, or vegetables (chick peas, turnips, wild chard) if it is to be made with vegetables, water alone if it is to be with sugar. Finally the required quantity of semolina for the kuskusu having been prepared, the woman shuts it up for some time in a bag or bottle of leather. In this the little pellets run together as they dry up and form a kind of rough grained paste. The cook then turns out this paste into a special sieve and taking up her pestle crushes it through the sieve. The round grains that pass through the holes of the sieve are the real grains of kuskusu; the grains too large to go through are used to make *barkūkes* (cf. below) or semolina cakes called *mokatfa*.

In the meanwhile the *ḳedra* half filled with water has been boiling on the brazier. The cook then takes the *keskas*, a kind of earthenware pot shaped like a funnel without a neck and pierced with little holes in the bottom. The *keskas* is placed on the *ḳedra*, the edges of which are wrapped in cloth to prevent the steam escaping between the two vessels. The *keskas* is filled with grains of kuskusu. The steam in order to escape has to pass through the holes in the bottom of the *keskas* and through the grains of *kuskusu* which it cooks. From time to time the cook puts her finger in the middle of it to see if it is done to a nicety. When it is she pours the grains into the *djafna*, rolls them again with her hand to prevent them forming a paste or clotting, then steams them again in the *keskas*. This time as soon as the *kuskusu* begins to give off steam, she puts it finally in the *djafna*.

Now if the cook wishes to make *masfūf* or sweet *kuskusu* she powders it with sugar and puts here and there little pieces of butter which melt and impregnate the little pellets of semolina under the influence of the heat. The water is thrown from the *ḳedra*. If the *kuskusu* is to be made with meat or vegetables the woman adds water to the *ḳedra* so that the bouillon or *saḳiya* may go farther and a little salt. This bouillon is used to sprinkle on dishes before they are served.

Whatever be the number of courses to a meal, the *kuskusu* is always served last. According to the manner of its preparation the *kuskusu* has different names, which vary also in the different linguistic areas. To those already mentioned may be added: 1. *masfūf*, very fine grained with sugar, 2. *ma'ḳūr*, very fine grained with meat, 3. *barkūkh* (Tunis, Constantine), fine grained, eaten cold with butter or fat of any kind, sprinkled with buttermilk, in the west called *sīkūk*, 4. *mahamṣa*, *kuskusu* with very large grains, 5. *barkūkes* or *barkūkesh* or *marḳūd* of large grains swollen by steam and cooked in bouillon or milk — called *'aiā* in Southern Algeria, 6. *barbūsha*, made with barley semolina, in place of wheat semolina — in the west called *belbūl*.

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KUSS IBN SĀ'IDA of the tribe of Iyād, a half legendary figure, called "the sage, the arbiter (*ḥakam*) of the Arabs". His eloquence is proverbial. He seems to have been a Christian, but not Bishop of Nadjrān as has been said. There was a proverbial expression: "eloquent as the bishop of Nadjrān". This must have facilitated the confusion, of which there is no trace in the oldest references. The *Sīra* and Ḥadīth take an interest in Kuss because his personality, surrounded with a halo of asceticism, increased by one the lamentably small group of the *ḥanīf*. He is also said to have predicted the imminent coming of the Prophet. The latter is said to have heard him preach at the fair of 'Ukāẓ. If Kuss really was a historical individual, he must have lived at a much earlier period than the generation contemporary with Muḥammad; it is impossible to think that he could have become a legendary figure if he lived about the time of the Hidjra. At this time the tribe of Iyād had ceased to exist as a separate group.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv. 204; *Aghānī*, xiv. 41—42; Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, i. 137; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabīya*, i. 210—212, 216—218. In *Shu'arā' al-naṣrānīya*, ed. Cheikho, p. 211—218, are given the poems attributed to Kuss and a critical examination of the legend in Suyūṭī, *al-La'āli al-maṣnū'a fi 'l-Aḥādīth al-mawḍū'a*, i. 95—100; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i. 102—106. (H. Lammens)

KUSŪF, Khusūf, eclipse of the sun or of the moon. As regards linguistic usage, it may be noted that *al-kusūf* is used alike for the eclipse of the moon (*kusūf al-ḳamar*) and for that of the sun (*kusūf al-shams*), e. g. in al-Farghānī, Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī; but they are often distinguished as *al-khusūf*, eclipse of the moon, and *al-kusūf* of the sun; e. g. by al-Ḳazwīnī (on the linguistic usage, it should be noted that according to the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, the viith form should not be used, although this is very often done; e.g. by al-Ḳazwīnī and others).

The eclipse of the sun and of the moon have from the earliest times attracted the liveliest attention. Ptolemy, following Hipparchus, studied the theory of eclipses, and following him the Arabs and Syrians, etc. We shall deal first with the eclipse of the moon. It must be premised that the apparent path of the moon — we must adhere to the geocentric view — cuts the ecliptic in two opposite points, which however in course of time come to move on to the ecliptic. These points are called *al-djawzahar* (Persian *djawz bihr*, nut-shape, or less correctly *gwy bihr*, globe-shape); they are also called *al-tinnīn*, "dragon" (see below). All the planets have of course such *djawzahar*; without an addition the word always refers to the moon. Their positions are given in the Ephemerides. The massive ball into which according to Ibn al-Haitham the moon is inserted, and which carries it along as it moves, is called *falak al-djawzahar*.

The eclipse of the moon is caused, as was early recognised, by a dark body coming between the sun and the moon. It was at one time thought that this was a dragon, which ended at two opposite points on the globe of the heavens and had the same motion as the nodes of the moon. Eclipses occur when we cannot see the moon, because the head or tail of the dragon comes between us and the moon. From this idea comes the name for the crescent and waning nodes, i.e. the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, "head, *al-ra's*" and "tail, *al-dhanab*", which were retained long after the "dragon" had disappeared. The sign ☊ for the length of the node is a distorted dragon. The astrologers credited this dragon with certain influences on the horoscope. But Severus Sebokt (c. 650) (F. Nau, *Notes d'Astronomie Syrienne, J. A.* [Ser. 10], 1910, xvi., p. 15) long ago denied this, as there was no dragon and the calculations in question referred to the movements of the nodes. But we still find in al-Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm* etc. the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates increase (of property etc.). The tail is cold, brings misfortune, and indicates diminution of wealth etc. Eclipses of the sun or of the moon are really caused by the earth coming between the sun and moon or the moon coming between the earth and the sun. Instead of *djawzahar* we often have the word "node" *ʿaḳd* and *ʿukda* used, also in combination with *ra's* and *dhanab*.

The shadow of the earth arising in the first instance, because the sun is considerably larger than the earth, consists of a cone-shaped convergent shadow (the shadow) on one side and a divergent shadow (penumbra) on the other side. Only in the shadow is there absolute darkness. As the diameter of the shadow at the place of the moon's path is considerably greater than that of the moon at the same point, under certain conditions, the moon may remain some time in the shadow and therefore be perfectly eclipsed for the period. Ibn al-Haitham, for example, investigated these conditions very fully (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xiii., *Über eine Schrift von Ibn al-Haitham*, "*Über die Beschaffenheit der Schatten*", *S. B. P. M. S., Erlg.*, 1907, xxxix., p. 226).

If earth, sun and moon were very small bodies, mere points, eclipses would only take place when the sun and moon were exactly in the nodes. But as they are large, eclipses also occur when these bodies have passed beyond the nodes, i.e. have experienced an alteration in latitude and longitude. A total eclipse occurs when the breadth is smaller than the difference between the diameter of the shadow and that of the moon, a partial eclipse when it is larger than the latter but smaller than the sum of the diameters; if it is however equal to the latter, there is only a contact but no eclipse.

Taking into consideration the shadow alone, the *makhrūṭ* (cone) or *ṣanawbar* (pine-apple) — its cross-section is called *dā'irat al-ẓill* — we have the following: the entrance into the shadow is called *bad' al-kusūf*, beginning of the eclipse; the phase from the beginning of the eclipse, to the beginning of totality, is called *suḳūṭ* (falling, the ἔμπτωσις of Ptolemy), the middle of the path covered in shadow is called *wasaṭ* (middle). The phase which corresponds to complete emergence is called *tamām al-indjilā'* (the completion of disappearance); *al-makth* (stop, stay) means the phase in which the moon is eclipsed; in a partial eclipse there is no such stop. A *kusūf kull al-ḳamar bilā makth*, a total eclipse without a stop is said to occur when the moon's path is such that the darkened moon touches the cone of the shadow at only one point; then a total eclipse exists at this point only. For the case of total eclipse, the place where it begins is called *awwal al-makth* and where the moon begins to emerge from the shadow, *ākhir al-makth*.

A diminution of light but no complete extinction also occurs when the moon moves through the half-shadow. In his classical work on the shadows Ibn al-Haitham (see above) discussed the theory of this question and checked it by observation. In very rare cases, however, the whole of the eclipsed moon does not appear quite black but shows different colours, especially a dark red; this was observed by various early astronomers and minutely described by Ibn al-Haitham (his statements agree with modern observation, e.g. Joh. Müller, *Lehrbuch der kosmischen Physik*[5], § 9, p. 196). Al-Bīrūnī further studied these colours (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, *maḳāla* vii., *bāb* vii., *faṣl* iii.); he also examines critically earlier views and particularly Indian ideas on the astrological significance of the colours (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die verschiedenen bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach Bīrūnī*, in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie*, etc., 1914). This light on the completely eclipsed moon is explained by the fact that the sun's rays are diverted in passing through the earth's atmosphere and thus enter the shadow and illuminate the moon. According to the amount of moisture in the atmosphere, these diverted rays are more or less coloured. For the possibility of a solar eclipse, the conditions are the same as for a lunar one.

Solar Eclipse: As the angle at which the moon appears to us is smaller, although only slightly, than that at which the sun appears, the moon can never completely cover the sun. Therefore even at a so-called total eclipse of the sun, even if the centres of sun and moon and earth all lie on a straight line, a narrow rim of light still remains. Bright formations, the corona and the protuberances radiate from this. They are described by al-Bīrūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, *maḳāla*, viii., *bāb*, xi. (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und Sonnenfinsternis*, in *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, xv., 1923, p. 43).

The local times at which the same lunar or solar eclipse appears at different places is obtained from the difference of their geographical longitudes. The calculations are made difficult by the fact that these bodies show a considerable parallax. This partly explains the great differences between the calculated and true values.

It would take us too far to go into the details of the theoretical considerations, for example when each eclipse begins, how long it lasts, its periodicity, etc. In the works of al-Farghānī, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Djaghmīnī, al-Khiraḳī, and particularly in that of Abu 'l-Faradj, *Le Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit*, ed. F. Nau, Paris 1899, also in the *Kitāb Tafhīm* etc. of al-Bīrūnī we find more or less full general descriptions while the works on astronomical theory like the *Zīdj* (tables) of al-Khwārizmī, of al-Battānī, the *Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*

of al-Bīrūnī, the *Zīdj* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī etc. give information about mathematical considerations and the particular observations to be made (on the above scholars, cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber* in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, Heft x., 1900).

To obtain a standard for measuring the amount of the eclipse, the diameter of the sun or of the moon, was divided into twelve equal parts, called "fingers" (*iṣbaʿ* or *iṣbaʿ al-kusūf*) and the number of these that were eclipsed was calculated. In the West one spoke of "digits". In the same way the surface is imagined to be divided into 12 equal parts and it is calculated how many of these are eclipsed. The latter may be calculated from the former which refer only to length. Al-Battānī, for example, gives tables in connection with this. The diopter of Hipparchus was used to measure the magnitude of a lunar eclipse. Two rods are fixed at right angles to a rod. The one with a small round hole is fixed and the other with a larger round hole can be moved towards the other. The second hole is so placed that at an appropriate distance from the other the moon is seen to fill it exactly. A dark plane is pushed in front of the second hole. The amount a of the shifting of its edge from one side of the hole, which bounds the dark side of the moon, to the edge of its bright part, is measured, and the magnitude b of the shifting over the whole surface of the moon and their relation expressed as $a:b$. The amount g in fingers of the eclipse is $g = \frac{a}{b}\ 12$.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪT AL-ʿAMĀRA, a place in al-ʿIrāḳ, on the left bank of the Tigris, between Baghdād and ʿAmāra, 100 miles S. E. of Baghdād as the crow flies. *Kūt* is the Hindustānī word *koṭ* meaning "fortress" found in other place-names in al-ʿIrāḳ, like Kūt al-Muʿammir; Kūt al-ʿAmāra is often simply called Kūt. Kūt lies opposite the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥaiy, also called al-Gharrāf, the old canal connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, which has several junctions with the Euphrates, e. g. at Nāṣiriya and Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh. The plains to the north of Kūt are inhabited by the Banū Rabīʿa, a division of the great tribe of Banū Lām. Kūt is not an old town; it has been proposed to identify it with al-Madhār mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv. 275; cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 38 and H. H. Schaeder in *Islam*, xiv. 17). In the beginning of the xixth century and down to 1860 it was a miserable little village surrounded by walls of terre pisée (Keppel in 1824, according to Ritter; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1860, ii. 150). But after Messrs. Lynch obtained a concession for a line of steamers between Baghdād and Baṣra, Kūt became an important station on the river and the result was a considerable increase in its population. In the last period of Turkish administration (1861), Kūt was the capital of a *ḳaḍā* of the same name in the *sandjaḳ* of Baghdād (and it still is under the new ʿIrāḳ government). About 1890 the population was estimated at 4,115 (Cuinet) almost all Shīʿīs (about 100 Sunnis and 100 Jews). The *ḳaḍā* extends northwards as far as the mountains of Luristān. The plain at the foot of the mountains is watered by the river Kallāl and contains several villages the Turkish ownership of which was disputed by the Persian authorities. The population of the *ḳaḍā* likewise grew after 1861 and about 1890 numbered 30,000, all Sunnis (except the population of Kūt itself).

The strategic importance of the site of Kūt made it play a prominent part in the Great War. During the first English advance against the Turks, General Townshend occupied Kūt in September 1915. Soon after, it became the base for an advance on Baghdād, which ended in the retreat of the English troops, soon followed by the siege of Kūt by the Turks, which began on Dec. 8, 1915. As attempts to relieve it failed, Kūt was taken on April 29, 1916. The Turks entrenched themselves in their turn in Kūt until in December 1916 it again fell into English hands and in 1920 was incorporated in the new kingdom of ʿIrāḳ.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

ḲUṬAʾ. [See ḲUṬʿA.]

KUTAHIYA (the ancient Cotyaeum), a town in Asia Minor, the capital of a sandjaḳ in the province of Khudāwendigiār, on the river Pursaḳ, which enters the Saḳariya, near it. It is 3,000 feet above sea-level, has 22,266 inhabitants, of whom 4,000 are Greek Orthodox and 3,000 Armenians; it contains 24 mosques, 21 madrasas, 2 libraries, 16 dervish monasteries, 4 churches, 9 caravanserais, 11 baths, 12 potteries. It is a station on the Baghdād railway. In the xivth century it was the capital of the Germiyānoghlu; the mosques of this period are in ruins; other notable buildings are the Medjidie Medrese (704 = 1304), the Ḳurshūn-lu Djāmiʿ (777 = 1375—1376), another mosque (783 = 1381), the mosque of Yaʿḳūb Čelebi (837 = 1433-1434); the great mosque, Ūlū-Djāmiʿ, the building of which is attributed to the Germiyānoghlu, but is not earlier than Bāyazīd I. It has an old citadel in ruins built on a height. The marble lion and the Byzantine sarcophagus mentioned by Texier no longer exist. There are promenades called Aḳ-ṣū, Sulṭān Bāghi, Kebgir, Sulṭān Bāyazīd Baghčesi; there are hot springs in the neighbourhood. It was once an important centre for the manufacture of glazed pottery with floral decorations (the so-called Rhodian pottery); an attempt has been made to revive this industry but the recent products are not so good as the old ones.

The town formed the dowry of the daughter of the Germiyānoghlu who married Bāyazīd I; it was taken by Tīmūr after the battle of Ancyra (1402). The conqueror left his son Shāhrukh there as governor, while he advanced on Ephesus (H. A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 156, 258).

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(CL. HUART)

KUTAI, an independent district (sultanate) in Eastern Borneo, belonging to the

administrative division of Samarinda in the residency of "Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo". It comprises mainly the valley of the very important and for a great part navigable river Mahakam as far as Muara Mujub. The road from Makassar marks the eastern frontier. The Dutch assistant resident lives in Samarinda on the Mahakam; the capital of the Sulṭān, Tĕnggarung, is a little farther up the river. The country is prosperous; the land is rich in anthracite and petroleum and under normal conditions there is a busy trade in forest products and dried and salt fish. The opinion has been expressed that in the name of the sultanate the name Yava-koṭi (Sanskrit *koṭi* = end, point), known from Indian geographical works, survives. It is certain that even before the fifth century A. D. Hindus had founded a colony here directly from India and not through Java. The inscriptions, written in pure Sanskrit, found in Kutai on four stone dedicatory pillars prove the existence of a flourishing Hindu kingdom here under a king Mūlavarman, and very probably other antiquities, notably the Brahmanistic images of deities found in a cave on Mount Kombeng have also to be traced to this kingdom. Any later Hindu civilisation that existed in Borneo came through Java; in the xivth century Kutai formed part of the territories of the Javanese empire of Madjapahit. A native tradition of the origin of the kingdom and the genealogy of the royal house of Kutai is known to us from a Malay manuscript in the possession of the Sulṭān in Tĕnggarung (there is another copy in Berlin); according to this "*salasila*", the first part of which, largely mythical, has been published with a Dutch translation, Islām was introduced here about 1600 in the reign of Radja Makota from Celebes.

The population is of a very mixed character. The Dayaks, the original inhabitants of the country, are for the most part still pagan. Along the Mahakam there are practically no settlements of them left; they are being more and more driven into the interior by other peoples who are settling there. The chiefs of the tribe of Tundjung Dayaks are said to be related to the royal house of Kutai; according to the *salasila* already mentioned, the Tundjung prince Kĕrna married a sister of the reigning chief Radja Putĕri about 1450. There are still a few nomadic tribes away in the interior. The other peoples, Kutainese, Buginese, Bandjarese and Badjau all profess Islām, although in many customs and even in court ceremonies at Tĕnggarung old animistic conceptions are still very predominant. The Kutainese who form the principal element in the population are probably descendants of early immigrant Malays of various stocks; they are found all over the country. As to the origin of the Buginese settlements we again have a native tradition preserved in a work entitled *Salasila Bugis*; this immigration had probably begun by 1686 mainly from Wadjo and it is still going on. The Buginese lived at first exclusively in Samarinda; they formed a well defined section of the population, who were practically independent of the Sulṭān of Kutai, and were ruled by a chief of their own (*pua adu*), who was elected by the elders of the different groups of families. This Buginese republic in Kutai no longer exists and at the present day the Buginese stand in the same relation to the Sulṭān as all other inhabitants; they have settled in the whole country and are mainly engaged in trade. The numbers of the Bandjarese immigrants from the south of Borneo are also increasing; their main industry is the collection of forest products. The Badjau come from the Sulu Islands; they used to be pirates but now they have permanent settlements at the mouth of the Mahakam where they live by fishing. The heterogeneous composition of the population is reflected in the language, a not yet sufficiently investigated variety of Malay; one feature is the large number of Javanese words that occur in it. The first contact of the Dutch with Kutai took place in 1635, when the Dutch East India Company made their first treaty with the chief. By treaties of the years 1825 and 1844, the Sulṭān recognised Dutch suzerainty. The Sulṭān governs with the help of four notables. The Dayaks are under their own chiefs, whose rank is hereditary with the approval of the Sulṭān.

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(W. H. RASSERS)

ḲUTAIBA B. MUSLIM, ABŪ ḤAFṢ AL-BĀHILĪ, an Arab general. Ḳutaiba was born in 49 (669/670). In the war against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [q. v.], al-Ḥadjdjādj recognised his ability and when the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 85 (704) had to fill the vacant governorship of Khorāsān, he gave the post to Ḳutaiba on the advice of al-Ḥadjdjādj, to whom the governors of Khorāsān were subordinate. After his arrival in Merw, Ḳutaiba was able to make full use of his military gifts and by a series of successful expeditions against the neighbouring Turkish tribes, he extended the frontiers of the Arab caliphate to such an extent that he must be reckoned one of the greatest conquerors of the Umaiyad period. In 86 (705) he undertook his campaign against Ṭokhāristān, where the lord of Akhrūn and Shūmān bought peace. According to some historians, Ḳutaiba first attacked Ṣaghāniyān, the king of which surrendered at once, and next Ṭokhāristān from which he returned to Merw. In the following year he turned his attention to Bukhārā. After he had succeeded in concluding a peace with Nēzak, king of Bādhghīs, against whom the previous governor of Khorāsān Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had conducted a campaign, he crossed the Oxus and advanced on Baikand. The people of the town however sought help from the adjoining states: the latter barred the routes and for two months Ḳutaiba was completely surrounded. He finally succeeded in defeating the enemy and the town had to surrender. But, as soon as he had gone, the people rebelled and killed the governor appointed by him, whereupon Ḳutaiba returned and stormed the town. After he had put down all resistance he returned to Merw. In 88 (706/707) a campaign against Bukhārā was undertaken, in which he took the towns of Nūmushakath and Rāmithana. Fighting was renewed next year but seems to have been indecisive. In any case Ḳutaiba returned in 90 (708/709) and defeated the people of Bukhārā after a stubborn resistance and the king of Soghdiana had to sue for peace. Nēzak then rebelled, imprisoned his suzerain, the king of Ṭokhāristān and called upon several neighbouring rulers to join with him against Ḳutaiba. As winter was approaching, the latter himself could do nothing, but he sent his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to occupy Balkh. In 91 (710) he took the field again and after bringing the rebels to terms, advanced on Nēzak. The latter fought his way to Farghāna and entrenched himself in the citadel of al-Kurz. After a two months' siege, Ḳutaiba captured him through treachery and had him put to death, although he had definitely promised him a pardon. In the same year he conquered Shūmān, which had rebelled against him, along with Kiss and Nasaf, and installed a king loyal to him in Bukhārā [q. v.]. In 92 (710/711) Ḳutaiba is said to have undertaken an expedition against Sidjistān, but the ruler there sought peace and he returned without a blow being struck. Next year he helped the king of Khwārizm against his rebellious brother. He then advanced on Samarḳand, defeated the forces from al-Shāsh and Farghāna, which had hurried to the help of the Soghdians and seized the town, which was occupied by his troops in spite of the terms of peace. In 94 (712/713) he sent an army against al-Shāsh and advanced victoriously as far as Khodjande and Kāshān in Farghāna. In the summer of 95 (714) he had advanced as far as al-Shāsh or Kashmīhan, when the news of the death of al-Ḥadjdjādj reached him. He therefore returned to Merw but in 96 (715) he began a new campaign of conquest against Farghāna. Here he heard of the death of the Caliph al-Walīd and as Ḳutaiba feared the vengeance of his brother Sulaimān [q. v.] because he had supported the plan of excluding the latter from the succession, he declined to pay homage to the new caliph. This however incited his troops to mutiny and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 96 (Aug.–Sept. 715) or, according to another statement not till the beginning of 97, Ḳutaiba was killed by the mutinous soldiers (cf. FARGHĀNA).

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 330, 342—344, 346, 354 *sq.*; Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 419—426, 431; Ṭabarī, ii., see Index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, viii. 320—323; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, iv. 311 *sqq.*; v. 2—5, 7—13; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 553; transl. by de Slane, ii. 514 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 467, 498—504, 555—561; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 267—278.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-ḲUṬĀMĪ, epithet ("vulture-like") of the Arab poet ʿUmair b. Shuyaim b. ʿAmr of the clan of Taim b. Usāma of the Taghlib, a contemporary and fellow-tribesman of the poet al-Akhṭal and like the latter played a part in the feuds which raged in the second half of the first century A. H. between the tribes of Taghlib and the Ḳais ʿAilān. His own experiences in battle and the glorification of the exploits of his tribe in war form the main themes of his poems. In contrast to al-Akhṭal however he does justice to his opponents, while venting particular hatred on the Yamanis. His panegyrics are mainly devoted to the Umaiyads, e. g. one to Walīd I. The date of his death is not known; according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii. 5610, he died in 101 A. H. According to several sources he was a convert from Christianity to Islām, but in his poems he shows himself a thorough Beduin, always ready for a fight, anxious about his property in camels, not averse to wine drinking, and looking down upon the townsman with the haughty pride of the nomad.

The name al-Ḳuṭāmī is also borne by two otherwise little known or quoted poets, one of the tribe of Kalb and the other of the tribe of Ḍubaiʿa, but in practically all references al-Ḳuṭāmī without further names means the Taghlibī first mentioned.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xx. 118 *sqq.*; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 170; much quoted in lexicographical and *Adab* works; his *Dīwān* with the commentary of an unknown writer was edited by J. Barth, Leyden 1902, mainly from the Berlin MS., Pm. 589 Ahlwardt, *Katal.*, vi. 548.

(H. H. BRÄU)

AL-ḲUṬB, the pole (Latin *alchitot*), in addition to the usual meanings has also the following: In a circle the poles lie on the perpendicular erected in its centre thus the poles of the

meridian are the north and south point of the horizon. In places on the equator they lie on it. The poles of the equator (*ḳuṭb muʿaddil al-nahār*) are the north and south poles of the earth (*al-ḳuṭb al-s̲h̲amālī* and *al-ḳuṭb al-d̲j̲anūbī* also *ḳuṭb al-ʿālam*); they are also called poles of the first movement. They are transferred to the globe of heaven. The circle of the four poles goes through them and the poles of the ecliptic (*ḳuṭb falak al-burūd̲j̲*). The north pole is also called *ḳuṭb al-d̲j̲uddaiy* (Pole Star) or *ḳuṭb banāt al-naʿs̲h̲* (Great Bear) and the south pole *ḳuṭb al-suhail*. For the north pole we also find the term *ḳuṭb al-d̲j̲āh* (pole of the place). (On these last names cf. G. Ferrand, *Contributions à l'histoire de la boussole*, *Publ. de l'Inst. des Hautes Etudes Marocaines*, *Mélanges*, R. Basset, i. 1923, p. 1—10). The poles of revolving spheres are always the point in which the line around which the sphere revolves intersects the globe of the heavens.

Technically *al-ḳuṭb* means the axis, i. e. if two opposite points of a ring have cylinders attached to them outwards which revolve in corresponding directions as in the case of the rings of the armillary sphere inserted in one another. For axes in the usual sense the word *al-miḥwar* is generally used, but *al-ḳuṭb* is also found. Thus for example the round rod placed through the cylindrical hole of an astrolabe holding the spider on the north side and the alidade on the back is called *al-ḳuṭb* or *al-miḥwar*. The axis is prevented by a pin from slipping out of the instrument. The latter is called from its shape *al-faras* i. e. horse. The pin which connects the separate parts of the parallelactic lineal, is called *al-ḳuṭb* by al-Battānī who says that he uses a *ḳuṭb* like that on the astrolabe. The hole or pin in the centre of the astronomical quadrant is also called *al-ḳuṭb*, to which is fastened the measuring thread.

In theological and mystical language (cf. the article TAṢAWWUF) *al-ḳuṭb* is the name for the holiest of saints, who however is unknown to the world. The founders of the dervish orders are also called *Ḳuṭb* (for the literature, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.). *Ḳuṭb* was the name given by Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore (1783—1799) to his smallest copper coin = $^1/_8$ paisa. (E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN. [See MAWDŪD B. ZENGĪ.]

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD K̲H̲ʷĀRIZMS̲H̲ĀH, founder of a dynasty in K̲h̲ʷārizm [q. v.]. His father Anūs̲h̲tagīn (or Nūshtagīn) G̲h̲arča was in charge of the silver and crockery (*ṭas̲h̲t-k̲h̲āna*) at the court of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs; the expenses of this branch of the court household were defrayed out of the tribute from K̲h̲ʷārizm just as the expenses of administration of the clothing-depot (*d̲j̲āma-k̲h̲āna*) were defrayed by the tribute from K̲h̲uzistān; Anūs̲h̲tagīn therefore, without actually governing K̲h̲ʷārizm, held the title of a military governor (*s̲h̲iḥna*) of this country. He had his son educated in Merw. After the assassination of the K̲h̲ʷārizm-s̲h̲āh Ikinči b. Kočḳar in 490 (1097) or 491 (1098) Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was appointed governor of K̲h̲ʷārizm with the title K̲h̲ʷārizms̲h̲āh and ruled till his death in 521 (1127) or 522 (1128). He was succeeded by his son Atsïz [q. v.]. As K̲h̲ʷārizms̲h̲āh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was a faithful vassal of Sulṭān Sand̲j̲ar [q. v.]. Every two years he went himself to the court of the Sulṭān and in the interval he was represented there by his son. He is reputed to have been a patron of learned men. The medical textbook *D̲h̲akhīra-i K̲h̲ʷārizms̲h̲āhī* by D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī [q. v.] is dedicated to him (cf. Rieu, *Catal. Pers. MSS.*, p. 466). [The statement in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 487, also given above under D̲J̲URD̲J̲ĀNĪ, ISMĀʿĪL, from the Catalogue of the Yeñi D̲j̲āmiʿ that this work is extent in two Arabic MSS. (Nº. 915 and 916) is probably due to a mistake by the author of the Turkish Catalogue, especially as the title is also given there in the above Persian form, impossible in Arabic].

Bibliography: D̲j̲uwainī in *G. M. S.*, xvi/ii., p. 2 *sq.*; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 346. (W. BARTHOLD)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ. [See AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ.]

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN, AL-S̲H̲ĪRĀZĪ MAḤMŪD B. MASʿŪD B. MUṢLIḤ, was born in Ṣafar 634 (1236) in S̲h̲īrāz and died in Tabrīz on 17[th] Ramaḍān 710 (1311). Like many Muslim medical men, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn belonged to a family of distinguished physicians; at the same time however he was not only a prominent medical man, at least as regards his writings but he distinguished himself in astronomy, philosophy, and the treatment of religious problems. This versatility induced Abu 'l-Fidāʾ to give him the name *al-mutafannin* "experienced in many fields". He received his medical training with his father Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Kāzirūnī, i. e. of Kāzirūn (a town west of S̲h̲īrāz), in the hospital of S̲h̲īrāz. He lost his father at the age of 14 and then became a pupil of his uncles Kamāl al-Dīn K̲h̲air al-Kāzirūnī and S̲h̲araf al-Dīn al-Zakī al-Bus̲h̲kānī (Suyūṭī has: Bukalīwī) and S̲h̲ams al-Dīn al-Kutubī; he then went to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, studied with him and surpassed everyone. It was probably Naṣīr al-Dīn also who stimulated him to study astronomy. While still quite young he conceived the idea of editing the *Kulliyāt*, the first theoretical part of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. He next sought instruction with the physicians in S̲h̲īrāz and then studied deeply the works of earlier scholars. He then travelled in K̲h̲urāsān, the two ʿIrāḳs, Persia, Asia Minor, and Syria. Everywhere, as he tells us in the introduction to the commentary on the *Kulliyāt*, he sought the acquaintance of scholars. It was probably after these journeys that he became associated with the Tatar rulers of Persia, the Il-K̲h̲āns; in what year and under which ruler this happened, we do not know. In any case in 681 (1282—1283) he was Ḳāḍī of Siwās and of Malaṭya (in Asia Minor) under Aḥmad (Nikudar, 680—683 = 1281—1284). There he was still engaged on the *Kulliyāt*; he must have played a part in politics, as Aḥmad sent him with his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Ḳalāʾūn (678—689 = 1279—1290). He was sent to report the former's conversion to Islām, no doubt the result of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's influence and to conclude a peace between Muslims and Tatars. The latter part of his mission was a failure. In Egypt also he collected material for the *Kulliyāt*. He dedicated the work, probably finished shortly after his return from Egypt, to Muḥammad Saʿd al-Dīn, Aḥmad K̲h̲ān's vizier, and called it *al-Tuḥfa al-Saʿdiya*, "the present to Saʿd", or *Nuzhat al-Ḥukamāʾ wa-Rawḍat al-Aṭibbāʾ*, "the delight of the wise and garden of the physicians".

In his later years Ḳuṭb al-Dīn retired to Tabrīz. Towards the end of his life he ardently studied Ḥadīth and made critical notes on the subject,

e. g. on the *Djāmiʿ al-Uṣūl*, "Encyclopaedia of principles", and to the *Sharḥ al-Sunna* (Commentary on the *Sunna*). Ibn Shuhba or al-Subkī gives a sketch of the character of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. He had a brilliant intelligence, combined with unusual penetration; at the same time his humour was clean; he was known as "the scholar of the Persians". It is evidence of his efforts to preserve his independence that in spite of his prestige with princes and subjects he lived remote from the court. He also led the life of a Ṣūfī. It is emphasised that he had many pupils; among these was Kamāl al-Dīn (see below), who cannot praise him highly enough: he also induced al-Taḥtānī (d. 766 = 1364; see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 209) to come to critical decisions (*Muḥākamāt*) on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā on points disputed between Naṣīr al-Dīn and al-Fakhr al-Rāzī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N°. 743). He neglected his religious duties; nevertheless al-Suyūṭī mentions that in Tabrīz he always performed his *ṣalāt*'s with the congregation. He loved wine and sat among the scorners. He was a brilliant chess-player and played continuously; he was also skilled in the tricks of the conjurer and played the small violin (*rubāb*). His commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāḳ* ("the philosophy of illumination") of Suhrawardī is undoubtedly connected with his religious attitude. Nevertheless as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (N°. 1169) emphasises, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn distinguished himself in theology. He annotated the Ḳurʾān very thoroughly and in a fashion that won recognition in his *Fatḥ al-Mannān fī Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*; in the *Fī Mushkilāt al-Ḳurʾān* he also dealt with passages in the Ḳurʾān difficult to reconcile with one another. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Tanzīl* of al-Zamakhsharī. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn played a special part in the history of optics, because he called the attention of his pupil Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [q. v.] (d. c. 720 = 1320) to the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haitham, with which he had become acquainted on his travels, and procured a copy for him. Al-Fārisī wrote a commentary on it and extended it by his own observations. It is noteworthy that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn so completely forgot Ibn al-Haitham's expositions that he based his observation not on rays of light like the latter, but on rays of vision.

In the two comprehensive astronomical works *Nihāyat al-Idrāk fī Dirāyat al-Aflāk*, the "highest intelligence in the knowledge of the spheres", and *al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhiya fī 'l-Haiʾa*, which are very similar to each other, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn has in my opinion given the best Arabic account of astronomy (cosmography) with mathematical aids. It closely follows the *al-Tadhkira al-Naṣīriya*, the memoranda of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, his teacher. But Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's works are very much fuller and deal with many questions which Naṣīr al-Dīn did not touch; they are therefore much more than commentaries. The *Nihāya* discusses, for example, details of the cosmography of al-Khiraḳī or Ibn al-Haitham which are again found in Roger Bacon. I have discussed the following passages from these works:

Zu den optischen Kenntnissen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, in *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwissensch.* etc., iii., 1912, p. 187—193. *Über die Gestalt, Lage und Bewegung der Erde, sowie philosophisch-astronomische Betrachtungen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī*, ibid., p. 395—422. *Beiträge*, xxvii., *Auszüge aus al-Shīrāzī's Werk über Astronomie*, in *S. B. P. M. S. Erlg.*, xliv., 1912, p. 27—35. *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin*, xv., 1923, p. 47—48. *Inhalt eines Gefässes in verschiedenen Abständen vom Erdmittelpunkt*, in *Z.-S. für Physik*, xiii., 1923, S. 59—60.

One work is entitled *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira al-Naṣīriya*. As an appendix to the *Nihāya*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn wrote the *Fī Ḥarakāt al-Daḥradja wa 'l-Nisba bain al-mustawī wa 'l-munḥanī*, "On the motion of rolling and the connection between the straight and the crooked". Other works are *al-Tabṣira fī 'l-Haiʾa* and a work with a very peculiar title: *Kitāb faʿaltu fa lā talum fī 'l-Haiʾa*, "Work on astronomy; I have composed it but blame it not".

Besides the works by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn already mentioned there are also recorded a treatise on diseases of the eye and a commentary on the *Urdjūza* of Ibn Sīnā; also commentaries on the work, mainly grammatical of al-Sakkākī and on a work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib.

After his death Zain al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī wrote verses on Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, in which he expresses surprise that the mill (*raḥan*) of knowledge still turns after it has lost its axis (*ḳuṭb*).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales muslemici*, ed. J. J. Reiske, 1794, v., p. 63, 243; Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿīya* (Cod. Goth. 1763). The larger work by al-Subkī on the Shāfiʿīs according to Prof. Dr. Schmale hardly contains any more; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, 1840, N°. 247; H. Suter, *Die arabischen Mathematiker und Astronomen*, N°. 387 and the supplement; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (contains the substance of the autobiography at the beginning of the *Kulliyāt*), 1876, ii., p. 129—130; *G.A.L.*, ii. 211 *sq.*; According to Brockelmann also contain biographical information Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii., p. 1, 67, 112 (Lith. Bombay 1857) and Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 389.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUBĀRAK, the fifth and last king of the Khaldjī dynasty of Dihlī, was the third son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad. When his father died, on Jan. 2, 1316, the minister Malik Nāʾib raised to the throne Mubārak's youngest brother, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar, a child of six, blinded his two elder brothers, Khiḍr Khān and Shādī Khān, and would have blinded Mubārak, had he not persuaded the soldiers sent to perform the task to put Malik Nāʾib to death. He assumed the regency, but on April 1, 1316, blinded his infant brother and ascended the throne as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. He began his reign by releasing all prisoners, by rescinding all the harsher edicts of his father, including the compulsory tariff, and by restoring confiscated lands. He was addicted to the grossest immorality and appointed his vile favourite, a scavenger who had been named Ḥasan on his nominal conversion to Islām, and was entitled Khusraw Khān, minister of the kingdom. Mubārak sent an officer to restore the royal authority in Gudjarāt, and marched to Deogir, where he slew the rebellious Harpāl, restored order throughout the Dakan and the Peninsula, and built the

great mosque. During his absence a conspiracy was formed, with the object of putting him to death and raising to the throne a son of his brother, Khiḍr Khān, but he discovered the plot, executed the conspirators, and on his return to the capital put all his relatives, including his blind brothers, to death, and married Khiḍr Khān's widow, the beautiful Deval Devi of Gudjarāt.

His court was a scene of the most disgusting debauchery and buffoonery, and he arrogated to himself the style of Caliph and the pontifical title of al-Wāthiḳ bi 'llāh.

Rebellions broke out in Gudjarāt and Devagir, but were suppressed, and Khusraw Khān, absent on an expedition to Madura, meditated rebellion in that region, but abandoned the design as hopeless and, returning to the capital, succeeded in persuading the king that he had been falsely accused.

Mubārak's infatuation permitted Khusraw Khān to surround himself with a large body of troops and to acquire supreme power in the state, and on the night of April 14, 1320, the favourite caused his master to be assassinated in his palace, seized the throne, and married Deval Devi.

The usurper, who assumed the title of Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw Shāh, was defeated and slain on Sept. 5, 1320, by the warden of the north-western frontier, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, entitled Ghāzī Malik, who, on the following day, ascended the throne as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh.

Bibliography: Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Barani, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, and translation by G. S. A. Ranking (all in the Bibl. Ind. Series of the A. S. B.); Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832. (T. W. HAIG)

ḲUṬB MĪNĀR, a lofty tower of red sandstone, said by Fergusson (ii. 206) and Diez (p. 165) to be one of the most beautiful buildings of its kind in the world, is situated about 11 miles from the modern city of Dihlī [q. v.], in the ruins of the first city of that name, — about 160 feet from the great mosque which was erected by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aibeg [v. AIBEG, i. 209] in 1193, just after the capture of the city from the Hindu king, Prithirādj. Like the Mīnār at Ghazna [q. v.] and the Mīnār at Koel (no longer in existence), it is an isolated structure, from which the *mu'adhdhin* gave the call to prayer, and is 238 feet in height; it is not attached to the mosque, but stands in the S. E. corner of the southern outer court, which was added in 1225 to Aibeg's mosque by Iltutmish [q. v.]; it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly-sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement story appears to have been built while Aibeg still recognised the overlordship of Mu'izz al-Dīn (i. e. before 1205); the second, third and fourth stories were built by Iltutmish, but during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh [q. v.] the building was struck by lightning and this king in 1368 had it repaired and added a fifth story. The two uppermost stories, both of which in their present form are probably the work of Fīrūz Shāh, have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the tower is entirely of red sandstone, and is not round but made up of flutings, which in the basement story are alternately round and angular, in the second rounded only, and in the third angular only. The line of each fluting is carried up unbroken through each story. The inscriptions are partly historical in character and partly made up of quotations from the Ḳur'ān; they have been reproduced and translated in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911—12.

The tower derives its name from the saint Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtyār Kākī, who was held in high honour by Iltutmish; he died at Dihlī in 1235 and his tomb is not far from the Mīnār.

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ḲUṬBSHĀHĪ, one of the five independent Muslim dynasties of the Dakan, which arose on the ruins of the Bahmanī Kingdom, named, like the others, from the title (Ḳuṭb al-Mulk) borne under the Bahmanī kings by its founder, Sulṭān Ḳulī, a Ḳarāḳoyunlū Turk of Sa'd-ābād, near Hamadān, who, entering the service of Muḥammad III, was entitled by his son, Maḥmūd, Khawāṣṣ Khān. When, in 1490, the provincial governors of Aḥmadnagar, Bīdjāpūr, and Barār proclaimed their independence of Bīdar, Sulṭān Ḳulī was still at Maḥmūd's court. After the death of Ḳuṭb al-Mulk the Dakanī, before Djamkhandī in 1493, Sulṭān Ḳulī received his title, captured the fortress from the rebels, and in 1495 was rewarded with the government of Tilingāna. He maintained a semblance of loyalty to Bīdar until 1512, when he declared himself independent in Golkonda, but never assumed the royal title, though historians usually style him Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh. He was assassinated in 1543 at the instance of his son Djamshīd, who succeeded him. The names of the Kings of his house, with the dates of their succession, are as follows:

Sulṭān Ḳulī	1512
Djamshīd	1543
Subḥān Ḳulī	1550
Ibrāhīm	1550
Muḥammad Ḳulī	1580
Muḥammad	1612
'Abd Allāh	1626
Abu 'l-Ḥasan	1672

Each was distinguished by the title Ḳuṭb Shāh, which, however, was never accorded to them by the Mughul emperors, who invariably addressed them as Ḳuṭb al-Mulk. All were Shī'ī's, and their religion, the grievances of Mīr Djumla, and the licence accorded to Hindus were Awrangzīb's pretexts, if any were needed, for the destruction of the independent state of Golkonda, effected by the capture of the fortress and the imprisonment of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḳuṭb Shāh in 1687.



KUṬB MINĀR



ḲUṬB MINĀR — DETAIL



ḲUṬB MINĀR :— ENTRANCE

Golkonda was the third in importance of the five independent kingdoms of the Dakan.

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(T. W. Haig)

KŪTHĀ is a very old town in the 'Irāḳ, on one of the canals joining the Euphrates and Tigris. The town as well as the canal are often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (cf. the references in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920—1925; Indices, s. v. Kuta or Kutû and the map by Schwenzner in the first volume). The town is said to be identical with the place mentioned in Kings ii., xvii. 24, from which came a part of the people whom the king of Assyria settled in Samaria in place of the deported Israelites. The course of the canal, at least for its western part, coincides with that of the modern Habl Ibrāhīm; on the most recent maps (e.g. *Karte von Mesopotamien* [temporary edition for official use only], prepared by the Map Dept. of the German General Staff, Dec. 1917, 1 : 400,000, Sheet 5d) the Habl Ibrāhīm ends in the Shaṭṭ al-Nīl; the Arab geographers make no reference to this but make this canal flow direct into the Tigris (cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map ii.). In other respects also the statements of the geographers regarding the canal vary considerably; and when Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i. 28, in his description of the canal relies solely on Ibn Serapion, it must be pointed out that al-Iṣṭakhrī for example (*B.G.A.*, i., p. 85) makes such confused statements about the canal that one is forced to assume that in the period of the Caliphs the canals were not unchanging, but the canals and their courses in three centuries had a history which is reflected in the contradictory statements of the geographers and has to be reconstructed. But little progress can be made in this direction without archaeological research.

The Arab geographers distinguish two places called Kūthā in al-'Irāḳ, Kūthā Rabbā and Kūthā al-Ṭarīḳ but only give further information about the former. The distances from other places are collected in Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 11. The geographers also mention the bridge of boats over the canal at Kūthā and the Ibrāhīm legends, which are associated with the town; al-Muḳaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii.², p. 121) actually calls the town Madīnat Ibrāhīm and to this day the ruins of the town are located in the Tell Ibrāhīm which lies approximately on the site of the ancient Kūthā; and the name of the town comes from that of his the maternal great-grandfather. When his mother (her name is very variously given: Yāḳūt writes Būnā bint Karnabā b. Kūthā; the Talmud, *Bāba batrā*, 91a, אמתלאי בת כרנבו; for other names see Eisenberg, art. IBRĀHĪM and *Das Leben der Propheten nach d. arab. Legende, II: Das Leben Abrahams* [Hebr., 1912], p. 9 note) was about to give him birth, she had to take refuge from Nimrod in a cave outside the town. Later Nimrod threw her into a fiery furnace; therefore in the time of the Arab geographers, many heaps of ashes were still pointed out which came from this fire.

Kūthā is also the name of the *fassūdj* around the town in the district of Ardashīr Bābgān and is in turn divided into 10 rustāḳs. According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbīh*, *B. G. A.*, viii., p. 79), Ur Kashd (the Biblical Ur Kasdim) from which Abraham migrated is a place *min bilād Kūthā*.

The nisba from *Kūthā* is *Kūthī* or *Kūthānī*. Besides Kūthā in Mesopotamia Yāḳūt and al-Bakrī also mention a place of pilgrimage of this name in Mecca.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Ibn Serapion, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 75; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii., p. 168; al-Muḳaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii.², p. 26, 121 *sq.*; Ibn Khordadhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi., p. 7, 9, 125, 185, 236 *sq.*; Ibn Rusta, *B. G. A.*, vii., p. 174, 182; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 317 *sq.*; do., *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 377; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 485; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i. 11, 16, 24; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 68 *sq.* — On the question of the canals cf. also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 771; M. Hartmann, art. 'IRĀḲ, esp. p. 549. — The map in P. Sykes, *History of Persia*, i., 1921, is very instructive for the different periods of oriental history.

(M. Plessner)

KUTHAIYIR b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Ṣakhr al-Khuzā'ī also called Ibn Abī Djum'a after his maternal grandfather, one of the great poets of the Umaiyad period. From his beloved 'Azza whose praises he sang he was called Kuthaiyir 'Azza.

He lived as a rule in Medina but also in the Ḥidjāz. A member of the Khuzā'a he was fond of connecting himself with al-Ṣalt b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna, a group which, according to al-Ya'ḳūbī (i. 268, 5—11), had joined the Khuzā'a. He was on this account despised by some. His unpleasing, dwarflike figure also readily provoked ridicule. His stupidity and foolishness are also said to have people caused to ridicule him.

He held extreme Shī'a views and under the influence of his friend the poet Khindif followed the doctrines of the return (*radj'a*, q. v.) and transmigration (*tanāsukh*, q. v.); but his utterances on these matters seem hardly to have been taken seriously by his contemporaries. He professed loyalty to the son of the 'Alids as the "little prophet". The Imām (Mahdī) was for him Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya [q. v.] and he was one of those Kaisānīs who expected his return from concealment in the mountains of Raḍwā [q. v.] (see KAISĀNIYA, KHASHABĪYA, KURAIBIYA).

But his opinions did not prevent him addressing panegyrics to the Marwānids. The Caliph 'Abd al-Malik thought highly of his poetry and several times rewarded the poet richly. He devoted an elegy to the Caliph on his death. After a long period of waiting he was admitted with other poets to 'Umar II and was able to strike the right note with him also. 'Umar however is said to have distrusted those 'Alids who showed sympathy with Kuthaiyir. The Muhallabids were also patrons of the poet.

There are contradictory anecdotes about Kuthaiyir's relationship to 'Azza, whom he mentions in many verses. Critics asserted that, in contrast

to Djamīl's [q. v.] emotions, his love was not a real passion but a simulated one.

Kuthaiyir was the *rāwiya* of Djamīl, whom he regarded as the greatest of poets and took as his model. The *rāwiya* of Kuthaiyir was Sā'ib b. Dhakwān (e. g. *al-Aghānī*, xi. 18, 4, 11; xiv. 155, 5; ibid., xi. 50 *infra*: al-Sā'ib b. al-Ḥukaim al-Sadūsī).

Kuthaiyir died in the reign of Yazīd II in 105 (723), as is often mentioned, on the same day as the theologian 'Ikrima (cf. however Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaidarābād 1325—1327, vii. 271).

Some scholars of the iind (viiith) century regarded Kuthaiyir as the greatest poet of Islām. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī says that the people of the Ḥidjāz regarded him as the greatest of poets while he was less esteemed in al-'Irāḳ. According to some his talent was best displayed in the panegyric (*madīḥ*), according to others in the part of the poem dedicated to his beloved (*nasīb*) although Djamīl surpassed him in this. Many of Kuthaiyir's poems were set to music and sung.

Al-Zubair b. Bakkār and Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī collected information about Kuthaiyir (*Akhbār Kuthaiyir*, Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 111, 10; 142, 20). There was also a *Kitāb Kuthaiyir wa-'Azza* in circulation (*op. cit.*, p. 306, 21). MSS. of the *Dīwān* of Kuthaiyir, two parts of which al-Ḳālī had read in Ibn Duraid (Ibn Khair, *Fihrist*, etc., i. [*B. A.-H.*, ix], p. 396, 4) and which is also mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, iii. 303, Nº. 5630), do not seem now to be known. The MS. Escorial Nº. 409 (H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, Paris 1884, i., p. 273) does not contain the *Dīwān*, but only one *Ḳaṣīda* (see P. Schwarz, *Escurial-Studien zur arab. Literatur- und Sprachkunde*, Stuttgart 1922, i., p. 1—17). A few *Ḳaṣīda's* exist in MS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, Nº. 7524, 2; 8255, 41; 8471, 6).

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(C. VAN ARENDONK)

ḲUTLUGH-KHĀN, a dynasty in Kirmān [q. v.] in the viith (xiiith) century, descended from the heathen Ḳara-Khitai people [q. v.]. The dynasty, successively vassals of the Khwārizmshāh, the Great Mongol Khāns and the dynasty of Hülägü Khān (Ilkhāns), lasted from 619 (620?) to 706 and never had more than local importance. It entertained close relations with the neighbouring dynasties of the Atābegs of Yazd, the Salghurids of Fārs and the Muẓaffarids [q. v.] and came into occasional contact with the Caliph and with India. The founder of the dynasty (from 619/620) was Naṣr al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Ḳutlugh Sulṭān Burāḳ-Ḥādjib [q. v.], son of Kuldūz (?), d. in 632. His title Ḳutlugh Sulṭān was given him by the Caliph, although his Islām was of a very recent date. He had a son Rukn al-Dīn Khwādja-djuḳ (or Mubārak-Khwādja) and four daughters, of whom Sawindj Turkān was married to Djaghatai Khān, Khān Turkān to her cousin Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and the two others to members of the family of the Atābegs of Yazd.

Burāḳ appointed as his successor his nephew and son-in-law Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Khān whose father Khamītūn Tāyangū b. Kuldūz (variants: Khamthūr, Khantimūr, Tāngū) is perhaps identical with the Ḳara-Khitai chief captured by the Khwārizmians in 607 (1210); cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii. 391. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn at the end of a year had to retire into Mongolia on the approach of Rukn al-Dīn, son of Burāḳ and Ūḳā-Khātūn, who after spending some time at the Mongol court received from Ügedei investiture for the fiefs of Kirmān and Narmāshīr. He ruled for 16 years. He was not well disposed to the Tādjīks and men of letters (*Simṭ al-'ulā'*).

In 650 he had in turn to make way for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn who had in the interval been serving in China under Maḥmūd Yalwādj and upon whom Mangu after his accession conferred the *yarlīgh* over Kirmān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was authorised by the Ḳā'ān to put Rukn al-Dīn to death as he was suspected of intriguing with the Caliph. He soon suppressed a rising by a pretender who claimed to be the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn. He severely punished the Kūč and the Balūč. His successes were attributed to the advice of his wife Ḳutlugh Turkān Khātūn whose wisdom is highly praised by the historians. Some doubts exist as to her origin; according to the *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* she had been the concubine (*surrīya*) of Burāḳ (according to the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, that of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, brother of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn) and would thus be a different person from Khān Turkān, daughter of Burāḳ; this fact might explain her feud with the sons of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn died in 655. His son Ḥadjdjādj being a minor, the notables asked the Ḳā'ān to entrust the government to the widow of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Ḳutlugh Turkān, who ruled from 655—681 (in 662 her powers were confirmed by Hülägü; cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 403).

Ḥadjdjādj when he grew up sought to get into touch with the sons of Ügedei and acted with little regard for Ḳutlugh Turkān but the latter, strong in the support of her daughter Pādisha-khātūn, married to Abaḳa-Khān, forced Ḥadjdjādj to retire to Dehlī (in 666). Then the other son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Soyurghatmish successfully disputed Turkān's

power and she went to Tabrīz, where she died in 681. Her daughter Bībī Khātūn, who had married the amīr ʿAḍud al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī removed her remains to Kirmān. Marco Polo went through Kirmān (about 1272) in the reign of Kutlugh Turkān.

Djalāl al-Dīn Abū Muẓaffar Suyurghatmish (681—693) received his investiture from the Ilkhān Aḥmad but could not agree with his sister Pādishā-Khātūn. She had been brought up among her brothers under the name of Ḥasan Shāh (cf. MIRKH^WAND) to enable her to escape compulsory marriage with a Mongol prince. She became however the wife first of Abaḳā and after his death of his son Kai-Khātū. The latter on coming to the throne in 690 gave Kirmān to Pādishā-Khātūn. The princess who was a poetess of talent was of a vindictive and passionate nature. At first Suyurghatmish governed the province in name of the Pādishā but she later threw him into prison. He was freed by his wife Khudāwand-zāde Kardudjīn, daughter of Mangu Timur b. Hūlāgū and the Salghurid [q. v.] princess Abish, ruler of Fārs, and by his daughter Shāh ʿĀlam. Kai-Khātū however handed him over to Pādishā-Khātūn who had him strangled. His death was followed by the execution of his vizier who was captured by stratagem. In 694 Baidū, husband of ʿĀlam Khātūn, became king. Pādishā was handed over to the vengeance of the wife and daughter of Suyurghatmish. In the reign of Pādishā Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, p. 23, 91) passed through Kirmān on his return journey (c. 1293).

In 695 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥārith Muḥammad Shāh Sulṭān b. Ḥadjdjādj succeeded his aunt by command of Ghāzān Khān but his brothers slew his vizier and rebelled in Kirmān. The troops of Fārs and ʿIrāk besieged Kirmān for 18 months. Muẓaffar al-Dīn came from Tabrīz, forced the town to surrender and executed the ringleaders. His methods must have been summary, for his new vizier left him in terror. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who loved wine, died in 703 as a result of his excesses.

His nephew Sulṭān Ḳuṭb al-Dīn II Shāh Djahān b. Suyurghatmish succeeded him and ruled for two years and a half (to 706 = 1306). As he was very cruel and did not pay his dues regularly to the Mongol treasury, Uldjāitū deposed him and appointed a simple governor to Kirmān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn II retired to Shīrāz to Kardudjīn, wife of his father. His daughter Kutlugh Khān (*wālidat al-sulṭān*) in 729 (1328/1329) married the wife of Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, the real founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, who later took possession of Kirmān (in 741).

Before the earthquake of 1896 there still existed in Kirmān *Kubba-yi-sabz* (remains of the Madrasa of Turkānābād) bearing the date 640 (1242) (i. e. contemporary with Rukn al-Dīn). This "green mausoleum" was the family tomb for the dynasty (cf. P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 60—62, 194, 204). Turkān Khātūn founded the little towns of Sar-Saiyāh and Čatrūd to which she brought a water supply. Suyurghatmish built the madrasa of Darb-i Naw, where he was buried.

Bibliography: The particular history of Kutlugh Khān is the *Simṭ al-ʿulā li ʾl-Ḥaḍrat al-ʿulyā*, written in 716; cf. Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. in the B. M.*, p. 849, Add. 222, 695 and the MS. in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, Persian Nº. 1377. The author Nāṣir al-Dīn was the son of Khwādja Muntadjab al-Dīn Yazdī, the trusted adviser of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn I (cf. the Paris MS., fol. 125). On Burāḳ, Rukn al-Dīn and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, cf. Djuwainī, ed. Muḥammad Khān Ḳazwīnī, ii. 211—218. On the whole dynasty: *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, *G. M. S.*, xiv/i., p. 527—535, 625; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1266, iv. 128—131, cf. E. A. Strandman, *Chuandamir's afhandling om Qarachitaiska dynastin i Kirman*, Helsingfors 1860; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay, Djuz II, Djild III, p. 10—12; Munadjdjim-bashi, Stambul 1285, ii. 587; Rieu also quotes Waṣṣāf, iii., (to the year 694) and the *Geography* of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, part ii. of which seems to contain full references. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii. 5, 19, 32, 131—133, 396; iv. 90—93, 269, 485. 2. The title Kutlugh-khān was conferred in 629 (1231) by Ögedei on Abū Bakr b. Saʿad, the Salghurid [q. v.]; cf. d'Ohsson, iii. 398.

(V. MINORSKY)

ḲUṬR, means in Arab geometry 1) the diameter of a circle or of any section of a cone and the diameter of a cone; 2) the diagonal of a parallelogram or of any quadrilateral; 3) in trigonometry, the hypotenuse of the so-called umbra triangle; as such it is either the secant or the cosecant of an angle, according as the side opposite it is the tangent or cotangent of this angle; in the first case it is called *ḳuṭr al-ẓill al-awwal* (hypotenuse of the first umbra), in the second case *ḳuṭr al-ẓill al-thānī* (hypotenuse of the second umbra).

(H. SUTER)

ḲUṬRUB, surname of the famous grammarian and lexicographer ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. (AḤMAD) AL-MUSTANĪR, born at Baṣra and died in the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn in 206 (821/822).

He studied grammar with Sībawaih [q. v.] and Muʿtazila doctrine with the celebrated al-Naẓẓām [q. v.]. He was tutor to the children of Abū Dulaf al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā, who was vizier under al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim and was thus allowed to preach in the mosque, where he taught his heterodox views and read the commentary on the Ḳurʾān which he had composed according to Muʿtazila teaching.

As regards language, his authority is rather disputed; nevertheless, as Ibn Khallikān observes, he was the first to compose a work on Arabic words of the same form, which change their meaning according as they are pronounced with one or other of the three vowels. Out of some twenty works attributed to him, we only know the following: 1. *Kit. al-Muthallath*, a collection in prose of thirty words which may be read in three different ways and change their meaning with each vocalisation, e. g. *kalām* "discourse", *kilām* "wounds", *kulām* "rocky", each group is followed by a philological commentary and examples taken from the Ḳurʾān and very often from pre-Islāmic poets (Paris Bibl. Nat., Nos. 825, iv.; Leyden, *Cat. Cod. Arab.*, i., Nº. 43; Berlin, Nº. 7071—7073; two copies belonging to the writer). The *Muthallath* was versified by several scholars, among them ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. al-Ḥasan al-Muhallabī al-Bahnasī, whose poem has been published several times in Cairo and edited and translated with a Latin commentary by Ed. Vilmar (*Carmen*

de vocibus tergeminis arabicis ad Qutrubum auctorem relatum, Marburg 1857); 2. *Kit. al-Aḍdād*, a collection of words with different meanings, Berlin N⁰. 7091; 3. *Kit. mā khālafa fīhi 'l-insān al-bahīma*, ed. by R. Geyer in *Sitz.-Ber. der Akad. der Wiss. in Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., 1888, cv.; 4. *Kit. al-Azmina*, Brit. Mus., *Cat.*, N⁰. 536.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-**KUTUBĪ**, ṢALĀḤ (or FAKHR) AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. SHĀKIR AL-ḤALABĪ, Arab historian and biographer. The only known sketch of his life is in the *Kitāb al-Durar al-kāmina fī A'yān al-Mi'a al-thāmina* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī [q.v.] still unpublished, but used by Brockelmann in *G.A.L.*, ii. 48. According to this, Kutubī studied in Ḥalab, Aleppo, and Damascus, and made a considerable fortune as a bookseller; he died in Ramaḍān 764 (June–July 1363), but the best known and the only one printed of his works, a continuation of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* with the title *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (Būlāḳ 1283, 1299), contains a biography which gives the year of his death as 773, which caused the editor of the Būlāḳ edition to write a note on this doubtful point. The contradiction had already been satisfactorily explained in Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (repr. from *A. G. W. Gött.*, 1882, xxviii *sq.*, p. 178): in the biography the date should read 753.

Further works of his are: 1. *Rawḍat al-Azhār wa-Ḥadīḳat al-Ash'ār*, a collection of *ghazal's* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 6622); 2. *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh* (cf. Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*), the whole comprises 6 volumes according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 8463.

(M. PLESSNER)

ḲUṬUZ AL-MALIK AL-MUẒAFFAR SAIF AL-DĪN AL-MU'IZZĪ (so called after Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mu'izz Aibak), the third Baḥrī Sulṭān (cf. BAḤRĪ) ascended the throne of Egypt towards the end of 657 (1259). He is said to have been a nephew of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh and to have been originally called Maḥmūd b. Mamdūd; he was captured in war with the Tatars, sold in Damascus and purchased and brought to Cairo by Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn Aibak. In 650 (1252) Sulṭān Aibak appointed him his deputy (*Nā'ib al-Salṭana*). When the Sulṭān was murdered in 655 (1257) by his wife Shadjar al-Durr [q.v.], the Mamlūks placed his son Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī on the throne; Ḳuṭuz remained deputy and administrator of the kingdom and guardian of the young prince. These first Mamlūk sulṭāns were continually threatened by the danger of attack from the Aiyūbid Sulṭāns of Syria who regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of their relatives in Cairo. The Aiyūbid Sulṭān of Karak, al-Malik al-Mughīth, tried to invade Egypt with the help of the Mamlūks of the late Egyptian Sulṭān Nadjm al-Dīn Aiyūb. Ḳuṭuz collected his forces and met the enemy at Ṣāliḥiya near Cairo. Although some of his amīrs went over to the representative of the old dynasty, he completely routed the king of Karak and forced him to retreat. Meanwhile, the great danger was threatening from the east, the advance of the Tatars under Hūlāgū [q.v.]. In this difficult situation the ambitious Ḳuṭuz thought he had better assume the reins of government *de jure* which he already held *de facto*. He deposed the boy sulṭān and seized the throne without meeting with serious resistance. During his short reign he won great renown by breaking the power of the Tatars in Syria and saving Egypt from being laid desolate. Hūlāgū had conquered Syria, installed his governors everywhere and demanded the submission of Egypt through his envoys in an arrogant letter which is preserved by the historians. Ḳuṭuz, determined to resist to the last, executed the envoys to make negotiations impossible. For the fear of the Tatars was so great that the amīrs only reluctantly obeyed him and were inclined to negotiate, although the example of the devastation of Syria was sufficient warning to them. In Sha'bān 658 (1260) Ḳuṭuz led his troops to Ṣāliḥiya and revived their failing courage. Baibars [q.v.] afterwards Sulṭān commanded the vanguard and met the Tatar outposts at Gaza. The main army marched on 'Ain Djālūt (Goliath's well), where they met the Tatars, commanded by Ketboghā, governor of Damascus. At the first onslaught the Egyptian left wing was driven back. In this critical moment the Sulṭān himself took command; inspired by the splendid example of his bravery, the Egyptian forces rallied for a tremendous attack and put the Tatars to flight. The defeat was decisive. Ketboghā and other Tatar princes fell in the battle; defeated in further fighting as they retreated, the Tatars were forced to leave Syria. The whole country was occupied by the Egyptians and the separate principalities given back to their owners as fiefs. Aleppo alone, the ruler of which remained in Hūlāgū's camp, was given to Malik al-Sa'īd, son of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' of Mōṣul one of the few princes who had preferred leaving his country to acknowledging the suzerainty of Hūlāgū. But this gift proved the ruin of Ḳuṭuz. His tried general Baibars had hoped to get Aleppo himself and now disappointed, planned vengeance. On the homeward journey through Syria, while hunting, he murdered Ḳuṭuz with the help of a few fellow-conspirators. He was then elected Sulṭān. In spite of his bravery Sulṭān Ḳuṭuz was not popular. The needs of his army led to great expenditure and he had to raise the money by harsh taxation and levies. Therefore, according to Maḳrīzī, there was neither indignation nor mourning at his assassination. Ibn Taghribirdī tells a different story. He says that the corpse of Ḳuṭuz lay unburied for three days and then was interred in Ḳuṣair by his Mamlūks. The tomb was visited like a place of pilgrimage and his assassination deeply lamented. Sulṭān Baibars therefore had the body dug up and buried secretly in another place, which was not made known. Thus he became gradually forgotten.

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(M. SOBERNHEIM)

AL-**KUWAIT**, a seaport on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, capital of the

amirate of the same name, which lies along the coast from Khōr Zubair; it is bounded on the north by the former Turkish province of 'Irāḳ and on the south by al-Ḥasā' and stretches for 120 miles. The greatest breadth is nominally 160 miles but the authority of the amīr does not extend much more than a day's journey into the interior. The soil north of the Gulf of al-Kuwait is sandy, farther south, partly sand and partly loam; only a small strip is fertile on which the chief vegetation is date-palms and a few fruit-trees of different kinds. The only perennial water-course, a small river, affords the necessary irrigation to the impoverished soil. The coast is low; reefs and shallows are found up to 30—50 miles out and make it difficult for ships of any size to approach. Al-Kuwait and al-Baḥrain are however the only good harbours in this part of the Persian Gulf and al-Kuwait is a harbour capable of taking large steamers. The bay has a broad entrance, leading from the north-west corner of the Persian Gulf; it is 20 miles long and half as broad and there is good anchorage in most of it. The depth of the water in the harbour varies from 16 to 4½ fathoms and varies at the top of the Gulf from shallow to a depth of 4 fathoms. Ships of over 20 feet draught have to anchor 2 miles from the town. The town covers a wide area; the streets are clean. Since 1921 the town has been enclosed by a wall over 2 miles long and 12 feet high, which was built out of fear of Ibn Sa'ūd and is defended by 5 large and 57 small towers. The climate is hot but not unhealthy; the supply of drinking-water alone leaves something to be desired. It has to be brought by ship from Baṣra, 3 days' journey distant, and is an article of trade. Corn also is imported. Wool, mutton-tallow and hides are exported.

Al-Kuwait is also an important emporium for the coffee caravans which come via Nadjrān from Yemen and the port from which the fine horses from Nadjd (Ḥāyel) are exported to India. The town is therefore of great importance for the country of Djebel Shammar and the ruling house of Ibn Rashīd as a port for imports and exports and it is natural that the ruler of this extensive hinterland has always endeavoured to be on good terms with the ruler of al-Kuwait. The number of inhabitants is not certainly known. The estimates vary between 18,000 and 35,000; the latter must be too high when we reflect that the whole amirate of Kowait only contains 37,000 settled inhabitants and 13,000 Beduins. The former include about 1,000 Persians, who were domiciled here before the conquest of Sawād by the Arabs. The harbour is not only frequented by several hundred smaller ships of its own but has a regular steamship connection with India. Manāma, the harbour of al-Baḥrain, offers strong competition with al-Kuwait for the trade with the interior, but the latter has undoubtedly a great future, especially when it has been connected by railway with al-Baṣra, as with al-Baḥrain it is the only important point for the export trade of the Wahhābī kingdom.

We know nothing definite about the foundation of the town, although we are on historic ground: for in the Gulf of Kāẓima where little sailing boats now lie in shelter from the winds, terminated the great ditch which Sābūr Dhu 'l-Aktāf of Hīt dug through the territory west of the Euphrates to protect the Sawād from Arab raids. In 12 (633) there was a battle here between the Arabs under Khālid b. al-Walīd and the Persians under Hurmuz, in which the latter were defeated. In the xvith century the Portuguese established themselves on the coast here and the remains of a castle built by them can still be seen, but they never mention the name al-Kuwait. Whether the name of the place — al-Kuwait means "the little castle" — owes its origin to this building seems doubtful. It is in any case interesting that the Persians call the place al-Ḳrēn, as Niebuhr tells us. Al-Kuwait was therefore presumably only founded at the beginning of the xviiith century, whether by members of a central Arabian tribe or by Umm Ḳaṣr of Khōr 'Abd Allāh is not certain. The former version, which has much in its favour, is found in the records of the Bombay government and the plans of the Turkish general Midḥat Pasha.

In any case the town grew very rapidly. In the beginning of the sixties of the xviiith century, according to Niebuhr, it had 800 ships and 10,000 inhabitants, who were mainly engaged in pearl-fishery and fishing. It grew rapidly and became prosperous, especially as after the conquest of al-Baṣra by the Persians in 1776, Indian trade with Baghdād, Aleppo, Smyrna and Constantinople no longer went by Baṣra but by al-Kuwait. In 1793 the English transferred their factory from al-Baṣra to al-Kuwait and the at first very modest port at once attained considerable importance for England's position and policy in the Persian Gulf. As early as 1805 Great Britain was to take the Shaikh of al-Kuwait under her protection to defend him from aggression by the Wahhābīs, but the plan came to nothing. In 1821 the British resident in al-Baṣra moved to Failaka which belonged to al-Kuwait. Even then we find al-Kuwait adopting a hostile attitude to the Porte and it seems to have been fairly independent. In 1829 the lord of al-Kuwait had to recognise the suzerainty of Turkey and to pay tribute, a circumstance which later led to a closer association with the wilāyet of Baghdād. The mutual confidence and good relations between the Porte and the Shaikh of al-Kuwait found expression in the latter's flying the Turkish flag and undertaking the defence of the harbour of al-Baṣra in return for a subsidy (1845) and in 1853 placing himself directly under the protection of Turkey and in 1863 and 1865 al-Kuwait undertook the defence of the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. In 1869/1870 the able and energetic Midḥat Pasha succeeded in getting the then lord of al-Kuwait, 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣabbāḥ, to join him with Nāṣir, the chief of the Muntafiḳ, in his expedition against al-Ḥasā' in which the young Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ took part as leader of the land forces. The result of this joint enterprise was the conquest of the territory of al-Ḥasā' which became a Turkish administrative area under the name Nadjd. But soon the position of the Porte changed when al-Kuwait was drawn into the new developments of central Arabian politics.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'ūd, the ruler of al-Riyāḍ, defeated by Muḥammad b. Rashīd, had taken refuge in 1891 in al-Hufhūf, where he placed himself under Turkish protection and later went to Baghdād and Constantinople. He returned laden with gifts to al-Baṣra but had soon to recognise that his hope that the Turks would restore him to his throne would not be realised. He therefore decided to settle at the court of Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ,

lord of al-Kuwait. His enemy Muḥammad b. Rashīd, whose kingdom in 1892 comprised over two-thirds of Arabia, but nowhere touched the coast and had therefore no harbour, had hitherto been dependent on the favour of the lord of the various coast-towns, and of the Turkish officials in al-Ḥasa', Mesopotamia and Syria. Most of his arms came from al-Kuwait and from the little Turkish harbour of al-ʿAẓīr (al-ʿUkair) in the district of al-Ḥasa'. But since ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿūd had been in Constantinople, and had settled in al-Kuwait, great difficulties were put in Muḥammad's way in both harbours so that he decided he must possess a harbour of his own. As he did not wish to irritate the Turks, on whose goodwill he was dependent for trade with Mesopotamia, he decided to attack al-Kuwait, which suited his purpose better from its geographical position and the fact that from the end of the xix^th^ century it had been the terminus and starting-point for the trading-caravans of al-Riyāḍ. In addition the Shaikh of al-Kuwait had recently shown himself insubordinate to the Porte on several occasions, so that it was hardly to be expected that Turkey would interfere seriously on his behalf. In 1895 war broke out between Muḥammad b. Rashīd and and Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ which was to prove fatal to the dynasty of the former and make the Shaikh of al-Kuwait an ally of England. In 1897 Muḥammad b. Rashīd was poisoned, but the war with al-Kuwait did not cease but continued under his successor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, especially as the banished prince of al-Riyāḍ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿūd, was working against him in al-Kuwait. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz found support for his campaign against al-Kuwait in the Turkish government, which would have liked to depose the untrustworthy Shaikh Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ, who although appointed Turkish Ḳāʾim-maḳām in 1897, paid no attention to his superior officer, the governor of al-Baṣra, but under pressure of circumstances asked England to assume a protectorate over his territory, from which he also hoped to gain material advantages. His request was refused at the time. But when in connection with the proposed Baghdād railway the proposal was made to link up a branch-line to the Persian Gulf from Zubair with that via Baghdād, Kerbalaʾ, Nadjaf and Zubair to Baṣra, and thus give Germany and Turkey an outlet by land on the Persian Gulf, England, who, in view of her interests in India was attentively watching the development of the Baghdād railway project, took measures to meet eventualities. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, who pursued with all his influence and energy the policy of allowing no other power than England to gain influence on the Persian Gulf, gave the English resident in Būshir, Colonel Meade, authority to contract a treaty with the Shaikh of al-Kuwait, the contents of which were at first secret, but it contained the important clause that the lord of al-Kuwait bound himself not to let or otherwise cede any part of his territory to other governments or subjects of other governments than England, and to receive no representatives of foreign powers without being authorised to do so; for this concession he received a subsidy and was assured of the good offices of the British government, which soon found expression in considerably increased imports of arms and munitions from England and France. The treaty was concluded on Jan. 23, 1899. When at the beginning of 1900 the German Consul-General Stemrich arrived from Constantinople to negotiate, as head of the surveying commission of the Baghdād railway, with the Shaikh of al-Kuwait about the terminus and to obtain a concession at Rās Kāẓima (Kādhemah on English maps) on the Gulf, the Sulṭān had to refuse to enter into negotiations in view of the treaty concluded with England.

In the spring of 1900 the war between Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ and Ibn Rashīd flared up again. The former fell upon a large caravan of the Shammar and captured several thousand camels. In the autumn of the same year this game was to be repeated on a large caravan, which the prince of the Shammar was sending to Mesopotamia to secure from al-Samāwa food, clothing, and munitions for the whole winter. Mubārak's plan failed however. Turkish troops defended the caravan until ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd came up with reinforcements and brought the caravan without any loss to Ḥāyil. In January 1901, Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ took the offensive again, having been joined by a number of places in the south of Ibn Rashīd's kingdom as well as by several tribes who wished to shake off the yoke of the prince of the Shammar. But when a body of the rebels was defeated at the end of February 1901 at al-Bkeriye and the rebellious villages had again returned to their allegiance and left Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ's main force in the lurch, the latter was wiped out at al-Ṣarīf on March 17, 1901 by the warriors of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz thereupon advanced on al-Kuwait with a large force but halted at al-Ḥafar on the caravan road from al-Nbādj to al-Kuwait, when the news reached him of a general rising in the south of his kingdom from which the garrisons had been withdrawn for the war with al-Kuwait. He was therefore forced to return. A Turkish corvette, which had already appeared in the roadstead of al-Kuwait with Turkish soldiers to join in the fighting had to return without doing anything, as the Indian government sent a warship to protect the lord of al-Kuwait and its commander forbade the landing of Turkish troops. Besides the news of the rising in his rear, another circumstance contributed to the collapse of the campaign and the retreat of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd: this was the fact that there were English ships in the harbour of al-Kuwait and English troops occupying a post 18 miles inland. No further advance could be made without an open breach with England, especially as Turkey in Sept. 1901 had agreed to the status quo and promised not to send troops to al-Kuwait so long as England did not occupy the place or declare it a British protectorate. But, when in the following year (1902) Turkey instituted military posts in Umm Ḳaṣr, Safwān and on the island of Bubia, the result was a diplomatic and military intervention by England, as the Shaikh of al-Kuwait claimed the territory, which was of importance for the development of the Baghdād railway as well as the country up to a point 20 miles N. E. of Khōr ʿAbd Allāh. In 1907 another treaty with England was concluded by Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ, and in 1913 an agreement was come to between England and Turkey, articles 1—10 of which declared the territory of al-Kuwait, more minutely defined in articles 5 and 7, an autonomous ḳaḍā of the Turkish empire and the validity of the treaties concluded with England by the Shaikh of al-Kuwait was

confirmed. Turkey was permitted to have a representative at the court of the Shaikh. At the same time the question of the continuation of the Baghdād railway was discussed and it was agreed that the Baghdād Railway Company should take over the stretch from Baghdād to al-Baṣra, but that the branch line to al-Kuwait should be built by an English company. The outbreak of the World War prevented the ratification of this treaty as well as that of another on the Baghdād railway, Mesopotamia and other questions. On the outbreak of war England declared al-Kuwait an independent kingdom under British protection. The points in dispute with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd, who as lord of Central Arabia had no less interest in al-Kuwait than the Shammar prince ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd whom he had conquered, were settled in a treaty concluded between Mubārak and Ibn Saʿūd on Dec. 26, 1915. Ibn Saʿūd withdrew any claim to al-Kuwait and the surrounding country for a breadth of 70 miles and this region was recognised as belonging to the amīr of al-Kuwait. Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ died on Jan. 3, 1916 and left three sons, Djābir, Sālim and Nāṣir who began to fight about the succession. Nāṣir gained the support of the settled people of al-Kuwait, Sālim of the nomad tribes and with their help fought his brothers and their followers. Djābir was however regarded as the real successor of his father. After his death at the end of 1916, Sālim was recognised as his successor, although his brother Nāṣir had the support of England. In the Great War, Sālim was a Turcophil and showed this by facilitating the caravan traffic of the prince of Shammar who was an ally of the Turks. In September, 1917, a caravan of 3,000 camels succeeded in getting through from al-Kuwait to Ḥāyil in spite of the English blockade. Sālim died on Feb. 2, 1921. He was succeeded by Djābir's son Aḥmad, who had represented al-Kuwait on Oct. 31, 1919 when the Arab kings were received at the English court.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE AMĪRS OF AL-KUWAIT

Mubārak b. Ṣabbāḥ (d. January 3, 1916)
- Djābir (d. end of 1916)
  - Aḥmad
- Sālim (d. Febr. 2, 1921)
- Nāṣir

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KWAṬṬA. [See QUETTA.]